

School of The Built Environment

**The Convicts' Contribution to the Built Environment of Colonial
Western Australia between 1850 - 1880**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature: Jiana Bish

Date: 14/9/12

ABSTRACT

Western Australia was founded as Australia's first free colony in June 1829. The colony was not as successful as those in eastern Australia, and many of the settlers argued that the poor progress was due in part to a shortage of labourers. By 1849 the colonists had decided that their only way forward was to become a penal colony and the first ship arrived in June 1850 carrying 75 convicts.

The thesis explores the impact that convicts had on the built environment of Western Australia. To understand the convicts' contribution to the building industry this thesis begins with a study of buildings constructed before 1850. Extensive research was undertaken into the types of buildings erected by the settlers between 1829 and 1850: such as the types of materials used, the design and who actually constructed the buildings. The study found that before the arrival of the convicts the colony had a shortage of men with skills in the building trade. One of the major factors that enabled the convicts to contribute to the development of the colony's building industry was vocational training, in areas such as bricklaying, brickmaking, carpentry and masonry that they obtained during their incarceration in public works prisons in Britain. This training was provided by the British government before the convicts were transported to a penal colony, as part of a new system of penal discipline. Following their arrival in Western Australia, soldiers of the Royal Engineers continued the convicts' training on public works projects in the colony.

This thesis expands our knowledge of how the convict system operated in Western Australia, especially how it differed from that used in Australia's eastern colonies. It highlights the integral part that the Royal Engineers had in the convicts' training, a role not previously investigated. The examination of how ticket-of-leave men (convicts out on parole) were utilised by private

settlers indicated that there were considerable flow-on effects for the private citizen, not just for public projects. In particular, the research has shown that the skills gained by the convicts while erecting government colonial buildings were of direct benefit to the settlers. One important and far-reaching benefit was the substitution of brick for rammed earth or wattle and daub.

Finally, the thesis used an archaeological methodology to analyse and compare two groups of buildings; those constructed before 1850 and those constructed after 1850. This use of archaeological methods to analyse standing structures is considerably under-utilized in Western Australia.

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This was John's idea. It seemed a good idea at the time, my daughter had gained her driver's license so Mum's taxi had become redundant and there was a need for this research. Six years on I'm not so sure how good an idea it was. I have certainly learnt a lot (expanded my knowledge of the convict system and colonial buildings in Western Australia) and struggled with unknown territory - theory. As a mature age student I found that uni life and research had changed markedly, you could now search databases on-line! So much could be done from home, down-loading journal articles and other material and don't even get me started on how amazing Trove is! My especial thanks go to the Australian National Library for that wonderful gift.

Thankfully a lot hasn't changed, people are still willing to help and I was extremely blessed with the number who helped and cared. I therefore have many people whom I would like to thank. To the staff at Battye Library who were always extremely clever at finding elusive manuscripts and suggesting other sources of information and the wonderful people in the State Records Office of Western Australia. They would often search for hours for little used despatches and my offbeat queries. I also need to extend a special thankyou to the owners of the properties that I visited. They gave freely of their time and knowledge of the buildings in their care and allowed a complete stranger to poke around in their marvellous buildings. A big thank you to my good friend Janie Pearson who willing became my field assistant, writing down incomprehensible measurements and once had to rescue said measurements from a water tank (thankfully empty) – it pays to go on field trips with a tall person! To my quilting friends, the Blackboy Hill Quilters and the Possum Patchers who provided welcome relief and laughter from research and writing, who despite the fact that they couldn't understand why I was doing a thesis and were puzzled when after three years 'it' still wasn't finished, urged me onwards.

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Thag you very buch (Tolkein 1975, The Hobbit)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Acc – Accession, refers to the numbers used in the J.S. Batty Library, State Library Board of Western Australia and also the State Records Office of Western Australia

AJCP – Australian Joint Copying Project

BPP – British Parliamentary Papers

CO – British Colonial Office

CSO – Colonial Secretary's Correspondence

HCWA – Heritage Council of Western Australia

MHHS – Mundaring and Hills Historical Society (Inc)

NTWA – National Trust of Australia (WA)

R.I.C.H. – Research Institute of Cultural History (Curtin University)

WAGS – Western Australian Genealogical Society (Inc.)

WO – War Office

DEFINITIONS USED IN THE THESIS

A number of quite specific terms have been used in this thesis and it was felt that it would be best to provide an explanation of these expressions at the beginning of the thesis as an aid to clarity.

Artisans – see mechanics

Blue Books – this series of books contain the colony's statistical returns and were completed by the Colonial Secretary using blue forms supplied by the British Colonial Office. They were published between 1834 and 1869 and were known as Blue Books due to the colour of the paper and the binding. They were replaced in 1871 with a slightly different publication.

Bond – the manner in which bricks are overlapped in rows to create a wall that will hold together. The different bonds can be recognised by the way in which the headers (short end of the brick) and stretchers (long side of brick) are laid. Two bonds are referred to in this thesis, English bond and Flemish bond. English bond consists of alternating rows of headers and stretchers. In Flemish bond each row is made up of alternating headers and stretchers.

Britain – refers to the country that collectively comprises England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Individual references to England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales refers specifically these countries rather than the collective whole.

Certificate of Freedom – this certificate was given to a convict once he had served the full term of his sentence.

Class – refers to the various societal levels that existed in British society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the period covered by this thesis. The divisions between these classes are extremely complex and definitions can vary over time. It has been suggested that six divisions can define class: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower (Wurst 1999, 8). For the purposes of this study it has been decided to simplify the divisions to three classes: upper, middle and

lower (Wurst 1999, 7). Upper class refers to people who considered that they were 'gentry' or 'gentlemen and gentlewomen'. They were independently wealthy, with the wealth generated from the private, rural estates that they owned. It also includes educated persons such as members of the clergy, doctors, lawyers and military officers. The Middle class includes merchants, capitalists and yeomen farmers. Admittedly some merchants and capitalists acquired sufficient wealth to move into the Upper class, although this did not necessarily provide them with automatic acceptance. The Lower class (or working class) includes labourers such as servants, agricultural servants and also the various skilled mechanics. It should be emphasised that this is a very simplified way of defining the various classes that existed in Britain during the nineteenth century.

Conditional Pardon – this certificate was given to convicts who were released early from their sentence. It provided them with their full freedom but they were unable to return to Britain (or the place where they had been convicted) until their sentence had expired.

Convict – a person who had received a conviction in the courts. In the case of Western Australia all convicts sent here from Britain were men; no women were ever sent here from Britain.

Expiree – a convict who had served his full sentence and was therefore a free man.

Material Culture – 'that segment of man's physical environment which is purposefully shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans' (Schlereth 1985, 4).

Mechanics – or tradesmen. Many mechanics plied a trade that required specific skills that would have to be learnt. These trades included bricklaying, brickmaking, carpentry, joinery, masonry, painting, plastering and thatching. It also covered other trades such as bakers, blacksmiths, bookbinders and

tailors. Skilled mechanics generally had a higher social status than labourers and servants as they could earn more money.

Swan River Colony – This was the name originally given to the Western Australian settlement in 1828. It soon became known as Western Australia but the name Swan River Colony persisted for many decades.

Ticket-of-leave – this represents a period of parole. If a convict had been well behaved he was allowed to leave the prison to find private employment but specific conditions were attached to that leave. Misdemeanours would lead to an immediate return to prison and the loss of ticket-of-leave status.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The way in which material culture acts on people is social; the action can only exist within a social framework of beliefs, concepts and dispositions.

Hodder and Hutson 2003, 9

Western Australia was founded by Britain as Australia's first free colony in June 1829. However, a poorly conceived land settlement system created difficulties for the settlers from the beginning. Continuing economic problems soon found many new emigrants deciding to by-pass the west coast of Australia in favour of the colonies in the east, despite the taint of their convict origins. It was not until the 1840s that the Swan River Colony finally began to experience some economic success, although population figures were still extremely low and public works projects minimal. In 1848, Britain had sent out a circular to six of her colonies asking the various governors if their colony would be willing to accept convicts who had gone through a new disciplinary program that was being trialled in British gaols. Coincidentally, at the same time many of Western Australia's more influential settlers had begun to realise that the only answer to the colony's labour shortages was to apply for convict labour. Western Australia was the only colony to say 'yes'.

By agreeing to accept convicts from Britain the settlers hoped to take advantage of the British expenditure that would flow into the colony with the convicts. A convict establishment would have to be built, using British Treasury funds, and the prisoners fed from produce grown in the colony. Western Australia was declared a penal colony in May 1849 and the first shipload of convicts arrived in June 1850. By the time transportation to Western Australia ceased in 1868, the colony had received nearly 10,000 male convicts. No women convicts were ever transported to the colony. The convict legacy did lead to economic prosperity through the ingestion of capital, increased migrant numbers and an extensive public works program that relied heavily on convict labour.

As with the rest of Australia, Western Australians were slow to acknowledge their convict past. Families who knew that they had a convict ancestor did not discuss the matter openly and when questioned denied it vigorously. This state of affairs had changed by the mid 1970s when it became a matter of prestige to admit that a convict ancestor was part of one's family tree. In Western Australia, academic interest and research into convicts and the convict system became increasingly popular, reaching a peak by the 1990s (Bavin 1994; Broeze 1985; Collopy 1970; Erickson 1985; Erickson and O'Mara 1994; Gertzel 1949; Hasluck 1958; Hasluck 1978; Lilley and Gibbs 1993; McNally 1959; Marelich 196?; Matson 1963; Poole 1978; Shaw 1971; Statham 1980; Statham 1981a; Statham 1981b; Statham 1985; Taylor 1981; vanden Driessen 1986). Popular interest in convict ancestry also gained momentum and during the 1980s the Western Australian Genealogical Society formed a special interest group on convict research for its members. This group continues to be active today with members adding important genealogical information to local studies (WAGS 2012).

Towards the end of the 1990s and early 2000s academic interest in convictism in Western Australia began to wane although recent publications and doctoral research indicates that convict research is again on the rise (Campbell 2010; Gibbs 2001; Gill 2004; Lefroy and Lefroy 2007; Millett 2003; Sherriff and Brake 2006; O'Mara 2000; Reece 2006; Trinca 1997).¹ Despite this increased interest details on how the convicts were trained and employed, particularly in the private sector, remain largely un-researched.

What is generally known, and is factual, is that the convicts were responsible for the construction of a number of public buildings such as Fremantle Prison, Government House and the Perth Town Hall (Hocking and Bush 1995; Le Page 1986; Oldham and Oldham 1961; Royal Australian Institute of Architects 1983). What is not commonly known is that convicts were also responsible

¹ Sean Winter, a doctoral student at the University of Western Australia is currently carrying out archaeological investigations of convict places.

for the construction of a large number of buildings in the private sector. The men who were privately employed had earned their tickets-of-leave and therefore were not under constant prison supervision. Today we would consider that these men had been released on parole.

A search was conducted to identify studies that were particularly relevant to convict involvement in the construction of private buildings in other Australian states and internationally. No other studies that dealt specifically with this aspect of the convict system were located.

Research into Western Australian architectural history followed a similar pattern of development to that of convict studies with increasing interest shown during the 1960s, peaking into the 1990s and then a decline in the 2000s. Most of these studies have focussed on a stylistic analysis of buildings (Bourke and Connor 1971; Deas and Collett 1969/70; Erickson 1997; Hocking and Bush 1995; Molyneux 1972a; Molyneux 1972b; Oldham and Oldham 1961; Pitt Morrison and White 1979; Royal Australia Institute of Architects (WA) 1983; Sansom, Hammond and Gillett 1971). In several of these studies researchers generally observed that buildings erected before 1850 were cruder and more vernacular in character in comparison with those that were erected after this date (Erickson 1997; Oldham and Oldham 1961; Sansom et al. 1971; White 1979). When the pre-1850 buildings are compared with each other much of the vernacular character is due to the type of materials used in their construction and their design. In addition, the type of person responsible for the construction of these buildings also contributed to this vernacular character. They fall into two categories: people with no previous experience in building construction and traditional craftsmen who used traditional skills. By using traditional materials such as wattle and daub or pisé to construct their house, settlers could undertake much of the work themselves with minimal assistance from a skilled tradesman. Brick and stone required greater expertise and therefore often represented the work of a skilled tradesman.

Ray and John Oldham (1961) provided one of the first architectural studies of Western Australian colonial architecture (1829 to 1890). They divided the above era into three periods:

- First Period 1829 – 1850: small and primitive buildings
- Second Period 1850 – 1858: transitional buildings, change in construction, style and consequence
- Third Period 1858 – 1890: Perth's most significant period of colonial building.

They noted that during the Second Period convict labour was used in the construction of some of the public buildings, many of which had been designed by soldiers of the Royal Engineers. Although the materials used to construct buildings during the Second Period were similar to the First, the Oldhams thought that they had been used differently,

...there is surer craftsmanship. In other places the workmanship, though still rough, achieves dignity and even beauty, by reason of the better design. And apparent in all these buildings of the Transition Period, there is a new spirit. (Oldham and Oldham 1961, 28)

It was during the Third Period that they considered Perth achieved its greatest architectural flowering, specifically due to the use of highly decorative brickwork in many of the buildings making Perth unique amongst Australia's capital cities (Oldham and Oldham 1961, 42).

For the past twenty years I have worked as a heritage consultant and archaeologist in Western Australia, examining buildings, their method of construction and the materials used, the various architectural styles and delving into the historical development of the State. Over the years I also began to notice that after 1850 not only were buildings larger and better constructed in many areas of the State, but there were also changes in the types of material used in building construction. One material in particular became far more widespread, brick. During the Oldhams' third period bricks became a feature, instead of being hidden beneath layers of lime wash. This

is particularly noticeable where Flemish bond was used. Competent bricklayers took advantage of the colouring developed in the bricks during the firing process, using lighter coloured stretchers and darker coloured headers to create a checkerboard pattern across the face of the wall. I began to wonder what factors had led to this material becoming more common after 1850. What sort of demographic shift occurred in the colony after 1850 that might have resulted in these changes? The simple answer would be that the convicts arrived in Western Australia in 1850. However, it is likely that other forces should also be considered, making the reason for these observed changes somewhat more complex.

To that end, this thesis determines whether it was the convicts who were largely or partly responsible for the changes that occurred in the building industry in Western Australia after 1850. To examine the extent to which they can be credited for the observed changes in the execution of building design and the use of construction material, four key questions were posed:

1. What types of buildings were constructed in the colony before the arrival of the convicts?
2. Before the arrival of the convicts how many and what type of skilled tradesmen were present in the colony?
3. Of the convicts employed in the building industry how many had been sent to the colony already possessing these skills and, if not, how did they acquire their skills?
4. Is it possible to identify the presence of individual convicts in the construction of buildings across the State?

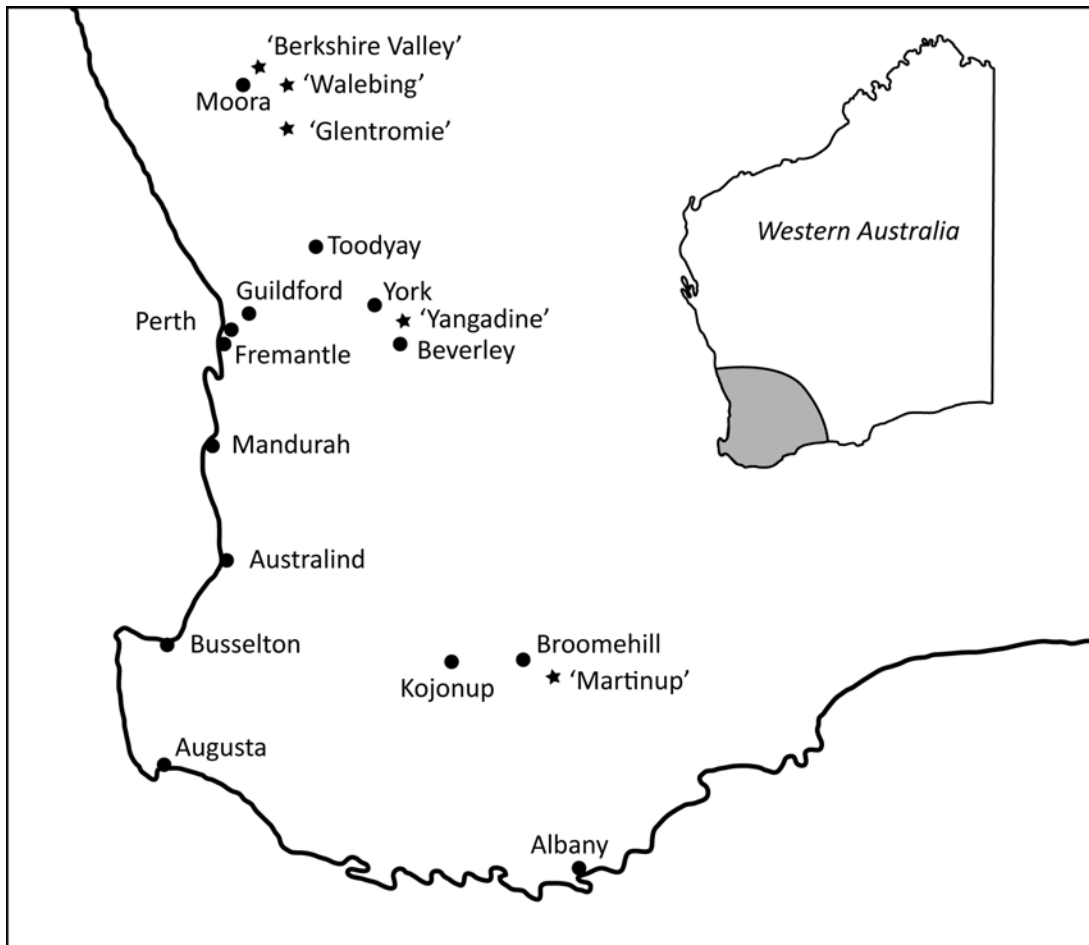


Figure 1.1 Map of Western Australia showing towns and properties (*) in the south-west region where the buildings discussed in this study are located

1.1 Methodological Approach

The above questions are investigated through comprehensive documentary research and the selection of a group of buildings erected between 1829 and 1880 (see Figure 1.1 for the region examined). From the outset I decided that as there was already some existing knowledge of convict involvement in the State's public works program, no government buildings constructed after 1850 would be considered for analysis, only private buildings would be investigated. In this study I was particularly interested in the transfer of building skills into the private sector as this area has not previously been investigated. To determine the extent of changes in building techniques and design that took place after the convicts arrived, I decided to undertake a

comparative analysis between the buildings constructed before 1850 with those constructed after 1850.

My research into identifying buildings that still survived from these two periods determined that although there were several pre-convict houses available for comparison, very few houses could be found that could confidently be attributed as being built with convict involvement. However a number of farm complexes with an assortment of farm buildings were identified as having convict involvement and I decided to compare the buildings on these farms with the houses identified in the pre-1850 period. I thought that in general, the building techniques utilised in each period would be similar whether they were used in the construction of a house or a farm building.

Settlers who belonged to the upper class constructed most of the pre 1850 houses chosen for the study. The post 1850 farm complexes represent a mixture of upper and lower class ownership. As it would be difficult to compare the design of a house with that of a farm building, I decided that more important information might be gained by determining whether there were any differences in design between buildings owned by members of the upper class with those belonging to the lower class², and also identifying similarities between buildings constructed by members of the same class. Therefore my investigation also set out to compare the design of the buildings within the same period to assess whether it was possible to discern any differences or similarities. The use of ticket-of-leave labour on the post 1850s buildings allowed both the upper and lower classes to construct a wider range of buildings than had previously been possible in the pre-1850 period.

A discussion on 'class' is a difficult topic to address due to the complexity and confusion surrounding the distinction and the consideration that it is 'rude' or no longer 'relevant' to discuss the issue (Wurst and Fitts 1999,1). Regardless of what our modern views on this topic might be, it needs to be remembered

² See the definition of Class at the beginning of the thesis in Definitions.

that class was an extremely important concept in nineteenth century Britain. It organized British society into strictly defined divisions where everyone knew their place.

As the bulk of the settlers who came to Western Australia were from Britain, it seems reasonable to assume that they brought that class system with them. Indeed the foundation of the colony was established on the basis of land for capital and the use of the labouring class. Indentured servants, who would become the new settlement's labouring class, formed part of that capital. The realisation that class was important in the colony is reinforced by Georgiana Molloy, who settled at Augusta³ with her husband, Captain John Molloy in 1830. In a letter to a friend she commented on how lonely it was "without a female of your own rank to speak to" (Hasluck 2002, 135). Georgiana's father had been a 'gentleman', which meant that he did not have to work to earn a living. Both her mother's and her father's families were well connected. She was, in short, a member of the upper class. The man she married had a similar social status plus the additional caché of having fought and been wounded at the Battle of Waterloo (Hasluck 2002).

Both Wurst (1999, 7) and Orser and Fagan (1995, 204) consider that perhaps one of the reasons class has become a controversial topic is due to the fact that numerous definitions have been used to describe what class represents. Most of these definitions appear to revolve around the control of one group over another (Orser and Fagan 1995, 204). However individuals have the ability to change their class either through the acquisition of wealth, a job or education. Wurst contends that archaeologists once determined a person's class by using documentary evidence and then tested this evidence "by calculating the amount of money expended on items recovered from archaeological contexts" (Wurst 2006, 192). This approach has now changed to one where the emphasis is placed more on individualism and the process of

³ Augusta was a small settlement on the south coast of Western Australia that was settled in 1830. In 1830, it was extremely isolated from both Perth and Fremantle.

agency or how to find the individual in a set of artefacts. This unfortunately blurs the line between class and status (Wurst 2006, 193). Status on the other hand is a concept where people of different backgrounds (and classes) can come together as a group, drawn by a similar interest such as membership of a club, society or government committee.

The research involved in this thesis has required several methodological approaches, the two main ones being documentary research and the physical examination of buildings. The extensive documentary research covered six main areas:

1. Primary documents written by the settlers
2. British parliamentary papers and reports
3. British military documents
4. Primary documents relating to the Convict Establishment
5. Secondary documents relating to the historical development of Western Australia and buildings in the State and also the development of houses in Britain
6. Secondary material relating to the development of the British penal system.

The documents written by the settlers included such items as letters, diaries, ledger books, plans, sketches and photographs. This material provided information on settler activity between 1829 and 1880 as well as insights into their thoughts and opinions of colonial society. The British parliamentary papers provided detailed information on the Convict Establishment at Fremantle which included the reports written by the governors of the day and the men employed at the Convict Establishment, as well as information on changes to the British penal system, convict discipline, the transportation of convicts and the construction of new prisons in England. The British military

documents were specifically related to the Royal Engineers and the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners and were mainly confined to the Muster Rolls. The documents relating to the Convict Establishment represent letters and reports written by the Comptroller General of the Convict Establishment to the Colonial Secretary and letters written by the Colonial Secretary on behalf of the Governor. Despatches from the various Colonial governors to the British Secretary to the Colonies and vice versa were also consulted. Reports from the commander of the Royal Engineers in the Convict Establishment to the Colonial Secretary were also examined. The secondary material provided additional information about Western Australian history, the development of the English house and traditional methods of construction. Material relating to the development and change in the British penal system and how this affected convict transportation during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was also consulted.

The physical examination of the buildings entailed looking at the form of the buildings, the materials used in their construction and the context in which the buildings sat. As I am an archaeologist and not an architect, I assessed the buildings from an archaeological point of view. It should be noted that the buildings were surveyed and no excavation work was carried out as this was considered to be invasive. By surveying the buildings I looked for evidence of constructional phases, the materials used in the construction of the walls, how the various components related to one another and the methods used to cut the wood for roofing members and other joinery. A close analysis of the timber was made to determine whether it was possible to discern how it had been cut as this could assist in assessing the age of the building or the tools used to manufacture the timber. Therefore, evidence left by the marks of a pit-saw, an adze or a mechanical saw was sought. The manner in which the joinery was assembled was examined, as this was one possible way of determining the competency of the carpenter.

The building plan had the potential to provide clues on how the building was used when originally constructed, so any evidence of changes or additions in

the layout of a building was carefully identified. The room arrangements could also provide insights into how the original occupants utilised the spaces. As my study was specifically trying to identify evidence of the original owners, no attempt was made to evaluate physical information about changes that were carried out after the original owner had either died or sold the property (apart from acknowledging that these changes had occurred).

The location of the buildings or their context was also important, particularly in relation to the buildings in the farming complexes (most of the houses had lost their original context). It was possible that this information could tell me something about how the original owners viewed their environment or perhaps the image that they were trying to project.

All of these ways of examining the buildings can also be carried out by an architect. Indeed Schuller (2002) points out that this method of analysis is not new. It has been used in Europe for many centuries, by architects or by people with an architectural background. The term he uses for this method of analysis is building archaeology (Schuller 2002). This method of analysis attempts to treat a building as the sum made up of its various component parts that have all been inserted by a person or persons. By assessing a building in this manner, it might be possible to 'find' the individual responsible for the work of one particular component or also in the whole building. This concept of the evidence of individual activity in the production of an object or the 'absent presence' as Hall and Silliman (2006, 9) refer to it, is called 'agency' by archaeologists.

Historical archaeology, which is a branch of archaeology, explores the human past by examining historical documents as well as their material remains. In general, articles made by humans are commonly thought of as being small moveable objects such as agricultural items, plates, bottles, cutlery and all those small items that humans use during the course of their daily lives. Archaeologists refer to these objects as 'material culture'. This term has been given a variety of definitions over the years. One of these, which I think is

relevant to this study, is that “Material culture is that segment of man’s physical environment which is purposefully shaped by him according to culturally dictated plans” (Schlereth 1985, 4). The concept of material culture and its relevance to buildings and this study will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter.

1.2 Thesis Outline

The following chapter (2) discusses the theoretical framework used in this thesis together with a more detailed outline of the methodological approach employed in the study of the buildings that were chosen for the comparative analysis. Traditionally, the first main chapter in a thesis contains a review of relevant literature, but this chapter only contains a review of the literature relevant to architectural studies and how these relate to the archaeological methods that I have applied. The review on convict studies occurs in a later chapter that specifically discusses the convict system in Western Australia. Chapter 3 provides background information on the foundation of Western Australia, or the Swan River Colony as it was originally called, and discusses the development of English house design and traditional building techniques and the relevance of these two topics to the houses constructed by the settlers before 1850. Chapter 4 examines the types of houses that were built by the colonists before 1850 and the application of British vernacular building traditions to these houses. In addition it discusses the design of the houses in relation to the development of the English house.

Chapter 5 documents the convict transportation system and the changes that occurred in the British penal system during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It analyses how these changes led to the creation of a convict disciplinary system that differed to that which had been present in the eastern Australian colonies, how it affected the types of convict sent to Western Australia and how Western Australia benefitted from these changes. It also charts the development of the Royal Engineers and the Corps of

Sappers and Miners who became an integral component in the operation of the convict system in Western Australia.

Chapter 6 deals with how the convict system operated in Western Australia. The chapter opens with a literature review on the convict studies that have been completed to date, where my research fits within these studies and how it expands our understanding of the Western Australian system. I then provide statistical information on the population of Western Australia in the late 1840s and discuss the estimated number of 'mechanics' who were already in the colony before the arrival of the convicts in 1850. How the convicts received their vocational training following their arrival is explained and this is followed by a discussion on how the convicts were released for employment in the private sector before the completion of their prison sentence.

Chapter 7 details how the convicts were utilized in the colony's public works program and how this employment ultimately benefitted the private sector and enabled the growth of Western Australia's building industry. The evidence of the convicts' contribution to Western Australia's built environment is presented in this chapter.

Chapter 8 compares a group of buildings constructed before 1850 with a group constructed after 1850 that were identified as having had some form of convict involvement in their construction. Chapter 9 pulls together the information that was presented in the previous chapters and draws conclusions from the evidence presented on the contribution that the convicts made to Western Australia's colonial built environment between 1850 and 1880.

2.0 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

even the smallest house, built and dwelt in by a household of the most humble status and of the most limited economic means, is a statement about the world, and a chosen way of living in it

Johnson 2010, 12

Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methodological and theoretical frameworks that have been used in this thesis. In particular, it will outline why this methodology was chosen to analyse the two groups of buildings comprising the comparative analysis was considered to be the most appropriate. It commences with an outline of the methodological approach, followed by a discussion of the theoretical frameworks that are used by archaeologists when studying material culture. The final part of this chapter covers the manner in which architects and archaeologists examine buildings and concludes with a review of architectural texts that discuss the development of Western Australian architecture.

2.1 Methodological Approach

I decided that the method that could potentially answer my four thesis questions was a comparative analysis between buildings constructed before 1850 and those constructed after 1850. I carried out an extensive documentary search for buildings constructed before 1850. This information was obtained from the Heritage Council of Western Australia's database, Municipal Inventories that were produced by the various local governments in Western Australia, as well as information provided by members of the public. This research generated a list of 82 buildings. Once the list was developed it was checked to determine whether the buildings were still standing and if the documentary evidence regarding construction dates and materials used in the

construction of the buildings was correct. I also decided to delete buildings from the list where all that remained of them was the footprint or just a few courses of walling, as I considered that buildings in this state would not be able to provide much information on building construction techniques. These refinements reduced the list of buildings for consideration to 55. The list was further refined by investigating the integrity and authenticity of the building, that is, the intactness of the original fabric and originality of design. Many of these early buildings either had extensions added to them over the years or they had become encapsulated in the later additions. If a building had been extended but the original fabric and layout of the pre 1850 construction could still readily be discerned, it was retained in the list of pre 1850 buildings. This further refinement left a total of 29 buildings that could potentially be examined.

However this list was heavily skewed in favour of buildings that had been constructed from more durable materials such as stone and brick. The mix of materials used in the 29 buildings included: 11 brick, 9 stone, 3 rammed earth, 3 wattle and daub and 3 timber buildings. Documentary research indicated that the predominance of brick and stone buildings in this list represented an artificial bias, as wattle and daub and rammed earth buildings had been used by many of the early settlers but did not survive in large numbers to modern times. Timber buildings were often brought into the colony, but local timber was often used, particularly in the construction of farm buildings. As with the wattle and daub and rammed earth buildings, timber also had a poor survival rate.

It was therefore decided to choose two representative examples from each group. Problems soon arose when trying to find two examples of buildings constructed using wattle and daub and timber. From the three wattle and daub buildings identified it was only possible to obtain permission to visit one. The remaining building contained such a small section of wattle and daub walling that it was omitted from the comparative section, although it has been referred to in Chapter 4. Of the three timber buildings, two were

originally constructed as residences while the third was a farm building so this was deleted from the list. Of the remaining two buildings only one had retained good levels of integrity and authenticity and it was included in the list for detailed analysis. For the study a total of eleven buildings were examined nine were subsequently chosen as being suitable for inclusion in the comparative analysis. These nine pre 1850 buildings were designated as Group 1.

Buildings constructed after 1850, which represented the convict phase (1850 to 1880), were designated Group 2. The cut-off date of 1880 was chosen as it represented thirty years of convict involvement in Western Australia, but more specifically the State changed markedly during the 1880s, driven by gold discoveries and a burgeoning timber industry. The gold finally brought wealth that enabled the government to considerably expand its public works program, which included the development of railways. The expansion of the railways and the timber industry went hand in hand as timber sleepers were required for the government's railway expansion program, which was funded by the gold discoveries. In addition, the gold discoveries led to a huge influx of new migrants. In 1870 the State's⁴ population was 25,135 (vanden Drieson 1986, 37) and by 1881 it had risen to only 29,708 but by 1891 it had reached 49,782 (Gregory and Gothard 2009, 713). Together with prospectors and investors, the potential profits from gold attracted a wide range of people that also included architects and skilled mechanics. These people brought new ideas and the traditional construction methods that had previously dominated the building industry were gradually displaced by new methods and mechanization.

⁴ Western Australia was established as a British Crown Colony under the control of a governor appointed by the British government. The governor appointed a Legislative Council composed of 22 members largely drawn from the colony's mercantile and landed elite. Constitutional change came in 1870 when the colonists were permitted to elect two-thirds of the Council. Statehood came in 1890 when the colony was granted responsible government by Britain (De Garis 1981; Gregory and Gothard 2009, 663).

The buildings in Group 2 were chosen after extensive research indicated the probable contribution of either ticket-of-leave men or expirees in their construction. This information was obtained from two sources: The Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Register (the Register)⁵ and a publication by Erickson and O'Mara, *Convicts in Western Australia 1850 – 1887* (1994). Rica Erickson⁶ and a number of assistants compiled the Register during the 1980s from information obtained from various ticket-of-leave registers held in the State Records Office of Western Australia. This Register supplied the names of employers of ticket-of-leave men, the district (or property) where the work was being done and the type of work being undertaken by the ticket-of-leave man together with the date of employment. In the publication by Erickson and O'Mara the authors collated the names of convicts (at least 99%) sent to Western Australia between 1850 and 1868 together with the names of those who were reconvicted and colonial convictions. Erickson and O'Mara's publication carried such details as the convict's date of birth, date and place of conviction, length of conviction and crime, occupation, date of arrival in Western Australia, the ship he arrived on, religion, marital status, literacy status and the dates he gained his ticket-of-leave, certificate of pardon, certificate of freedom and the expiry of his sentence.

The information obtained from the Register provided the names of colonists who employed ticket-of-leave men, where the men were employed and, after 1860, the task carried out by the employee. Information about expirees was also obtained from this Register, as they were also employers of ticket-of-leave men. Details obtained from this Register were crosschecked against Erickson and O'Mara (1994) to provide information about dates of ticket-of-leave, conditional pardons and when the prisoners' sentences expired. The

⁵ Held in Battye Library, which is part of the State Library of Western Australia and holds documents and publications that relate specifically to the history of Western Australia.

⁶ Rica Erickson became interested in the history of her local area, which was in the Toodyay – Bolgart area. During the 1970s she researched and wrote a number of books on early families in Toodyay and later went on to compile the four volume, *Biographical Dictionary of Western Australians* that was published in 1988 and in 1994, together with Gillian O'Mara, she co-authored a biographical dictionary of convicts in Western Australia. References to the dictionaries can be found in the References cited in this thesis.

publication also contributed particulars on a convict's occupation on his arrival in Western Australia. This particular piece of information was important as it proved to be a key component in determining where the convicts acquired their trade skills. This factor is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

Using the data from these sources, I created a database of employers who had engaged ticket-of-leave men specifically to carry out tasks related to the building industry such as bricklaying, brickmaking, building, carpentry and masonry. Only these skills were chosen as it was considered that the physical evidence relating to these tasks would still exist, but that of a thatcher, painter or plasterer had probably disappeared. Blacksmithing was also excluded as it was considered to cover such a broad range of objects and, with the exception of nails, few of these objects were used in the building fabric.

Identifying buildings that ticket-of-leave men or ex-convicts had helped construct proved to be more difficult and time consuming than anticipated, so the final list of buildings contained fewer numbers than expected. Farming properties were the easiest places to identify, as the name of the place had often remained unchanged since the early colonial days. These properties also provided large groupings of buildings that were generally constructed around the same time. Some retained the original homestead and these provided a comparison for buildings in Group 1. However some of the homesteads that belonged to the post 1850 period had been extensively modified and so were excluded from the analysis. The lack of residential buildings for the post 1850s period was unfortunate, as it had been hoped to compare changes in residential design between the two periods.

Group 1 (1829 – 1849)	Group 2 (1850 – 1880)
<p><u>Hall's Cottage</u> (c.1832) – Henry Hall: stone</p> <p><u>'Gwambygine'</u>, Homestead (c.1836) – Rev. John Wittenoom: rammed earth</p> <p><u>Tranby House</u> (1839) – Joseph Hardey: brick</p> <p><u>'Yangedine'</u>: First Homestead (c.1842) - possibly John F. Smith: brick</p> <p><u>'Boyadine'</u> Homestead (c.1843) - Henry de Burgh: rammed earth</p> <p><u>St. Nicholas Church</u> (c.1844) – not known: weatherboards</p> <p><u>Kojanup Barracks</u> (1845) - 51st Regiment: stone</p> <p><u>'Berkshire Valley'</u>: First Homestead (c.1847) - brick</p> <p><u>'Berkshire Valley'</u>: Mill (c.1847) – James Clinch: stone and brick</p>	<p><u>'Walebing'</u>: Kitchen & Stores, Bulk Store, Wool Shed/Mill & Store, Stables, Cart Shed & Dairy (1850s) - Anthony O'Grady Lefroy: stone</p> <p><u>'Berkshire Valley'</u>: Manager's House (1856); Gate House & Entry Block (1867); Shearing Shed (1869); Bridge (1869); Garden Walls (1860s) - James Clinch: brick; Stables (1867) – James Clinch: cob, mud brick and stone</p> <p><u>'Bishop Hale's House</u> (1860) – Bishop Matthew Hale: brick</p> <p><u>'Glentromie'</u>: Shearing Shed, Stables, Barn, Henry's House (1860s) – Donald MacPherson: brick</p> <p><u>'Martinup'</u>: Men's Quarters (c.1860); Wool Barn (1863); Homestead (1860s); Blacksmith's Shop (1860s); Meat Room (1860s) – Edward Treasure: brick; Shearing Shed (1879) - Edward Treasure: stone</p> <p><u>'Yangedine'</u>: Shearing Shed (1865); Quarters (1860s); Stables (1876); Blacksmith's Shop (1870s) – John Taylor: brick</p>

Table 2. 1 Buildings that were used in the comparative analysis

The above table (Table 2.1) shows the two separate groups and the buildings used in the comparative analysis. Under the individual Group headings it lists the names of the building or farming property, the date of construction, the owner's name and the type of material used in the construction.

When comparing Group 1 with Group 2 three key questions were considered:

1. Did the employment of convicts lead to changes in construction methods?
2. Is it possible to see greater levels of competency in buildings constructed by convicts?
3. Did the employment of convicts influence building design?

To provide the necessary information to answer these questions all of the buildings listed in Table 2.1 were visited and the buildings were carefully examined to determine the construction methods as well as the authenticity of materials used in the construction. Authenticity, which refers to the originality of the material, was considered to be extremely important, as original material had the potential to display the traditional construction methods or the techniques acquired during vocational training. As timberwork has often been replaced in old buildings, particular attention was paid to the joinery used in the door and window frames and the roofing timbers to ensure their authenticity. An extensive photographic record⁷ was made of all the buildings and, in instances where no measured drawings were available, the buildings were measured and plans produced. Permission to use the plans of buildings that had already been measured and drawn was obtained from the copyright holders (Appendix 6). Finally, documentary material relating to the owners of the buildings and when the buildings were constructed was also researched. This documentary information only covers the period of construction and does not contain a detailed history of the building from its construction date to the present day. As many of these buildings have either been assessed by the Heritage Council of Western Australia, the National Trust of Australia (WA), or had conservation plans prepared for them, it was considered unnecessary to duplicate this type of detailed research for each of the buildings as the later history was not

⁷ These photographs were to assist in the later analysis of the buildings and were not taken for archival purposes.

necessarily relevant to the current discussion. The histories and physical descriptions of the buildings in both groups have been placed in Appendix 5.

The information obtained from the comparison of these two groups and whether the analysis answered the three questions posed above, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Although this thesis discusses how the convict system operated in Western Australia, it specifically examines how this system enabled untrained convicts to acquire a trade and when they were released with their tickets-of-leave to find gainful employment in the building industry. I wanted to know if there were any noticeable changes between buildings constructed before the arrival of convicts and those specifically constructed by convicts. Therefore a large part of this study was devoted to an examination of buildings constructed between 1829 and 1880. To assist in the examination of these buildings a range of theories or concepts were studied to determine the best way of comparing these two groups of buildings.

As most of the buildings in my comparative analysis (and also those constructed by the settlers before 1850), are vernacular in style, I considered that it would be helpful to begin the discussion with a definition of vernacular building. After this, I will explore the various types of architectural studies that have been used to analyse buildings before finishing with a review of the architectural texts that have been completed to date on Western Australian architecture. Following on from the outline on architectural studies, I examine the archaeological theories that I considered most appropriate for the assessment of the buildings in my comparative analysis and why I decided to use an archaeological methodology to assess the buildings in Groups 1 and 2.

Architectural Studies

The Swan River Settlement was founded in much the same way as the convict settlement in Sydney, that is, they were both colonies that were far removed from the mother country and little or no preparations had been made before the settlers arrived. Therefore the types of buildings that were constructed on arrival tended to be fairly simple and plain, using materials that came readily to hand. Once the colonists had become established larger buildings would follow. An examination of images of early Perth and Sydney certainly indicated that small, simple dwellings were quickly constructed. Larger buildings soon began to appear but the simple, vernacular dwellings persisted throughout the years of colonial settlement and certainly in the case of Western Australia, the construction of vernacular buildings in newly established districts across the State persisted through the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century.⁸

Vernacular Buildings

A large percentage of architectural studies that examine architectural development in Australia tend to gloss over these first, vernacular European dwellings, and move on to assess the aesthetic and stylistic potential of the more substantial private buildings that were constructed by the wealthier convicts or the public buildings (Broadbent 1997; Dupain 1974; Freeland 1974; Irving 1985; Wilson 1975). The simple or vernacular buildings are often ignored. Western Australia did not develop as quickly as the eastern colonies and this can be seen in the architecture, where the simple vernacular dwellings constructed during the colonists' first years of occupancy would be retained for a much longer period than by their eastern counterparts (Broadbent 1997; Irving 1985).

⁸ I am aware of the persistence of vernacular building techniques due to my years of experience examining buildings to determine their cultural heritage significance. This work was undertaken for the National Trust of Australia (WA), the Heritage Council of Western Australia and for individuals requiring conservation plans for their heritage buildings.

The term 'vernacular architecture' has been given a variety of definitions over the years. Upton, who has extensively studied vernacular buildings in America, noted that the descriptor was originally coined to refer to traditional buildings of the pre-industrial era which were not consciously designed (Upton 1983, 262). The term has since become a catch-all phrase to denote the less pretentious buildings of the modern era (Upton 1983, 263). He also observed that as vernacular architecture tended to be a multi-disciplinary study he preferred to define vernacular architecture “not as a category but as an approach to architectural studies that complements more traditional architectural historical enquiries” (Upton 1983, 263).

Brunskill, who has completed numerous surveys of buildings in Britain, considered that the term meant a building that was “traditional rather than academic in its inspiration, which provides for the simple activities of ordinary people, their farms and their simple industrial enterprises” (Brunskill 1981, 24). Oliver (1997), a specialist in interpreting vernacular architecture, derives his definition through the use of linguistic analogy. In language studies, vernacular generally refers to the indigenous or native language. Therefore by extension, vernacular architecture could be considered as the local, regional or common form of building which can encompass a range of traditional techniques (Oliver 1997, xxi – xxii).

Closer to home, Freeland referred to the very early buildings constructed in colonial New South Wales as primitives, such as the sort that might be found “in the rural areas of the Grampians, the Midlands or the Cornish countryside of Home. Only the nature of the materials used gives it any individuality” (Freeland 1974, 12). The consistent meaning that comes forward through all of these definitions is that a vernacular building was designed by the person (or persons) who would inhabit or use the structure, and that it was constructed using traditional methods. However, the numerous studies that have been completed on British vernacular architecture indicate that these buildings were consciously designed, not unconsciously as Upton suggested (Cooper 2002; Dyer 1997; Johnson 2010; Mercer 1997; Mercer 1975). So it

might be more apt to define vernacular architecture as ordinary buildings designed by skilled craftsmen using traditional building techniques.

Architectural Studies using a multi-disciplinary approach

To date, studies in Australian architectural history, and in particular on vernacular buildings, have largely been limited to an "aesthetic/formalist interpretation" (Lawrence 1983, 19) that has enabled the development of typologies. These typologies are generally arranged on stylistic terms that relate to specific date ranges. However, both Lawrence (1983) and Johnson (1993) argue that the typological approach is too simplistic as it ignores the more complex issues of the meanings behind architectural forms. In addition, the aesthetic/formalistic approach is not particularly useful when assessing vernacular buildings for, if they do not display any particular style, it is difficult to estimate when they might have been constructed unless the methods of construction and fine details are closely examined.

In architectural studies, style is the most commonly used medium to assess the chronological development of buildings and also their placement within a social hierarchy. In Australia, the stylistic date ranges from the settlement of NSW in 1788 to Federation in 1901 generally span periods of approximately fifty years; and are predicated on the architectural and social influences that Britain experienced during the Georgian and Victorian periods of British history, that is from the late eighteenth century to nearly the end of the nineteenth century. Both of these periods are applicable to the study time frame for this thesis, which examines buildings constructed between 1829 and 1880. The various forces at work in British society during these periods were expressed stylistically in public buildings and architecturally designed buildings, but not in vernacular buildings. As most of the buildings examined in this study are vernacular, assessing the buildings from a purely stylistic point of view would reveal little about the societal processes at work as the form of these buildings was not driven by style, but function and implicit

ideological principles. Therefore a different methodological approach was required for the buildings examined in this study.

Overseas, typological studies of architecture have gradually given way to research that explores such topics as spatial relationships or the cultural meanings of buildings. These studies examine not only the form of the building, but the meanings that were implicit in the minds of the designers when the building was constructed. In these studies, architecture is treated as a component of a cultural system (Alcock 1994; Deetz 1977; 1988; Johnson 1990; Leone 1988; Locock 1994; Pearson and Richards 1994), which therefore enables one to study vernacular buildings as a physical manifestation of a cultural system; the building in all its entirety is examined, not just its stylistic features. Upton observed that the study of vernacular buildings had, by the 1970s, become a multi-disciplinary exercise that utilised people with a range of skills such as art and architectural historians, social historians, folklorists, anthropologists, historical and cultural geographers and archaeologists to name a few. He considered that it was the way in which these buildings were studied that set them apart from their more refined or designed cousins (Upton 1983, 263).

In Australia, a multi-disciplinary approach has rarely been used for standing structures (Lawrence 1990), although heritage assessments of buildings commonly utilize the skills of an historian and an architect. In general archaeologists spend a lot of time excavating the ruins of houses or uncovering the outlines of long forgotten buildings with much of their post-excavation energies spent on cataloguing and assessing the smaller artefacts. This focus on smaller artefacts has now begun to shift with some archaeologists investigating the types of materials and methods used to construct buildings, together with an examination of room arrangements to determine usage patterns (Lawrence 2000; Karskens 2003). The interpretation of some of the houses at Dolly's Creek by Lawrence enabled her to observe that despite the fact that most of the miners lived in tents, efforts were made to make the habitations comfortable and their finishing

touches were in keeping with the standards that were held by those who lived in a more permanent dwelling. For example, some of the inhabitants built a more durable dwelling by using stones for the lower portion of the walls with a timber frame and possibly calico above (Lawrence 2000, 121). As these people lived during the Victorian era, the use of whitening on a fireplace hearth or wallpaper on a wall was a reflection of what was considered appropriate behaviour in Victorian society (Lawrence 2000).

Burke's (1999) study on buildings in the small city of Armidale in NSW explored the relationship between style, identity and ideology against the backdrop of capitalism. It explored the differences between buildings constructed by wealthy merchants and pastoralists with the more lowly buildings that were built by people who had considerably less wealth. Because she wanted to compare the types of buildings utilised by both the employer and the employee, her study included residences, business premises, schools and clubs. One of the outcomes that Burke determined was that style was "embedded in the relationships between individuals and groups, and the ongoing social comparison these relationships entail" (Burke 1999, 230). This type of study illustrates the potential of exploring a variety of topics on why buildings look the way they do, rather than rigidly adhering to a stylistic analysis. Here the style of the building forms part of the analysis, but the reasons behind the usage of that style are also examined and then compared with historical data.

As discussed previously, the ways in which archaeologists examine cultures has evolved and changed over the years so that there are now many theoretical ways of interpreting artefacts (objects produced or manufactured by humans) and the societies that produced them. One concept in particular that archaeologists have grappled with is the presence of individualism or agency in the creation of an artefact. During the 1960s, archaeologists treated artefacts as passive reflections of a society; the question of agency could therefore be ignored. They argued that they were not interested in the individual but the system that existed behind the individual (Hodder and

Hutson 2003). However by the 1980s, archaeological theory had moved away from this concept and had begun to consider artefacts not as passive elements in a society but as active components in that society; artefacts could shape and change a society (Hodder and Hutson 2003).

During the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists began to develop a range of theoretical methods to provide better interpretive models for understanding the cultures and societies they investigated. What these different theories all had in common was the premise that artefacts were a material expression of a culture and not simply data that should be just counted and then tabulated. As houses are objects that represent something consciously made by humans they must therefore be part of a particular society's material culture. But are they artefacts? Not all archaeologists are in agreement. Deetz defined material culture as "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behaviour" (Deetz 1977, 24). To Deetz all artefacts therefore had the potential to be representatives of a particular society's material culture, including such disparate items as houses, meat cuts or even the scientific breeding of animals. Orser and Fagan (1995) on the other hand considered that although houses were composed of numerous items that are artefacts, such as nails, floor boards, roof tiles and glass, they were too large to be thought of as artefacts. Instead they preferred to think of houses as part of the material culture of a society (Orser and Fagan 1995, 72 - 73). Hillier and Hanson proposed that houses were unique artefacts for, although they were shaped by a society, they had the ability to impose restraints on subsequent social action (Locock 1994, 9).

An early American study that attempted to determine reasons for variability (or agency) in house design was Glassie's study of nearly one hundred houses in Middle Virginia that were built during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Glassie 1975). Using a structural approach, he determined that the builders used a basic set of geometric components (based around a square), which were manipulated to produce a variety of room arrangements. Glassie likened this approach to a grammatical system,

as the manner in which the builder manipulated the units was unconsciously applied to rules that were implicit to the society in which he lived. The study revealed that anomalies in house forms were expressions of individualism but that these expressions fell within cultural parameters that defined that society.

Despite the fact that Glassie's study enabled a greater understanding of Middle Virginian houses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and influenced the work of many other archaeologists, it did not provide any insights into what was happening in other areas of Virginia at the same time; nor did it explain why that particular house form disappeared. Years later Leone added further to Glassie's observations by concluding that the house forms were an unconscious reflection of the builder's response to the external environment and the political events that had occurred during that period (Leone 1982).

Australian Architectural Studies

Unlike Britain, or the United States, Australia has produced only a few studies aimed specifically at vernacular buildings, such as Bell (1984), Green (1989), Lawrence (1990) and Lewis (1977). The bulk of the studies on Australian architecture have concentrated on examining buildings that can generally be assigned to a specific style, so when Freeland (1974) wrote his history of Australian Architecture he ignored the first brick buildings erected by the convicts in Sydney, considering them to be rough and unlettered. It is more than likely that these rough buildings were constructed using traditional techniques to a design that served a specific purpose, to provide permanent accommodation for settlers currently occupying temporary quarters.

Apperley et al's work (1989) on indentifying Australian architecture began with the Old Colonial Period (1788 – c.1840), but contained examples of buildings that were considered to be exemplars of either the Georgian,

Regency, Grecian or Gothic styles. The simpler vernacular buildings that sprang up in the early years of settlement were not mentioned. Broadbent's first chapter on Australian colonial houses opened with the rather startling comment that "Domestic architecture in Australia began with the first permanent house for the first governor" (Broadbent 1997, 1). In this instance Broadbent was referring to Governor Philip's House in Sydney. The statement neatly eliminated all the smaller, vernacular dwellings that had been erected before this building was constructed in 1790.

However, those first dwellings erected by settlers following their arrival in a new colony are extremely important as they provide information about the basic fundamentals of traditional building techniques, together with the design that was considered to be most appropriate for the frontier conditions that all new settlers found themselves in. Like the Western Australian colonists, the Sydney colonists fell back on vernacular building techniques that were commonly used in Britain at the time of their departure. As can be seen from the various architectural studies, those who had the means soon replaced their vernacular buildings and constructed more refined buildings. In the case of Western Australia, the simpler cottages lasted for a considerably longer period and were not swept away by up-grades until after the arrival of the convicts. This retention rate was largely due to a lack of capital and labour. Changes were far more rapid in the eastern colonies because the settlers were able to take advantage of convict labour and the capital that flowed into the colony due to the presence of the convicts.

One of the most influential typological studies produced in Australia was an architectural styles manual completed by architects Apperly, Irving and Reynolds (1989). This guide arose out of a desire to standardise the terminology used when describing architectural styles. However, whilst the guide might be appropriate to architectural development on the east coast of Australia, its relevance to the chronological development of Western Australian architecture has often been questioned (Hocking and Bush 1995). The study completed by Hocking and Bush tested the appropriateness of the

stylistic terms and chronological development used by Apperly et al., on Western Australian architecture. The findings indicated that there was a time lag between stylistic development on the east coast and that on the west. The research was originally intended as a pilot study and was therefore limited to the south-west region of the state. However, no further work has appeared on this topic and discussions centred on the possible reasons for the time lag remain unresolved.

A possible outcome of this lack of research has seen Apperley et al's stylistic guide adopted by the State government agency responsible for the protection of built heritage in Western Australia and consequently heritage professionals use the book as the architectural style manual for the state (Apperley et al., 1989). The rigid adherence to the styles listed in the book has caused considerable difficulties over the years, as many buildings, in particular vernacular buildings, just do not fit within the style parameters described. It is likely that the authors of this work would be dismayed to discover that their efforts to define style in Australian architecture has led to this rather slavish adherence to their styles guide.

Western Australian Architectural Studies

As mentioned in Chapter 1, an appreciation for pre World War I architecture appears to have developed in Western Australia during the 1960s when a very limited number of studies were produced on the subject. The bulk of these, like the convict studies, were student theses, although there were two published works (Wright, 1960; Oldham, 1961). As stated earlier, Ray and John Oldham's book was a seminal piece that focused on colonial buildings constructed between 1829 and 1890. In their discussion on colonial buildings they remarked that the accepted method of classifying buildings was through style and this was the approach that they had decided to use. They had found that after examining a large number of colonial buildings that most of them fell within distinctive groupings that correlated well with the State's historical

development (Oldham and Oldham 1961, 29 – 30). Their decision to allocate buildings to a particular style continues today. The analysis of buildings in Western Australia, and indeed for the rest of Australia, concerns itself largely with the aesthetic and stylistic aspects of a building while the potential for their being more to a building than just its appearance is not often articulated.

Building on this work, architectural departments at both the University of Western Australia and the West Australian Institute of Technology⁹ soon displayed an interest in the state's colonial architecture and a number of undergraduate studies were produced on this topic. Such studies included those produced by Deas and Collett (1969/70) on the colonial buildings in Blandstown; Sanson, Hammond and Gillett's (1971) study of early colonial buildings in the Busselton district and Bourke and Connor's (1971) study of colonial buildings in Guildford. All three studies concentrated on producing plans for the buildings examined, taking photographs with a limited discussion on who constructed the buildings and what they might have to say about the cultural values of the people that built them or who might have altered them at a later stage. Practising architects interested in conserving Western Australia's architectural heritage also published articles, such as Molyneux's (1972; 1972a) detailed study of Thomas Peel's farm near Pinjarra. The sesquicentenary celebrations saw the production of an exhibition on the history of government buildings that was later developed into an article by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (WA Chapter) (1983) and the publication of a significant book edited by Pitt Morison and White (1979). The various chapters in this book discussed not only the development of Western Australian architecture but also the growth of town planning.

Pitt Morison's chapter discussed the historical development of the State from its foundation until the beginning of World War 2 with particular reference to the metropolitan region. Although she did not discuss in great detail the architectural development of the State, she none-the-less noted that much of

⁹ Now Curtin University

the state's building development occurred in the two decades following 1850. She put this down to the availability of trained mechanics, labour and better building materials that all led to a greater scope in building design. At no time did she consider that the advancement of the colony's architecture was in any way due to the presence of the convicts, the Royal Engineers or the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners (Pitt Morison 1979).

Campbell's chapter on architecture in Western Australia between 1851 and 1880 was a general review of buildings erected in the colony during this period. He remarked on the arrival of the convicts as their appearance necessitated the construction of Fremantle Prison and the other buildings that comprised the Convict Establishment. Campbell considered that these buildings "demonstrate a remarkable technical skill in the use of local materials, and display strong and confident handling of form, space and structure" (Campbell 1979, 94). He attributed the growth in the public works sector to the Convict Establishment, but failed to mention that this Establishment was run by Royal Engineers who were responsible for the design work and, in all likelihood, the technical skill displayed in the buildings erected not only at Fremantle but throughout the colony. However he did attribute the growth in the building sector to the arrival of the convicts who provided the labour force to erect the many buildings that were constructed during this period. For Campbell, the only role that the convicts played was as a labour force. Despite his observations that buildings during this period were technically superior to those constructed before 1850, he offered no analysis of who might have been responsible for the improvements.

During the 1980s, a growing awareness of the value of heritage buildings saw the development of a conservation industry, which strove to protect historic buildings through conservation, rehabilitation, adaptation and re-use. A direct result of the building conservation movement was the production of conservation reports detailing the chronological development of a building through stylistic analysis and documentary research. Unfortunately the scope of works for these reports did not permit a detailed analysis of both

fabric and documentary evidence that might have led to theoretical explorations into the social meanings behind building design, the evolution of building forms or the spatial relationship between rooms or buildings. Similar time constraints also applied to assessments undertaken for either the National Trust of Australia (WA) or the Heritage Council of Western Australia.

The production of articles relating to Western Australian buildings and practices began to decline during the 1990s, despite the fact that work for heritage practitioners expanded during this period. Boersma's (1995) architectural honours dissertation was one of the first studies to investigate vernacular buildings during this period. Although limited to the south-west area of the state, his research examined the manner in which vernacular buildings were constructed, the various materials used and the distribution of these materials in his test area. In this study no attempt was made to try to attribute any particular style to the buildings, instead it examined the various building materials and their associated construction techniques. Despite the fact that no attempt was made to analyse possible social meanings in the utilisation of the various building materials or building designs, Boersma's typological study was a departure from the usual stylistic analysis and, if expanded, has the potential to provide considerable information on building practices within the state when paired with historical and archaeological information.

Heritage conservation of the built environment in Western Australia came of age in 1990 with the passing of the *Heritage Act of Western Australia 1990* and this led to the conservation of a number of buildings. Before conservation work could commence conservation plans had to be produced in order to inform the architects and builders about how a building developed and which components were integral to maintaining the building's cultural heritage significance. Although thousands of plans have been produced on individual buildings or properties, the amount of academic research into the development of Western Australian architecture has languished.

General studies on the development of architecture in the state have produced only minimal comments about convicts and in all cases it is restricted to their use on government buildings such as the Perth Town Hall or Government House. No research has investigated the influence of convicts on Western Australia's built heritage or speculated as to whether their presence in the colony enabled more buildings to be erected. However, there has also been minimal or little research on the activities of free builders or the various tradesmen involved in the Western Australian building industry.

The decline in architectural history research in Western Australia has meant that no one has moved on to the types of analytical research that some architects, but admittedly mostly archaeologists, are currently exploring overseas on the social meanings of buildings, that is where buildings are examined as a reflection of the culture that constructed them and how they in turn might have influenced the culture that produced them. The potential for a building to reveal implicit information about the society or person that constructed it cannot be obtained solely through stylistic analyses.

Archaeological Theories

As an archaeologist who generally examines standing structures rather than excavating the ruins of a building or other archaeological deposits, I wanted to apply some of the theoretical ideas that have become current in archaeological thinking to the buildings in my comparative analysis. What needs to be understood from the outset is that archaeologists use a range of theories to interpret the data recovered from archaeological sites, and that all of these theories are centred on interpreting objects from the past, in the present. Therefore there can be more than one way of interpreting what an object is or what it might have been used for.

It is not the intention here to explain at length the various theoretical streams that are used by archaeologists to examine the past or to comment on their

effectiveness. I propose referring to three theoretical streams, two of which have gained popularity in recent archaeological studies and then discuss which stream I considered to be the most applicable to an examination of standing structures. The application of this theoretical concept to the buildings that were used in my comparative analysis (Chapter 8) will then be discussed.

Archaeologists whose work might involve investigating hunter gatherer societies or perhaps people living in Iron Age Europe can only interpret these societies through one stream of evidence, the objects that these people left behind. Archaeologists studying societies that have written texts (generally referred to as historical archaeologists) also have access to documents. Therefore historical archaeologists are able to draw on two components to provide them with information about the place or period that they are investigating and the society that produced them, documentary and archaeological evidence. Both components provide a framework to analyse a place or period. In Australia, historical archaeology covers the post-colonial period up to the present day. One of the commonest ways of using the two sources is by testing the archaeological material against the documentary evidence; does the archaeology confirm what was written? However, this method provides a minimalist interpretation of past lives and allows no room for interpreting any anomalies or 'dissonances' between the two types of evidence (Galloway 2006, 42). Galloway observed that by examining these anomalies past activities and practices that were previously excluded from the documentary record could be revealed.

Leone (1988) first utilised this way of using documentary and archaeological evidence in his analysis of two, eighteenth century gardens in Annapolis, Maryland. He found that to truly appreciate the context of the gardens and the implicit meanings behind their design, he needed to understand the social and historical activities that were taking place at the time of the gardens' construction. Once he had placed the materials within their appropriate context the reason for the anomalies became clear. He proposed that the

two gardens that he examined were a display of wealth and privilege but also an attempt to display power at a time in American colonial society when the power of the wealthy elite was being eroded by the British (Leone 1988, 33). Leone later went further with this analysis by remarking that historical archaeologists needed to start considering the politics that were present at the time of the site's occupation and development (Leone 1995, 251). As Leone's work is based in the United States, much of the American archaeology of the eighteenth century onwards is centred on exploring the growth of capitalism and how this is reflected in the archaeological record. Leone noted that before the eighteenth century, American colonial society had been much more fluid due to the availability of land and that this type of society, while firmly fixed on making a profit, had not become the heavily stratified society that evolved in the eighteenth century onwards when wealth and power began to accumulate in the hands of a few (Leone 1995, 255). This understanding of what was happening in eighteenth century has gradually come to be regarded as the rise of capitalism where human labour is bought and sold, bargained over, cultivated and treated as a commodity (Leone 1999a, 5). This was also the period that saw the gradual rise of industrialization and the mass production of a wide range of goods with variable pricing scales enabling the participation of a consumer society at all levels. The study of this type of archaeological theme has come to be referred to as the archaeology of capitalism (Hall 1993; Johnson 1996; Leone 1995; Leone and Potter 1999; Wylie 1999).

In Britain, the type of theoretically-driven, archaeological studies that were used by North American archaeologists to study their eighteenth and nineteenth century history, such as the archaeology of capitalism, have developed much more slowly (Johnson (1999, 223). Some years later, Tarlow (2007, 2) conceded that British archaeologists are still trailing behind their North American counterparts. However Tarlow proposed that in Britain, between 1750 and 1850, one of the most distinctive aspects thrown up during this period was the concept of 'improvement' (Tarlow 2007, 10). She

considered that during this era Britain went through a period of self-enlightenment that was different to that which had previously existed in the medieval period when improvement was for the benefit of oneself and the divine benefits that it would bring in the afterlife. Tarlow's idea of improvement also largely coincides with the Georgian period (1715 – 1830), when the concept of individualism began to take root and was expressed in architecture and social habits (Deetz, 1988, 228; Johnson 2010, 179). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, this altered the design of houses from one where members of the household would congregate in the same room, with only minimal delineation between room usages.

The concept of improvement encompassed not only the improvement of oneself, but also a range of topics such as the development of new agricultural methods to increase output, improvements into how the poor were cared for, education and changes to the penal system. It was this movement that was the driving force that changed the English penal system and led to the development of penitentiaries and probably drove Sir George Grey and Lord Russell to strive for the improvement of the convict mind and their ability to earn a living. This had implications for Western Australia, as it was the convicts that passed through this new system who were sent to Western Australia.

The Mechanics' Institutes that were founded in the Australian colonies and in the various towns in Western Australia are also a product of the concept of improvement. The first Mechanics' Institute was formed in Perth in January 1851 (*Perth Gazette* 31 January 1851). Those who followed the tenets of improvement generally came from the wealthier classes and it was they who made efforts to improve the lot of the poor, under-privileged or uneducated; hence the development of poorhouses and the concept of bringing learning to the growing social group of skilled mechanics; the Mechanics' Institutes. After 1850, which is generally thought of as being the Victorian era,¹⁰ the concept

¹⁰ Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 and died in 1901 (Weir 2002, 305 and 315).

of improvement was taken up by the working and middle classes and morphed into one of gentility where duty, industry, morality and domesticity became a driving force (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992, 76). In America, gentility was expressed in the consumer goods that were purchased by the working and middle classes, which often contained messages relating to a frugal lifestyle and the benefits of hard work. For example, cups were produced that bore the messages “frugality”, “not to oversee your workmen is to leave them your purse open” and “If you would have a faithful servant & one that you like serve yourself” (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992, 91). The implications of ‘improvement’ and ‘gentility’ and its relevance to my research and standing structures will be discussed further below.

Despite the progress made by Britain and the United States, a capitalist system was not the main driving force in Western Australia between 1829 and 1880. In one of his discussions on the meaning of capitalism, Leone stated that “capitalism is defined as a way of creating profit” and that “[a]n increasingly landless workforce characterizes capitalism, with people emerging whose only means of earning a living is by selling his or her labor [sic]” (Leone, 1999b: 196). This form of capitalism is not replicated in this fashion in Western Australia during the 1850s – 1880s. Certainly men and women earned a living as landless labourers or servants but during this period of Western Australia’s history labourers and servants of both sexes were in high demand and once they had earned enough money they could either purchase or lease their own land; losing their landlessness. Nayton argued that the development of Western Australian towns in the south-west is representative of market capitalism (Nayton 2011, 1). However the forces of market capitalism were slow to develop in Western Australia and it was not until the 1860s that we begin to see towns starting to display the criteria that would label them as examples of market capitalism, such as, the presence of not only hotels but also commercial businesses and smaller tradesmen.

Until the 1880s Western Australia was more like the British agrarian system that existed before the rise of industrialism, and colonial America in the

seventeenth century. There was still plenty of land available for those who were willing to work hard, and as Leone remarked, society was far more fluid (Leone 1995, 255). It was following the discovery of gold in the 1880s that we begin to see the development of a capitalist system in Western Australia, where large numbers of men and women laboured for, often seasonal, payment on farms or for industrialists in the large cities. Certainly Western Australia had small pockets of a fledgling capitalist system but this was based in the larger towns of Perth and Fremantle and towards the end of the 1860s in Albany. Imports and exports flowed through Perth and Fremantle, but Albany also became an important port centre, as this was where mail entered the colony. The first route between Perth and Albany did not follow the inland route that it currently takes, but instead extended out to the east and went via York before heading south. It was not until after the convicts arrived that the current route between Perth and Albany was developed in the 1850s.

Returning then to the concepts of 'improvement' and 'gentility'. Many of the expressions of 'gentility' are firmly grounded in the purchase of consumer goods, most of which were unavailable to Western Australians in any quantity until after the 1880s when the State and its residents became more affluent. Therefore while the idea of gentility may have begun after 1850 in Britain and in other Australian colonies and in North America, it was not a major component in the way Western Australians lived their lives until after 1880. However, the earlier concept of improvement was definitely brought to Western Australia during the early years of colonisation and was practised by many of those who belonged to the upper classes. For example during 1850, several ladies who lived in Perth, including the Governor's wife, Mrs Fitzgerald, formed a Friendly Society to assist serving girls who had become ill and were dismissed by their employers (Erickson 1992, 19). Many of the agriculturalists were interested in exploring new practises, and new methods were often discussed at the various Agricultural Societies. The first, the Western Australian Agricultural Society was established in Guildford (1831) and others soon followed: York (1840), Toodyay, Northam and Victoria Plains

(1854) and Southern Districts (1861) (De Garis 1981, 313). Once members of the labouring classes acquired property they too joined these agricultural societies and became exposed to the concepts of improvement that were practised by the members of the upper class. Therefore I decided to assess the buildings in my comparative study to see whether it was possible to see the concept of improvement in these standing structures.

Despite the fact that the concept of Improvement is one of the mind, it is manifested physically in the penitentiaries (or in Western Australia's case, Fremantle Prison) and the Mechanics' Institutes that were constructed to deliver the message of improvement. If the idea of improvement was visible in prisons and mechanics institutes it was possible that it was also visible in other forms, such as the houses and properties developed by the settlers. After all, the concept was one of self-improvement and most of the settlers who emigrated from Britain left seeking a better life. What I was particularly interested in was whether it was possible to discern any differences between buildings erected by the upper class and those constructed by the lower class. The men and women of the upper class had benefitted from an education before they left Britain, which was a means of improving their minds and souls, whereas this type of education was not typically available to those of the lower classes. In addition to improvement, there was also the societal development of individuality that developed during the Georgian Period. As discussed earlier, this led to an alteration in building design, which led to the development of specific room functions. Therefore the question of whether the buildings in both groups reflected the idea of specific room function was also considered.

2.3 Conclusions

Architects have largely driven architectural research in Australia with minimal input from archaeologists. The bulk of this work has led to typological studies that concentrate on examining the style of the building. This type of analysis

leaves little room for an appreciation of vernacular buildings and the traditional construction methods that they display. Archaeologists can provide alternative analysis methods, and as indicated some reports do contain analyses of standing structures, but in general most appear to have their priorities centred in other areas. This has therefore left a large gap in our knowledge of the society and cultural processes that drove not only the construction of vernacular buildings, but also those that display the stylistic trends of the day. Therefore the use of archaeological theory, more commonly applied to the analysis of small artefacts, is considered to be particularly worthwhile as there is the potential to reveal unique information that would not be possible through stylistic analysis alone.

The following chapter will discuss the establishment of the Swan River Colony and the problems experienced by the early colonists in the early years of foundation. It will then explore the development of the English house and how this is related to the types of houses constructed by settlers between 1829 and 1850.

3.0 SETTING THE SCENE

..the history of Western Australia has been the struggle, not of a Government and people against the difficulties of a wilderness, but of a people against the difficulties continually opposed by a wilderness and a Government.

"Monster Address", to Fitzgerald, Sept. 1848

Introduction

The first wave of colonists who settled in the Swan River Colony arrived with high expectations, both in the land that they hoped to acquire and the wealth that went with land ownership. Once on their grant, settlers were soon fully occupied in clearing the ground for crops and ensuring that their livestock did not wander off. House construction was initially limited to the erection of a small dwelling that would shelter both the settler and his goods from the elements. It was only after the colonist had become established on his or her grant that a larger dwelling could be contemplated. This pattern of housing evolution can be seen throughout the development of Western Australia, not only during the nineteenth century but also into the twentieth century (Hocking and Bush 1995).

Previous studies on colonial architecture in Western Australia have failed to contextualise the first settlers' buildings (Deas and Collett 1969/70; Hocking and Bush 1995; Molyneux 1972a; Molyneux 1972b; Oldham and Oldham 1961; Pitt Morrison 1979; White 1979). As most of the colonists who arrived in Western Australia came from Great Britain, it is implicit in the above writings that the types of houses constructed by the settlers had their origins in Great Britain. However, while this observation is probably correct, it does not imply that an investigation of the traditional construction techniques and house designs that were current in Britain at the time of Western Australia's colonisation should be overlooked. Such an investigation could also examine how these traditions were transposed to the Swan River Colony and whether the settlers adapted these traditional techniques or house design to suit their new environment. The issue of environmental or social adaptation to a new

frontier environment cannot be debated effectively when essential data is missing. In Western Australia, Sanson et al. were one of the few researchers to note that the houses in their study represented a variation of the “English cottage plan” (Sanson et al. 1971, 21); unfortunately they provided no background information on what this cottage plan might be. The lack of an overt discussion on building origins seems to be a purely Western Australian phenomena as several studies on early colonial housing in the eastern states (Alexander 1984; Broadbent 1997; Irving 1985; Lawrence 1985), have discussed what was happening in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and they have also considered the origins of architectural influence on Australian colonial house design. In addition, an in-depth study on the various types of vernacular construction methods used in the eastern states has also been completed (Lewis 1977).

The chapter opens with a chronological outline of how Western Australia was founded and the types of people who decided to emigrate. To provide contextual background relating to why the settlers built the types of houses that they did following their arrival, there is a discussion on the development of housing in Britain between 1714 and 1830. This era, known as Georgian after the four Georges who ruled Great Britain during this period, saw the building industry in Britain transformed from one that displayed regional variation and the use of traditional craftsmen to one that had greater uniformity of style and building materials. This change then spread outwards from Britain to its many colonies (Johnson 2010). The Swan River Colony was founded a year before the death of George IV. The architectural designs, new construction methods and social changes that had profoundly affected Britain in this period would therefore have influenced the new settlers and even those who arrived during the 1830s and 1840s, until the newer fashions of the Victorian age became dominant. The chapter will then finish with an outline of the traditional building techniques that had been used in Britain for centuries and which would have been familiar to most of the settlers.

3.1 From Free Settlement to Penal Colony

Western Australia (or the Swan River Colony as it was originally called) was established as the first free colony in Australia. It was also the first Australian colony to use a land grant system as the incentive for colonisation. At the time of its foundation in 1829, Britain had very little interest in establishing another colony in Australia. Therefore, when Captain James Stirling approached the British Government in 1827 with a proposal to establish a colony on the Swan River, it was not initially well received. Stirling was informed that if he wished to proceed, the new colony would need to be a capitalist enterprise and self-supporting (Statham 1981a, 183).

At the time of the colony's foundation, Britain was under economic pressure following the protracted war with France (the Napoleonic Wars 1793 – 1815) (Harvie and Matthew 2000, 23-24; Mazzarol 1978, 34). When this ended, men who had previously been part of the war machine disbanded back to their various counties. Many career military men were placed on half-pay (Chessell 2005, 62; Fitch 2003, 8). In the countryside, the effects of the industrial revolution had begun to be felt with mechanisation gradually replacing traditional farming practises, and the loss of cottage industries (McCord 1991, 108). Land enclosures, begun on an ad hoc basis in the previous centuries, gained momentum through legislation. The enclosure of previously common land sounded the death knell to commonage foraging but it also led to improved agricultural practises that increased agricultural output. Some of these refinements included the amalgamation of small tenant farms into a single large farming enterprise (Williamson and Bellamy 1987). The ramifications of these factors was a British government that was reluctant to spend money establishing a new colony, the disenfranchisement of villagers from their traditional grazing and foraging rights, the loss of small tenant farms and rising unemployment and poverty in both the rural and urban areas of Britain (Fitch 2003, 1; McCord 1991, 108; Williamson and Bellamy 1987, 113-114). A large percentage of these changes were felt most keenly in the southern and south-eastern counties of England; many of the

settlers who arrived in Western Australia during the first ten years of settlement came from this area of England (Berryman 1979; Fitch 2003, 10-23).

However, the British government was also aware of the unrest, chronic unemployment, low agricultural wages and the dispossession of small tenant farmers that was present throughout the rural countryside. The government considered that if would-be settlers had access to cheap land and labour it might be willing to support the foundation of a new colony. The establishment of a new colony had the potential to solve rural and urban unemployment through the initiation of a new migration scheme that would have limited impact on treasury funds. For the new colony to be self-sufficient it would be necessary to provide incentives to prospective settlers, even those with limited capital. Thus the British government devised a land grant system that allocated 40 acres (16.2ha) of land for every £3 worth of assets landed by the colonist. As the government had no intention of providing assisted passage for unemployed labourers, further concessions were given to settlers who paid for the passage of indentured servants. For each adult servant taken out to the colony the settler was entitled to a further 200 acres (80.93 ha) (Fitch 2003, 32). As far as the British government was concerned the new colony had the potential to become just as prosperous as those on the east coast of Australia as the settlers had access to free land and a cheap, non-convict labour force to work it. Ironically, settlement on the Swan River did not proceed as anticipated due in no small part to the land grant system itself (Childers 1861, 19).

Colonists who arrived at the Swan River within the first two years of settlement began their new life at a distinct disadvantage. The first ships approached the coast near Fremantle in June 1829, the middle of winter and therefore too late to plant crops. No advance party had been sent to make the first preliminary surveys so when the first settlers arrived they had to spend some time camped on the sand dunes near the coastal port of Fremantle with their goods, waiting for their land to be allocated to them.

This left the settlers at the mercy of the strong winter winds, impromptu accommodation and little food for both themselves and their precious livestock (Appleyard and Manford 1980, 125).

Although Stirling had provided a glowing report on the land at the Swan River, the settlers soon found that the soils around Fremantle and the nearby capital Perth were extremely poor, except for fertile bands along the banks of the Canning and Swan Rivers (Cameron 1981, 108). To enable as many settlers as possible to benefit from the fertile soils, the grants along the Swan River were each allocated a small strip of land along the riverbank while the remainder stretched some miles inland. This gave rise to a system of ribbon development along the Swan (Staples 1962, 85; Pitt Morison 1979, 6). To add further to the colonists' difficulties, the grant system stipulated that every acre had to be improved within ten years (commonly referred to as location duties), before the grantee gaining title to the land (Cameron 1981, 111). So instead of being able to concentrate on one area intensively, effort had to be spread over a large area. The need to improve large areas of land proved detrimental, for by the end of the first year the colony had a severe food shortage which Stirling temporarily solved by obtaining supplies from the eastern Australian colony of Van Diemen's Land, paid for with bills drawn on the British Treasury. The colonists were able to access the supplies through a barter system or on the promise of future crops (Statham 1981c, 188).

According to Appleyard and Manford (1980) most of the settlers who arrived during the first year were mostly young, male and nearly three-quarters came from urban centres in the southern counties, some from London with only a scattering of them having any experience in agriculture. On the other hand, Cameron (1981, 63) argued that most of the agriculturalists who decided to emigrate in the first two years were of limited means (possibly tenant farmers) and saw immigration to the Swan River as a means of obtaining a large property for minimum outlay. Many settlers signed on indentured servants who agreed to spend a certain period of time with their employer in return for food, lodging, clothing and the cost of the passage. Depending on

the terms in the indenture the servant was paid a fixed wage, a portion of which went towards the repayment of the passage money, or the servant worked until the cost of the passage was paid off (Fitch 2003).

The lack of cash often made it difficult for employers to maintain their servants or to pay their wages. Some colonists found that the best way to ensure that they bore no responsibility for breaking indentures, and to help solve the problem of improving their grant, was to assign a portion of land to their servant to improve. Depending on the arrangement, the employee was able to keep the produce of his (or her) labour or in some cases they acquired title to the land that they had improved. Due to these circumstances, many colonists found that the typical 'master/servant' relationship broke down in the pioneering environment forcing both servants and masters into associations that they had probably never envisaged (Moore 2006). The advantages to be had by servants, particularly agricultural servants who were willing to work hard, continued to be a feature of Western Australian settlement well into the 1840s (for example the MacPherson brothers and James Clinch).¹¹ This also ensured that labourers tended to be in short supply.

The small civil establishment also faced its own problems. The British government provided funds for a limited number of public service positions, but no money was provided for public works. In general, it was expected that revenue for public works would be raised through the sale of Crown Land. However, it was not until January 1832, when the land grant system was abolished and replaced by the sale of Crown Land at auction with a minimum price of 5 shillings per acre, that it became possible to generate public funds. Given the colony's acute shortage of funds, the British government also agreed that the Colonial government could raise additional funds by placing a tax on spirits (Battye 1978, 108 & 134).

¹¹ The MacPherson brothers and James Clinch arrived in the colony as indentured servants and worked as shepherds for their employers. They were able to keep a quota of new lambs and were thus able to build up their own flocks. Their story will be told in Chapter 8.

Unfortunately the abolition of the land grant system had severe repercussions. Once prospective settlers learnt that land in the Swan River Colony had to be purchased, migration numbers fell rapidly and the result was that in 1832 only 15 people arrived to settle in the colony, while 101 people departed. Immigration numbers rose between 1833 and 1834 but were offset by approximately the same number leaving the colony (Cameron and Jaggard 1977, 113). A lack of capital continued to make life hard for both merchants and agriculturalists and skilled artisans in particular found it difficult to obtain work. A Sydney merchant was able to persuade seventeen of these skilled men to immigrate to Sydney in 1835 (Statham 1981c, 193). By the end of 1834 the population had only just managed to climb beyond 2,000, but between 1834 and 1837 the colony had started to achieve some economic stability and it became more common for wages to be paid in money rather than in kind. Agricultural production was also finally on the rise, the settlers were able to produce enough food for their needs and pastoralism began to show signs of becoming a profitable export industry (Cameron 1977, 113; Statham 1981c, 193). Between 1841 and 1844 the colony's population figures were further boosted by the arrival of immigrants under the Western Australian Company's immigration scheme. This new settlement was based 135 kilometres to the south of Fremantle at Australind, and comprised a mix of landowners, labourers, artisans and mechanics (Clifton 2010).

Despite the increase in economic growth the labour force continued to decline, lured to other Australian colonies, particularly Adelaide or through the more capable labourers becoming landowners themselves. The shortage of labourers saw a number of settlers at King George's Sound¹² draw up a petition in October 1834 requesting that the Colonial Office consider establishing a convict settlement in Western Australia. They believed that the colony would be unable to prosper without the benefit of this form of free

¹² King George's Sound was first discovered and named by Europeans in 1791. Governor Darling of New South Wales sent Major Lockyer to establish a settlement at the Sound in 1826. It was gazetted as Albany in 1832 but was commonly referred to as King George's Sound for the first forty years of settlement (Murray and Goodchild 2003, 76).

labour. The Colonial Office rejected the proposal (*Perth Gazette* 8 November 1834; Battye 1978, 128). The greater economic stability and progress enjoyed in the colony by 1838 was hampered not only by the lack of an adequate labour force but also a lack of capital. The Agricultural Society of Western Australia considered that the cessation of the land grant system was to blame for low immigration numbers and petitioned the Colonial Office for a return to the grant system. In fact the Colonial Office had raised land prices in the other Australian colonies but had held off in Western Australia, as they were aware of the low migration figures. By 1840 Western Australia was brought into line with the other Australian colonies and land was charged at 12 shillings per acre (*Government Gazette* 11 July 1840). Proceeds from the sale of Crown Lands finally began to accumulate and some was put aside to help pay for assisted emigration schemes (Statham 1981c, 198).

Both the settlers and the Colonial government put forward various migration schemes but ultimately they failed to attract sufficient numbers to alleviate the problem. Emigrant guides fulsomely described the opportunities to be had in Australia's eastern colonies, New Zealand and Canada but warned any would-be settlers to stay away from the Swan River Colony (Anonymous 1848, 5). The population figures for the colony presented a somewhat bleak picture. The 1842 Census recorded 3,476 people and by the end of 1849 this number had risen to only 4,654 (Blue Book 1842, 133; Blue Book 1849, 133). By comparison, South Australia, which was founded in 1836, had a population of 52,904 by 1850 (Statham, 1981c, 181).

During the 1840s, agitation for the introduction of a limited number of convicts, to help resolve the labour shortages and address the issue of public works, began to gather some momentum. The process began conservatively in 1842 when the colonists agreed to accept small numbers of juveniles from Parkhurst prison (on the Isle of Wight) under an apprenticeship system. The juvenile boys sent to the new penitentiary prison on the Isle of Wight were under a sentence of transportation. The incarceration of these boys was part of the new penal system that Britain implemented during the first half of the

nineteenth century and will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. The British authorities sent boys to this prison that they hoped had a chance of making a life for themselves in one of Britain's colonies. The young offenders who went to Parkhurst were either first time offenders or had a limited convict record. Time and effort were vested in these boys - providing them with vocational training and subjecting them to a disciplinary process before their transportation. After serving time in the prison they were sent out to a colony as prospective apprentices, not as convicts. Once they had signed their indentures they were free (McConville 1981, 204). Thus the British government tended to look on these boys as 'juvenile immigrants' and commonly referred to them as such (*Inquirer* 12 May 1847). No prison was built to contain them, rather they had a Guardian to look after their welfare and ensure that they found work and were paid. The first group of Parkhurst juveniles arrived in Perth in August 1842. The system was apparently well received, however as time went on, some settlers came to consider that the presence of the Parkhurst juveniles did in fact mean that Western Australia had become a penal colony in all but name (*Inquirer* 12 May 1847). To take the plunge by actually becoming a penal colony would at least mean that the British government would have to provide capital to keep the system going. Capital, as well as labour, was seen as a vital factor if Western Australia was to flourish (Statham 1985, 38).

Western Australia was declared a penal settlement in May 1849 and the first ship carrying convicts assigned under this new system arrived on the *Scindian* on 1 June 1850. Captain E.Y.W. Henderson, the Comptroller General, sailed with this first group of convicts. The benefits of the scheme meant that the colonial government acquired a greatly needed labour force for public works, while the settlers had access to the convicts once they had served a certain period of time in prison. Transportation ceased in 1868 following agitation by the eastern colonies and changes to Britain's penal system.

Western Australia's slow development was due to a number of factors but chief amongst them was a lack of capital and a shortage of labour. Historians

also argued that the land grant system was itself largely responsible for many of the colony's early difficulties. The system did not bring enough capital into the colony when it was first established and the manner in which indentured servants were able to acquire land removed a large proportion of labourers from the market (Staples 1961). The negative media that then resulted from the colony's initial foundation ensured that economic growth and development was slow.

To understand the impact that the convicts had on Western Australia's built environment after 1850, it was important to know what types of houses had been erected before their arrival. In addition, the context of where the settlers had acquired this knowledge was also considered a necessity so the types of houses and traditional building techniques used in Britain was researched. This research is discussed below.

3.2 Development of the English House

I undertook extensive research (Addy 1975; Brown 1982; Brunskill 1981; Cave 1981; Cooper 2002; Girouard 1980; Innocent 1971; Johnson 2010; McCann 2004; Mercer 1975; Sunshine 2006) to determine the types of traditional building techniques that had been utilized in Britain during the eighteenth centuries and also the influences on building design. I found that that these traditions, and the settlers' knowledge of them, represented on the one hand building methods that had been used in Britain for hundreds of years, and on the other a comparatively new method, pisé (or rammed earth) that was introduced into Britain via France in the eighteenth century. As many of the colonists who immigrated to the Swan River Colony had a rural background or were from small towns, it is highly likely that they had some knowledge of the building methods that were traditional to their area. For those settlers who were more accustomed to small country manor houses or town houses, their first dwelling in Western Australia was more reminiscent of the small cottages that were constructed by villagers or agricultural labourers.

Most of the historical studies that have investigated the development of Australian architecture have concentrated on 'designed' houses with a marked east coast bias. In addition, the studies concentrated on analysing the 'style' of the building with little thought given to the underlying social factors that influenced not only the exterior house design but also the internal arrangement of the house. By ignoring the internal arrangement of a dwelling and only looking at the exterior façade the reader is provided with only minimal information with regards to how the building functioned and the role that it fulfilled for its inhabitants. Many of the studies written on early colonial Sydney have concentrated on examining the dwellings erected by the colony's wealthier inhabitants; those of the poorer citizens have largely been ignored (Broadbent 1997; Irving 1985). Other structures ignored in these studies are the myriad of farm buildings that were constructed in rural areas. In Britain these buildings might have been limited to stables, dairies and barns. On the older farms some of these functions formed part of the residence. But in a new frontier environment such as Australia where rural properties were generally some distance from townships, additional buildings were required: a place to house goods and provisions, farm workers' quarters, a blacksmith's shop, mill building, shearing shed and a detached kitchen. Collectively these buildings form a major component in the Australian landscape and they deserve the same level of study as that given to the homesteads.

However, the study of the grander houses does provide insights into the cultural orientation of these early settlers and their perception of their social standing. Irving (1985) considered that the first British settlers to arrive in Australia transposed their English culture, with its various trappings, to an alien environment where the cultural traits of the native inhabitants were largely ignored. However, the cultural traits that influenced many of the settlers' decisions on house design and construction were not just restricted to what they knew of from 'home'. Many of Sydney's early settlers were military men who had served overseas in a number of colonial locations.

These men would have been exposed to not only different house designs but also different construction techniques, so there was the potential for adaptation. One of these adaptations was the use of the verandah, which according to Broadbent appeared as early as 1793 on Major Grose's house (Broadbent 1997, 19). This type of adaptation, together with other influences would create changes that would lead to the establishment of an architectural style that could be viewed as distinctly Australian, or what came to be known as Australian colonial bungalow (Broadbent 1997, 19).

At the time when Australia was first colonised, Britain was a country where the gentry still held sway over their agricultural lands and their tenants, where there was a distinct class system which had been reinforced with the onset of the industrial revolution and where land enclosures in the countryside were changing village grazing rights. At the same time, Georgian England was also experiencing a period of romantic idealism. Buildings from ancient Rome and Greece, China and the English medieval period influenced architectural style, although no one style dominated. Irving (1985) considers that many of Sydney's early colonial buildings, were echoes of the Palladian Georgian style that dominated Britain during the period 1714 to 1830. This style had its origins in the Italian Renaissance period (Curl 1993). A major feature of the Palladian style was its symmetrical massing. However the ready acceptance of the Palladian style house in Britain was due to the evolution of house design and social practises that had begun as early as the mid seventeenth century. Where previously vernacular cottages and farmhouses had been only one room deep with service rooms placed at the ends of the house, by the end of the seventeenth century buildings that were two rooms deep had begun to appear. In this development the service rooms were moved to the rear underneath a single storey lean-to roof, a form that architectural historians called 'outshuts' (Brown 1982, 133; Mercer 1975, 69). Mercer considered that the appearance of the continuous outshut at the rear of the building heralded the beginning of the two storey house which has come to be referred to as 'double-pile' (Mercer 1975, 72). The ground floor of a

double pile house had the public rooms at the front and the service rooms at the rear. An open staircase located either at the rear or in the middle of the building led to the first floor where the bedrooms were located. The distinctive form of the double-pile house was also the perfect vehicle for displaying the Palladian style. Although the symmetrical form of a single storey house could be considered aesthetically pleasing it was really too small to carry off successfully the harmonious proportions that were a hallmark of the Palladian style (Curl 1993).

Johnson also observed that around the same time that the kitchen and service rooms were being moved away from the mainstream activities of the house, the role of women in the household was also being redefined (Johnson 2010, 171). Previously, all the women of the household had been active in preparing and organising food. By the end of the seventeenth century the mistress of the household was expected to take a less active role in the running of the house; she became a passive object. Therefore the arrival of Georgian architecture did not just denote a new architectural style, it also reflected changes in British social patterns (Johnson 2010). These patterns could be seen in the reorganisation of the house plan, what was left behind in the archaeological record (such as changes in crockery and eating utensils) and in documentary records relating to household organisation. During the Georgian period households became more ordered and segregated. The activities of servants were relegated to the rear of the house, away from the main living rooms that the family occupied at the front of the house. This era saw the rise of the individual, the concept of privacy and the gentrification of the yeoman farmers. The industrial revolution mechanized the production of ceramics that led to the creation of table settings that could be purchased by a broad range of people. Mechanization also enabled the bulk production of sash windows that were such an intrinsic part of the symmetrical Georgian façade (Johnson 2010, 164). This change spread throughout Britain and to her colonies, particularly America where the order and segregation that the Georgian phenomena provided enabled the development and rise of the

American capitalist society (Deetz 1997; Johnson 2010; Leone 1988). Johnson considers that the Georgian Order “subsumed and transformed the [British] vernacular tradition; it did not replace it” (Johnson 2010, 190).

The first small cottages and buildings erected in New South Wales and Tasmania would appear on the surface to be excellent examples of the Georgian Palladian style. Early pictures of Sydney show rows of little cottages with a window on either side of a central door. Lawrence considered them to be smaller versions of their larger English cousins, but noted that excavations revealed that it was essentially facadism as the interiors contained only one room with a fireplace at one end (Lawrence 2003). Although these early cottages displayed the Georgian style on the exterior, the interior harked back to an earlier era when the arrangement of the rooms was more important than the exterior (Glassie 2000). Here we see an example of Johnson’s transformation of a building, not a replacement of it.

At the same time that house design was undergoing these changes the countryside was also being transformed as ownership moved away from small landholdings to one where wealthy landowners created large estates that they developed into efficient farming enterprises. The agricultural improvements generated greater wealth that was displayed through the construction of a grand house set in a large park themed to look “naturalistic” (Girouard 1980). Many landowners destroyed villages located on adjacent private land, to create their naturalistic parks. While many landowners left the villagers to fend for themselves, others went to considerable trouble to construct good quality housing for their tenants. There were of course examples of poor quality houses (Williamson & Bellamy 1987).

During the late eighteenth century, architects began to produce architectural pattern books and these helped disseminate the new concept of the double-pile house throughout the countryside. These books also contained elevations and plans for workers’ cottages that could be erected by the landowners (Loudon 1834, reprinted 1869; Wood 1806). As a result of this,

small Palladian style cottages (both single and two storey) and terraces began to appear around the countryside. Construction materials varied and new techniques, such as pisé were also trialled (Brown 1982).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the industrial revolution had brought mechanisation to many industries and created improved transport systems. This revolution had a marked effect on the building industry. In the countryside, buildings that had previously been erected by local craftsmen using materials that came readily to hand began to give way to materials that had been manufactured elsewhere, such as bricks and weatherboards or clay and slate for roofing. The new transport systems meant that these non-traditional materials could be easily transported via a network of canals and railways that began to spring up during the late eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Building styles and forms could be more readily disseminated and builders began replacing the local craftsmen (Powell 2003; Williamson & Bellamy 1987). The industrial revolution not only changed the manner in which people lived during the nineteenth century, but it also changed the regional character of the countryside.

It is this background of social change and industrialisation that Western Australia's first colonists came from. Most of the colonists would have been well versed in the latest developments in building construction and design. But they, and the indentured servants that they brought with them, would also have retained information about the vernacular building styles that had been prevalent in their communities before the rise of mechanization and outside influences. The small cottages that were erected on Australia's east coast and in Western Australia could be found throughout the British countryside in 1829. The building materials used in Australia harked back to an earlier age that was dependent on locally available materials that utilised traditional construction methods. However many of the settlers were not satisfied with these simple houses for very long. Although many might have come from small towns and rural estates, their cultural conditioning would have led them to crave the order and segregation that had become a major

component in their lives. Once they had established themselves they hoped to emulate the order and refinement that a Georgian house represented, no matter what their social status in the new colony.

3.3 Traditional British Building Techniques

Until the eighteenth century, most of the population constructed buildings using materials that could be found near the construction site. The skilled craftsmen who erected these buildings used traditions that had been handed down by masters to apprentices for hundreds of years. The exception to this was of course buildings constructed by the gentry and aristocracy; this class could afford to transport materials over long distances, such as stone or bricks. As Britain became more industrialised many of the traditional techniques and materials were superseded, particularly by brick and weatherboards as mass production and an efficient transport system enabled these materials to be transported to areas that would previously have used locally available materials.

Wattle and Daub

This construction method is an ancient technique that can be found in many locations around the globe. In England, archaeological evidence has revealed that Iron Age settlers constructed round houses with wattle and daub walls and high conical thatched roofs (Alcock 1972, 74). Vertical timber stakes were placed in the ground in a circular formation and then thinner stakes were woven horizontally between them. The stakes were held in place by a timber top plate. Once the weaving was completed the wall was daubed on both sides with a clay and straw mixture and then covered with a layer of lime wash. Early wattle walls had the stakes placed directly into the ground. In more sophisticated cases the stakes would be placed in a groove in a timber bottom plate (Sunshine 2006, 17).

One of the earliest descriptions of this walling method came from the first century (B.C.) Roman architect Vitruvius (1960, 57). He commented that although the method was admittedly cheaper than building in brick, the material was highly flammable and it was also liable to crack if the stakes became wet (Vitruvius 1960, 57). In his book on the use of various vernacular building techniques in Australia, Lewis incorrectly attributed the Romans as being responsible for the introduction of this method into England (Lewis 1977, 19).

As the English house evolved from a round house to a rectangular one with timber framing, wattle and daub was used as an infill panel between the timber framing. Eventually stones and then bricks supplanted the wattle and daub (Addy 1975). Once bricks became more affordable the use of wattle and daub declined, although it continued as a cheaper alternative to wall and ceiling plaster until around 1900 (Sunshine 2006, 29).

Rammed Earth

This method of construction utilised a mixture of earth and a binding agent (often small pebbles or rocks) that was then packed down between formwork constructed from wooden boards. Once the clay dried, the formwork was removed and the whole process was repeated. Unlike many of the building traditions used in Western Australia, this method was not a traditional English building method. Rammed earth (or pisé) had its origins in the southern parts of Spain and also north-west Africa. It was also used in the Rhône Valley of France. The technique was popularised in the eighteenth century when several French authors published detailed information on the construction method. One of these was François Cointeraux who published his description in 1791 and adapted a series of designs and manuals that were soon translated into other languages. The first appearance of the technique in Britain appears to have been credited to Francis Russell (Duke of Bedford) and his architect Henry Holland, when they constructed several estate cottages on

the Duke's Woburn Park property in 1795. Holland translated Cointeraux's treatise into English in 1797 and recommended the construction technique to the Board of Agriculture as being ideal for labourers' cottages (McCann 2004, 20).

References to the technique first appeared in Australia in 1823 when a journalist reported the use of rammed earth in the construction of a building on the Coal River, Van Diemen's Land by Mr. J. Evans, who leased the farm from the owner Henry Rice (*Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 3 May 1823). The method was apparently new to the colony as it described how moistened earth was rammed into a mould, approximately seven feet [17.78 centimetres] long that enabled the construction of walls between 14 to 18 inches thick [35.56 to 45.72 centimetres]. The article ended with a request for further information about the technique. The following week a further article appeared where it was related that the technique was known as pisé or rammed earth and originated in southern France. (*Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 10 May 1823). Several weeks later the technique was also reported in the *Sydney Gazette* although the detailed description was spread over two weeks (*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 12 June and 19 June 1823). Lewis (1977, 49) considered that the information was Holland's translation of Cointeraux's article although he did not imply that the introduction of pisé in colonial New South Wales was due directly to the information provided by this article. He did note that the construction technique was picked up by several other English writers of farm buildings and rural residences that were produced during the first years of the nineteenth century and it is possible that the construction technique was introduced into the colony through these books.

It seems highly unlikely that the article in the *Sydney Gazette* was responsible for the introduction of pisé buildings in Western Australia, as it appeared six years before the foundation of the colony. As Holland's translation later appeared in English construction manuals for labourers' dwellings and other farm buildings, it seems highly likely that it was through this medium that the

technique arrived in the colony. In addition, in Western Australia it was called rammed earth (or ram jam) rather than pisé (Bunbury 1930, 43).

Cob

Like rammed earth, cob walling is an earth mixture. The primary difference between the two techniques is that the medium used in cob walls is composed of a mixture of mud and straw (and sometimes small stones). The Devon Historic Buildings Trust (Technical Panel 1992, 2) noted that straw is “an essential ingredient” as it assists in binding the soil together to form lumps, making it easier to place it on the wall during construction. As the wall dries it cracks, but the straw ensures that this cracking is evenly distributed. To construct a cob wall the mixture was laid to a certain thickness and then stamped down (using booted feet), and allowed to dry. Using successive layers the wall was built up in this fashion. Sometimes a thin layer of straw was placed between each layer. The clay material was traditionally placed on a masonry plinth to prevent rising damp or erosion of the base of the wall by rain (McCann 2004, 8). Once the wall was completed it was pared smooth and the exterior was either lime washed or rendered (Innocent 1971, 137). The method produced a very thick wall that took some time to dry out. By the early nineteenth century shuttering was increasingly used which enabled a thinner wall to be constructed more quickly and more accurately. Brown (1982, 194) considered that the use of shuttering might have been copied from the pisé method.

Unlike rammed earth walling, cob walling had a long tradition in Britain, with some surviving buildings thought to date to as early as 1300 (Brown 1982, 191). Cob walling was commonly used for farm buildings and cottages in the southwest areas of England such as East Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, southern Wiltshire and Hampshire (Innocent 1971). However despite the fact that some of the colonists came from this area of England, the technique does not appear to have been very widely used in Western Australia as it is not

often referred to in the settlers' diaries and letters. Even Lewis commented that this method was rarely mentioned in Victoria and was not a common building material (Lewis 1977, 39).

Brick

The use of fired bricks in the construction of buildings has a long history. According to both Addy (1975, 125) and Innocent (1971, 148), the Romans were responsible for introducing brick technology into Britain although after their departure bricks were not made in England until the craft was revived by Flemish brickmakers in the twelfth century. During this early period, brick was restricted to ecclesiastical buildings or royal palaces and was generally only found in the eastern counties where good building stone was hard to obtain. To supplement local supplies, bricks were imported from Europe therefore when Henry VIII constructed Hampton Court entirely from bricks, it broadcast to the country the wealth and power of the king (Cave 1981, 104). The word 'brick' did not appear in English vocabulary until the middle of the 15th century, and prior to this they were known as 'waltyle' or wall tile (Brown 1982, 231). The use of bricks by the church and nobility soon began to filter down to into the lower sections of society and brickwork came to used in the spaces between timber framing that had previously been filled with wattle and daub. As builders began to realise that brickwork could be used in a load bearing capacity for a large part of the wall the amount of timber was gradually reduced and larger brick panels appeared (Innocent 1971, 150). As bricks increased in popularity towns soon had their own brickworks although due to the large quantity of timber required to produce bricks, production remained low until coal became available. As bricks were heavy to transport, many of the brick making works were restricted to port towns or towns with navigable rivers where boats or barges could easily dock to transport the finished product elsewhere. However as many of the eastern counties had good supplies of clay, bricks were also made on or close to the building site

and burnt in temporary clamps.¹³ Bricks continued to be made by hand until the middle of the nineteenth century when brick kilns were introduced into Britain (Cave 1981, 105).

Stone

Until the middle of the seventeenth century, stone was considered to be a luxury material and its use was restricted to foundations and infill panels on timber framed buildings (Innocent 1971, 118). Stone cottages that were built after this period were initially restricted to those areas in Britain that had large supplies of it, as the material was too heavy to carry from a distant quarry to the building site. The requirement of a skilled mason, rather than a practical cottager, ensured that this material remained above the means of a simple cottager or labourer. Initially walls were of random rubble construction as dressed masonry was expensive. Mortar was either mud or clay as lime mortar, like dressed stone, was expensive (Powell 2003, 19).

Timber

Britain has a long tradition of building with timber. As discussed previously in the section on wattle and daub, timber framed buildings were the commonest form of structure for all classes until stone and brick supplanted them in the nineteenth century. Even though many early timber framed buildings had infill panels of wattle and daub, timber boarding was also an option. In one early form of construction vertical timber posts, or studs were placed very close together. They were then covered with a mixture of clay and straw before finally receiving several coats of lime wash. Addy referred to this form of infill, which was mainly restricted to Lancashire, as "clam staff and daub" (Addy 1975, 66).

¹³ A clamp was a temporary structure that was used to make bricks. First a layer of fired bricks would be laid on the ground in a pattern that would create channels into which fuel was laid. The green bricks would then be laid on top and the fuel lit (Cave 1981, 107).

In Britain, the use of horizontal planks, or weatherboards to cover a timber frame was mainly found on small cottages or farm buildings from the seventeenth century onwards. It was not until the eighteenth century when it was combined with a light-weight timber frame that it became a popular form of cladding for domestic buildings. This type of timber frame was particularly popular in south-eastern England (Brown 1982, 172; Brunskill 1987, 64). During the nineteenth century this style of cladding was often used to cover older timber framed houses using cheap, imported Scandinavian timber (Cave 1981, 202).

The British settlers brought the concepts of house design and the use of the various materials described above to Western Australia with them and examples of all these techniques have survived to the present day. Many colonists also provided descriptions of the construction methods that they used to build their houses, although where this knowledge came from was not described. I have assumed that many of the settlers must have been highly dependant on either their indentured servants or on those that they hired. The methods and the houses constructed by the settlers before 1850 will be discussed in the following chapter.

4.0 PRE-CONVICT BUILDINGS: 1829 - 1850

I do not know to which of the out houses at Clapton I can compare this dear little non-descript [house]. There is none like it. It is wattle and dab (I'm certain you don't know what that means).

Anne Whatley, 1830

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 2, information about early colonial housing was obtained from a variety of sources. The descriptions of early settlers' dwellings are based on the settlers' actual descriptions of their buildings and the paintings (or sketches) that they drew. These types of descriptions were considered to provide the most important evidence of what was happening in the colony during the period 1829 – 1850. They represented not only what the colonists were actually doing but they also provided insights into what the colonists thought about the structures that they were erecting and their anticipation for the future.

To appreciate the contribution that convicts made to the built environment, this chapter will discuss in detail the various materials utilised by the colonists in Western Australia before 1850. As outlined in the previous chapter, the techniques and materials utilised were, apart from the use of rammed earth and weatherboards, traditional techniques that had been used in Britain for centuries. Following the discussion on building materials, the chapter moves on to an examination of the design of the colonists' buildings.

4.1 Construction Methods and Materials used by Settlers

It is unfortunate that most of the houses constructed by the settlers during the first twenty years of settlement have now disappeared. Those that have survived are often incorporated into a later building program, rendering it difficult to gain a proper appreciation of the original form and appearance of the building and the construction methods used. However, the settlers'

diaries and letters home provide fascinating insights not only into the colonists' views of their new and alien home, but also of the buildings that they constructed following their arrival. Some settlers wrote very detailed descriptions of what they saw being built around them (Bunbury, 1930) others were less garrulous, stating simply that they had "built a neat little cottage" (Nairn 1833, 8).

Regardless of the length or detail of the settlers' description of their dwelling, what becomes immediately apparent was their desire to construct a dwelling as quickly as possible. This invariably meant that houses were constructed from materials that were found close to the building site or that could be easily transported to the site. In some instances settlers brought portable timber houses to serve as their temporary home (e.g. Geoge Dunnage, CSO Acc.36 Vol. 4, 10). Examples of all of the techniques utilised by the settlers could be found in the towns and villages of Britain. The plan of these first houses generally resembled the humbler cottages found in Britain but information obtained from some of the colonists' diaries and letters indicated that although their first dwelling might be quite simple, they had definite ideas about how they wished to expand their home once time and money permitted (Moore 1830 – 1848, 23 January 1833). At this stage it is not clear whether some of these expansionary ideas came from architectural pattern books that were in circulation in the colony, or from the settlers' memories of the houses constructed back home.

Wattle and Daub

Sunshine (2006, 5) noted that wattle and daub was found throughout England in areas where supplies of clay were plentiful. In Western Australia, many colonists who settled near the Swan River, where good pockets of clay could be found, often constructed their first house from wattle and daub. The personal records left by some settlers explicitly describe the construction of wattle and daub homes or write more obliquely about 'daubing the house'

with clay. Both Henry Camfield, writing home to his father in February 1830, and Anne Whatley's diary entries refer specifically to the use of wattle and daub to construct their respective homes (Camfield 1830; Whatley 1830). Henry Camfield was granted 1,000 acres on the Swan River in November 1829 (Ogle 1977). Camfield noted in his letter that he had transferred his goods to his grant and that his servant Smith was building a house for Camfield and his servant Friend. He wrote that, "we wattle the sides and mud them covering the roof with rushes, no boards" (Camfield 1830, 1 February). The reference to the boards indicated that there was no lining to the underside of the rushes.

Anne Whatley, who arrived in the colony in October 1829 with her husband John, two daughters and servants, kept a detailed diary (Whatley 1830). Dr Whatley was given a grant on the Swan River that had formerly belonged to James Brookes (Burton 1930,22). The family travelled up river to their grant in February 1830. On arrival Anne recorded that they were completing a small, wattle and 'dab' cottage that had been started by Brookes. Whatley's entries displayed an interest not only in her surroundings, but also in the materials required to complete her new abode. She wrote that one of the men "was gone to cut wattle for the house of which I knew there was plenty at the entrance to the bush" (Whatley 1830, 1 February).

Other settlers along the Swan River, such as Joseph Hardey and George Moore also constructed buildings of wattle and daub. However, Hardey's diary entries were somewhat terse and he simply recorded in November 1830 that he was daubing his house (Hardey 1830, 1 November). It was left to a fellow settler, Frederick Irwin, to relate that Hardey had constructed his house with "stakes driven into the ground, interlaced with wattles, the space being filled with mud mortar, and the whole plastered so as to present a smooth surface" (Irwin 1835, 52).

Irishman George Moore, like Mrs Whatley, also showed a lively interest in his new surroundings and the letters home to his family were fulsome with

descriptions of the country, wildlife and the buildings that he erected on his grant. (Moore 1830 - 1848). Moore's initial house was of mud brick (Moore 1830 – 1848, 13 March 1831), however in January 1832 he commenced the construction of a wattle and daub house for his servants. Moore prided himself on his neat workmanship and was delighted with the ease and speed with which such a structure could be erected:

I have invented the neatest work of black boy sticks as applied to the walls like wicker work. I have made up the sides of one of the porticoes with it & it looks very neat & is strong. I often wonder that houses are not made at home this way. I am sure a larger house could be finished in a fortnight when rods are abundant. The black boy sticks are now green & look not unlike green osier twigs. Stiff clay tempered & dashed upon this then smoothed with a plasterers trowel makes a most excellent house (Moore 1830 - 1848, 6 January 1832).

The fact that Moore was not familiar with wattle and daub is interesting. Moore was born in County Tyrone where his father was a merchant and a farmer. He studied law at Dublin's Trinity College before deciding to emigrate (Cameron 2006, vii). Ireland, like England had a long history of wattle and daub construction so it is unclear why he had no prior knowledge of this method of construction. His use of the word "invented" is also intriguing. What Moore probably meant was that instead of using thin supple stakes (such as branches from the acacia species), he used the flower spikes from grasstrees (*xanthorrhoeas*). To date no other colonial references to the use of *xanthorrhoea* flower spikes to construct wattle and daub structures has been cited, so perhaps Moore's novel use of these spikes did not catch on.

The construction of wattle and daub houses was not just restricted to settlers on the Swan River. Houses using this form of construction were found as far south as Augusta and Albany and also as far east as York (see Figure 1.1). John Bussell, together with his three brothers Charles, Vernon and Alfred, settled at Augusta in May 1830 where they built a wattle and daub cottage on their grant and also on their larger grant further up the Blackwood River (Bussell Papers: Vernon Bussell 1832, August). Although their letters from

Augusta did not explicitly mention wattle and daub construction, letters written from the Vasse, (near the town of Busselton) where they settled in 1834 on their new grant 'Cattle Chosen', indicated that this was the construction method used by this family. As they built several houses, a pattern of their building activity emerges: first they erected the frame of the cottage, then the roof that was thatched with rushes and lastly the walls were completed. Journal entries made by the family after their removal to the Vasse in June 1834 noted that they were daubing the walls of John's house (Bussell Papers 1834, 10 June). When Lieutenant Bunbury visited the Bussells in December 1836, he recorded that a two-storey building was in the process of being erected. As a member of the 21st Fusiliers Regiment, Bunbury was posted to various districts and recorded his experiences in letters home to his relatives. The Bussell's house had a rammed earth chimney but "the rest of the building is of what is colonially termed wattle and dab, the quickest and easiest method of building" (Bunbury 1930, 108).

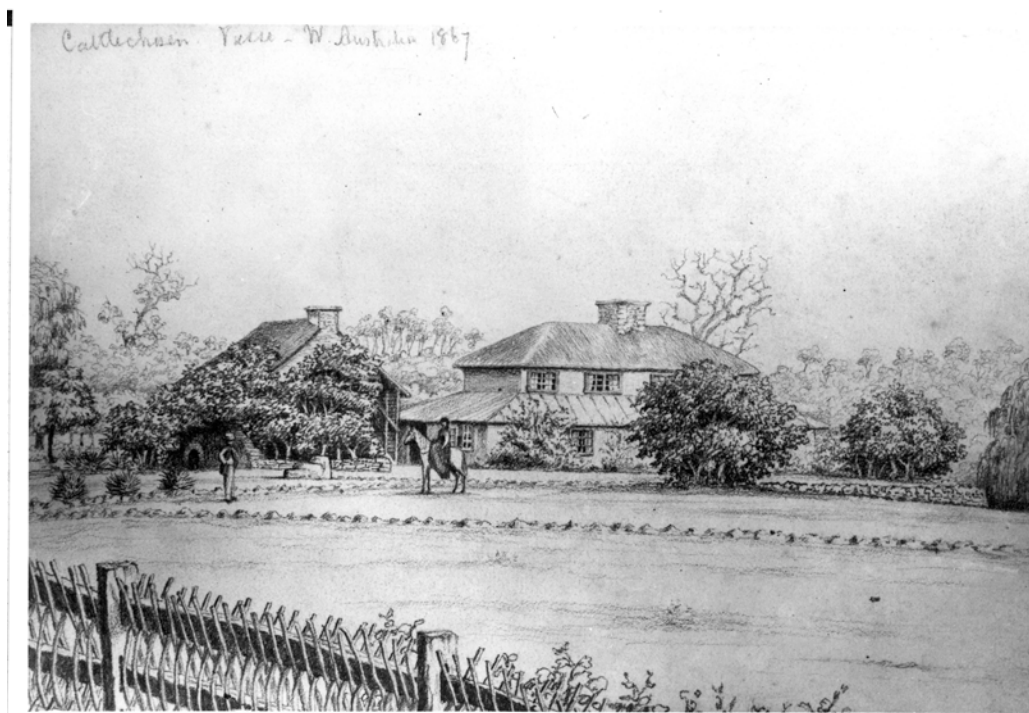


Figure 4.1 Sketch of 'Cattle Chosen', 1867 by Henry Prinsep (reproduced with permission of National Trust of Australia (WA))

Henry Prinsep, who married Josephine Bussell, sketched the main buildings at 'Cattle Chosen' in 1867 (see Figure 4.1). The building on the right with the verandah is the one described by Bunbury during his visit in 1836. The building on the left, also wattle and daub construction was erected in the 1840s (Lawrence 2002, 1).

Bunbury's remarks tallied with Moore's comments about the ease of erecting a wattle and daub dwelling. Bunbury also gave a very good description of the wattle and daub technique:

The plan is to fix small uprights between the strong corner and other upright posts of the house and between them to weave wattles, or in fact sticks,this forms a very strong kind of basket work, the interstices of which are filled up with a plaster of sand and clay which may be smoothed on the surface or covered over with lime plaster at leisure. The dab generally cracks as it dries, which makes the house very airy and pleasant in summer but in winter too much so, but the chinks can be filled up (Bunbury 1930, 108).

His reference to the composition of the clay mix is important. Straw was a necessary ingredient as it helped to bind the clay mixture together. Sunshine, who has repaired old wattle and daub panels noted that straw not only bulked up the mixture but it also ensured that the clay did not crack as it dried (Sunshine 2006). Moore referred to the use of temper in the mixture that he used indicating that whoever taught Moore knew the value of straw in the mixture. Various reasons for the lack of straw in the Bussells' mix could be put forward: the brothers had obtained the basics of the construction technique second-hand; they knew about the principles of the method from home but were unaware of the exact mechanics of the process or they could have been incorrectly informed following their arrival in the colony. It seems unlikely that they were unable to find straw as some of their letters refer to them collecting rushes for thatch (Bussell Papers: Lennox Bussell 1834, April). Rushes could have been substituted for straw. That said, it seems highly unlikely that the Bussells would have left cracks in their building. As they were constructing the building when Bunbury passed through, perhaps the

final overall coating of daub had the necessary mix of clay and straw to ensure a water-tight finish.

Bunbury also described Thomas Peel's cottage at Mandurah as "a long low thatched cottage built of wattle and dab, white-washed and kept scrupulously clean" (Bunbury 1930, 172).

At York, during July and August 1836, Thomas Mellersh constructed a wattle and daub kitchen with two hired servants. His diary entries gave no indication of whether he used straw to temper his clay mix. He referred to one of the servants cutting 'blackboy tops' but as grass trees were often used for thatching it is likely that this material was for the roof (Mellersh 1836, 12 July).

Wattle and daub houses were also constructed at Albany. John Morely erected a small, wattle and daub cottage in c.1832 on his town grant. The original cottage consisted of two rooms with a central fireplace. Patrick Taylor purchased this cottage in 1835 and was probably responsible for the later extensions (Horton 2010). Today only the rear wall of the original two-roomed cottage is wattle and daub. A small section of the walling has been left exposed to display the horizontal components (or wattling) together with a small portion of a vertical post. The wattles are approximately 1 cm diameter. (See Figure 4.2)



Figure 4.2 Section of wattle and daub walling, Patrick Taylor Cottage, Albany (F. Bush 3 July 2008)

Wattle and daub was still being used in the 1840s when the Reverend John Wollaston arrived. He purchased land to the south of Australind at Picton and moved into an existing house. The building's chimney required repairs shortly after his arrival and he employed someone who knew how to work with clay and straw. From this comment it is impossible to determine if the house, or indeed the chimney, were of wattle and daub construction, but what is apparent was that it was possible to hire someone who was capable of constructing a wattle and daub structure (Wollaston 1956, 84). During 1842, Wollaston began work on building a church near his house and in this he had the services (it is not clear whether these men were paid or volunteered their time) of a thatcher and a carpenter. He assisted by gathering wattles for the walls, thatch for the roof and dug out the floor. He also found that sedge was not a particularly good material for thatching; rushes were more suitable (Wollaston 1956, 92).

The above commentaries, while informative, are also frustrating in the particulars that they leave out. Where did the settlers obtain their knowledge about wattle and daub? Did they know about this technique because it was

still commonly used in their place of origin or did the information come via their servants? Apart from Wollaston, whose entries indicated that he used someone who was skilled at working with clay and straw, it might be possible to answer these questions if we knew more about where the colonists came from and the background of their indentured servants. At present comprehensive statistical data listing the place of origin of the settlers is extremely limited although some passenger lists for ships arriving in the first three years¹⁴ indicate that most of the colonists came from the south-eastern counties of England (Berryman 1979; Nelson 2006). However, further investigation into arrival statistics was beyond the scope of this research due to the amount of primary research that would be required. In the case of Moore, where we have clear evidence that the technique was new to him, we can make two observations: either the method was not commonly used in County Tyrone or wattle and daub was a commonly used material but Moore had remained ignorant of building construction techniques used in the County.

It is unfortunate that despite this material's apparent popularity in the pre-convict era, very few wattle and daub buildings have survived today. The most notable free-standing example is the Bussells' 1840s Cottage at 'Cattle Chosen'. Former, free-standing cottages have been incorporated into later extensions, such as the Patrick Taylor Cottage at Albany. Other wattle and daub buildings that have retained some sections of wattle and daub walling can be found at 'Sandilands' (Busselton) and Leschenault Homestead (Bunbury).

The reasons why some settlers chose wattle and daub over other construction materials will probably never be known. Certainly the settlers' descriptions

¹⁴ The Perth Dead Persons' Society has a website (<http://members.iinet.com.au/~perthdps/shipping/mig-wa.htm>) that lists the names of ships that brought passengers to Western Australia. The information was obtained from a variety of primary sources however the site does note that all information found on their lists should also be checked against primary sources. However it is a useful start for information regarding the names of passengers and their origins.

provide no immediate clues although Irwin remarked that this type of building was cheap to erect and was more favourable than wood. Whether in this instance he was referring to imported wooden buildings or those erected using local timber is not known. However, he cautioned against importing timber houses as he observed that they soon warped and shrank (Irwin 1835, 50). No regional factors are apparent, as the method was widely used by the colonists in Western Australia.

Rammed Earth

In Western Australia, settlers who had access to clay type soils, and who did not use wattle and daub, favoured rammed earth construction; therefore examples of this construction technique are not found on the sandy areas of the coastal plain. Once again Bunbury's keen eye provided an excellent record of this construction method. A detailed description of the technique came from the time he spent in the York district during July 1836. As he travelled around the district he noted that rammed earth was composed of a mixture of clay and sand which

...[when] properly moistened is well rammed down between parallel boards, kept in their places by light iron bolts which are removed with the boards as the wall dries, round and round the building, a fresh layer being formed as soon as the last is sufficiently solid. This is a very cheap, substantial and durable way of building, the principal difficulty being the mixing the earth, which must not be too stiff (Bunbury 1930, 43).

He referred to ten properties in the York district, four of which had houses. Two of the four houses were constructed from rammed earth: the Reverend Wittenoom's property 'Gwambygine' and 'Grassdale', which at the time of Bunbury's visit was occupied by Mr Whitfield. 'Gwambygine', which is still extant, represented part of the Reverend Wittenoom's land grant. He arrived in the colony to take up the position of Colonial Chaplain and obtained a town lot in Perth as well as land in the York district. As much of his time was spent

ministering to the colonists he had little time to spend on his rural grant so the task of developing the property fell to his eldest son John, together with assistance from his younger brothers and farm labourers (Statham 2010). Thomas Carter, one of these labourers, drew a plan of the house in a letter home to his family in England in 1841. The tiny plan shows an 'L' shaped building with five rooms (Carter 1841, 26 February). The layout of the house today indicates that it was extended over time, largely using rammed earth. A layer of cement render covered the rammed earth walls.¹⁵

Another intact, rammed earth building, 'Boyadine' is in the Beverly district. Henry Burgh built 'Boyadine' sometime during 1844 (de Burgh 1843, 11 November). Following an inspection of the house it is likely that Henry first constructed a small cottage of three rooms and then this was later enlarged with the addition of rooms across the rear of the building. Like 'Gwambygine', the walls were covered with a cement render.¹⁶

The application of render (which would originally have been lime rather than cement based), to the walls of both 'Gwambygine' and 'Boyadine' provided protection for a construction material that could be easily eroded by heavy winter rains. An example of the frailty of rammed earth can be seen in a report of damages to buildings at York following a violent storm with strong winds and extremely heavy rain that lasted over twelve hours.

...many being constructed of rammed earth were melted away and some fell in ruins, particularly a large new workshop belonging to Messrs Larter and Wall, also a new dwelling in progress of construction (*Perth Gazette*, 27 April 1849).

As he moved south, Bunbury continued his detailed account of his environment and the settlers' activities. He noted that Messrs Oakley and Buglass (former servants of Peel) had erected a timber house and a rammed earth barn on their small property (Bunbury 1930, 167). Further to the south

¹⁵ House inspection 12 October 2009. Originally the walls were covered with layers of lime wash.

¹⁶ House inspection 22 April 2011

at the Vasse, tenders were called in 1837 for the construction of military barracks and a store both of which were to be constructed from rammed earth with shingle roofs. One building was to be 18 x 18.6 feet [45.72 x 47.24 centimetres] and the other 18 x 10 feet [45.72 x 25.40 centimetres]. Both had walls 11 feet high [27.94 centimetres] (*Perth Gazette*, 4 March 1837).

The settlers on the upper Swan River also used rammed earth. Samuel Moore (brother of George) arrived in the Colony in April 1834. In September 1834 he purchased 'Oakover' and by January 1835, his brother George noted that Samuel and his wife Dora had moved into their new house (Moore Transcripts, 22 January 1835). When recalling the house of his birth, Samuel's son Fred remembered that the cottage was single storeyed, had eight rooms, with a cellar beneath and a detached kitchen and it was constructed from rammed earth (Moore 1931, 65).

Rammed earth continued to be used into the 1840s (indeed this technique persisted well into the late nineteenth century until it was again revived as a cheap building material in the late twentieth century), with William Tanner at Guildford and Marshall Clifton at Australind both referring to this technique. In a letter home to his mother in April 1842, Tanner informed her that he intended building a rammed earth house on his land grant on the Swan River at Guildford. He had two indentured servants and had employed a further two men who would be able to do most of the work except for some brickwork and carpentry that would necessitate the hiring of men with these specific skills (Tanner Letters 1842, 28 April). Tanner had moved onto his property by the following April but provided no further descriptions of his house and had left the colony by 1844.

Clifton arrived in Western Australia in 1841 as the Commissioner of the Western Australian Company that established a settlement at Australind. Unlike the foundation of the Swan River Colony in 1829, the Western Australian Company had sent surveyors ahead to commence laying out the settlement that became Australind. Following the arrival of the first settlers

in 1841, land clearing had commenced and building had started. In his quarterly report of January 1843, Clifton recorded the progress that had been made at the settlement. In his description of the Town Allotments he noted that at 120 River Street there was an incomplete house of "rammed clay" (Clifton Papers 1843, 1 January).

Further research might provide additional information on where the colonists obtained their information for rammed earth construction. Tanner's letter suggested that the method was not considered to require great skill, as he seemed to imply that his servants would be perfectly capable of erecting his new house and skilled labour would only be needed for the bricks and carpentry work. Although the construction method was not a traditional British vernacular technique its use in Western Australia appears to have caught on quickly, possibly due to its dissemination through pattern books or perhaps through word of mouth. The ease with which the walls could be constructed no doubt held great appeal to many settlers and once rendered and marked out to resemble ashlar masonry, it would be impossible for a visitor to determine that a building was constructed from rammed earth rather than some more expensive material, such as stone. The continued use of the material to extend an existing building, such as found at 'Gwambygine' indicates that the construction method was considered to be highly effective. Unlike wattle and daub, it did not require the construction of a timber frame, nor the tedious fiddling with wattles and vertical uprights. Instead it used formwork, which could be re-used again and again until the building was completed.

Cob

In Western Australia, architects have often described cob walls as either adobe or rammed earth, clearly not understanding that the presence of straw in the matrix indicates that the construction method must be cob. An example of this error can be found with the stables at 'Berkshire Valley' near

Moora. The stables have been described as rammed earth construction to approximately 160 cm wide with mud bricks above (NTWA 1996; HCWA 2008). However, when the lower section of the walls were examined it was possible to see straw mixed into the clay matrix, indicative of cob construction rather than rammed earth. As large sections of render have fallen from the walls the individual layers (or 'lifts') are clearly visible.¹⁷ (See Figure 4.3)



Figure 4.3 Stables at 'Berkshire Valley' the lower section of the wall is an example of cob walling due to the inclusion of straw in the mix (F. Bush 11 August 2010)

George Moore was one of the earliest settlers in the Colony to describe the use of cob. In March 1831 he wrote that he and his servants were busy with the construction of a detached kitchen and sleeping place for his servants. The walls were made "of what they call cob wall here. We should call it a mud wall" (Moore 1830 - 1848, 26 March 1831). Moore's comment suggests that a similar construction method was also used in Ireland.

¹⁷ Site inspection 11 August 2010.

Writing several months later, William Tanner wrote in a letter home that he had just completed his house (on the upper Swan River).¹⁸ Tanner gave an extremely detailed description of this house, the number of rooms, the style of the windows and even the colour scheme, but no mention of the material used in its construction. In closing, he noted that he hoped to replace his temporary detached kitchen, in about twelve months time, with a new building constructed from either brick or cob (Tanner Letters 1831, 10 October).

As mentioned previously references to cob walling are rare in settler correspondence although Moore and Tanner's writings would appear to indicate that the method was not uncommon. To date, only one other reference to this method has been found, written by George Edgerton Warburton who arrived in Albany in 1840 as part of a detachment of the 51st Regiment. Warburton purchased 320 acres to the north of Albany and named his property 'St. Werburgh' (Glover 1979, 18). In April 1870 he wrote to his brother Rowland concerning the erection of a church on his property for which Rowland was providing the funds. Warburton wrote that he considered "Devonshire Cob" to be the best material for construction purposes as he had used this in the construction of his own home (Warburton Letters 1870, 26 April).

Although Warburton was writing in 1870, he was referring to a house that he constructed in c.1843. It was later partially destroyed in a bush fire in March 1855 (Warburton Letters 1855, 3 December). In his 1870 letter to Rowland, Warburton gave a detailed account of the construction method¹⁹ and waxed lyrical about the qualities of cob walling:

¹⁸ This is a completely different house to that mentioned earlier on page 21. The description of the above house was one that Tanner and his family occupied following their arrival in Western Australia.

¹⁹ "Having built with stone the foundations and walls to the height of one foot above ground, you tread up brick earth or good loam, or both together. We generally tread with cattle adding water.... and shaking in chopped straw. This mixture when properly tempered is laid with 4-pronged forks all over the stone to the height of from 1½ to 2½ feet [4.064 to

It is frequently spoken of contemptuously by the inexperienced as "mud walling" but of all building materials which I have seen used in this part of Australia, it is the cheapest, the most durable, the most comfortable and the most capable of receiving ornamental openings. Part of my own house is built of it and when it was burnt down the walls remained perfectly uninjured and were left uncovered after the fire for two years without taking harm (Warburton Letters 1870, 26 April).

Unfortunately the heritage assessment describing the farm buildings at 'St. Werburgh' incorrectly describes the wall construction as 'pisé' rather than cob (HCWA 2004).

The colony's first census was taken in 1832 and revealed a total population of 1,926 (146 of which represented military personnel) (Cameron 1977, 113). Thirty-five percent of the colonists came from the southern English counties, with Kent and London contributing the largest numbers. Although thirty-five percent would at first sight appear small, it actually represented the largest grouping in the colony. As cob was a common building material in this region of England it is somewhat strange that there were so few references to this material in the colonists' writings.

However, as with wattle and daub and rammed earth buildings, it is impossible to determine whether a building might be constructed from cob unless a portion of the render, whether cement or lime, is removed to reveal the matrix material, thus many buildings may have been incorrectly described as rammed earth. What is probably more likely is that rammed earth, a somewhat 'newer' technique actually supplanted the older traditional cob technique. Rammed earth appears to have required less skill, as the clay matrix was contained within formwork so that the finished walls did not have

6.604 centimetres] at a time according to the drying capability of the weather. In a building of any size by the time you have gone all round it is dry enough to bear another course. It is laid a good deal wider than the wall is intended to be when finished and from time to time as it becomes of the right consistency for operation, the walls are pared with a sharp instrument to g..... and beaten smooth with a tool like a gigantic plumber's mallet. If you wish to make the best work regardless of trouble you carry it up solid without an opening and after proper time allowed for consolidation and thorough drying according to the season you trace yr. openings with charcoal on the walls and cut them out. Arches, round, pointed, or any pattern without c..... or any precautionary measures whatever." (Warburton Letters 1870, 26 April).

to be carefully pared as they did with cob. Due to the minimal references to cob buildings it is not known how Edgerton Warburton came to learn about this technique, as it was not traditionally found in his place of birth in the northern English county of Cheshire. It is possible that other settlers found this method of construction as efficient as Edgerton Warburton did, but either they did not write about it or their correspondence has been lost.

Brick

In Western Australia, suitable clay for making bricks was found within the first year of settlement. Writing in November 1830, Moore noted that there was an abundant supply of clay suitable for making both bricks and pottery (Moore 2006, 4). The Reverend John Wittenoom gave a more detailed account of the quality of the clay when he recorded in July 1832 that the

clay here shrinks very much: it is exceedingly tough and tenacious when moist, but excessively hard when dried or burnt....., we have not however, got yet into the right method of manufacturing it into bricks, but this year the bricks have been much better made than last: it requires much tempering and we have not yet got labour enough to prepare it properly (Wittenoom 1832,24 July).

The more astute settlers brought bricks with them, which not only provided additional capital with which to acquire a larger grant of land, but could also serve as a source of income if they decided to sell them to their fellow settlers. Charles B. Churchman, who arrived in March 1830 with timber planks and 15,000 bricks, together with other goods, became entitled to a grant of over 5,000 acres (SROWA Acc.36 Vol. 5, 154 - 155). Bricks and other building materials were also brought in from New South Wales and Tasmania. For example, John Lord arrived from one of these colonies in October 1829 bringing a quantity of shingles, sawn timber for building and 6,000 bricks (SROWA Acc.36 Vol. 2, 2).

As mentioned above, Wittenoom commented that labourers were in short supply in the colony together with skilled mechanics such as carpenters, sawyers, brick makers and charcoal burners (Berryman 2002, 198). Trying to estimate the actual number of skilled brickmakers and bricklayers in the colony before the arrival of the convicts has proven difficult, as there are few official documents that provided this type of information. The population returns for the colony in 1836 and the 1837 Census list only 5 bricklayers and 2 brickmakers in the colony (AJCP Reel 301, CO 18; Great Britain 1973). However when the information contained in these two documents was compared with figures listed in the Blue Books for the period 1836 to 1837 there are discrepancies with names that appear in the latter but not in the former. It is also possible that men who had previously given their occupations as brickmakers or bricklayers had acquired their own rural properties and so considered themselves to be farmers. For example Richard Edwards, (who was listed in the 1832 Census as a brickmaker) had become Captain Irwin's overseer by the time of the 1836 Census (Berryman, 1979; AJCP Reel 301, CO 18). A further difficulty in trying to estimate the numbers of brickmakers or bricklayers in the colony at a particular time is the wider meaning of the terms 'bricklayer' or 'brickmaker'. During the nineteenth century, a mason was a man who either worked in stone or laid bricks, although it is unclear whether he also manufactured bricks (Hall Genealogy: 2012). The distinction between masons and bricklayers appears to occur during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Due to the shortage of labour, skilled indentured servants would break their indentures, particularly if they were dissatisfied with their master, and find work elsewhere. As their skills were in high demand, fines rather than imprisonment were generally offered. Examples of this were William Withnell and Thomas Kelly, both stonemasons who were indentured to Captain Bamber (a builder) (Taylor 1987). In 1830 Bamber complained to the Colonial Secretary (Peter Broun), that both men had broken their indentures and found employment elsewhere (SROWA Acc. 36 Vol 5, 106).

Captain Irwin arrived in the colony in 1829 as the commander of the 63rd Regiment. He and his cousin, William Mackie, were granted land on the Upper Swan close to George Moore (Bourke 1987, 28, 51). The men were fortunate in securing the services of a skilled brickmaker and bricklayer, like Richard Edwards. Edwards was employed to assist in running the property and to construct a house for the men. The property had ready access to good brick clay and Edwards used clay from the foundation hole and burnt the bricks and tiles on site. Lime was obtained from one of the bays around Melville Water. The timber used in the house was also cut and sawn onsite (Irwin 1835, 57). The two-storey brick and tile house was completed by September 1831 and was considered to be “quite fine” (Moore 2006, 41; Moore 1830 – 1848, 8 January 1832).

Edwards' skills appear to have been in great demand as Lieutenant Henry Bull, who had a grant just up the river from Irwin and Mackie, also secured his services for his own house; which was completed in 1832 (Irwin 1835, 60). Moore had also wanted a batch of bricks made using the clay on his land, but Edwards was too busy so Moore was forced to purchase them instead from Bull's property (Moore 1830 – 1848, 4 April 1832).

As stated previously, it was the availability of raw materials that generally dictated which substance might be used in the construction of buildings. Settlers along the Swan and Canning Rivers often found supplies of good brick clay on their grants. If they had access to a skilled brickmaker or could pay one, then their house might be constructed from brick. At Perth, due to good supplies of clay, brick soon became the material of choice (*Perth Gazette*, 12 January 1833). The Reverend Wittenoom began constructing a brick house on his Perth grant during 1832. His property had such good quantities of clay that he was able to let his land to a brick maker in return for bricks. He noted that in one year he acquired 10,000 bricks that he used to construct his house. He was assisted in the construction by his sons who carted the bricks in wheelbarrows from the spot where they had been burnt, to the scaffolding

and then helped to lift them onto the scaffolding for the bricklayer (the only person Wittenoom employed for the construction of his house). Wittenoom and his eldest son mixed the mortar and the boys' tutor laid the inside bricks (Wittenoom 1832, 24 July). Dr Alexander Collie, who had arrived with Stirling in 1829, was another member of Stirling's civilian administration. As with others in the administration system he was able to employ men to construct a brick house for him in Perth in 1833, although in letters home to his brother he commented that it took nearly a year to construct. Once completed it was two storeys high with a double height verandah at the front. (See Figure 4.22) He provided detailed information about the house including its dimensions and that it had a separate kitchen and storeroom. Collie also provided costings for the bricks and lime and the fact that as the freshly cut mahogany boards tended to shrink, a certain period of time was required before the timber could be used (Collie 1831 - 1834). Like Wittenoom with his brickmaker and bricklayer, Collie did not seem to think it important to provide the names of the men that he employed to construct his house. The strong class distinctions that became a feature of Victorian society can readily be seen to be operating in a small colony on the other side of the world.

Interpretations of the quality of the dwellings erected by the settlers should, in some instances, be considered to be misleading, as many were trying to impress the readers at home. For example Irwin's account of the colony paints a decidedly rosy picture of the quality of the homes and the energy with which the settlers got on with many of the tasks themselves, including house construction (Irwin 1835). His descriptions were of course aimed at potential new settlers. Colonel Hanson²⁰ on the other hand, who toured the colony in 1831 and 1832 and wrote of what he saw to a friend, could be considered less biased as he was a visitor to the colony. His pamphlet was later serialised in the *Perth Gazette* during 1833. He spoke highly of both

²⁰ Hanson was a quartermaster based in Madras, India and was on sick leave at the time he visited the Australian colonies. He later reproduced his letter as a small pamphlet (Berryman 2002, 225).

Perth and Fremantle, noting that stone and brick houses were under construction in Perth and that both good quality bricks and stone could be obtained from the area. On his trip to Guildford he stayed with Captain Currie and his wife and observed that, "he has built a most comfortable little brick House" (*Perth Gazette*, 12 January 1833). He did not however describe any of the other settlers' dwellings that he would have passed on his way to Guildford, such as the wattle and daub dwellings of Dr Whatley and Joseph Hardey. Perhaps this type of house was not considered to be as acceptable.

What soon becomes clear when examining the various construction methods used during the early years of colonial development is that those settlers who had ready access to cash were able to erect brick houses. Cash could pay for a brickmaker and also the labour required to assist in making the bricks. Both Irwin and Wittenoom had a source of income from the military and colonial administration respectively. Moore on the other hand initially had to make do with using mud bricks to construct the first section of his house and it was only after he had managed to gain a government appointment, that he was able to purchase a small house in Perth (Moore 1830 – 1848, 27 July 1832). Unfortunately, he did not mention what type of material was used in the construction of the building. However, following his government appointment, he did arrange for the addition of a new room to his house at Middle Swan. It seems likely that the 1,000 bricks that he purchased from Richard Edwards in April 1832 were to be used to construct the new room that he had referred to a month earlier (Moore 1830 - 1848, 19 March 1832; 4 April 1832).

Hanson's pamphlet mentioned the brick clays around Perth and it was the presence of brick clay on his own and his neighbours' properties that enabled Moore to extend his mud brick house with burnt bricks. However, the presence of brick buildings, as opposed to wattle and daub or rammed earth structures appears to have been dependant on the abilities of the colonist to make and lay the bricks himself. Wittenoom's experience demonstrates that

if a settler could pay (or barter) for the skills of a brickmaker, and was willing to act as a labourer, then it was possible to construct a brick building without spending too much. However, not all settlers were in the same position as Wittenoom. As in England, early brickmaking in the colony was restricted to areas that had brick clays and access to transport routes, or to making the bricks on site. The fact that brick buildings began to appear in greater numbers after 1850, in areas that had previously been dominated by rammed earth or even stone, indicates that it was not simply the availability of materials (or cash) that prevented settlers erecting brick buildings, but other factors. What those factors were will be discussed further in a later chapter.

Stone

In Western Australia, stone buildings appeared soon after the foundation of the colony as supplies of limestone could be easily found along the coast and there was granite in the Darling Ranges. The settlers' brief descriptions of stone buildings do not provide information about whether the walls were constructed using random walling or dressed ashlar, nor do they mention the type of mortar used. Given the high quality status that stone engendered, those settlers who were able to avail themselves of this material must have been delighted. At Fremantle, where limestone was plentiful, early settlers had easy access to this material and from the earliest days of foundation, stone was often used to construct houses and businesses in this locality. By contrast, Perth's early years were dominated by wooden and brick buildings. Evidence for the early use of stone at Fremantle came from a variety of sources, such as Hanson. When he landed at Fremantle in September 1831, he was surprised at the progress that had already been made. Although the buildings were predominantly wooden, there were also a few stone houses. He described the stone as having

the character of Scotch Free Stone; it cuts like cheese in the quarry, and hardens like flint when exposed to air; limestone, of the very best quality, is also very plentiful, so that they have every material for building on the spot (Berryman 2002, 226).

One of the buildings that Hanson might have seen in Fremantle belonged to Captain W. Graham, formerly of the Royal African Colonials Regiment who arrived in the colony in 1830 and built himself a large stone house (Erickson 1988b, 1244). However he fell on hard times and had to auction off his property in April 1832. A description of the house appeared in the local paper following its purchase by Mr E. Weavell: "[a] well built stone house 45 feet [114.30 centimetres] long with double bows and cenure [sic] at the front towards the sea the top turreted standing on three town lots" for £45 (*The Western Australian*, 26 May 1832).

On his arrival in Perth Hanson described the capital as being well sited with a picturesque little mountain, Mt Eliza, at the western end. Once again he considered the limestone available for building there to be of excellent quality and that one of the settlers, Mr Jeckes [sic] was constructing a house of 'Free Stone' that he had quarried from the south-eastern face of Mt. Eliza (*Perth Gazette*, 12 January 1833).

Captain Irwin's slightly later description of Fremantle and Perth in 1835 noted that Fremantle had houses of stone or painted wood and that the plentiful supplies of limestone in the area would probably lead to the construction of more stone buildings. Perth however lagged a little behind, as houses there were mainly constructed of wood, together with a few brick buildings. Good supplies of stone in nearby Mount Eliza led him to believe that more stone houses would soon be constructed (Irwin 1835, 50). Irwin, like Hanson, obviously considered stone to be the more desirable building material.

During the early years of the colony, the construction of large stone buildings (or indeed any large building) appears to have been limited to settlers who had ready access to cash. Examples of this can be seen with Captain Graham and also Major William Nairn who arrived in 1831 and arranged to purchase

land on the Canning River. Nairn was unusual in that his experience of Australia was not restricted solely to Western Australia. An officer in the 46th Regiment, he was posted to New South Wales in 1814 and then Hobart where he developed business interests. He was then sent to India in 1818 and did not return to Hobart until 1832. Despite having business interests in Hobart, he decided to settle in Western Australia following his purchase of land on the Canning (McDonald & Cooper 1988, 24). He retained his business interests in Van Diemen's Land and it was probably these interests that enabled him to prosper and erect a large stone house on his Cannington property. In letters to his agent in Hobart, Nairn wrote about carting stone and lime to build a house on his Cannington property, 'Maddington Park'. He commented that, "stone for the Building ... is exactly half the expense of a building in this place" (Nairn 1833, 11 December). The house was largely completed by March 1837 when he wrote, "I have got the best dwelling house in the Colony all built with the best materials, stone and lime and mahogany timber" (Nairn 1837, 20 March).

Nairn's letters do not say whether he engaged someone to build the house for him, or whether he was responsible for the house design, although its overall appearance was very similar to Irwin and Mackie's two storey house at 'Henley Park' (see Figure 4.25). Data from the 1837 Census recorded the presence of Joseph Morris, a mason and Mr J. Truslow a carpenter at Nairn's farm and it is highly likely that they were in the process of constructing Nairn's House (1837 Census, Great Britain 1973). Nairn took the credit for carting all the stone and timber and therefore he probably supervised the work himself. It was a further three years before the house was completed. (See Figure 4.4)

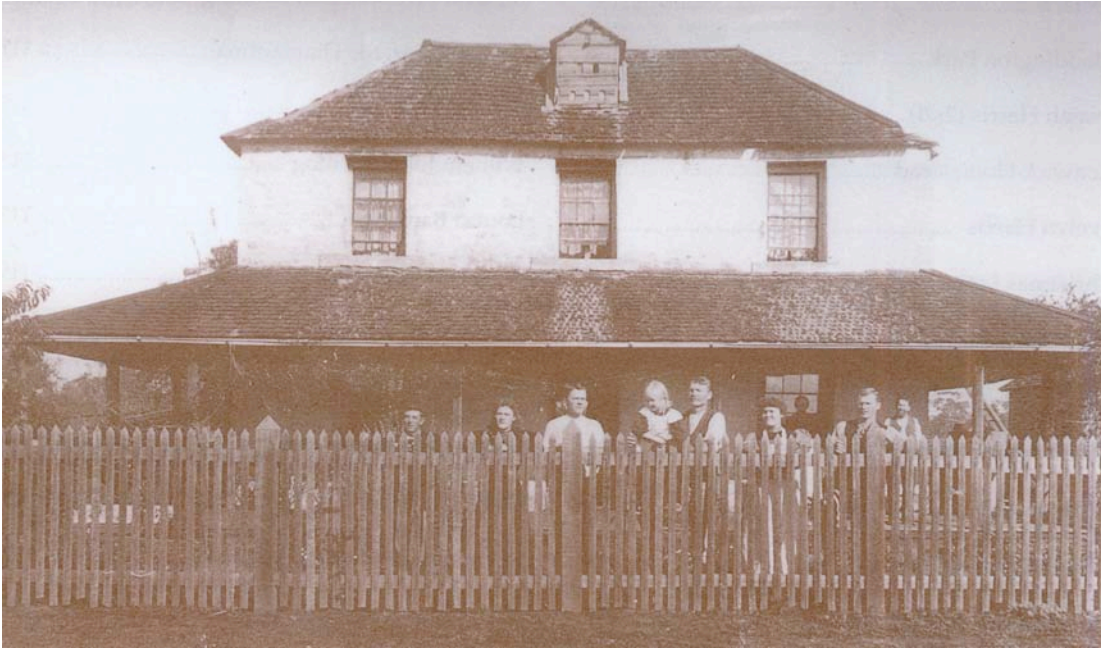


Figure 4.4 Maddington Park House c.1900 (reproduced from Harris 1998, frontispiece)



Figure 4.5 Maddington Park House today (reproduced with permission of J. Stephens, 2010)

It is unclear why it took this long to complete the house. At the time of its construction it was an unusual building in the colony in that it was a two-storey homestead; most of the two storey buildings appear to have been restricted to either Perth or Fremantle rather than being constructed on rural properties. Details from the 1837 Census indicated that he was initially able to pay for skilled labour, so the delay may have been due to the difficulties in carting the stone to the site or perhaps a shortage of skilled men to continue the house's construction. A further cause may have been that Nairn, like so many other settlers, had begun to run out of ready cash. Whatever the cause for the delay, the house (which still stands today, although in a derelict condition, see Figure 4.5) would have been highly distinctive in a landscape largely dominated by single storey homesteads.

A large number of stone buildings were also constructed in the settled areas near York, Toodyay and Northam. Unlike Perth's coastal plain, which had access to limestone, colonists who moved into the Darling Range and beyond were confronted with a mixture of granites, dolerite and laterite. Bunbury mentioned only one stone residence at York, Mr Parker's, which he described as a "substantial but rough stone house" (Bunbury 1930, 56). In 1836 George Moore was part of an expedition that explored the country to the east of the Darling Range. He described two settlers' houses in the York and Northam areas. William Heal's property (at York) was described as having two huts that were being used as temporary accommodation while "the side walls of a large substantial stone house" was under construction. The party pushed on towards Northam, passing John Morrell's property where "in a short space of time, [he had] made himself a well-sized house, with windows framed and glazed, a snug fire-place and chimney and several acres ready for the plough" (*Perth Gazette*, 18 June 1836). Although Moore did not mention what Morrell's house was constructed from, the house is still extant and is constructed from stone. Morrell, unlike many of the other settlers, was actually a professional builder who was responsible, together with Messrs

Knight and Cooke, for the construction of the Commissariat Store at Perth (*Perth Gazette*, 11 April 1835).

Erickson, who has undertaken extensive research on early settler houses around the Toodyay district, commented that when the settlers first arrived in the area they quickly erected wattle and daub huts and then once established, with the help of their employees, erected a more substantial dwelling using stone "carried from the riverbank" and mud for the mortar (Erickson 2006, 9). As mentioned previously, Erickson's work, though extensive, was uncited so it is impossible to verify her claims that house development followed the pattern she described. However, given the plentiful supply of stone available in this area it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that wattle and daub houses did give way to stone although to date no documentation pertaining to this sequence has been found. Her remark regarding the construction of stone buildings is however substantiated by the Morgan family papers. This family settled on a property near Northam in c.1840, which they named 'Bardeen'. The first dwelling was a stone cottage with a thatched roof; a detached stone kitchen was constructed close by. The first stone cottage is no longer extant but the small, two-roomed kitchen has survived (R.I.C.H. 2004).

Although it has been difficult to track down actual settler descriptions of stone buildings, the survival rate of stone buildings constructed during the pre-convict era has been much greater than those of wattle and daub or rammed earth. Two examples of very early stone cottages are Eacott's (c.1831) and Hall's (c.1832) both constructed in the Mandurah area. Hall's Cottage (see Figure 4.6) began as a simple two roomed dwelling with a hipped roof. The limestone was then covered with a lime render. At a later stage verandahs were added to the front and rear and three additional rooms were constructed along the southern side and covered with a skillion roof. A course of stonework above the top plates indicates that before the addition of these three rooms the cottage did not have verandahs, as the plates on the front,

side and rear elevations show no evidence of previous fixings for the verandah rafters. A comparison between the construction techniques of the first two rooms and the three later rooms reveals a high degree of similarity suggesting that the additions probably took place only a few years after the cottage was first constructed.²¹



Figure 4.6 Hall's Cottage, front elevation (F. Bush 15 May 2011)

Examples of slightly later stone cottages can be found at 'Doungup', a homestead near Capel that was constructed in c.1843 by Samuel Rose and the Kojonup Military Barracks that was constructed in 1845 by soldiers of the 51st Regiment. Both Hall's Cottage and the Kojonup Barracks will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Even though settler descriptions of stone dwellings are uncommon, the examples that remain today demonstrate that settlers commonly used stone during the pre-convict era. It is not known whether these buildings were

²¹ Site visit 15 May 2011

erected by qualified masons or by the settlers themselves. The material appears to have been particularly popular along the coastal fringe and also in certain inland areas such as Northam and Toodyay. At this stage it is unclear whether this material was popular with other very early settlers in the Kojonup or Williams areas due to a lack of written documents.

Timber

Several settler descriptions refer to timber buildings, although how these timber buildings were constructed (whether from vertical timber slabs, or covered with weatherboards) is not known. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Addy described a form of timber construction with timber infill as “clam staff and daub” (Addy 1975, 66). Two photographs taken by Alfred Stone in Perth in the early 1860s may depict an example of this method of construction. Figures 4.7 and 4.8 were taken at slightly different times due to the progress on the new Government House, which is visible in the background (this progress, evident in the full original photographs, confirms that photo 4.8 is more recent than 4.7). In the earlier photograph (Figure 4.7), the small cottage appears to be in a neglected condition as the daub covering the walls has fallen off in places, although the thatched roof still remains. In the later photograph (Figure 4.8) the daub has now completely gone from the walls, together with the roof thatching. The gradual decay reveals the manner in which the building was constructed. The walls appear to be composed of two rows of vertical timber slabs (‘studs’, or planks) set between top and bottom plates.



Figure 4.7 Perth in early 1860s. The cottage in the foreground appears to have been abandoned as the plaster covering is falling off. (J.S. Batty Library 26345P, reproduced with permission of Mrs Croft)

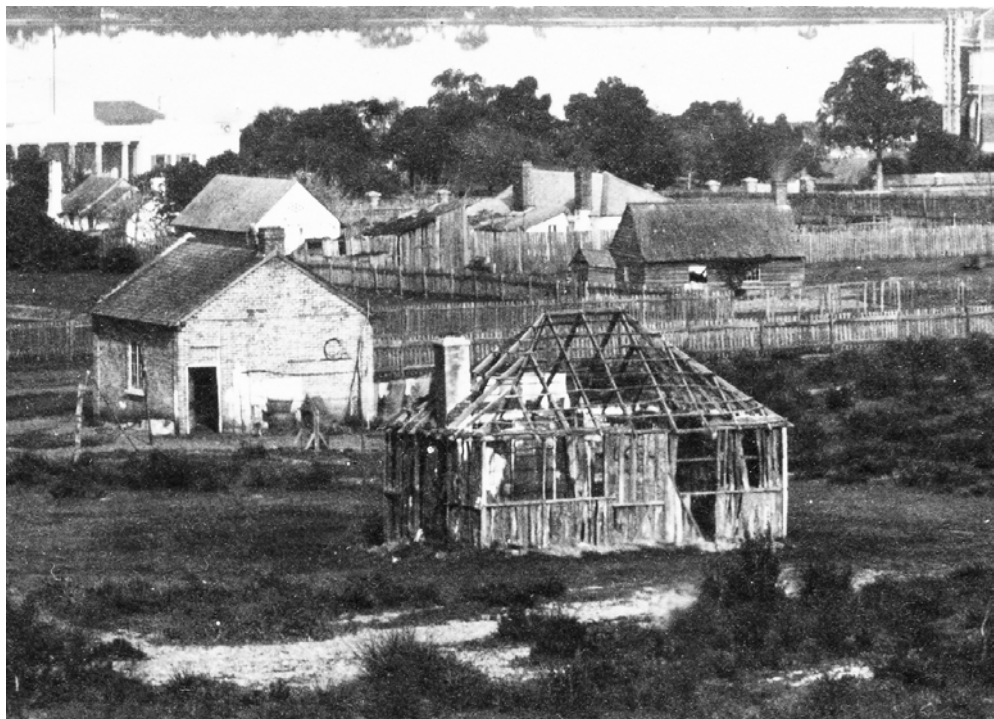


Figure 4.8 Detail taken from a slightly later view of Perth. The cottage in the foreground has lost more of its cladding. (Reproduced with permission of P. Statham Drew)

Whether the small cottage shown in Figures 4.7 and 4.8 is representative of the ‘clam staff and daub’ technique is not known, as the technique was not

specifically referred to in settler descriptions, and few extant examples of this type of timber walling have been found in Western Australia. In Australia, the use of vertical timber slabs (or studs) as a walling material has come to be referred to as vertical slab construction (Lewis 1977, 64). The application of wattles or horizontal battens on the exterior of a slab building, to assist in covering the slabs with daub, is not commonly seen (see Figure 4.9). Perhaps clam staff and daub should be considered as a more refined version of vertical timber slab construction. One of the buildings constructed on the property 'Cook's Park', was possibly an example of the clam staff and daub technique, although it was erected after 1850.²² James Rogers, formerly a servant for one of the Australind settlers moved onto the property in the early 1860s and it is thought that the early buildings were constructed in c.1862 (Boersma 1995, 24). Photographs of one section of the homestead show that the walls were constructed using vertical timber planks, which then had lathes nailed to them over which a coating of daub was then applied. The same method was also used internally (see Figure 4.9).



Figure 4.9 'Cook's Park' (reproduced with permission of NTWA)

²² This building has since been demolished.

Vertical timber slab buildings were commonly constructed in Western Australia and an early example exists on Clifton's property 'Ulverstone'. Marshall Clifton began developing this property in 1842. The main house was brick construction, but one of the early outbuildings constructed during the 1840s was vertical timber slab construction (Palassis 2000). James Atkinson recommended the use of vertical timber slabs to emigrants settling in NSW in 1826 and provided detailed instructions on how to go about erecting such a building. The slabs were set into grooves cut into top and bottom plates and the vertical slabs were then slid into place. The use of grooved timbers meant that a settler did not have to have nails to construct his house, although the labourers that Atkinson referred to were generally convicts and he did comment that these men had acquired skills in working with Australian timbers (Atkinson 1975, 96). Western Australians did not of course have access to this type of labour force until after 1850 and by that stage they too had learnt how to work the native timbers. It is not known whether Western Australian emigrants had access to Atkinson's book prior to sailing, or some other helpful emigrant guide. Innocent noted that vertical timber slab construction was a very old technique and that as the years passed the method became more refined until finally it was used only for interior partitions (Innocent 197, 111). However, the technique continued to be used in many Canadian and American timber buildings with the spaces between the studs caulked with mud, clay or moss.

Very few descriptions of the vertical timber slab method of construction have been found in settler material from the pre-convict era. The earliest mention of vertical timber slab walling came from Bunbury on his travels south in 1836. He described a house at Pinjarra that had been constructed by two men, Oakley and Buglass. Although he did not specifically refer to vertical timber walling he stated that the house was constructed from split red gum slabs with "the interstices filled with clay (Bunbury 1930, 167). The reference

to the use of clay to fill the gaps between the boards is probably a good indicator that Bunbury was describing a vertical slab building rather than a weatherboard building. In Western Australia the use of vertical timber slabs was largely restricted to the south-west region of the state and many of the extant examples date from the 1860s onwards. In general these buildings did not have an exterior coating of mud render applied to the slabs although they were often finished with a coating of lime wash, thus the building at 'Cook's Park' was unusual. On the other hand, the interiors were often covered with a mud render followed by a lime wash.²³

To the north of Albany, near Mt Barker, there is a particularly fine example of a vertical timber slab cottage constructed in c.1840 by John Hassell on his property 'Kendenup'. This building was supposedly the first cottage constructed on the property until it was superseded in c.1855 by a second homestead, a mud brick building. The timber building was then used as the kitchen (see Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.10 First Homestead at 'Kendenup', later the kitchen (F. Bush 1992)

²³ For example Slab Cottage, Boyanup that was visited in January 2003.

The vertical timber slabs sit on a stone foundation that was apparently installed in the 1970s as part of a series of restoration works to this and other buildings on the property (NTWA 1992). The insertion of a foundation indicates that either the slabs were originally set directly into the ground, or that timber logs may have been used and these have since been eaten away. A closer examination of the ground beneath the foundation would have to be made before it becomes clear whether a foundation was used. Atkinson stated that a log foundation should be set down first, but he recommended the use of stone (Atkinson 1975, 96). At 'Kendenup' the exterior walls have been covered with a coating of lime-wash, however the interior has largely lost its coating with the exception of one room that was covered with a mud render followed by a coating of lime-wash.²⁴

When the colonists arrived in Western Australia they were confronted with trees that were dissimilar to those that they had known at home. The trees were so hard that they blunted their axes and if used immediately for construction work the timber would shrink or warp after it dried. Through experience the settlers learnt that the timber needed to be well seasoned before use (Collie 1834, 18 April).

Some settlers came prepared and brought pre-fabricated houses that could be easily erected at a temporary location soon after arrival and then reassembled and re-erected on their grant. A survey of the settlers' inventories revealed not only the importation of pre-fabricated houses, but also sawn timber boards that could be used either to erect a house or to sell to other settlers (CSO Acc.36 Vol 4, Vol. 5, 152; *Perth Gazette*, 19 January 1833). Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* provided a detailed description and drawings of a portable timber cottage designed by the London builder, Henry Manning (see Figure 4.11).

²⁴ Site visit by F. Bush Feb. 1992.

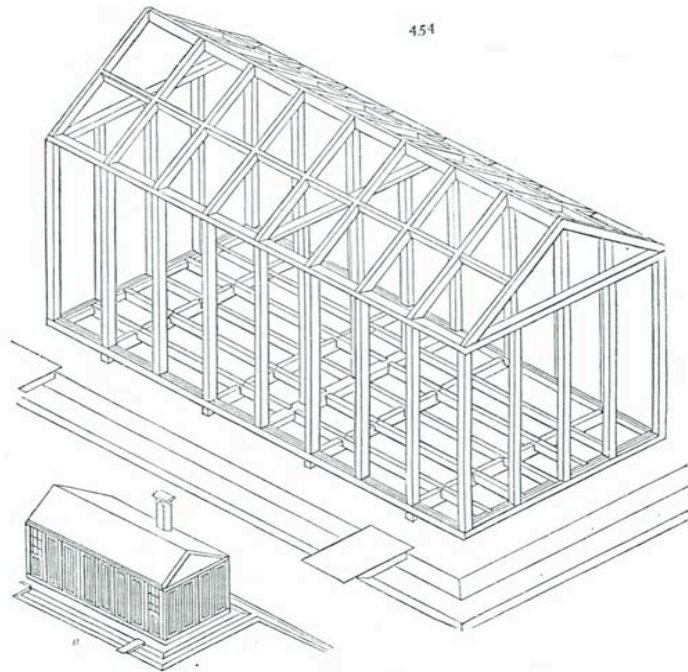


Figure 4.11 Manning's Portable Cottage (From Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* 1869, 255)

Manning apparently designed the cottage for the Australian colonies and in particular the Swan River Colony (Loudon 1869, 253 - 257).²⁵ He produced a pamphlet in c.1830, extolling the advantages of his portable timber cottage for the emigrant. Settlers could choose from either a two, three or four roomed cottage that contained all the items needed for its erection. Manning boasted that the package took up little space in the ship's hold and on arrival the various components were light and easy to transport (Herbert 1972, 264). Writing in August 1832, Charles Ridley provided some interesting insights into the perils of living in a Manning House. He “[took] the precaution at first of raising it about three feet [7.62 centimetres] from the ground on pillars, the white ants have not yet found their way into it; but the wooden houses built at the same time upon the ground are completely honey-combed by them” (Berryman 2002, 263).

²⁵ Manning's son William arrived in the colony in 1830 aboard the *Egyptian*, which carried a portable Manning house that belonged to fellow settler Dubois Agett. William left the colony with his family in 1847 (Erickson 1988c, 2067).

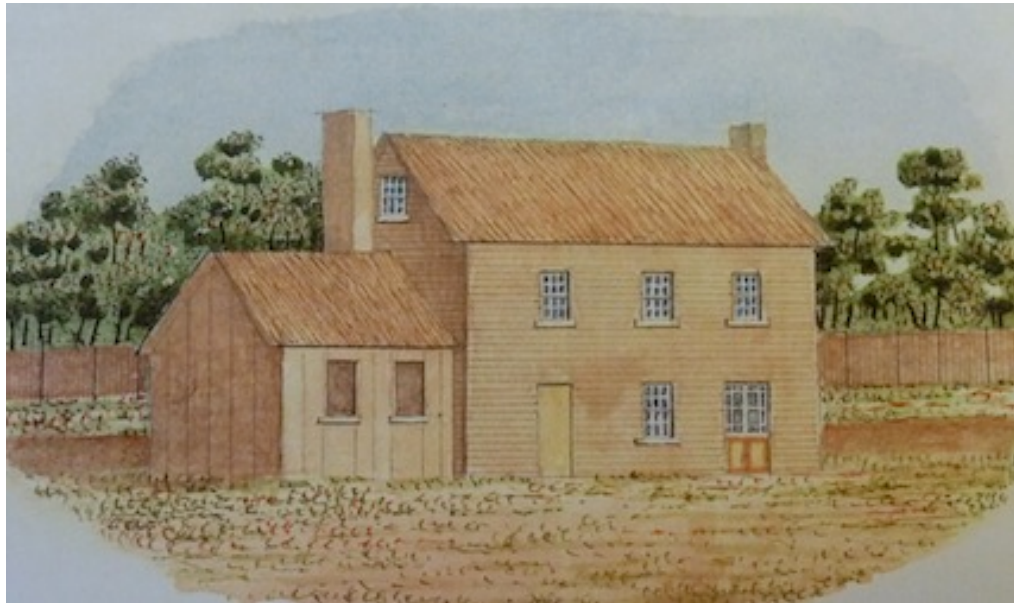


Figure 4.12 Sketch of James W. Turner’s House at Augusta by T. Turner (Turner 1790 – 1966, Acc.2835A/6, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA

James W. Turner, a London merchant, arrived in 1830 and brought a rather large pre-fabricated cottage with him that he erected on his grant at Augusta. His son, Thomas, drew several sketches of his father’s grant and other places around Augusta. One of his sketches depicted the family home, a simple two storey dwelling clad with weatherboards (Figure 4.12). By contrast the small single storey annex on one side of the building appears to be constructed using either vertical split slabs or possibly vertically placed deal boards (Turner 1790 – 1966, sketch no. 6).

Despite the importation of portable timber houses and timber boards, settlers were quick to take advantage of the native timbers. William Reveley stated that he constructed “a framed house of Australian Mahogany” (Jarrah) in Perth in 1830 (Berryman 2002, 199). A watercolour sketch by Reveley shows a neat little weatherboard building with a hipped roof and two windows on one side (Le Page 1986, 188). The constant employment of sawyers and carpenters by both the colonial government and the settlers provided further evidence of the use of native timbers in the colony’s construction program.

Henry Trigg, a carpenter by trade, arrived in the colony in 1829 and was employed by the colonial government to erect a number of buildings. At the same time he took on private work. Shortly after his arrival he acquired a Perth Town lot and by January 1830 had built himself a thatched timber house 26 feet [66.04 centimetres] long and 14 feet [35.56 centimetres] wide, clad with boards. In letters home to his wife he reported glowingly on the opportunities available to carpenters and that he had plenty of work to keep him fully occupied for at least three years (Trigg 1830).

Sir Richard Spencer, Resident Magistrate at Albany from 1833 - 1839 occupied and purchased the former Government Farm, Strawberry Farm. In 1835 he acquired land on the Hay River north of Albany (Glover 1979, 12). Although there are no written documents recording the type of house he erected on his Hay River farm, the photograph below (Figure 4.13) clearly shows that Spencer's house was constructed from roughly cut weatherboards. The boards were then given a coating of lime wash. Unfortunately the date that the photograph was taken is not known.



Figure 4.13 Richard Spencer's house on the Hay River (reproduced with permission of B. Waterhouse)

During the 1840s, when the Australind settlement was established many of these settlers' first buildings were constructed from local timber. In a letter to the Commissioners in May 1841, Clifton referred to the temporary dwelling that he had erected in the town: it had “split timber for posts and reed thatching 4 or 5 rooms on flat. Expense was small (together with 6 windows)” (Clifton Letterbook 1840 - 1841). His daughter Mary drew both the house and the surrounding buildings shortly after the house was finished (Figure 4.14).



Figure 4.14 View of the Commissioner’s cottage in Koombana Gardens 1841 (reproduced with permission of Art Gallery of WA)

Her pencil sketch shows a long weatherboarded building with a gable roof. Along one long side six windows are clearly visible, three on either side of a central door.²⁶ From both Clifton's quarterly report for the year ending 1842 and the sketches produced by his daughters Mary and Louisa, it is possible to determine that many of the buildings erected during Australind’s first years of settlement were timber. Clifton’s use of the words 'split timber' appears to

²⁶ Figure 3.15: pencil sketch by Mary Clifton, 19.5 x 27.0cm. State Art Collection, Art Gallery of Western Australia. Gift of Mr Robert D. Keall, great, great, great nephew of Mary Clifton.

apply to both weatherboard construction as well as vertical timber walling although in one description he refers to a “Mahogany Weather Boarded & thatched Cottage” (Clifton Papers, 1843 1 January). In Mary's picture the settlement's storehouse, a vertical slab building with a hipped roof, is clearly visible to the left of her father's house.

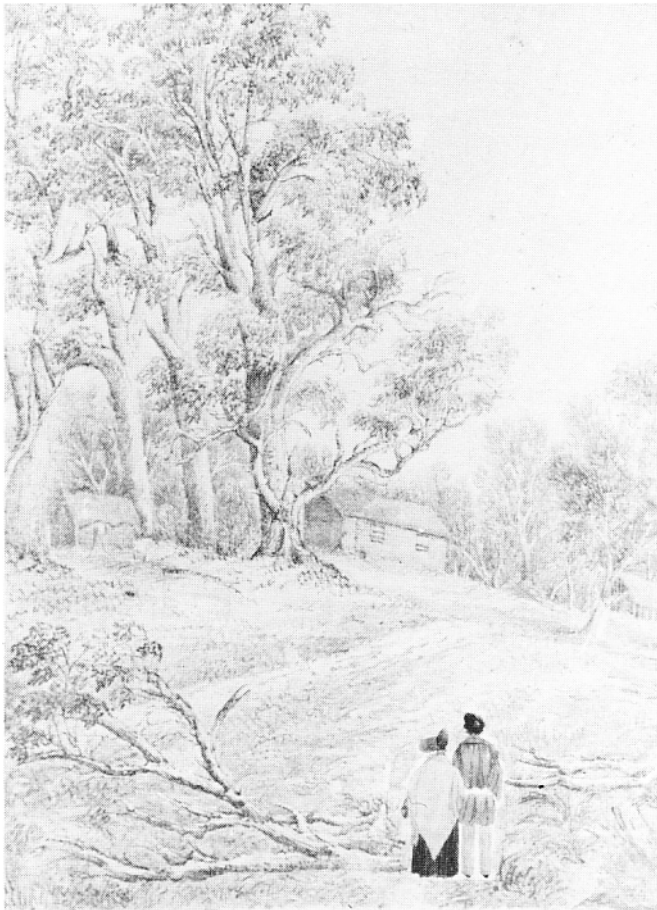


Figure 4.15 Mr Greensill's Cottage by Louisa Clifton (from Chapman 1979, No. 196)

Mary and Louisa also sketched the small cottages that began to spring up around the settlement. Figure 4.15 depicts a small weatherboard cottage that Louisa described as Mr Greensill's Cottage. The building with its gable roof and two windows demonstrates the simplicity of the structures that were being erected at Australind during this period. None of these early cottages have survived with the exception of St Nicholas Church. This building, originally built as a residence in c.1844 has survived in its original form as it

was converted for use as a church in 1850. St. Nicholas' will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

It is interesting to observe that the use of native timber to construct cottages and houses before 1850 was not as widespread as one might expect, despite the examples provided above. There were plenty of trees that could have been used to construct timber dwellings but many of the settlers chose another medium, possibly because cutting down a tree and then reducing it to slabs or planks was a very labour intensive process.²⁷ The timbers that were produced using this method were generally used for framing or roofing. For example, Lennox Bussell describes cutting timber at the saw-pit for the house at 'Cattle Chosen' that the brothers were building. This house was made from wattle and daub, therefore the timbers that Lennox describes were for wall frames or roofing timbers, not cladding (Bussell 1834, 27 June 1834).

The difference that access to a large labour pool made can be seen at Australind. The Western Australian Company had had the foresight to send men ahead to set up their new town. Following the settlers' arrival, there would have been many men amongst the settlers who would have been capable of providing the labour required to split timber into slabs for buildings constructed in the town. Once the settlers moved out on to their rural grants the number of men available for splitting timber would have depended on the number of servants that a settler had brought. The construction of the early split slab huts on the Cliftons' property 'Alverstoke' may have been possible due to the family having access to the labour pool that was present at Australind in the 1840s. Access to a large pool of labour was not common in Western Australia before 1850. Therefore, the larger number of houses built from split slabs after the 1850s is perhaps indicative of the contribution that convicts made to the colony. The convicts as a whole provided a labour pool

²⁷ However, it should be noted that timber was quite often used in the construction of farm buildings and sheds.

for the settlers, which could be tapped once they were released on their tickets-of-leave. The arrival of mechanization through the medium of the steam saw also made a difference. The widespread use of weatherboards did not become common until after the establishment of saw mills in the 1880s. This pattern of weatherboard usage paralleled the British experience.

The types of building materials and methods used in Western Australia following European settlement closely followed the various vernacular traditions that had been practised in Britain for hundreds of years, with the exception of rammed earth, which was a comparatively new innovation. These traditions made extensive use of local materials until the arrival of mechanization and improved transportation systems permitted the importation of processed materials that were not native to the area. This type of pattern was repeated in Western Australia, with local materials being exploited for building construction together with a limited use of materials that were either carted from a nearby locality or imported into the colony. The colonists could learn the traditional construction methods, together with the newer rammed earth method, from either their servants or the mechanics. Slightly more complex traditions, such as the making and of firing bricks, required a certain skill level (and was more time consuming), which many of the colonists lacked. It is probably for this reason that bricks tended to remain beyond the reach of most colonists until the arrival of both labourers and skilled mechanics in greater numbers. This did not to happen until after 1850, when the convicts arrived.

4.2 House Design

Under the terms of colonial settlement, the colony was to be self-supporting with no or little help provided by the British government. Thus the most likely type of emigrant that would have been attracted to the colony were investors, who could sponsor labourers or mechanics, persons of independent means or those with enough finance to establish themselves and their family

in a new colony. Consequently landowners, retired naval and military men, doctors, lawyers, clergymen or merchants represented most of Western Australia's founding settlers. This group were generally well educated and had a clear understanding of their place in British society. They expected to replicate that society and the material trappings that went with it in the new colony of Western Australia. Therefore, one would expect that the types of houses erected by the settlers would reflect not only this background but also the plans and stylistic features that were familiar to them. However, the documentary information (both written and pictorial) indicates that the first houses constructed by the settlers on their grants replicated the simple dwellings that could be found in British villages at this time; not the large dwellings that they were familiar with. The following discussion examines the types of houses constructed by the settlers on their arrival and how these dwellings changed once the settler became established. It will also consider possible sources of influence and explore why some settlers chose to build in the way that they did.

Information obtained from several settlers' accounts indicated that for many, the first house that they constructed was just a stop-gap measure while they settled in and busied themselves with the task of raising crops and looking after their livestock.²⁸ Some settlers also provided information on how they wanted to either expand or rebuild their home once they had become established. Several of these aspirations included either an additional wing (e.g. George Moore and Wittenoom), or the erection of a completely new dwelling (e.g. Mrs Whatley). A few colonists also wrote of the need to erect a separate kitchen (e.g. William Tanner). Frustratingly many of the descriptions gave no real indication of what the dwelling actually looked like, although occasional descriptions and plans did provide some clue to the building's appearance. To gain a better understanding of what pre 1850 buildings

²⁸ This pattern was particularly relevant for those who arrived in 1829 - 31, but it was a pattern that came to be repeated throughout Western Australian history until at least the mid 1920s in some areas.

looked like, the paintings and drawings executed by settlers and visitors were examined to obtain information on design and style.

Illustrations of Fremantle and Perth that were drawn after the first few years of colonisation reflected the British origins of the settlers. Many of the houses depicted are simple structures, with either a gable or hipped roof, mostly single storey, with windows on either side of a centrally located door and a chimney on one end wall.



Figure 4.16 Currie's panoramic view of Fremantle, 1832 (State Library of NSW)

Jane Currie's panoramic view of Fremantle (Figure 4.16) shows a widespread collection of largely single storey, white coloured buildings with a mix of hipped and gable roofs. The few buildings depicted with a verandah appear to be an extension of the main roof rather than one that sprang from a support on the wall. A slightly later sketch of Fremantle by Charles Wittenoom (1838)²⁹ indicates that although the number of buildings had increased they are all of a similar design to those erected during the first five years of settlement. There were some differences, specifically there were a few more two storey buildings and the number of houses with verandahs had also increased.

²⁹ Charles Wittenoom, *View from the Court House, Arthur's Head* c.1838, Dixon Galleries, Sydney.

Many of these buildings could be said to display what Irving referred to as 'Georgian Palladian' characteristics, such as a balanced front façade (Irving 1985, 198). However, as discussed at the beginning of the chapter, these buildings were probably not erected with any form of style in mind; function was more likely to have been the over-riding principle. These first dwellings had to provide a sleeping area, somewhere to work during the day and a place to store the colonist's belongings. Some indication of the provision of these functions was provided in the settlers' letters and diaries. Henry Trigg described having his bedroom in one corner of his house and the remainder was his workroom. There was no mention of a partition or wall dividing these two activities so it would appear that in Trigg's case it was just a single room (Trigg 16 January 1830). For Marshall Clifton and his family getting out of a tent and into their new house was keenly anticipated, even though the house was considered to be only temporary until the construction of their permanent house. Clifton's new house (which Mary drew, see Figure 3.14) had a sitting room (15 by 11.6 feet [38.10 by 29.46 centimetres]) with an adjoining office and three bedrooms, each 12 by 11.6 feet [30.48 by 29.46 centimetres]. There was no description of the interior with the exception that Louisa was delighted that it had a brick floor (Clifton, L. 1840 – 1841, 48).

William Tanner provided one of the best descriptions for a house interior. Writing in October 1831 he noted that his house had only one sitting room, 24 feet [60.96 centimetres] long and panelled, which gave it a rather old fashioned appearance; it was painted a slate colour with grey highlights. The gothic windows and door for this room were all on the same side while the white painted ceiling was timber boards laid on the ceiling joists. Opening into the sitting room was a bedroom, twelve feet [30.48 centimetres] square, painted in the same colours and a closet that was at that time being used as a pantry. Under the same roof was a servant's bedroom, although it had its own separate side entry door. At the time of writing the family was in the process of putting on the roof which would be high enough to create a servant's bedroom in the roof space and the roofing timbers would be

extended to create a verandah between five and six feet wide [12.7 and 15.24 centimetres]. The house had also been raised off the ground to allow a cellar to be excavated and a temporary canvas kitchen had also been erected (Statham 1981d, 8). Tanner's comment about the single sitting room and the servant's bedroom adjacent to the closet are interesting. Tanner, as a gentleman would have been accustomed to having more than just one sitting room and the servants' accommodation would not have been in such close proximity to the 'master and mistress's rooms', hence the need for a separate door into the servant's bedroom. The provision of a servant's bedroom in the roof space would either allow the bedroom downstairs to be re-allocated to Tanner's family or for other servants who might have been sleeping in the kitchen tent. Even in the rough frontier environment it was obvious that Tanner had standards that he wished to maintain as he remarked that his house was of "a more polished description than may be expected in a place which 9 months ago was a wilderness" (Tanner 1831, 10 October).

In complete contrast to Tanner's house was the description Mrs Whatley provided of her cottage, which had two rooms, two windows and a door that latched. She managed to create the two rooms by the simple expedient of hanging up a piece of cloth. She did note however, that the building's location, which had been chosen by the former owner, was not good, but the cottage would do for their servant once they had built themselves a better house (Whatley 1830 - 1831, 19).

George Moore provided excellent descriptions (and illustrations) of the buildings on his properties, as well as those of his fellow settlers. Through his letters we gain a sense of his accomplishment in the construction of his own house at Upper Swan, and his efforts at carpentry. But he was under no illusions of what life was like in the colony. For those who might think to follow him he cautioned that they would have to forget civilization, luxury and refinement and be prepared to work hard (Moore 1830 - 1848, 17 December 1831). However, just because he had left those necessities behind him he was

also appreciative of the grander qualities that some of his fellow settlers had been able to achieve, and had plans to improve his own cottage when he was able. He was particularly appreciative of Irwin and Mackie's large house, which he could see from his cottage. His prolific diary entries not only provided physical descriptions of his building program but the small sketches that illustrated his writings provide us not only with what he had constructed but his hopes for the future (see Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17 Image of what Moore intended to build (Moore 1830 – 1848, 13 March 1831, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

In one of his first letters home he referred to the construction of his house in March 1831, which he intended to resemble the above small sketch: two wings with a lower central wing. At the time of writing he had completed only the left wing (Moore 1830 – 1848, 13 March 1831). By January 1833 he had re-worked his ideas and sketched a drawing of a cottage with a hipped roof and a verandah running along the front and sides (Moore 1830 – 1848, 23 January 1833). From an entry written in May it becomes apparent that the changes to the house actually entailed the construction of only one room, the dimensions of which were to be 18 by 15 feet [45.72 by 38.1 centimetres], with two recesses on either side of the fireplace for books and two pairs of French doors leading out on the verandah which would be six feet [15.24 centimetres] wide (Moore 1830 – 1848, 24 May 1833).



Figure 4.18 Image of Moore's house on the right and what he hoped to build on the left (Moore 1830 – 1848, 23 January 1833, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

In Figure 4.18, Moore showed on the right what he had already constructed, and on the left what he hoped to build. A slightly later sketch that he drew to accompany the text for his May entry showed a nearly identical image to that in Figure 4.18, but with the addition of two pairs of French doors (Moore 1830 - 1848, 24 May 1833). Elizabeth Irwin (wife of Major Irwin) produced a number of pencil sketches of her neighbours' houses in c.1840. The one she drew of Moore's house (Figure 4.19) closely resembled his rough sketch of May 1833.

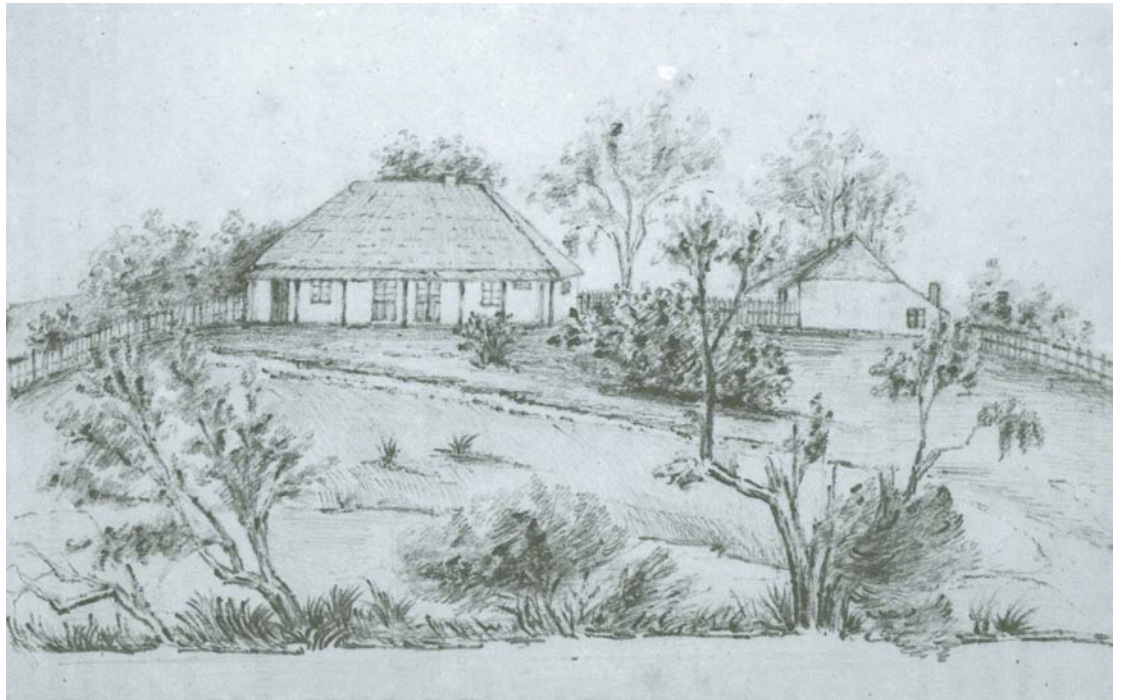


Figure 4.19 Sketch of Moore's house at Millendon by Elizabeth Irwin c.1840 (J.S. Battye Library 75257P, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

What Moore's writings and sketches demonstrate are the gradual evolution of a settler's house from a simple cottage to one that was slightly grander, although not on the size and scale that a gentleman like Moore would have been accustomed to back in Ireland. The revised sketches, and the completed image of Moore's cottage in the 1840s indicates that adaptation to climate had become just as important as style and presentation: his first sketches had not included a verandah. The detached building on the right is probably the kitchen that Moore wrote about in his entry for March 1831 (Moore 1830 - 1848, 13 March 1831). The verandah and the detached kitchen clearly show that this simple dwelling had its origins in a colonial environment rather than an English one, but the formal placing of the windows and the detached building hark back to the order and symmetry of the Georgian period.



Figure 4.20 Picture of Haddrill's Cottage, Albion Town 1890s (Bourke 1987, 102)

To demonstrate the similarity between the homes built in the rural areas by both 'gentlemen' and 'labourers' in Western Australia, Figure 4.20 depicts William Haddrill's cottage, which was erected in the 1830s. Haddrill, a thatcher by trade, was originally one of Tanner's indentured servants. Tanner had released him early and Haddrill acquired land to the north of Guildford (Bourke 1987, 101). The above photograph, although taken in the 1890s, is exactly the same as a much earlier sketch that Elizabeth Irwin made of the building in c.1840, an indication that Elizabeth's sketches were pictorially accurate (Irwin Sketchbook). Haddrill's Cottage, like Moore's was thatched. The layout of the door and windows suggests that it has three rooms running across the length of the building³⁰ and, apart from the lack of verandahs, the cottage is very similar to Moore's. However, it could be argued that while both buildings look very alike, Moore's cottage achieved greater symmetry on the front façade, in comparison to Haddrill's. Moore's cottage has centrally located French doors with windows on either side and although one end features a door, it is balanced at the other end by a window. The differences

³⁰ Information obtained a Heritage Council Assessment (HCWA 1996) indicated that the original brick section of the building comprised three rooms running across the width to the building. Currently the building has an 'L' shaped plan due to additions in 1927.

between the two cottages may reflect Moore's greater appreciation of the architectural style that was fashionable at the time he left Ireland. His attempt to apply symmetry to his own small cottage is perhaps an expression of what he had left behind and what he hoped to replicate in his new home. Haddrill's Cottage on the other hand is a reflection of what Haddrill and his family were probably familiar with. Simple thatched cottages with little embellishment but functional for the needs of a cottager who owned some livestock. Therefore both cottages could be considered to be reflections of their owners' social background and aspirations.

As mentioned in the previous section, Thomas Carter drew a plan of Wittenoom's house at 'Gwambygine'. The house design differed from that of Moore's and Haddrill's as it was 'L' shaped in form. The building contained four rooms strung along in a row, with the kitchen forming a fifth room in the short section of the 'L'. A verandah ran across the front of the building and provided an access point for all the rooms. There were no inter-connecting doors between the rooms with the exception of the storeroom that could also be accessed from the sitting room next door. Carter did not provide a description of the house, although he did comment that he did not think that the house was very English in appearance. A fellow settler had commented to him that it reminded him of "the plates you frequently see of Mission Houses in the South Seas" (Carter 1841, 26 February). It is unclear what the reference to south sea 'Mission Houses' is supposed to mean, but presumably the comment alluded to the verandah rather than the actual floor plan as 'L' shaped buildings were common in the British countryside. In the case of Wittenoom's house at 'Gwambygine', the verandah served the dual function of protecting the rammed earth walls from being undermined by water runoff and also as an unofficial passage between the rooms. Later, rammed earth additions were made to the original five rooms possibly sometime in the

1850s. The resultant additions produced a U-shaped house plan that retained access to the rooms via the verandah.³¹

To the above information about house design can be added the evidence provided by Captain William Shaw. The goods that Shaw brought with him indicates that not all settlers designed and constructed their dwellings in an ad hoc manner but had in fact considered the matter prior to departure (apart from the use of portable cottages). Shaw and his wife Eliza arrived in the colony with their children and two servants in February 1830. Included amongst Shaw's inventory of goods were four glazed, cast iron Gothic cottage windows (together with hinges and doors) (SROWA Acc.36 Vol. 5, 74). Their inclusion in Shaw's inventory indicates that Shaw and his wife had given some thought to the type of dwelling that they would construct following their arrival, as the house he and Eliza built incorporated these windows. Eliza drew a picture of her house as well as a detailed sketch, in June 1833 (Figure 4.21). The sketch shows a gable roofed, rectangular building, which appears to be only one room wide, with arched gothic windows and a verandah running across the front. A skillion addition is visible at one end of the building, while at the other is a detached kitchen with a hipped roof and chimney. The house has a chimney at the kitchen end (Shaw, 1829 – 1833).

The labels on the sketch show how the various rooms were used: number 2 represents the windows in the sitting room, number 3 is a storeroom, numbers 4 and 5 are bedrooms and the skillion labelled 6 was for goods not immediately required. It is likely that the front door (labelled 1) led immediately into the sitting room on the right and also to the storeroom on the left. However, it is unclear how the bedrooms were accessed unless there was a small passage that ran across the rear of the storeroom. It is possible that windows 4 and 5 were in fact French doors that led out onto the front verandah as the way Eliza has drawn them they appear to extend down to ground level. Additionally there may also have been a rear verandah that

³¹ Site visit by F. Bush, 12 October 2009.

could have provided access to these rooms and also the storerooms. In many ways the layout is very similar to the Tanner's house but it was conceived as a whole, rather than in parts, and the gothic windows provide us with evidence of the Shaw's knowledge of the architectural styles popular in Britain at the time they left.

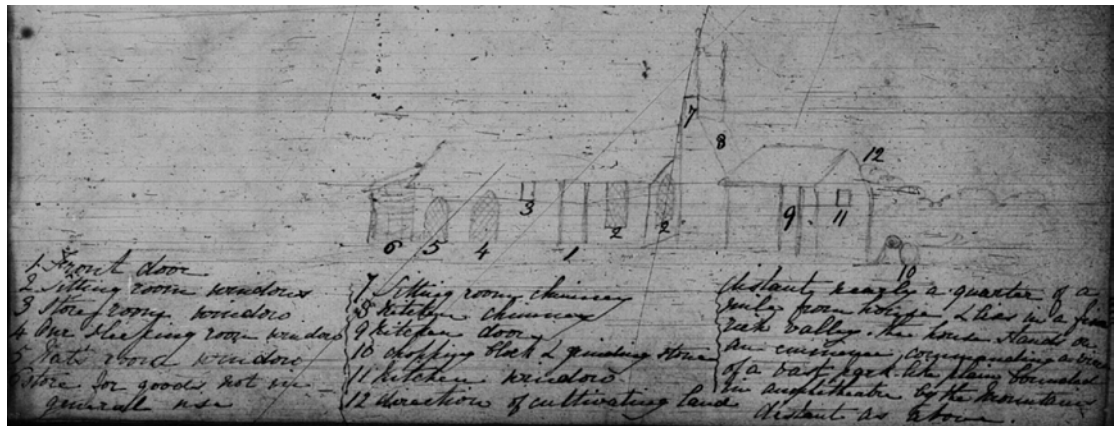


Figure 4.21 Mrs Shaw's labelled sketch (J.S. Battye Library Shaw 1829 – 1833, 1698A, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

The exterior and interior descriptions provided by these settlers, together with the photo of Haddrill's Cottage is representative of what had happened to English cottage design by the eighteenth century. Johnson, tracking the changes in British rural cottage design observed that in general the cottages were only one room deep, had a central open hall with service rooms at either end of the hall. By 1700 this style had begun to disappear to be replaced by the new Georgian double-pile form (Johnson 1993; Johnson 2010). However, the form that appears in the early settlers' cottages of Western Australia is not the full-blown double-pile that became a regular feature of the British countryside. This type of house was beyond the means of the early settlers, so they had to compromise their Georgian social standards for a plan that would permit a degree of privacy and acknowledge the need for segregation between employer and employee. The solution to providing privacy in a building that was only one room deep was the verandah. A verandah played the dual roles of keeping the house cool in

summer and serving as an external passage; easily accessible by servants. A further addition to this was the detached kitchen; these appear from the earliest years of settlement. Once the house had been constructed it was closely followed by the erection of a detached kitchen. For example Thomas Mellersh at 'Woodlands' (near York) began work on a kitchen only a few days after the house had been completed (Mellersh 1836, 8 July). It is generally thought that this practice grew out of fears that the house might burn down due to a kitchen fire and indeed Moore did note that a detached kitchen was "considered the safest way in this climate" (Moore 2006, 18). However safety was probably not only their primary concern; privacy from servants in a small single room cottage would have been extremely difficult. During the first years of settlement, the kitchen was not only a place of food preparation, but it also provided accommodation for servants (Moore 2006, 18). Thus we see being played out in the wilds of the colonial frontier, the Georgian requirements of separation and privacy.

The simple cottages erected by Tanner, Moore and the others mentioned above are typical examples of the sort of dwelling that was constructed by most of the settlers on their rural grants, and in the towns of Fremantle and Perth.³² Given the lack of specific references, these houses appear to have been largely constructed by the owner with assistance provided by either indentured servants or possibly a skilled carpenter or mason who was hired for the job or whose services were bartered for. Specific references to the construction of houses by the settlers themselves can be found in the Bussell family's correspondence when Charles Bussell noted in March 1833 that both Vernon Bussell and Alfred Bussell had built their own wattle and daub houses at Augusta (Bussell Papers 1833, March). However, a fellow settler at Augusta, Ian Herring assisted them with the construction of their chimneys. Georgiana Molloy commented that the style of chimney was apparently

³² Although Guildford was also an early township, no early sketches of the town have been found, unlike Fremantle and Perth where it has been possible to identify small vernacular buildings such as Moore and Whatley describe.

typical of those built in the area where Herring came from (Hasluck 2002, 100). Unfortunately Herring's English origins are not known. The Bussell brothers also constructed the buildings that they erected at 'Cattle Chosen' and it is interesting to note that they must have been observers of Herring's work on their chimneys at Augusta, as Lenox recorded that Charles, Alfred and Vernon constructed the chimney for their new house (Bussell papers 1834, June).

Although the above discussion referred to fairly simple cottages, larger and grander houses were constructed in the colony from the 1830s onwards. Most were erected in Fremantle and Perth, although a few examples were constructed on the settlers' rural grants. The ability of a settler to construct this type of dwelling appears to have been directly related to his or her access to ready cash, skilled labour, or both. Therefore, very few of the colonists who arrived during the first two years of colonisation were able to consider the construction of a large, two storey house; all their capital was tied up in assets. There were of course a few exceptions. However it was a greater possibility for those who arrived after 1833 as these settlers tended to arrive with cash in addition to equipment and stock, as they had to purchase land. The most notable descriptions of large, two storey houses were those constructed by the Reverend Wittenoom, Captain Irwin and his cousin William Mackie, Dr. Alexander Collie, Henry Bull and Major William Nairn . The first four all arrived within the first three years of settlement but all four had government positions (therefore they received a salary). Nairn on the other hand had established commercial and agricultural interests in Van Diemen's Land before deciding to settle in Western Australia in 1833.

All four houses have been mentioned in the previous section but what makes them important with regard to house design is that they were well ahead of their time. A two storey brick or stone house was not generally constructed in the colony until after the mid 1840s or early 1850s. After this period the colony had acquired a degree of economic stability, as the settlers themselves

were achieving some economic success. There was also a larger number of skilled mechanics available for hire in the colony after the 1850s.

Both Wittenoom and Collie erected brick houses on their Perth town lots in the early 1830s. Collie's house was a two-storey brick building with a two-storey verandah. The interior of the house was 30 by 16 feet [76.20 by 40.64 centimetres] and contained six rooms and a lobby (Collie 1834, 7 April).



Figure 4.22 Collie's House, corner of St. George's Terrace and Pier Street (Early Days 1965, Vol. 6 Pt 4)

The house shown in Figure 4.22 is essentially an English double pile house but with the colonial addition of the two-storey verandah together with a detached kitchen which can be seen on the right hand side. The building appears to be two rooms deep so given Collie's description it is possible to conjecture that it contained four rooms on the ground floor with possibly two large rooms upstairs. The central door on the ground floor no doubt led directly into the lobby that Collie referred to and the French doors (that doubled as windows), provided access to the verandahs. Although Collie discussed in great detail the cost of the bricks and other building materials he provided no information on who had designed his house or where he might have obtained the plans for his house. Collie was educated in Scotland and after obtaining his medical degree acquired a position in the British Navy. He became the colony's Colonial Surgeon in 1832. Before settling in Western Australia, Collie had spent several years studying in Europe and had visiting a

number of countries such as Africa, China, the East Indies, Mexico and north-west America. He died in Albany in 1835 (Cohen n.d.).

Wittenoom on the other hand, who also built a two-storey house, arrived in the colony with a house plan provided for him by his cousin William Jersey. In a letter to his cousin in July 1832, Wittenoom described the house he had built and that he had made small alterations to William's plan, such as increasing the size of the windows on the ground floor and shifting the original ground floor windows to the top floor. He wrote that he had two rooms on the ground floor, 17.9 by 14.4 feet [45.46 by 36.57 centimetres] divided from each other by a folding screen. The upper section of the house, where the rooms extended into the roof area, had been divided into four bedrooms through the use of partitions, but if necessary they could easily be converted back into two rooms. He finished off the letter by stating that it looked good and had "rather a genteel appearance" (Wittenoom 1832, 24 July). Wittenoom's brother Charles produced a sketch of the house when he visited in 1836 (see Figure 4.23)



Figure 4.23 Reverend J. Wittenoom's House in Perth, drawn by Charles Wittenoom (reproduced with permission of P. Statham Drew)

Wittenoom also observed to his cousin that he intended adding an additional wing, of similar size to the rear of the building to house offices. The new wing would be joined to the original house by an entry hall with a staircase to the upper floor, so it is unclear how the upstairs rooms were being accessed in the meantime. By colonial standards Wittenoom's house already had a grand appearance, although it is interesting to observe that unlike Collie, he had not incorporated a verandah into the design. His proposed additions would have made the house incredibly grand for the colony. Like Collie's house Wittenoom's is derived from the English double pile house although the four French windows across what appears to be the front façade suggest that the front door was possibly located on the short side of the building, which was where Wittenoom hoped to build his grand entry hall.

Collie gave no indication that he wished to make any other additions to his house, so Wittenoom's grand design plans are interesting. Wittenoom had been born into an educated family and was well educated himself. He was also conversant with building additions as he had added a wing to the grammar school where he was headmaster shortly before he immigrated to Western Australia (Statham Drew and O'Brien 2010). Thus his aspirations for his Perth home may reflect not only an interest in architecture but also a desire to occupy a house that was in keeping with his position in colonial society.

Collie and Wittenoom's houses are two of the earliest examples of privately owned and constructed two-storey dwellings in Perth. Irwin had also built himself a house in Perth, which according to Hanson was an excellent brick building, but he provided no further details (*Perth Gazette*, 12 January 1833). Lionel and William Samson, who ran a commercial business in Fremantle, opened a new house and store in Perth in 1839. The *Perth Gazette* advertised the fact that the Messrs Samson would be holding a ball and supper on the 20th November to celebrate the opening of the new building and as a farewell party for Lionel Moore who was leaving for England (*Perth Gazette* 16

November 1839). Moore attended the ball and described it as “a very large fine house, which is to serve as a dwelling-house, store, auction-room, etc” (Moore 2006, 477). Unfortunately he did not elaborate further. Additional information about this rather grand building appeared earlier in the year due to a dispute between the Samsons and the masons involved in the construction of the building. The men, Robert Minson, William Glover and Moses Stokes complained that they had been underpaid. William Birch, the bricklayer who had constructed the cellar, disagreed and W.K. Shenton, who had supervised the work, also agreed that the original tender price should stand. The matter was discharged in favour of the Samson brothers (*Perth Gazette*, 30 March 1839). None of these names appear in the 1836 Returns or the 1837 Census. As the Samsons were successful merchants they were able to hire the necessary mechanics to construct their grand building. According the White:

the fashionable two-storey house (1839) stood on the north-west corner of St. Georges Terrace and Barrack Street was for many years the most splendid in the colony, and the only private building in any way approaching the style of contemporary buildings in the eastern colonies (White 1979, 83).

The building was later used by the Weld Club that was formed in 1871. Figure 4.24 clearly displays the grand, Palladian style of this building. During the 1840s other similar buildings constructed for private, commercial and governmental purposes would join these brick buildings changing the Perth landscape dramatically.



Figure 4.24 Lionel and William Samson's House 1860s (reproduced with permission of P. Statham Drew)

In the 1830s, two- storey buildings on rural grants were extremely uncommon and no doubt would have attracted considerable attention and possibly envy. It has been difficult to accurately determine the number of large, two-storey private buildings erected in the rural district during this period, but two do stand out. The earlier of the two was built for Captain Irwin and his cousin William Mackie in 1832. William Nairn built his at a slightly later date, and over several years, between 1836 and 1843. Irwin and Mackie built their house on their Upper Swan property 'Henley Park', constructed by their steward Richard Edwards. As mentioned previously, after its completion the house was much admired by Moore, and Irwin himself also remarked that it was one of the largest in the colony (Moore 2006, 80; Irwin 1835, 57). An undated photograph of the house displays a two storey dwelling with an encircling verandah to the ground floor. The ground floor features a centrally located door, flanked by a large window on one side (it is highly likely that there was another one on the other side) and to the upper floor, three evenly spaced windows. The roof is hipped and one chimney is visible. The

smoothness of the finish suggested that the house was given a coating of lime render.



Figure 4.25 Undated photograph of ‘Henley Park’ (J.S. Battye Library 0213000PD, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

Nairn’s two-storey house on his property ‘Maddington Park’ was constructed from stone and as mentioned previously the work appears to have been executed by a stonemason (Joseph Morris). Although Nairn did not provide any information on the layout of his house, the plan of the house today³³ provides clues as to how it may have been arranged when it was first constructed. The ground floor comprised four rooms, with the staircase located in one of the larger rear rooms. The first floor had five rooms, one of which contained the staircase. Thin partition walls separated some of the upstairs rooms so it was possible that the first floor may have contained fewer rooms when first constructed. As with the other buildings discussed previously, this house also conforms with the English double pile house, particularly as the staircase had been relegated to the rear room, an early feature of this style (Brown 1982, 135).

³³ Note, the house suffered considerable damage following a fire in June 2004, shortly after the conservation plan for the place was completed. The floor plan discussion has been based on the plans provided in that plan by Considine and Griffiths Architects Pty Ltd 2004.

As with Collie's house, no information has been found that provides information on the design source for the Irwin and Mackie or Nairn house plans. As Nairn arrived in Western Australia via Van Diemen's Land it is possible that he copied his house plan from others that he had seen in that colony or he may have obtained plans from a builder in that colony. However, what needs to be remembered is that master brickmakers and stonemasons had extensive experience in house construction and were often referred to as builders, architects only being employed for the more important buildings or by people who could afford to hire them. It is therefore possible that Edwards may have designed Irwin and Mackie's house and Nairn's stonemason, Morris, was responsible for the design of 'Maddington Park'.

Once the colony had gained some form of economic equilibrium those who had prospered were able to construct larger dwellings that reflected their prosperity. Settlers who had arrived during the 1840s generally had the capital to build the type of house that befitted their social status more quickly than those who had arrived in the 1830s. Two examples of this can be found south of Perth: 'Upton House', built for Mrs Elizabeth Fry (an absentee owner) at Australind in 1843 and 'Minninup', near Capel, built by James Child in 1844. The two houses are very similar: two-storey houses with a ground floor verandah and hipped roofs. 'Upton House' was constructed from bricks imported into the colony as ballast while 'Minninup' was made from local limestone. The form of the houses came to be repeated elsewhere in the colony during the 1850s.

4.3 Conclusions

The small cottages and houses constructed in Western Australia before 1850 were firmly grounded in British vernacular traditions but with adaptations to the new environment and social conditions. The adaptations to the environment comprised the addition of verandahs and detached kitchens, but both these elements were also used in response to the new social conditions

that many of the settlers experienced. The settlers had come from a social environment where it had become uncommon for the master and servant to share a common social space. During the Georgian period servants and cooking activities were relegated away from the common living spaces to the rear of the house. However in the early years of colonial settlement it was often difficult to adhere to these rigid controls. For those settlers living on a rural grant the solution was simple: the construction of a separate building for both cooking and accommodating servants. Settlers soon found that it was best to construct a separate kitchen as fire could quickly spread to the rest of the house. By constructing a detached kitchen it could serve additional role of providing accommodation for the servants. The verandah could also serve two different functions: it provided a cool airy space around the house and it could also be used as an external corridor or passage. In a house only one room deep, and perhaps three rooms long, privacy could still be achieved as the external corridor provided access to individual rooms; the servant did not have to go through one room to reach another. Privacy was also achieved for the other members of the family, a consideration that had become important in Georgian England.

The colonists also made good use of the somewhat newer technique of rammed earth, which appears to have supplanted the more traditional method of cob walling. Most of the houses were constructed using materials that could be found close to the house site, also a fairly traditional practise in Britain. During this period brick was an uncommon building material, with the exception of houses built in Perth. Here residents had access to good supplies of brick clay and as many of Perth's inhabitants were involved in the civil service or commercial business, they were able to pay skilled brickmakers and bricklayers to construct either their houses or business premises. The isolated examples of brick buildings outside of Perth were due to the fact that the owners had access to brick clays and skilled labour.

The other important observation is that social status and wealth did not automatically lead to a grand house. The frontier environment was a great leveller, and the manner in which the early settlers could obtain land was a further equalising factor. To obtain large quantities of land, the earliest settlers sank all their ready capital into goods. This led to immediate disadvantages with regards to paying servants and also the ability to hire tradesmen to construct houses. From the settlers' diaries and letters we obtain a glimpse of well-educated young men, such as Moore and the Bussell brothers, participating in the construction of their houses and acquiring new skills, such as carpentry and general building skills. This was in addition to learning how to raise crops and livestock in a foreign land. These were all new activities for the gentry classes and they would not have engaged in them had they remained in Britain. Their correspondence indicates that despite having to recourse to doing much of the labouring themselves, the colonists still held on to their social codes of propriety and gentility.

For those settlers who arrived in the colony after 1833, such as the Australind residents, there was the potential to be better off, as the colony had at least been established for some years and the bulk of their wealth had not been placed into goods. Despite these advantages these later colonists also began their new life in a fairly simple house, often constructed with their own hands. Their main energies were still devoted to acquiring property and livestock and surviving in a new environment.

The research has also determined that two types of house were constructed in Western Australia before 1850 and that the type was dependant on the colonist's access to capital and not their social class. Type 1 comprised a simple cottage constructed from local materials that was either built completely by the landowner, or with the assistance of a servant or hired tradesman. The Type 1 buildings were single-storeyed and only one room deep. They usually had a verandah, either on all sides or at the front. The Type 2 building was a larger house (or commercial premises), possibly two

storeys, that was built for the landowner by a skilled tradesman. The building materials used in this type were often brick, made from clay found at the building site, or from stone. The Type 2 buildings were often of the double-pile form, that is two rooms deep. Colonists who arrived in the colony with capital or who had government posts were generally able to construct the Type 2 after only a short period of time in the colony. Those whose capital assets were tied up in goods (or who had arrived in the colony as indentured servants) constructed Type 1. For the Type 1 group, the move from the simpler cottage to a larger Type 2 house generally took some time and was often not achieved until after 1850. The general shift towards larger buildings, constructed from brick or stone (which required input from a skilled tradesman) occurred after 1850, following the arrival of the convicts. The impact of the British penal system on the type of convict sent to Western Australia, and how this affected the development of Western Australia's building industry will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.0 THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH PRISON SYSTEM IN THE EIGHTEEN AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

...transportation to Western Australia cannot, in itself, be looked upon as a punishment second only to death; but....as a mode of ultimate discharge or disposal of prisoners; or even as a final stage of progressive alleviation of a punishment, in the first part, undergone in hard labour on public works, or in prisons.

Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, 1861

Introduction

The establishment of Western Australia as a penal colony in 1849 should not just be viewed as a reflection of England's desire to rid itself of unwanted prisoners by sending them to one of its overseas possessions. Rather, it could also be seen as a strategic move by one of Britain's colonies to seize an opportunity for economic growth. Western Australia had the option to refuse Britain's convicts but instead it chose to exploit the opportunity of becoming a penal colony to its benefit, for by the time transportation ceased in 1868 it can not be denied that the colony had prospered, largely due to the presence of convict labour. Before 1849, Western Australia had watched its sister colonies in the east expand and develop with the assistance (with the exception of South Australia) of convict labour. In many ways it was the very success of these penal colonies that saw most of Australian immigrants elect to migrate to one of these colonies rather than the free settlement on the Swan River. Immigrant guides recommended that migrants interested in settling in Australia should go to these colonies rather than Western Australia (Anonymous 1848). Due to the poor economic growth in Western Australia during the 1830s and 1840s, many settlers often left for the more prosperous eastern settlements indicating that the presence of convicts was not a deterrent for settlers. However by the time Western Australia elected to become a penal colony, the eastern colonies had had enough of a system that sent an unending supply of convicts with apparently no thought given to the consequences of these numbers on local communities.

When Western Australia agreed to become a penal colony the colonists assumed that the same convict system that had operated in the eastern colonies would be applied to their colony, which was why they stipulated certain provisos if they were to become a penal settlement. However, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century the English prison system underwent considerable change due to agitation from middle class reformists as well as the British public at large. These changes had ramifications for the transportation system. What had been a county system of gaols, underpinned by a central legal code, gradually developed into a centralised prison system. Penitentiaries were constructed whose main aim was the long-term punishment and reform of the prisoner rather than serving as a temporary holding cell while awaiting sentencing or transportation. In this new system, transportation still had a role to play but it was revised to become a final stage of a centralised punishment process rather than simply the only form of punishment. By the mid 1840s, further changes saw the construction of the first public works prison at Portland where the prisoners were sent after serving time in the penitentiary. Following time served at Portland, the convicts were transported to Australia.

It was this new system of transportation and discipline that was first put into effect in Western Australia. Unlike the undisciplined convicts that were sent to develop the penal colony of New South Wales in 1788, the prisoners who arrived in Western Australia had been through a disciplinary process in an English penitentiary. In addition they received a rudimentary education and efforts were made to teach them a trade in a public works prison. Following their arrival in Western Australia, the convicts' education and training was continued and skilled warders taught the men while they worked on the various public works projects or at other tasks. The orchestrators of the new penal system hoped that by acquiring a useful trade the convicted men would be rehabilitated and become useful members of society.

To date, previous research on the convict system in Western Australia has not investigated how these changes in the British penal system altered the manner in which convicts were disciplined and trained. Another important factor was that the construction of Fremantle prison was based on the first public works prison constructed at Portland, rather than the penitentiary prisons that had previously been constructed.

In order to understand how this new system developed, the effect these changes had on the type of convict sent to Western Australia and how this led to the expansion of the building industry in the colony, this chapter will briefly examine the evolution of English penal reform between the late eighteenth century and mid nineteenth century. In particular it will review what impact these reforms had on the transportation of convicts and why these changes were important to Western Australia's development. The presence of the Royal Engineers and a company of sappers and miners will also be investigated as it was through the British government's desire to teach the prisoners a trade and also ensure that the convicts were employed on public works projects that these military men were sent to Western Australia in 1850.

5.1 The Birth of Prison Reform

The reformation of English prisons during the nineteenth century was initiated for a variety of reasons, but once commenced it did not spread in either a uniform or consistent manner across all gaols in the country. The changes and the reasons for these changes are complex, with objectives varying from a desire to improve prisoner welfare to one that provided a more effective system of discipline and deterrence, or a combination of all these factors (Cooper 1976; Cooper 1981; Henriques 1972; Teagarden 1969). Therefore, the following summary of English prison reform should be seen as a generalised overview of the overall development and the changes it brought to the transportation system and not as a critique of the total reform process.

Prior to the passing of the *Transportation Act of 1718* British judges and magistrates had limited options when sentencing criminals. Murder, manslaughter or rape were punishable by death but at the same time so were a range of other lesser crimes such as larceny, bigamy or forgery or defacement of government property. By passing the Act, the British government provided the judiciary with an alternative to execution and at the same time supplied its colonies with a cheap source of labour. The American colonies were seen as the ideal place to send these criminals and between 1718 and 1775 over 30,000 convicts were transported there (Ekirch 1987, 23). The American War of Independence brought this scheme to an abrupt halt in 1775 forcing the British government to find an alternative solution (Ignatieff 1978, 80).

The loss of the American colonies had dramatic consequences for Britain's prisons which at this time were only used to hold debtors, men and women awaiting trial, and prisoners waiting for their sentence to be executed (Willis 2005). As these gaols were generally attached to the county magistrates' courts there was insufficient space to hold large numbers of prisoners. These gaols were unhygienic and little was done to provide the prisoners with food or bedding. Prisoners with money could bribe prison turnkeys to either bring them food or allow their families to bring them their requirements. No thought was given to keeping the prisoners occupied through either an educative program or prison labour. They were simply places of incarceration, rather than of discipline or reform. It was also impossible to separate young and old, petty thieves from criminals committed for violent crimes, new or hardened offenders, sane and insane prisoners. The continuous stream of felons sent before the courts had to be dealt with somehow and the British government were forced to think laterally. One solution was to sentence some prisoners to hard labour, which was largely devoted to maintaining the navigability of the Thames through the removal of sand and silt. Prisoners were housed aboard ships, known as hulks, which were moored on the Thames. These ships soon became over-crowded and

the poor conditions led to the deaths of many of the prisoners, prompting a parliamentary enquiry that resulted in some improvements aboard them (McConville 1981, 105-7).

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Britain experienced a period of social change and upheaval. The influence of a variety of 'isms' began to be felt across the country, such as Methodism and Evangelicalism. The most prominent purveyor of both these modes of thinking was the middle class. This social class had begun to acquire a conscience and many were perturbed by the manner in which offenders were punished and the conditions in Britain's prisons and hulks. The desire for reform grew not so much out of concern for the welfare of the convicts but rather out of a sense of outrage over a prison system that was squalid, unhealthy and ineffective. Corruption amongst prison officials seemed to many reformists to shift criminal behaviour into a place that allowed for idleness and drunkenness amongst those who had the power to hold sway over the more disadvantaged prisoners. The unhealthy conditions also permitted the spread of disease amongst the inmates, which often escaped the gaol itself and infected the surrounding populace. The reformists considered that a system was required that provided a more refined and effective punishment. Prisons should be places of deterrence and reform and the only way to deter criminal behaviour was through the reformation of the criminal mind (McConville 1981, 81).

John Howard was one of the early reformists who became influential during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The conditions in his local gaol so horrified him that he inspected other prisons across the country and then toured the continent to see how prisons operated there. He found that the English prison system had lagged behind its European counterparts where prisons had become places of discipline and reform. He was particularly impressed with those that utilised a system of classification for prisoners and placed them in separate cells. The classification and separatism ensured that "contamination" between prisoners was minimised, thereby ensuring that

long-term felons did not influence those who might be new to criminal activity (Cooper 1976, 76-77).

Howard's tours led to the publication of a book that revealed the chaos of English prisons together with suggestions on how to resolve the issues. He proposed that gaols should be places of reform, not just incarceration. To assist in the reformation of a felon certain provisions for the welfare of the prisoner were essential, such as fresh air and a clean environment and an adequate food supply. He argued that prison warders needed to be paid and that they had to be men of high integrity and that there should also be regular inspections of the prisons by men appointed by the local magistracy. To avoid cross-contamination prisoners should be classified according to the severity of their crime and of course the sexes needed to be separated. He also thought that prisoners should be kept occupied but, unlike other reformists, did not necessarily advocate compulsory work. A religious man, he considered that religious instruction was crucial for the reformation of the prisoner (Cooper 1976, 78). His book, together with the action of other reformists, led to parliament passing legislation to establish a national penitentiary. The *Penitentiary Act, 1779* amended the laws of transportation and stipulated that two penitentiaries should be constructed (one for males and one for females). The Act embodied the hopes of the reformists: punishment through confinement with the addition of labour, modified seclusion and religious instruction. Imprisonment was to be an alternative to either death or transportation (McConville 1981, 108).

It was envisaged that the new penitentiaries would take the prisoners then languishing in the hulks, together with hardened offenders. Unfortunately the penitentiaries were not constructed due to several unrelated factors and the Act lapsed at the end of 1784. This meant that following the end of the American War of Independence the British government required a new destination for prisoners formerly sent to the American colonies. It was not until 1786 that the British government finally resolved to establish a new

colony on the continent discovered by James Cook in 1770. The resumption of transportation provided only a temporary solution to the overcrowding in the hulks as they continued to be used to house prisoners sentenced to transportation (McConville 1981; Shaw 1971).

The change in destination was also accompanied by a change in the manner in which the convicts were taken to their place of punishment. Previously convicts sent to the American colonies arrived aboard merchant ships that had contracted their services to the British government. On arrival in America the convicts essentially became indentured servants, serving out their sentence to one or more masters or buying their freedom. This system effectively removed unwanted criminals from Britain at minimal cost to the government. Transportation was considered to be an effective deterrence against criminal activity as it removed convicted felons from their families, friends and their homeland. Those who received a life sentence were never allowed to return (Shaw 1971).

The system employed to take convicts to eastern Australia was completely funded by the British government, who leased ships to transport the prisoners. During the early years the colony was completely dependent on the British government for its survival. It is interesting to consider that the Treasury Department must have been somewhat appalled at the use of its funds to transport and maintain prisoners when previously transportation had operated so efficiently (and cheaply) through the private sector. In the end settlers were only encouraged to immigrate to Australia after the government realised that it was just too expensive to run a penal colony that could not support itself. The stigma of migrating to a penal colony was somewhat offset by the provision of cheap land with a plentiful supply of labourers. Unlike the American system, convicts were assigned to settlers following an application to the governor. In return for acquiring convict labourers the settler had to provide them with food and shelter (Connah 2001). Thus the colony of New South Wales developed and prospered due to the availability of cheap labour

and the establishment of additional colonies along the east coast enabled Britain to increase its holdings in Australia as well as providing new homes for its convicted felons.

5.2 The Rise of the Penitentiary

The construction of Britain's first penitentiary was founded on the experiences gained by various county prisons that had been constructed by the end of the eighteenth century. These prisons all attempted, in some degree, to provide a system where order, rather than chaos prevailed. By the last decade of the eighteenth century prison reformists had been divided into two groups who favoured different disciplinary systems: the separate and the silent. In the separate system prisoners were kept segregated from each other. In the silent system prisoners were forbidden to speak to each other and steps were taken to ensure that this was the case. The use of the separate system required the construction of a new form of prison that provided separate cells for all prisoners where they spent a portion of their sentence. The silent system did not require such a drastic alteration to prison design and existing prisons could be cheaply altered to cope with this system. However on the downside, the silent system required the employment of a large number of prison warders to ensure that prisoners did not interact with each other.

Another prison reformist of this period, Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, a local landowner who was heavily influenced by Howard's ideas, commissioned architect William Blackburn to design a penitentiary style prison in his county of Gloucester, which opened in 1791. Blackburn designed over 19 prisons and was influential in the design of many others (McGowen 1998, 82). Gloucester's reformatory process was based on separation, silence and labour. The prison officials were carefully trained and the local magistrates kept a watchful eye on all aspects of prison life. At the time of its construction Gloucester penitentiary was considered to be a model prison and other

counties copied the system of reform that was adopted there (Cooper 1976, 89). Each prisoner was kept separate through the provision of individual cells and the regulations stipulated solitude, both as a preventative measure and as a means of providing reflection. The prison chaplain visited the prisoners daily although it later came to light that his sermons proved to be more terrifying, rather than reflective for the prisoners. In addition, a treadmill (that was used to grind corn or pump up water) provided the prisoners with useful labour (McConville 1981, 101; Henriques 1972, 67)

In the years following the opening of Gloucester Penitentiary other counties constructed new prisons, or altered existing prisons, to reflect the penitentiary system used at Gloucester. According to Henriques, the first decade of the nineteenth century saw a struggle between those who advocated reformation through industry and those who favoured separation (Henriques 1972, 69).

In 1810, the British government appointed a committee to investigate the various laws and provisions concerning sentencing and prison operations. Known as the Holford Committee, it was charged with determining whether existing prisons could be effectively adapted to function as penitentiaries. Considerable discussion ensued about the various conditions offered by the penitentiaries that had already been constructed. The committee agreed that the common denominator between all of the prisons was the control of the prisoner's experience while confined and this experience might stop the prisoner reoffending. After numerous interviews and deliberations the Committee's main recommendation was that a national penitentiary should be built. Millbank Prison, at the time one of England's most expensive public buildings, was opened in 1816 although it was not completed until 1822. It was built to hold 1,000 prisoners and was to be home to the most responsive criminals, such as the young, first time offenders and accidental criminals. The use of the hulks and the sentence of transportation were continued (McConville 1981, 139). Those prisoners who were not sent to Millbank were

transported to the penal colonies in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island or Bermuda (Molesworth 1838, 8). These prisoners were the undisciplined rabble that was so often portrayed in Australian literature (e.g. Gaskin 1973 and Dark 1973). During this first penitentiary experiment the penal system was still heavily reliant on county gaols. By the 1850s when convicts were sent to Western Australia they had passed through a system that had moved beyond these first tentative steps to one that had become fully nationalized and the disciplinary measures applied to all prisoners and not just a select few.

The penitentiary system initiated at Millbank did not advocate full separation. Instead, the prisoners served half their sentence in solitude and the remainder in associated labour. It was hoped that proceeds from the work produced by the prisoners would assist in financing the running of prisons. As it was England's first national penitentiary, the Home Office became responsible for deciding who would be sent there. Unfortunately Millbank did not fulfil the Committee's expectations. The work produced by the prisoners fell considerably short of what was required to run the prison, the poor location of the prison promoted disease, it was badly built, the prison governor was too lenient (he did not enforce the separation of prisoners) and this eventually led to rioting by the prisoners (McConville 1981, 139; Henriques 1972, 70 -71).

Following the construction of Millbank, prison reformists moved from the local level to the national arena. The 1820s saw the rise of the Quaker reformists who were able to pressure individual members of parliament to get legislation passed that would influence all county gaols, one of the first steps towards a nationalist prison system. Peel's Prison Act of 1823 stipulated the system of discipline that prisons would follow: the use of classification, regular inspections by magistrates, prisoner employment and regular religious and moral instruction. These requirements were of course part of the Holford Committee's recommendations. The Quakers also managed to get treadmills

introduced into the majority of prisons in the 1820s. They considered this device to be the ideal model for work as it was unproductive labour (therefore the prisoners did not benefit materially from it) and it could be regulated by the gaoler (McGowen 1998, 88).

Several reformists visited the United States during this period to view its prisons and disciplinary methods. Some were impressed with the Eastern Penitentiary at Cherry Hill, Philadelphia, where prisoners were held in solitary confinement while others preferred the one at Auburn, New York, where prisoners worked in association but in complete silence. The two different disciplinary methods co-existed for some time in Britain until finally the separate system was chosen as the most suitable process for prisoner reform (Henriques 1972).

5.3 A National Prison System

During the 1830s the prison system became increasingly nationalised but more importantly the preference for the separate system over the silent system was given further emphasis in 1835 when a parliamentary committee chose in favour of this reformatory process. Several important recommendations came from its deliberations: the appointment of five prison inspectors to bring uniformity to county prisons, the Home Office was to be in charge of prison regulations and the prisoners' diets and the construction of a juvenile prison (McGowen 1998, 91-92). Two prison inspectors who had considerable influence on the development of English prisons were William Crawford and the Reverend Whitworth Russell. They favoured the separate system and constantly sang its praises to the various county magistrates whom they visited on their prison inspections. They pushed for the wholesale adoption of this system rather than the silent system, although not all of the inspectors, or prisoner governors agreed with them. However they were so persuasive that Lord John Russell, Home Secretary at the time (and a cousin of Whitworth Russell), became a convert to this disciplinary method and he

decided that any new prisons should be erected to specifically cater for this form of confinement (Stockdale 1976, 165-66; McGowen 1998, 92). In 1837, Lord Russell appointed Captain Joshua Jebb (of the Royal Engineers), to assist with the planning of prisons designed to operate under the separate system. Working with Crawford and Reverend Russell, Jebb provided detailed plans for Lord Russell that illustrated how a prison designed specifically for the separate system would look and function (Henriques 1972, 77-78). Legislation was passed in 1839³⁴ and Pentonville Prison, designed by John Haviland and approved by Jebb, was opened in December 1842 (Stockdale 1976, 167; Henriques 1972, 78). In addition, this prison's disciplinary approach was specifically oriented to work in conjunction with a new transportation system that was developed in 1839.

At the same time that Reverend Russell and Crawford were attempting to persuade Lord Russell of the benefits of building a model prison, talks had also taken place on the benefits of sequestering juvenile prisoners from older and hardened criminals. Parliament decided to construct a prison specifically to hold juvenile prisoners as they considered that the threat of transportation was an insufficient deterrent to this particular group. In some ways the opening of this juvenile prison was to provide a test case for what was envisioned for Pentonville. The juvenile prison would be constructed to operate on the separate system, but more importantly it would provide the young male offenders with vocational training to enable them to start afresh in the colonies. The nucleus of Parkhurst Prison, where the juveniles were incarcerated, was centred in a former military hospital and it was ready for male occupants in December 1838 (McConville 1981, 204).

The majority of prisoners sent to Parkhurst were under a sentence of transportation. Whether the juvenile left as a free immigrant or with a conditional pardon was dependent on his behaviour. If the juvenile was badly

³⁴ Act 1839 2 & 3 Vict. c.56 'An Act for the Better ordering of Prisons' McConville 1981, 175 n. 21.

behaved he faced imprisonment following his arrival in the colony. At Parkhurst discipline was staged to gradually decrease as the sentence wore on. A regime of education that included religious classes was provided and the boys were taught a trade. Those who had behaved well were given a set of clothes, money and items for the voyage out to tide them over until they found employment (McConville 1981, 204-05). This system of punishment and training was a precursor to the scheme that was implemented some years later by Lord John Russell and Sir George Grey for adult male prisoners.

The development of this approach in dealing with juvenile prisoners was significant for Western Australia. In 1839 the colony received a circular from the Colonial Office requesting information about the labour market, wages paid and also if it might be willing to accept 'juvenile offenders as apprentices' (Gill 2004, 20). Labourers had been in short supply since the foundation of the colony and before the arrival of this circular the colonists had attempted to attract both settlers and labourers through a variety of schemes but with only limited success. The Children's Friend Society operated one of these immigration schemes and through this organisation 54 children were sent to Western Australia between 1834 and 1839 (Gill 2004, 19). The Society was an English organisation that took juvenile children, referred to them by local magistrates, visitors to prisons or worried parents, off the streets. The children were fed and housed, provided with a little formal education and then arrangements were made for them to immigrate to one of the colonies where they were apprenticed to local employers. The objective behind this scheme was to remove the children from a possible life of crime and hopefully provide them with a better life. However, unfavourable reports about the treatment of some of these children eventually led to the disbandment of the Society in 1841 (Gill 2004, 19).

In Western Australia a committee was established to manage the Children's Friend apprentice scheme. When the Western Australian legislature replied that it would be willing to take juvenile offenders from Parkhurst, over the

age of fifteen, the colonists anticipated that the apprentice system for the former prisoners would operate in the same manner as that set in place for the immigrants who arrived under the aegis of the Children's Friend Society (Gill 2004, 20). The first lot of 18 'Parkhurst Boys' (as they came to be referred to), arrived in the colony in August 1842 accompanied by their Guardian, John Schoales who had been appointed by the Colonial government. He was responsible for the general welfare of the boys and in assisting them to find employment. An important component of this system was that once the juvenile had signed his indenture he received his pardon. The colonists eagerly snapped up the first load of boys and in general it appears that this system of immigration worked well for both employer and employee. By the time the scheme was halted in 1851, 234 juveniles had been sent to Western Australia (Gill 2004, 1).

As the colonists were particularly keen to acquire agricultural labourers many of the Parkhurst juveniles were employed in this capacity. Gill has carried out a considerable amount of research on the Parkhurst juveniles and in particular has investigated the employers and their associations within the colony. Unfortunately his 2004 study does not provide any information on the trades learnt by the Parkhurst juveniles, nor does his extensive employer list provide any indication of the trade practised by the employers. A quick glance down the employer lists suggests that the bulk of these boys became agricultural labourers, as most of the employers were prominent agricultural owners in the colony (Gill 2004, 116-18). Gill's research will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

5.4 The Transportation System

While a nationalised system of prisons began to supersede county prisons in the early 1830s, the same decade saw the public become increasingly disillusioned with the transportation system. Its detractors considered that transporting a prisoner to a mild climate where the convict could then acquire

land and live well did not appear to be a suitable deterrent in reducing criminal activity. All the public saw was the end gain for the prisoner; they knew nothing of the horrendous conditions that many of the convicts sent to Tasmania and Norfolk Island experienced. Criminals in Britain were also unaware of the privations suffered by convicted felons and apparently considered that a crime leading to transportation and the promise of an easy life was worth the risk (Molesworth 1838, 20). In addition, the British Treasury had also become increasingly concerned over the rising cost of transportation (McConville 1981, 188).

A select committee was appointed in 1837 by the House of Commons to look into the system of transportation. Headed by William Molesworth it released its findings in 1838. It made six recommendations the most important of which were that transportation to New South Wales and the settled districts of Van Diemen's Land should cease, as the assignment system was considered to be no better than slavery and appeared to be ineffectual in diminishing criminal behaviour amongst hardened felons. Punishment should be confinement at home (or in specific places abroad) with hard labour for a period of between two to fifteen years. If sent aboard, penitentiaries should only be established in places where there were no free settlers. Following their release, convicts who had served their sentence at home should be assisted in migrating abroad (Molesworth 1838; McConville 1981, 189). The recommendations received a mixed reception. The Treasury was particularly concerned, as the cost of constructing prisons at home would be greater than adhering to the existing transportation system.

As noted earlier, Lord Russell was in favour of the separate system of discipline and had supported the construction of the first penitentiary. He was also against the system of transportation. Following on from the recommendations of the Molesworth Committee, (of which he had been a member) he had suggested that prisoners serving seven year sentences should be employed in the dockyards either at home or in Bermuda, and

housed on the hulks. By 1841 Russell's party had become the Opposition and many of the Molesworth Committee's proposals lapsed. However, transportation to New South Wales did cease in 1840, although the House of Commons voted to continue transporting convicts serving seven year sentences and above to Van Diemen's Land (McConville 1981, 191); not much had changed.

Lord Stanley replaced Russell as Home Secretary and he had his own ideas about how the transportation system should be reformed. He implemented a rather elaborate probationary scheme that "divided sentences of transportation into five main stages of progressively easing discipline" (McConville 1981, 191). The main objective behind this new scheme was to enable greater control of the prisoner while at the same time encouraging good conduct and industrious application through the incentive of a shortened sentence and a greater control over his life. The assignment system was abolished. Instead, convicts were employed on public works projects (paid for with colonial funds) and it was while working on these projects that they passed through the various stages that included three separate classes as a probationary prisoner. In the second last stage the convict became entitled to his ticket-of-leave before finally being released with a conditional or full pardon (McConville 1981, 192).

Pentonville Prison and Stanley's new probationary scheme both came into effect at the same time. Pentonville was seen as the keystone to the reformed transportation system as it provided an additional refinement to the scheme by placing what were referred to as 'the more promising prisoners' for a period of separate discipline at Pentonville, or Parkhurst in the case of juveniles (McConville 1981, 192).

Although the transportation system was better regulated it did not diminish the number of convicts that were sent to Van Diemen's Land. By the mid 1840s the penal administration system in Van Diemen's Land had become overloaded due to the sheer volume of convicts arriving in the colony and the

number of convicts seeking employment soon outstripped the economy's ability to absorb them. The colony's economic woes were further complicated by the economic slump experienced by the eastern colonies in the 1840s. As a result transportation was temporarily halted for one year between 1846 – 47 (McConville 1981, 192; Childers 1861, 17).

By 1846 Lord Russell's party had been returned to government and he appointed Sir George Grey as his Home Secretary.³⁵ As Russell and Sir George Grey were opponents of transportation they were able to set in motion a radical transformation of the process that would have a profound effect on the system of transportation used in Western Australia and the type of convict sent there. As with the centralisation of Britain's prison system, both men realised that the transportation system had to be funded and run by the state, rather than by the colony to which the convicts were sent (McConville 1981, 193).

Sir George Grey proved to be a capable reformer of the transportation system and he worked well with Jebb who had been appointed Surveyor-General of Prisons in 1844 (Stockdale 1976, 168). Sir George Grey was keen to see convicts employed on public works at home, specifically on the construction of a breakwater on the Isle of Portland that was required by the Board of Admiralty. However, Sir George Grey did not want to house these men on hulks, he wished to implement a scheme that saw the prisoners properly housed on land. He considered that prisoners employed on public works should also be managed with improved methods of discipline and supervision, which could only be implemented if the prisoners were properly housed in separate cells at night. He enlisted Jebb's assistance for this new scheme for as a Royal Engineer, Jebb had experienced first hand the results that could be obtained by using convict labour on public works (McConville, 1981, 195).

³⁵ Sir George Grey and his cousin Earl Grey both served in the British Parliament around the same time. Sir George served as Secretary to the Colonies and well as the Home Secretary at various times. The full names will be used to prevent confusion.

Sir George Grey wanted a system that moved beyond simply using the convicts as grunt labour for the Admiralty. He also realised that there was every possibility that once released the prisoner would re-offend, as most were unskilled. His vision for the reformed convict was one where the prisoner had not only served time in reflection and moral instruction, but one in which the prisoner was taught a trade that would enable him to be gainfully employed following his release. Sir George Grey was persuasive and Portland Prison was opened in 1848 to specifically cater to his proposal. Not only were the prisoners employed on the construction of a breakwater and dockyards for the Admiralty, they were also responsible for the construction of their own prison (McGowen, 1998, 92; Jebb 1850, 5). Essentially Sir George Grey's scheme was a combination of practices previously seen in Britain's penal system. The main difference was that the men were given industrial training in addition to learning to read and write, and receiving moral and religious instruction.

Under the new system implemented at Portland, prisoners had to pass through three stages before transportation:

1. A period spent in separate confinement, which allowed time for reflection as well as moral and religious instruction.
2. A stint of hard labour on public works under strict discipline for a period that was proportional to the convict's sentence.
3. Time passed with a ticket-of-leave in one of the colonies provided that they had served half their term before transportation. Good conduct could reduce this time.

In addition to this, convicts who were well behaved could apply to have their families brought out provided that they paid for their passage (Jebb 1850).

Because Portland was a military installation the works were carried out under the supervision of the Royal Engineers with assistance provided by men from

the Corps of Sappers and Miners. The Engineers had had considerable experience in some of Britain's penal colonies in supervising convict labour on public works projects. For example, Bermuda had a fairly small free population but it was considered to be strategically important. Convicts under the supervision of the Royal Engineers and the Board of Ordnance constructed all the harbour works and fortifications. The Sappers and Miners were also used to instruct the convicts on the various trades required to erect the buildings (Jebb 1850).

At the end of Portland's first year of operation Jebb noted that the convicts had been employed in a variety of tasks that included:

- Levelling and forming extensive yards and parade grounds
- Excavating foundations
- Forming roads and drains
- Quarrying, sawing and preparing stone for building purposes
- Carpenter's work – including internal fittings and furniture, external work such as gates, doors, sheds and porches
- Smith's work
- Painter's work
- Gardening
- Cooking, baking, washing, repairing linen and the clothing for the establishment (Jebb 1850, 33).

Although Sir George Grey and Russell had obtained their objective of finding gainful employment for prisoners at home, they were unable to fulfil their desire of ending transportation. The sentence of transportation continued to be used by the judiciary (there were many in public and private life who still considered transportation the best solution) leading to overcrowding in the few penitentiaries that had been erected. It was in the light of this difficulty that Earl Grey (Secretary to the Colonies) sent out a circular to several of its

colonial governors³⁶ in August 1848 to enquire whether they might be interested in taking men who had passed through the new system of prison discipline and training (McConville 1981, 197). Around the same time the circular was distributed, a new governor had been appointed to Western Australia. Captain Charles Fitzgerald was appointed in 1847 although he did not arrive in the colony until 12 August 1848 (Cowley 2006). It is highly probable that Earl Grey discussed Western Australia's economic situation with Fitzgerald and the benefits that the colony might gain by accepting convicts. In addition Fitzgerald would have been fully briefed on the contents of the circular prior to his departure for Western Australia. Whether Fitzgerald actively tried to push Earl Grey's case, as Stannage has suggested is not known (Stannage 1979, 79-81). As a newly appointed governor it seems unlikely that Fitzgerald would try to impose his views on a population that he barely knew and on a society whose undercurrents he would have been unfamiliar with. Stannage basically accuses the British government of forcing its wishes on Western Australia, although the evidence for this opinion appears to have come only from some newspaper accounts of the day: the editor of the *Perth Gazette* was against Western Australia becoming a penal colony (Stannage 1979, 81). Therefore, it is highly likely that he had a slight bias when it came to publishing letters and editorials voicing the displeasure of the populace in receiving convicts. It is also true that those people who desired the arrival of convicts as a labour force were mostly members of the landed gentry or profitable merchants who had the most to gain from an influx of cheap labour. It was representatives from these two classes that sent memorials to the British government in 1834 (*Perth Gazette*, 7 June 1834) and again in 1847 (*Perth Gazette*, 2 January 1847) requesting that convicts be sent out to boost the colony's labour force. As these were the men and women who held power in Western Australia, and not the labouring or middle classes, they were apparently ready to accept the loss of their free colony status if the

³⁶ Earl Grey sent the circular to the Governors of New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, New Zealand, Cape Town, Ceylon, Mauritius (BPP Vol 8.2 iii – viii; BPP Vol 9.1 No. 15, 40).

presence of convicts led to greater economic progress. Stannage's insinuations that Britain bullied Western Australia into becoming a penal colony is somewhat less believable when one considers that the other colonies responded negatively to Britain's request and they did not become penal colonies. Only Western Australia agreed favourably to the circular (Childers 1861, 19). The colony could have said no. Further evidence that the decision was taken following considerable discussion can be seen in the conditions of acceptance that were relayed to the British government. The colonial government indicated that they would initially take one hundred convicts and that:

1. They did not want hardened criminals, or lifers
2. They would particularly like men with a rural background, rough mechanics, boot makers and coopers.
3. They definitely would not take female convicts.

Western Australia was declared a penal colony on 1 May 1849 and, together with Van Diemen's Land assisted Britain in dealing with its excess of felons (BPP Vol. 9.3 No. 20, 246; McConville 1981, 197).

As an additional boost to the colony's population, Britain agreed to send out a free immigrant for every convict. This assistance was not only promised to Western Australia but also to Van Diemen's Land, which continued to receive convicts until 1852 (Childers 1861, 17; BPP Vol. 9.3 No. 119, 254). The British government had learnt that for a colony to prosper, under the presence of convicts, it required a stable free population that was capable of establishing free enterprise and the type of institutions that went hand in hand with the moral development of a society. The government was keen to ensure that its colonies prospered and remained socially incorruptible (Childers 1861).

The arrival of the first boatload of convicts aboard the *Scindian* in June 1850 caught the colony off guard as the correspondence detailing the composition

of the group and despatch date arrived after the convicts themselves. This has led some scholars (Stannage 1979, 83) to remark that the convicts were hurriedly foisted on the colony without proper consent. However this is patently untrue when one examines the correspondence between Earl Grey and Fitzgerald during the latter part of 1849 and January 1850. In particular, on the 7 January 1850 Fitzgerald indicated that the colony was “in daily expectation of the arrival of 100 convicts” (BPP Vol. 8.1 No. 6, 206). A despatch written two days later informed Earl Grey that the Legislative Council (of Western Australia) had passed an ordinance to provide for ‘better and more effectual government of the convicts expected daily from England’ (BPP Vol. 8.1 No. 9, 210). In addition on 6 November 1849, Fitzgerald had ordered the publication of the British Government’s proclamation that the colony had been declared a place “to which felons and other offenders” could be sent in the *Government Gazette*. Clearly Fitzgerald, the Legislative Council and the colony were expecting the imminent arrival of a boatload of convicts. Shortly after the ship arrived, several memorials from the settlers (which included numerous signatures) were sent to Earl Grey (via Fitzgerald’s despatches) voicing their delight in the arrival of the convicts and the hope that more would be sent. One of these memorials specifically referred to correspondence received in December 1849 from one of Earl Grey’s secretaries, that outlined the proposed numbers of convicts to be sent to Western Australia on an annual basis (BPP Vol. 10.1 No.45, 221). The colony was therefore fully aware of what was proposed and what would happen (Jebb 1850, 43 – 44). The sudden approach of the *Scindian* off Fremantle in June 1850 was not a conspiracy of silence but an unfortunate case of delay: the ship carrying the convicts made a faster passage than that carrying the government despatches from England.

The *Scindian* not only carried 75 convicts but also the Comptroller General, Captain Henderson, 5 soldiers of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners and 70 pensioner soldiers and their families. The convicts on this first ship, and the second ship *Hashemy*, had all served a period of time in Sir George Grey’s

new Portland Prison. Later shipments of convicts would see intakes drawn not only from Portland but also other prisons that had either been adapted or specifically constructed to function as public works prisons.³⁷ The 5 soldiers from the 20th Company were dispatched to assist Henderson, specifically in directing the convicts on public works. The pensioners were sent out to provide military assistance in the light of the convict presence in the colony (BPP Vol. 8.1 No. 110, 227; Vol. 8.2 No. 70, 115). The Sappers and Miners, together with the rest of the Company who had all arrived by January 1852, accompanied by three Royal Engineers, were to be of considerable benefit to Henderson and the organisation of the Convict Establishment. Although the British Treasury and the Board of Ordnance had originally only specified the allocation of five sappers and miners, Western Australia's isolation and small population soon made it clear that Henderson would need additional assistance if the convicts' labour was to be fully realised. To date little has been said about the contribution that these men made to Western Australia and their specific role in the Convict Establishment. But the Royal Engineers and the men of the 20th Company were of vital importance to the smooth running of the Convict Establishment. Their contribution will be discussed in the next section.

5.5 The Royal Engineers & the 20th Company of Sappers & Miners

The Sappers and Miners and the Royal Engineers played an important role not only in the colony's public works program, but also in the rehabilitation of the prisoners. From my investigations into the convict system in Western Australia it appears that there has been little research on the presence of the Royal Engineers or the Corps of Sappers and Miners in Western Australia. Five members of the 20th Company of Royal Sappers and Miners arrived in Western Australia with the Comptroller General in June 1850. The remaining

³⁷ The exception to this was a couple of ships that arrived with prisoners from Irish gaols. Ireland did not have any penitentiaries or public works prisons so that Dixon, the Superintendent of the prison found them difficult to deal with.

members of the Company, together with three Royal Engineers, arrived in December 1851 and January 1852. The work undertaken by the Company and the Engineers was important to Western Australia's development.

The definitive history of the Royal Engineers and the 20th Company appears in McNicoll's history of the Royal Engineers in Australia (1977). McNicoll devoted a whole chapter to the Engineers and Sappers in Western Australia, beginning from 1837 when a few men from the Royal Sappers and Miners arrived in the colony with the 83rd Regiment. As expected from a national publication, the information provides a solid overview of the 20th Company and the Engineers' operations in the colony rather than a detailed analysis of their presence. In comparison, a recent publication on the military establishment in Western Australia provided only one page of statistical information on the Engineers and the 20th Company (Erskine 2010).

The only other contribution to the Engineers' story came from Hasluck (1973) who wrote a biography of Lieutenant Du Cane, one of the three lieutenants who arrived in 1851 and 1852 to take up duties in the Convict Establishment. The biography of this man rather than Wray, who was senior to Du Cane and later rose to the rank of Captain, probably came about as Hasluck had access to the letters that Du Cane wrote home to his family, together with the numerous sketches that he made while serving in the colony. The biography provides details about the man and his work in general, but no specific details of his interactions with the Sappers, convicts or ticket-of-leave men.

As stated above, Sir George Grey³⁸ and Lord Russell's plans to successfully reintegrate prisoners into society centred around the prisoners' acquisition of a useful trade that could be plied following his release. Many of the convicts began their acquaintance with a trade while serving a portion of their prison term in the public works prisons in England. This training was to continue once they arrived in Western Australia. In England, these trades were taught

³⁸ At the time that the convicts arrived in Western Australia, Earl Grey was Secretary of State for the Colonies and Sir George Grey was the Home Secretary.

to the prisoners by instructing warders. These were men with skills in various trades (such as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, painters and plasterers, bakers, tailors and shoemakers who were commonly referred to as mechanics and artisans), and were generally drawn from the private sector. Following his arrival in Western Australia Henderson found that the number of skilled mechanics in the colony was comparatively small and there were few whom he considered capable of taking on the disciplinary role of an instructing warder. At the time of Comptroller General Henderson's arrival in 1850, Western Australia's population was less than 5,000 (Blue Book 1849, 133).

Detailed information concerning how the Corps and the Royal Engineers operated while they were in the colony has proved difficult to find. A limited number of Muster Rolls were located and these provided information on the names, rank and occupations of the men who were posted to the colony. However the detailed correspondence that must have passed between the superintendents at the rural depots, the commanding officer of the Company and the Comptroller General has not as yet been located. Therefore, how the Company and the Royal Engineers were specifically employed in the Convict Establishment has largely been deduced from the correspondence that passed between the Comptroller General (and a limited amount between the Royal Engineers), the three governors who were resident during the period under review and the various Secretaries for the Colonies.

The following discussion will examine the role played by the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners and the Royal Engineers in the rehabilitation of the convicts, discuss the distinction between the fledgling Colonial Works Department and the Convict Works (commonly referred to as the Engineers' Department). Finally it will analyse the significance of this group of men to the development of the public works program in Western Australia between 1850 and 1863, the year that the last Engineer departed.

Brief History of the Corps and Royal Engineers

As previously mentioned, five members from the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners accompanied Henderson to Western Australia. Due to the acute shortage of skilled mechanics in the colony these men, comprising 1 mason, 2 carpenters, 1 blacksmith and 1 miner were soon required to fill the role of instructing warders. As it was cheaper to use military men rather than find equivalent civilians, Henderson suggested to Earl Grey that it would be more expedient to send out a company as the soldiers would be able to perform a number of duties such as instructing warders, supervising public works in addition to their role as a military force to control the prisoners if necessary. Fitzgerald would have been particularly interested in the military capabilities of the men as the colony had an extremely limited police force and the temporary barracks built for the convicts following their arrival in June 1850 would not be secure enough to hold prisoners bent on mischief (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 100).

In addition to the colony's limited police force, Fitzgerald was also worried about the parlous state of Western Australia's public works program. As early as October 1848, he wrote to Earl Grey (Secretary to the Colonies) to ask if it might be possible to have a civil engineer sent out to assist in the colony's public works projects. In particular to facilitate the construction of roads and bridges that were urgently required. He did not consider that Henry Trigg, who was the Superintendent of Public Works and not a trained engineer, was really capable of organising and supervising the extensive works that were required; in addition, he was approaching 60. He also requested 5 sappers and miners with a non-commissioned officer to assist the engineer. These men would be able to supervise the works in the various districts. Fitzgerald indicated that the colony was willing to pay for an engineer, but he was under the impression that, as South Australia had some sappers and miners, these men would be paid for by British funds. The civil servants in Earl Grey's office (Elliot and Trevelyan) were sympathetic to Fitzgerald's request for an engineer, although not the one for sappers and miners; South Australia paid

for these men out of colonial funds. On advice from Elliot and Trevelyan, Earl Grey recommended to treasury officials that an engineer be found and sent out (AJCP CO 442, 48). Therefore it comes as no surprise that Earl Grey sought an engineer to supervise the construction of the new prison and the colony's public works program. The addition of five men from the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners also becomes clear, as this was part of Fitzgerald's original request.

Comptroller General Henderson was obviously briefed before his departure on the colony's limitations, as he wrote to Sir George Grey requesting that he be provided with a Clerk of Works capable of overseeing the Convict Establishment. He suggested that one should be obtained from the Engineer's Office in the Board of Ordnance and James Manning, a civil engineer from that department, was appointed, sailing with Henderson aboard the *Scindian* (SROWA Cons. 1156 C19, No. 5). By 1851, Earl Grey had received approval from the Board of Ordnance to send out a company of Sappers and Miners together with two subalterns from the Royal Engineers (BPP Vol. 10.2, No. 53, 144).

The Sappers and Miners and the Royal Engineers worked closely together and to understand how this relationship developed a brief history of how these two groups were formed is informative. Military engineers are not a recent innovation; they can trace their ancestry back to William the Conqueror. It was not until the eighteenth century that Britain established a corps specifically composed of engineers, to assist the army in the construction and maintenance of defences following the acquisition of several important overseas possessions. In 1787, through the issue of a royal warrant the corps became known as the Corps of Royal Engineers (Royal Engineers Museum 2010, Pt 3). A military training academy for officers was established at Woolwich in 1741 followed in 1812 by the Royal Engineer Establishment at Chatham, Kent. (Royal Engineers Museum 2010, Pt 6).

The development of the Corps of Sappers and Miners ran in tandem with the Engineers. Before the formation of the sapper and miner companies, the military employed skilled civilian artisans, mechanics and labourers to construct and maintain military fortifications. It was soon realised that it would be more efficient to formally incorporate these skills into a military company, leading to the formation of the Company of the Soldier Artificers in 1772. By 1813, the company had been renamed the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners (Royal Engineers Museum 2010, Pt 4) and training for men wishing to join the companies was provided at Chatham and Woolwich until Woolwich's closure in 1850 (Royal Engineers Museum 2010, Pt 6.) All of the men enlisted in these companies were non-commissioned officers, their commanding officers being provided by the Corps of Royal Engineers. To put an end to this rather anomalous situation the two groups were amalgamated in October 1856 and were renamed the Corps of Royal Engineers (Royal Engineers Museum 2010, Pt 6).

The Sappers and Miners sent to Western Australia were from the 20th Company, which was formed in 1848 as a service company based at Woolwich (National Archives WO 11/117). The Company was composed of 100 serving men and 65 members arrived in Fremantle aboard the *Anna Robertson* in December 1851 (SROWA Cons. 42 Item 9). The families of many of the servicemen accompanied the men as Earl Grey had thought that these soldiers would make ideal colonists. Before their sailing, the men were informed that land would be made available to those who decided to stay on at the end of their tour of duty. Two officers from the Royal Engineers accompanied the Company, 1st Lieutenant Henry Wray and his wife and 2nd Lieutenant Edmund Du Cane (BPP Vol. 10.2, No. 53, 144). The remaining thirty members of the Company³⁹ arrived, as part of the military escort aboard the convict ship *Marion* in January 1852. This group was accompanied

³⁹ The arrival of this group of 30 brought the Company up to full strength as the five sappers and miners who had arrived with Henderson in June 1850 were from the 20th Company.

by 2nd Lieutenant William Crossman, of the Royal Engineers. Early in January, prior to the arrival of all of the Company, Henderson informed Fitzgerald that he had put Lieutenant Wray in charge of the Corps of Royal Sappers and Miners and that Wray would also be in charge of the works at Fremantle (BPP Vol. 12.1, No. 33, 134: Enclosure No. 3).

The skills that the Company members brought with them covered a range of trades that would be valuable to the colony and in particular the public works program. The break-down was: 23 carpenters, 21 masons, 14 miners, 11 painters, 11 smiths, 7 bricklayers, 5 wheelwrights, 4 cabinet makers, 4 tailors and 2 coopers.⁴⁰ (Wray, 1852). It was these skilled men who were responsible for the continued training of the convicts who arrived at Fremantle.

Convict Supervision by the Engineers

As mentioned previously, there was a shortage of civilian mechanics in the colony. Not only did this mean that there were few skilled mechanics to work as instructing warders within the Convict Establishment, but there was also a shortage of skilled men to actually construct the buildings initially required to house the convicts. Fitzgerald had notified Earl Grey as early as November 1850 that he had permitted Henderson to arrange for the hire of masons and carpenters from South Australia to work at the Establishment, as there were insufficient numbers available in Western Australia (BPP Vol. 10.2, No. 109, 88). Following the arrival of the Royal Engineers and the 20th Company, Henderson was quick to inform Fitzgerald how these new arrivals could be used to greatest effect, in particular the 20th Company. He was initially keen to see the Sappers and Miners replace many of the civilian warders and mechanics in a variety of positions as he considered this would ensure considerable savings to Imperial funds. However Fitzgerald was loathe to lose the mechanics that had been obtained from South Australia and could also

⁴⁰ Only 98 men are listed in this roll, as 2 men had died earlier

see no reason why the Company's skilled mechanics could not be employed on the public works program which by 1852 was progressing only slowly due to the limited number of prisoners available. Henderson thought that it should be possible to use the Sappers and Miners as both disciplinary and instructing warders (BPP Vol. 12.1, No. 81, 169 Enclosure 1). At this stage there was no mention of what the two engineers would be doing, although later reports to the various Colonial Secretaries indicate that they were put in charge of specific regions to direct the public works in rural Western Australia.

In June 1852 when Fitzgerald submitted the half yearly report for the period ending 31 December 1851, he informed Earl Grey that the employment system proposed by Henderson for the Sappers and Miners appeared to be working satisfactorily (BPP Vol. 12.1 No. 81, p. 169). By the time Fitzgerald had submitted the first half-yearly report, which included work accomplished by the Royal Engineers and the Sappers and Miners (period ending 30 June 1852), the immediate contribution of these men was evident. They had been in the colony only six months yet in that time the Sappers and Miners, together with ticket-of-leave men, had begun constructing rural hiring depots⁴¹ in several key locations such as Guildford, Toodyay, York and Albany as well as a depot at Freshwater Bay near Perth. Henderson reported that increased efficiency had been achieved with both the ticket-of-leave working parties and the prisoners working at Fremantle, by using of the Sappers and Miners as instructing warders. Twelve instructing warders were based at Fremantle and a number were distributed at the hiring depots under the supervision of civilian superintendents. As Henderson had a mix of civilian and military men at his disposal, he found that by stationing one of his engineers at the main depots (Guildford and Albany), any possible tension that might arise due to the military men being supervised by civilian superintendents, was avoided. This same tension had also been avoided at

⁴¹ The rural hiring depots were constructed specifically to get the ticket-of-leave men out into the countryside where the settlers could hire them. The system also benefitted the ticket-of-leave men as they had somewhere to stay between hirings.

the smaller out-stations due to the quality of men employed there. In October 1852 Henderson reported that all of his non-commissioned officers were based at Fremantle and could not be spared from the work there. He suggested that additional posts could be filled by promotion through the ranks but he also requested fifteen additional men from England (BPP Vol. 12.2, No. 179, Enclosure No. 1, 197). However, the response from England was that sending out additional men would be too costly (BPP Vol. 12.1, No. 87, 237).

Henderson continued to experience difficulties on his public works projects in the early 1850s due to the shortage of mechanics in the colony and the small numbers of convicts sent by Britain. The small numbers of convicts transported became an ongoing problem for the colony during the entire period that convicts were sent from Britain. This shortage resulted in the continued use of sapper mechanics on the various public works projects, both as instructing warders and as skilled tradesmen. In addition, Henderson found that the presence of the Sappers and Miners increased the efficiency of his working parties and in reports to Fitzgerald he indicated how pleased he was with the work carried out by these men.

Lieutenant Du Cane was placed in charge of the eastern districts with his base in Guildford. Ticket-of-leave labour, which represented both unskilled and skilled mechanics, together with that of sapper mechanics enabled the construction of headquarters for Du Cane as well as accommodation for the ticket-of-leave men and other buildings associated with the hiring depot. Hiring depots were also established at York and Toodyay using a similar type of labour force. Lieutenant Crossman was sent to Albany, but work on this depot progressed extremely slowly as most of the ticket-of-leave men who were either skilled mechanics or labourers, were quickly employed by the settlers. In the end Crossman lamented that work progressed only slowly as it could only be done by the sapper mechanics based at Albany (BPP Vol. 11.2, No. 8, 166).

Lieutenant Wray, in charge of works at Fremantle, retained the bulk of the Sappers and Miners at the Convict Establishment to work on the various buildings associated with the prison. He employed the sappers by piece-work finding that it not only resulted in a good quantity of work for a fair price, but set a good example for the prisoners who were paid in the same way. He also commented that as he employed the free tradesmen in the same manner a rivalry between the two groups probably led to a higher level of achievement than might otherwise have been obtained if they had all been paid a daily wage (BPP Vol. 12.2, No. 179, Appendix B, 213).

By September 1853, despite Henderson's earlier hopes, tensions between the Sappers and Miners and the civilian warders had reached the point where Fitzgerald was forced to admit to the Duke of Newcastle (who replaced Earl Grey), that the system of having an instructing warder also functioning as a disciplinary warder did not work. Difficulties arose because, technically, a disciplinary warder was under the control of the superintendent of the prison, while an instructing warder was under the control of the supervising non-commissioned officer or Engineer. This led to clashes of authority between the two groups so that in the end Henderson was forced to change the system to one where the sappers only took on the role of instructing warder. Due to a shortage of civilian warders, Henderson was forced to use the old system at the rural depots and again requested a shipment of non-commissioned officers to fill the gap, particularly following the British Government's decision in 1853 to continue transportation to Western Australia (BPP Vol. 11.2, No. 79, 204).

Fitzgerald reiterated in his half yearly report to Newcastle (period ending 30 June 1853), that the Sappers and Miners provided invaluable assistance in controlling and instructing the road parties and on other public works and without the benefit of these men work would have been restricted to tasks around the depots (BPP Vol. 11.2, No. 122, 228). To prevent further unrest, regulations to ensure that both the civilian warders and the instructing

warders knew exactly who was in charge of what, were posted at the various hiring depots. The regulations clearly stipulated that the Senior Assistant Superintendent, a civilian, was responsible for all discipline and the management of the depot. In those stations where a Royal Engineer was stationed, the superintendent was to follow the orders of the Engineer with respect to the supervision of public works. Disciplinary warders were not to interfere with the progress of the public works or the placement of the men on these works this was task of the Sappers and Miners. The civilian warders were there to ensure that the men worked steadily and behaved themselves (BPP Vol. 13.2, No. 20, 136, Enclosure 13). Despite these changes, tensions between the civilian warders and the Sappers continued to be a problem until the Company left the colony.

Although Henderson was nominally in control of the Convict Establishment, he kept the governor closely advised on matters pertaining to the Establishment. Additionally, the governor also had to agree to any major policy changes. The approval of appointments for warder positions also had to be ratified by the governor. Evidence for this comes from the correspondence files that went from the Comptroller General's office to the various governors. Appointments to the position of either instructing or disciplinary Warders had to be approved by the governor as well as changes to posting locations (SROWA Cons. 1156 C23, No. 481).

Wray as Acting Comptroller General

In 1854 tensions between Britain and Russia escalated and in March Britain and her ally France declared war on Russia. The main battles of the Crimean War took place between September 1854 and September 1855. British casualties were extremely high and many civilians were called up to serve in the war theatre. A letter from the Brigade Major's Office at Woolwich in April 1855 requested the withdrawal of both Crossman and Du Cane together with the unmarried men of the 20th Company. It also requested the withdrawal of

the senior non-commissioned officers (SROWA Cons. 36 Vol. 323, No. 137). Captain Wray (who had been promoted in June 1854), had requested as early as May 1854 that he wished to return to England and Henderson did his best to try and accommodate his wishes (SROWA Cons. 36 Vol. 323, No. 139). However, Du Cane had no desire to remain in the colony and following the death of Henderson's wife in December 1855, Wray was left in charge as Acting Comptroller General following Henderson's application for sick leave (SROWA Cons. 390 Vol. 41, No. 7). Henderson, Du Cane, Crossman and a detachment of men from the 20th Company sailed for England on the *Esmeralda* on the 25 February 1856 (*Perth Gazette* 29 February 1856). They arrived home to discover that the Crimean War had ended around the same time that they left Western Australia. (Thomson 1968, 247).

Following Henderson's departure, Manning's role as Clerk of Works changed subtly to one that required him to oversee the public works at Fremantle, a role previously fulfilled by Wray. The manner in which the ticket-of-leave men were employed on public works was also altered during Wray's tenure. Before he departed, Henderson informed Kennedy⁴² that he considered that the manner in which the ticket-of-leave men were employed on public works and their use of the hiring depots as a home-away from home did not encourage industry on the men's part and was also costly. The changes envisaged by Henderson were put into motion by Wray: ticket-of-leave men would no longer be paid while working on public works projects, only fed, housed and clothed. It was thought that by returning them to a status that was only just above that of the probationary prisoners they would be encouraged to seek private employment, thereby reducing the strain on Imperial funds. To ensure that temptations were put out of these men's reach (drunkenness was one of the primary causes of arrest for ticket-of-leave men) they were placed on road parties that were generally located in isolated areas. These road parties generally consisted of a sapper to supervise the

⁴² Governor Arthur Kennedy arrived in the colony in July 1855 as Fitzgerald's replacement.

work and a supervising warder to ensure that discipline was maintained. The road gangs established small temporary stations, returning to the main depots where a single Senior Assistant Superintendent was in charge, when work on that section of the road was completed. The non-commissioned officers of the 20th Company were placed in charge of building works, assisted the Senior Assistant Superintendents at the depots or they inspected and reported on the progress of the road gangs. As Wray often experienced shortages of convict mechanics, sapper mechanics still assisted in building construction at Fremantle.

Once the Crimean War was over, three replacement Royal Engineers together with twenty-seven new members of the 20th Company arrived aboard the convict ship *Nile* on 1 January 1858. Lieutenants Edward Sim and Reginald Thorold accompanied Captain, the Honourable J. Bury, who was Wray's replacement (AJCP Reel 910, WO 17/1254). Henderson returned in early February 1858 and Wray was able to relinquish the position of Comptroller General. Wray left the colony aboard the *Nile*, which sailed for Colombo (BPP Vol. 14.3, No. 16, 64; *Perth Gazette* 1 February 1858). During his time as Acting Comptroller Wray had maintained the building program at Fremantle Prison despite an inadequate supply of convicts with masonry and carpentry skills. As in previous years the lack of convict mechanics meant that Wray had to hire free mechanics to supplement mechanics from the 20th Company to ensure that work continued at the prison. He had also overseen changes to the hiring depot system and the employment of ticket-of-leave men on public works. By the time he handed the reins back to Henderson the system was operating successfully with numerous road gangs employed in constructing and maintaining roads and building bridges. The make-up of these road gangs will be discussed further in the following chapter.

The Engineers' Department and Colonial Works Office

Following Henderson's return, Kennedy requested that he merge the Department of Colonial Works with that of the Convict Works. Manning would remain as Clerk of Works in charge of all convict works, while Richard Jewell would continue as the Colonial Department's Clerk of Works. Kennedy's request led to the Board of Ordnance issuing a general order in June 1858 stating that all services for works and buildings would be carried out by the Royal Engineers' Department (McNicoll 1977, 112). Previously, the Engineers' Department had only been responsible for the management of the convict works at Fremantle and the various public works that were considered essential for the economic progress of the colony. However the Engineers and sapper draughtsmen had also assisted the Colonial Works with plans for various projects that were technically not part of either the Convict Establishment or for the economic benefit of the colony such as the construction of the Colonial Hospital and the Gaol at Perth. It appears that it was during Wray's tenure as Acting Comptroller General that the line between Colonial Works and Convict Works began to blur. The distinction between the two works was important as one was paid out of colonial funds and the other was provided by Imperial funds. Any works that engaged the labour of either convicts or ticket-of-leave men was paid by Britain. Therefore the convicts should not technically have been employed on Colonial Works and the Engineers should not have been drawing plans.⁴³

In addition to the merging of the two departments, Henderson's status while serving as Comptroller General also changed. At the time of Henderson's appointment in 1849, he was a serving officer in the Royal Engineers. Earl Grey had initially appointed a civilian with engineering training, a Mr Napier, to hold the position of Comptroller General (BPP Vol. 8.2, No. 55, 108). However Napier became ill and Earl Grey decided to apply to the Board of

⁴³ An extensive search was made of the various government documents to try to ascertain why the two separate departments were merged. However, the large collection of colonial records and despatches between the Governor and the Secretary of State, and the time required to search them proved to be beyond the scope of this thesis.

Ordnance⁴⁴ for an officer of the Royal Engineers to not only plan and superintend the proposed public works, but also “to control the application of convict labour” (BPP Vol. 8.2, No. 66, 110). Later correspondence indicates that the position of Comptroller General was a civilian one. On his return, Henderson appears to have been semi-retired from the Royal Engineers, returning the position of Comptroller General to a civilian post (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 50, No. 7).

Henderson had only nominally been in charge of the small detachment of men of the 20th Company until Lieutenant Wray arrived in December 1851. Henderson passed over the command of the 20th Company (and the Engineers) to Wray; presumably because he considered that he had enough to do running the Convict Establishment. When Captain Wray took over as Acting Comptroller General following Henderson’s departure he remained in charge of the Royal Engineers until his replacement arrived in 1858. He was allowed to continue receiving his salary as an Engineer as well as the civilian salary for Acting Comptroller General (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 10, No. 77).

What is also unclear is why Henderson returned. When he left in February 1856, he gave Kennedy every indication that he was relinquishing his post and would not be returning (SROWA Cons. 390 Item 41, No.7). This impression was also held by many of the colonists as the editor of the *Perth Gazette* wished Henderson well in whatever position he decided to take up next (*Perth Gazette* 25 January 1856). Documentation relating to Henderson’s decision to return has not been located. The change in Henderson’s status only became apparent due to correspondence relating to irregularities in the Engineers’ Department towards the end of 1858.

In October 1858 Kennedy made a request to the Secretary of State to the Colonies, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, that Henderson be “invested with the power to control and direct the Royal Engineers” due to ‘irregularities’ that

⁴⁴ The Board of Ordnance was responsible for all military postings.

had occurred with the Royal Engineers, or more specifically in the Engineers' Department, while under the command of Captain Bury (SROWA Cons. 390 Item 8, 120). Bulwer-Lytton sought advice from the Secretary of War; it was in this correspondence that it was revealed that Henderson could not take over the command of the Royal Engineers as he was only on half-pay (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 50, No. 7). Bulwer-Lytton was advised that it was considered inappropriate to mix a civilian post (the Convict Department) with the Engineer's Department; yet this had been the case when Henderson arrived in Western Australia. The Military Secretary to the Secretary of War, Sir Charles Yorke commented that through experience gained at the penal colonies on Gibraltar and Bermuda it had been found that mixing a civilian post with the Engineer's Department led to conflict, therefore it was better to keep the roles separate (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 50, No. 7, Enc.3). Henderson himself had experienced some of the tensions that could occur between civilian and military positions when he tried to combine the roles of instructing and disciplinary warders. Perhaps the experiences gained at Bermuda and Gibraltar after Henderson's first appointment prompted changes to the position of Comptroller General prior to Henderson's return to Western Australia in 1858.

The problem of who would command the Royal Engineers was resolved by Bury being immediately recalled. His replacement, Captain Edward Grain, arrived in the colony in August 1859 (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 50, No. 7, Enc. 3). Despite this policy, Henderson noted to Governor Hampton in May 1862 that for various reasons he continued to direct public works and that it was during his absence overseas that the line between colonial and convict works had blurred to such an extent that they had become mixed together. This blurring had apparently been necessary as Kennedy had not been in a position to create a colonial public works department and Henderson had consented to the extra workload provided that it was temporary (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 40, 10, Enc. 3).

Fremantle Prison was still incomplete when Henderson returned and the sapper and miner mechanics continued to assist in the works at the prison due to insufficient numbers of convict mechanics. Work on the prison buildings eventually finished during 1859 freeing up some of the convicts to start work on colonial projects such as the construction of Government House. Despite the separation of the Convict Department from the Engineers' Department tensions between the two departments continued, leading Kennedy to report to Newcastle (Secretary of State to the Colonies) in March 1860 that the Superintendent of Convicts considered that more work could be had from the convicts if the "intervention of the Instructing Warders was discontinued" (BPP Vol. 15.1 No. 25, 59). In other words, the tensions between the civilian warders of the Convict Establishment and the sappers and miners had continued despite Henderson's best efforts to curtail them. Henderson again posted instructions for both departments on who had control of the convicts in which particular situation. Once again due to a shortage of convicts to work on the new Government House, much of the work completed during 1860 was carried out by the sapper mechanics.

In his report for 1860, Henderson reported that the Engineers' Department spent a lot of time preparing plans, estimates and specifications for the numerous colonial works for which the Department had been contracted. They also supervised and managed these works. If convict numbers increased then the men in the office would need to be augmented or other arrangements would need to be made for the colony to manage and supervise its own work. (BPP Vol. 15.3 No. 26, 8 Enc. No. 1). In the end it would appear that the tensions between the two groups proved to be irredeemable. The General Commander in Chief wrote to Newcastle (the Secretary for the Colonies) in March 1861, informing him that as the current company of Royal Engineers had finished their tour of duty, it would be necessary to send out another detachment. Newcastle replied that a new company would not be required. As with the detachment that had left in 1856, Kennedy was instructed by Newcastle to make the necessary

arrangements for those sappers who wished to remain in the colony (SROWA Cons. 391 Item 6, No. 35).

On the 27 April 1862 the Royal Engineers, together with Lieutenants Sim and Thorold, departed from Fremantle aboard the *Lincelles*. Before their departure, the two lieutenants and Captain Grain had sought an extra payment for the services that they had rendered for the Colonial government. The matter was put to the colony's executive council and it was decided that the lieutenants did not deserve extra remuneration. However they agreed that Grain had been responsible for much of the colonial works during his time in the colony and he should be granted an additional £200 (SROWA Cons. 390, Item 9, Nos 126 & 63).

Grain did not leave immediately but remained behind to assist the new Governor, John Hampton, with the re-organisation of the Royal Engineer's Department and what would become the new Public Works Office. A principal warder from the Convict Department was transferred to the Engineer's Department (as it continued to be called until Grain left), to act as foreman of works, and a warder was appointed as his overseer. Additional warders were later transferred to the Department once suitable men were found. Henderson recommended to Hampton that he should obtain another clerk to help in the Department, but Hampton disagreed. Instead he suggested that two new assistant warders should be sent out, preferably retired sappers with the experience and skills to direct convict labour. Hampton did not think that any of the warders currently in Western Australia had sufficient skills to direct the public works (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 40, 7). An important change made by Hampton shortly after his arrival was

.....the removal of all convict business from the office of the Colonial Secretary to that of the Comptroller General, and placing the latter officer in direct communication with myself on every point connected with his department requiring the decision of the Governor, thereby doing away with the inconveniently cumbrous system under which the comptroller General received his instructions through the Colonial Secretary's Office (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 17, 24).

A study of the correspondence between Hampton and Henderson reveals that the two men definitely did not see eye to eye. Hampton had served time in Van Diemen's Land as Comptroller of Convicts before his appointment as Governor of Western Australia. The harsh treatment of the convicts in his care while he was Comptroller led to a colonial enquiry into his behaviour; the findings were inconclusive enabling him to avoid any legal proceedings. Hampton did not see the need to retain Captain Grain and even suggested to Newcastle that perhaps Henderson could take control of the public works, as this had been part of his job description when he was first appointed Comptroller General (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 40, 7).

The orders issued by the Board of Ordnance to Grain for his withdrawal have not been located. Newcastle wrote to Hampton in October 1862 stating that he would attempt to find a properly qualified person to take up the position of foreman of works and to act for the clerk of works as required. He also commented that he would enquire from the Secretary of State for War whether Grain was to remain in the colony. Orders for Grain's withdrawal must therefore have been issued shortly before the end of 1862 as he left in February 1863 (AJCP WO 17/1259, Reel 911, 25). Following the withdrawal of the Royal Engineers Grain was obviously aware that his remaining time in the colony would be short and that changes to the Public Works Department would be required if it was to carry out the tasks that had previously been performed by the Royal Engineers. He reported to Hampton in April 1862 that the Public Works Department was now understaffed but its workload continued to increase. He also noted that Jewell, who was the Colonial Clerk of Works was fully occupied with the construction of the new Government House and would therefore be unavailable to assist with other public works projects. Grain's departure ended the Royal Engineers association with the Convict Establishment and the colony's Public Works Department (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 40, 11).

Henderson also left Western Australia in February 1863 following the arrival of his replacement, Captain Newland, in January that year. Before he departed he filed his annual report, which Newland submitted. Henderson ended his report by commenting that he hoped Hampton would be able to obtain suitable warders from England to supervise the works, as none were available in the colony (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 17, 25). In his covering letter to Newcastle in February 1863 in which he enclosed Henderson's report, Hampton noted that the changes he had made to the public works had enabled him to dispense with the services of a Royal Engineer, due to his previous experience in directing convict labour. It is therefore unclear whether Hampton made these changes in order to hasten the departure of Grain or whether these changes were required because Grain was departing (BPP Vol 16.1 No. 17, 3). Hampton made further changes to the Convict Establishment following Newland's departure. In May 1866, he appointed his son George Hampton as Acting Comptroller General (BPP Vol. 16.3 No. 39, 4). In addition, the Comptroller's Office was moved from Fremantle to Perth, which Hampton considered permitted better communication between the offices of the Comptroller General and the Governor (BPP Vol. 16.3 No. 39, 4).

After Henderson and Grain departed, the Public Works Department completed Government House, Perth and the Pensioner Barracks, Perth (work started on this building in August 1862). These important colonial buildings had begun with assistance provided by the Engineers' Department who had contracted with the colonial government to erect them. Materials for these (and other colonial projects) were provided by the colony with assistance from the British government in the form of convict labour and the expertise of the Engineers. The construction of the Town Hall, which commenced in 1867, used a similar arrangement although without any input from the Royal Engineers.

The Effectiveness of the Engineers

Despite the many roads, bridges, drains and other public works supervised by the Royal Engineers this group of men were often criticised by the settlers. The colonists voiced their displeasure via memorials to the various governors, letters to the Editor of the *Perth Gazette* and also in general correspondence to the Colonial Secretary. The main thrust of their displeasure was what they perceived to be a lack of progress on the development and maintenance of colonial roads. Henderson was forced to defend the Engineers' Department in October 1858 when he presented his opinion in a letter to the Legislative Council (*Perth Gazette* 8 October 1858, 2). The Council were considering the appointment of a Supervisor to manage the maintenance and construction of roads, instead of the Engineers' Department. Henderson could see no advantage in the proposal and considered that one Supervisor would be unable to handle the workload of visiting the road parties as well as the administrative work that went with such a position. He further commented that it would be of far greater benefit to provide the existing Department with additional manpower until such time as the colony was in a position to run its own colonial works. The Governor agreed with Henderson and vetoed the Council's resolution and the construction of roads remained with the Engineers' Department (*Perth Gazette* 8 October 1858, 2).

Further evidence of the settlers' disregard for the Royal Engineers can be read in the various facetious statements that were made about them with regards to the quality of their work, the poor supervision of the road parties and that they slowed progress due to their theorizing and what were perceived by the settlers as grandiose plans. It was even mooted that work on Government House progressed more quickly following the withdrawal of the Engineers (*Perth Gazette* 16 May 1862; 22 August 1862 and 18 September 1868 to name a few). Immediately following the withdrawal of the Royal Engineers Hampton moved to increase the numbers of convicts employed in the road gangs that were now supervised by policemen. In the first few months following the withdrawal the psychological impact on the settlers of seeing

this increase in man-power on the maintenance of roads must have been considerable and again led to further snide remarks on how much more effective police supervision was in comparison with that provided by the sapper Engineers (*Perth Gazette* 25 May 1862; 12 June 1863).

It seems highly unlikely that all of the settlers felt as strongly as those who voiced their opinions in the *Perth Gazette*. Newspaper editorials and letters need to be viewed with a degree of caution as the opinions expressed in the popular press can often reflect the views of the Editor or the owners rather than the mainstream beliefs of the public. While the Engineers were apparently not held in high esteem, reports on the farewell functions that were held for Henderson indicate that on the whole he was held in high regard by large numbers of the population and was respected for the efforts that he had made to ensure that the convict system, for which he was responsible, functioned efficiently (*Perth Gazette* 1 January 1863). Many of the colonists' complaints could have been remedied if greater numbers of convicts had been sent to the colony, a request repeatedly made by Henderson and the various governors that he worked with. By the time Henderson left Western Australia the transportation system implemented by Sir George Grey and Lord Russell was in its final years, due to agitation from the eastern colonies that transportation to Australia cease, and also due to further changes in Britain's penal codes. These changes and how they affected Western Australia will be discussed in the following section.

5.6 Repercussions of the Penal Servitude Acts for Western Australia

Apart from concerns over the cost of constructing hiring depots in key regional centres, and the cost of buildings associated with Fremantle Prison, the British government considered that the scheme implemented in Western Australia was successful. Henderson proved to be a capable administrator and he and Fitzgerald worked well together in trying to achieve Sir George Grey's aims for the successful repatriation of the convicts. During his term as

Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey came across as a strong supporter of the convict system as devised by Sir George Grey and Russell. In his various despatches to Fitzgerald he displayed a keen interest in the progress of the convicts after they had obtained their tickets-of-leave and also the convicts' acceptance by the settlers. As discussed in Chapter 2 there has been considerable debate about the character and behaviour of Western Australia's convicts (Stannage 1979; Taylor 1981). In the early years of transportation, both Jebb, Earl Grey and later the Duke of Newcastle attempted to send out men that would be deemed suitable to the colonists, with the skills that they had indicated were required and in the numbers requested (BPP Vol. 10.1 No. 79, 235). This state of affairs was not unfortunately to last due to changes in the British penal code in 1853 and the loss of Van Diemen's Land as a penal colony in the same year (McConville 1981, 382).

Van Diemen's Land had always taken far more convicts than Western Australia, so Britain was again left with the problem of where to send the 3,000 plus criminals who were sentenced to transportation in the British courts each year. Following the apparent success of Portland Prison, Britain's Surveyor-General of Prisons (Jebb) had started on the construction of additional public works prisons (Dartmoor, refurbished 1850; Portsmouth, 1850 – 52 and Chatham, 1856). Jebb, a man somewhat ahead of his time, realised that transportation was not a realistic long-term solution and that eventually the practise would have to cease (Tomlinson 1981).

The judiciary's response to the loss of Van Diemen's Land was to restrict the use of transportation to sentences between fourteen years and life and introduced the sentence of penal servitude for shorter convictions. The first Penal Servitude Act was passed in 1853 and effectively reduced the number of convicts available for transportation and saw the introduction of the ticket-of-leave system in Britain. Previously under the system of transportation (and this had included sentences of only seven years), those convicts who were

well behaved could look forward to early release on their arrival overseas. However, Waddington, (Under Secretary at the Home Office) directed that in future the length of the sentence would stand and there would be no remission as the sentences for penal servitude were shorter than those given for transportation. Enforcing Waddington's demands fell to Jebb and his prison governors and they soon found that the penal servitude prisoners felt extremely hard done by, particularly when working side by side with prisoners on short sentences passed before 1853 and with prisoners sentenced to transportation. The latter two groups could hope for remission but the former could not. Unrest and rioting soon followed and in 1856 a select commission was appointed to look into the irregularities of the 1853 Act (Tomlinson 1981, 133). Amendments to the 1853 Act were passed in 1857 and one of these removed the distinction between transportation and penal servitude. This meant that technically any prisoner could be transported although in reality only those serving the longer sentences or life were transported (McConville 1981, 383).

For Western Australia the cessation of transportation to Van Diemen's Land caused ripples of concern amongst the populace. Indeed in a despatch sent by Newcastle to Fitzgerald in April 1853, Newcastle himself was uncertain whether transportation might cease altogether as he commented that perhaps the colony should not proceed so quickly with the construction of Fremantle Prison; although he conceded that work would be well advanced by the time his despatch was received (BPP Vol. 11.2 No. 19, 235). In return, Fitzgerald wrote in June 1853 (before the arrival of Newcastle's despatch), that many colonists had voiced their concern over the possibility that transportation would cease and they wished Newcastle to know that they felt the scheme was operating well and they wanted transportation to continue to Western Australia (BPP Vol. 11.2 No. 28, 174). Although the 1853 Penal Servitude Act did not see an end to transportation to the colony there were repercussions for Western Australia. The Act not only removed the ability of prison administrators to select 'the best' convicts to be sent overseas but it

also reduced the numbers eligible for transportation. Evidence for the difficulties caused by the 1853 Act in enabling the prison governors to find enough suitable men to send out to Western Australia can be seen in Thomas Dixon's half yearly report to Henderson for 1856. In it he noted that the convicts that had recently arrived were particularly 'incorrigible' and that the colony did not have the facilities to deal with that type of prisoner (BPP Vol. 14.1 No. 44, 16). He requested that Henderson advise the governor that care should be taken in the future to ensure that this type of prisoner was not sent again. Then in July 1857, the Convict Establishment's surgeon noted that many of the convicts that had recently arrived were in poor health and several appeared to be mentally unsound. When these particular observations were sent back to Britain the prison governor for Millbank (where the convicts had been sent from) responded that the restrictions of the 1853 Act made it difficult to find enough prisoners to send out to Western Australia, hence it was possible that unsuitable men had found their way aboard the transports (BPP Vol. 14.3 No. 18, 163).

When one examines the numbers of convicts that arrived in the colony for the years 1853 to 1859 the impact of both Acts becomes evident (Table 4.1). The one thousand and eight prisoners that arrived in 1853 represents the largest total ever sent to the colony in a single year; there were only three other years when the total slightly exceeded eight hundred prisoners. The years 1854 to 1857 show a dramatic decrease in the number of convicts sent to Western Australia. The increase in 1858 represented the changes brought about by the 1856 revisions and it was also in this year that Governor Kennedy made enquires about what sort of remission times were permissible for prisoners serving a sentence of penal servitude; an indication that the colony had just received their first group of prisoners serving this type of sentence (BPP Vol. 14.3 No. 31, 69). The introduction of the Penal Servitude Act also meant that once prisoners were transported, they spent a longer period as a prisoner. In comparison to the prisoners sent out before 1858, these convicts spent longer working (and therefore learning) on public works

projects. After 1858, many of these projects included the construction of public buildings.

Year	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859
Convict Nos.	1110	576	490	498	266	828	225

Table 5.1 Arrival Figures for convicts for the years 1853 – 1859⁴⁵

At the same time, the increase in public works in both Britain and Gibraltar⁴⁶ also meant that the numbers of convicts available for transportation was further reduced. No doubt this also became a factor when authorities included ‘undesirable’ or ‘unsuitable’ convicts in their musters for Western Australia (Childers 1861). In 1861 the British government appointed a select committee to examine the economics of transportation and its effect on colonisation (Childers 1861). The latter objective was due to the increasing agitation of the eastern colonies to have transportation to Western Australia curtailed, as the inhabitants of these colonies were concerned about the numbers of ex-convicts emigrating from Western Australia once their sentences had expired. The committee found that at the time of its appointment Britain was going through an uncertain period where their goals were operating just under capacity and the convicts being sent to Western Australia were actually those that they would much rather have kept at home (as they were better behaved). However, the committee recommended continuing transportation to Western Australia as the settlers had indicated that they did not wish the flow of convicts to cease due to the increased economic benefits that the convicts had brought to Western Australia (Childers 1861. v). The continuing agitation of the eastern colonies ensured

⁴⁵ Information obtained from annual reports of Comptroller General in BPP Vols 11 – 15.

⁴⁶ The public works program at Bermuda was closed in 1863 and all the prisoners were transferred to Western Australia (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 37, 56).

that Britain had to heed their concerns, despite the government's feeling of betrayal for Western Australia.

5.7 Cessation of Transportation

In 1862, a Royal Commission was established to investigate the Penal Servitude Acts. This led in part to the passing of another Penal Servitude bill in July 1864. This bill enabled harsher sentences to be applied and resulted in stricter controls over the ticket-of-leave men released in Britain and tighter administration of convict sentences (Tomlinson 1981, 141). An important finding of the Commission was that crime in Britain had decreased between 1856 and 1862. It was thought that this decline was due to the successful operation of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855. However, numbers were again on the increase by 1862, particularly the more serious crimes against people. The Commission considered that this reflected a lack of concern by criminals for the severity of the penal servitude sentence. In addition, the threat of transportation had also been removed for many of the sentences. The Commissioners considered that in the past transportation had been a very successful deterrent in controlling criminal activity. As well as removing male prisoners from their families and their former associates, transportation gave these men better opportunities to utilise the skills acquired in the public works prisons and enabled them to become law-abiding citizens. As Western Australia had the facilities to take convicts, had apparently successfully repatriated most of the convicts it received, and was keen to receive more, it was recommended that all able-bodied prisoners who had received sentences of penal servitude should be sent to Western Australia (Grey 1863, 35).

By making all able-bodied prisoners eligible for transportation, the Commissioners were in effect going against the original wishes of the Western Australian settlers. As mentioned previously, the colonists had agreed to become a penal colony on the proviso that only well conducted prisoners (and those who had not committed serious crimes) would be sent out. The results

of sending out any able-bodied man can be seen in Taylor's study, which examined the types of crimes committed by convicts sent to Western Australia. The study showed that by the early 1860s, the number of convicts arriving in the colony who had committed serious offences (such as robbery with violence, manslaughter, rape and murder) had started to increase and continued to climb until transportation ceased (Taylor 1981, 24). However, a study of the crimes committed by convicts sent to the colony during the first years of transportation, indicated that despite the settlers stating that they would take 'no lifers', convicts with life sentences began entering the colony as early as 1851, when 10 men serving life sentences arrived on board the *Mermaid* (Nelson 1996 – 2002, *Mermaid*). Their conviction dates varied between 1847 and 1848, yet all of them had received their tickets-of-leave by 1853 and their conditional pardons by 1864 (the majority prior to this date). Only one of these men committed a serious offence that saw him executed, the rest apparently became honest citizens (Erickson and O'Mara 1994). The presence of these particular convicts is not necessarily an indicator that the British government tried to deceive the settlers. What is the more likely scenario is that these men had been hard working and well behaved while at Portland or one of the other public works prisons; it was these qualities that probably led to their selection rather than a consideration being given to the crime they had committed.

In January 1864, the Duke of Newcastle sent a circular to the Australian colonies notifying them that Western Australia would continue to receive convicts (House of Commons 1865, No.1). Most of Western Australia's settlers were relieved but residents in the eastern colonies were dismayed. Victoria in particular was most upset as it considered that convicts in Western Australia affected the reputation of all Australian colonies and the residents were especially worried about conditional pardon men or ex-convicts arriving in their colony and committing further crimes (despite the fact that statistics in Western Australia did not corroborate this fear). The Governor of Victoria wrote to Edward Cardwell (who replaced Newcastle) in August 1864, notifying

him that Victoria was prepared to adopt measures that would isolate Western Australia from the other colonies. He also sent a letter to the other eastern colonies seeking their support for this action. Strong support came from South Australia and Queensland, Tasmania was unsure and New South Wales indicated that it did not consider the continuance of transportation to be a threat. For their own part, Western Australians sent petitions to Hampton indicating that they continued to be in favour of transportation (Various 1865).

Several factors eventually led Britain to bow to the pressure of the eastern colonies and the last shipment of convicts arrived off Fremantle in January 1868. One important factor was the discovery of a large pastoral area to the north of Geraldton (today's Pilbara region) in 1863. When Hampton wrote to Cardwell about the discovery, seeking to issue land grants for the area, Cardwell indicated that land would only be granted in this area provided no convict labour was permitted in this region. The British government apparently felt that the Victorians would see the expansion into this new region as an excuse to bring in large quantities of convicts to assist in the development of the district, thereby potentially increasing the flow of ex-convicts to Victoria (Grey 1865). Despite Britons being concerned about the release of ticket-of-leave men at home, and what to do with prisoners who had served their time, the British government and the prison authorities had come to realise that transportation could no longer be viewed as a realistic penal sentence. Instead there needed to be stricter adherence to the penal code and closer supervision of the ticket-of-leave men once they were released at home. The number of convicts sent to Western Australia had begun to decline by 1866 so that by 1868 when the last shipment arrived there were only 279 convicts (Batrop 1981).

When one examines the evidence brought before the Commissioners in 1863 it becomes evident that by this time there were some in the British parliament who had begun to concede that transportation was costly and

unnecessary. In addition, there was the dawning realisation that prisoners could effectively be contained at home provided they were adequately disciplined and controlled. The Commissioners noted that Western Australia had developed innovative ways of dealing with prisoners that led to most of the convicts leading useful lives upon their release. Some of these measures were later adopted into the British prison system, along with harsher discipline and tighter administrative control. In the end it would appear that transportation continued in 1864 because many of the Commissioners felt Western Australia was 'owed'. The colonists had effectively come to Britain's aid in 1849 by agreeing to accept convicts, something that none of Britain's other colonies had been willing to undertake. The poor start experienced by the settlement was due to an inappropriate land grant system that had led to the colony becoming one of Britain's more impoverished colonies, but the arrival of the convicts had changed that condition. The Commissioners noted that the colony had become more prosperous, there was now a road network and numerous bridges had been built which aided considerably in allowing the colonists to move around the colony and to get their produce to market. The convicts had been readily absorbed into colonial society with a minimum of fuss and most had become useful citizens. For Western Australia the experiment had been a success and they had indicated that they did not want the flow of convicts to cease (Grey 1863). It was therefore unfortunate for Western Australia that the eastern colonies did not view the situation in the same light and were able to bring pressure to bear on the British government in bringing an abrupt halt to the transportation of convicts to Western Australian shores.

5.8 Conclusion

The gradual evolution of Britain's penal system would at first sight appear to be of little relevance to Western Australia or the development of its building industry between 1850 – 1880. However the gradual changes to the

transportation system, Britain's main method of criminal control, was closely associated with changes in prison design and convict discipline. This had important ramifications for Western Australia, specifically through the introduction of vocational training for convicts in British public works prisons. It was the arrival of these skilled and semi-skilled men that enabled Henderson to use this workforce to change not only the economic face of Western Australia but it also brought into the colony men who were able to construct buildings. As Henderson's reports indicated, skilled mechanics had been in short supply before the arrival of the convicts and the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners.

While some of the convicts who arrived in Western Australia had managed to acquire the rudiments of a trade in the English public works prisons, this training continued after their arrival due to the efforts of the instructing warders. As these men were drawn from the ranks of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners it becomes clear that many convicts who went on to become skilled masons, carpenters, bricklayers or brickmakers owed a debt to these men as well as the British penal system.

Following the merging of the Royal Engineer Department with the Colonial Works Department and the completion of the bulk of the buildings at the Convict Establishment at Fremantle, the Royal Engineer Department was able to expand the use of convict labour beyond the prison at Fremantle. Convicts were therefore employed not only on road and bridge building projects but also on the construction of public buildings. This shift away from Fremantle in the late 1850s was to have a profound affect on furthering the skills acquired by the convicts. The use of convicts in the construction of governmental buildings broadened the convicts' skills applied to building construction. At the same time, the changes brought about by the Penal Servitude Acts meant that convicts entering the colony after 1857 had to serve longer terms as a prisoner before they were entitled to their tickets-of-leave. This therefore exposed them to longer periods of time on government works projects and

enabled them to hone their skills. The implications of these changes and its effect on the built environment of Western Australia after 1858 will be discussed in the following chapters.

6.0 THE CONVICT SYSTEM IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The number of mechanics in the colony being very limited, I could only obtain a few carpenters and masons, and this withdrew almost all the available labour from the market,many who were about to build were obliged to suspend operations.

Capt. Edmund Henderson, Comptroller General Convicts
1st half-yearly report to Fitzgerald, Jan. 1851

Introduction

When the convicts arrived in the colony not only did it lack sufficient labourers but there was also a shortage of mechanics with skills relevant to the building trade. As outlined previously in Chapter 4, the limited capital in the colony meant that few settlers had been in a position to consider constructing larger dwellings once they had become established, therefore most of the buildings were comparatively simple, utilising materials that were readily on hand to the settler. The arrival of the convicts changed this situation and such was the need of the settlers when it came to skilled mechanics, that most of these convicts had no trouble finding employment once they became entitled to their tickets-of-leave. They were also in great demand for many of the public works projects.

This chapter will briefly summarise the population and employment situation in Western Australia on the 'eve' of the convicts' arrival. This information is important as it enables us to see the potential impact that the arrival of convicts with a variety of trade skills would have made to the colony. I will also discuss how the convicts were distributed throughout the colony once they became entitled to their tickets-of-leave and how the system of rural depots assisted in the dispersal of convicts in rural areas. Before this discussion, the chapter will begin by reviewing the literature that has currently been written about convicts and the convict system in Western Australia and where my research sits within this area of research.

6.1 Convict Studies

When Shaw published his history of Britain's transportation system to its colonies, his history of Western Australia's experience came to just five pages (Shaw 1971). In 2006 Reece lamented that in eastern Australia research into the convict system continued to be debated and discussed while in Western Australia it still excited little interest (Reece 2006). Five years on, Reece's comment still remains largely valid, although a few studies have now begun to appear and will be discussed later. The recent inclusion of the Convict Establishment at Fremantle on the UNESCO World Heritage List may change this attitude and one can hope that further research will be undertaken (Fremantle Prison 2011).

It remains unclear why academic research into the convicts and the convict system in Western Australia continues to attract little interest, particularly when one considers that individual members of the public appear to be curious about their own convict past. This interest is clearly indicated by the active Convict Interest Group associated with the Western Australian Genealogical Society. Its members meet regularly and publish their results in a quarterly journal, *Convict Links*. Unfortunately, members' interests are generally restricted to researching their own convict ancestors and the role that other convicts might have played in the development of the state is generally outside their sphere of interest.

National publications that purport to discuss the Australian convict story tend to gloss over the Western Australian experience. Reece noted that Hughes' book: *The Fatal Shore*, devoted seven pages to Western Australia while a much earlier publication by Robson on convict settlers in Australia did not even mention Western Australia (Reece 2006, 99). The British National Archives at Kew produces a number of helpful research guides to their collection. The one produced for transportation to Australia covers the period 1787 – 1868. It states that transportation to Australia had practically ceased by 1857, and that it had become "increasingly unusual well before that date"

(National Archives 2008). This statement totally dismisses the 3,285 convicts that arrived in Western Australia between 1857 and 1868. The guide also lists sources of information within Australia but no listings are provided for the ample records held by the State Records Offices of Western Australia in Perth. It therefore seems reasonable to believe that researchers examining this guide might think that convicts were only sent to the east coast of Australia. This lack of information is unfortunate as the convict system that operated in Western Australia was different to that which operated in the eastern colonies. Additionally, an examination of Western Australia's convict system provides the researcher with a greater appreciation of how England's penal system developed, and as discussed in the previous chapter it was the changes in the judicial process that were to be of such benefit to Western Australia.

Previous academic research into the convict system in Western Australia has concentrated on examining how the system operated (Gertzel, 1949), the types of crimes committed by the convicts sent to Western Australia and the length of their prison sentences (Poole 1978; Taylor 1981), how they were treated (Trinca 1997), their economic benefit to the colony (Marelich 196?; Statham 1981a) and the physical remains of the confinement system (Campbell 2010; Lilley and Gibbs 1993; Bavin 1994; Gibbs. 2001). No study has focussed on the skills that the convicts brought to the colony, or whether they acquired any skills following their arrival. Research into how these men were utilized by the colonists once they had received their ticket-of-leave, such as whether they were employed in the building industry, has not to date been addressed. This is probably why the convict contribution to buildings in Perth after 1850 has not been considered: there has been no data upon which to draw.

Heritage assessments that examined public buildings constructed by the convicts have noted only in passing the use of convict labour or referred only to those that had a high public profile, such as the Fenian, Joseph Noonan

(O'Mara 2000). Additionally there is no discussion on whether these men were skilled, or how they were supervised.⁴⁷ The lack of discussion on how the convicts were utilised in public building projects by the Colonial government is not just restricted to convicts; little mention is made, in the numerous conservation plans and heritage assessments currently prepared in Western Australia, of the free men who were responsible for building construction.⁴⁸ This oversight is gradually being rectified in current heritage assessments. A study by Erickson touched briefly on the subject of employers of ticket-of-leave-men and noted where this information might be found (Erickson 1997). This work was recently expanded by Erickson who gave a detailed account of homesteads constructed in the Toodyay area, including the extensive use of skilled ticket-of-leave men in the construction of many of these buildings. Unfortunately Erickson provided few references on where she obtained her information making it difficult to validate her work, which represents years of personal research on her part (Erickson and Taylor 2006).

The role played by the Royal Engineers is also not well documented and the presence of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners generally goes unremarked. As discussed later in this chapter and in the previous chapter, these men played a vital role in the management and training of the convicts in Western Australia. Primary documents indicated that the skilled mechanics in the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners were an essential component of the Convict Establishment.

The small body of research on the convict system in Western Australia has led to misunderstandings in the usage of the words "convict" and "ticket-of-leave man" in both popular literature and the public arena. These terms represent distinct phases in the prisoner's sentence but are not inter-changeable . My

⁴⁷ For example: Perth Town Hall HCWA 1994a and Lynton Convict Hiring Depot HCWA 1994.

⁴⁸ I have worked in the heritage field in Western Australia since 1993 preparing heritage assessments for the Heritage Council of Western Australia and conservation plans on a variety of buildings. It was a lack of adequate information on how convicts were utilized on public works and in the public sector that led to this research.

research has determined that a settler would not employ a “convict”, as a convict was still serving part of his sentence and was therefore under the strict control of the Prison Superintendent, either near the Prison or in a supervised working party (BPP Vols 8, 10 – 16). On the other hand a settler could (and did) employ a “ticket-of-leave man”, who had essentially been released on what today would be referred to as parole. The ticket-of-leave entitled the men to find work with a private employer, they could barter for wages, own property and they could move around the district to which they had been assigned, provided they reported to the local magistrate (or policeman) following their arrival in a district or before their departure to a new district (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 126). Evidence of how these two terms are often incorrectly used can be seen on signage at the ruins of Davilak Homestead in Hamilton Hill in the Perth metropolitan area. This large building was constructed by Charles Manning in c.1866, and the information sign states that it was constructed for Manning by convicts (Berson 1998, 37).⁴⁹ What is more likely is that it was ticket-of-leave men who were involved in the construction.

The remainder of this section will examine the literature that has been published on Western Australian convicts. As indicated above, no studies have been found that examine the role of the convict or the ticket-of-leave man in Western Australia’s colonial building industry. Nor has any work been undertaken to examine how the convict system in Western Australia differed from that in the eastern colonies and how this difference related to public works prisons established in England after 1848. For Britain the new prison system represented a completely new paradigm for punishment and rehabilitation and Western Australia is where the experiment was trialled and developed. The convicts who received training in the various skills of bricklaying, brickmaking, carpentry and masonry made a considerable

⁴⁹ Site visit to the ruins in December 2006.

contribution to Western Australia's built environment between 1850 and 1880.

Historical and Economic Studies

What is interesting to observe about research into the convict past is that investigations into this phase of Australian history were largely disregarded until the late 1940s onwards, which coincided with a growing awareness of, and interest in, Australian history. Broeze (1985) considered that several factors were responsible for this interest, including:

1. The rise in a popular interest in history following World War 2.
2. Changes in the way Australians viewed their relationship with Britain, particularly following the war in the Pacific and the British withdrawal from Singapore.
3. The remoteness of the convict past from contemporary Australians.
4. The search for an Australian identity that incorporated the convict legacy.

Much of the search for an Australian identity was due in some respects to the sudden influx of migrants into the country at the end of World War 2. A Commonwealth migration program brought British settlers in comparatively small numbers in comparison to the much larger numbers from northern and southern European countries (Broeze 1985, 132; Peters et al. 1996, 3). These factors led to a popular interest in researching and reviewing a past that had previously been strongly aligned with traditional ties to Britain. Winter (2001) considered that events can trigger a 'memory boom' that draws people back to reflect on the past. One such event for Australians came in 1970 when the nation celebrated 200 years since Captain Cook's discovery of eastern Australia. The celebrations saw a corresponding rise in interest in Australian history. In Western Australia an interest in the state's colonial past began slightly earlier when Premier Brand decided in 1955 to demolish the Pensioner Guard Barracks building to make way for a northern freeway. This

resolution led to an immediate public outcry, led by the National Trust of Australia (WA) and the Royal Western Australian Historical Society (Witcomb and Gregory 2010, 242). The retention of the entry archway could be viewed as a Pyrrhic victory as other historic buildings were razed during the state's 1960s and 1970s building boom.

However, one of the first studies into Western Australia's convict past was written several years before this era of remembrance and rediscovery. The study by Gertzel (1949) produced the first comprehensive evaluation of Western Australia's convict system since the late 1860s. As part of this review, Gertzel examined why the early colonists decided that their only option for economic progress in the colony was to accept convicts and explained in detail how the system worked. Gertzel briefly mentioned that instructing warders supervised the convicts' work and that these men worked in the workshops at Fremantle Prison and also on the public works. Unfortunately there was little discussion on who the instructing warders were or where they came from. The men of the 20th Company retained their anonymity in this study. The role played by the Royal Engineers in the Establishment is also understated, which is difficult to understand when one considers that these men were in charge of the Engineer Department, which ran the public works program and essentially directed where the convicts or ticket-of-leave men would be assigned. However, as this was the first in-depth study on the convict system, this work, despite its age, continues to be a valuable piece of research providing both an insightful summary of why the colonists decided to accept convicts, and a good overview of how the Western Australian Convict Establishment functioned.

During the 1960s, students from Graylands Teachers College produced a number of studies on convicts. These undergraduate theses covered a range of topics that included an examination of the economic, moral and social impacts that convicts had had on the colony, the conditions faced by the convicts and the roads and bridges that they constructed (McNally 1959;

Marelich 1967; Matson 1963; Collopy 1970). Overall the research undertaken by these students is generally superficial. No primary documents were consulted and some of the comments made by the authors suggest that they were simply reiterating folklore about the convicts. For example, Marelich (1967, 33) stated that the convicts were unskilled, lazy and unreliable and the settlers were not keen to employ them. It is not known where Marelich obtained this information, as during the 1850s reports that were sent back to the Secretary of State by Governor Fitzgerald and the Comptroller General stated that in general the colonists were happy with the both the men's work and their behaviour (Various 1865). Despite their superficiality, these studies are important as they demonstrate that for some reason, possibly due to the fight for the Pensioner Barracks building, during the 1960s Western Australians became interested in not just the history of their state but also where the convicts fitted into that history.

These essays were followed by much more detailed studies, several of which were devoted to analysing whether Western Australia had really required convicts for economic reasons, and exploding the variety of 'myths' about Western Australia's convict past (Poole, 1978; Statham, 1980; Statham 1981a; Statham 1981b; Taylor, 1981). These myths included ideas such as - the colony needed convicts to assist with economic recovery and that no hardened criminals were sent.

Both Poole and Statham examined in detail the state of the colony before the arrival of the convicts and both noted that while Western Australia had experienced a small depression during the mid 1840s, on the whole by 1847 the colony was in recovery mode. However although the colony was making steady progress, there was apparently a shortage of labourers and tradesmen such as blacksmiths, wheelwrights and cobblers. Poole cited several instances when the settlers attempted to obtain labourers through various immigration schemes, a further indicator that the colony was not in a depressed condition (Poole 1978, 19). Previously the colonists had agreed to receive a small

number of boys from Parkhurst Prison and this experiment had been successful. What Poole does not discuss is that the Parkhurst boys had served time in a juvenile reform prison. As indicated in the previous chapter, Gill's (2004) study on the Parkhurst 'boys' presented a persuasive argument that earlier research on convicts had in fact ignored this trial of convict assignment. But Gill, like Poole did not refer to the changes that had occurred in the British penal system. These changes altered the conditions under which juvenile boys were held, and the disciplinary processes and training that they received at Parkhurst penitentiary. Gill argued that the term 'apprentice' was just a thin disguise for the word 'convict', therefore Western Australia began accepting convicts before 1850. In addition he considered that these juveniles were no better off than those convicts sent to the eastern colonies that were assigned to various masters and mistresses. Gill's description of the apprentice system that operated in Western Australia does not appear to resemble the assignment system that operated in the eastern penal colonies (Molesworth 1838). He noted that the Parkhurst boys signed indentures with their masters for up to a period of five years and that they had a Guardian to look after their welfare (Gill 2004, 22). These were not the conditions under which assigned convicts worked in the eastern penal colonies. However, Gill has produced a well researched paper that highlights an immigration program that had received little attention previously. However Gill's assertion that the convict period should be taken to have begun in 1842, when the first Parkhurst boys arrived in Western Australia still remains a point of semantic distinction (Gill 2004, 1). Whatever Gill's feelings on the matter, the British government did not consider them to be convicts. When Whitehall considered the possibility of sending convicts to Western Australia in 1849 it had to grapple with the difficulty that Western Australia had been established as a free colony, and that if convicts were to be sent there then the colony's free status would have to be altered. The colonists themselves would need to indicate that they were willing to become a penal colony and the change in status would have to be passed through an Act of

Parliament. This change in status did in fact occur but not until 1849 when Western Australia indicated that it was willing to receive convicts (McConville 1981, 197). Most importantly when the Commissioners at Parkhurst began to look around for places to send convicted juveniles they did so on the understanding that these boys would receive their pardon once they had signed their indentures with their new employer. Therefore once they were released into the community they were free individuals, not convicts, regardless of what some settlers cynically seemed to think (*Inquirer* 6 June 1849). It is also interesting to note that reviews of the convict system by Poole (1978), Stannage (1979) and Statham (1981a) made no reference to the Parkhurst juveniles or how these boys came to be introduced into the colony.

Poole (1978) and Stannage (1979) discussed the manoeuvrings that led to the British Government's decision to send convicts out to Western Australia. According to both authors the decision to make Western Australia a penal colony was pushed through by Earl Grey who was desperately trying to solve his problem of what to do with an excess of convicts in British prisons. However in all fairness to Grey the Western Australian settlers had been sending the British government mixed messages for years - yes they conceded that they would have to become a penal settlement and no they did not want convicts. When finally in 1849 it appeared that the colonists had indeed decided that they would accept a limited number of convicts Grey must have felt some relief, particularly as Western Australia was the only British colony to agree to the intake. What is unfortunate about the discussions expounded by both Poole and Stannage is that they are made only from the point of view of whether or not Western Australia was a willing recipient or a duped one. No mention is made about the circular that Grey sent out to the other British colonies in 1848 (BPP Vol. 9.1 No. 15, 40). If, as Stannage suggests, Western Australians were duped, they had only themselves to blame for they sent conflicting memorials to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

What is also disappointing about the work presented by Poole, Stannage and Statham is the lack of discussion on the changes that occurred to Britain's penal system during the 1830s and 1840s. These changes were important for Western Australia as it altered the type of prisoner sent out to this colony. Unlike the felons transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the convicts that Grey wished to send out had served time in a prison where they had undergone reformatory discipline, and then employment in a public works prison. A short time after their arrival (or on their arrival) in Western Australia they became entitled to a ticket-of-leave. This additional information provides a greater understanding of why the colonists were willing to agree to accept a limited number of these convicts and lose their status as a free colony.

Poole and Statham also maintained that the request for convicts did not in fact represent the views of the majority in the colony but those of a few influential pastoralists and graziers who were also well represented on the Legislative Council (Poole 1978; Statham 1981a). Their arguments revolved around the premise that the colony was not in fact economically depressed and that the settlers had not anticipated becoming a full blown penal colony, but instead had requested a small, one-off shipment of well behaved convicts who would alleviate the labour shortages that the pastoralists were experiencing. The arrival of the first convict ship in June 1850 did indeed catch the colonists completely by surprise. But this was not due to the fact that they were not expecting a shipload of convicts, but because the arrival date was unknown, due to the delay in the British government despatches arriving in the colony.

What all of these studies have in common is a lack of contextual evidence. Changes in the British penal code and the flow on effects to the transportation system had important ramifications for the type of convict sent to Western Australia and the treatment he received on arrival. What also appears to have been missed is an examination of how hundreds of convicted

criminals apparently had a trade once they arrived in Western Australia or that they later acquired one during the period of their incarceration. None of these studies addressed the issue of how or where the convicts might have acquired their trade skills. Yet it was the acquisition of these skills and how they were acquired that was to prove so important to the development of Western Australia's built environment after 1850.

Studies on the Impact of Incarceration

While the above studies concentrated on defining the economic benefits it was some time before studies appeared on how the convicts had been treated when they went through the system and the effects that that system had on the convicts' psyche. Gertzel (1949) touched on the rules and regulations of the system but there was no further analysis of how the disciplinary systems affected the convicts and whether, in the long run, the system was either detrimental or beneficial to the men transported to Western Australia.

Erickson (1985) discussed the fate of the convicts, painting a rather bleak picture that indicated that although the convicts were accepted into the colony as a much needed workforce, they were socially ostracised. Expirees were not eligible to join the various social societies such as the Mechanics' Institutes, Agricultural Societies, town Trusts or Race Clubs. Nor could they serve on juries or attend Assembly balls. This ostracism led many of these men to leave the colony seeking work (and anonymity), in the eastern colonies, particularly on the Victorian goldfields, once their sentence had expired. For those who stayed behind she suggested that half became drifters whilst those who prospered always lived with the shame of their convict past (Erickson 1985). Erickson admitted that although she had no statistical information to bolster her argument, her work on the Biographical Dictionary of Western Australia gave her considerable insight into the lives of the

convicts. Unfortunately no statistical work has followed to determine the accuracy of Erickson's observations.

An expansion on the theme of social conditions was investigated by Trinca (1997) who examined the effects of the physical components of the convict system on the convicts. This study investigated the premise that Fremantle Prison and the various hiring depots were physical manifestations of the colonial government's control over the convicts and the need to provide the settlers with the illusion of safety. Interestingly Trinca did not consider the possible impact that the environment probably had on the convicts. Convicts waiting to receive their tickets-of-leave were often employed on road gangs, improving or constructing roads and building or repairing bridges. At night they were housed in small, often temporary, road stations that were erected at various locations along the main roads. Although there is limited information on these stations, what is known is that security was not tight, the remoteness of the locations and the inhospitable environment were considered to be enough of a deterrent to keep the men from escaping (Willoughby 1865). A more recent study by Millett (2003) examined the process of punishment and in particular how it was meted out to convicts in Fremantle Prison. The study was closely associated with Fremantle Prison and the effectiveness and the intensity of the reformatory process, and did not cover the wider topics of convict transportation in Western Australia.

When Stannage (1979) wrote his social history on the development of Perth, he also included a section on the convicts. He acknowledged that the colony owed a great deal to the arrival of the convicts as it assisted the state to finally gain a measure of economic prosperity. He also noted that in the beginning the colonists were able to ensure that many of the convicts left the colony once they had gained their conditional pardons ensuring that these bond 'settlers' did not upset the ascendancy of the free settlers. This came to an end in 1864 following complaints from the eastern colonies. Little or no research has been carried out to determine if settlers actively tried to get

convicts to leave once they had obtained their conditional pardons, although research into the movements of convicts with building skills indicates that many of them left the colony once they had obtained their pardons. (This information can be viewed in Appendix 2). Many also stayed. Erickson's observations about the way in which convicts were received into colonial society tends to verify Stannage's remarks but until further statistical research has been completed in this area it is not possible to comment further on this important aspect of colonial society.

Genealogical Studies and Individual Stories

As noted above, people interested in discovering their convict past have, to a great extent, been largely responsible for the continued interest in the convicts. Many researchers restrict themselves to the development of family trees, but some are more diligent and have managed to uncover additional historical information about their convict forebears. For example Mitchell's (1994) research enabled her to find information about the crime and sentencing of her ancestor Aimiable Duperouzel and then additional family research provided information about his life once his sentence expired. The story of Duperouzel is a faithful 'warts and all' account of this rather unlikely convict who settled down to become a successful farmer near York. Other biographies tend to sugar-coat the family history and the word 'convict' never actually appears in the text as if the researcher was still afraid to admit that there was in fact a convict in their family tree, despite the fact that this person became a pillar of the community once his sentence was served (Dixon c.1994). Unfortunately a large percentage of this work remains unpublished.

Some of the more infamous or well-known convicts have become the subjects of historians, such as Moondyne Joe, famous for his ability to elude both capture and gaols. Numerous legends have developed about this man despite the fact that an accurate history of his life has been written that refutes a large percentage of his colourful career (Elliot 1998). The fate of Irish convicts

is also a favourite subject, particularly the Fenians, transported for treason, who arrived aboard the last convict ship *Hougoumont* in 1868. The story of the escape of six of these prisoners in 1876 aboard the American whaling ship *Catalpa* has led to the publication of several books (for example Devoy c.2006; Lefroy 2007). One of the better known Fenians was Joseph Noonan who, together with several other Fenians, received his pardon in 1869. Before his conviction he had been a builder by trade and together with fellow Fenian, Hugh Brophy, established a building partnership in Perth that became highly successful (O'Mara 2000, 62). As with the *Catalpa* story, several books and articles have been written about Noonan describing his life before his sentencing for treason, his time in Fremantle prison and his life as a builder (O'Mara 2000). O'Mara's biography of Noonan provided invaluable information about this convict and the contribution he made to Western Australia's built environment. Brophy disappeared from Western Australian history as he immigrated to Victoria in 1872 (O'Mara 2000, 63). Noonan, an educated man and an Irish rebel, was destined to make an impact on Perth Society, which is why we tend to know something about him today. He became well known for his tasteful designs and his building skills. Once the partnership with Brophy was dissolved he widened his building spheres to other areas (such as Guildford and York). However, it is Noonan's status as an Irish rebel, rather than the buildings that he constructed, that has made him the subject of historical interest.

When one examines the names of some convicts who employed large numbers of ticket-of-leave men with trades relevant to the building industry it soon become evident that there were other convicts who became successful in the building industry, but little is known about them. Take for example Alexander Fagan, who arrived in May 1851, and John McCarthy who arrived in January 1852. Listed as a mason on his arrival in the colony, Fagan became a successful builder in the Toodyay district employing eight masons and bricklayers between 1860 and 1871. John McCarthy, a gun maker by trade, became a very successful brickmaker at York employing eleven ticket-of-leave

brick makers between 1864 and 1876 (see Appendix 1). He became so successful with his business that he was listed in the trade directory of the colony's annual Almanac from 1869 to 1878 (Stirling, 1855 – 1889). Yet to date nothing appears to have been written about either Fagan or McCarthy, both of whom must have had an impact on the building trade in Toodyay and York. Perhaps local historical societies have information about these men, but nothing has been published on either of them and research papers have not been produced to tell their stories. Genealogical researchers have, however, compiled unpublished reports on their ancestors, some of whom were involved in the building industry.

Remains of the Confinement System

Considering the impact that convicts had on the built environment of Western Australia, there are surprisingly few studies on the physical manifestations of the convict system, particularly when one considers that it was the convicts themselves who constructed the prison where they were incarcerated and the rural depots that housed them while they waited to find private employment. For example, the colony was highly dependent on convicts to construct and maintain roads and bridges. As this work took them far from Fremantle and the rural depots, road stations and temporary camps were established in various localities when they were building this infrastructure. Details on the construction of these camps appear in many of the reports that were provided to the governor by the Comptroller General, so we know where several of the more permanent stations were placed. However, little is known about the temporary road camps that might have been used for several months over a short period of time, only to be abandoned some months or years later once work in the area was completed. An example of this type of camp can be found at St. Ronan's Well near York (Bush 2010). To date little work has been completed on locating the various camps although preliminary investigations have identified two permanent stations constructed along the

Guildford to York Road (Greenmount Station) and on the Guildford to Toodyay Road (Redhill Station). A conservation plan was completed for the Redhill Station although very little of this station remains today (Bush et al. 1996). A limited amount of archaeological investigation has been undertaken on the Greenmount Station, which has very limited physical evidence visible above ground, in comparison to the Redhill Station. As this work was very preliminary in nature a report has not as yet been produced.⁵⁰

Fremantle Prison, the most prominent manifestation of the convict system, has been the subject of numerous conservation plans and a variety of studies that included historical, architectural and archaeological research. A recently completed doctoral thesis (Campbell 2010) examined in detail the construction of Fremantle Prison and the buildings associated with the Convict Establishment at Fremantle and also at the rural depots. Campbell discussed how the convicts were rehabilitated through the use of vocational training, firstly on the construction of the buildings at Fremantle and then later on public buildings in Perth and on the construction of roads and bridges throughout the south-west of Western Australia. Campbell's thesis is one of the first to link the development of Fremantle Prison with what was happening in the British penal system and that Fremantle Prison continued the training of the convicts. He also discussed the arrival of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners who were used as instructing warders and the presence of the Engineers who were able to contribute to the colony's building program.

The few archaeological studies produced have examined the physical expression of the convict system that include investigations by Bavin (1994), Lilley and Gibbs (1993) and Gibbs (2001). Gibbs' study looked briefly at the variety of places that represented the "convict system" in Western Australia

⁵⁰ Students from the University of Western Australia and members of the Mundaring and Hills Historical Society (Inc.) carried out a brief archaeological excavation at the Greenmount Station in 2005. Information about this site is known to the author as she was involved in this archaeological excavation.

and the extent of the physical remains of this system. To enable comparisons to be made between the places he devised a framework comprising three categories:

1. The System
2. Housing for guards, engineers and administrators
3. Public works.

The buildings and structures within these categories are listed and some are discussed. The paper also provided a brief overview of the convict system, as it existed in Western Australia. Given that the paper dealt specifically with the physical remains of the convict system, the omission of the role played by the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners in this system is disappointing, although the Royal Engineers are briefly mentioned (Gibbs 2006, 75). In his summation, Gibbs noted that structures associated with the convicts are rarely identified and as a consequence their significance goes unrecognised (Gibbs 2006, 96 – 97). He recommended that these sites needed to be identified and documented. Work of this nature is currently in a preliminary state.⁵¹

As noted above, archaeological work has been carried out at a few convict sites, notably Fremantle Prison, Freshwater Bay Convict Depot, Lynton Convict Depot and a Pensioner Guard Cottage at Bassendean. These reports strictly address the physical remains of these places, yet the accompanying historical documentation does not discuss which ticket-of-leave men might have been involved in the construction of these buildings nor is there any discussion of how the work was supervised and therefore the names of the instructing warders. Information about the instructing warders could have been obtained from the State Records Office of Western Australia. Admittedly this type of detailed research might be time consuming, but there are registers which list

⁵¹ Sean Winter, a doctoral student at the University of Western Australia is currently investigating some of the convict depots.

where convicts were sent once they received their tickets-of-leave, so it should be possible to obtain information about who erected these buildings and also who supervised the work.

Although these studies provide us with background information on how the convict system operated, the economic benefits to the colony, a few individualised stories about some convicts and archaeological investigations of buildings that represented the penal system, they tell us nothing about how ticket-of-leave men with building related skills were employed by the colonists. We still know nothing about their involvement in the construction of ordinary peoples' houses, business premises, farm buildings churches or even the rural depots specifically established for them. The literature talks about the convicts' involvement in the construction of not only roads and bridges but also public buildings, most notably Fremantle Prison. But there is no discussion of how these men were employed on these public buildings, the skills that they learnt or who taught them these skills. This thesis will explore the issues of how the convicts' skills were acquired, who taught them and the impact that this training had on the colony's fledgling building industry.

6.2 Statistical Information on Western Australia before 1850

During the late 1830s and early 1840s the colony had experienced steady growth due to increased wool exports, the export of sandalwood and the effectiveness of sponsored immigration schemes that saw a net rise in immigrant numbers. The population growth had a flow-on effect for the colony that saw a rise in government expenditure on public works and the development of new industries such as shipbuilding and a fledgling timber industry. These new industries, together with sandalwood cutting drew labourers away from the agricultural and pastoral sectors (Statham Drew 2011). However, vanden Driesen considered that the benefit of the various immigration schemes was dramatically reduced following the British

government’s decision to increase the price of crown land in 1842 (vanden Driesen 1986, 16).

In 1832 the land grant system ceased, but during the mid 1830s there was no shortage of land for sale as many settlers were trying to sell their land to either leave the colony or move on to non-agricultural pursuits (Statham 1981c, 94). In addition the Glenelg Regulations, which came into effect in 1837, had a considerable impact on the re-distribution of land as it allowed settlers who had not improved their grant⁵² to swap it for new crown land at the ratio of 3 acres of old for 1 acre of new. This new land came with a title. This surrender facility finished by mid 1841 as it coincided with the ten-year improvement plan that all grantees had been subjected to on arrival between 1829 and 1832 (Statham 1980, 214). In mid 1842 the price of land was increased to £1 per acre which brought Western Australia into line with the other colonies. Before this deadline, sales of crown land rose steeply with settlers rushing to purchase before the deadline. As a result of this, revenue from land sales rose steeply between 1840 and 1842, enabling the colonial government to run immigration schemes that boosted migrant numbers (Statham 1981c, 8; vanden Driesen 1986, 16).

After 1842 land sales plummeted which also meant that colonial funds for immigration sponsorship were correspondingly reduced. vanden Driesen considered that the increase in the price of land had a direct effect on net immigration figures for the years 1838 – 1844 (see Table 6.1).

Year	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844
Numbers	62	34	111	316	562	190	36

Table 6.1 Net migration numbers (vanden Driesen 1986, 15)

⁵² At the time that they obtained their grant, settlers had to show improvements to each acre before a certificate of title would be issued. Many settlers found this to be impossible. The Glenelg regulations permitted the settlers to swap all of part of their grant for new land elsewhere (Statham 1981c, 194).

Trying to estimate the number and names of mechanics that may have been or were practising in the colony before the arrival of the convicts has been extremely difficult to pinpoint due to minimal statistical information. A number of censuses were taken in Western Australia between 1829 and 1850.⁵³ By combining the names and occupations contained in the Returns for 1836 and the 1837 Census, an estimate of the number of skilled mechanics that were in the colony during this period has been made. (See Appendix 4) An extensive search was made of the *Perth Gazette* to find any references to skilled mechanics, architects and builders. A few names were recovered from this source, as well as the colony's Blue Books and also some primary documents. Although there were only a few references in the *Perth Gazette*, what the search did determine was that the information listed in the 1836 Returns and the 1837 Census was incomplete. Men who were named as carrying out a specific occupation in these other documents were not listed in the 1836 Return and the 1837 Census. It is therefore possible that in addition to the men found in the primary documents, other mechanics were working in the colony whose occupation was for some reason not recorded. For example, in the 1837 Blue Book, I. Crane and Hyde & Co. are listed as brickmakers operating in Perth and George Green⁵⁴, a bricklayer, was a witness at a trial in 1833 (Blue Book 1837, 162; *Perth Gazette* 5 October 1833). None of these men appear in the combined 1836/1837 Returns and Census. A search of Erickson's Biographical Dictionary indicated that George Green remained in the colony and worked as a builder and brickmaker in the 1830s and 1840s (Erickson 1988, Vol. 2, 1260).

⁵³ Censuses were taken in 1832, 1837 and 1848. The detailed returns for 1832 and what appears to be a portion of the population in returns for 1836, have been examined. The returns for the 1848 census appear to have been lost leaving only the basic statistical information for examination.

⁵⁴ George Green arrived in 1830 with the Hardey Family and he assisted with the construction of Tranby in 1839 (Hardey 1839).

Table 6.2 is a tabulated summary obtained from the men listed in the 1836 Returns and the 1837 Census. It shows the numbers and distribution of the various trades that were in the colony in 1837.

OCCUPATION	TOTAL	DISTRICT
Architect	1	Fremantle
Bricklayers	5	1 Albany; 4 Perth
Brickmakers	2	Perth
Builders	5	2 Perth; 3 Albany
Civil Engineer	1	Perth
Carpenters	38	1 Augusta; 1 Canning; 1 Pinjarra; 2 Albany; 2 York; 3 Guildford; 4 Fremantle; 4 District Unknown; 8 Swan; 14 Perth
Mason	8	1 Canning; 1 District Unknown; 1 Perth; 1 York 4 Fremantle

Table 6.2 Skilled tradesmen and their distribution throughout the colony in 1837. (Compiled from the 1836 Returns and the 1837 Census)

From the above table it is possible to see that the bulk of the trades operated in Perth and Fremantle and that carpenters made up the majority of these skilled mechanics with only a few brickmakers and masons.

Two years before the arrival of the convicts the 1848 Census revealed that the colony had a population of 4,622 people (including military personnel and their families).⁵⁵ The occupations listed indicated that the Swan River Colony was a largely agricultural society with a sprinkling of capitalists, professionals, civil servants and shopkeepers as well as assorted labourers and servants.

⁵⁵ This figure did not include Aborigines

Including dependants, these occupation groups represented the bulk of the colony with mechanics⁵⁶ representing only 4.3% of the population. Around 2% of this group were carpenters, joiners, painters and glaziers with bricklayers and masons representing only 0.7% of the population (Western Australia 1848).

By the end of 1850 the population had risen to 5,906, which included 152 convicts, 172 military personnel and 269 Pensioner Guards and their families (Blue Book 1850). Statistics recorded in the 1850 Blue Book show that the largest population centres were based in the 'Perthshire district', which took in the settlements of Perth, Fremantle and Guildford together with the farms in this area. The population in this area was listed as 3,190. The next most populous district was Yorkshire (the town of York together with the farms in the surrounding area) with a population of just 645. The other five districts in order of population were Wellington (430), Toodyay (336), Plantagenet (308), Sussex (209), Murray (155) and Champion Bay (40). These numbers clearly demonstrate that despite the rich farmland associated with the Avon valley near the towns of York and Toodyay, these areas boasted only a very small proportion of the colony's population with most settlers centred on Fremantle and Perth (Blue Book 1850). There were several contributing factors to this concentration but the most important ones for this study was the comparatively small size of the total population and the lack of basic infrastructure (such as roads and bridges) to enable settlers to move away from the more populated areas of Perth and Fremantle, despite the known fertility of the Avon Valley. The lack of roads made it laborious for settlers to get their produce to the port of Fremantle and it also made it difficult for settlers to move around the various settled districts. This therefore tended to concentrate skilled mechanics into the more prosperous parts of the colony such as Perthshire.

⁵⁶ In this instance the mechanics included: bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths, carpenters, joiners, painters, glaziers, sawyers and shingle splitters.

During the 1840s letters to the Editor of the *Perth Gazette* complain consistently about the lack of labourers in the colony. This had a flow on effect to the building industry. In September 1839 there was criticism over the delay in work commencing on Perth's Anglican Church (St. George's Church). According to the letter, the delay was a further indication that the colony's labour shortages and high wages made constructing a building such an expensive exercise that most people were deterred from starting and were content to put up with what they had for the present time (*Perth Gazette* 7 September 1839). By October 1840 the Church Committee had agreed on a price for the stone but still lamented that labour shortages continued to push up the price of building materials (*Perth Gazette* 24 October 1840). Further complaints about the slow progress of the Church appeared in 1842 when a correspondent grumbled about the amount of money the Reverend Wittenoom had not only expended on sending to England for an iron roof but also in procuring mechanics and labourers from Ireland, to the detriment of colonial mechanics (*Perth Gazette* 13 August 1842). The Church opened in 1845 but it was several more years before the building was finally completed.

The colony's comparatively small population is often quoted by economic historians (Statham 1981a; Statham 1981a; vanden Driesen 1986) as being one of the major factors that influenced the settlers' decision to become a penal colony, as this move would introduce much needed capital into the colony by way of Imperial funds.⁵⁷ In addition to increased capital there was also the expectation that population figures would grow through the introduction of a British migration scheme that would see the sponsorship of one free settler for every convict in addition to the Pensioner Guards and their families who were to accompany the convicts. It was a combination of these factors that finally enabled the colony to grow and also expand, and this also had a marked effect on the settlement's built environment. Much of this

⁵⁷ A Convict Establishment would be supported through the British treasury and the Establishment would also need to purchase goods for both the prisoners and the staff. Imperial funds would pay for these purchases rather than Colonial funds.

change was due to the arrival of the convicts whose impact was not just on the construction of roads and bridges that allowed the colony's economic fortunes to rise, but also through the skills that they had acquired in the public works prisons in Britain and those that they learnt while serving time at Fremantle.

Le Page noted that during the 1840s, due to the depressed economic conditions in the early part of the decade, the construction of public buildings had practically come to a standstill. Cuts to government salaries and a budget deficit also led to a reduction in planned public works. He considered that the construction of buildings in Perth and Fremantle was practically non-existent during this decade, with perhaps only a few small buildings constructed in the small rural centres (Le Page 1986, 43).



Figure 6.1 Watercolour of Perth 1847, by Horace Sampson (reproduced with permission of Art Gallery WA)⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Watercolour and ink, 27.6 x 40.4cm. State Art Collection, Art Gallery of Western Australia. Gift of Mr D. Rannard, 1923.

Figure 6.1 shows an image of Perth shortly before the arrival of convicts. From this image it is possible to see that Perth in c.1847 was still a fairly small town, essentially rural in character with only a few double-storey buildings. Figure 6.2 provides a detail of the upper central area of the picture that highlights some of the houses and government buildings.

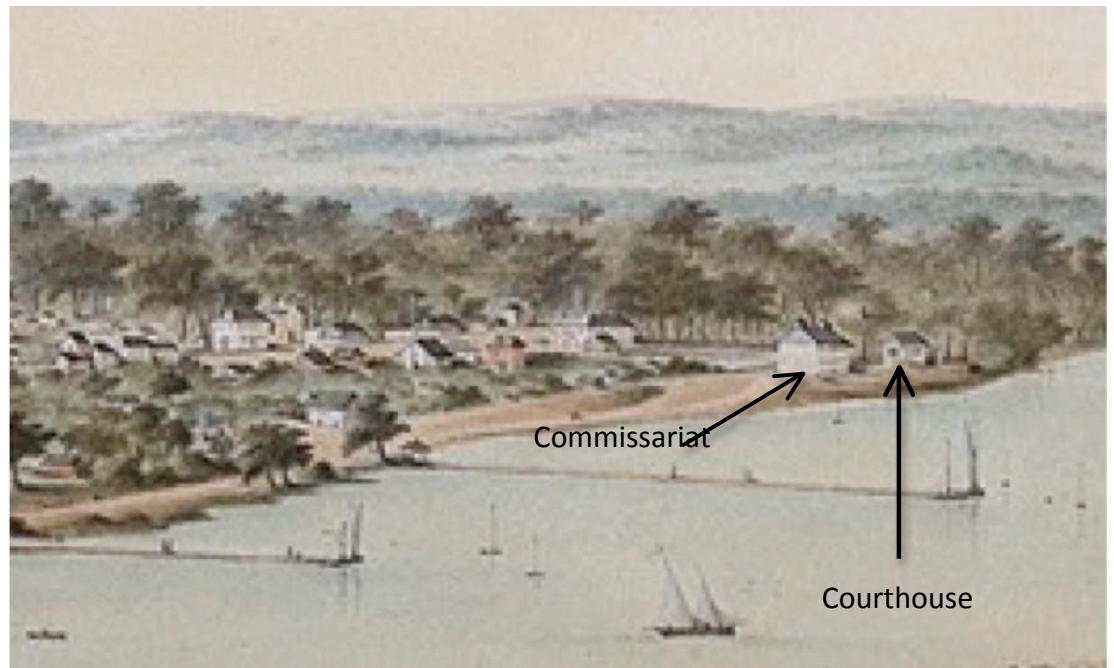


Figure 6. 2 Detail of Figure 6.1 showing the Commissariat and Courthouse (WA Art Gallery)

In the above detail it is possible to see a portion of the government domain on the eastern side of the town (visible on the right hand side of the picture). On the shoreline the two-storey Commissariat dominates this area, dwarfing the much smaller Doric Courthouse on its right. Interspersed amongst the red brick buildings are a number of white buildings that could represent buildings constructed from wattle and daub, rendered brick, or stone construction with either rushes or shingles used for the roof cladding. The large two-storey building (just to the left of centre) is thought to be Lionel and William Samson's very fashionable house cum store that was located on the north-west corner of St. George's Terrace and Barrack Street and was completed in

1840 (Moore 2006, 477). To the right of the Samson brothers' house is St. George's Church, which was partially completed by 1845 (White 1979, 82).

Unfortunately similar images of other places in the colony at around the same time as Samson's painting have been difficult to locate, although Henderson did paint a series of sketches in the mid 1850s, some of which were later published in the *Illustrated London News*.

The above statistics and the types of buildings visible in the 1847 painting of Perth provide us with important information on the colony's skill base before the arrival of convicts in the colony. In addition, when one considers that most of the colony's population lived in the types of houses described in Chapter 3 it quickly becomes evident that by 1850 the bulk of the population were still living in fairly simple houses. Most of these cottages had been constructed using servants, the settlers themselves or with a small amount of input from skilled mechanics. The arrival of the convicts would change this status quo and as will be seen in the next section, the skilled and unskilled convicts entering the colony soon provided an important boost to the numbers of mechanics available for the settlers to hire.

6.3 Convicts, Ticket-of-Leave Men and Public Works – the System

It is not the intention of this study to provide detailed information on how the convict system operated in Western Australia, as this has been more than adequately covered in previous research by Gertzel (1949), Millett (2003; 2006) & Trinca (1997; 2006). So there will be no discussion on how the convicts were housed in Fremantle Prison, their treatment or the elaborate points system that was established to try to ensure that the men behaved well and worked efficiently. Instead, this section will concentrate on how the system worked in relation to the employment of the men on public works programs and how this directly contributed to them developing skills in the various building trades. It was the acquisition of these skills that enabled

many of them to find employment in the building industry once they received their tickets-of-leave and later as free men. The manner in which both ticket-of-leave men and convicts were employed on public works programs gradually altered over time in response to changes in the colony's economic conditions and the completion of the main buildings at Fremantle Prison. These changes will be summarised as they had important ramifications in training convicts in various trades, which had a direct flow-on effect into the wider community.

As previously mentioned under the new system of disciplinary training implemented by Britain in 1848, convicted criminals experienced a period of isolation in a penitentiary prison before being moved on to one of the public works prisons. Once they had served a certain period of time in this type of prison they were then ready to be sent out to Western Australia (or Gibraltar or Bermuda). Most of the prisoners still had a certain period of time to serve in prison before they were entitled to receive their ticket-of-leave, although there were several instances where men arrived who were entitled to their ticket-of-leave as soon as they left their ship. The ticket-of-leave system meant that a convicted man could leave the confines of the prison and find private employment, earn wages and even acquire property. If the man demonstrated that he was capable of being self-employed this was also permitted. Certain restrictions were placed on the man's movements (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 126):

- tickets-of-leave were issued for a specific district, a passport to leave the district would have to be issued
- the ticket holder had to report to the resident magistrate within 7 days of arriving in the district
- the ticket holder had to report to the nearest resident magistrate twice a year (in early January and early June)

- if changing employers within the district permission had to be obtained from the resident magistrate and the Comptroller General had to be notified
- the ticket holder had to apply in writing to the Comptroller General before he could find employment in another district. It also had to be accompanied by a character report from his last employer or resident magistrate
- the ticket holder issued a pass for a country district was not allowed to visit either Perth or Fremantle without a pass and if issued had to present it immediately upon arrival to the Colonial Secretary (Perth) or the Comptroller General (Fremantle)
- he could not work on a whaling ship or other vessel
- he could not carry a firearm without permission from a justice of the peace, the Comptroller General or the Colonial Secretary

Breaches of these regulations would lead to the forfeiture of the ticket-of-leave and the holder returned to Fremantle Prison. On his return to prison all the privileges previously enjoyed on the ticket-of-leave were rescinded and he became an ordinary prisoner. He might have to serve a further three years as a probationary prisoner (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 126). The next step towards full freedom was either the acquisition of a conditional pardon or the expiry of the sentence.

The Comptroller General of the Convict Establishment, Captain Henderson was originally appointed to be in charge of both convict discipline and the regulation of convict labour on public works although the daily discipline and the organisation of the prison were in the hands of an overseer, Mr Thomas Dixon. Following his rather unexpected arrival, Henderson found that there were no facilities available to house the convicts, his staff or members of the Pensioner Guards and their families. Buildings were hurriedly rented and modifications made to accommodate the prisoners and the pensioners. Earl Grey had anticipated that the first batch of prisoners would need to construct

their own temporary prison so the men had been specifically chosen for their good conduct, their skills and the fact that they only had a short period of time to serve before they were entitled to their tickets-of-leave. This last criterion was to ensure that the men had already served a proportion of their sentence in the improved prison system and would hopefully be well behaved and trustworthy following their arrival in a place without prison accommodation. As a further inducement for good behaviour these first convicts were also offered a reduction in the length of their prison terms. A misunderstanding with regards to who was eligible for this consideration meant that Henderson also had to extend the favour to the 100 convicts that arrived on the *Hashemy* in October (BPP Vol. 8.2 No. 66, 109; BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 105).

Once Henderson had solved the problem of temporary accommodation one of his first tasks was to find a suitable site for a permanent prison. He had noted that the harbour facilities at Fremantle urgently required attention and therefore considered that this to be a priority. As this would entail considerable work he decided to base his establishment at Fremantle. This location would also facilitate the arrival of the convicts and enable them to work on the harbour works close to their place of detention. However, these works did not eventuate during the convict era, probably due to insufficient numbers of convicts in the colony at any one time and the press of other projects. Henderson soon discovered that the colony was woefully short of trained mechanics such as masons and carpenters and was forced to apply to South Australia for additional men with these skills. He requested Fitzgerald to notify Earl Grey of this shortage so that the next shipment of convicts might include as many trained mechanics as possible. Fitzgerald forwarded on Henderson's requirements and he asked Earl Grey if he could approach the Emigration Commissioner with the request for more skilled migrants (BPP Vol. 10.1 No. 72, 235; Vol. 11.1 No. 68, 162). The first migrant assisted ship, *Sophia*, arrived in the colony in July 1850. It carried 250 passengers and of these only three had skills in the building trade: William Liles (mason), Samuel

Randell (carpenter) and William Ward (bricklayer) (Nelson 1996 – 2002, *Sophia*). Two assisted migrant ships arrived in 1852, the *Mary* and the *Raleigh* but information regarding the passengers' occupation has not been obtained.⁵⁹ Earl Grey's response was that the men in the next shipment (*Hashemy*) had already been chosen and unfortunately few of them were mechanics as there was currently a shortage of these men due to the construction of Dartmoor Prison (another public works prison) and works in Bermuda (BPP Vol 13.3 No. 2, 220; Vol 10.1 No. 139, 248).

It was not until after his arrival that Henderson was able to assess the economic state of the colony. He found that the colony's labour market was in a very depressed condition due to the exhaustion of capital, a lack of confidence, a lack of markets and the want of labour. These conditions caused him considerable concern as he worried that once the convicts had received their tickets-of-leave they might be unable to find work. He therefore proposed that the men should be held for a short probationary period once they had received their ticket-of-leave and be employed on public works. One of the stipulations made by British government for the acquisition of a conditional pardon was the repayment of transportation costs, which was put at £15. Henderson voiced his concern that the men, when faced with the prospect of finding little or no work, might turn to crime to repay their debt. Earl Grey was not keen to enforce Henderson's probationary scheme, particularly when Fitzgerald voiced his and the settlers' concerns over who was to pay for the work together with housing, feeding and clothing the ticket-of-leave men. In the end, Britain agreed that the passage money could be used to pay the ticket-of-leave men while employed on public works and the British Treasury would also provide some assistance (BPP Vol. No. 23,

⁵⁹ Information on some passenger shipping lists has been uploaded onto a database operated by the Perth Dead Persons Society. The State Archives of Western Australia holds shipping records for people arriving and departing the state. Searching these records for the names and occupations of immigrants who arrived between 1850 and 1880 would have entailed considerable research and it was considered that it was beyond the scope of this thesis. This is unfortunate as at this stage the numbers of skilled mechanics that entered the colony during that period remains as a largely un-researched area.

159). The colonists were content with this outcome, as money would not be flowing out of the rather impoverished colonial purse. After its initial implementation the system was refined slightly, men who were unable to find private employment were paid according to how much work they achieved in a day (referred to as piece-work) at a rate set slightly below the average wage paid by private employers. In this way the men would still be paid a fair wage, but the possibility of obtaining a better wage in the private sector, together with freedom away from prison warders would hopefully embolden them to actively seek private employment (BPP Vol. 10; Vol. 12.2 No. 179, 194). By November 1852 Fitzgerald was able to report back to London that the system of employing ticket-of-leave men on public works projects worked well, although due to the large number of men who had been able to find private employment the works were proceeding fairly slowly (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 17, 98).

In addition to the public works arrangements, Earl Grey had also insisted that once the men obtained their tickets-of-leave they should be sent to the country districts to find employment. Earl Grey's reasoning behind this stipulation was that the ticket-of-leave men might become 'tempted' by the opportunities presented by 'town' life, or become embroiled with criminal elements that tended to live around the fringes of towns (BPP Vol. 9.2 No. 23, 250). However, Earl Grey's order was based on his experience of British towns, rather than that of a small colony whose only towns amounted to no more than the equivalent of a small English hamlet or village. Fitzgerald pointed out to Earl Grey that the distances between the sparse settlements and the settlers would make it logistically impossible for the men to be sent out to country districts looking for work as they would soon expend their meagre resources looking for employment. Henderson's solution to this problem was to propose the establishment of hiring depots in the larger country towns. In this way, settlers could come to a central point to hire labour and the men could return to the depot while they waited for their next job (BPP Vol. 10.2 No. 81, 105). Once the 20th Company of Sappers and

Miners and the Royal Engineers arrived, Henderson had the manpower to put this proposal into effect for he not only had access to men who could be used to instruct the convicts, but he was also able to send the sapper mechanics out to the rural districts to firstly assist with the construction the hiring depots and then supervise the public works projects in these districts. The first reports issued by Lieutenants Du Cane and Crossman for the period ending June 1852 detailed the work that had been accomplished on establishing depots at Guildford, York, Toodyay and Albany (BPP Vol. 12.2 No. 179, 194). Ticket-of-leave men were employed to erect the depots that comprised a building for the ticket-of-leave men, quarters for the supervisor and warders, a storeroom and other ancillary buildings. Pensioner Guard villages were also established near these depots, and the ticket-of-leave men were used to clear the land and erect cottages for the pensioners. This system of employing ticket-of-leave men on the construction of the hiring depots meant that not only were they helping to erect buildings that would benefit themselves, but it also continued to provide them with training due to the various tasks that were required to erect these depots. Supervision of the works at the depots was provided by one or more sapper mechanics. During the early years of transportation while the various depots were under construction, Henderson reported to Fitzgerald on the work completed by the ticket-of-leave men on the construction of the various buildings at the depots. During the period December 1851 – June 1852, when the depot at York was just starting, he told Fitzgerald that he had decided to construct the buildings from brick, as this material was more durable than mud (here he was probably referring to the practise at York of constructing buildings from rammed earth). During the six months that the men were based at the depot they burnt a large number of bricks that in the future would be used to construct the buildings at the depot. He noted that they had cost considerably less to make than those purchased through private contractors (BPP Vol. 12.2 No. 179, 200). Du Cane (who was in charge of the Guildford, York and Toodyay depots) noted in his half yearly report for July – December 1852, that a group of ticket-of-leave

men at the Guildford depot had cut enough shingles to cover most of the buildings. This type of remark demonstrates the ongoing process of training for the prisoners. Du Cane himself also commented:

They learnt the trade [shingle cutting] almost entirely in depot, and after splitting 70,000, left, and have made a good livelihood at it ever since with private employers.

By such means, and by encouraging the ticket-of-leave men to compete for contracts, the prices of all building materials have much decreased (BPP Vol. 11.2 No. 17, 167).

Six months earlier, Wray had noted in his half-yearly report that with “care, and a little practice, a handy prisoner soon learns to build sufficiently well to obviate the want of masons; but of course carpenters cannot be so easily taught” (BPP Vol. 12.2 No. 179, 213). These comments are early indicators of the impact that trained convicts were starting to have on the colony’s rather small building industry. What is particularly pertinent is that up until the arrival of the convicts, most of the buildings at York were constructed from rammed earth rather than brick.

As mentioned previously, it has been noted that few Government buildings were constructed in the colony during the 1840s (Le Page 1986; White 1979). The drop in immigration numbers after 1843 led to depressed conditions in the colony during 1843/44, which in turn resulted in a reduction in the government’s public works program. Private construction had also decreased. Statham considers that by the time the convicts arrived in 1850 the colony had fully recovered from the 1843/44 depression, although there was a shortage of money (Statham 1981c, 208). The worries voiced by Henderson in his first report to Earl Grey (regarding the ticket-of-leave men finding employment), and his difficulties in obtaining qualified mechanics, indicates that the colony’s woes were not just restricted to a shortage of capital but also skilled tradesmen. It is highly likely that the depressed conditions had led many skilled tradesmen to leave the colony to seek better employment opportunities in the eastern colonies.

In one of his reports to Earl Grey, Fitzgerald himself alluded to the problems caused by the lack of mechanics and its effects on the local building industry. In March 1852 he reported that he had contravened Earl Grey's orders that no ticket-of-leave men were to work in either Perth or Fremantle. As construction in Perth had nearly come to a standstill, due to the Convict Establishment employing most of the colony's mechanics, he had allowed ticket-of-leave men to find work in Perth (BPP Vol 12.1 No 7, 138). The arrival of 594 convicts within the space of three months, all entitled to their tickets-of-leave when they landed no doubt caused both Henderson and Fitzgerald concern. How would these men be absorbed into the colony? Most were employed on public works projects, but the skilled mechanics had no difficulty finding work on either the public works projects or with private employers.

An examination of the employment records for those prisoners who arrived between 1850 and 1851 shows that most of the mechanics were snapped up by colonists in Perth and Fremantle so that it becomes apparent that from the very beginning of the leave system, Fitzgerald had disobeyed Earl Grey and allowed ticket-of-leave men to find employment locally (See Appendix 1 Employers of TOL men).

One of these employers was Henry Cole who operated a brick making business in Perth and employed several ticket-of-leave men such as John Dobson [36], a brickmaker who arrived on the *Scindian*. Cole employed Dobson as soon as he was issued with his ticket-of-leave on 2 October 1850. Dobson then moved on to be employed by another brickmaker, Henry Gray at Peninsula Farm (SROWA Acc. 1386, No. 1.) Esau Wetherall [54] and Samuel Diggle [58], both masons, earned their tickets-of-leave in early December 1850. Ambrose Lawrance, who lived in Fremantle, immediately employed both men (SROWA, Acc. 1386, No. 1). Erickson records Lawrance as arriving in the colony in 1842 and working as a constable. By 1860 he was working as a plasterer and builder and by 1862 as a mason (Erickson 1988 Vol.3, 1811). At this stage little is known about Lawrance except that he appears in the

Western Australian Almanack between 1862 and 1866 where he is recorded as a mason (Stirling 1853 – 1864; Appendix 3). By August 1851 Wetherall was working for John Smith in Perth on Smith’s new house. During the early 1850s, many of the skilled ticket-of-leave men worked for only a short period of time with one employer, before moving on. This fast turn-around is possibly an indicator of the large amount of work available and that the men could pick and choose their employer depending on the wages on offer.

The table below indicates the names of the convicts who were granted their tickets of leave between August and December 1850. Out of the twenty-one men listed, nearly half of them were employed in either Perth or Fremantle, a further indication of Fitzgerald’s transgression against Earl Grey’s order. Most men listed in either Perth or Fremantle found employment in the building industry.⁶⁰

Convict	District	Trade	Employer
Charles Burgess	Toodyay	Groom (org. labourer)	S.P. Philips
John Dobson	Perth	Brickmaker	H.L. Cole
James Baker	Champion Bay	Blacksmith	Geraldine Mining Co.
James Morris	Toodyay	Labourer	G. Syren
Martin Stone	Fremantle	Groom (org. carter)	P. Marmion
Robert Holder	Fremantle	Painter	Convict Dept.
Francis Westmoreland	Swan	Mason & Shepherd	A.O.G. Lefroy
Seymour Taylor	Toodyay	Labourer	John Sewell
Thomas Robertson	Wellington	Mason	M.W. Clifton
Richard Jones	Perth	Gardener (org. smith)	W.C. Darling

⁶⁰ The table has been adapted from that included in Henderson’s first half-yearly report to Fitzgerald dated 1 January 1851 (BPP Vol. 10.2, No. 17 125).

Frederick Ward	Toodyay	Labourer	G. Syren
Thomas Trott	Fremantle	Mason	D. Scott
George Barker	Fremantle	Mason (org. labourer)	P. Marmion
Thomas R. Raine	Fremantle	Carpenter	J.W. Davey
Thomas Hirst	Swan	Brass-moulder	John Smith
Charles Pye	Toodyay	Mason	W. Chidlow
Francis Best	Wellington	Carpenter	M.W. Clifton
James Sweeney	Toodyay	Carpenter, ship	Not known
Samuel Diggle	Fremantle	Mason (org. farm hand)	A. Lawrance
Esau Wetherall	Fremantle	Mason (org. labourer)	A. Lawrance
Joseph Brown	Swan	Groom	W.L. Brockman

Table 6.3 Table showing the names of ticket-of-leave men and their trades together with the names of their employers and their locations.

During the first six years of convict transportation the public works program ran in tandem with the construction of Fremantle Prison. Prisoners were employed at the various tasks that were required to erect the buildings that comprise the Prison (such as the prison building itself, quarters for the warders, sappers and miners, engineers, Henderson’s House, the Engineer’s Office and other utilitarian structures). The prisoners’ work was overseen by instructing warders who were drawn from the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners with disciplinary control provided by the prison warders, who were generally appointed from Britain. During this period the ticket-of-leave men were largely responsible for the construction of all the roads and bridges that were built in the colony during this period and the drainage of the lakes to the north of Perth. They received training from a sapper mechanic and a disciplinary warder usually accompanied the teams of men. The teams that became established on the roads were not heavily supervised, as it was

considered that the possible loss of the man's ticket was sufficient inducement to ensure good behaviour. In general, Henderson and the colonists were pleased with the behaviour of the ticket-of-leave men although there were always ongoing concerns about drunkenness that could often lead to the loss of the man's ticket.

Between 1850 and 1855 the manner in which the ticket-of-leave men were employed on public works gradually changed. These changes were brought about due to the British Treasury's concerns over the cost of the Convict Establishment. As more skilled men were absorbed into the private workforce the wages paid to the men employed on public works projects was gradually reduced, to ensure that they did not remain in government employment for too long. In his half-yearly report for July to December 1853, Henderson reported that

The anxiety of the men to leave the public works, where they are now subject to more discipline and restraint, and on which the wages are as far as possible reduced, is however the best security on this important point (BPP Vol. 13.1 No. 101, 160).

During 1854, the restrictions on the ticket-of-leave men employed on public works was further tightened and Henderson reported that they had to provide their own "clothing, soap, tobacco, and all other necessities, the nominal sum paid to them in wages is in fact only a compensation for clothing, at a less cost than it would be to the Government to supply them if prisoners" (BPP Vol. 13.2 No. 20, 107). The inducements to get the ticket-of-leave men out into the district and find private employment was to reduce the cost of maintaining them on public works. This also had a downside. As most of the prisoners were employed on the construction of Fremantle Prison, there were actually fewer prisoners working on what the colonists considered to be essential public works, such as roads and bridges. However the whole point of transporting prisoners to Western Australia was to reduce the cost of keeping them at home, hence the desire to get them off government hands. This problem of balancing public works construction with

costs was to constantly plague Henderson and his team of Engineers. Henderson, and the various governors with whom he worked, considered that transportation to Western Australia suffered due to the limited number of convicts sent to the colony each year. Evidence of this comes from as early as 1854 when in a letter to Sir George Grey (Secretary to the Colonies), Fitzgerald remarked that the ticket-of-leave system worked well but that it was important to keep up the supply of convicts as they could be used effectively on public works at Fremantle and elsewhere in the colony (BPP Vol. 13.1 No. 101, 158).

Arthur Kennedy replaced Fitzgerald as Governor of Western Australia, and Fitzgerald left the colony in July 1855 (BPP Vol. 13.3 No. 1, 56; Crowley 2006). During his tenure he had to deal with a number of different Secretaries of State to the Colonies who all had their own ideas about the convict system in operation in Western Australia and its cost to the British government. In his half yearly report for June to December 1854, Henderson commented that while the cost of erecting the depots had been expensive, once constructed they provided an invaluable service as they removed ticket-of-leave men from around Fremantle and located them in areas where they could find work (BPP Vol. 13.3, No. 10, 73).⁶¹ He also pointed out that the worst offenders remaining on government hands were those who arrived in the colony entitled to their tickets-of-leave as soon as they disembarked. These men treated the depots as merely another prison and were happy to stay on and be fed and clothed. On the other hand, the probationary prisoners (men who still had a short time to serve before receiving their tickets-of-leave) had had enough of prison life and were eager to find employment in private service

⁶¹ In his letter to Sir George Grey in September 1854, Fitzgerald had made a similar comment that: 'it cannot be denied that the establishment of these depots has been attended in the first instance with some cost to Her Majesty's Government..... I have no hesitation in stating that the success of the ticket-of-leave system in this colony essentially depends on the distribution of the men throughout its length and breadth, and that under any other system the number of these men that would now be on the hands of Government..... would be at this moment incurring an expense of £10,000 or £11,000 a year more than at present, instead of the sum of £3,000 or £4,000 that may have been and is being expended, in establishing and completing these depots.' (BPP Vol. 13.1 No. 101, 157).

once they were awarded their ticket-of-leave (BPP Vol. 13.3 No. 10, 71). It is interesting to note that perhaps due to Henderson's comments, the number of ships sent to the colony carrying men entitled to their tickets-of-leave on arrival, decreased markedly after 1855. There was one exception to this, the *Merchantman* that arrived in February 1863. It carried 191 men all of whom were entitled to receive their tickets-of-leave on arrival. However, this shipment was unusual as it carried men who had worked on public works projects in Bermuda and were then sent to Australia when this facility was closed (BPP Vol. 15.4 No 37, 56).

Following Kennedy's arrival Henderson conceded that the public works system implemented during Earl Grey's tenure as Secretary of State for the Colonies needed to be changed, due to economic changes in the colony. The pittance provided to the men for task-work was proving to be detrimental to morale and they had become little better than paupers; although he was amazed that they continued to be well behaved (BPP Vol. 13.3 No. 23, 159). In addition he considered that while the men had to repay their passage debt they would continue to return to government hands in order to repay this debt. He also cautioned that the settlers, who collected a portion of the men's wages so that it could be sent to the government, were tired of serving as tax collectors. He therefore proposed the abolition of the debt, as funds could be better spent assisting the men find work in private employment. In return for the abolition of the debt, the men were to be "concentrate[d] and employe[d] at stations convenient for supervision from head quarters under strict discipline, and where no inducement would remain to them to continue on the hands of Government" (BPP Vol. 13.3 No. 23, 160). Secretary of State to the Colonies Henry Labouchere, agreed to the changes and the collection of passage money ceased late in 1856 (BPP Vol. 14.1 No. 42, 128).

When Henderson left the colony in January 1856 Captain Wray became Acting Comptroller General. Henderson sent in his half yearly report before his departure in which he noted that he expected that the prison buildings would

be largely completed by June 1856. However, due to a shortage of both sapper masons and carpenters (they had been recalled to England) and the limited numbers of prisoners sent out with these skills, completion was delayed. To assist with the shortfall of mechanics, Wray wrote to Kennedy in July 1856 seeking permission to hire free mechanics to work on the prison buildings (BPP Vol. 14.1 No. 47, 81; Vol. 14.3 No. 19, 65). As early as March 1857 Wray remarked in his half yearly report to Kennedy that work at the prison was nearly finished and employment would need to be found for both the convicts and the sappers and miners who were currently engaged full-time at Fremantle Prison (BPP Vol. 14.2 No. 30, 19). As it happened, work on the Prison was not completed until after Henderson returned in February 1858. It was during Wray's period as Acting Comptroller General that further changes were made to the employment of ticket-of-leave men on public works. In addition, the hiring depots at Lynton, York and Albany were closed, much to the annoyance of the settlers. The closure of the depots as hiring stations did not however mean that they ceased to be used by the Convict Establishment. Instead, parties of probationary prisoners were sent out to form road working parties and the depots functioned as their base. Once the supply lines became too long, smaller temporary out-stations were set up. Ticket-of-leave men who returned to the depots and sought employment with the road working parties or on other jobs, were no longer paid and the restrictions on their movements returned them to nearly probationer prisoner status. The restrictions had the desired effect and by the time Wray left the colony in February 1858 he was able to report that the number of ticket-of-leave men on government hands had been considerably reduced and consisted mainly of men who were incapable of finding private employment. Both Wray and Dixon were happy with the new system and they found efficiency increased (BPP Vol. 14.3 No. 79, 19).

In April 1857 Labouchere wrote to Kennedy with concerns about how the closures of the hiring depots would affect the settlers' ability to acquire ticket-of-leave men and how these men were to get to their prospective employers

(BPP Vol. 14.2 No. 23, 77). Wray responded that detailed lists of prospective ticket-of-leave men together with their trades were posted at local police stations and passes were provided to the ticket-of-leave men to proceed to those districts where it was known labour was required. The system was apparently working well and the settlers had not complained about the change (Vol. 14.3 No. 66, 5). An examination of the Employers of ticket-of-leave Register (Appendix 1) does not show any marked change in the pattern of employment for men who were granted their tickets-of-leave before the closure of the hiring depots with those who obtained them afterwards. It would appear that both the settlers and the ticket-of-leave men had no difficulty finding employment under the new system.

In addition to his concern about the hiring depots, Labouchere was also worried that ticket-of-leave mechanics, whom he thought would be required for public works and building projects, were not being paid for their skilled work. He knew that men with these skills were in demand in the colony, and the public works projects were no exception. He was therefore concerned that by using a system whereby ticket-of-leave men were not paid a wage, these skilled men would be effectively lost to the public works projects. Wray reassured Labouchere that, as he had suspected, few of these men remained unemployed and when he did require mechanics he hired these men and paid them regular wages. That way if their work was unsatisfactory they could easily be dismissed (BPP Vol. 14.2 No. 23, 80; Vol. 14.3 No. 66, 5).

This correspondence between Labouchere and Wray makes it clear that skilled ticket-of-leave men continued to be employed on public works despite the changes to the employment system. It also indicates that the number of skilled mechanics in the colony continued to remain fairly low, and indeed Wray remarked in September 1856 that many men who had received their conditional pardons had left the colony, and that a large number of these were skilled mechanics. Therefore it seems likely that during this period most

of the mechanics available for hire or who ran their own business were either ticket-of-leave men or expirees.

The changes to the public works system that were to have the greatest impact on convict training came when most of the work at Fremantle Prison had been completed and the convicts formerly employed on that task were deployed to other public works projects. During the first half of 1857 Wray had begun to employ some of the probationary prisoners on road gangs around the colony, but a large percentage of convicts with skills in carpentry or masonry were employed at the prison with the sapper mechanics. Dixon, the Superintendent of Prisoners, did not have a very good opinion of the way in which trades were taught to the prisoners once they arrived in Western Australia. In January 1854 he stated that the men were not given any particular direction, except what they could learn while working on the job; although an attempt was made to provide teaching in those trades with a high demand (BPP Vol. 13.1 No. 101, 170). He again referred to the lack of teaching trades on public works in January 1856 and commented that he thought that some attempt should be made to teach them agricultural skills so that they could find employment on their release (BPP Vol. 14.1 No. 44, 19). Six months later he reported that the training provided by the Establishment did not enable the prisoners to acquire any proficiency in a mechanical trade (BPP Vol. 14.1 No. 56, 94). In January 1857 he observed that the men managed to acquire a rough knowledge of the sawyers' trade and carpentry and that masonry skills had been learnt through the construction of the prison buildings. However they would be able to find work, as the colony lacked this type of skilled labour (BPP Vol. 14.2 No. 30, 29). It is unclear why Dixon was so critical of the training that the convicts received and why Henderson made no reference in his report to the governor about Dixon's comments. After all, it was the training of the convicts while serving time in prison that had been the corner-stone of Sir George Grey and Lord Russell's system. The arrival of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners was also supposed to provide the necessary personnel who could teach the prisoners

skills in the various trades. It could be possible that Dixon's comments are an example of the tensions that existed between the civilian and military warders that has been mentioned previously. It is possible that Henderson chose to address the issue in separate despatches to both the governor and the Secretary to the Colonies.

Whatever Dixon's opinion of the level of training, his remarks indicate that some form of industrial training was provided to the convicts after they arrived in Western Australia. Changes to the regulations regarding the management of prisoners employed on public works projects in August 1858 provide evidence that prisoners had finally begun to move out of Fremantle Prison so that they could be employed on other public works projects (BPP Vol. 14.3 No. 73, 123). This move and its impact on convict training and employment will be discussed in the following chapter.

6.4 Conclusions

The above research has determined that before the arrival of convicts in 1850 there were comparatively few mechanics in the colony and they were concentrated in Perth and Fremantle. This shortage was mentioned by Henderson who had to send to South Australia for skilled mechanics to assist in the construction of the convict buildings at Fremantle. Due to the depressed conditions in the colony, the construction of both public and private buildings had nearly ground to a halt. Illustrations and descriptions of Perth, York and Guildford show a colony that was still struggling to emerge from a frontier status. Most of the buildings were constructed from materials that could be easily processed by the colonists and which could be found comparatively close to the building site. They were generally single storey although there were a few more impressive two-storey buildings in Perth and Fremantle. The use of brick tended to be restricted to Perth as the mechanics skilled in brickmaking were probably too costly for the bulk of the population to employ.

The convicts changed this scenario for they boosted the numbers of mechanics in the colony. Some arrived in the colony with a trade that they had learnt during their incarceration in an English public works prisons or for those who were still unskilled, sappers of the 20th Company taught them a trade. This training, and the shortage in the colony, enabled convict mechanics to gain immediate employment once they had gained their tickets-of-leave; some were permitted to become their own masters due to this shortage. The desperate need in the colony for such skills can be seen in Fitzgerald's action of allowing mechanics to be employed in Perth and Fremantle, despite Earl Grey's stipulation that ticket-of-leave men had to seek employment outside of these two centres. Fitzgerald had argued that as the Convict Establishment had taken all of the colony's mechanics to work on their buildings, the settlers in these two towns were surely entitled to employ these skilled men so that they could commence their own building projects.

In the next chapter the discussion will move on to how the vocational training provided by English public works prisons and also at Fremantle Prison enabled the convicts to transform Western Australia's built environment during the 1860s and 1870s.

7.0 CONVICTS: TRANSFORMING THE COLONIAL BUILDING INDUSTRY

They learnt the trade [shingle cutting] almost entirely in depot, and after splitting 70,000, left, and have made a good livelihood at it ever since with private employers.

Du Cane BPP Vol. 11.2 No. 17, 167

Introduction

As discussed previously, before the 1850s most of the settlers lived in fairly simple buildings, generally only one storey high and constructed using materials that could be locally sourced. By the 1870s this had changed with settlers not only in the townships building larger houses but also those in the rural areas replacing their original cottages with a larger house, together with a variety of outbuildings. Between 1850 and 1880 the various towns established in the 1830s were transformed with the construction of commercial and civic premises and, together with residential buildings, began to take on the appearance of townships rather than struggling hamlets. But the most important change was the rise in brick production and the construction of brick buildings. This material transformed the appearance of Perth, country centres and farming properties during the 1860s and 1870s.

In this chapter I will present the case that it was the convicts' participation in Western Australia's public works program during the 1850s and 1860s that enabled them to develop skills and allowed them to find employment in the building industry. In particular, it was the skills gained when they were employed on the construction of several important public buildings in Perth that exposed them to the manufacture and laying of bricks. As discussed in Chapter 4 the utilisation of this material was not unknown in Western Australia before 1850, but its use was not widespread. The manufacture of bricks was dependant on good supplies of brick clay, a source of labour and a skilled brickmaker. Many areas had the first component, the arrival of the convicts supplied the second, but it was the training that the convicts received

while working on the public works programs in Perth that provided the third factor.

This chapter will discuss the evidence that led to the conclusions that it was skilled convict mechanics that enabled the spread of brick throughout the colony and enabled settlers to replace their early small cottages (Type 1) with better built and larger (Type 2) buildings. The discussion will begin by looking at the numbers of convicts entering the colony with a trade during the 1850s and those who acquired a trade after their arrival, and comparing these figures with convict arrivals in the 1860s. It will then discuss the changes that occurred in buildings erected in Perth, Guildford, York and Toodyay and the case for convict involvement in the changes observed in these towns during the 1850s to 1870s.

7.1 Convict Training on Public Works and its impact on the Private Sector

The documents that dealt with the convict system (the Convict Establishment) are substantial but, despite this, information has been lost across all areas of the system.⁶² Missing documents included information about individual convicts, reports detailing the daily activities of the Royal Engineers, the Instructing Warders and the muster rolls for the men of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners. In addition to this, the records that dealt with the various public works projects before the 1860s are all lumped together in the very extensive colonial secretary's correspondence, making a search for individual works projects extremely time consuming. In addition, the manner in which the convicts' information was entered into the books formerly held

⁶² Information is missing from Western Australia's state archives, but it is possible that some of this information could be embedded in the Australian Joint Copying Project reels. These reels contain government documents relating to Britain's Australian colonies, which are held in the National Archives at Kew, Britain. Information that was considered to be relevant to Australia was copied by the National Archives and presented to all Australian state libraries. These documents are difficult and time consuming to search due to the manner in which they were organised. It was therefore decided that the large amount of time required to search these reels was outside the scope and time frame of this research.

by the Convict Establishment has left some records open to conjecture, in particular whether a convict had a trade when he arrived in the colony or whether he acquired it following his arrival. The presence or absence of a trade is not of itself important as a skilled convict went on to become a skilled ticket-of-leave man, as indicated previously.

However the presence or absence of a trade is important when considering how many men gained their skills after working at the Convict Establishment, as it is closely linked with the impact that the public works program had on the development of the convicts' skills following their arrival, which then leads on directly to the impact that these men were then able to make in the private sector.

Using convict information obtained from Erickson and O'Mara (1994) and Henderson's half yearly reports, it would seem that most of the convicts who entered the colony during the early to mid 1850s and who subsequently went on to practice a trade, had already acquired the rudiments of this trade before their departure from English prisons. An important factor that supports this claim is that during this period additional public works prisons were being constructed in Britain that would have facilitated the vocational training. This is substantiated by Henderson who in July 1850 posted a list of convicts who would be entitled to their tickets-of-leave between November 1850 and June 1851. The list included the convicts' name, age, date of ticket-of-leave and occupation. Included on this list were: 1 brick maker, 5 carpenters and 5 masons (*Perth Gazette* 26 July 1850). Most of the men who arrived on the *Scindian* had served about two years or slightly longer in prison and most were on either a seven or ten year sentence. The fact that this list had been drawn up after the convicts had been in the colony for just over a month indicates that they had arrived in Western Australia with the trade listed. There was just not enough time for them to have acquired a trade in such a short period of time.

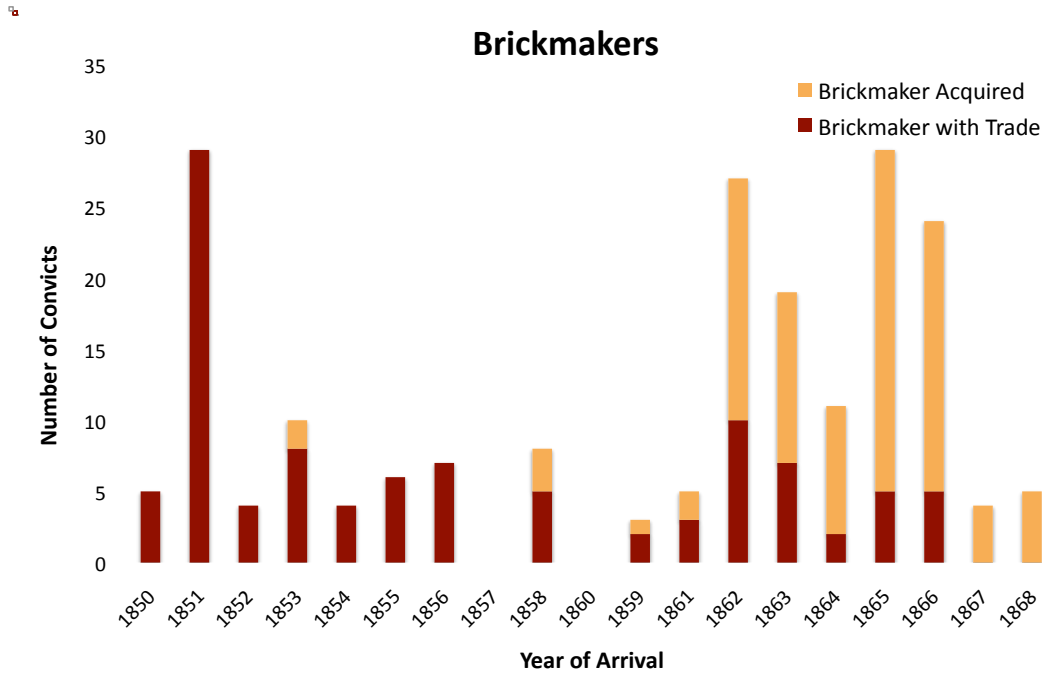


Figure 7.1 Convicts who arrived in the colony as masons and those who learnt the skill after their arrival. (Data obtained from research compiled in Appendix 2)

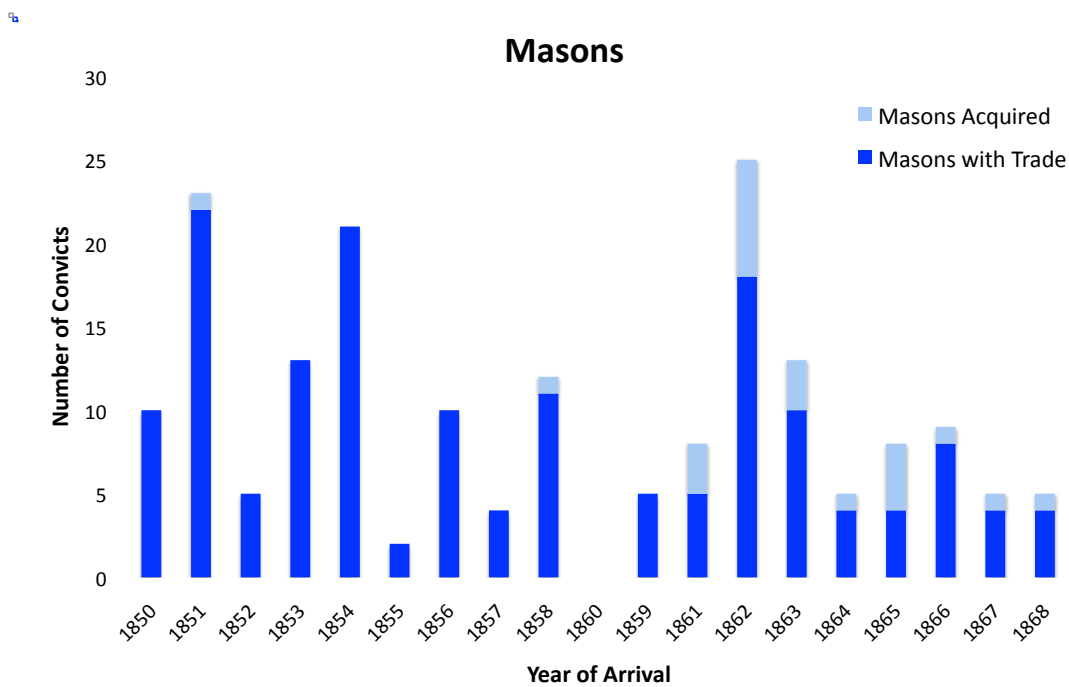


Figure 7.2 Convicts who arrived in the colony as brickmakers and those who acquired the skill after their arrival. (Data obtained from research compiled in Appendix 2)

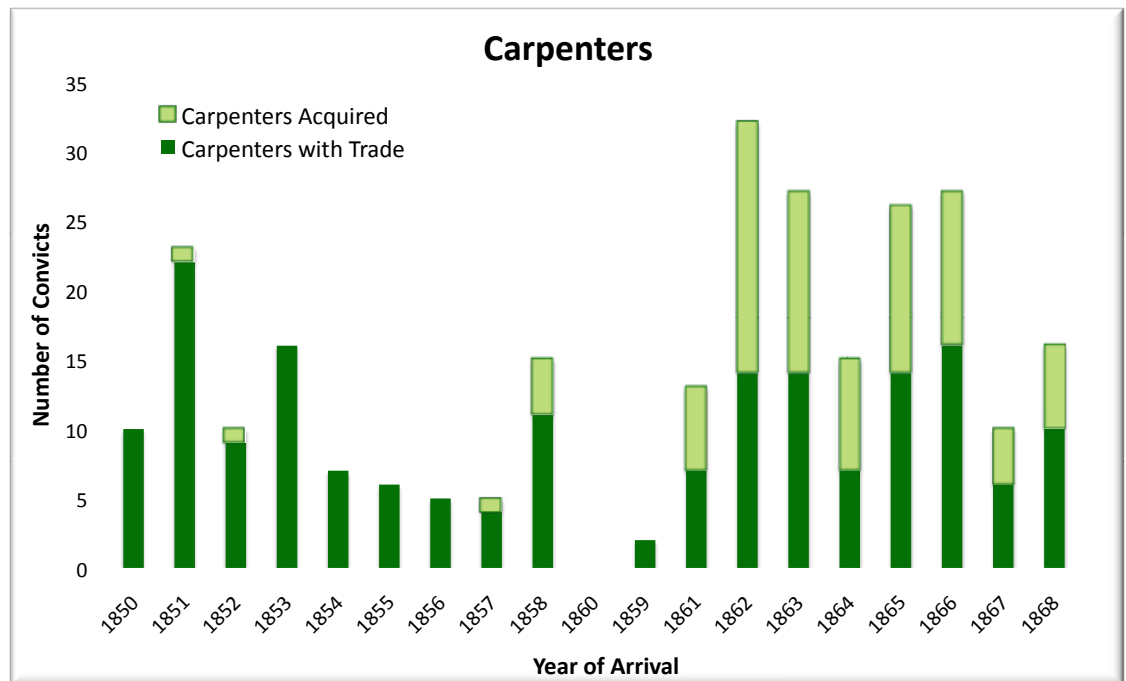


Figure 7.3 Convicts who arrived in the colony as carpenters and those who acquired the skill after their arrival. (Data obtained from research compiled in Appendix 2)

Figures 7.1 – 7.3 give an indication of the numbers of convicts who arrived in the colony with a trade and those who learnt one after their arrival. The weighting towards those disembarking with a trade is quite marked during the 1850s with apparently very few men learning a new trade⁶³ after their arrival. The Sappers and Miners continued the men's training but it would appear that the system of training, at least in the building area, was possibly not as effective as had been hoped. Perhaps these figures vindicate Dixon's comments about the difficulty in teaching the prisoners due to the manner in which jobs were allocated. In addition, some of the figures might be slightly skewed due to the arrival of ships carrying convicts who were entitled to their tickets-of-leave once they landed. This meant that these men had already served a considerable period of their sentence in an English prison and so had been exposed to the training system used in the English public works prisons. In the above graphs it can be seen that the years with the highest peaks, with men arriving with a trade, were between 1851 and 1854. In 1851 out of the

⁶³ This study has only examined trades related to the building industry.

803 convicts that arrived in the colony, 594 were entitled to their tickets of leave. In 1854 nearly all of the 576 convicts obtained their tickets-of-leave when they disembarked (see Appendix 2 and also Figure 7.4).

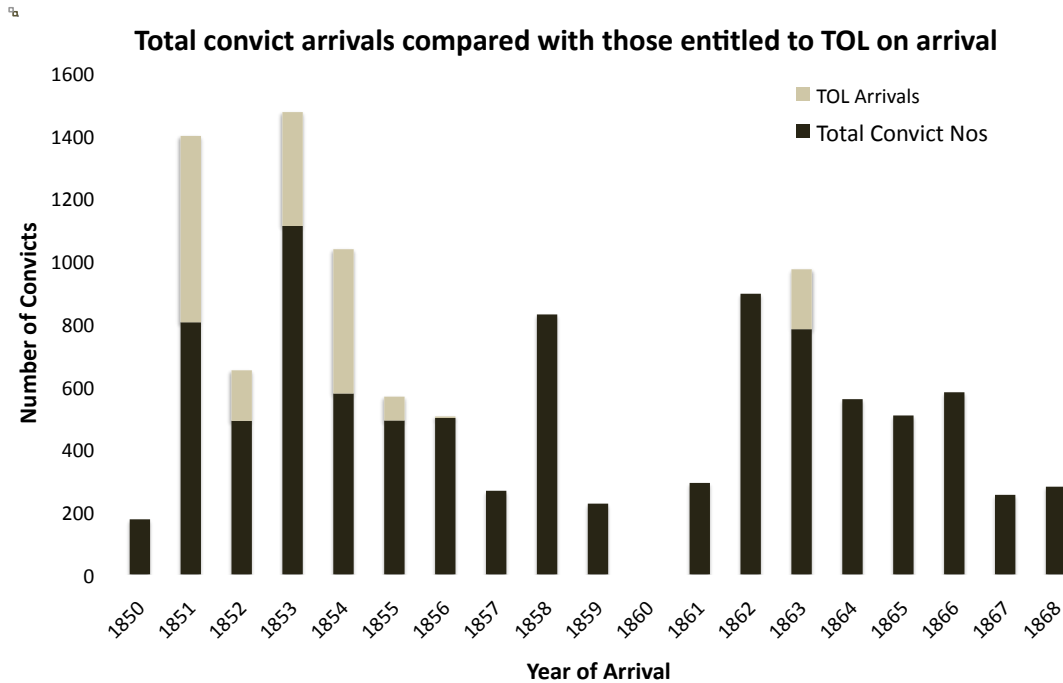


Figure 7.4 Graph showing the numbers of convicts that arrived each year and those entitled to tickets-of-leave when they disembarked.

When Figure 7.1 is compared with Figure 7.4 it is possible to see that in the years 1851, 1852 and 1854 all of the convicts who were listed as brickmakers had arrived in the colony with this trade. These numbers also correlate with the same years in which large numbers of convicts arrived who were entitled to their tickets-of-leave when they disembarked. This is indicative of the fact that many convicts had indeed been able to learn the rudiments of a trade before leaving the English works prisons. The exception to these figures was in 1853 when a small number of men learnt brickmaking skills after their arrival. The year 1853 was unusual as it was during this year that the colony received its largest intake of convicts in a single year. In addition it was also the first year that two ships arrived carrying convicts from Ireland, the *Robert*

Small (300 prisoners) and the *Phoebe Dunbar* (285).⁶⁴ When the number of convicts that arrived in the colony aboard ships that came from English prisons is compared with those carrying Irish prisoners, the discrepancy between skilled and unskilled men is quite marked. On the *Robert Small*, only 12 men were listed with a trade linked to the building industry: 6 carpenters, 2 masons, 1 plasterer, 2 slaters and 1 stone cutter. The *Phoebe Dunbar* had far fewer: 1 bricklayer, 2 carpenters and 1 mason. Most of the Irish prisoners were labourers with a sprinkling of tailors and shoemakers. By comparison the two ships carrying prisoners from English gaols (the *Dudbrook* and the *Pyrenees*) carried a total of 55 men with a trade related to the building industry: 3 bricklayers, 8 brickmakers, 11 carpenters, 14 masons, 2 plasterers, 1 slater and 1 thatcher (Nelson 2006).

After 1858 the learning curve changes slightly, in particular for the brickmaking related trades. In Figure 7.1, the graph clearly shows that during 1858 there was a slight increase in men acquiring brickmaking skills and also in the years 1859 and 1861.⁶⁵ The numbers then rise dramatically in 1862 when those who acquired a trade in the colony began to outweigh those who had arrived with the trade. In fact, after 1867 all convict brickmakers learnt this trade in the colony. The question then arises, why this dramatic leap, particularly when one takes into account that the 20th Company, the tutors, left the colony in 1862. Yet in 1862 the number of convicts trained in the colony in brickmaking actually exceeded those arriving with this skill. To answer this question it is necessary to look outside the Convict Establishment.

As noted in the previous chapter, convicts were used to construct the buildings at Fremantle Prison until most of the work was completed in 1858. These buildings were generally constructed from limestone, therefore skilled masons would have been required for this work. It was also during 1858 that the Department of Colonial Works and the Engineer Department were

⁶⁴ As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, there were no penitentiary prisons or public works prisons in Ireland at this stage.

⁶⁵ No convict ships arrived in 1860.

combined, making it easier for the Convict Establishment to supervise public building works projects and utilise convict labour. Many of these projects were based in Perth such as the new Government House (1859 – 1864), the Pensioner Guard Barracks (1866 - 1869) and the Perth Town Hall (1867 – 1870), all of which were constructed from brick (See Figures 7.5 and 7.6).



Figure 7.5 Eastern side of Government House (F. Bush 18 April 2010)



Figure 7.6 Pensioner Guard Barracks 1860s (Reproduced with permission of P. Statham Drew)

The fact that so much building activity was taking place in Perth made it easier to deploy the convicts as they could be housed in the Perth Gaol (completed in 1856) while they were working on various projects. In his annual report for 1859, Captain Grain made the first reference to convicts being used to manufacture the bricks for one of these buildings. He reported that during that year, work had commenced on the new government house and that a small number of prisoners were being employed to cut timber and a yard had been established to make bricks (BPP Vol. 15.1 No. 25, 90). Therefore from 1859 onwards we begin to see the convicts moving out of Fremantle Prison and being employed elsewhere. Admittedly not all were employed on the construction of the new government house, some were also sent out to work on the roads. In fact progress on government house often slowed due to the lack of convicts available to be employed there. But those men that had previously been used on construction work at Fremantle Prison were put to work building new government buildings and many of these were built using bricks.

Much of the information regarding work performed in the colony by convicts, probationary convicts and ticket-of-leave men has been obtained from the various half yearly and then yearly reports submitted by Henderson to the various governors. These reports, together with numerous attachments were tabled in the British Parliament together with correspondence specifically pertaining to the convicts. Unfortunately no detailed reports on how the Engineer Department utilised convict labour during this period have been located. This has made it difficult to determine exactly how the convicts were employed on public works building projects after 1859 and indeed why the colonial works and convict works departments were joined together. Le Page (1986), who wrote a history of the Public Works Department, made no reference at all to the amalgamation of the two departments. In addition, in 1858 the Secretary of State for the Colonies finally listened to Henderson's

pleading to change the half yearly reports to a single annual report which subsequently led to the loss of the detailed information formerly submitted by Henderson and his officers. Details about the colonial works program before the amalgamation has also been difficult to investigate as information about works was imbedded in the correspondence of the Colonial Secretary's Office and it was not until 1877 that a public works department, that was independent of the Colonial Secretary's Office, emerged (SROWA, Agency Details).⁶⁶ Therefore the impact that convicts had on the construction of public buildings in Perth and other centres has been obtained solely through the changes observed in the training of convicts, the utilisation of convicts on public building projects and the fact that the training of convict brickmakers and the use of bricks in public buildings appears to coincide. It is also interesting to note that during the last years of the 1850s and into the 1860s, there was also a corresponding rise in the number of buildings being constructed in Perth from brick and also in the larger country towns. Examples of brick buildings constructed during this period include Bishop Hale's School (Figure 7.7), now known as the Cloisters (1858), the Deanery (1859), the first Trinity Church (1864 – 1865) and the Wesley Church (1867-1870) to name a few.

⁶⁶ The separate department was named the Department of Works and Railways.

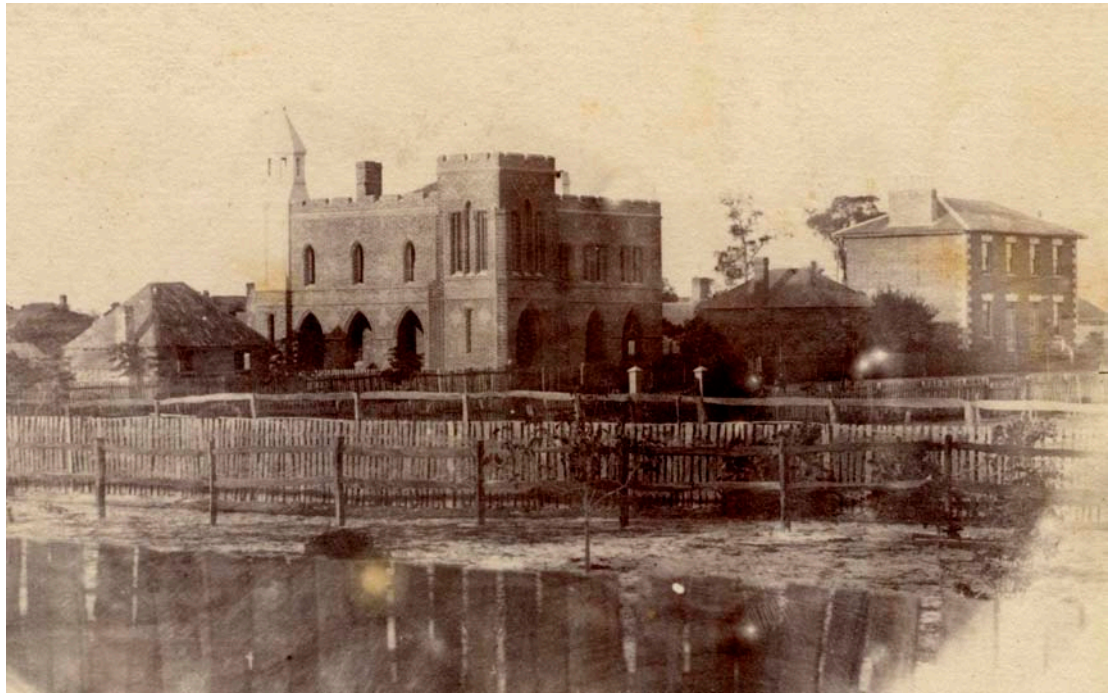


Figure 7.7 Bishop Hale's School, the two storey building with the tower (P. Statham Drew)

Apart from the Deanery, which was rendered, all of these buildings are excellent examples of brick buildings that utilise the colour variations in the bricks to enhance the facades rather than hiding the material beneath a layer of render. At the same time, the employer records for ticket-of-leave men show that increased numbers of these men were being employed as brickmakers and bricklayers in a variety of locations throughout the colony during the mid 1860s and early 1870s. These men represent a combination of convicts who arrived in the colony in 1858 who were listed as being brickmakers or bricklayers and those who arrived without a trade. It seems highly likely that those who arrived without a trade acquired their skills when they were working on government buildings. Once they were entitled to their ticket-of-leave they were then able to utilise these skills in the private sector.

As mentioned previously in Chapter 2, one of the most important documents consulted with regards ticket-of-leave employment was the Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Register. It lists the name of the employer together with the names of ticket-of-leave men that were employed between 1850 and the

early 1880s. From 1859 onwards it also records what the ticket-of-leaver was actually doing, for example fencing, brick making or general servant. At this stage it is not known why the employment activity of the ticket-of-leaver was not provided in the Register before 1859. It is possible that the Convict Establishment did not start recording this information until 1859 or the information detailing the activities of the ticket-of-leave men before 1859 has been lost. As employment information before 1859 was not listed, a search was made for those men who were known to be brickmakers, bricklayers, builders, carpenters and masons⁶⁷ and their employer noted. By compiling the information from both sources, a database that recorded the names of the men, their skills, the dates of their employment and the names of the employers and their location was created. For those men who were working before 1859, it has been assumed that as these individuals had a skill that was in high demand, most of them were probably employed in their relevant trade. This database can be found in Appendix 1. By looking through the database it is possible to see where and when building activity is taking place and who is doing the building. The bulk of the entries that date to the 1860s onwards show that brickmaking and bricklaying gradually began to overtake the activities of the masons. As would be expected, carpentry remains at a consistent level throughout the entire period under study. Most of the entries are for what appear to be one-off jobs, but there are enough entries that show some employers erected several buildings over several years. As these types of entries are often in one district rather than a specific place, it suggests that the employer was probably involved in the building trade. This can often be confirmed when the employer's name is checked against the names listed in the Trades Directory section of the *Western Australian Almanacks* (Stirling and Sons 1853 – 1864; Shenton 1866 - 1867). For example James Brittain, a well known brickmaker and builder in Perth and Guildford employed fourteen ticket-of-leave masons, brickmakers and bricklayers

⁶⁷ This information was obtained from the trades listed in the Perth Dead Persons Society's ship lists (Nelson 2006).

between 1861 and 1883. James Jarvis, a carpenter at Fremantle, employed six ticket-of-leave masons, carpenters and a brickmaker between 1875 and 1880. Both men appear in the Almanacs although the listing dates do not coincide exactly with the dates listed in the Register. See Appendix 3. An example of an expirée who became involved in the building trade during the 1860s and 1870s is John McCarthy. He arrived on the *Marion* in January 1852 and his occupation was given as gun maker. While serving time in prison he does not appear to have acquired a trade related to the building industry, but by 1859 he is listed in the York Census as an expirée working as a brickmaker (Enumerator's Schedule 1859). He appears in the Employer Register as specifically working at 'Yangedine' near York where he employs eleven ticket-of-leave brickmakers between 1864 and 1876. This particular entry is an example of one man finding full-time employment at one particular property. His name appears in the Almanac, where he is listed as a brickmaker at York between 1869 – 1870 and then from 1874 – 1878 (Stirling and Sons 1853 – 1864; Shenton 1866 - 1867). As he was active in the York area it is not known at this stage why his name was not listed more often as an employer of ticket-of-leave men. Possibly the work he took on at 'Yangedine'⁶⁸ required such a large number of men that he found it necessary to expand his workforce temporarily.

Although the Almanacs are first produced in 1842, it was not until 1862 that entries began appearing for tradesmen in Perth and Fremantle. Tradesmen in other towns and districts gradually began to appear in the following order: Guildford and Albany (1864), Geraldton and Champion Bay (1865), Busselton and Sussex District (1867) and York, Northam, Bunbury and Australind, Greenough, Northampton (1869). Other towns and centres gradually acquired tradesmen during the 1870s making it clear where and when building activity was centred in the state. During the 1850s, much of the

⁶⁸ 'Yangedine' will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. This property has a number of brick buildings still standing and historic photos show a number of brick buildings and structures that are no longer extant.

building work was centred around Perth and Fremantle, although there was also a limited amount of building taking place in the larger country centres such as Guildford and York. Evidence extrapolated from the Almanacs indicates that building work had begun to increase by the 1860s and by the 1870s new construction work was happening all over the colony and not just centred on the metropolitan area and the smaller country towns (see Appendix 3).

Unfortunately the Ticket-of-Leave Register only records employers who employed men serving their tickets-of-leave (or expirees who had become employers). Once a convict had received either his conditional pardon or his certificate of freedom he can no longer be tracked, unless he appears in the Almanacs. Therefore when a search was made in the Almanacs to determine how many of the men listed regularly employed ticket-of-leave men in their business, very few names were found. As skilled tradesmen were always in demand it seems highly likely that the absence of ticket-of-leave names indicates that they were probably re-employed by their original employers once they had received their conditional pardon or certificate of freedom. The documented information about McCarthy in the York census is unusual and it is unfortunate that this is the only detailed census material dating from the convict period to have survived. Occasionally the names of other skilled expirees turn up unexpectedly. One such case is Samuel Swift who arrived on the *William Hammond* in March 1856. This man was a bricklayer and he obtained his ticket-of-leave in May 1858. No trace of his activities while he had his ticket-of-leave has been found. As he obtained his conditional pardon in Albany he was apparently working in the Albany district while on his ticket-of-leave (Erickson and O'Mara 1994, 536). By chance it was discovered that Swift was responsible for the construction of several of buildings at "Martinup" (south of Katanning) between 1860 to 1863 and 1879. Edward Treasure, himself an expiree was the owner of the property and he employed

Swift to erect a homestead, barn and other ancillary buildings.⁶⁹ Apart from this information little is known about Swift or his other building activities. This place is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

By the 1860s,⁷⁰ slightly more than 700 ticket-of-leave men had been released to work into the community and a little more than 500 convicts had obtained either their conditional pardons or their sentences had expired. These numbers continued to grow once the men released in the 1870s were added to the workforce. At the same time that convict numbers were increasing, the population was also expanding. In 1854 the total population figures (including convicts and military personnel) had totalled 11,743. By the 1861 census this figure had increased to 15,593 (Western Australia 1861). The bulk of the population still lived in Perth (3,507) and Fremantle (3,031) but the number of people living in the York (1,901) and Toodyay (1,660) districts had actually overtaken the population living in the Swan district (1,408), which included Guildford).⁷¹ The trade listings in the Almanacs for Guildford may have started a few years earlier than Toodyay and York, but by the end of the 1870s, the latter towns had far more listings for tradesmen than Guildford. In York, the numbers of men advertised as brickmakers and bricklayers is particularly marked in comparison to Guildford and Toodyay (see Appendix 3). However, historical information for Guildford indicates that the town began to expand during the 1850s with businessmen attracted to the town due to the presence of the hiring depot. The development of Guildford, York and Toodyay, which is directly attributable to the presence of the convicts, will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

⁶⁹ Personal discussion with Robin Chinnery on 31 March 2009 following a visit she made to "Martinup" to do a heritage assessment of the place for the Heritage Council of Western Australia.

⁷⁰ These figures were obtained from the Employers Register and only include convicts involved in the building trade.

⁷¹ The figures for Swan, Toodyay and York include people living in the towns of Guildford, Toodyay and York and those living on surrounding farms.

7.2 The Rise of Brick as a Building Material in Western Australia

When one compares the type of buildings erected in the colony before the arrival of the convicts with those erected afterwards, it soon becomes evident that after the 1850s, brick buildings, rather than rammed earth or wattle and daub, soon became dominate in those areas with access to supplies of brick clay. As noted in Chapter 3, brick buildings were erected in the colony before the arrival of the convicts so there is no question that the colonists were not capable of erecting brick buildings. Indeed during the 1840s brick apparently became the preferred material in Perth and to a lesser extent elsewhere. However building in brick was costly, as it required someone who had the necessary skills to make and fire the bricks as well as additional unskilled labourer. These commodities were in short supply before the arrival of the convicts. Wittenoom himself remarked that when he was constructing his brick house the work proceeded slowly due to a lack of labour to work the clay (Wittenoom 24 July 1832). When Moore was describing to his father the materials from which his house was constructed he mentioned that for the first stage he had used unfired bricks as no burnt bricks were available in the colony at that time.⁷² By September 1832, he had managed to purchase some burnt bricks, which he was gradually using in a new wing to his house (Moore 2006, 155).

Evidence that settlers in Perth initially had trouble obtaining good quality bricks is provided in an article that appeared in the *Perth Gazette* in August 1833. The author of the article commented that

Having noticed for some time, that the Bricks made use of at Perth, in most instances, are of inferior description, we have been induced to make the following extract from "Nicholson" in order, that if it should arise from ignorance, this excuse may no longer be available; and more especially to direct the attention of our correspondents, who are conversant with these matters, to the good which may be

⁷² In a letter to his father dated 13 March 1831, Moore wrote that he had a partly constructed brick house. But it was not until his letter of 24 September 1832 that we learn that these were unfired bricks (Moore 2006, 11 and 155).

effected by imparting further information. Our clay is of the finest description, - if we persist therefore in producing bricks, which it is requisite to plaster over as soon as they are laid, it will be – not a *lasting*, although a continued disgrace to us (*Perth Gazette* 31 August 1833).

There then followed an extract from “Nicholson” on how to prepare the clay, how it should be tempered, the size of the brick moulds, the length of time needed for the bricks to dry before firing and how the dried bricks should be arranged for firing. (*Perth Gazette* 1833). Classified advertising through the 1830s and 1840s indicates that supplies of brick did increase although much of this advertising appears in Perth. There is the occasional odd mention of brick used elsewhere in the colony, such as a brick house advertised for sale at West Guildford in 1837 (*Perth Gazette* 29 April 1837).

After the convicts arrived there was a gradual increase in the use of bricks throughout the colony, concentrated at first in places such as Perth, Guildford, York and Toodyay in the 1850s and then moving out to individual properties in the countryside in the 1860s and 1870s. This increase is directly attributable to the arrival of convicts and it was due to their numbers and their training that the colony gradually changed from a place dominated by wattle and daub, unfired bricks and rammed earth to one where brick gradually became the more common building material. This change was particularly noticeable in Perth although many of the brick buildings constructed in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s have since been demolished. The photographic record left behind by amateur photographers such as Alfred Stone⁷³ shows several streetscapes where brick is the dominant material. However, it was in the smaller rural centres, such as Guildford, York and Toodyay, where hiring depots were constructed in the early 1850s, that the greatest transformation took place. These formerly rather insubstantial

⁷³ Alfred Hawes Stone arrived in 1829 with his wife and children. He erected Alpha Cottage on his Perth town lot and lived in Perth where he served as a magistrate of the court, and then Master of the Supreme Court (Erickson 1988 Vol. 4, 2956). Batty Library holds an extensive collection of his photographs, which Stone took around the streets of Perth during the 1860s.

hamlets gradually blossomed into thriving towns with solid commercial and civic buildings, many of which were constructed using brick. The following discussion will focus on Perth and these centres, to illustrate the gradual changes that took place in the built fabric and the part that convicts played in it. The spread of brick to country districts and properties will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Perth

As mentioned previously, Fitzgerald reported to Sir Grey that building work in Perth had been curtailed following the arrival of the convicts as the few trained mechanics in the colony had been snapped up to work at the Convict Establishment at Fremantle. However it appears that it was only a temporary set back as new building works gradually commenced in the 1850s, such as the Colonial Hospital (1852 – 1855) and a schoolhouse built by the Sisters of Mercy (1852 - 1853). Both were constructed from brick. In the early years of colonial settlement Most of the settlers utilised the clay on their own land to make bricks, but as houses came to be erected in the centre of town, brickworks were established on the fringes. Henry Gray advertised his acquisition of a brickmaking business in 1851. Located opposite 'Peninsula Farm' (Maylands) he announced that he could deliver bricks to the banks of the river at either Perth or Fremantle (*Perth Gazette* 19 September 1851). Before the placement of this advertisement Gray employed two convict brickmakers who were entitled to their tickets-of-leave as soon as they left their ships; John Bird and Francis Digan. Two months later he employed an additional ticket-of-leave brickmaker, John Dobson (See Appendix 1). Gray was not a brickmaker himself but a boatman and a bit of an entrepreneur (Erickson 1988 Vol. 2,). Gray, like so many other colonists, probably saw the arrival of the convicts as a way of improving his business. Purchasing a brickmaking operation, at a time when building construction was about to expand, was obviously a good choice. One of Gray's earliest customers was

the colonial government who ordered bricks for the new Colonial Hospital. A tender notice appeared in the *Perth Gazette* on 19 and 26 December 1851 to cart bricks from Gray's kiln to the new site (Stephens n.d., 3).

Other examples of brick buildings constructed in Perth during the 1850s were the Roman Catholic Bishop's Palace (1855), Bishop Hale's school (1858), and his house near Spring Street (1859) and the Deanery (1859). Ticket-of-leave mechanics were involved in the construction of all of these buildings either as bricklayers, carpenters or masons. They were employed by settlers, expirees or ticket-of-leave men who were permitted, due to their skills and good behaviour, to become self-employed. One such example of a self-employed ticket-of-leave man was Arthur Drebank, a bricklayer. While still on his ticket-of-leave he employed other ticket-of-leave men in building projects around Perth (see Appendix 1). In April 1852 he wrote to the Colonial Secretary complaining that work on the Colonial Hospital could not progress due to the shortage of carpenters (Stephens n.d., 5).

The construction of brick buildings continued into the 1860s and 1870s and it was during this period that we see an increase in the number of tradesmen listed in the *Western Australian Almanack*. William Buggins, a bricklayer and plasterer, employed numerous ticket-of-leave bricklayers between 1860 and 1873 in the various buildings that he constructed in Perth during this period. He laid the bricks in the additions to St George's Cathedral (1862), the Club Room for the Sons of Australia Benefit Society in Murray Street (1864), and also Trinity Congregational Chapel (Wesley Church) in St. George's Terrace (1867) (*Perth Gazette* 27 June 1862; *Perth Gazette* 12 February 1864; *Western Australian Times* 12 May 1864). He was also responsible for some of the brickwork in Government House (1859 – 64) and the Barracks (1866 – 69) (Erickson 1988 Vol. 1, 384). He is listed in the Almanac for the years 1862 until 1872 (see Appendix 3).

One aspect of convict training has remained puzzling: who trained these men after the men of the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners left the colony in

April 1862? The involvement of the Royal Engineers in the colony's public works projects also came to an end when Captain Grain, who oversaw these works, left in February 1863. John Hampton, who replaced Kennedy as governor in February 1862, arrived just as the 20th Company was leaving. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle (Secretary of State to the colonies) in June 1862 he noted that as yet he had not found anyone suitable to direct the works (previously done by a sapper), but he made no reference to the need for new instructing warders (BPP Vol. 15.4 No. 40, 10; No. 17, 25). At this stage Henderson was also due to depart. Based on the correspondence sent by both parties it is clear that Henderson worried how the Public Works Department would be organised and who would supervise the various works then in progress. To date it has not been possible to ascertain who was responsible for the convicts on-going training after 1862. That these men continued to be trained can be seen in the Employers Register which shows men working as bricklayers, brickmakers, carpenters and masons from the 1860s until the early 1880s. As Buggins assisted in the construction of both the Pensioner Barracks and Government House it is possible that he may have assisted in the training of these men, working under the supervision of a Supervisory Warder, when he was working on Government House and the Pensioner Barracks. Other local builders and expirée mechanics may also have contributed to the training. The question of who provided the training is also pertinent for other towns around the colony where public works were commenced after the Engineers left.

Guildford

Guildford was laid out at the end of 1829 and town lots thrown open for selection in 1830. It was envisaged that the town would serve the nearby agricultural properties as a market town (Bourke 1987). Little development occurred in the town during the 1830s and 1840s and for many years its main

function was that of an inland port for settlers living in the agricultural areas to the east and north of the town.

This all changed in the 1850s starting with the construction of a hiring depot. In February 1852 under the direction of Lieutenant Du Cane. Initially a wooden building, which had been pre-fabricated at Fremantle, served as the depot building. By the end of June, Du Cane reported that the office and quarters, together with an attached stable, were nearly completed and during the following year work began on a Commissariat Store with quarters. This building had been completed by the time Du Cane submitted his half-yearly report for July-December 1854 (BPP Vol 12.2 No. 179, 215; 253; Vol 13.3 No. 10, 99). Both the Commissariat and Du Cane's office and quarters were constructed from brick, burnt by ticket-of-leave men while they were waiting to find private employment. The bricks had been manufactured under the instruction of a few sappers (it fluctuated between 3 to 5) who were stationed at Guildford and with assistance provided by some free mechanics. In October 1853, following the arrival of 585 Irish convicts in August, Henderson found it necessary to alter Guildford's status from a hiring depot to that of a convict depot to help take the overflow of convicts from the temporary accommodation at Fremantle. Additional security at the depot was achieved by constructing a wall around the depot (BPP Vol 13.1 No. 101, 197).

A number of new businesses were established in the town following the arrival of the ticket-of-leave men. John Welbourne, a carpenter and jack-of-all-trades, constructed his hotel 'The Stirling Arms' in 1852 and Samuel Barker, who initially established his shop in an old building, opened a new store in 1854 and by 1857 had erected a two-storey house next door to his shop. All three buildings were of brick construction (Bourke 1987, 174). A journalist who visited the town in September 1852 remarked that what had previously been a rather sleepy village had suddenly become a hive of activity where

the sound of the axe and hammer, and the sharp clink of the masons trowel, meet the ear of the visitor; neatly built and substantial brick houses are rapidly

replacing former temporary and unsightly wattle and daub dwellings (*Inquirer* 22 September 1852).

One of the buildings constructed during this period was the Stirling Arms Hotel, which opened for business in 1852 (Bourke 1987, 179).

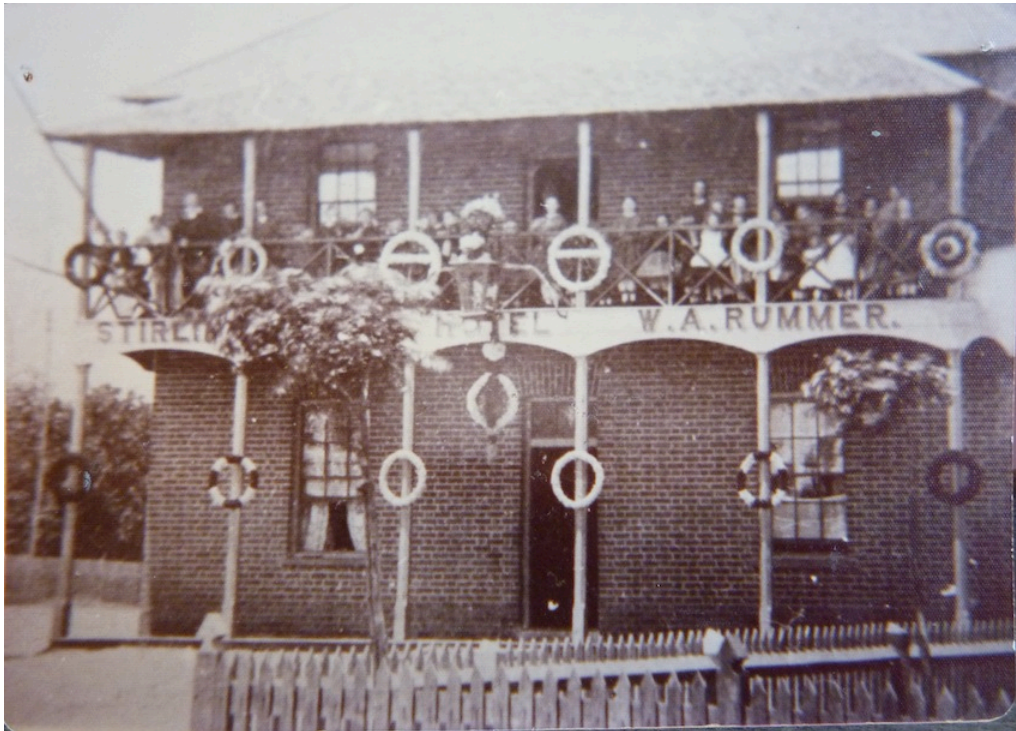


Figure 7.8 Stirling Arms Hotel (Reproduced with permission of the Swan Guildford Historical Society, (nc))

During the 1860s Guildford experienced a building boom and a number of brick buildings were constructed during this era. The list includes: the Mechanics Institute (1865), St. Matthew's Church (1861), the Rose and Crown Hotel (1864), together with a number of private residences.

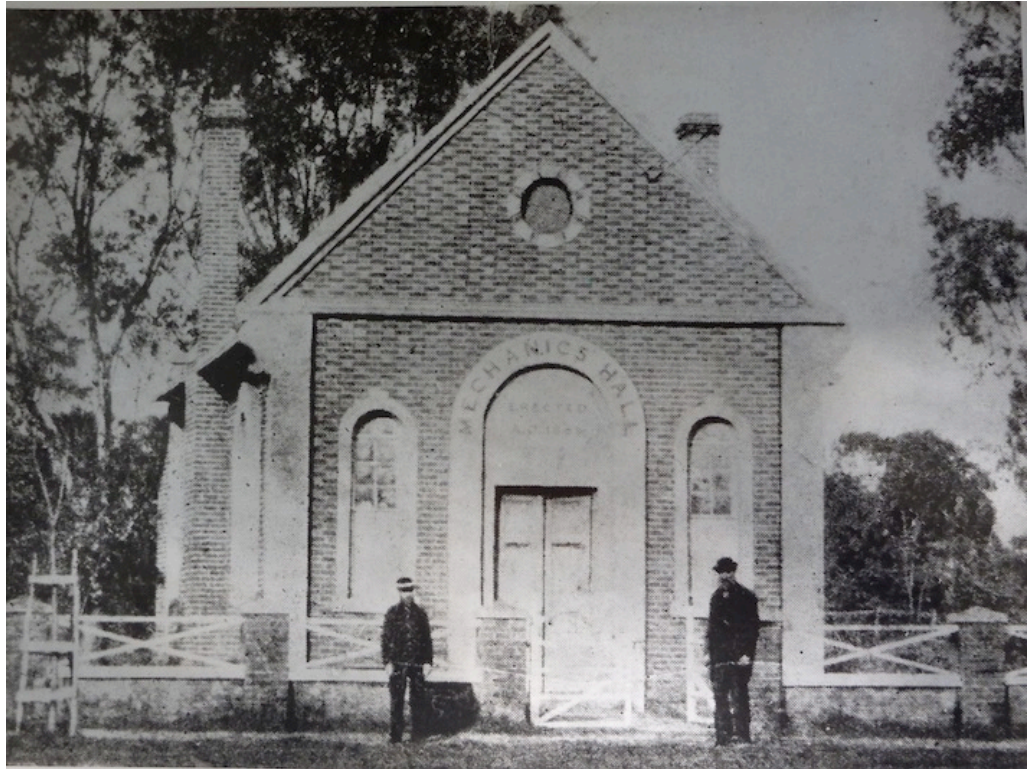


Figure 7.9 Mechanics Institute (Reproduced with permission of Swan Guildford Historical Society, Inc)

It was during this period that James Brittain established a brickmaking business in the town. However Brittain's entries in the Employers Register are for both Perth and Guildford making it difficult to determine which men worked in which town. The first entries for skilled tradesmen in Guildford appear in the *Western Australian Almanack* in 1864. Two men were listed: Mr E. Cook and William Jones, both were carpenters. It was not until 1866 that John Welbourne appeared in the Almanac when he was listed as a builder and undertaker. Brickmakers were not listed in the area until 1872 and those that are referred to often appear for just one year and then disappear. Given the amount of building activity that was happening in Guildford, the late addition in the Almanac for brickmakers appears odd as photographic and historical evidence indicates that Guildford was advancing rapidly during the 1860s and plenty of brick buildings were being constructed. Two of the brickmakers listed in the Almanac employed ticket-of-leave men. These men were Robert Paul (an expirée), listed in 1873 and Robert Ogle, listed in 1878. Robert Paul

arrived on the *Belgravia* in July 1866 and was recorded as a brickmaker. He obtained his ticket-of-leave in November 1867 and his certificate of release in June 1869 while working in the Swan district. During his time on ticket-of-leave he was registered as working as a brickmaker for Barker and Gull in April 1869 (see Appendix 1). Barker went into partnership with his nephew, Thomas Gull in the 1852 and eventually the business passed to Gull in 1870 (Erickson 1978, 118). At this stage it is not known whether Paul's time working for Barker and Gull was for the construction of a new building or alterations to an existing building. A photograph of buildings owned by Barker & Gull, on Swan Street can be seen in Figure 7.10. The partially visible building on the right, which is the north-east corner of Meadow and Swan Streets is the Court House, which was built in 1866 using convict labour. Another public building constructed during the 1860s was a new government school for boys, which now forms part of Guildford Primary School (Bourke 1987, 218).



Figure 7.10 Barker & Gull Warehouse Complex built in the 1850s and 1860s (Reproduced from Bourke 1987, 172)

Guildford was transformed during the 1850s and 1860s not only through the construction of new buildings but as a town whose primary building medium was brick. The dominant use of this material was no doubt due to the presence of good brick clays (as was demonstrated by the early colonists) but the men who facilitated the widespread use of the material were the ticket-of-leave men and ex-convicts.

York

York was settled in 1831 following Ensign's Dale's survey of the Avon Valley in 1830. The town was surveyed in November 1830 but it was not until 1836 that it was actually gazetted (Murray and Goodchild 2003, 172). Little development really took place within the town boundaries as settlers were spread out along the Avon valley on their rural grants. When Lieutenant Bunbury toured the district in 1836 he observed that the town itself contained only "two houses, a barn, a barrack and some outhouses with about 50 acres of cleared land" (Bunbury 1930, 28). Much of the early development around York took place to the south of today's main commercial precinct in the area known today as Blandstown. This section of York was named after Revett Henry Bland who was the original grantee of the land that became Blandstown. Bland built a mud brick cottage on his property that he named Balladong (Tooby and Bush 2007). Little progress towards the construction of any other civic buildings or indeed commercial premises was made in York until after 1850 which can be seen clearly in a sketch that Henderson made of the township in c.1856 (see Figure 7.11).



Figure 7.11 Sketch of York by Henderson c.1856 (J.S. Battye Library 209931PD, reproduced with permission of State Library Board of WA)

From this image, which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* in November 1857, it is possible to see the whole of York in its valley below Mt Bakewell. The small church is most likely the Church of England, St. John's that was constructed in 1848 from mud bricks. Later in 1861 the church was re-built using fired bricks (Tooby and Bush 2007).

Du Cane began constructing the buildings for the hiring depot during the first half of 1852. He reported to Henderson that he had started erecting a stone gaol (using mud mortar), but had decided to erect the depot buildings from bricks rather than the commonly used rammed earth as he believed that brick would be more durable. By using his group of ticket-of-leave men to make the bricks Du Cane was able to undercut the local market considerably which therefore drove down the building costs (BPP Vol. 12.2 No. 179, 200). Using a mixture of ticket-of-leave labourers and the sappers, the hiring depot eventually comprised a number of brick buildings that included quarters for

the warders and the sappers and miners, a commissariat, stables and an infirmary. A number of cottages for the Pensioner Guards were also constructed. The first of these appears to have been constructed from rammed earth (BPP Vol. 13.1 No. 101, 199), but later cottages were constructed with brick footings and the very brief descriptions provided in Du Cane's half yearly reports suggests that the other cottages were constructed using fired bricks (BPP Vol. 13.2 No. 10, 101).⁷⁴

Although the town of York did not immediately attract new business, as had been the case in Guildford, a number of new buildings were constructed in Blandstown as Bland began to sell off portions of his grant in the late 1840s and into the 1850s. The largest portion, which contained his mud brick cottage he sold to Stephen Parker, an agriculturalist, in October 1855 (Tooby and Bush 2007, 18). The land that Bland had sub-divided on the western side of the Beverley Road gradually developed into a commercial and residential precinct, with hotels, shopkeepers, tradesmen, a maternity house and residences, while the eastern side (where the land ran down to the Avon River) was retained for farming purposes. All of the new buildings constructed along this stretch of road, were made from bricks. Construction dates for the buildings range in age from the c.1848 Kings Head Hotel to Bygraves House, which was constructed in the 1880s (Tooby and Bush 2007).

On the other side of the road, where Charles Redmile had established a farm to the north of Parker's Balladong Farm,⁷⁵ both settlers constructed two storey brick houses on their properties: Redmile in 1853 and Parker in 1860. Local building contractor, George Wansbrough constructed Parker's house (known today as Bridge House) in 1860. Wansbrough constructed his own brick house, on land purchased from Parker, either shortly before he started work on Parker's house or just afterwards. Wansbrough was listed in the Western Australian Almanack in 1867 and 1868 where he was recorded as a

⁷⁴ These reports cover the period 31 December 1853 to 31 December 1854.

⁷⁵ This was the name that Bland had given to his rural property and Parker continued to use it.

house carpenter. By 1870 he was described as a wheelwright and between 1876 and 1878 as a carpenter (see Appendix 3).

Wansbrough's appearance in the Almanac at York marks the beginning of trade listings for the town. By 1869 the listings include 1 bricklayer and 1 brickmaker until by 1876 the town had 4 bricklayers, 2 brickmakers and 5 carpenters. In 1878, 2 builders were included in the listings. The rather late trade listings for York should not be interpreted as a lack of building activity, as buildings were being constructed in the town before this time. We also know from the 1859 census that John McCarthy (an expirée) was working as a brickmaker in the town at this time (York Census 1859). Other men with trades are also listed in this census, they included men who were staying with York residents on the night on the census, such as Charles Blume, a carpenter, who was recorded at John Wansbrough's house together with former convicts (or those with a conditional pardon), who like McCarthy were managing to make a living by using the trade that they learnt while in prison. These men included 4 carpenters and 2 brickmakers (York Census 1859). Additional skilled mechanics, who were formerly convicts, are also recorded at the various premises in York on the night of the census. From this information it is possible to postulate that during the late 1850s, some building activity was taking place around the town of York. A few of these 1850s buildings have survived, such as the stone stables, timber shearing shed, brick granary and rendered brick butcher's shop on Balladong Farm, a couple of houses in York and the stable block at the Castle Hotel.⁷⁶

The largest collection of building stock from the 1860s and 1870s can be found in Blandstown. These buildings include Parker's two storey brick house (Bridge House), Wansborough's House, Langsford House, the Albion Hotel and a number of small residential buildings spread out around Blandstown.

⁷⁶ Knowledge of surviving 1850s and 1860s building stock in York is known to the author due to numerous site visits made to York over the years.

A large number of these buildings have survived from this period, most of them constructed from brick, with some stone buildings. Figures 7.12 and 7.13 show some of these buildings. Many of them display the skills of the brickmaker and bricklayer, who took advantage of the patterns created by the dark colouring on the header side of the brick with the lighter colour on the stretcher side. The bricks were laid using Flemish bond, creating a regular and pleasing display of light and dark. An excellent example of this type of brickwork can be seen in Wansborough House (Figure 7.12).



Figure 7.12 Detail of brickwork on Wansborough House (F. Bush 20 April 2011)



Figure 7.13 Langsford House (F. Bush 20 April 2011)

Two storeyed Langsford House (Figure 7.13) also displays the same attention to detail in the brickwork with the Flemish bond acting as the perfect foil for the light and dark colours of the bricks.

The extensive use of bricks in buildings constructed in York from the 1850s onwards does not mean that other materials were not used. Parker's large stables were constructed using stone, as were other buildings in the area. However brick came to dominate in this district where previously a large percentage of the buildings had been constructed from either unfired bricks or rammed earth.

Toodyay

The European settlement of Toodyay was at first restricted to settlers acquiring grants along the Avon Valley north of York shortly after colonists moved out to York. It was not until 1833 that the townsite was surveyed and in 1836 the town was gazetted (Erickson 1974, 10 & 27). At that stage the gazetted town lay to the west of the present town of Toodyay, but the original

townsite had been poorly located and was often flooded in the winter by the Avon River. Once the hiring depot was established further to the south-west (Erickson 1974, 149), the focus of the town gradually began to shift to this new area until it was decided to gazette the new town of Newcastle in 1860 and the original town came to be known as West Toodyay (Erickson 1974, 165).⁷⁷

During the first half of 1852, Du Cane established a hiring depot initially by leasing a building to serve as a temporary depot while the men and the sappers began the construction of permanent buildings. Unlike York, it took a little longer for bricks to be used to construct buildings at this depot. Du Cane recorded in his half yearly report for January – June 1853 that few bricks had been made at Toodyay (BPP Vol. 11.2 No. 122, 254). In this portion of the Avon Valley, many of the farmers constructed their first cottages from stone as this material was readily available in the area. Thus the depot buildings were largely constructed from stone although Du Cane recorded in September 1854 that of the six pensioner guard cottages erected at that time three were constructed from mud, two from bricks and one from stone (BPP Vol. 13.2 No. 20, 147).

As with the depot buildings, stone tended to be the dominant building material during the 1850s and 1860s. However a few buildings were constructed from brick, such as the Anglican St. Stephen's Church that was built by George Hassell for Reverend Charles Harper in 1861 (Erickson 1974, 173). Hassell was an expirée who had arrived in the colony in 1852 with his trade listed as plasterer (see Appendix 1). He employed several ticket-of-leave men while in Toodyay and two of these were brickmakers: Jesse Moore and Robert Baker (see Appendix 1). Both worked for him in 1860 and 1865 respectively. As 1860 coincides closely with the construction date, it is possible that Jesse Moore was responsible for making the bricks for the

⁷⁷ Due to confusion with the town of the same name in New South Wales the name was changed to Toodyay in 1910 (Murray and Goodchild 2003, 157; Erickson 1974, 27).

church. In the same year that the church was constructed, work commenced on the new town's first hotel. Owned by W.P. Tregonning, the Newcastle Hotel was a large, single storey brick building with stables (Erickson 1974, 167).

The preponderance of stone over brick can be seen in several of the 1850s buildings constructed at Toodyay. In 1857 James Drummond built a three storey steam mill to grind wheat (Figure 7.14). The building was constructed from stone but at a later stage the building was extended using brick for the two upper floors (Lang1994, 29). The building is no longer extant.



Figure 7.14 Drummond's Mill, Toodyay c.1923 (J.S. Battye 008432PD reproduced with permission of the State Library of WA)

George Hassell, who became the local builder in Toodyay, was also engaged by Daniel Connor (an expirée) to build a flour mill in 1870. Like Drummond's mill, the ground floor was constructed using stone and the two upper stories were made using bricks (Erickson 2006, 61). As stone was more plentiful and supplies of brick clay less plentiful, it is likely that many of Toodyay's stone

buildings were finished with brick quoins to door and window openings and also the corners of the building, providing a stronger and neater finish. An example of this is Hassell's own house that he constructed sometime during the 1850s (Erickson 2006, 12).

7.3 Conclusions

The buildings at Fremantle Prison were constructed from the local limestone, thus many of the convicts received training in masonry skills while incarcerated in the prison. Once the buildings were completed by 1858, the Engineers were able to move these men away from Fremantle and on to other public works projects. At the same time, the Department of Colonial Works and the Engineer Department were merged, enabling convicts to be employed on public works projects that included the construction of buildings, not just roads and bridges. Once they moved out from Fremantle, the convicts were employed at making bricks for the various projects in Perth that required this material. Towards the end of the 1850s and into the 1860s, a number of important brick public buildings were constructed. This situation permitted the convicts to gain new skills and the data indicates that it was during this period that the number of convicts who became skilled bricklayers and brickmakers increased, while masonry declined. Once they received their tickets-of-leave, the men could further hone their skills on the various building projects that took place during the 1860s and 1870s. During this period Perth and the more important country centres had an extensive building program that generally utilised brick as the building medium.

It is therefore concluded that convicts acquired bricklaying and brickmaking skills while employed on public works projects in Perth and other centres. Once released on tickets-of-leave they left for country districts where they constructed brick buildings, not only in country towns but also on numerous farming properties. Where previously brick had been a luxury material it became the preferred medium for many property owners. Although stone

buildings were also constructed, brick soon became the favoured material, a factor that can be seen across the length and breadth of the colony by the end of the 1870s. The convicts were responsible for this spread. In the next chapter, buildings erected by ticket-of-leave men between 1850 and 1880 will be discussed.

8.0 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF BUILDINGS ERECTED BEFORE AND AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF CONVICTS

Buildings, like poems and rituals, realise culture.

Glassie 1985, 47

Introduction

As outlined in Chapter 2, the buildings chosen for this comparative analysis were drawn from two distinct time frames and were therefore placed into two groups. Group 1 represents buildings constructed by the settlers between 1829 and 1850 and Group 2 buildings were constructed between 1850 and 1880 with input from ticket-of-leave men or ex-convicts. Information regarding the presence of the ticket-of-leave men or ex-convicts was obtained from the Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Register (the Register). All of the buildings examined are located in the south-west of Western Australia (see Figure 8.1). The analysis will examine the builders who were responsible for construction of the buildings before moving on to a discussion on the materials used in the buildings' construction, carpentry techniques and building design and form. Detailed information about these buildings, including their history and information about the owners, a description, plans and photographs have been drawn from the data sheets developed for each building, which can be found in Appendix 5. Figure 8.1 is a map of the south-west portion of Western Australia showing the location of relevant towns and properties.

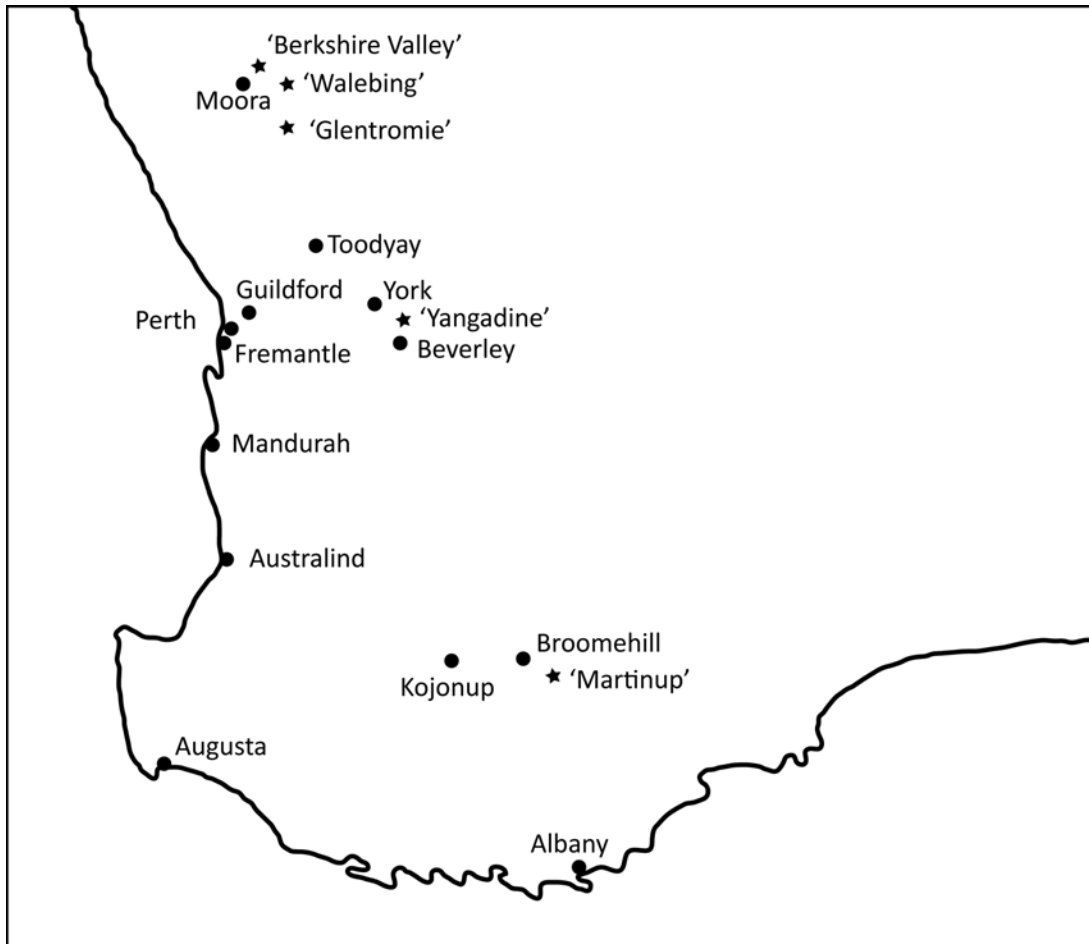


Figure 8.1 Map showing the towns and properties where the buildings examined in this analysis are located

8.1 The Builders

There is only limited primary documentary material relating to the construction of the buildings in Group 1 and Group 2. Most of the primary material relates to buildings in Group 1, which were all constructed (with one exception) by owners who could read and write. Out of the six properties in Group 2, only two of the owners were literate. Despite knowing the names of ticket-of-leave men who were associated with the Group 2 buildings, it has to be acknowledged that in general we do not have the full details of who constructed these buildings, let alone who was responsible for directing the building works. I have therefore assumed, with one exception, that the owner of the property directed the works or that an overseer was in charge.

Table 8.1 provides the names of the owners associated with the properties in the two Groups together with their construction dates.

Group 1	Group 2
<p><u>Hall's Cottage</u> (c.1832) – Henry Hall</p> <p><u>'Gwambygine'</u>, Homestead (c.1836) – Reverend John Wittenoom</p> <p><u>Tranby House</u> (1839) – Joseph Hardey</p> <p><u>'Yangedine'</u>: First Homestead (c.1842) – possibly John F. Smith</p> <p><u>'Boyadine'</u> Homestead (c.1843) – Henry de Burgh</p> <p><u>St. Nicholas Church</u> (c.1844) – owner not known</p> <p><u>Kojanup Barracks</u> (1845) – Imperial Government</p> <p><u>'Berkshire Valley'</u>: First Homestead and Mill (c.1847) – James Clinch</p>	<p><u>'Walebing'</u>: Kitchen & Stores, Bulk Store, Wool Shed/Mill & Store, Stables, Cart Shed & Dairy (1850s) – Anthony O'Grady Lefroy</p> <p><u>'Berkshire Valley'</u>: Manager's House (1856); Gate House & Entry Block (1867); Stables (1867); Shearing Shed (1869); Bridge (1869); Garden Walls (1860s) – James Clinch</p> <p><u>Bishop Hale's House</u> (1860) – Bishop Matthew Hale</p> <p><u>'Glentromie'</u>: Shearing Shed, Stables, Barn, Henry's House (1860s) – Donald MacPherson</p> <p><u>'Martinup'</u>: Men's Quarters (c.1860); Wool Barn (1863); Homestead (1860s); Blacksmith's Shop (1860s); Meat Room (1860s); Shearing Shed (1879) - Edward Treasure</p> <p><u>'Yangedine'</u>: Shearing Shed (1865); Quarters (1860s); Stables (1876); Blacksmith's Shop (1870s) – John Taylor</p>

Table 8.1 The names of the owners and the properties in the two Groups

In Group 1, Joseph Hardey (Tranby) was the only owner to mention the fact that he had built a new house in 1839. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Joseph Hardey's diary entries (Hardy 1830 – 1839) were extremely terse. In April 1839 he wrote that bricks were being made and by June 1839 the roof on his house was finished (Hardey 1 June 1839). No further mention of this house

was made and the diary unfortunately ended in November 1839. The building that survives today in the Perth suburb of Maylands, contains within its core the house that Hardey built in 1839 (Heritage and Conservation Professionals 2005).

Both Henry de Burgh ('Boyadine') and Gerald de Courcy Lefroy ('Walebing' and brother of Anthony) wrote diaries. Henry did not refer to the construction of a house at 'Boyadine' before his departure from the colony in 1849, and although Gerald did write about the construction of buildings at 'Walebing' in the late 1840s and in 1850, he had left the colony before the Group 2 buildings were constructed at 'Walebing' (John Taylor 2001, 29).

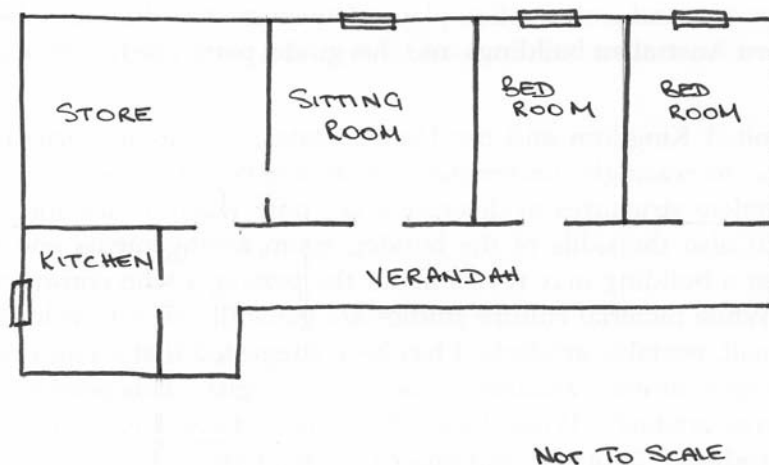


Figure 8.2 Copy of the sketch made by Thomas Carter in 1841 (F. Bush)

Two pieces of primary documentation relate to 'Gwambygine', which I referred to previously in Chapter 4. Thomas Carter drew a plan of the house in 1841 (see Figure 8.2) and Lieutenant Bunbury provided a written description of the homestead (Bunbury 1930, 43; Carter 1840 – 1841). The combination of these two documents provides detailed information about the homestead at "Gwambygine" in comparison to other settler descriptions.

The information referred to above represents the only primary documentation that I have found relating to the buildings that were studied,

apart from the documentation contained in the Employers of ticket-of-leave men Register.

In the Group 1 buildings it has been suggested that Henry Hall's indentured servants constructed the cottage for him (HCWA 1995, 3). Unfortunately the names of Hall's servants are not known, although one of the servants was a carpenter-wheelwright (Richards 1978, 57). At Tranby I have assumed that as Hardey was directly responsible for the construction of his first two houses, he was closely involved in the construction of his third house. George Green⁷⁸, a bricklayer who formed part of Hardey's Methodist group, was probably responsible for the manufacture of the bricks for the house that Hardey recorded being made in April 1839 (Hardey April 1839). Hardey also noted that Lazenby and Lockyer had completed the roof for his new house in June 1839 (Hardey June 1839). George Lazenby was listed in the 1836 return as a carpenter living in Perth (Great Britain, 1973).

Although little is known about who constructed the other houses in Group 1 it seems highly likely that Henry de Burgh assisted in the construction of the house at 'Boyadine' as he and his brother had built a hut on their first property (de Burgh and de Burgh, 1981, 55). James Clinch, who acquired the land that became his property, 'Berkshire Valley' in 1847, left no historical documents. Information about his activities is limited to the fact that he must have been a resourceful man due to what he achieved following his arrival in the colony. He arrived in 1839 indentured to Frederick Slade (a retired military officer) and worked as a shepherd. By 1846 Clinch had managed to accumulate his own flock, had applied for land in the Moora district and in the following year had grown the first crop of wheat in the Moora district (HCWA 2008, 6; Moora Historical Society, 1980).⁷⁹ This resourcefulness probably

⁷⁸ The Hardey family were part of a group of Methodists who chartered the ship Tranby to bring them and a group of Methodists to Western Australia. Green was the cousin of Mrs John Wall Hardey, Joseph Hardey's sister-in-law (Erickson, 1988, Vol. 2).

⁷⁹ Moora Historical Society: Some Commemorated Pioneers of the Moora District 1847 – 1917, Shire of Moora, 1980, 5 – 7.

enabled him to construct the first Homestead and Mill at 'Berkshire Valley'. Clinch appears to have skills other than shepherding for according to Erickson and Taylor he built Slade's first cottage on his Toodyay property (Erickson and Taylor 2006, 43). Until positive evidence is found for Erickson and Taylor's assertion that Clinch was responsible for the construction of Slade's cottage, the claim that Clinch not only built the original Homestead and Mill at 'Berkshire Valley' but also planned the other buildings on his property cannot be verified (HCWA 2008, 6).⁸⁰

The weatherboard St Nicholas Church at Australind was originally constructed as a settler's cottage in c.1844. Wealthy investors in London established The Western Australian Company in 1838 to purchase land in Western Australia in order to found a colony in which the settlers would purchase land, like the scheme that operated in South Australia (see Appendix 5, St Nicholas Church). Marshall Clifton was appointed the settlement's Commissioner and his reports back to the organization recorded what buildings had been constructed in the settlement (Clifton Papers 1 January 1843). As seen in some of his daughters' drawings (Figures 4.15 and 4.16), the first buildings erected at Australind were mostly timber-framed buildings clad with weatherboards. The Company had ensured that labourers accompanied settlers who were able to pay for land, but at present, the names of who built the cottage and who it was originally built for are not known for certain.

The final building in Group 1 is Kojonup Barracks. In 1845 Major Irwin, the colony's Commander in Chief, ordered the barracks to be built to replace an earlier barracks hut (Bignell 1982, 43). Documentary information about the construction of the new barracks is fairly limited. Irwin sent a plan to Lieutenant Warburton, who commanded the men of the 51st Regiment assigned to the district around Kojonup and Albany. The men stationed at

⁸⁰ Mrs Robin Hamilton, the mother of the current owner of 'Berkshire Valley' believes that Clinch was responsible for the design of the buildings at 'Berkshire Valley'. Conservation with F. Bush 11 August 2010.

Kojonup during 1845 would have been responsible for the construction of the new barracks building, but unfortunately their names are not known.

Despite the fact that the names of skilled ticket-of-leave men are recorded for many of the Group 2 buildings, several of the names do not coincide with the construction dates of some of the buildings. For example, James Clinch proudly displayed the construction date on many of his buildings so we definitely know when the Gate House and Entry Block (1867), Stables (1867), Shearing Shed (1869) and double arched Bridge (1869) were constructed. However it was not until 1872 that ticket-of-leave brickmaker, Henry Bolton, was recorded as working for Clinch. Clinch also employed three ticket-of-leave carpenters: John Coggill (1872), Patrick Byrne (1875) and John McAllen (11.6.79 – 31.12.79).⁸¹ None of these dates coincide with the construction of Clinch's buildings although it is possible that Bolton may have worked on the brick walls enclosing part of the Homestead courtyard or possibly on buildings that are no longer extant. The carpenters may of course have been employed on various small tasks required in existing buildings or on domestic carpentry tasks.

On the other hand, we do know the names of many of the men employed on the construction of buildings at 'Yangedine'. John Taylor is the exception amongst the owners of the Groups 1 and 2 buildings in that he employed two men (both expirees) to construct the buildings on his property: John McCarthy and Henry Duckham. Duckham arrived in the colony as a brickmaker, but John McCarthy's occupation was listed as a gunmaker. It is unclear where or when McCarthy obtained his brickmaking skills, but by 1859 he was listed in the York census as a brickmaker (Enumerator's Schedule 1859). Taylor first employed McCarthy in 1864 and between August 1864 and January 1865 McCarthy employed four ticket-of-leave brickmakers: Edward Williams, Francis Harvey, Eli Duke and John Unsworth. By 1866 he was employing ticket-of-leave brickmakers John Hinton and William Jones. The three-storey

⁸¹ This information can be viewed in Appendix 1.

Mill was operating by 1866 and given the amount of brick required for this building it seems highly likely that the ticket-of-leave brickmakers employed in 1864 had commenced making bricks for this large building and that construction commenced sometime during 1865 after several batches of bricks were ready for use (See Appendix 5).

Taylor built a number of brick buildings at 'Yangedine', some of which are still standing, while photographs show those that were demolished or destroyed following a mini tornado that ripped through the York district in 1942.⁸² The building activity peaked during 1869 when Taylor found it necessary to employ not only McCarthy but also Henry Duckham. McCarthy employed three ticket-of-leave brickmakers: Peter Docherty, James Ellis and James McDonald; Duckham employed only one ticket-of-leave brickmaker, Charles Collins. McCarthy and Duckham were both back again in 1872 when McCarthy employed ticket-of-leave brickmakers Charles Castleton and Duckham Samuel Wignall. The large two storey Stables at 'Yangedine' is labelled as being constructed in 1875. It is not known whether McCarthy or Duckham were responsible for the construction of this building, although McCarthy is listed as employing ticket-of-leave brickmaker William Brown in 1876. This date is too late for the construction of the Stables, unless the date refers to when work first commenced on the building. If this is the case, then perhaps McCarthy began work on the building in 1875, using free brickmakers, finally finishing the building with a ticket-of-leave man (See Appendix 5). Over the years that McCarthy and Duckham worked on the buildings at 'Yangedine' the ticket-of-leave men that they employed could of course have been supplemented with free men (many of whom could have been expirees).

Bishop Hale refers to the construction of his house in two letters. Work began on the house in 1858, before he left for England, and it was completed by the

⁸² Information relayed to the author by Duncan Young, the owner of the property on 19 December 2010.

time he returned in 1860 (Hale Diary 1847 - 1865; Hale Notebooks 1857 – 1864). Burton recorded that Hale had put ticket-of-leave men to work before he left for England in 1858. However, I have been unable to find the source of the quote in Hale's correspondence (Burton 1941, 92). Whether Burton was referring to the two men that Hale was listed as employing, is not known.

It is unclear who was responsible for either the construction or building management of the buildings at 'Walebing'. Gerald Lefroy and his brother Anthony initially operated 'Walebing' together. Gerald's diary recorded the construction of a cottage on the brothers' first property. Gerald assisted in the construction of the first small cottage at 'Walebing'. According to John Taylor, family tradition recorded that most of the buildings at 'Walebing' were constructed during the 1850s (Taylor 2001, 29). Gerald Lefroy left the colony in 1853 but he wrote in his diary of the construction of the 1850 Cottage that survives on the property today. His entries tell us that he was actively involved in the construction of this cottage. In December 1850 he employed a man named Pyke (or Pike) to start constructing the stone walls in January 1851. Pyke was also employed to make and lay bricks. Lefroy assisted carting the stones, clay and timber for the cottage and he was also responsible for the roofing structure together with the door and window frames. That he was also involved in the construction of the cottage's stone walls is indicated by the comment that he had nearly worn all the skin off his fingers from the stones and the mortar (Buchanan 2008, 240). It took Gerald over a year to complete his house. His brother Anthony took over 'Walebing', employing overseers to manage the place, but it was the Lefroy brothers' cousin Henry M. Lefroy, who was listed as the employer of ticket-of-leave men on the property rather than Anthony.

No primary documents have been found for 'Martinup'. Edward Treasure left no correspondence, and information pertaining to the construction of the buildings at the farm and expirer Samuel Swift has been obtained from secondary sources. A search was made for Swift's ticket-of-leave employment

record but it appears to have been lost. What is known is that Swift obtained his ticket-of-leave in May 1858 and his conditional pardon was issued in Albany in May 1864 (Erickson and O'Mara 1994, 536). The issuing of the conditional pardon in Albany indicates that this was the area that Swift was working in at the time that he was granted his conditional pardon. Swift's initials appear in the date stone on the Shearing Shed at 'Martinup' and it has been assumed that as Swift was working in the area he may well have been responsible for the construction of the earlier brick buildings at 'Martinup'. Although Treasure became a successful farmer and grazier, it seems unlikely that he had any prior knowledge of building construction as his original occupation was listed as a collier. He did not acquire any building skills while in Fremantle Prison as he was entitled to his ticket-of-leave as soon as he landed (Erickson and O'Mara 1994, 556). It is therefore possible that the design of the buildings as well as their construction was left up to Swift.

8.2 Construction Materials and Methods

As discussed previously in Chapter 4, the types of building materials used by the settlers following their arrival in the colony was varied as they tended to use materials that could be found readily to hand at their building site. Most of the construction methods that utilised these materials came from a long vernacular tradition that was sustained by traditional craftsmen who erected traditionally designed buildings. The non-traditional materials and methods that were utilised came in the form of brick, rammed earth and timber weatherboards. These three materials represented the changes that had gradually occurred in Great Britain during the mid eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. It was during this period that the effects of industrialisation began to be felt in the countryside. Mechanisation was particularly relevant to the production of weatherboards and bricks, which could be mass-produced in much greater numbers than those produced by traditional craftsmen. The spread of canals and railways meant that these

materials could now be transported greater distances from the place of manufacture. In addition, the latter part of this period saw the rise of the concept of 'Improvement' which resulted in many landowners not only experimenting with new methods to increase the productivity of their land, but also in the houses that they erected for their tenants. It was during this period of Improvement that the method of rammed earth was introduced into Great Britain (see the discussion on rammed earth in Chapter 3).

When the colonists arrived in Western Australia most were familiar with traditional building methods, but some had obviously obtained information about the newer materials. However, apart from the use of rammed earth, they were at a disadvantage when it came to being able to use the less traditional construction methods, such as brick and weatherboards. This was because at first they did not have the capability of creating supply lines or the mechanised machinery that would enable them to produce vast quantities of these materials. Even after the colony became firmly established, the lack of capital continued to stunt the development of roads and the importation of mechanized equipment.

What becomes immediately apparent when comparing pre-1850 buildings with post-1850 buildings is the ratio of brick buildings to 'other materials'. Although only nine pre-1850 buildings were examined, they are representative of the building stock that was present in the colony before the arrival of the convicts, as noted in the buildings discussed in Chapter 4. During this period brick was an uncommon material (with the exception of Perth) particularly in rural areas. Stone was probably the commonest material, followed by rammed earth, timber (generally slabs rather than weatherboards), then wattle and daub. It was not until after the arrival of the convicts that brick became more commonly used around the countryside, although it was still restricted to areas where brick clay could be easily obtained until after the 1890s.

No post 1850 places, which were constructed from wattle and daub, timber or rammed earth, could be identified as having ticket-of-leave men or ex-convicts involved in the construction process. The use of wattle and daub appears to have persisted as a building material into the 1860s, for example 'Cook's Park', Australind and No. 1 Parade Street, Albany (Boersma 1995), but after this period it appears to fall into disuse. Timber was commonly used in house construction throughout the study period and beyond, as was rammed earth. In fact many of the convicts and ticket-of-leave men would have been exposed to rammed earth construction, as some would have assisted in the construction of the convict depot buildings on Greenmount Hill and Red Hill which were both constructed using this medium (MHHS n.d.; Bush et al. 1996). However, the Register did not specifically record this type of building construction and it is highly likely that the use of ticket-of-leave labour in the construction of rammed earth buildings between 1850 and 1880 is probably hidden under the term 'labouring' or possibly 'building'.

The identification of timber buildings was also problematic, as this activity could also have been listed as 'carpentry', making it nearly impossible to distinguish between carpenters working on the joinery required in either a brick or stone building, with a carpenter being employed to erect a timber building. The Register does contain a number of listings where the employer is recorded as hiring several carpenters over a period of time, but it is impossible to distinguish the type of carpentry jobs these men were actually engaged in, let alone identify what buildings they were actually constructing. For example, Joshua Harwood, who ran a building and contracting business in Fremantle (Stirling and Sons, 1853 – 1864; Stirling and Sons, 1865 – 1889), employed sixteen carpenters between 1863 and 1880, together with five masons and three plasterers. The information supplied in these entries indicates the Joshua Harwood was a builder at Fremantle.⁸³ However it is impossible to tell whether any of these carpenters actually assisted in the

⁸³ The first entry for Harwood was in 1862 where he was listed as a builder and auctioneer. After 1873 the entry changes to Harwood & Sons (see Appendix 3).

construction of a timber building. Until further research is completed on Harwood's activities and others like him, information on convict involvement in the construction of timber buildings will have to wait. These complications have also meant that the only construction materials represented in the Group 2 buildings are brick and stone.

One factor that was common to all buildings in Group 1 and 2 was an inadequate foundation. In the case of some buildings it was difficult to determine the presence of a foundation, such as Hall's Cottage, the Homestead at 'Boyadine' and the Manager's House and Gate Entry Block at 'Berkshire Valley'.



Figure 8.3 Hall's Cottage, there was no evidence of a foundation beneath the gravel (F. Bush 15 May 2011)

Those buildings in the study that were constructed from stone had foundations that were either the same width as the wall or slightly wider. The complete collapse of some of the walls in the various buildings at 'Martinup' suggests that the stone foundations at this property were comparatively shallow. However it should also be noted that no attempt was made to dig

down beside the foundation material to determine the depth of the foundations as part of the building inspections that I undertook.



Figure 8.4 Homestead at 'Martinup', note the stone foundation which is little thicker than the brick walls (F. Bush 10 February 2011)

The discussion will firstly compare the various stone buildings in the two groups followed by the brick buildings. Four buildings in the analysis were not constructed from these materials. These buildings were constructed from rammed earth, cob and weatherboards. The two rammed earth buildings and the weatherboard building were in Group 1. The cob building (which also has stone walls) belonged to Group 2. As none of these buildings have comparable opposites it was not possible to compare these buildings across a time frame, but all four buildings provided useful information from the point of view of carpentry techniques that will be discussed in the next section. Therefore the information that they contain will be discussed in that section.

Stone

Table 8.2 shows the name of the building, date of construction, the form (whether single storey or two storey) and the name of the owner. The table is arranged with the Group 1 buildings listed first, followed by the Group 2 buildings. For ease of understanding the table has been divided to clearly show which buildings fall within which group. The table is arranged chronologically.

Group 1 Buildings

Place	Date	Material	Building Form	Owner
Hall's Cottage, Mandurah	c. 1832	Limestone, covered with lime render; lime mortar	Single storey cottage	Henry Hall
Kojanup Barracks	1845	Stone, roughly coursed covered with lime wash	Single storey cottage with loft area	Colonial government
'Berkshire Valley' Mill	c.1847	Mixture of mud brick & stone. Some walls rendered	Rectangular, two storey mill building	James Clinch

Group 2 Buildings

'Walebing' Kitchen Stores	1850s	Stone, roughly coursed, mud mortar	Single storey rectangular farm building	Lefroy Brothers
'Walebing' Bulk Store	1850s	Stone, roughly coursed, mud	Single storey farm building	Lefroy Brothers

		mortar		
'Walebing' Wool Shed, Flour Mill & Store	1850s	Stone, roughly coursed, mud mortar	1½ storey rectangular farm building	Lefroy Brothers
'Walebing' Stables	1850s	Stone, roughly coursed, mud mortar	Single storey farm building	Lefroy Brothers
'Walebing' Cart shed & Dairy	1850s	Stone, roughly coursed, mud mortar	Single storey farm building	Lefroy Brothers
'Martinup' Shearing Shed	1879	Random rubble stone walling; mud mortar	Rectangular farm building 1 ½ storeys	Edward Treasure

Table 8.2 List of the stone buildings, their construction dates, form and owners

Three buildings in Group 1 were constructed from stone: Hall's Cottage, the Kojonup Barracks and the Mill at 'Berkshire Valley' (see Figure 8.5). Hall constructed his small, single storey cottage in c.1839. His indentured servants apparently built the cottage, although the names of these employees are not known (Richards 1978, 57). Soldiers from the 51st Regiment erected the Barracks in 1845. James Clinch, the owner of 'Berkshire Valley' was responsible for the construction of the Mill building. Unlike the other two buildings, the Mill is constructed from a mix of stone and mud brick. All three buildings were constructed using local stone and are now covered with several layers of lime wash. The front and sides of the Mill have been rendered and given a smooth finish, but the rear wall is un-rendered. Due to

a lime render covering, it was impossible to determine the type of mortar used in the Barracks, but it was possible to ascertain that lime mortar was used in Hall's Cottage and mud in the Mill. The stonework in the buildings was sufficiently dressed to enable them to be laid in rough courses, although those in the Barracks (granite) were not provided with a particularly smooth faced finish. The front and side walls of the Mill had been completely hidden beneath a layer of render. The stones in the rear wall have been carefully smoothed on the outer face. The soft limestone used in Hall's Cottage was also given a smooth finish. The openings for the doors and windows in the buildings consist simply of stones placed on top of timber lintels.



Figure 8.5 The three stone buildings in Group 1 (F Bush)

As none of the owners of the Group 2 buildings had ready access to lime to make lime mortar, mud was used instead. An important difference between

the Group 2 buildings and those in Group 1 was that none of the Group 2 buildings had been covered with successive layers of lime or cement renders. This made it much easier to understand the construction methods used in this Group. As most of the Group 1 buildings were covered with either a layer of lime washes or a later cement render, I think that the use of lime wash was fashionable for the pre-1850 era. However in the case of the brick buildings, the lime probably provided a protective coating for the bricks which were somewhat porous due to a low firing temperature.



Figure 8.6 'Martinup' Shearing Shed (A), detail of stonework (B), arch to upper opening (C), lower opening (D). (F. Bush 10 February 2011)

Edward Treasure, a former convict, established his farm 'Martinup', near Gnowangerup in the 1860s. He employed a former convict, Samuel Swift, a bricklayer by trade, to erect buildings on his property. Most of the buildings on Treasure's property are constructed using bricks, however one of the last

buildings that Swift constructed was a two storey Shearing Shed in 1879 in the local granite. The stones were roughly squared, but carefully faced. In addition small stones were also meticulously fitted between the larger stones to assist in creating rough courses (see Figure 8.6b).

The manner in which the openings were handled in this particular building demonstrates that the builder had some knowledge of building construction techniques in comparison with the method used in the Group 1 buildings and the remaining Group 2 stone buildings. The Shearing Shed has window openings to the upper floor and smaller openings low down on the ground floor to allow the sheep to exit (see Figure 8.6a). The round arched openings in the top storey (see Figure 8.6c) were made using a single row of header bricks while the openings on the ground floor (see Figure 8.6d) and the double entry door into the building were made using small stone voussoirs with a distinct keystone (see Appendix 5, 'Martinup', Figure 27).

The Lefroy brothers established their farming property 'Walebing', near Moora in the late 1840s but it was not until the 1850s that they were sufficiently settled to commence the construction of a number of farm buildings. Five buildings from this period have survived and all of them were constructed from the local granite. As at 'Martinup', the buildings' stone walls are held together with mud mortar, although many of the buildings have been re-pointed with cement making it extremely difficult to detect the original mortar. Like 'Martinup' the stones have been roughly squared but carefully faced, but there the similarity ends. The competency of the mason did not appear to stretch to creating arched openings for either the door or window openings. Instead all of the squared openings in the buildings have the stones resting directly on timber lintels with no relieving arch (see Figure 8.7).



Figure 8.7 Two buildings at 'Walebing'. Wool Shed on the left and former Bulk Store on the right. Note the absence of an arch over the door openings. (F. Bush 29 June 2010)

At first glance there appears to be little difference between the two Groups. The stone working techniques displayed in the Group 1 buildings appear to be just as competent as those in the 'Martinup' Shearing Shed where we know a skilled mason was employed. The differences appear to lie with construction technique and the use of the relieving arch over openings. However the use of relieving arches is only found at 'Martinup' and not at 'Walebing'. The lack of arched openings at 'Walebing' may indicate that either a less competent mason was employed on the construction of these buildings, or perhaps the Lefroy brothers were largely responsible for the construction of these buildings and used ticket-of-leave labour to assist them. Either way, what these stone buildings do demonstrate is that a sound knowledge of building methods could easily be absent in both periods.

Brick

The remainder of the buildings in the analysis were all constructed using brick. As in the stone buildings, some of the buildings were constructed using lime mortar and others use mud mortar. Table 8.3 contains similar information that shown in Table 8.2. Once again the two groups are separated to clearly display which place falls within which group.

It was difficult to determine major differences between the Group 1 brick buildings and those in Group 2 mainly because all of the Group 1 buildings had been finished with cement render. This treatment generally made it impossible to clearly see the quality of the bricks, the manner in which they were laid and how the openings were treated. There were three brick buildings in Group 1 and fifteen in Group 2. Group 2 also included a double arched bridge and a brick enclosure wall. Five buildings in Group 2 had also been finished with cement render and the presence of render on a post 1850 building will be discussed in more detail below.

Group 1 Buildings

Place	Date	Material	Building Form	Owner
Tranby House	1839	Rendered brick; mud mortar	Single storey cottage; 1 room deep	Joseph Hardey
'Yangedine' First Homestead	c.1842	Rendered brick; mud mortar	Single storey cottage; 1 room deep	
'Berkshire Valley' Original Homestead	c. 1847	Rendered brick; mud mortar	Single storey cottage; 1 room deep	James Clinch

Group 2 Buildings

'Berkshire Valley' Manager's House	1856	Flemish bond brickwork; lime mortar	Single storey cottage, 1 room deep	James Clinch
'Martinup' Men's Quarters	c.1860	English bond brickwork; rendered; mud mortar	1 roomed cottage	Edward Treasure
'Martinup' Wool Barn	1863	English bond brickwork; rendered; mud mortar	1 roomed farm building	Edward Treasure

'Martinup' Homestead	1860s	Flemish bond brickwork; rendered; mud mortar	Single storey cottage; 1 room deep	Edward Treasure
'Martinup' Blacksmiths	1860s	Garden wall bond brickwork; rendered; mud mortar	1 roomed farm building	Edward Treasure
'Martinup' Meat Room	1860s	Garden wall bond brickwork; rendered; mud mortar	1 roomed farm building	Edward Treasure
'Yangedine' Shearing Shed	1865	Flemish bond brickwork; lime mortar	Three storey Mill building (now only 1 storey high)	John Taylor
'Yangedine' Quarters	1860s	Garden wall bond brickwork; lime mortar	1 roomed cottage	John Taylor
'Berkshire Valley' Gate House Entry Block	1867	Flemish bond brickwork; lime mortar	Long rectangular, single storey farm building	James Clinch
'Berkshire Valley' Stables	1867	Front wall: cob with mud brick above, random rubble stone to rear & side walls	Two storey rectangular farm building	James Clinch
'Berkshire Valley' Shearing Shed	1869	English bond brickwork; lime mortar	1½ storey rectangular farm building	James Clinch
'Berkshire Valley' Bridge	1869	Garden wall bond brickwork; lime mortar	Double arched bridge	James Clinch
'Berkshire Valley' Brick walls	1860s	Garden wall bond brickwork; lime	Brick wall to east of	James Clinch

		mortar	homestead	
'Glentromie' Shearing Shed	1870s	Flemish bond brickwork, lime mortar	Two storey farm building	Donald MacPherson
'Glentromie' Stables	1870s	Flemish bond brickwork, lime mortar	Two storey rectangular farm building	Donald MacPherson
'Glentromie' Barn	1870s	English bond brickwork, lime mortar	Single storey farm building	Donald MacPherson
'Glentromie' Henry's House	1870s	Flemish bond brickwork, lime mortar	Single storey cottage	Donald MacPherson
'Yangedine' Stables	1876	Flemish bond brickwork; lime mortar	Two storey rectangular farm building	John Taylor
'Yangedine' Blacksmith's Shop	1870s	Garden wall bond brickwork; lime mortar	Single storey shed	John Taylor

Table 8.3 Table listing brick buildings, their construction dates, form and owners

Despite the render coatings it was possible to determine the type of mortar used in the construction and in some instances, due to missing sections of render, the quality of the bricks. However, this last observation was often based on such a small section of walling that, with the exception of the buildings at 'Martinup' (Group 2), statements concerning brick quality for Group 1 buildings should be viewed with caution at present until a larger sample of pre-1850 buildings can be assessed. What was observed was that in general those buildings that had been given a rendered coating (in both Groups) had been constructed with bricks that had undergone a slightly cooler or shorter period of firing as they were not particularly well fired. This was probably the reason why the builders had decided to provide watertightness by the application of a rendered coating, although this coating

would originally have been several coatings of lime rather than the current cement renders.

All of the brick buildings at 'Martinup' were constructed from soft-fired bricks and all the brick buildings on this property were rendered (see Appendix 5 'Martinup' for photographs of the buildings on this property). However, due to the collapsed state of two of the buildings it was possible to examine the construction techniques in the Homestead and the Men's Quarters (see Figure 8.8). Despite their softness, the bricks were well made and laid, but it is highly likely that shallow foundations led to the collapse of some of the walls in the Homestead and one wall in the Men's Quarters.



Figure 8.8 Buildings at 'Martinup'. Collapsed wall in the Men's Quarters on the left and the end wall on the Homestead on the right (F. Bush 10 February 2011)

All three of the Group 1 buildings had been built using mud mortar, as had the five buildings at 'Martinup'. The other, un-rendered buildings in Group 2 had been constructed from harder fired bricks that were held together with lime mortar. In addition to this, an attempt was made with some of the Group 2 buildings to utilise the colour variation that naturally occurred during firing: lighter colours on the sides (stretcher) and darker coloured ends (header), to create a pleasing pattern of light and dark in the brickwork. The obvious utilisation of this colour variation was particularly noticeable in most of the buildings at 'Glentromie', a property near New Norcia established by Donald MacPherson in c.1853 (see the two buildings in Figure 8.9).



Figure 8.9 Shearing Shed on the left and Stables on the right at 'Glentromie' (F. Bush 16 March 2010)

In two of the four buildings on this property, the Stables and the Shearing Shed, it is obvious that the bricklayer took advantage of the differences between the two sides of the bricks, to create a pleasing checkerboard pattern in the brickwork. The exteriors of these two storey buildings have been constructed using Flemish bond (English bond is used in the interior). The clever use of light and dark was even used in the brick arches for the door and window openings, featuring alternating light and dark headers and stretchers (see Figure 8.10).



Figure 8.10 Brick relieving arches on the Stables at 'Glentromie' (F. Bush 16 March 2010)

The competency of both the brickmaker and bricklayer in these buildings becomes immediately evident when the interior brickwork is compared with the exterior brickwork (see Appendix 5, 'Glentromie', Figures 14 and 25). The interior is far less polished with no attempt made to produce a pattern with the light and dark bricks. Instead the bricklayer's and the brickmaker's skill was saved for the exterior. The exact date of construction for the Stables and the Shearing Shed is not known, although MacPherson hired ticket-of-leave man William Butler in 1869 to do bricklaying and then in 1870 he hired another ticket-of-leave man, Henry Bolton to make bricks. Both men could have been responsible for these two buildings as the bricks indicate different firings (there is a slight difference in colouring between the bricks in the ground floors and those in the first floors) and the buildings themselves suggest a staged construction (see Appendix 5, 'Glentromie', Figures 11 and 13). The two other buildings on the property, the Barn and Henry's Cottage are both competently constructed with well fired bricks but they do not display the delightful play of light and dark colours. Instead the darker coloured headers are spread fairly evenly across the wall faces (see Figure 8.11).



Figure 8.11 The south wall of Henry's Cottage at 'Glentromie' (F. Bush 16 March 2010)

The Group 2 brick buildings at ‘Yangedine’ and ‘Berkshire Valley’ and also Bishop Hale’s House are very competently executed, but unlike those at ‘Glentromie’ no real attempt was made to take advantage of the light and dark colours of the bricks. Instead, the brickmaker’s and bricklayer’s art is used in a slightly different fashion at ‘Yangedine’ and ‘Berkshire Valley’. At ‘Yangedine’ the two storey Stables feature specially made bricks with a circular hollow core that are laid in a diamond pattern in the two gable end walls (see Figure 8.12a). In addition, a single line of these bricks runs mid-way along the upper storey, on both long sides (see Figure 8.12b). These bricks were obviously specially made to provide extra ventilation for the building.

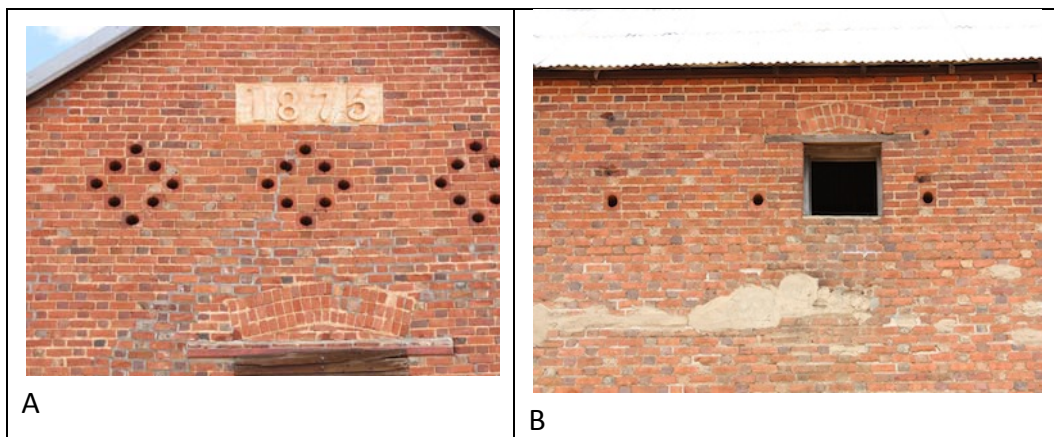


Figure 8.12 Hollow core bricks at the gable end of the Stables (B) and on the same bricks that run along both long sides of the building in the first storey (F. Bush 19 December 2010)

In the former three storey Mill Building⁸⁴ (now called the Shearing Shed), the expertise of the bricklayer is now limited to a row of angled bricks that lie above the line of the ground storey creating a saw toothed pattern in the façade (Figure 8. 13).

⁸⁴ Originally 3 storeys high, the Mill building was reduced to two storeys and it is now a single storey building. For further information see Appendix 5 ‘Yandgedine’.



Figure 8.13 Detail of saw-tooth pattern above the line of the verandah roof of the Shearing Shed (F. Bush 19 December 2010)

An examination of an old photograph taken in 1900⁸⁵ when the Mill was still intact shows the sawtooth line running around the top of the first floor. It is not known if the pattern was also used around the top of the second storey as it is hidden beneath the shadow of the roof eaves. Discussions about the former Mill building with the current owner indicated that the third floor walls were two bricks thick, the second floor walls were three bricks thick and the ground floor walls are four bricks thick demonstrating that the builder was knowledgeable about construction methods. It is not known when the third storey was removed, but the second storey had to be removed in 1979 following earthquake damage. Since that time the building has continued to deteriorate further due to its unfortunate proximity to a nearby stream that has undermined the foundations.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ This photograph was given to the HCWA by the historian who compiled the heritage assessment of 'Yangedine' (HCWA 2008). Unfortunately I was unable to find the original as the photograph had been incorrectly referenced.

⁸⁶ Information supplied by the current owner, Duncan Young to F. Bush, 19 December 2010.

At 'Berkshire Valley', near Moora, the saw-toothed feature also appears in the large two storey Shearing Shed (1869). This Group 2 building, constructed in English bond is a long rectangular structure with arched double doorways in the four walls and with additional smaller arched doorways in the eastern wall (see the images in Figure 8.14 and 8.15). The main entrance appears to be at the northern end (one of the short sides), see Figure 8.14a, as this and the long eastern wall feature a pattern of saw-toothed bricks just below the top plate (see Figure 8.15a) together with engaged piers on either side of the double openings. The piers continue above the line of the arches to form plain capitals with a single course of bevel edged bricks. Similar piers are also used in the south entry (see Figure 8.15b), but they continue up to the top plate without capitals. The north wall appears to be the main entry as greater attention to detail has been given to this wall, such as alternating bands of light and dark bricks in the header rows. In addition, the date of the building's construction (1869) is recorded in a cement rendered plaque at the top of the brick arch. Interestingly above the arched doorway in the south entry, which appears to have been of secondary importance to the north entry, a cement plaque bearing a sheep's head has been placed at the top of the brick arch (see Figure 8.15b).



Figure 8.14 Shearing Shed at 'Berkshire Valley', A is northern end, B is the entry in the east wall (F. Bush 11 August 2010)



Figure 8.15 Shearing Shed at 'Berkshire Valley', C shows a detail of the saw-tooth brickwork above the eastern doorway, D is the southern end (F. Bush 11 August 2010)

A more sophisticated use of light and dark coloured bricks is evident in the rather grand Gate House and Entry Block at 'Berkshire Valley' that was completed two years earlier than the Shearing Shed. As at 'Glentromie', the exterior walls were carefully finished in Flemish bond and the dark coloured headers were used to good effect to produce a checkerboard pattern (see Figure 8.16). The effect is unfortunately lost on the outer side of the Gate House as a large portion of this wall has been covered with cement render in an attempt to cover the damage caused by rising damp (see Appendix 5, 'Berkshire Valley', Figure 22). A similar rendered coating has also been applied to the bricks on the courtyard side.



Figure 8.16 Southern side of Gate House (F. Bush 11 August 2010)

Most of the buildings constructed after 1860 by James Clinch at 'Berkshire Valley' were of brick construction. Unfortunately only one ticket-of-leave brickmaker was recorded as working for Clinch, Henry Bolton in 1872. Given

that the Shearing Shed was apparently constructed in 1869, Bolton may have been employed to construct some of the brick walls that enclose a large area that contains the two homesteads. All of the other brick buildings, including the double arched Brick Bridge on the property, were constructed in the 1860s. At this stage, the brickmaker and layer responsible for the fine buildings at 'Berkshire Valley' remains unknown.



Figure 8.17 Bishop Hale's House (F. Bush 22 March 2010)

One large residential building was included in Group 2, Bishop Hale's House in St. George's Terrace, Perth (see Figure 8.17). This large, two-storey building was completed in 1860 and during the construction of the house Hale employed a ticket-of-leave mason, Joseph Brooks. Although Brooks is the only ticket-of-leave man listed as being employed by Hale at this time, it seems highly probable that Brooks worked as an assistant rather than as the main bricklayer as the scale of the house suggests that more than one bricklayer would have been employed. As Brooks is the only ticket-of-leave man listed in the Register the other bricklayer (or bricklayers) were either free or expirees. Bishop Hale's House is located on a sloping block creating a large cellar area and ancillary rooms at the rear. This also serves as the foundation for the building. At the same time that he was building his house, Hale also commissioned the construction of The Cloisters in 1858 (a private school for boys, see Figure 7.7). However, unlike The Cloisters, which features dark and

light coloured bricks that have been laid to create cross patterns in the brickwork, Bishop Hale's House is comparatively plain. The house is constructed in English bond and the colour variations in the orange bricks are spread in an ad hoc manner across the building. Nonetheless, the bricks are well made and laid (for additional pictures see Bishop Hale's House in Appendix 5).

Conclusions

The comparison of the Group 1 and Group 2 buildings determined that construction techniques changed very little during this period. Both the stone and brick buildings displayed similar techniques and faults, such as the poor use or a lack of understanding of how to lay an adequate foundation and the careful finish to the stone faces. It could be said that soft-fired bricks were a feature of the Group 1 buildings, due possibly to inexperienced brickmakers until one examines the bricks used in the buildings at 'Martinup'. It is difficult to explain why the bricks at 'Martinup' are of a softer-fired variety than those used elsewhere in the colony at this time. Perhaps Swift was not particularly experienced in the manufacture of bricks, or what we are seeing here is the work of a newly trained brickmaker, producing bricks on his own, whereas at the other properties we are seeing more experienced brickmakers working in conjunction with novices.

What does stand out in this comparison is the spread of brick through the countryside. In the south-west of Western Australia fewer stone buildings like those at 'Walebing' were being constructed after 1850. It should however be noted that in areas where brick clay was difficult to find, such as at Toodyay and on the coast, stone remained the dominant material. What is also apparent is that competently made and laid bricks enabled the construction of quite distinctive buildings such as those constructed at 'Berkshire Valley', 'Glentromie' and 'Yangedine'. All of these places used the brickmakers art to good effect. This concept will be discussed more fully in section 8.4.

8.3 Carpentry Techniques

Many of the buildings examined have undergone little change, while others have been extensively up-graded at some time in their lives. In general these changes were most often applied to the interior of the building and commonly to the joinery. However these changes did not appear to extend to the original window and doorframes, although the later addition of architraves often made it difficult to see how the original frames were constructed. Therefore the manner in which these frames were put together was a good marker for possible changes in carpentry techniques.

I also considered that the method used to cut the timbers might be an indicator of age. In general during the 1830s, timber planks and beams would have been sawn into planks by two men on a pit-saw. The pit-saw produced quite distinctive, vertical marks that are readily recognisable. However, it should be noted that a sawmill was opened at Guildford in April 1844 and this used a circular saw (*Inquirer* 3 April 1844). This mill was established to assist the colony to export native timbers to England, but it is likely the operators anticipated that the cut timber would benefit settlers. Although one saw mill does not mean that everyone had ready access to milled products it does mean that the presence of a piece of timber bearing circular saw marks in an 1860s or 1870s building does not necessarily mean that these pieces are modern replacements. Knowing this, the various joinery pieces were examined to see if it was possible to determine how they had been cut. In most instances weathering made it difficult to see how the timber had originally been processed. Where it was possible to view the cutting technique it was found that pit-sawn timbers were common to both groups. The continued use of the pit-saw indicates that the use of a mechanized saw was uncommon in rural areas (where most of the properties in the analysis were located) and that most likely timber was cut and reduced on site.

Overall, the analysis of the Group 1 and Group 2 buildings found that the manner in which the door and window frames were put together did not change. In both periods these particular frames were generally put together using mortise and tenon joints with additional security provided by a wooden dowel (see Figure 8.18a). Some butt joints (see Figure 8.18b) were also used, but again this type of joint was common to both groups.



Figure 8.18 The image on the left shows a mortise and tenon joint secured with a wooden dowel (Gwambygine c.1836). The image on the right (Shearing Shed at ‘Glentromie’ 1870s) shows a butt joint (F. Bush)

St Nicholas Church, a timber framed building covered with weatherboards, was constructed in c.1844 and butt joints were used for both the door and window frames. Similar butt joints were also used for the door and window frames in the Worker’s Quarters (1860s) at ‘Yangedine’ and also for the door and window frames in the Shearing Shed and Stables (1870s) at ‘Glentromie’. Although the use of the butt joint was not common to Group 1 and Group 2, its employment was not just restricted to small or unimportant buildings. This is demonstrated in its use in the buildings at ‘Glentromie’.

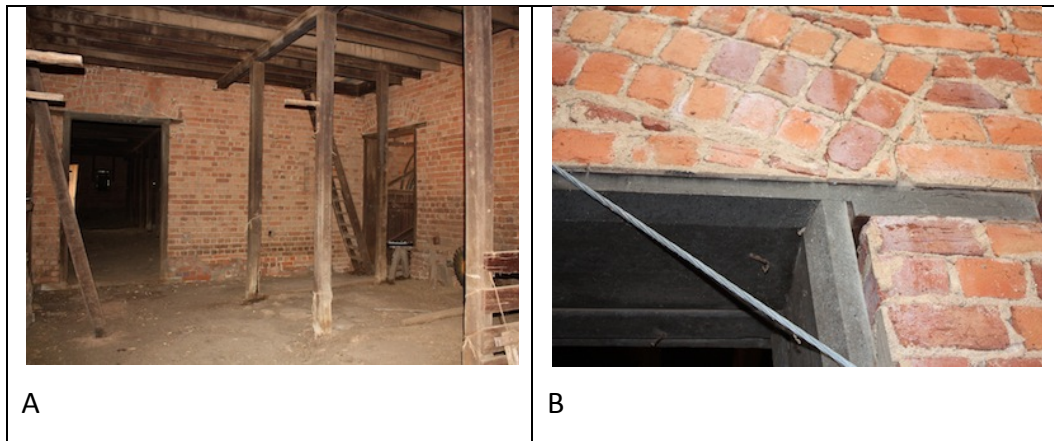


Figure 8.19 Stop chamfered posts in the Stables at 'Glentromie on left and stop-chamfered door frame in the Shearing Shed on the right (F. Bush 16 March 2010)

Here the carpentry was of a high quality, with stop-chamfered posts to the horse stalls in the Stables (see Figure 8.19a) and in the Shearing Shed (see Figure 8.19b) and the innovative design and careful execution of the louvered windows in the Stables (see Figure 8.20, see following page). In addition, the doors leading from the shearing floor to the skillion roofed area at the rear of the Shearing Shed had been finished with a bevelled edge. None of the other doors in this building had been given this type of careful detailing. Perhaps the bevelled edge ensured that the sheep did not catch themselves on the doorframe.



Figure 8.20 Louvered window in the Stables at 'Glentromie'. The central post has timber dowels that fit between timber slats that open when the post is turned (F. Bush 16 March 2010)

Another feature that was noted was the use of an additional flat timber batten, with a rounded outer edge, to some of the doorframes. These pieces were joined at the top of the frames with a mitred joint. The overall effect of this treatment gave the impression of a decorative bead around the edge of the doorframe (see Figure 8.21a & b). This feature was noted at Hall's Cottage (c.1832), the original Homestead at 'Yangedine' (c.1842), the interior doors at Kojonup Barracks (1845), and all the doorframes for the three rooms in the Gate House and Entry Block at 'Berkshire Valley' (1867). So the technique was spread across both Groups.

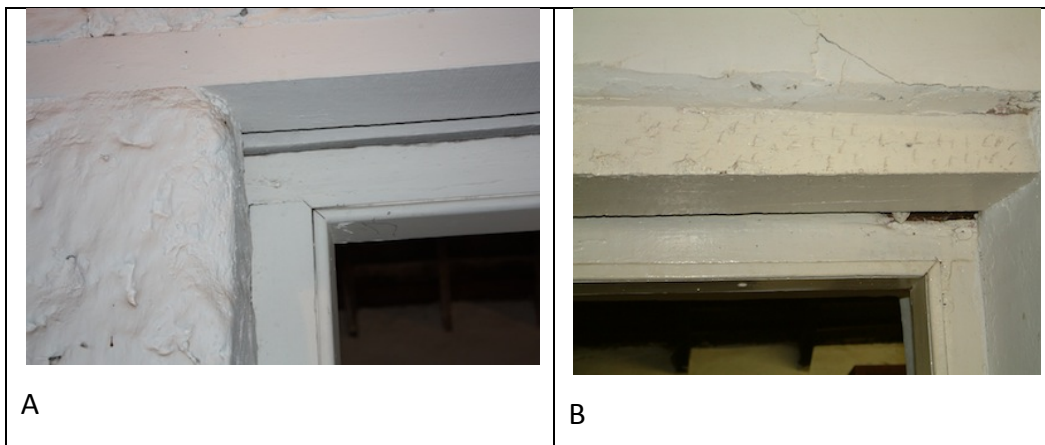


Figure 8.21 Kojonup Barracks on the left, Hall's Cottage on the right (F. Bush)

There did not appear to be a standard window frame for either group, although centrally hinged windows were only found in the Kojanup Barracks (1845). However it should be noted that the joinery at 'Boyadine' (c.1843), and the original Homestead at 'Berkshire Valley' (c.1847) are not original and considerably post-date construction (see Appendix 5), therefore it is possible that the original windows may have been of a different style. Double-hung sash windows, casements and French doors were spread across both groups. Difficulties in determining whether timber mantle pieces were original to the construction period or slightly later were also encountered and I therefore decided not to include this particular feature in the analysis.

The place with the most outstanding examples of colonial joinery is Bishop Hale's House. This building featured French doors to most of the rooms on the ground floor, together with a few double hung sash windows to the first floor and cellar rooms. In the interior, the French doors were fitted with timber shutters that could be folded back and concealed as part of the panelled framing around the deep door recess (see Figure 8.22). All of the joinery in this building demonstrated the presence of a competent carpenter and joiner.



Figure 8.22 Timber shutters cover the interior side of the French doors in Bishop Hale's House (F. Bush 22 March 2010)

Unfortunately none of the names of the carpenters employed in the construction of the Group 1 buildings are known. The names of some of the ticket-of-leave carpenters involved in the Group 2 buildings are known, although it should be re-iterated that as these names were drawn from the Register the names of men with a conditional pardon or ex-convicts or free men are not known. This lack of information becomes obvious when one considers that Donald MacPherson at 'Glentromie' employed only one ticket-of-leave carpenter, Patrick Byrne in 1873 and 1874 to assist in the construction of all the buildings on his property (see previous discussion on brick in Section 8.2 and also Appendix 5). Therefore MacPherson must have employed other carpenters as the Stables, which displays the remnants of carefully crafted stalls (at least 18), and louvered windows would have required the use of a carpenter (or carpenters) for several months. Unfortunately the identity of this single carpenter (or carpenters) is not known. The same argument can be made for Bishop Hale's House. As discussed above, the joinery in Bishop Hale's House points to a skilled carpenter. This level of carpentry would have been beyond the skills of a man who had only recently learnt this trade so Hale obviously employed either an ex-convict who had been a carpenter before being sentenced or a free carpenter. Only one ticket-of-leave carpenter was listed as being employed by Hale, John Mitchell. According to the Register he was employed by Hale for only the month of July in 1858, insufficient time to complete all the joinery in the house (see Appendix 2).

In complete contrast was John Taylor at 'Yangedine', who despite erecting a number of buildings during the 1860s did not employ any ticket-of-leave carpenters. Nor did his two brickmakers John McCarthy and Henry Duckham. Henry Lefroy who did not list any masons during the 1850s at 'Walebing', did employ one ticket-of-leave carpenter, Edward Fawcett in 1852 and then during the 1870s, three ticket-of-leave carpenters: John Coggill (1872), Patrick Byrne (1875) and William Hawkins (July 1877). James Clinch also employed three ticket-of-leave carpenters: John Coggill (1872), Patrick Byrne (1875) and John McAllen (June 1879 – December 1879). So it has to be assumed that

ticket-of-leave carpenters were not the only men employed in carpentry tasks at these properties, other carpenters must also have been present but at this stage information about who these men might have been has not been found.

As stated at the beginning of this section very few differences could be found between the carpentry techniques used in the Group 1 and Group 2 buildings. This lack of change indicates that the techniques taught to carpenters' apprentices had not changed markedly between 1829 and 1880. In addition, few differences could be found in the competency of the work. Butt joints, although perhaps a simpler method of joining two pieces of wood together, were found across the entire period under study and the use of butt joints, together with the bevelled edges in the door frames at the Shearing Shed at 'Glentromie' (1870s) (see Figures 8.17b & 8.18b) indicates a skilled carpenter. So the use of butt joints in this particular instance cannot simply be assumed to represent a carpenter with only rudimentary skills, as the doorways were competently finished. A conscious choice was made to use the butt joint, which perhaps indicates that this particular carpenter preferred this joint or considered its usage appropriate for that particular job.

8.4 Building Design and Form

The original intention of the study had been to compare pre-1850 houses (or homesteads) with post-1850 houses as it was thought that this might provide interesting information on the way building plans changed over this period. However, as stated in Chapter 1, the difficulty of identifying buildings that had been constructed by ticket-of-leave men led to a short list of buildings, only one of which was a house. Although it is not possible to compare like with like, the buildings still have the potential to provide information about the owners. This section will discuss the design and form of the buildings, together with the owners' social background and provide commentary on what the buildings can tell us about the owners and the period in which they were constructed.

As discussed in Chapter 4, after their arrival, the settlers constructed a fairly small, single storey cottage, occasionally with attic accommodation. The plan was commonly one room deep with two or three rooms arranged in a row. For the purposes of this study this form of building has been called a Stage 1 type. All of these buildings would have looked quite at home in the British countryside. However this appearance changed once the settlers began, after only a short period of time, to add verandahs to their buildings. This demonstrated that the colonists had begun to move away from a building form that was common to Britain to one that was more suitable to the Western Australian environment.

Generally it was not until after 1850 that settlers expanded their first cottages by adding rooms to the rear or a new wing. Often a completely new house would be constructed that might be two rooms deep or perhaps even two storeys high. All of them had verandahs. I refer to this type of building as Stage 2. It represents the sort of dwelling constructed by settlers who could afford to expand their original house as their farms had become sufficiently viable to support this kind of expenditure. This outlay was not only limited to the construction of a larger house but also the construction of outbuildings on farms.

Quite by chance, settlers who came from Britain's upper classes were responsible for the construction of all of the buildings in Group 1. As members of these classes it can be assumed that they were well educated and knowledgeable about current building trends in Britain at the time of their migration. Most had decided to emigrate as they hoped to improve their financial status and living conditions in a country that could provide them with opportunities (such as land), which were unavailable to them at home. The upper classes were accustomed to living in residences that had a suite of reception rooms, bedrooms, kitchen and accommodation for servants. Thus they no doubt anticipated that once they had become settled they would construct a dwelling that was similar in size and scale to that which they had

either had at home or to which they had aspired. The Stage 1 form would therefore have been seen as temporary accommodation that could be passed on to servants once a larger house had been constructed. For many of the settlers, the length of time between the construction of the Stage 1 house and then a Stage 2 house probably took far longer than they had anticipated; for some it never actually arrived.

Most of the settlers who constructed the Group 1 houses brought servants with them who would later acquire their own land. The fate of these indentured servants, which was discussed in Chapter 4, also needs to be considered. Some became destitute, but many others found that they were able to acquire land either through a system of bartering with their masters' (they were given a portion of land in return for assisting with the location duties) or those who worked as shepherds took a portion of the new lambs as payment and acquired their own flocks. Once they had a flock they could apply to lease land. James Clinch and Donald MacPherson are two excellent examples of this type of success. This was how many servants became landowners in the early years of colonial settlement. The buildings in Group 2 included properties owned by former servants as well as those owned by members of the upper class.

All of the buildings in Group 1 are either a Stage 1 or they form the original core of what later became a Stage 2. The three buildings that moved into the Stage 2 category are: 'Gwambygine', 'Boyadine' and the original Homestead at 'Yangedine'.⁸⁷ All three buildings were enlarged after the 1850s and were owned by a member of the upper class. 'Gwambygine' began as a three-roomed 'L' shaped building that had rooms added on to one side plus an additional wing that resulted in a 'U' shaped building (see Figure 8.23).

⁸⁷ 'Gwambygine' and 'Boyadine' were not included in the discussion for Group 2 buildings as no evidence could be found that linked ticket-of-leave men with the extensions made to these buildings. The study was specifically interested in assessing buildings where these men were known to have participated in the construction.

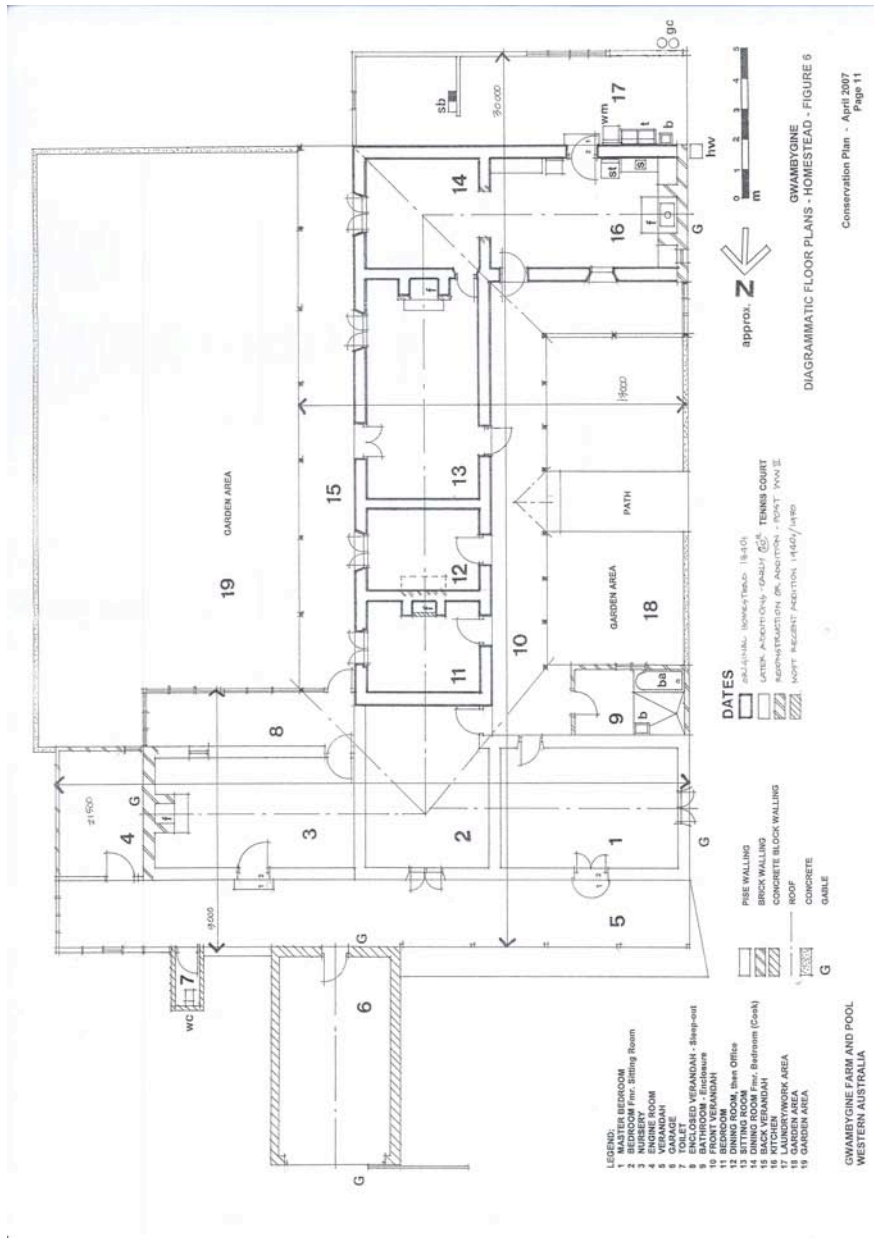


Figure 8.23 Plan of 'Gwambygne' from Bodycoat 2007. The dark line represents the 1830s section (reproduced with permission of Ronald Bodycoat)

'Boyadine' which probably began as a two-roomed cottage was later extended through the addition of rooms across the rear (see Figure 8.24).

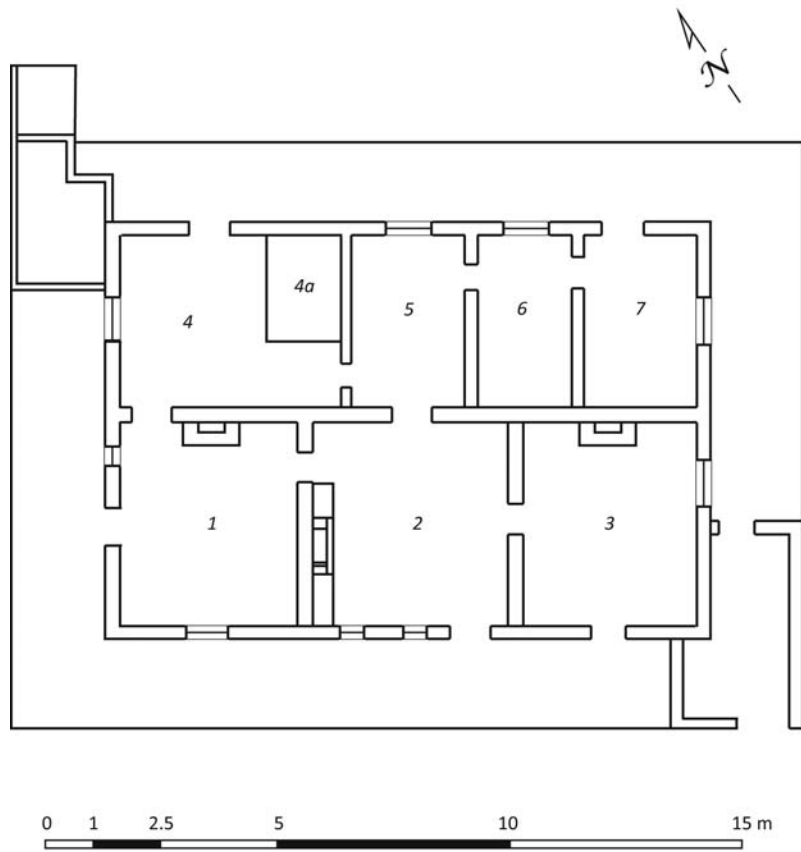


Figure 8.24 Plan of 'Boyadine' (F. Bush)

The Homestead at 'Yangedine' appears to have had additional rooms added at the rear and also on to one end to form an 'L' shaped building (see Figure 8.25).

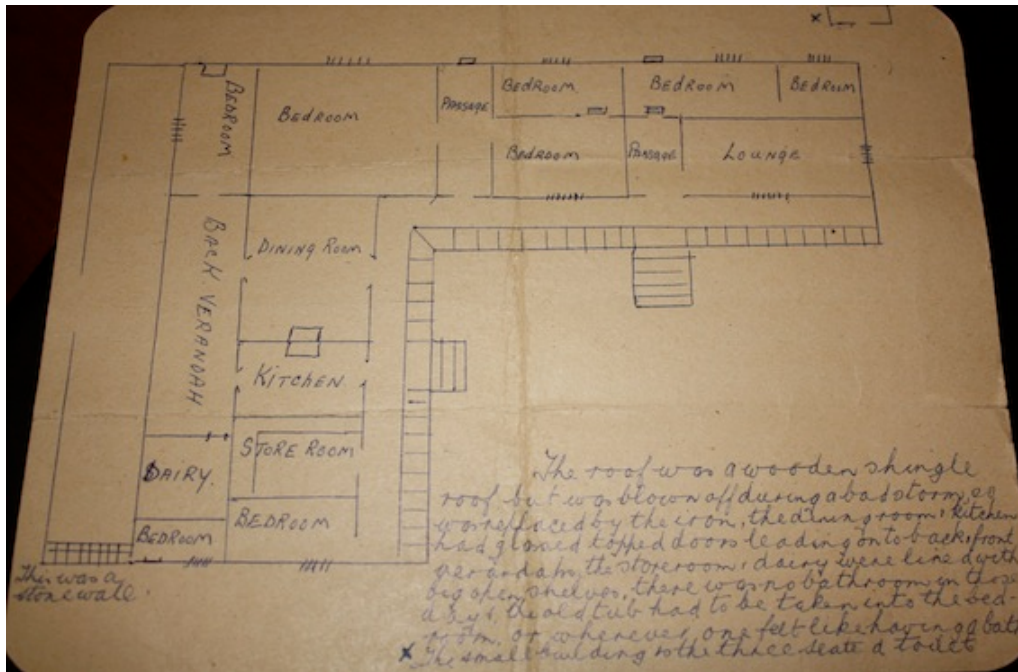


Figure 8.25 Plan of 'Yangedine' Homestead drawn by former resident (reproduced with permission of Duncan Young)

Of these three buildings, only 'Gwambygine' remained in the hands of the family who constructed the Stage 1 building. In the case of both 'Boyadine', and 'Yangedine' the properties were initially leased by the original owners and then purchased by settlers who had arrived in the colony as indentured servants. However, all three buildings are similar in design and form, despite the fact that 'Gwambygine' continued to be owned by an upper class family. One interpretation of this similarity could be the fact that although 'Gwambygine' continued to be owned by the Wittenoom family, a manager was placed in charge of the property after 1861. Therefore the Wittenooms no longer considered the property as their primary place of residence, but as a source of income for the members of the family who lived and worked in Perth (Statham Drew 2010). Additions or improvements to the house would have become a secondary consideration for the Wittenoom family and probably reflected the needs of the various managers rather than the Wittenooms.

All of the Stage 1 buildings have a very simple form and design and provide no indication that members of Britain's upper classes were responsible for their construction. In Britain these buildings would have been considered suitable for perhaps a tenant farmer or a labourer.

The same could possibly be said of the Stage 2 residences, with the exception of Bishop Hale's House (see Figure 8.28). The residences at 'Martinup' and 'Berkshire Valley' have a fairly simple plan: single storey buildings with verandahs at front and back (see Figures 8.26 & 8.27 and Appendix 5, 'Martinup', Figure 1 and 'Berkshire Valley', Figure 10). They are also located on a working farm in comparison to Hale's house, which is a city residence.

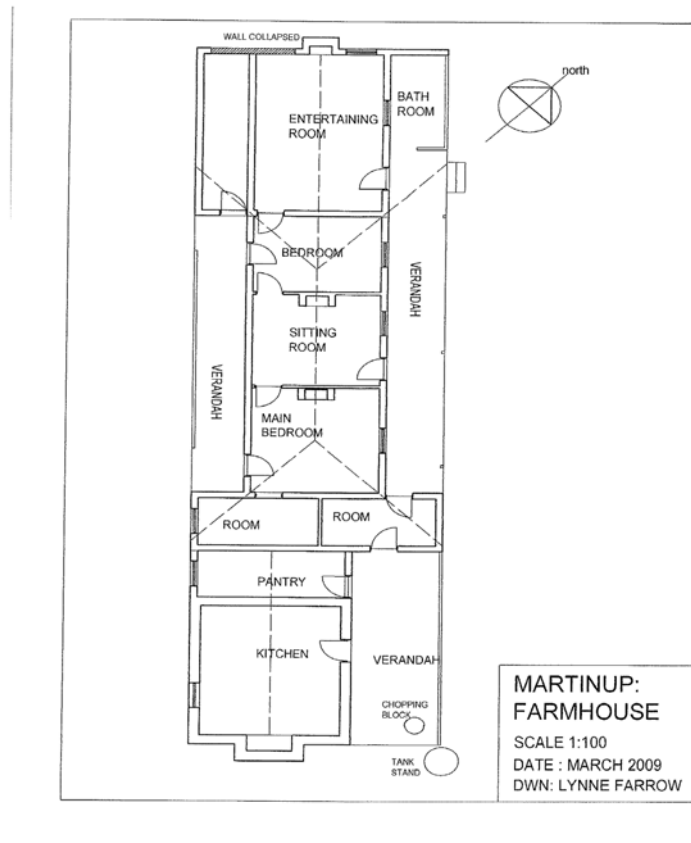
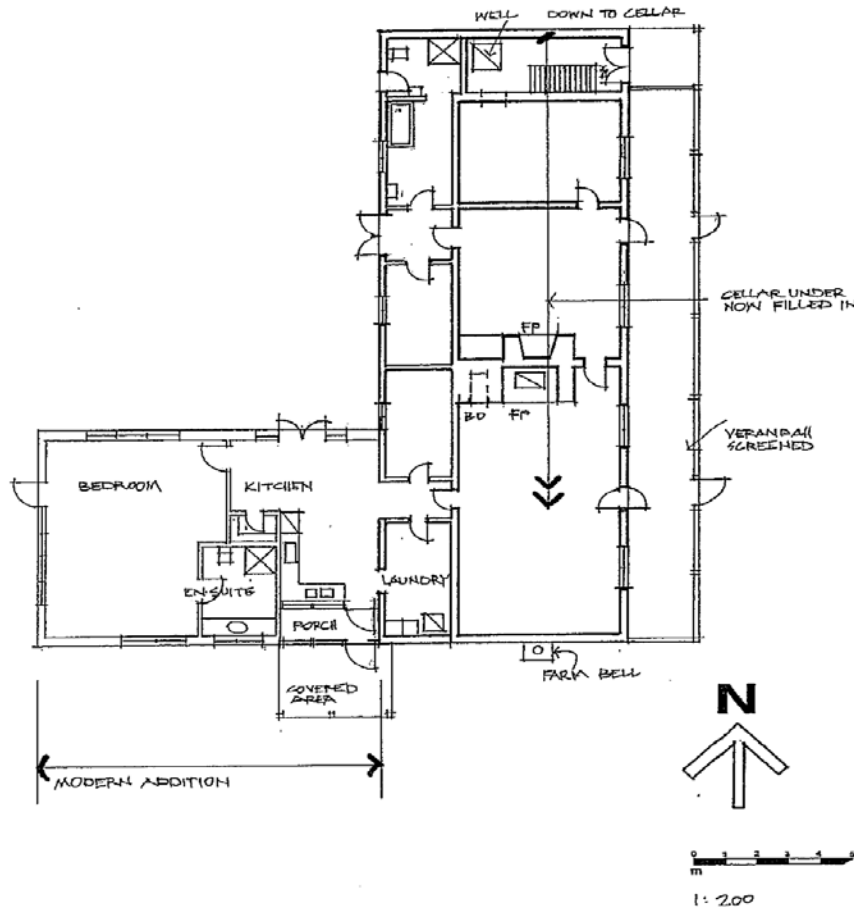


Figure 8.26 Plan of 'Martinup' Homestead from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of the Office of Heritage)



N. Manager's Cottage

Figure 8.27 Plan of Manager's House. The original section of the building is the wing on the right. From HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of the Office of Heritage).

Bishop Hale's house is a two-storey dwelling with a fairly complex plan. It has a formal entry, reception rooms downstairs, one of which had a bay window, and bedrooms upstairs. Utilities rooms and servant accommodation were provided in the lower ground floor area and there was also a cellar. When Hale constructed his house he had recently been appointed Bishop of Perth so his large house reflected his status and the position he had to uphold in Western Australian colonial society. However, the house was not a copy of an English town or country house. It was designed for the Western Australian environment, as a verandah encircles the whole of the ground floor. Hale, despite his upper class notions, was obviously aware of the best design for a

house in Western Australia and, in common with so many other houses built at this time (two storey residences with ground floor verandahs), his house conformed with colonial standards.

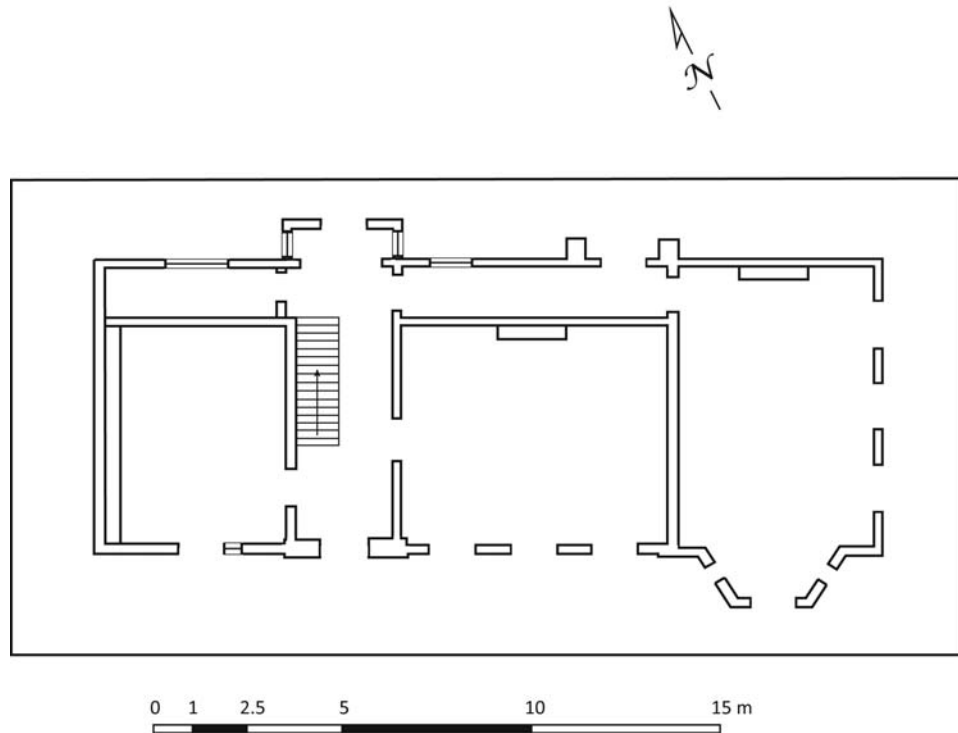


Figure 8.28 Ground floor plan of Bishop Hale's House (F. Bush)

Although there are no Group 2 homesteads that can be compared and discussed against the farm buildings, the differences between the suite of buildings on the various farming properties provides fascinating insights into how social image was projected in buildings in colonial Western Australia. 'Berkshire Valley', 'Glentromie', 'Yangedine', and 'Martinup' were all owned and developed by men who had arrived in the colony as servants, or in the case of Edward Treasure at 'Martinup', as a convict. The exception in the Group 2 farming properties is 'Walebing', which was developed by the Lefroy brothers (Anthony O'Grady and Gerald de Courcy) who came from an upper class Irish family. Despite their good social connections, they arrived in the colony in 1843 without servants and only some farming equipment and money to establish themselves. They had no previous farming experience, so

they underwent an ‘apprenticeship’ with one of the earlier farmers in the Avon Valley, before setting out on their own (Buchanan, 2008). They built their first cottage on ‘Walebing’ themselves and Gerald also built himself a larger house (the Cottage). It took him two years of labour, which he did mostly himself, but with some assistance from skilled mechanics (see Appendix 5, ‘Walebing’). The other buildings at ‘Walebing’, such as the Kitchen and Store, Bulk Store and Quarters⁸⁸, Stables, Wool Shed and Mill Building, Cart Shed and Dairy were erected with assistance from either skilled mechanics or quite possibly their regular farmhands.

Despite the Lefroys’ education and up-bringing, all of the buildings at ‘Walebing’ are simple, utilitarian buildings with no external decorative features. It is possible that the reasons for this simplicity are that Anthony Lefroy appointed managers to oversee the property (after his brother Gerald left the colony) and so felt no need to make any grand statements for his employees, such as discussed earlier with ‘Gwambygine’. All of the farm buildings at ‘Walebing’ were located some distance to the rear of the Gerald’s Cottage and this distance was further reinforced when a much larger homestead was constructed closer to the main road (in front of the first Homestead) in 1880. The construction of the new homestead heralded the return of a Lefroy to the management of the property, Henry Bruce Lefroy. Visitors to the farm would only see the extensive outbuildings if they were invited on a tour or their business took them to these buildings. None of the other farming properties have been laid out in this fashion. The outbuildings can either be easily seen from the homestead (as was the case at ‘Martinup’ and ‘Yangedine’), or visitors drove past some of the outbuildings on their way to the homestead.

The buildings erected at ‘Berkshire Valley’, ‘Glentromie’ and ‘Yangedine’ are completely different to those of ‘Walebing’, and as mentioned above, the

⁸⁸ All that remains of this building is the Bulk Store; hence it is referred to in Figure 6.) as ‘Bulk Store’.

location of the outbuildings at 'Walebing' is also different. The actual forms of the buildings are the same as those at 'Walebing' but the scale and style differs, in that they are larger and more elaborate. This is particularly noticeable at 'Glentromie'. Donald MacPherson and his brother Duncan were Scottish shepherds. During the 1840s it was quite common for a shepherd to retain a portion of the new lambs as payment and in this way the brothers were able to build up quite a large flock and eventually established their own properties. Donald MacPherson acquired the land around 'Glentromie' in the early 1850s and with assistance from his brother began to expand his farm through the introduction of cattle and a few horses. By the 1860s he had become quite successful and had also become well known as a horse breeder. It was during this period that he constructed most of the buildings at 'Glentromie'. Both the Stables and the Shearing Shed are a demonstration of MacPherson's success. The Stables is a long impressive building with eighteen horse stalls, accommodation for grooms and tack rooms, together with a loft to store hay. Although the design is quite simple, the clever use of dark and light coloured bricks has produced an impressive building (see Figure 8.10 and also Appendix 5, 'Glentromie', Figures 11 and 12). The same use of light and dark bricks was also applied in the construction of the smaller two-storey Shearing Shed. Although not as large as the Stables, the workmanship is very fine and the brickmaker and layer has produced a building that is delightful to look at. Both buildings represent MacPherson's success and prestige, which he proudly displays. He was a lucrative horse-breeder and had extensive flocks of sheep. It was on these commodities that he had built his wealth. Visitors to the farm would be in no doubt that here was a successful man. Although the Barn and Henry's House are competently constructed they are smaller and do not display the same finesse in execution as the Stables and the Shearing Shed, probably because these buildings were not intended to be displays for MacPherson's success. To the south of the Barn and Henry's House there used to be a flour mill, which visitors to the farm would have driven past, either on their way to the homestead or the Stables and Shearing

Shed. However the mill burnt down some years ago and only the foundations remain.

This similar story of success is repeated at 'Berkshire Valley' (James Clinch) and 'Yangedine' (John Taylor). James Clinch arrived as an indentured servant and like the MacPhersons worked as a shepherd, building up his flock and acquiring land. The two storey brick Shearing Shed at 'Berkshire Valley' is a grand rectangular building with careful detailing around the large double doors, with particular attention given to the façade that would have been viewed by visitors arriving at the farm via the main gate. Today, access to the property passes on the southern side of the Shearing Shed, but originally the road ran to the north, straight across the double arched Bridge to the Entry Gate House that gave access to a large courtyard where the two homesteads are located. Greater attention to detail was given to the northern façade of the Shearing Shed: the Flemish bond brickwork displays alternating light and dark headers (which is not found on the other elevations which are constructed with English bond), the double arched doorway projects slightly from the main wall and at the top of the arch is a keystone plaque bearing the building's construction date (1869). In comparison, the southern side of the building has not received the same amount of care (no alternating bands of light and dark headers), although it too has a plaque at the top of the double doorway arch (in the form of a ram's head). The double width entry features engaged piers on either side of the doorway that rise up to top plate height, rather than the projecting entry feature found on the northern side. In fact the eastern façade, which faces towards the homestead and the other farm buildings, has been more carefully finished than the southern side. The western side of the building (which faces the road) is no longer easily seen, as it is now largely concealed behind a skillion-roofed extension that was added at a later stage. However what can be seen of this elevation is quite plain with none of the features described above.

Most of the other farm buildings at 'Berkshire Valley' (the Pigsty,⁸⁹ Mill and Stables) are located along the northern side of the property's access road, with the exception of the Hay Barn and Slaughterhouse that are located on the southern side of the road. As these buildings were constructed in the 1880s they did not form part of this study. The two homesteads (constructed in c. 1847 and 1856) also lie on the southern side of the road and were once accessed via an impressive Gate House that contains entry gates, kitchen and quarters. A large courtyard separates the two houses from the Gate House. Unusually, the Slaughterhouse is located just to the north-east of the 1856 homestead (Manager's House), rather than near the other farm buildings.

One of Clinch's earliest buildings was his two-storey Flour Mill (c.1847) that was constructed using a mixture of stone and brick. Next to this building is his large, two-storey Stable block built from cob, with a stone annexe on the northern side that housed carts, tack rooms and a blacksmith's forge; the upper floor was used to store hay. Although not constructed from brick it is a very large building.

It is this suite of buildings, together with the grand scale of the farm buildings that proclaims Clinch's position as a successful farmer at 'Berkshire Valley'. The Shearing Shed, in comparison to the other buildings on the property, is quite grand. It forms an impressive entry statement to Clinch's property and proclaims him as a man of substance. The more finely articulated façade has been carefully placed where visitors will view it, and also its long eastern side. The Gate House, the entry statement to the Homestead is impressive in its size and scale. All of these features display Clinch's wealth and demonstrate his success.

'Yangedine' was also built on the same impressive scale, but unlike the other two properties it was originally a Crown Grant given to upper class settlers. John Taylor, who had arrived in the colony as an indentured servant, initially

⁸⁹ This building was not included in the assessment as it was not possible to examine it on the day of the visit to the property.

leased the property from the owner before purchasing it outright in 1860. Following his purchase he began constructing all of the brick buildings (with the exception of the original Homestead) that remain on the property today. The buildings at 'Yangedine' are possibly the plainest in the group of three, but like the other properties discussed the scale of the buildings is impressive. Originally access to the property was through a pair of entry gates set into a high brick wall that ran across the width of the driveway between the Blacksmith's Shop and the original Homestead (see 'Yangedine' Appendix 5). Old photographs of the three-storey Mill building indicate that this was once a very impressive building that was equally matched by the large, two-storey Stable block. It is unfortunate that Taylor's grand gate entry statement was damaged by a willi-willi that went through the district in 1942. The concept was somewhat similar to that made by Clinch at 'Berkshire Valley'.

What these three properties appear to have in common, apart from the impressive size and scale of the buildings' design, is an aura of competency and success. Although Edward Treasure ('Martinup') was also successful in his own way, his buildings do not express his success on such a grand scale as those developed by MacPherson, Clinch and Taylor. 'Walebing' is an oddity in this group, although the Lefroys were just as successful as farmers as the other three men. Yet they apparently did not see the need to proclaim their success in the buildings that they constructed. Perhaps it was due to the fact that as the property was under a manager, the Lefroys who had social standing in the colony, felt no need to display that status on a farm property that was managed for them. Anthony's house in Perth may possibly have displayed his social standing although I have not investigated this question. It is interesting to observe that it was not until a Lefroy returned to 'Walebing' that a new, larger homestead was constructed, replacing the much smaller cottage that Gerald de Courcy Lefroy constructed in 1850.

The earlier Group 1 buildings do not display any signs of status. They are, and were, simple buildings constructed by newly settled colonists who anticipated

either constructing a new building or adding on to the old. Their style and design provides no indication that people who were representatives of the upper class constructed these buildings. Both 'Boyadine' and 'Gwambygine' remain as very simple buildings, even the later outbuildings are not the large structures that can be seen at 'Berkshire Valley', 'Glentromie' and 'Yangedine'. However both properties reflect the change in ownership when they passed out of control of the original owners and into the hands of managers or lessees. As these men did not own these properties they were unable to embark on a building program such as that seen at 'Yangedine' once Taylor acquired title to the property.

8.5 Conclusions

My objective in comparing a collection of buildings constructed before 1850 with a group built after 1850 was to determine whether the presence of convicts led to changes in construction methods. The analysis of both groups revealed that this was not the case. The same methods of construction were used from the earliest days of settlement and continued after the convicts arrived. However in some instances, such as in the manufacture of brick, improvements were made following the arrival of the convicts. Bricks made after the 1850s are generally harder fired allowing the brick wall to remain un-rendered, as the bricks were watertight, unlike the softer fired bricks of the pre-1850 period. The arrival of the convicts also saw a general decline in the use of wattle and daub. It becomes uncommon after the 1850s, replaced with either rammed earth or brick. Unfortunately it was not possible to discover whether the convicts were any better at constructing rammed earth buildings than the earlier settlers, as this construction method did not appear in the employment records. Thus there was no way of tracing convict involvement.

No differences could be seen in the carpentry methods. Pit-sawn and power-sawn timber was found in both groups making it difficult to draw any

meaningful conclusions. The same methods of joining timber together was also found in both groups, although the mortise and tenon joint secured with a timber dowel was more common than the butt joint.

The second objective was to ascertain whether there was an increase in competency in construction methods after 1850. If one considers the manufacture of bricks, then the answer is 'yes'. Brickmaking and laying after the arrival of convicts did improve and the material was used to great artistic effect. These effects were not previously possible as the soft-fired bricks had to be covered with a lime render.

There appear to be few differences between the stone buildings constructed before 1850 and those constructed after 1850. Group 1 comprised only three stone buildings, one of which was constructed from limestone. This softer rock would have been easier to cut and dress, but apart from more regular coursing in the limestone building (Hall's Cottage), there were no differences in construction techniques, such as the use of a relieving arch for the door and window openings. The same was true for the Group 2 buildings, which were all constructed from local granites. The only exception was the Shearing Shed at 'Martinup', which displayed the competent use of masonry techniques and knowledge of building design, which was used in the construction of arches over the door and window openings. In this instance the documentary evidence indicated the presence of a skilled mason. Perhaps the other buildings demonstrate not so much the absence of a skilled mason, but a lack of knowledge of building design. Many of the timber lintels at 'Walebing' are now beginning to sag under the weight of the masonry above the openings. However, as the number of Group 1 buildings was quite small, it is difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions from this small dataset.

The influence of convicts on building design, the third objective, remains largely unresolved. As it has only been possible to trace the employment of ticket-of-leave men, the presence of expirees or men with conditional pardons remains unknown unless they were specifically referred to in

employer records. This rarely occurs; yet the numbers of skilled mechanics that were present in the colony before 1850 suggests that much of the building that took place was carried out by ex-convicts and conditional pardon men like Samuel Swift ('Martinup'). Although these skilled mechanics represented only a small percentage of convict numbers, they none-the-less represented a steady intake of mechanics where before it had been extremely limited. Perhaps it was these men who were active on rural properties while the free immigrants (who were probably more skilled), stayed to work in Perth, Fremantle and the other large towns.

Running through the analysis was a desire to see whether it was possible for the buildings themselves to tell us something about the people who built them or had them built. The pre-1850 buildings provided little indication that they were once constructed for a member of the upper class. If it were not for the written documents these buildings would be considered to be the home of a member of the working class or a labourer. Their design and construction techniques display their vernacular origins, however it should be stressed that the buildings analysed were all competently built.

The buildings from Group 2 showed an interesting mix of grandeur and utilitarianism. What was most interesting was that the three properties with the grand suite of buildings all belonged to men who had arrived in the colony as servants and through hard work achieved considerable success. This success was reflected in their farm buildings, not their homesteads that were comparatively ordinary. For James Clinch, Donald MacPherson and John Taylor these buildings were their 'offices', this was where they did their business, where they housed their valuable stock and machinery. It probably made more sense for them to display their success in their farm buildings, than in their houses. Through hard work and early privations, Clinch, MacPherson and Taylor managed to improve themselves and this 'Improvement' was expressed in their buildings.

However, the buildings erected by Edward Treasure at 'Martinup' do not similarly display his success and improvement; and in a way his personal improvement was possibly greater than the other three. He had arrived as a convict yet he had acquired a property and enough wealth to construct a suite of buildings on his property. His lack of display could possibly be due to the fact that he did not become as wealthy as the other three, and perhaps due to his convict origins, he was content with what he had been able to achieve and did not feel the need to display that success overtly. Documentary evidence indicates that Treasure prospered and was accepted into the local community and perhaps this was sufficient for him (see 'Martinup' in Appendix 5).

What is unusual was the utilitarian nature of the buildings at 'Walebing'. Here was a property owned by representatives of the upper class yet this is not obvious in the buildings. In style they are very similar to Treasure's buildings. One explanation for this could be that as the 1850s farm buildings were constructed after the property was handed over to a manager, Anthony Lefroy essentially lost interest and therefore there was no need to demonstrate the success of the property in lavish or large buildings. An alternative could be that as the Lefroys were secure in their social position in colonial society and felt no need to display their success in their farm buildings, they could display it elsewhere. So in the case of 'Walebing' the buildings might not express 'Improvement' as their owners did not consider that their farming property had made them successful. Their success lay elsewhere. But it is through the very utilitarian nature of these buildings that we can postulate that for some people owning a farming property was not necessarily the way to become successful in Western Australia.

9.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Buildings in Western Australia after 1850 changed – in their method of construction; in their style; and in their size and consequence.

Oldham and Oldham, 1961:28

This thesis journey began with a desire to learn more about Western Australia's vernacular colonial buildings. To gain a better understanding of the various traditional techniques that were used in their construction, learn about who built them and why. There was also the desire to discover the individuals behind the buildings. Two further observations also warranted further investigation: that after the 1850s the use of brick construction significantly increased, particularly in the south-west area of the state, and that buildings appeared to get larger; a lot more two storey structures and large farm buildings. At the same time there was the nagging question of how or where the convicts fitted into this picture: what did the convicts do apart from building roads and bridges, Fremantle Prison and several key public buildings in Perth? Were the convicts responsible for these changes or had they assisted to make these changes possible?

My research has answered these questions, although it has also demonstrated that the individuals responsible for the construction of a large percentage of ordinary, colonial buildings may never be known, due to the lack of documentary evidence. I also have a much greater understanding of the various traditional building techniques that the settlers brought with them from Britain and the obstacles that these early colonists faced. In the search to find out where the settlers obtained their knowledge of traditional building techniques, I also gained a better appreciation of the social changes that occurred during the Georgian era and the ramifications that these changes had on English house design. The first settlers brought these new ways of thinking with them to Western Australia although, due to 'frontier' conditions, most of the settlers were not able initially to implement the construction of a

Georgian style house. Instead, they had to fall back on traditional techniques and design until they had achieved a modicum of economic stability.

Although the research has answered the primary questions, it has also thrown up others. Once my investigations began, I soon realised that there was limited or no statistical research on the numbers of skilled tradesmen in the colony before the arrival of the convicts, and no investigations into the skills that the free immigrants,⁹⁰ who arrived as part of Britain's sponsored migration scheme between 1850 and 1868, gave to the colony. Unfortunately, the full census information from the various censuses that were produced in the colony was not available. This information would have provided invaluable insight into the various skill levels in the colony and the location of these people. It would also have solved the problem of how to track convicts who had received their conditional pardons or served their prison term. This lack of basic information made it extremely difficult to accurately assess the numbers and location of skilled tradesmen in the colony.

However, these problems aside I feel that sufficient information has been obtained to answer the primary research question: were the convicts responsible for the changes that occurred in Western Australia's building industry? The observations noted by Ray and John Oldham, that buildings constructed after 1850 were better built and designed and that these changes coincided with the arrival of the convicts are not unrelated. There can be no doubt that the convicts were in part responsible for these changes and they made a lasting contribution to Western Australia's built environment between 1850 and 1880. In particular they assisted in the spread of brick construction throughout the colony. They were able to achieve this through the training that they received in England's public works prisons and the continuance of this training after they arrived in Western Australia. Their contribution can no longer only be ascribed to the construction of roads, bridges and some of

⁹⁰ Apart from Rica Erickson's research on the so called Bride Ships that arrived during part of the sponsored program (Erickson, 1992).

Perth's finest colonial public buildings. Their legacy was so much broader than just public works.

The intent of the research was to compare buildings constructed before the arrival of the convicts with those erected afterwards, and then determine the differences, if any, between them. At the same time the role that the Royal Engineers had played in the convict system would also be examined. When I began the search for information on the convict system in Western Australia, I did not think that I would need to spend a great deal of time understanding how the convict system as a whole operated within the British Empire. This changed however when research into why Western Australia became a penal colony revealed differences between the system that operated here and that which operated in the eastern colonies. This discovery necessitated broadening the scope of the study to include information about why the system was different, how it operated and what these implications were for Western Australia. The discovery that changes to the penal system actually provided a skills-based training system was a revelation.

South (1988, 25) stated that there was a need to study nations as cultural systems and to look at cultural systems on a world level. When South made this comment he was locating historical archaeology within world systems theory that argued for a need to look beyond the society that you were examining to what was happening outside. This is a rather simplistic interpretation of world systems theory that is based on the origins of modern capitalism (Johnson 1999), but it serves to show that simply looking at the development of Western Australia alone was insufficient to understand why the settlers built the type of houses that they did and how the convict system that operated in Western Australia developed. Once the research spread beyond Western Australian shores it enabled me to understand more clearly why certain things happened here and why the Western Australian experience differed from the other Australian colonies, not just in the development of the colony, but also the convict system implemented in the state.

By expanding the research to explore how the system of transportation operated in the eastern colonies to include information on the British penal system, it was revealed that by the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain had begun the process of transforming its penal code. The changes to the code were closely allied with the reshaping of British society; a transformation that Tarlow refers to as the 'idea of Improvement' (Tarlow 2007, 1). The concept of Improvement can be seen in the various alterations made to the penal system by reformists such as John Howard and Sir George Onesiphorus Paul and also members of the Quaker movement. The adjustments made to county prisons culminated in the development of national penitentiaries and their various disciplinary systems. The reformists believed that if criminals could only be shown the correct path, through the use of discipline and quiet reflection, they would leave the prison as reformed characters.

To further enhance the possibility of reform, public works prisons were constructed where prisoners were initially employed on the construction of their prison, and then on other public works projects. During this employment, they learnt a trade that would, hopefully, enable them to become gainfully employed following their release. The fact that so many of these 'reformed prisoners' still had to be transported from Britain belies the reformists' belief in the success of their new prison system. However, these changes had important ramifications for Western Australia, as the convicts who disembarked at Fremantle were not the undisciplined rabble that had previously been sent to the eastern colonies. Those sent to Western Australia had been through a disciplinary process where they spent time in prison. They also received some formal education, but most importantly they had begun to learn a trade that enabled a large percentage of them to find work in the colony once they had gained their tickets-of-leave. In particular, those who had learnt a trade related to the building industry quickly found private employment.

The great need for skilled mechanics can be seen in Henderson's half-yearly reports of the early 1850s. In particular, in his very first report, he wrote that he had had to send to Adelaide for skilled mechanics; an indication of the dire straits that the colony was in, with respect to men skilled in the building industry. Once the men had obtained their ticket-of-leave, Henderson and later Wray, both noted that men with these skills had no difficulty finding employment. In fact they were often re-employed on the public works due to the shortage of convicts arriving in the colony with these skills.

This discovery also placed Fremantle Prison in a different light than I had previously considered. It was one of the first public works prisons to be constructed by Britain in one of its colonies, and was quite different to the prisons that had been established in the eastern colonies. Fremantle Prison was built to continue the disciplinary process that began before the convicts left Britain, but it was also a public works prison. While investigating why Britain had made these changes, the research provided a greater understanding of how British society functioned during the first half of the nineteenth century and in particular the 'Improvement' movement that led not only to the establishment of mechanics institutes and agricultural reforms, but also to the formation of the public works prisons.

This study is the first in Western Australia to attempt to determine the extent of the involvement of the Royal Engineers and the Sappers and Miners with the Convict Establishment, and their participation in public works projects. The study confirmed that they indeed had an important role to play. The role that Captains Henderson and Wray, as Comptroller General and Acting Comptroller General, played in the implementation of the Convict Establishment was known. However, what had not been examined in any detail was the important part the 20th Company of Sappers and Miners played as instructing warders, and how they acquired that duty. My research outlines the development of the 20th Company, its relationship to the Royal Engineers and how they operated within the Convict Establishment. The Sappers and Miners were skilled mechanics with trades related not only to

the building industry by also other trades such as blacksmithing, tailoring, baking, printing and bookbinding. As Western Australia had a shortage of skilled tradesman, Henderson was unable to find the men required to continue the instruction of the prisoners after they arrived in the colony. It was to instruct the convicts, and also to provide military support, that the men of the 20th Company were sent to Western Australia. Due to the shortage of skilled labour, they were also involved in the construction of the various public works projects between 1852 and 1862. These men were an important component in Western Australia's convict system and it is unfortunate that the detailed information about how this system operated in the colony has not been found.

As stated previously, the main thrust of the research was to ascertain whether the convicts had actually made a contribution to Western Australia's built environment. No research in this area has previously been undertaken in Western Australia. To establish the scope of this contribution, study of buildings constructed in the colony before their arrival was required. In keeping with the theme of not viewing pre-1850 buildings in isolation, the origins of the buildings' design and construction methods were examined. The research entailed investigating British vernacular traditions as all of the buildings constructed by the settlers, with the exception of a few public buildings, were vernacular in their design and construction. It was determined that three of the traditional techniques, wattle and daub, cob and stone were firmly rooted in long established British building traditions. However three more techniques used by the colonists, rammed earth, brick and weatherboards were comparative newcomers. The Romans had introduced brick into Britain, however it fell out of favour after their departure in 410 A.D. Its later revival by Flemish brickmakers in the twelfth century was limited to areas with good brick clays or to its use by the nobility. Industrialization and the introduction of brick kilns soon changed this pattern of usage but it was not until the first quarter of the nineteenth century that the use of brick began to spread throughout the countryside. Rammed earth

was another material that had a long history outside of Britain but it was not until it was introduced from France in the 1790s that some landowners began to apply it to construction of tenant cottages. The third material, weatherboards had had limited usage. The arrival of steam driven circular saws allowed vast quantities of this material to be produced and like brick, transported around the countryside on canals and train tracks.

After the colonists arrived in Western Australia, frontier conditions did not lend themselves to ready supplies of either brick or weatherboards. As the manufacture of these materials required labourers, their usage was limited to those settlers who could pay for this labour. Rammed earth on the other hand was extremely well suited to Western Australian conditions and it actually supplanted cob in those areas where this method might have been used. The ready adoption of rammed earth may have been due to the fact that it required a drier mix than cob and also less expertise to construct.

Overall I discovered that before 1850, the colonists utilized materials that were close at hand and used construction methods that were probably familiar to them (or to their servants). The use of brick was limited and I argued that this was due to a shortage of skilled brickmakers and the labour required to make the bricks, rather than a lack on knowledge on the part of the settlers. As the bricks were made on site, the distribution of brick buildings was limited to those areas with brick clays.

When it came to comparing the pre-1850 buildings with the post-1850s buildings I anticipated that there would be some changes in construction techniques, particularly with carpentry techniques, as skilled instructors were responsible for training the convicts. However, there appear to be few changes in actual construction techniques. The manner in which stones were cut and dressed appeared to be very similar and during both periods there was a limited use of relieving arches over openings. Timber lintels were used in all but one instance to bear the load.

I found no change in carpentry techniques. Door and window frames in pre-1850 houses were generally put together using a mortise and tenon joint that was then secured with a wooden peg. This technique was found in most of the buildings examined in the post-1850 period. There was some use of butt joints, but this technique was common to both groups.

The most noticeable change between the two periods was in the number of buildings that were constructed from brick. Brick became the most prevalent material, particularly in those areas where previously rammed earth or wattle and daub had been used, after 1850. It did not however, oust the use of stone where this material was plentiful, rather in those instances, stone and brick appeared to be used equally. The comparative analysis indicated that post 1850s bricks were well made and they were, with one exception, laid using lime mortar instead of mud. They were also, with one exception, left un-rendered, allowing the competence of the brickmaker and bricklayer to be appreciated. In the colony during the post-1850 period, brick buildings were often constructed using Flemish bond allowing for the interplay of light and dark coloured bricks that produced a checkerboard effect. The use of brick transformed the appearance of not only Perth but also of the smaller country towns of Guildford and York.

This was in complete contrast to the pre-1850 buildings, where lime render was applied to the walls. The consistent use of lime renders was probably due to the fact that these bricks were softer (not as well fired), and therefore not as water tight as the post-1850 bricks, which were much harder. The application of lime render ensured that the building remained watertight. The use of render may have been viewed as more fashionable during the pre-1850 period. This fashion possibly changed around the same time that larger numbers of competent brickmakers arrived the colony. If this is the case, the arrival of these brickmakers enabled the colonists to take advantage of the decorative possibilities that this material could produce.

One of the outcomes of this study was the compilation an extensive list of convicts employed in the building trade. This list will enable future researchers to search for individual convicts to determine whether they were employed in the building trade and who employed them. Information for these lists was drawn from various sources, but in particular from the Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Register, which listed the names of employers and the ticket-of-leave men that they employed. From 1859 onwards, the Register also recorded the type of work in which the ticket-of-leave man had been engaged. This last piece of information is particularly important as we are able to see where buildings were being erected, the type of work that was going on and at what time. This is extremely helpful in ascertaining when a building might have been constructed and who worked on it.

Many authors who carry out historical research on buildings have apparently been unaware of this detailed information and often attribute the construction of a building (or a group of buildings) to the ticket-of-leave men who were employed on the property at the time. However, ticket-of-leave men were employed in a variety of tasks and their presence on a property, around the time that a building was estimated to have been constructed, does not mean that these men were necessarily employed in that building's construction. A companion list of employers has also been compiled to make it easier to search the records for employers who engaged ticket-of-leave men in building projects on their properties. By using the Register it was possible to link individual ticket-of-leave men with some individual buildings, although in most cases this was impossible.

The study was somewhat hampered by a lack of information in a variety of areas, such as:

- the daily activities of the Royal Engineers and the Sappers and Miners,
- information on how the colonial works department operated before the establishment of the Public Works Department,
- detailed census information, and;

- information about the occupations of the immigrants arriving in Western Australia after 1850.

Some of this information can be found, such as the names of passengers arriving in the colony and what was happening in the colonial works office in the 1850s and early 1860s. However this task required detailed research that was quite outside the scope of this study. Access to this type of information would have provided a better understanding of why the Engineers' Department merged with the colonial works department sometime between 1856 and 1858 and how this changed the manner in which the convicts were employed on public works. Statistical information on the immigrants who arrived in the colony after 1850 would have provided comparative information on the numbers of skilled mechanics arriving in the colony after this date. Detailed census information, rather than the summary information extracted from the various censuses taken over the years, would provide invaluable information on not only ex-convicts but also on the free citizens who were skilled mechanics.

While undertaking this research I observed that in recent years there has been a decline in academic research into colonial buildings. This study is the first in Western Australia to apply archaeological methods to analyse standing structures and to treat buildings as an artefact. By examining buildings in this way it is possible to gain a better understanding of the chronological development of a structure and associated elements can provide a fuller history of a building's growth. An archaeological methodology can also provide important social information about a building that is usually missed when one is only examining a building from a stylistic point of view. The use of archaeological methods to assess the buildings discussed in Chapter 8 has enabled me to consider the ramifications of what it meant to arrive as a simple shepherd or servant and become a landowner. The implications of this change, or any other social story, can be seen in the buildings if one makes the effort to assess them in this fashion.

This study has shown that the convicts made a considerable contribution to our colonial heritage: before 1850, settlers constructed vernacular buildings that were rooted not only in traditional techniques and design but were also drawn from less traditional techniques. Western Australia's convicts were part of an evolutionary process to improve Great Britain's penal system and this system was related to the idea of 'Improvement'.

The study had also demonstrated that analysing a building using archaeological methods can provide more detailed information about how settlers thought and how they expressed themselves in their architecture.

It has also highlighted that a huge amount of work is still required in the areas of colonial architectural history, convict research, the Public Works Department and the role of the Engineers in that Department. Additional research into the county and country or origin of the first settlers might provide information on why the settlers favoured one particular traditional building technique over another. The research field is basically wide open!

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APPENDICES

<u>Appendix 1: Employers of Ticket of Leave Men</u>	<u>359</u>
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Appendix 1: Employers of Ticket of Leave Men

APPENDIX 1 Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Men

Information obtained from the Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Men held on microfilm in J.S. Battye Library (in State Library of WA)

NAME	DISTRICT	BIOGRAPHICAL	TOL WORKERS
Addison, William	Perth		30.6.63: Knight, William (4692), mason
Allen, Charles	Fremantle		25.3.82: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason (plasterer) 20.10.82: Heal, George (8292), carpenter
Allender, Francis 1829 - 1900	Greenough	Farmer, 200a 1864. Employed 61 T/L labourers on occasions 1863 - 78, including builders & b'makers 1867, stonemasons 1870 & carpenter 1871.	10.10.67: Wood, William: b'maker 7.6.70: Wynn, William: mason 17.4.71 - 30.6.71: Wooldridge, George (8742), carpenter
Anning, John	Fremantle		16.5.70 - 30.6.70: MacCormick, William (9233), mason
Ascion(e), Joseph (Guiseppe) Arr 1849	Perth	Lay brother with Benedictine monks. Stone mason, built 1 st RC church at G'ford 1860, St Pats, Frem. & Cathedral, Perth 1865. Employed 5 T/L 1862 - 4: b'layer, mason & labourers. Plasterer Frem 1887-8	30.6.63 - 22.2.64: Mitchell, William (5789) mason
Atwell, Henry [6807] Arr. 1863 <i>Merchantman</i> 1831 - 1894	Fremantle	Sawyer & firewood contractor (1873 - 89). Employed 55 T/L (1864-82). Managed Pearse Bros.	1877: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker 19.19.81: Potter, James: carpenter 28.3.82: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason

		Slaughterhouse & Meatworks. Owned arcade shops.	(plasterer) 30.6.82: Potter, James: carpenter
Austin, James	Perth		1873: Austin, William (9653), b'maker
Back, James	Greenough	? Unclear	1869: McAuley, James: b'maker
Bagg, George 1818 - 1877 (Kojonup) Arr 1850 <i>Scindian</i>	Beverley	Pensioner Guard. 1851 bought land at York. Stone mason & builder. Moved to Kojonup 1865. Employed T/L b'maker at Kojonup 1865.	2.2.65: Duke, Charles: b'maker
Bailey, James M.	Murray, Perth	Farmer, Williams 1869. Victualler 1874 - 76. 40ac 1868. Employed 9 T/L 1863 - 75.	21.4.70: Jones, William: carpenter
Baker, George	Fremantle		27.3.72: Ireland, William S. (8892), b'layer 5.9.72: Deegan, Joseph (8828), b'maker
Baker, Thomas	Perth		15.6.76: Ware, James (9037), carpenter
Ball, Thomas [9382] Arr 1867 <i>Norwood</i>	Perth	Bricklaye Employed 2 T/L b'makers 1871 & 1873 Perth	1871: Bicney?, Joseph: b'maker 4.7.78: Proctor, William: b'maker
Bancelles, John	G'ford Rd, Perth		26.11.68 - 31.12.68: Hudson, Robert (8304), carpenter 15.6.69: Hudson, Robert (8304), carpenter
Barker & Gull	Guildford		14.4.69: Paul, Robert (8966), b'maker

Barnes, George [7019] Arr 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Paradise, Wellington	Plasterer Bunbury mason & builder of Paradise. Employed 4 T/L (labourers & b'layer) 1867-8	1868: Egerton, James: b'layer
Barnesdale, Charles	The Lakes, York Rd	? not in Erickson	1873: Broadley, Thomas: b'maker 1877: Austin, William: sawyer
Barrett, William [4032] Arr. 1856 <i>Runnymede</i>	Albany	Carman Employed T/L b'maker 1868. B'maker 1880-84 (Alm)	29.9.68: Loveridge, Levi: b'maker
Barrett-Lennard, Edward P. Arr 1829 <i>Marquis of Angelsea</i>	St Leonards, Swan	Loc. M & MIN "St Lennards" on Swan & "St Aubyns" on Avon. Employed 40 T/L 1854 - 82.	21.10.68: Hood, John: b'layer
Barry, R.	Perth, Fremantle Wonnerup		23.2.67 - 30.6.67: Smith, Charles (7849), carpenter (mason) Wonnerup 1870: Bain, William (8806), carpenter 22.8.70: Smith, John (7859), carpenter Perth & Freo 20.9.70: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 1874: Billings, James (8784), carpenter
Barry & Patten,	Perth		25.6.51: Scally, Roger (2191), ntg (carpenter) 1859: Calligan, James (4222), ntg (carpenter)
Barton, George (Exp)	Geraldton	Employed 3 T/L – 2 George Bartons listed in O'Mara	5.4.76 - 31.12.77: Smith, William (4930) carpenter
Bateman, J.W. & Co.	Fremantle		13.11.67 - 31.12.67: Gwynne, Henry (7708), carpenter

Bates, John [8207] b.1837 Arr 1865 <i>Racecourse</i>	Peninsula, Perth	Brickmaker of "Peninsula" Employed 2 T/L b'makers & 3 T/L labourers 1873-82	11.12.73: Holland, Henry: b'maker c.1880: Brierley, Jonathon: b'maker
Batt, H.	Northampton		1878: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Bayliff, Richard [8779]	Mason's Landing, Fremantle		3.10.70: Prim, Eli (7826), carpenter
Beard, Cornelius Arr 1857	Northam	Farmer "Jennapullen" 1867 100a. Tillage lease 1866 100a Employed 8 T/L 1860-79 including b'layer 1871.	8.1.61?: Morgan, Thomas (9251), b'layer (plasterer)
Beard, Henry Arr 1857 <i>Clara</i>	York	Baker & lodging house keeper	28.12.62: Smith, William (6019) carpenter
Beardshalt, E. (Exp)	Fremantle		1864: Anderson, James (6502), carpenter
Beattie (Beatty), William	Geraldton, Dongara, Dolly's Gully	Shoemaker/farmer at Geraldton	31.7.71: McSweeney, John (7789) mason (b'layer)
Beazley, John [5500] Arr 1859 <i>Sultana</i> 1840 - 1912	Northam	Carpenter. 1873-9 (Alm) Employed 4 T/L (1864-68) including b'maker '68	7.4.68: Baldock, Edward: b'layer
Bennett, Charles (?Exp)	Gwalla (Mines Champion Bay)	Geraldton, Chapman, Waneranooka: stone mason, plasterer & small farmer. Bt Geraldton Town Lot 1868. Employed 16 T/L 1864 - 76, including 3 bldg tradesmen 1865-8.	26.1.65: Lynch, Patrick (6129) b'layer 31.12.64 - 20.6.65: Smith, William: mason 1868: Gore, Robert (7419), builder
Benson, Michael 1816-1897 (E.Perth)	Perth	Gaoler 1867 -? & carter. Trans to Frem. Gaol 1875.	1871: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker 26.12.71: Feeney, William (9446), b'maker

		1856 Town Lot Perth N1 Employed 30 T/L 1865-73, including 4 b'makers 1871-72	30.12.71: Jones, Richard (9211), b'maker 3.1.72: Parkinson, Henry (8674), b'maker
Best, Henry	Fremantle		5.12.68 - 31.12.68: Sedgewick, Edmond (9284), carpenter
Bickley, William	?Canning		16.3.52: Tolland, John (1113), ntg (mason) 6.5.59: Coy, William (3802), ntg (b'maker)
Biggs, Joseph [7923] Arr 1864 <i>Merchantman</i> 1842-92	Chittering, Bindoon, Gingin	Carpenter, wheelwright & farmer. Employed T/L carpenter 1872	21.11.72: George, William (8861) carpenter
Bird, Francis	Canning		31.12.79: Slack, Samuel Peet (9877), carpenter
Bird, Thomas Arr 1848	Woodside, York	Parkhurst boy. Well est. farmer listed in 1859 census. Employed 9 T/L 1864- 73. Tenant at "Salt River" 1850s & "Woodside" 1860s. To North West c.1882.	1864: Baker, Robert: b'maker 15.2.67; 1.4.67: Hathaway, John: b'maker
Bishop, George	Perth		13.9.51: Digan (Degan, Dugan), Francis (493), ntg (b'maker)
Bishop, John Arr 1842	Minninup, Wellington	Farmer "Minninup" Vasse. Tillage lease Sutherland Lake 1865. Employed 10 T/L 1866-77.	8.3.67 & 15.3.67: McDonnell, William: b'maker
Bishop, L.	Champion Bay		1862: Aggain, Edward (5717), carpenter
Blackell, Charles [634] Arr 1851 <i>Pyrenees</i>	York	Employed 7 T/L York (& Toodyay) 1863-74.	7.12.69 - 31.12.69: Harvey, Francis: b'maker

Blayney (Blaney), David Arr 1857	Greenough: Chapman	Worked "Tibradden" by c.1863. At "Mininago", then "Narra Tarra" to live on part John Mill' s holding. Wagoner & small farmer Moonyoonooka, Champion Bay District. Employed 10 T/L 1864 - 73, including builder 1871.	3.3.71 - 30.6.71: Jackson, Thomas: mason
Bloom, Charles [1179]	York		1870: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Boddington, Thomas [1018]	'Chauncey's Springs', Swan		1860: Bush, William (4411), ntg (mason)
Boladeras, Ignatius	Perth		18.6.83: Taylor, Levi (8141), b'maker
Bolton, Henry [6526] Arr. 1862 <i>York</i>	Perth	Brickmaker	23.8.69: Doherty, John (7400), b'maker 4.10.69: Jones, John (7463), b'maker 21.4.79 - 5.5.79: Ross, James (8971), b'maker
Bolyne, John [6816] Arr. 1863 <i>Merchantman</i>	Perth	Carpenter	27.11.67: Sedgewick, Edmond (9284), carpenter
Bond, Henry Rice.	Perth		17.2.52 - 20.3.52: Moore, Thomas (1134), carpenter 9.1.54: Wilkinson, Martin (1611), ntg (carpenter)
Bone, William [7023] Arr 1863 <i>Clyde</i> 1838-88 (Greenough)	Greenough	Farmer. Employed T/L builder 1876	12.75 - 76: Bell, William (9662), builder
Bonsor, John [728] Arr. 1851 <i>Minden</i>	Perth	Employed 18 T/L 1858-75. B'maker & builder. Bt 10a Avon 1858	21.3.71: Killeen, Patrick: b'maker

Bourke, Richard 1838 - 1926	Toodyay & Northam	Labourer for Ewen Macintosh "Bejoording" for 10 yrs, then small farmer "Longmore Farm", Yarramony (Bourke's Siding)	8.66 - 12.66: Brehant, Peter: builder
Bradshaw, Amos	York	Not listed in Erickson	1865: Collins, Reuben (5658), carpenter 24.12.79: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter
Brakes, Samuel [26] Arr. 1850 <i>Scindian</i>	Freshwater Bay, Freo		1863: Bain, William (6825), carpenter 21.3.63: Leggett, James (6913) carpenter 14.7.63: Gibson, David (6874), carpenter
Branson, William [3] Arr. 1850 <i>Scindian</i> 1817 - 1901	Island Lake, Victoria Plains	Orig. baker & framework knitter	23.6.52: Sheen, John (88), ntg (b'maker) 8.9.53: Beecham, William (344), ntg (carpenter)
Brehaut, Peter [6521] Arr 1862 <i>York</i>	Buckland, Northam & Toodyay	Mason Contracted to build "Buckland", Dempster's h'stead, Northam 1874. Stone mason. Employed 8 T/L 1865- 73, 1 a builder.	24.3.75: Smith, John (9295), plasterer
Brekley, W.	Canning		30.12.55: Hawkins, Henry (1273) ntg (b'layer)
Briggs, Thomas	Perth		1.2.54: Marshall, William (1612),ntg (carpenter)
Brittain, James Arr 1852 1823 - 1901	Guildford and Perth	B'layer, b'maker, building contractor. Perth Town Lot purchased 1855. Bldgs constructed: Barracks, Cloisters, Deanery, Bishop House. Employed 39 T/L Almanack: Builder (Perth): 1863 –	17.9.61: Sylvester, John (5251) ntg (mason) 31.12.61 - 21.4.62: Sylvester, John (5251) ntg (mason) 19.8.64: Farrell, John: b'maker 31.12.64: Taylor, George: b'layer 31.12.64: Taylor, George (6009), b'layer

		1872; Bricklayer (Perth) 1878; Bricklayer (Guildford): 1872 - 1873	1865: Boallen, James: labourer 1867: Butler, William (9103), b'layer 3.8.68: Howarth, John: plasterer 24.8.68: Hemsley, Richard (8877), b'layer 1870: Boallen, James: b'layer 4.11.70: Jones, James: b'layer 1876: Collins, Charles b'layer 15.5.82: Daley, John as mason 3.1.83: Daley, John: stone cutter
Brockman, William	Gingin		2.6.66 - 20.10.66; 26.12.67: Dell, Luke (799), ntg (mason) 3.73 - 6.73: Eaton, William John (9723), labourer 3.73 - 6.73: Eaton, William John (9723), carpenter
Brodie, James C.	Greenough		1.7.70: Dixon, Robert (304), builder
Brodigan, John [2211] Arr. 1853 <i>Robert Small</i>	Perth		22.10.55: McBride, Peter (4339), ntg (b'maker)
Brophy, Hugh Francis [9674] Arr 1868 <i>Hougoumont</i> 1830 - 1919	Perth	Prominent Fenian prisoner. Free Pardon 1869. In p'ship with fellow Fenian, Joseph Nunan set up as building contractors. Left 1872. Employed 16 T/L (1869-72) & more in p'ship with Nunan in Greenough	1870: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter
Broun, Thomas	Perth		7.1855: Gardener, Robert (2726) ntg (mason)

Brown, David [2752] Arr. 1854 <i>Sea Park</i>	Perth	Wheelwright & carpenter. Employed 20 T/L at Perth 1857-69. Became employee Andrew Moir, C. Riche outstations	1855: Cameron, Daniel (3484), ntg (carpenter) 1855: Cobden, William (3207), ntg (b'moulder) 1860: Beazley, John (5500), ntg (carpenter) 1864: Andrews, Thomas (6204), carpenter 29.4.64 - 30.6.64: Garden, John (6606), carpenter 30.4.64: Watson, Wm Alex. (6783), carpenter 6.5.65: Horn, Lancelot (6617), carpenter 30.6.66: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 5.9.66 - 31.12.66: Horn, Lancelot (6617), carpenter 28.12.68: Wilson, John Grainger (9046), carpenter 1869: Bain, William (8806), carpenter 11.6.68 - 31.12.68: Mack, John (6377), carpenter 28.8.69 - 31.12.69: Mack, John (6377), wheelwright
Brown, Edward	Canning		26.7.73: Dingley, David (9428), b'maker
Brown, James	West Guildford & Perth	Employed lots T/L men.	1861: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter
Brown, Kenneth A. & Aubrey	Glengarry, Champion Bay		7.5.68: Ross, Thomas (5612), mason
Brown, Stephen	Perth		20.7.58: Connor, Charles (3812), ntg (mason)

Brown, William	Perth		11.11.59: Glennon, Christopher (3955), ntg (b'maker) - Williams 8.10.64 - 21.12.64: Davidson, William (6572), b'maker
Brown, William W.	Canning & Fremantle 'Wongong"		25.3.71: Penton, George (9261), carpenter 18.9.72 - 30.6.75: Corkery, Cornelius (9699), carpenter
Browne, Thomas Henry J. [7340] <i>Arr 1863 Lord Dalhousie</i>	Perth	Architect	1880: Carlton, Edward (9401), carpenter
Browning, John	Greenough		28.10.65 - 31.12.65: Richardson, Simon (5969), builder (b'layer)
Bryan, John	Guildford		1860: Beazley, John (5500), ntg (carpenter)
Bryant, Henry [865] <i>Arr. 1851 Minden</i>	Perth		10.1.53: Fergus, Robert (303), ntg (mason's lab)
Bryant, John (Exp),	Perth		10.5.70: Dresch, Edwin (9149), carpenter
Buchanan, A. (Rev) 1832 - 1923 (Bunbury)	Bunbury	Congregational Min. 1867-74. Wellington district & Bunbury	13.2.74: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason
Buckingham, Edward	Perth		20.8.53 - 28.6.54: Fawcett, Edward (263), ntg (carpenter)
Buckley, John	Greenough		21.9.71: McSweeney, John (7789) mason (b'layer)
Buggins, William <i>Arr 1854</i> 1829 - 75 (Perth)	Perth	B'layer, plasterer, building contractor. Residence Murray St. Did b'work of Wesley Church & foundation of Town	1860: Anderson, Richard (5497), b'layer 24.4.62: Sylvester, John (5251) ntg (mason) 30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Glann, William (6875),

		Hall, The Barracks & Govt. Hse Almanack: Brick layer & plasterer 1862 - 1872	plasterer (b'layer) 29.3.67: Moore, Henry George (8063), b'layer 24.7.69 - 31.12.70: Spratt, Henry (9582), b'layer 19.2.70: Roberts, William (8984), b'layer's labourer 1868 - 71: Bailey, James (8488), b'layer 14.4.71 - 30.6.71: : Spratt, Henry (9582), b'layer 26.4.72: Conway, Thomas (9129), b'layer 1873: Barrett, Cornelius (9659), plasterer
Bull, W.	Toodyay		15.6.70: McNamara, Michael (5706), b'maker 20.10.70: Thompson, John (5935), b'maker
Bunney, Joseph [8206] Arr. 1865 <i>Racehorse</i>	Claisebrook	Became Brickmaker	8.3.73: Esquilant, John (8259), b'maker 19.5.73: Smith, John (8404), b'maker 25.9.73: Curran, John (8526), b'maker 29.8.83: Taylor, Levi (8141), b'maker
Burr, J.	Toodyay		13.2.60: Mitchell, Henry (4672), ntg (b'layer)
Butcher, James	Perth		3.3.53: Osborne, James (62), ntg (carpenter)
Butler, C.M.	Fremantle		17.5.81: Spelling, Thomas (9881), mason
Butt, Henry [8783] Arr. 1866 <i>Belgravia</i>	Northampton	Carpenter	27.3.79: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter

Butt, J.	Toodyay		13.2.60: Mitchell, Henry (4672), ntg (b'layer)
Buzzard, William	Perth		1856: Beeson, William (97), ntg (b'maker)
Byfield, William 1846 - 88	Mahogany Creek	Northam "Woodley", carter & farmer. Employed 7 T/L including b'layer (1868) & carpenter (1871)	26.5.68, 30.6.68: Baldock, Edward (9070), b'layer 1871: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter
Byford, James	Greenough		4.12.73: Harding, James (9182), carpenter
Byrne, James [2077] Arr. 1853 <i>Robert Small</i>	Vict. Plains		18.6.60 - 31.6.60: Jones, William (5510), ntg (mason)
Campbell, George	Perth		6.2.1872: Rose, George (8685), b'maker
Campbell, Robert	Perth		18.4.72 - 19.3.73: Jones, John (7457), carpenter
Campbell, S.	Champion Bay		19.3.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Cane, R.	Wellington		9.12.68: Steward, Joseph (8432), b'maker
Canovan, John [2360] Arr. 1853 <i>Phoebe Dunbar</i>	Northam		20.7.58: Connor, Charles (3812), ntg (mason)
Caporn, F.	Perth & Busselton		1869: Clarke, Joseph (8809), carpenter
Carey, T.C. (District Assist. Surveyor)	Blackwood and Bunbury		9.8.65: Thurgood, Isaac (7781), carpenter 24.9.70: Doyle, John (8540), b'maker. Bunbury 1.11.70: Western, Richard (7892), carpenter 7.12.70 - 21.12.70; 1871: Davies, Benjamin

			(7673), b'layer. Bunbury 19.5.71 - 30.6.71: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), b'layer (plasterer)
Carney (Kearney?), J.	Greenough		21.12.65: Shields, Henry (7269), carpenter
Carney (Kearney?), M	Middle Swan,		1871: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter
Carp, Kerry	Perth		31.12.70: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Carpenter, Charles [891] Arr. 1851 <i>Minden</i>	Williams		28.1.70: Jones, William (7468), carpenter
Carrott, John [5677] Arr. 1861 <i>Palmerston</i>	"Warkup", Albany Rd, Balgarp		25.7.74: Jones, Thomas (8611), carpenter
Carson, George	Guildford		25.10.76: Williams, Robert (9914), carpenter
Carson, James	Geraldton		8.3.67: Docherty, Tole (6168), mason (b'maker)
Carter, William W	Freshwater Bay		6.2.53 - 6.5.53: Hargreaves, Thomas (31), plasterer (mason)
Chan, Hookam	Perth		31.12.66: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 7.7.67; 18.10.67: Jones, John (7457), carpenter 25.4.68: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 1881: Billings, James (8784), carpenter
Chapman & Co.	Fremantle Champion Bay		31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Leggett, James (6913) carpenter 12.9.68: Hainsworth, John (5714), carpenter (Fremantle)

			31.12.68: Hainsworth, John (5714), carpenter Champ. Bay
Chappell, George [6053] Arr. 1862 <i>Lincelles</i>	Greenough	Carpenter	7.12.74: Somers, William (8434), builder
Chatterton, Edward [1739] Arr. 1853 <i>Pyrenees</i>	Guildford	Blacksmith	22.4.70 - 30.6.70 : Gittins, John (6601), carpenter
Chester, Joseph	Perth		30.6.72: Jones, John (7457), carpenter
Chipper, John Charles	Canning		29.6.70 - 12.7.70: Smith, John (7859), carpenter
Chipper, Thomas	Kojonup		25.4.62: Rigbye, George (4375), ntg (b'layer)
Chitty, Charles	"Culham", Toodyay		27.11.69 - 31.12.69: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Christie, Duncan	York		?1869: White, William (7304), mason (b'maker) 10.73: Parsons, Fred. George (9845), mason
Church, Thomas [1094] Arr. 1852 <i>Marion</i>	Perth & Greenough		1855: Bruce, James (3453), ntg (mason) 28.6.58: Danks, Joseph (3626), ntg (b'maker) 5.2.59: Glennon, Christopher (3955), ntg (b'maker) 19.3.59 ; 2.4.59: Duckham, Henry (3622) ntg (b'maker) 29.4.59: O'Donnell, James (3585), ntg (carpenter) 13.1.61: Moore, Jesse (3838), ntg (b'maker)

			2.6.64: Evans, Thomas (6286), b'maker
Churchyard, J.K.	Perth	Almanack: Carpenter 1862 – 1874; Builder 1878	8.2.67: Craddock, William (8507), carpenter 5.1.70: Ware, James (9037), carpenter 5.4.73 - 17.12.73: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter 1875: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 15.1.76: Ware, James (9037), carpenter
Clarke, A.S.	Wanering. Beverley		13.7.70: Sanderson, John (9863), carpenter
Clarke, Henry (Exp)	Perth		6.72: Bunney, Joseph (8206), b'maker
Claydon, Thomas	Albany Rd, Perth		29.3.70 - 31.12.72: Moore, Henry George (8063), mason (b'layer)
Cleary, Joseph [4358] Arr. 1857 <i>Clara</i>	Fremantle, Champion Bay		14.9.62: Oxford, Robert (6397), carpenter (Fremantle) 28.8.63: McDonald, James (6371), b'layer (Fremantle)
Cleary, Joseph [4358] Arr. 1857 <i>Clara</i>	"Coulston" Swan Bridge, Upper Swan		25.8.66: Taylor, George (7873), carpenter
Clifton, E. & W. also Clifton, M.W.	"Wokalup", Wellington		13.7.71: Davies, Benjamin (7673), b'layer 26.11.73 - 30.6.74: Fitton, James (9155), gen. servt. (mason) 25.2.75 - 31.12.75: Fitton, James (9155), mason
Clifton, J. Edward M.	"Rosamel", Wokalup		21.1.73, 12.5.74: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason

Clifton, W.P.	Australind		12.65 - 6.66; 8.66 - 12.66: Burns, Robert (6222), carpenter
Clinch, James L	"Berkshire Valley"		1872: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker 1872: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter 1875: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 11.6.79 - 31.12.79; 5.9.83 - 30.6.84: McAllen, John (9503), carpenter
Clinch, Thomas	Greenough		1869: Jackson, Thomas (8617), builder
Clune, M. & Co.	Victoria Plains		10.71 - 12.71: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker
Collins, C.	Gingin		1871: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker
Collins, John Reuben	York		9.6.69: Sanderson, John (9863), carpenter
Collins, Peter	Bunbury & Busselton		10.65 - 12.65: Broadwood, John (6150), b'maker 21.12.65: Smith, George (6108), b'maker 28.11.67: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker 31.1.68: Kilburn, Septimus (8910), b'maker
Connelly, James	Geraldton		21.1.70: Jackson, Thomas (8617), mason
Connor (s), Daniel [2334] <i>Arr. 1853 Phoebe Dunbar</i>	Newcastle		1870: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter 28.1.70: McNamara, Michael (5706), b'maker 21.3.71: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 10.8.71: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter

Connor & Ayres	Perth		19.8.63 - 31.12.63: Evans, Thomas (6286), b'layer 11.3.64: Evans, Thomas (6286), b'maker
Cook, Solomon	Toodyay Rd, Swan Bridge		9.4.56 - 12.57: Morris, John (67), ntg, (carpenter) 20.12.69: Gittins, John (6601), carpenter
Cook, James	York		26.12.70 - 31.12.70: Morgan, Thomas (9251), b'layer (plasterer)
Cook, M.	Perth		31.12.63: Osborne, John (6398), carpenter
Cooke, John Taylor	'Newline', Northam		24.8.60 - 12.60: Pearson, George (5466), ntg (b'layer)
Cooke, Nathaniel Wm	Irwin & Arrino		31.12.65: Lynch, Patrick (6129) b'layer
Cooper, David [8509] Arr. 1865 <i>Vimeria</i>	Claisebrook		9.70 - 12.70: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker
Corbett, Michael [4781] Arr. 1858 <i>Lord Raglan</i>	Dongara & the Flats		9.5.64 - 30.6.64: Kelly, Edward (5739), b'layer
Cornish, Anthony	Pinjarra & Dandalup		3.4.71: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter
Cornish, James	Geraldton		29.8.64 - 28.10.64: Sutton, David (5757), mason 23.11.64; 31.12.64: Daley, Andrew (6063), carpenter 1.2.67: Robinson, George (7835), b'layer

Cornish, Joseph	Geraldton		6.64 - 12.64: Clarkson, William (5803), carpenter 31.10.66 - 31.12.66: Sutton, David (5757), mason
Cornish, W.	Pinjarra		1874: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
Cornwall, William	Williams River		31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Pomeroy, Joseph (6958), carpenter 7.10.67 - 30.6.68: Stevens, Henry (4902), mason (plaster) 12.74: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), builder 3.4.75: Gregory, Edward (8862), builder (b'maker)
Cousins, John	Beejording, Toodyay		6.57: Kitson, John (286), ntg (engineer)
Cousins, Robert [270] Arr. 1851 <i>Mermaid</i>	Dongara		12.11.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Cousins, W.	Irwin		30.6.68 - 31.12.68: Hoffman, Francis (6318), carpenter
Cox, James (Exp)	Toodyay		1864: Baker, Robert (6826), b'maker
Craig, Samuel	York		8.4.64: Smith, William (6919), carpenter
Craine, Thomas	Back Flats, Greenough		18.2.65: Sutton, David (5757), mason
Crampton, Bernard	Toodyay		1871: Carbury, Thomas (9110), thatcher

			1871: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter
Creswick, Robert [6551] Arr. 1862 <i>York</i>	Geraldton	Model maker	31.12.68 - 30.6.69: Gibson, David (6874), ntg (carpenter) 8.7.74 - 30.7.77: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter 30.6.79: McCarthy, Peter (8365), carpenter 27.11.79: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter
Critchley, Edward [9314] Arr. 1866 <i>Corona</i>	Greenough	Brick maker	30.10.69: Tizzard, William (8435), b'maker (mason)
Cross G.	Vasse		24.3.75: Dobb, John W. (9430), carpenter
Crowther & Mitchell	Northampton		10.3.86: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter
Curedale, George [4631] Arr. 1858 <i>Nile</i>	Rocky Bay & Freshwater Bay		1.9.64: Geaghan, (Geoghan) Robert (1315), builder (mason)
Cutting, Henry John	Victoria District		19.5.66 - 30.6.66: Goldthorpe, George (7427), carpenter. Geraldton 1869: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter 1869: Clarke, Joseph (8809), carpenter
Darch, Thomas (Exp)	Perth		30.6.66 - 30.6.69: Evans, Thomas (7097), b'maker (fmr labourer)
Davey, Patrick [5304] Arr. 1858 <i>Edwin Fox</i>	Perth		9.11.62 - 3-.6.68: Paul, Robert (8966), b'maker 1863: Baker, Robert (6826): b'maker 1.67 - 6.67: Brown, Alfred (6503), b'maker 1870: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker

			25.3.73: Gregory, Edward (8862), b'maker
Davies, Thomas	Perth: Peninsula		29.8.70: Hudson, Robert (8304), carpenter
Dawson, A.	Greenough		5.12.66: Lynch, Patrick (6129) b'layer
DeLetch, Alfred Daniel De Leech [114] Arr. 1850 <i>Hashemy</i>	Perth	Tailor	1852: Barlow, Johathon (904), ntg
Dearle, John	Arthur River		14.2.76: Gregory, Edward (8862), b'maker
Dempster, J.M.	"Buckland", Toodyay		1859: Baird, David (4914), ntg (mason) 1875: Collins, Charles (9125), builder
de Silva, John Pedro	Freshwater Bay		25.4.59 - 8.8.60: Jones, Thomas (285),ntg (carpenter)
Devenish, H.W.	Fremantle		12.11.72: McKew, Richard (8939), mason (frm labourer)
Devereaux, W. [7075] Arr. 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Perth & Mason's Station	Farm Labourer	31.8.62: Kilburn, Septimus (8910), b'maker (groom) 1865: Ainsworth, George (8771), b'maker (silk spinner) 1867: Cartledge, Henry (6091), b'maker (soldier: sawyer) 1868: Bates, John (5177), b'maker 11.2.68: Parrott, William (8099), b'maker (b'layer) 2.6.68: Day, John (8250), b'maker

			<p>6.68 - 12.68: Clapson, James (7961), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>29.9.68 - 9.11.68: Cooper, David (8509), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>10.68 - 6.69: Bolton, Henry (6526), brickmaker</p> <p>21.10.68 - 30.6.69: Jeffrey, Charles (7731), b'maker (paper maker)</p> <p>10.68: Jeffrey, John Wm (7732), b'maker (auctioneer)</p> <p>1868: Bates, John (5177), b'maker (tailor)</p> <p>1869: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker</p> <p>1869: Collins, John (9127), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>1869: Jeffrey, John Wm (7732), b'maker (auctioneer)</p> <p>23.2.70: Jeffrey, Charles (7731), b'maker (paper maker)</p> <p>3.3.70: Cooper, David (8509), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>8.3.70: Creamer, James B. (8233), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>10.3.70: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), b'maker</p> <p>30.5.70: Smith, John (8404), b'maker</p> <p>12.6.70: Cooper, David (8509), b'maker (lab)</p> <p>12.9.70: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), b'maker</p> <p>1870: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker</p> <p>1876: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter</p>
Dewar, Alexander	Greenough Flats		<p>12.12.66 - 31.12.66: Small, James (6741), builder (mason)</p>

Dixon, George	Fremantle		1869: Carlton, Edward (9401), carpenter 5.10.69: Lockley, David (8919), carpenter
Dobson, James	Perth		10.2.53: Clements, James (1073), b'maker
Dobson, John	Freshwater Bay		17.2.53: Hinton, Joseph (177), ntg (b'layer)
Doncon, (?Duncan) Reuben	York		21.5.68: Scally, Roger (2191), ntg (carpenter)
Doran, William	Champion Bay		3.12.66 - 31.12.66: Peters, George (6414), mason
Doyle, J.	Guildford		1871: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker 19.12.71: Feeney, William (9446), b'maker
Drebank, Arthur, [592] Arr. 1851 <i>Pyrenees</i>	Perth	Bricklayer	7.8.51: Rudkin, Joseph (505), ntg (b'layer) 8.9.52 - 17.2.53: Hinton, Joseph (177), ntg (b'layer) 10.10.52: Kirkham, William (222), ntg (b'maker) 22.11.52 – 17.3.53: Waller, George (178) ntg (mason's lab) 1.8.53: Digby, George (235), mason
Duckham, Henry [3622] Arr. 1855 <i>Adelaide</i>	"Yangedine", York	Brick & tile maker	1869: Collins, Charles (9125), b'maker 29.7.72: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker
Duffield, E.	Fremantle		1868: Bain, William (8806), carpenter
Dunne, E.	Fremantle		1870: Andrews, Jonathon (6204), carpenter

Dunstan, K.	Perth		1875: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter
Duperouzel, A. [4840] Arr. 1858 <i>Lord Raglan</i>	"Knockadin", York		23.12.71: Fitton, James (9155), mason
Dyson, James	Perth		1870: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker 29.9.71: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), b'maker 11.71 - 12.71: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker 1.11.71 - 30.6.72: Evans, Thomas (7102), b'maker
Eddie, John [1641] Arr. 1853 <i>Dudbrook</i>	Williams	Comb maker	19.5.79: Howell, George (9467), builder
Edwards, E.	Gingin		3.5.64: Smith, Thomas (6437), b'layer
Elliott, C.H.	Chapman		8.7.64: Hoffman, Francis (6318), carpenter 12.9.72: Leach, Henry (9493), carpenter
Elsegood, John	Perth	Almanack: Carpenter 1872 - 1873	30.6.81: Howard, Charles (8867), carpenter 11.4.88: Potter, James (9545), carpenter
Elsegood, W.J.	Perth	Almanack: Carpenter 1869 – 70; 1872 - 1873	25.3.75: Davies, Thomas (9423), carpenter 1.3.76: Ware, James (9037), carpenter
Evans, Thomas [6286] Arr 1862 <i>Norwood</i>	Perth	Labourer	5.2.72: Rose, George (8685), b'maker 23.6.73: Thompson, James (8726), b'maker 20.7.74: Thompson, Thomas (9561), b'maker
Fagan, (Fegen), Alexander [317] Arr. 1851 <i>Mermaid</i>	Culham	Mason	11.2.60: Murgatroyt, James (5387), ntg (mason) 21.5.60: Scally, Roger (2191) mason (carpenter) 6.64: Lynch, Patrick (6129) b'layer

			22.1..70 - 31.12.70: Jones, John (7463), b'maker 27.9.70 - 8.11.70: Howarth, James (7439), b'maker 22.11.70: White, William (7304), ntg (b'maker) 6.12.70 - 31.12.70: Hurley, James (9203), builder 1871: Carter, (Collins) William (5916), b'layer
Fallon (James) & Sloan	Perth		25.5.77: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter
Fallon, Sloan	Williams		22.5.77: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter
Farmer, Thomas	Perth		31.7.83: Taylor, Levi (8141), b'maker
Farrington, Miss M.	Perth		13.8.71: Shaw, James (8428), b'maker
Fautleroy, Cornelius Charles	"Redcliffe", Perth Rd Guildford		9.12.68: Paul, Robert (8966), b'maker
Fautleroy, R.	Guildford		16.1.69: Hunter, Robert (8287), b'maker
Fawcett, Theodore	Pinjarrah Park		22.1.64 - 31.12.64: Leeman, Henry (6121), carpenter 8.69 - 12.69: Burns, Robert (6222), carpenter 1871: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter 1873: Carlow, James (8520), engineer
Felton, George [1679] Arr. 1853 <i>Dudbrook</i>	Champion Bay		1855: Bruce, James (3453), ntg (mason)

Finney, John	Victoria Plains		5.70: Butler, William (9103), b'layer
Fleay, Henry Walter	Williams, Arthur River		7.75: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), mason
Fleay, John	Gilgering. Bev/Toodyay		12.1.66 - 31.12.67: Smith, William (6019), carpenter 16.9.72: Howe, James (9772), builder
Ford, W.	Pinjarra		31.12.63: Quinn, James (6415), b'maker
Forrest, Robert	Bunbury		1879: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker
Fowler, John	?Roesland, Wellington		18.9.66: Thurgood, Isaac (7881), carpenter
Freeman, John Champion Bay	Railway Works, Champion Bay		1878: Barnett, John (9658), mason 28.8.78: Sheen, Michael (9565), mason
Friend, Isaac [216] Arr. 1851 <i>Mermaid</i>	Freshwater Bay		1852: Barber, George (331), ntg (mason's labourer) 1852: Bullough, Bullough (296), ntg (mason's labourer) 7.9.52 Walton, Michael (254), ntg (mason)
Gallagher, Peter	Fremantle		3.4.66: Marshall, David (8088), mason 30.11.67 - 31.12.67: McCormick, William (9235), mason
Galley, John [5188] Arr. 1858 <i>Edwin Fox</i>	Bridgetown		12.12.77: Jellis, John (9777), carpenter
Gallop, James	Freshwater Bay		18.8.51: Emperingham, Edward (494), ntg (b'maker)

			9.11.52: Hodges, James (1163), ntg (carpenter)
Garrard, William C. [6306] Arr. 1862 <i>Norwood</i>	Geraldton		4.8.64 - 31.12.64: Leggett, James (6913), carpenter
Gaskin, John	Guildford		4.10.52: Digan (Degan, Dugan), Francis (493), ntg (b'maker)
Gault, Robert	? "Matedine", York		16.12.71: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter
Gaunt, William	Perth		28.5.75: Taylor, Levi (8141), b'maker
Gentle, William	Quabuton, Wellington & York		7.8.71: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter
Gibney, P. Rev.	York		2.71 & 8.71: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter
Gillman, H & J & W	Bunbury		2.9.68 - 30.6.69: Doyle, John (8540), b'maker
Gillman, Henry	Bunbury		21.8.71: Robins, Thomas (9557), carpenter
Gittens, John [6601] Arr. 1862 <i>York</i>	Swan		1873: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter
Glass, W.C.	Geraldine Mine		24.9.64 - 31.12.64: Dunn, Theophilus (7397), carpenter (engineer) 3.11.65 - 6.4.66: Garritty, Patrick (6598), mason

Glennon, Christopher	Toodyay		28.12.68: Johnson, Thomas (7737), b'maker
Godden, Thomas [1657] Arr. 1853 <i>Dudbrook</i>	Busselton		1864: Campbell, James (5008), b'maker)
Graham, Joseph	Perth	Almanack: Brick layer 1873 - 1878	22.8.64: Taylor, George (6009), b'layer 1868: Adams, Thomas (8192), b'layer
Graham, William Henry	"Fairfield" Edicup		1.72 - 8.73: Brown, Edward (8219), carpenter
Grant, Joseph	Greenough Flats & Dongara		1866: Baxter, Charles (7945), carpenter 17.7.66: Holt, John (8012), carpenter
Gray, David [8856] Arr 1866 <i>Belgravia</i>	Perth	Boiler maker WA Dict: B'layer & mason 1870s. Perth 1877 builder & contractor Almanack: Brick layer 1874 - 78	1871 - 1878: Lots of labourers 27.12.71 - 3.7.72: Smith, John (9295), plasterer 1872: Bailey, James (8499), b'layer 24.5.72 - 31.12.72: Smith, John (8404), b'maker 29.5.72 - 30.7.72: Conway, Thomas (9129), mason 23.12.72 - 31.12.72: Ross, James (8971), b'layer 1873: Ashmore, Thomas (8776), carpenter 1873: Austin, William (9653), b'layer 1873: Bennett, Cornelius (9659), builder 10.1.73 - 30.6.73: Ellis, John (9726), plasterer 8.5.73: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), plasterer 18.8.73: Jones, John (7457), carpenter 17.8.74: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter 4.9.74: McCarthy, Peter (8365), carpenter

			<p>16.2.75 - 13.8.75: Somers, William (8434), b'layer</p> <p>19.5.75 - 29.6.75: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter</p> <p>30.6.75: Ellis, John (9726), plasterer</p> <p>22.10.75: Ellis, John (9726), carpenter</p> <p>7.12.75: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), plasterer</p> <p>30.8.76: Ware, James (9037), carpenter</p> <p>25.11.77: Woodall, Joseph (9039), carpenter (cooper)</p> <p>22.1.78: Morgan, Thomas (9526), builder</p>
Gray, George	Bootnall, Greenough		7.8.53: King, Henry (186) ntg (b'maker)
Gray, Henry (also below)	Peninsula, Perth,	Boatman later brickmaker	<p>19.7.51: Bird, John (497)</p> <p>26.7.51: Digan (Degan, Dugan), Francis (493), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>17.7.51: Dudley, William (460), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>19.10.51: Skalding(Skelding), John (971), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>1851: Bird, John (497), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>7.5.52: Isom, Joseph (696), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>1852: Beresford, William (383), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>4.7.57: Williams, Job (495), ntg (b'maker)</p>
Gray, Henry	Greenough Geraldton	Businessman	<p>1.10.51: Dobson, John (36), ntg (b'maker) Greenough</p> <p>17.7.51: Dudley, William (460), ntg (b'maker)</p> <p>19.10.51: Skalding, Jo (971), ntg (b'maker)</p>

			7.5.52: Isom, Joseph (696), ntg (b'maker) 28.7.52: Jackson, Thomas (1190), ntg (b'maker) 16.7.57: Williams, Job (495) ntg (carpenter) 5.12.66 - 31.12.66: Corbett, Michael (4781), mason
Gray, M.W.	Newcastle		3.8.68: Wignell, Samuel (7897), b'maker
Green, James	"Katrine"		17.10.68: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter 23.6.69: Pugh, Joseph (9548), carpenter
Green, John U & McKenzie	Albany		30.8.65: Rigbye, George (4375), b'layer (builder) 11.67 - 12.68: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter
Gregg, Samuel	Newcastle		13.12.70: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Gregory, Edward [8862]	Perth		25.7.73: Molloy, Daniel (9825), b'maker 12.8.73: Rowe, Hugh (8399), b'maker
Haddon, George [6310] <i>Arr. 1862 Norwood</i>	Geraldton		3.67 - 12.67: Baxter, Charles (7945), carpenter
Hagger, S.	Dandaragan, Northam		12.60 - 1.61: Bennett, Charles (4747) ntg (b'layer)
Hale, Matthew (Bishop)	Perth		1858: Brooks, Joseph (4083), ntg (mason) 20.7.58: Mitchell, John (3135) ntg (carpenter)
Hall, H.	Mandurah		1872: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter 1874; 1875: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
Halstead, Thomas	Jarrahdale		3.3.79: Potter, James (9545), carpenter (b'layer) Employs <u>lots</u> of labourers

Hamersley & Co.	Greenough		20.9.66: Lynch, Patrick (6129), mason (b'layer)
Hamilton, Joseph ?Joshua [9179]	Perth	Orig occup weaver See Convict trade list	1.1873: Brown, James (9094), b'maker 24.10.73: Drake, Thomas (8833), b'maker 24.11.73: Drake, Thomas (8833), b'maker 5.12.73: Smith, John (8404), b'maker 1873: Broadley, Thomas (8489), b'maker 1873: Clewes, Samuel (90??), b'maker 4.74: Taylor, Thomas (8723), b'maker 20.4.74: Tams, Samuel (9591), b'maker 31.10.74: Thompson, Thomas (9561), b'maker
Hammond, J.	Fremantle		1880: Clements, Issac (8516), mason
Hardey, G.	Perth		31.12.63: Knight, William (4962), mason
Hardey, Henry	Wannernooka		31.1.66: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter 31.6.66: Read, Joseph (5778), carpenter
Hardey, John W.	Grove Farm, Perth Rd, Swan		1.4.51: Turner, John (678), ntg (carpenter)
Hardey, John W.	Guildford		18.3.55: Spearing, James (1021), ntg (b'layer)
Harding, James [3735] Arr. 1856 <i>William Hammond</i>	Vict. Plains	Brickmaker CF 9.9.64	1869: Connolly, Bernard (9128), b'layer
Hardman, William	Canning, Perth		27.12.54: Jackson, John (496), ntg (b'maker)

Harrington, James	Arnold Farm, York		11.2.64: Joyce, Henry (5955), ntg (b'maker)
Harris, John	South Perth		1851 - 53: Snape, Robert (832), ntg (b'layer)
Harris, W.E.	Middle Swan		3.7.72: Gittins, John (6601), carpenter
Harvey, John	Gwalla, Northampton		1871: Brooks, (Bryceson) John (6092), mason
Harwood, James	Perth		28.12.66: Wignell, Samuel (7897), b'maker
Harwood, Joshua J.	Fremantle	Almanack: Builder & auctioneer 1862 – 1868. Builder & victualler 1876 Almanack: Harwood & Sons Builders & Contractors 1873 - 1878	30.6.63: Gildon, William (6595), carpenter 10.65: Shanegan, John (6445), mason 1866: Goodwin, Samuel (7698), carpenter 22.6.67 - 20.11.67: Sedgewick, Edmond (9284), carpenter 8.67 - 12.67: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter 27.5.68: Harrison, James (7438), carpenter 9.7.69: Hyde, James (8579), carpenter 12.7.69 - 31.12.69: Sleath, Thomas (8985), carpenter 1.4.70 - 30.6.70: Mack, John (6377), carpenter 21.2.71 - 30.6.71: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 4.10.71: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 5.10.71: Smith, John (9295), plasterer 31.12.71: James, William (8894), carpenter 31.12.72: Moore, John (7796), carpenter 1873: Barrett, Cornelius (9659), carpenter

			<p>4.4.75: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason 5.6.75: P James (9545), mason 2.6.75 - 31.12.75: Docherty, Peter (7401), mason 10.8.76: Docherty, Peter (7401), mason 19.9.76: Lockward, Joshua (8916), plasterer 12.76: Greenward, George (8285), carpenter 27.12.76: Smith, John (9295), plasterer 9.4.77: Lockward, Joshua (8916), plasterer 9.10.77: Lockward, Joshua (8916), plasterer 4.3.78 - 4.4.78: Smith, John (9295), plasterer 31.12.78: Seale, Thomas (9542), carpenter 1878: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter 27.1.80: McAllen, John (9503), carpenter 13.9.80: Smith, John (9295), mason</p>
Harwood, Samuel	Perth		<p>31.12.63: Wood, Charles (7287), b'maker 28.10.66: Wignell, Samuel (7897), b'maker 12.66: Clapson, James (7961), b'maker 25.5.67 - 30.6.67: Doyle, John (8540), b'maker 12.67 - 12.68: Clapson, James (7961), b'maker</p>
Hassell, George Henry [1225] Arr. 1852 <i>Marion</i>	Toodyay: Newcastle	Plasterer	<p>23.2.60: Moore, Jesse (3838), ntg (b'maker) 1865: Baker, Robert (6826), b'maker (groom) 1871: Casey, Peter (8822), b'layer (labourer)</p>
Haysom, George	Woodbridge, G'ford		<p>6.55 - 11.55: Burns, Patrick (2016), ntg (carpenter) 10.1.62: Wilkes, John (1614), ntg (mason)</p>

Hayward, Thomas	Harvey		4.68 - 6.68: Burns, Robert (6222), carpenter
Heal, George	Fremantle		27.10.73 – 30.6.74: Scholes, William 8419), carpenter 3.1.74: Dickson, Henry (9712), carpenter 30.6.75 -30.6.77: Dickson, Henry (9712), carpenter 26.8.75 – 30.6.76: Scholes, William 8419), carpenter 17.12.75: Parson, Fred. Geo. (9345), stone cutter 12.75 – 6.76: Bell, William (9662), mason 17.3.76: Smith, William (4930), carpenter 16.5.76: Vigo, Peter (6467), mason 30.6.76: Shean, Michael (9565), stone cutter
Hepburn, David	Geraldton		30.12.85: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter
Herbert, Henry (Snr)	Freshwater Bay, Perth		19.5.59: Hill, Samuel (4141), ntg (b'layer)
Herbert, Henry (Jnr)	Irwin		28.4.68 - 30.6.68: Holmes, Edward (5549), mason (b'layer)
Hicks, Joseph	"Gwambygine"		23.5.72: McCormack, James (9505), carpenter
Higgins, E.G.	Bunbury, Fremantle Rd		6.2.74: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason
Holt, John P	Narra Tarra, Dongara		1871: Sleath, Thomas (8985), carpenter 29.7.72: Leach, Henry (9493), carpenter

			4.8.73 - 30.6.75: Coombs, Robert (8812), carpenter
Hood, W.	Pinjarra		4.10.64 - 31.12.64: Simpson, James (5791), b'maker
Horrocks, Joseph L. [1014] <i>Arr. 1852 Marion</i>	Gwalla	Merchant	30.6.63: Docherty, Tole (6168), builder (b'maker) 30.6.63: Lindley, Reuben (5792), mason (builder) 12.63 - 12.64: Cameron, David (5797), carpenter 31.12.63 - 30.6.65: Smith, Richard (5830), carpenter
Hosken, John	Gwalla		5.7.64: Roberts, Thomas (6422), thatcher 6.11.64: Hoffman, Francis (6318), carpenter
Hoskin, Martin Cpt	Gwalla		8.6.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Howell, William	Guildford		1871, 1873, 1875: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter
Hudson, Thomas [5440] <i>Arr. 1859 Sultana</i>	Fremantle	Puddler	18.7.73: Morgan, Thomas (9526), builder 1879: Bickley, Absalon (8218), mason
Hudson & Co	Fremantle		30.8.72: Hayes, Henry (6127), carpenter
Hughes, Henry	Perth		18.2.54: Banbury, Joseph (1481), ntg (b'lmaker)
Hughes, John	Bullcreek		21.8.69: Gittins, John (6601), carpenter and labourers

Hull/Hall, John, J.	Champion Bay		31.12.67: Wood, William (6775), b'maker
Hyde, Stephen -	Perth	Bricklayer. Also appears to have held a tavern license for short period 'The Vine' his house in Murray St.	No date: Searle, Thomas (814), ntg (b'layer) 1851: Ashton, Edward (901), ntg, (b'layer) 7.8.51: McDonald, James (148), ntg (b'layer) 23.10.51: Willis, Edward (974), ntg (b'layer)
Ingram, John [209]	Perth	Boatman. TL 16.2.52. Exp. 1.62. Recon. 7.7.64; TL 6.1.71; CF 6.11.71.	3.10.55: Hawkins, Henry (1273), ntg (b'layer)
Irons, W.	Guildford		1870: Abbotts, Abraham (9059), b'maker 27.1.70: Cousins, William (8512), b'maker 11.3.70 - 30.6.70: Jeffrey, Charles (7731), b'maker 6.71: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker;
Jackson, John	Bateman's Station & Paradise		7.9.70 - 31.12.70: Roberts, William (8984), mason
Jackson, Thomas	Perth & Paradise	Almanack: Brick maker 1870 - 78	1865: Barlow, William (6834), b'maker 15.4.65: Edwards, Charles (4677), b'maker 27.9.66: Noble, James (4847), b'layer 5.3.67 - 30.6.67: Taylor, William (7876), b'maker 21.10.68: Paul, Robert (8966), b'maker 1869: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker 26.2.70: Smith, John (8404), b'maker 1871: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker 12.10.71: Jones, Richard F. (9211), b'maker 3.1.74: Tams, Samuel (9591), b'maker

Jaffrey, J.	Perth		3.8.69 – 31.12.69: Trussler, George (9013), b'maker 1870: Ball, Thomas (9382), b'maker
James, Abraham	Newcastle		27.3.71: Spratt, Henry (9582), b'layer Labourers
Jarvis, Henry	Fremantle	Almanack: Builder 1872 - 1876	22.6.67 – 30.6.67: McCormick, William (9233), mason 1871: Andrews, Thomas (6204), carpenter 2.9.71: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 9.10.71 – 31.12.71: Driscoll, Dennis (8536), stone cutter
Jarvis, James	Fremantle	Almanack: Carpenter 1876 - 1878	12.4.75: Dixon, John (9713), carpenter 19.1.76: Docherty, Perth (7401), ntg (b'maker) 4.9.76: Smith, Thomas (8219), carpenter 27.1.77 – 14.8.77: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), plasterer 8.5.77: Smith, John (9295), carpenter 20.11.77 – 30.6.78: Morgan, Thomas (9251), carpenter 25.4.79: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason 22.6.80: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason
Jarvis, William	Fremantle		1868: Andrews, Thomas (6204), carpenter 1870: Atherton, David (8479), b'maker
Jecks, J.B.	Guildford		1873: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter
Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Arr. 1864 <i>Clara</i>	Perth	Papermaker. TL 21.8.65; CF 25.4.71 (Perth). York. Worked self as lab. 1865	23.8.64: Hickson, George (8303), b'maker 17.12.69: Evans, Thomas (7102), b'maker

		Brickmaker. To NSW 29.7.72 Almanack: Brick maker 1870	27.5.70: Creamer, James B. (8233), b'maker 23.6.70: Vass, Albert (7578), mason 16.2.71 – 30.6.71: Hamilton, Joshua (9719), b'layer
Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Arr. 1864 <i>Clara</i>	Perth	Auctioneer. Married 1869 Margaret Cullen	24.9.69 – 31.12.69: Jeffrey, C. (7731), b'maker 28.9.69: Sparks, Edward (6036), b'maker 23.10.69: Smith, John (8404), b'maker 26.11.69: Mulholland, Samuel (8372), b'maker 1.12.69: Howes, Joshua (8299), b'maker 17.12.69 – 31.12.69: King, John (9218), b'maker 28.12.69: McCabe, John (7781), b'maker
Jeffrey, William	Albany		25.8.71 - 3.4.74: Jones, Thomas (8611), carpenter
Jennings, Joseph B.	Geraldton		30.6.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 27.12.71: Reid, James (7247), mason 1872: Clements, Isaac (8516), builder
Jewell, Richard R	Perth	Clerk of Works Almanack: Architect 1862 - 69	No date: Gatehouse, Edward (2931), ntg (carpenter) 2.4.62: Green, Henry (6194), carpenter 3.4.62: Woodward, Charles (6191), ntg (b'layer) 9.4.62: Smith, William (4930), ntg (carpenter) 10.8.62: Rigbye, George (4375), ntg (b'layer)
Johnson, J.	Sussex		1.70 - 6.70: Carter, Thomas (8515), carpenter

Johnson, W.	Pinjarra		30.6.70: Jones, William (7468), carpenter
Johnson, W.W.	York		1871: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Johnston, John Saunders	York		20.6.64 - 30.6.65: Smith, William (6019), carpenter 17.5.65 - 30.6.65: McGinness, John (7497), carpenter 17.5.65 - 30.11.65: Maddock, Charles W. (5914), carpenter 28.1.67: Joyce, Henry (5955), carpenter (b'maker) 18.6.67: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 7.3.68 - 30.6.68: Jones, Robert (8604) carpenter 11.12.68 - 31.12.68: Jones, William (7468), carpenter 2.10.69: George, William (8861), carpenter 25.4.70; 3.3.71: Jones, William (7468), carpenter 10.12.72: Kilburne, Francis (5732), carpenter 16.2.74: Smith, James (8408), carpenter 1875: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter
Jones, Oliver	Swan		1871: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter

Jones, Thomas	Gingin		1870: Collins, Charles (9125), b'maker (b'layer)
Jones, W.	Perth		1870: Collins, John (9127), b'maker 9.5.70 – 30.6.70: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), b'maker
Keating, John	York		7.9.69: Sanderson, John (9863), carpenter
Kelly, William	Mines, Champion Bay		18.11.74: Neal, William (9835), builder
Kemp, Joshua [477] Arr. 1851 <i>Pyrenees</i>	Guildford	Labourer. CP 23.4.53	1870: Buttery, Thomas (8222), b'maker
Kenworthy, Joseph	"Marley", York		1864: Brett, John (5589), carpenter 24.10.64: Turnock, William (6748), b'maker
Kerr, Daniel	Fremantle	Almanack: Carpenter 1862 - 1874	No date: Gray, Alexander (6603), carpenter 7.8.67: Smith, John (2859), carpenter 16.9.67; 31.12.67 – 30.6.68: Hyde, Jason (8579), carpenter 1868: Bain, William (8806), carpenter 1868: Burns, Robert (6222), carpenter 22.5.68: Sedgewick, Edmond (9284), carpenter 22.6.68 – 30.6.68: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter 31.8.68: Gittens, John (6601), carpenter 1871: Bryne, Patrick (9677), carpenter

King, Daniel	Gingin		20.10.70: George, William (8861), carpenter
King, George	Greenough		3.3.66 - 30.6.66: Small, James (6741), builder (mason) 17.3.68: Holmes, Edward (5549), mason (b'layer)
King, J.	Dardanup		17.2.68: Kelly, James (7470), b'maker
King, John	Williams & Masons		18.6.58: Moore, Jesse (3838), ntg (b'maker)
King, William	Greenough		16.9.67: Wood, William (6775), b'maker
Kirwan, John	Freshwater Bay		23.4.51: Cox, James (53), ntg (mason)
Knight, William	Brookton & Victoria Plains		2.1.65: Nicholson, James (6395), b'maker
Ladhams, George (Exp)	Swan		28.12.67 - 30.12.67 & 20.2.68: Taylor, William (7876), b'maker
Langham, John [7182] Arr. 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Vict. Plains & Perth	Bricklayer CF 31.12.73. To SA 2.12.76	1870: Collins, Charles (9125), b'maker 1.7.74: Donnelly, Peter (9146), b'layer
Larwood, W.	Williams River		30.6.78: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter
Lauder, Thomas [5602] Arr. 1861 <i>Palmerston</i>	Greenough	Stonemason CF 29.8.71	1.3.68: Ross, Thomas (5612), mason 21.7.68 & 31.12.68: Ross, Thomas (5612), mason
Lawrence, G.	Bunbury		4.8.71: Robins, Thomas (9557), carpenter

Learman, Henry	"Wonnerup" Bunbury		25.5.70 - 30.6.70: Doyle, John (8540), b'maker 9.12.73: Davies, Benjamin (7673), b'layer 5.3.74: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason
Lee Steere, J.G.	Blackwood		11.9.67: Hogan, James (6319), carpenter
Lefroy, Henry Bruce	Walebing, Vict. Plains		1872: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter 1875: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 20.3.77: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
Lennan, William Pat.	Perth, York, Toodyay, Champ. Bay; Wanneroo, Perth		17.4.67: Corbett, Michael (4781), mason (Champ. Bay) 1870: Brown, Thomas (8493), mason 1870: Collins, Charles (9125), b'maker 27.10.70: Mitchell, William (8938), b'maker 30.6.71: Conway, Thomas (9129), builder
Leverman, Lewis	Greenough		10.11.67: Shields, Henry (7269), carpenter 23.3.68: Wood, William (6775), labourer & b'maker 14.8.71 - 31.12.77: Wooldridge, George (8742), carpenter
Lewis, Arthur	Busselton		20.9.66: Head, Charles (6894), b'maker (mason's labourer) 3.11.66: Wilson, George (5089), labourer 3.11.66 - 31.12.66: Leyland, James (5836), mason
Linthorne, W.H.	Greenough		8.7.66: Holt, John (8012), carpenter 30.6.66: Hoffman, Francis (6318), carpenter 30.8.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter

			12.11.79: Sheen, Michael (9565), mason
Lister, Thomas	Perth: Freshwater Bay		1856: Beeson, William (97), ntg (b'maker) 21.4.56: Speedy, Thomas (1569, ntg (carpenter) 2.9.62: Dell, Luke (799), ntg (mason)
Lloyd, G.W.	Bunbury		20.2.69; 31.12.69: Oldham, John Charles (7506), carpenter
Lockyer, J. & Thomas	Toodyay		30.6.58: Sullivan, John (3826), ntg (mason)
Longstaff, James B [172]	Perth	TL 17.2.52 CP 12.12.61 Labourer	2.7.54: Marshall, William (1612), ntg (carpenter)
Loxton, Stephen [9500] Arr. 1867 <i>Norwood</i>	York	Mason	20.9.73: Johnson, Charles (6339), b'maker
Lukin, Will?	Murram? of Haisethorpe		1871: Atkins, William (7916), carpenter
Lyons, James	Newcastle		1864: Baker, Robert (6826), b'maker 30.3.64: Johnson, William (6160), labourer 3.5.64: Lawrie (Laurie), Robert (6085), labourer 11.64 - 12.64: Chidler, Thomas (5968), b'maker 31.3.73: Gregory, Edward (8862), b'maker
Lyons, John	York		26.10.72: Thomas, John (9314) b'maker (carpenter)
McCarthy, John [1224] Arr. 1852 <i>Marion</i>	York "Yangedine"	Gun maker TOL 31.2.52 CP 2.54	23.8.64: Williams, Edward (6484), b'maker 24.10.64 - 3.12.64: Harvey, Francis (4988), b'maker

			6.12.64 - 30.1.65: Duke, Charles (Eli) (5984), b'maker 1.2.65: Unsworth, John (6466), b'maker 15.3.66: Hinton, John (7446), b'maker 7.12.66: Jones, William (8040), b'maker 28.6.69: Docherty, Peter (7402), mason (b'maker) 23.7.69: Ellis, James (8837), b'maker; 14.2.70: as gen. servant 13.8.69: McDonald, James (8350), b'maker 1872: Castleton, Charles (9403), b'maker 1876: Brown, William (7932), b'maker
McDonald, Sweeney	Kojonup		5.8.67: William, Evan (7899), mason (b'layer)
McKay, T.	York		30.11.71: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
McKean, James [413] Arr. 1851 <i>Pyrenees</i>	York	Labourer CP 23.4.53	7.6.69: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter 23.9.69: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter
McKeown, James	York		24.5.68: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 1870: Coghill, John (6047), carpenter 1871: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter
McLarty, E.	Pinjarra		3.2.65: Naylor, Joseph (6126), carpenter 1875: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
McLarty, J.P.	Pinjarra		1878: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
McLeod, George	York & Williams		1863: Best, Charles (6223), carpenter 7.7.63: White, John (6015), plasterer

			18.9.69: McDonald, James (8350), b'maker
McManus, James	Northam		30.12.75: Tams, Samuel (9591), b'maker
McNamara, M.	Toodyay		1871: Connell, Charles (8823), b'maker 17.1.72: Tilling, Thomas (9322), b'maker 1877: Broadley, Thomas (8489), b'maker
McNeece, John	Champion Bay		31.12.66: Hoffman, Francis (6318), carpenter
McPherson, Donald	Victoria Plains		1869: Butler, William (9103), b'layer (1870 as labourer) 1870: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker 1873, 1874: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter
McPherson, Duncan	Toodyay		1867: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter 24.2.77: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
McPherson, E.	Victoria Plains		6.9.72: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter
Magan, Dennis	Williams		5.1.76: Schlegel, James (6190), mason
Maguire, James	Dardanup & Wannerup		1877: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Major, Thomas	"Glengarry", Champion Bay		31.12.77: Knight, William (4962/9956), mason
Maley, J.S.	Greenough Flats		6.68 & 12.68: Chappell, George (6053), mason
Mandurah Church Building Com			7.71 - 12.71: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter

Mann, M. & J.	Geraldton		27.7.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Manning, C.A.	Fremantle		7.8.67: Hyde, James (8579), carpenter
Manning, Francis [5750] Arr. 1861 <i>Palmerston</i>	Mines, Champ. Bay	Shoemaker CP 25.2.69	2.1.71: Osborn, George (7812), mason 28.1.71: Mak, Frederick (9065), labourer
Marris, John	Perth		24.8.66: Dougherty, James (7970), b'maker 10.2.68: Mack, John (6377), b'maker 6.10.71: Grimes, Joseph (9170), b'maker 27.12.71: James, William (8894), b'maker
Marshall, Charles (Exp)	Fremantle		2.3.68 – 30.6.68: Johnson, Thomas (7163), carpenter
Marshall, Charles & Co	Fremantle		31.12.62: Vowles, Thomas (4865), carpenter 30.6.63: Fawn, Thomas (6867), caprenter 23.6.63; 2.6.64: Eades, Charles (6862), carpenter 1864: Bennett, James (7338), carpenter 3.1.1865: Cressey, William (6529), carpenter 6.65 – 12.65: Atwell, Henry (6807), caprenter 1866: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter 2.66; 6.66: Brook, Benjamin (7949), carpenter 30.6.66; 31.12.66: McGuiness, John (7497), carpenter 30.6.67: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 17.7.67: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter
Martin, Ebenezer	Baylup, Toodyay Rd, Toodyay		1872: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker 20.11.73 - 30.6.73: Rogers, John (8401), b'layer

Martin, James	Newcastle		23.5.71 - 31.12.71: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Marwick, William	York		18.10.69: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 13.12.69; 10.1.70: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter 9.4.75: Smith, Thomas (8127), carpenter
Masters, Charles H.	Gingin & Guildford		15.5.82; 11.10.82: Morgan, Thomas (9251), mason (plasterer)
Matthews, James (Exp)	Toodyay		1870: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Matthews, Thomas	Geraldton		1878: : Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter
Meagher, M.R. (Meacher?)	Bassendean Farm & Sandalford		25.2.70: Gittins, John (6601), carpenter 1871: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter 1871: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter
Meares, R.G.M.	Sandgate, Victoria Plains		8.12.76: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
Millard, Thomas E.	Toodyay		23.11.59: Cussons, Benjamin (2896), ntg (b'maker)
Miller, Arthur	Geraldton		28.8.76: Jeffrey, William H. (9208), carpenter 5.4.79: McCarthy, Peter (8365), carpenter 20.7.80: Sheen, Michael (9565), builder
Miller, James (Exp)	Geraldton		31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Phillips, Thomas (5645), carpenter 26.2.64: Kay, Robert (6172), carpenter 30.6.64: Hadden, George (6310), carpenter 10.3.64 - 30.6.64: Hainsworth, John (5714),

			carpenter
Mills, John	"Narra Tarra", Gwalla		29.10.66 - 31.12.66: Crane, Walter (7044), builder (com. Traveller) 31.12.66: Shields, Henry (7269), carpenter 1868: Gore, Robert (7419), builder
Mines, W.J.	Champion Bay		31.12.63: Smith, Edward (5667), carpenter
Mitchell, H.	York		24.4.68: Docherty, Peter (7402), labourer (b'maker) 30.6.69: Docherty, Peter (7402), mason (b'maker)
Mitchell, James	York		28.12.74: Ware, James (9037), carpenter 27.6.77 - 30.6.77: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
Mitchell, John	Perth		24.11.51: Letts, William (720), ntg (b'layer)
Mitchell, Joseph	Bunbury		6.11.76: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker
Mitchell, Samuel	Geraldine		30.6.68 - 30.6.70: Hainsworth, John (5714), carpenter
Moir, A.G.	Cape Riche		2.8.67 - 31.12.71: Pearson, William (6706), carpenter
Molloy, Thomas G.	Perth		15.5.76; 10.1.77; 27.7.77: Greenward, George (8285), carpenter
Monger, Charles S.	Newcastle		29.10.74: Smith, John (9295), builder (plasterer)

			29.12.74: Smith, John (9295), b'layer
Monger, George	York		1877: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker
Monger, Herbert	York		1871: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter 2.1.71: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter
Monger, Stephen	Stanton Springs, Beverley. Toodyay		n.d.: Gater, William (7417), b'layer 14.3.71: Hemsley, Richard (8877), b'layer
Monger, Stephen	Williams River		22.12.78 - 31.12.78: Sinclair, Robert (9567), carpenter
Montgomery, Samuel	Guildford		nd: Skinner, David (4542), carpenter 25.4.70: George, William (8861), carpenter 1875: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 18.1.76: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
Mooney, Thomas	York, Vict. Plains		6.3.69: Night, Thomas (5633), b'layer
Moore, Isaac	Beverley		1.2.67 - 30.6.67: Ware, Henry (7307), b'layer
Moore, James	Bunbury		24.6.65 - 31.12.65: Naylor, Joseph (6126), carpenter 30.6.66 - 31.12.69: Naylor, Joseph (6126), carpenter 21.10.67: Knight, William (7471), carpenter 4.3.69 - 31.12.69: Knight, William (7471), gen. servant (carpenter)
Moore, James D.	Perth		2.3.71: Thompson, Thomas (7565), b'maker 1.72: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), b'maker

Moore, Joseph	Fremantle		28.2.73: Morgan, Thomas (9526), mason
Moore, W.	Busselton		1864: Allen, William (4884), carpenter
Moore, W.S. & J.F.	Dongara		31.1.70: Critchley, Edward (9134), b'maker
Morrell, Richard	Northam & Perth		21.7.51: Rudkin, Joseph (505), ntg (b'layer) 28.10.51: Letts, William (720), ntg (b'layer) 25.10.51: Wallace, Matt. Nat. (924), ntg (b'layer)
Morris, James	Swan		3.65 - 6.65, 1870: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker
Morris, John	Perth, Fremantle & Serpentine		1.8.62: Smith, John (5258), ntg (plasterer) 18.6.63 – 18.8.63: Mustoe, Thomas (6920), b'maker 21.8.65: Morris, Thomas (8347), labourer 5.3.66: Jones, Thomas (7467), b'maker 8.3 – 39.6.66; 29.9.66 – 31.12.66: Ward, William (6775), b'maker 6.11.66: Morris, Thomas (8347), b'maker 13.3.67: Loveridge, John (6651), b'maker 18.3.67 – 31.12.71: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker 28.2.72: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), b'maker 6.9.72: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker 22.2.77: Tams, Samuael (9591), b'maker

Morris, John	Perth		8.6. – 30.6.66: Evans, Thomas (7102), b'maker 18.9.66: Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker 10.9.68: Wignall, Samuel (7897), labourer 4.8.78; Wignall, Samuel (7897), b'maker
Mount, Lionel S.	Bunbury & Blackwood		5.7.64: Dunn, Theophilus (7397), carpenter (engineer)
Mountain, James [3591] Arr. 1855 <i>Adelaide</i>	Irwin	Carpenter CF: 13.12.69	20.1.71: Leach, Henry (9493), carpenter
Muir & Sons	Albany, Forest Hill, together with a number of other locations		30.6.64: Rigbye, George (4375), mason (b'layer) 6.64 - 9.64: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter
Nevare, Edward	Perth		1852: Ashton, Edward (901), ntg (b'layer)
Newman, J.	Perth		17.12.69 – 31.12.69: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter 11.3.70: Ware, James (9037), caprenter
Newton, John [450] Arr. 1851 <i>Pyrenees</i>	Perth	Clerk	5.5.59: Glennon, Christopher (3955), ntg (b'maker)
Noonan (Nunan), Joseph [9837] Arr. 1868 <i>Hougoumont</i>	Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay;	Builder FP: 15.5.69 Almanack: Builder 1870 - 76	1870: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter 6.5.70: Dresch, Edwin (9149), carpenter 11.70 - 12.70: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 11.70 - 12.70: Connolly, Patrick (9142), carpenter 11.12.70 - 30.6.71: Welby, James (8740), carpenter 15.12.70; 30.6.71: Griffiths, John (9455),

			carpenter 1871: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter 1.3. – 30.6.71: Gull, Edwin (8279), carpenter 28.4.71: Eaton, William John (9723), carpenter 9.5.70? - 30.4.71: Weaseley, John (9605), b'layer 6.71: Barrett, Cornelius (9659), plasterer 8.71 – 12.71: Byrne, Patrick (9477), carpenter 4.12.71: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter 12.71 – 12.72: Barrett, Cornelius (9659), b'layer 21.6.72: Jones, John (7457), carpenter 3.6.72: Dixon, John (9713), carpenter 12.12.78 - 18.4.79: Daley, John (8542), mason
Norrie, J. mason	Wellington		1874: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker
Norrish, R. (Snr)	Kojonup		1874: Brown, Edward (8219), carpenter
North, Daniel	Bunbury		1878: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker
Ogle, Robert	Guildford		8.2.70: Thompson, James (7284), b'layer (mason) 25.7.73: Mahon, John (8659), b'maker
O'Neil, John	Swan, Toodyay		11.12.73: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter 19.5.79: McAllen, John (9503), carpenter
Osborne, James (Exp?)	"Bootenall", Geraldton		18.7.71: Pitchforth, William (9267), mason

Padbury, Walter	"Yatheroo" Swan, Toodyay, Vict. Plains		6.75 - 12.77: Eaton, William John (9723), carpenter 30.6.76: Somers, William (8434), b'layer (builder) 31.12.76: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter
Padbury, Walter	Perth		Lists some of the early convicts with trades, but no occupation is given on list.
Parkinson, Henry [8674] <i>Arr. 1865 Vimeira</i>	Sussex & Perth	Labourer	5.2.72: Steward, Joseph (8432), b'maker
Parmenter, William [6408] <i>Arr. 1862 Norwood</i>	Bunbury	Bricklayer CP: 18.8.64	31.12.72: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason
Paul, Robert [8966] <i>Arr. 1866 Belgravia</i>	Guildford & Redcliffe	Brickmaker CR: 14.6.69	28.10.69 - 31.12.69: James, William (8894), b'maker 1869; 2.70 - 12.70: Bates, John (5177), b'maker 1870: Bishop, Henry (8496), b'maker
Pearse, W.J.	Fremantle		31.12.68: Cressy, William (6529), mason
Pearson, Frank W.	Greenough		24.2.71; 29.7.71: Wooldridge, George (8742), carpenter
Pengelly, Arthur	Champ. Bay		30.6.63: Leary, John (6915), carpenter
Perejuhn, John	Greenough		1867 - 1868: Critchley, Edward (9134), labourer (b'maker) 30.6.67: Corbett, Michael (4781), mason

			1.8.67; 30.10.67: Wood, William (6775), b'maker
Pettit G. (?George)	Porongorup		17.7.71: Loxton, Stephen (9500), mason
Phelps, William (surveyor)	Geraldton		31.12.64: Lynch, Patrick (6129), b'layer 2.10.65: Docherty, Tole (6168), builder (b'maker) 5.10.65: Docherty, Peter (7402), labourer (b'maker) 31.12.64; 3.5.65 - 31.12.65: Dillon, John (6059), builder 26.9.65: Corbett, Michael (4781), mason
Phillips, Samuel P.	"Culham", Baylup		2.5.70 - 31.12.70: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Picken, John	Guildford		1871: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter
Platt, Frederick	Bunbury		20.8.67: Taylor, George (6009), b'layer 31.12.72: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), b'layer (plasterer)
Pope, George	'7 Mile Well' Geraldton		31.12.64 - 30.6.65: Docherty, Tole (6168), builder (b'maker) 31.12.65 - 30.6.66: Docherty, Tole (6168), mason (b'maker) 2.7.67; 31.12.67: Docherty, Tole (6168), labourer (b'maker)
Pope, L.	Champion Bay		30.6.75: Harding, James (9182), carpenter

Postans, George (Exp)	Perth		15.6.53: Digby, George (235), ntg (mason)
Powell, Edward B.	'Gulls Creek', Canning		20.9.54 - 1.55: Rose, David (255), ntg (mason)
Preshouse, Joseph [6049] Arr. 1862 <i>Lincelles</i>	Perth	Carpenter.	13.12.69: Jones, William (7468), carpenter 19.6.71; 11.12.72: McDiarmid, Frederick (4797), carpenter
Price, J.S. (Rev?)	Pinjarra		1865: Brown, George (6266), carpenter 1871: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
Prime, F.	Busselton		8.8.64: Dunn, Theophilus (7397), carpenter (engineer)
Ralston, G.D.	Fremantle		16.11.72: Morgan, Thomas (9526), builder 1.1.73: Heal, George (8292), carpenter
Rees, J.A.	Champion Bay		17.10.64 - 31.12.64: Haddon, George (6310), carpenter
Regan, W.	Kendenup		13.7.68: Jones, John (9210), b'maker
Reid, William	Guildford (west)		26.1.67; 22.6.67: Munday, William (7800), gen. svt. 21.8.68: Munday, William (7800), builder
Reilly, James	Perth		18.12.67 – 30.6.70: Taylor, George (6009), mason
Rhodes, William	Gingin		31.12.70: George, William (8861), carpenter
Richardson, J.	Geraldton		4.3.79: McCarthy, Peter (8365), labourer 2.3.80: McCarthy, Peter (8365), carpenter

Richardson, John	Toodyay		7.12.72: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter 2.12.73: Potter, James (9545), carpenter 1874: Ashmore, Thomas (8476), carpenter 16.4.75: Smith, Thomas (8127), carpenter 8.6.75: Ware, James (9037), carpenter 1876: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter
Ridley, L.F.	Irwin		1.9.68: Holmes, Edward (5549), mason (b'layer)
Ritchie, Matthew	Greenough Flats		25..9.71: Pitchforth, William (9267), mason
Roach, John	Brookton		1.9.74: Smith, Thomas (8127), carpenter
Roberts, William	Perth		13.8.72; 6.2.73: Williams, Frederick (8730), b'maker 11.2.73 – 30.6.73: Drake, Thomas (8833), b'maker 11.3.73: Shannon, Patrick (9286), b'maker 3.5.73: Griffiths, Joseph (9170), b'maker 31.12.73 – 21.5.75: Drake, Thomas (8833), b'maker 21.12.74: Wilshere, Thomas (9027), labourer 22.3.75: Hudson, Robert (9774), b'maker Plus lots of labourers
Robins, J.	Irwin		18.5.66: Smith, Thomas (7861), builder
Robinson, E. & Co.	'Winarling', Beverley		1870: Atkins, William (7916), carpenter

Robinson, Thomas	Toodyay		1860: Coggins, Michael (5503), ntg
Rock, William	Gingin		1.9.72: George, William (8861), carpenter
Roe, F.M.	Roseland, Culham		11.7.68 - 31.12.68: Murray, John (8641), carpenter 23.12.68: Richardson, John (6089), labourer 24.9.69: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Rooke,	Bunbury		30.6.63: Nichol, William H. (6038), mason
Rose, L.	Blackwood		8.6.68 - 30.6.68: Saddington, George (8713), carpenter
Rose, R.H.,	Parkfield Wellington		13.7.70; 13.12.71: Davies, Benjamin (7673), mason 31.5.73: Harrison, John (8300), carpenter (joiner)
Rosenthal, I.A.	Geraldton		16.10.74: McCarthy, Peter (8365), carpenter
Russ, Absolom	Dongarra		20.4.69 - 30.6.69: Crane, Walter (7044), mason (com. traveller)
Russell, Thomas [9274]	York		1870: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter 15.6.71: Morgan, Thomas (9251), builder (plasterer)
Rutherford, J.	Wonnerup, Ludlow Yaggonup		14.12.70: Steward, Joseph (8432), labourer 30.12.70 - 31.12.70: Rogers, Richard (8686), mason

Ryan, Michael	New Farm, Culham		28.3.71: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter
Sainsbury, John	Fremantle		7.7.65: Thurgood, Isaac (7881), carpenter
Sallenger, John [2400] Arr. 1853 <i>Phoebe Dunbar</i>	Perth	Tailor	25.5.68 - 30.6.68: Jeffrey, John William (7732), b'maker 4.6.68: Jeffrey, Charles (7731), b'maker 31.12.68 - 30.6.69: Jeffrey, John William (7732), b'maker 1869: Clift, Benjamin (9122), b'maker (sailor) 21.3.70: Cooper, David (8509), b'maker 4.71 - 11.71: Brierley, Jonathon (8204), b'maker 5.4.71: Rook, James (8684), b'maker 20.12.71: Hughes, Joseph (8872), b'maker 31.12.71: Cooper, David (8509), b'maker 1872: : Bunney, Joseph (8206), b'maker 28.11.72: Ireland, William S. (8892), b'maker 19.12.73: Rowe, Hugh (8399), b'maker 30.12.74: Taylor, Levi (8141), b'maker
Savage, Charles [6177] Arr. 1862 <i>Lincelles</i>	Fremantle	Orig. occup. Brick layer	5.6.67: Davies, Benjamin (7673), b'layer 23.6. – 30.6.67: Murdock, Edward (9254), mason 1868: Adams, Thomas (8192), b'layer 3.5. – 21.12.75: Savage, George (8992), b'layer

Scott, G.H. & Gale	Geraldton		6.11.66: Goldthorpe, George (7427), carpenter
Seabrook, John	Beverley, Brookton		30.6.64: Lindley, Reuben (5792), mason (builder) 6.69 - 6.70: Atkins, William (7916), carpenter 1873: Atkins, William (7916), carpenter 18.3.78: Woodall, Joseph (9039), carpenter
Serra, R.C. Bishop	New Norcia		3.8.51: Davidson, Gordon (432), ntg (carpenter) 10.9.51: Digan (Degan, Dugan), Francis (493), b'maker 1858: Asplin, Jonathan (4766), carpenter 1858: Cobden, William (3207), ntg (b'moulder)
Serra, R.C., Bishop	Perth		nd: Sullivan, John (3826), ntg (mason) 4.8.51: Rugg, Henry (407), ntg (b'maker) 28.8.51: McDonald, James (148), ntg (b'layer) 15.4.57 - 6.57: Corbett, James (2241), ntg (carpenter)
Sewell, Frederick K.	Northam, York		17.5.61: Scally, Roger (2191), carpenter
Sewell, Richard	Geraldine Mine		18.8.54 - 18.12.54: Walton, Joseph (1593), ntg (carpenter)
Sewell, Samson	Yarra Mines & Sandsprings		31.1.58: Marshall, William (1612), ntg (carpenter)
Shearn, Farnham [2632] Arr. 1854 <i>Sea Park</i>	Wanneroo	Tanner	4.5.57: Pope, Henry (3406), ntg (mason)

Shenton, George	Geraldton		30.6.63: Phillips, Thomas (5645), carpenter 4.10.66: Goldthorpe, George (7427), carpenter
Shenton, Job	Guildford		1870: Bolton, (6526), b'maker 1870: Buttery, Thomas (8222), b'maker 31.3.70 - 31.12.70: James, William (8894), b'maker 1871: Bates, John (5177), b'maker
Shenton, Job	Victoria Plains		21.8.75: Smith, John (8404), b'maker
Shenton, W.			1.2.58: Pierce, Thomas (4099), ntg (mason)
Sherratt, J.	Albany		9.5.66 - 30.6.67: Pearson, William (6706), carpenter
Sherwood, Henry	Perth: Peninsula		7.5.53: Jackson, Thomas (1190), ntg (b'maker)
Shirkey, John [7270] Arr. 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Wokalup	Steel melter	24.7.71: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), b'layer (plasterer)
Sileock?, Joseph (Exp)	Greenough		30.6.68: Craine, Thomas (6265), mason
Simpson, George Also listed as Ferguson Saw Mill	Lockville		30.12.70 - 30.6.71: Western, Richard (7892), carpenter 1871: Andrews, Thomas (6204), carpenter 19.4.71: Rogers, Richard (8686), mason 8.4.74: Dobb, John W. (9430), carpenter 30.5.74: Western, Richard (7892), carpenter

Simpson, George	Chapman		18.10.69: Wynn, William (7311), mason 1.1.70: Wynn, William (7311), plaster (mason)
Simpson, John	Greenough		21.8.65: Morrison, John (6681), builder 21.8.65: Smith, William (6083), builder
Simpson, R.	Perth: Albany Rd		6.7.68: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter
Sinclair, James,	Dumbarton, Toodyay		11.8.68: Baldock, Edward (9070), mason. 31.12.68: as labourer
Skeldon, John ?Skalding [971] Arr. 1851 <i>Minden</i>	Perth: Freshwater Bay		11.52: Pearce, James (956), ntg (b'layer's lab.) 13.12.53: McDonald, Daniel (310), ntg (mason's lab.) 5.1.54: Green, James Ed. (1476), ntg (carpenter)
Skinner, D. (Exp)	Busselton		21.7.70: Joyce, Henry (5955), b'maker
Slim, J. (Exp)	Champion Bay		1866: Brooks, (Bryceson) John (6092), mason
Sloan, William	Perth (Murray St)	Almanack: Carpenter 1861 - 1873	1862: Cator, Robert (4974), carpenter 4.62: Calligan, James (4222), ntg (carpenter) 1863: Bolyne, John (6816), carpenter 19.6.66: Wilmott, Robert (8168), carpenter 1874: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 12.74 – 12.76: Billings, James (8784), carpenter 24.3.75: Wordall, Joseph (9039), carpenter
Smith, Charles	Roseland, Beverley		1870: Atkins, William (7916), carpenter

Simpson, George	Lockville		26.1.71 - 30.6.61: Smith, James (8408), carpenter
Smith, James	Rudds Gully, Greenough		19.4.67 - 31.12.68: Crane, Walter (7044), mason (com. traveller)
Smith, Jeremiah (Exp)	Greenough		30.6.66: Holmes, Edward (5549), b'layer
Smith, John	Dongara		20.6.79: Sheen, Michael (9565), mason
Smith, John	Perth: Albany Rd		22.7.59: Dell, Luke (799), ntg (mason) 1866: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter
Smith, J & W	Blackwood		30.6.65 - 30.6.70: Martin, Thomas (5729), carpenter 26.8.68: Wilson, George (5089), mason
Smith, Thomas	Victoria Plains		26.8.71: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter
Smith, W.	Fremantle		16.7.63: Rippon, Herbert (7235), carpenter 6.1.64: Leeman, Henry (6121), carpenter 30.9.67: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter
Smith, William	Nedlands		15.12.56: Jones, Edward (917), ntg (mason) 12.1.60: Williams, Charles (4903), ntg (plasterer) 3.6.63: Murgatroyt, James (5387), ntg (mason)
Smith, William	Down Farm, Avondale Beverley		1.11.72: Howarth, James (7439), b'maker 1.11.72: McDonald, John (5651), b'maker
Smith, William	Bunbury & Rose Farm, Dunsborough		31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Allen, William (4884), carpenter

Snowball, James	Perth	Almanack: Carpenter & joiner 1866 - 76	27.2.60: Scally, Roger (2191), lab. (carpenter) 8 – 12.62; 1.63: Calligan, James (4222), ntg (carpenter)
Snowball & Sloan	Perth		28.7.59: Smith, William (4930), ntg (carpenter)
Snowden, Henry	Geraldton		31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Sutton, David (5757), mason
Spencer, M.	Perth		15.3.75: Rossiter, Joseph (8978), builder
Spratt, Henry [9582] Arr. 1867 <i>Norwood</i>	Perth	Bricklayer	1871: Brennan, Michael (7008), b'layer 1871: Cochrane, Patrick (7955), b'layer
Spratt, James	Williams & Arthur R. & 125 Albany Rd, Perth		23.8.69: Stevens, Henry (4902), plasterer 20.5.70 - 30.6.70: Sinclair, Robert (9567), carpenter 8.76: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), b'layer
Stafford, Peter [2141] Arr. 1853 <i>Robert Small</i>	Greenough	Labourer	6.12.65: Craine, Thomas (6265), mason
Stevens, Henry [4902] Arr. 1858 <i>Lord Raglan</i>	125m Albany Rd, Williams;	TOL 1863 CF 1878. Working for W. Cornwall at Williams 1867-68. See TOL employees list.	7.10.67: Moore, Henry George (8063), mason (b'layer) 1.8.72: Weasley, John (9605), mason (b'layer) 4.74: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), plasterer 6.74: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), builder
Stevens James	Canning (Blackboy Swamp)		31.1.62; 30.6.62: Dell, Luke (799), ntg (mason) 27.3.62: Murgatroyt, James (5387), mason
Strickland, W.	Albany		n.d: Green, Henry (6194), carpenter

Studman, Charles	Jarrahdale		24.4.71: Dobbs, John W. (9430), carpenter 13.3.78: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter 8.10.78: McGuire, Neil (9816), carpenter
Summers, N.H.	Guildford		26.2.69: Mead, Charles (2684), builder
Summers, Thomas	Pinjarra		1870: Blackburn, George (7928), carpenter
Sutton, H.	Mandurah		1872; 8.75 - 6.77; 1880: Blair, Peter (8501), carpenter
Sutton, Thomas [7249] Arr. 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Perth	Chair maker	4.10.65: Greeward, George (82854), turner 10.11 – 31.12.69; 13.4.76; 29.10.78: Greenward, George (8285), carpenter
Sweeney, A.	Dongara		31.12.69: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Taylor, Alexander	West Guildford		23.10.55: Jones, John (231), carpenter
Taylor, George	Wanneroo		19.5.68: McNamara, Patrick (7201), b'layer 12.4.72: Hicks, John (8017), b'layer 22.6.72 - 31.12.72: Taylor, David (9887), b'layer 2.1.74: Smith, John (9295), plasterer 12.1.77: Taylor, David (9887), builder
Tetlow, James [23] Arr. 1850 <i>Scindian</i>	Geraldton	Labourer	30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Nodder, John W. (6394), mason
Tetlow, John	Geraldton		7.4.69: Mycock, John (7485), mason

Thomas, Alexander (Exp)	Geraldton		5.4.78 - 31.12.81: Heal, George (8292), carpenter
Thomas, John (Cpt);	Ravenswood		30.6.64: Simpson, James (5791), carpenter
Thomas, John	Toodyay		2.10.71 - 31.12.71: Willman, Robert Fred. (7298), b'maker
Thompson, James	Williams, Arthur R		4.75: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), b'layer 6.75: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), mason 10.76: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743), gen servant
Thompson, James G.	Preston & Brookhampton		28.1.64 - 30.6.67: Hogan, James (6319), carpenter 27.10.68 - 30.6.70: Harrison, John (8300), carpenter (joiner)
Thomson, John	Geraldton		2.68; 8.68: Gore, Robert (7419), builder 10.8.68 - 30.6.69: Goldthorpe, George (7427), servant (labourer, but worked as carpenter for various people in Geraldton area)
Tipper, Thomas [5105] Arr. 1858 <i>Edwin Fox</i>	Perth	Labourer. Brick layer No info WA Dic	1863: Baker, Robert (6826), b'maker 7.3.63: Regan, Edward (2361), b'maker 27.5.63: Evans, Thomas (6286), b'maker 17.6.63 – 22.7.63: Gregan William (4022), ntg (b'maker) 27.11.63: Simpkins, James (6057), b'maker
Tomkinson, Thomas	York, Beverley		5..12.68 - 3-.6.69: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 27.3.69 ; 21.9.69: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter

			1.1.70: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 7.2.70: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter 1871: Burton, Henry (7030), carpenter 31.1.72: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter 24.2.73; 20.9.73: Smith, James (8408), carpenter 31.12.73: Woodall, Joseph (9039), carpenter 1874: Austin, William (9653), b'maker
Trigg, William	Geraldton		31.12.64 - 30.6.67: Phillips, Thomas (5645), carpenter 8.4.66: Dabbs (Dobbs), Samuel (5688), carpenter 9.66 - 12.66: Baxter, Charles (7945), carpenter 1875: Barrett, Cornelius (9659), mason 1878: Brocklesby, Henry (9090), carpenter 1.8.82 - 30.6.83: Statham, Samuel (9304), carpenter
Trigwell, H.	Preston		13.3.68: Perkin(s), Richard (977), b'layer (mason)
Trott, W.	Bunbury		23.12.79: Healy, James (2261), b'maker
Turton, William	Gingin		15.4.64 - 30.6.64; 26.7.64:: Eyre, Robert (4896), carpenter 1870: Armstrong, Thomas (8773), carpenter
Vincent, Henry	Fremantle		7.11.63: Leeman, Henry (6121), carpenter 20.2.67: Jones, John (7457), carpenter 5.7.67; 21.12.67: McKay, Thomas (4482),

			carpenter
Vincent, Joseph (Exp)	Claisebrook		23.9.69: Wale, Edward (7308), b'maker
Viner, Charles	Dongara		26.10.69: Tizzard, William (8435), b'maker (mason)
Voils, (Voiles), William [5318] <i>Arr 1858 Edwin Fox</i>	Perth	Tinplater WA Dict: Quarryman	11.3.69: Critchley, Edward (9134), b'maker 17.4.75: Jeffrey, William H. (9208), carpenter
Wall, George	York		25.4.72: Ferry, John (9687), carpenter
Wallace, Matthew [924] <i>Arr. 1851 Minden</i>	Guildford & Gingin	Bricklayer	30.7.70 - 31.12.70: Lockwood, Joshua (8916), mason (plasterer) 31.12.73: Stevens, Henry (4902), builder (plasterer) 23.1.74: Noble, Charles (9538), b'layer
Wallace, Matthew [924] <i>Arr 1851 Minden</i>	Perth	Bricklayer.	6.9.69: Thompson, James (8726), b'layer 30.10.74: Rhodes, William (9855), b'layer 1880s: Daley, John (8542)
Wallen, John S.	Busselton		1867: Bloom, Charles (1179), carpenter
Wallis, William	Perth		1853: Clements, Isaac (8516), mason
Walsh, Thomas	Greenough Flats		10.8.64 - 31.12.64: Craine, Thomas (6265), mason 15.11.64 - 31.12.64: Sutton, David (5757), mason

			12.3.67: Crane, Walter (7044), mason (com. traveller) 13.3.67 - 30.6.67: Sutton, David (5757), builder
Walters, Joseph [7299] Arr. 1863 <i>Clyde</i>	Irwin	Blacksmith	21.7.70 - 30.6.70: Sleath, Thomas (8985), carpenter
Warburton, G.E.	St. Werburghs		30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Rigbye, George (4375), mason (b'layer)
Ward, William	Bunbury, Preston R.		14.3.64: Thomas, William (6189), b'layer
Ware, Charles [138] Arr. 1850 <i>Hashemy</i>	Fremantle	Brickmaker Almanack: Carpenter 1869 - 1874	25.9.68 – 30.6.69: Hyde, James (8579), carpenter 1869: Coggill, John (6047), carpenter 9.11 – 31.12.70: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 21.10.72: Hawkins, William (9760), carpenter 5.73: Savage, James (8417), carpenter 10.73: Gairdelli, Joseph (9743). Plasterer 6.10.73: Taylor, James (7567), carpenter 5.1.74: Somers, William (8434), mason
Ware, Henry? (Exp?)	York		1871: Adams, Thomas (3192), b'layer
Warren, Alexander	"Minaloo" Bush Inn, Upper Swan		1870: Boallen, James (6525), plasterer (cloth dresser. Also worked as carpenter) 1870: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker
Watson, John	Perth		17.4.72 – 23.12.72: Sylvester, Thomas (9008), carpenter 1873: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 5.4.73; 30.6.73: Jones, John (7457), carpenter

Weasley John (Exp) (1875)	Buckland (1875), Toodyay		6.73: Collins, Charles (9125), builder 29.4.75: Smith, John (9295), builder (plasterer)
Webb, Charles	"Wexcombe", Middle Swan		14.3.70: Thompson, James (7284), mason
Webb, George	Champion Bay		9.4.64: Jones, Thomas (6337), mason
Weedon, John	Freshwater Bay		1.5.52: Emperingham, Edward (494), ntg (b'maker) 29.7.59: Dell, Luke (799), ntg (mason)
Wheeler, R.J.	"Wootating" York		28.4.69: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 7.9.68 - 30.6.70: McKay, Thomas (4482), carpenter 10.4.71: Jones, Robert (8604), carpenter
Weir, William	Bunbury		17.2.66 - 20.2.66: Knight, William (7471), carpenter
Whittaker, Henry [4669] Arr. 1858 <i>Nile</i>	Toodyay		10.7.68 - 19.9.68: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 14.10.68: Richardson, John (6089), carpenter (labourer) 1869: Andrews, George (9063), carpenter 9.8.71: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter 1874: Byrne, Patrick (9677), carpenter 7.2.74: Potter, James (9545), carpenter 2.10.76: Smith, John (9295), plasterer
Whittle, Thomas (Exp)	Toodyay		27.4.71: Morgan, Richard (6375), b'layer

Wilcox, F.	Champion Bay		30.6.65: Sutton, David (5757), builder
Wilding, Thomas [3558] engineer & millwright Arr. 1855 <i>Adelaide</i>	Northam		28.11.59: Page, Joseph (4458), carpenter 22.6.67 - 31.12.68: Totterdell, James (9324), carpenter 10.1.68: Morgan, William (6132), engineer (b'maker) 15.10.68: Smith, John (7859), carpenter 12.5.69 - 30.6.69: Mead, Charles (2684), builder 15.7.70: Morgan, Thomas (9251), b'layer (plasterer & slater) 27.2.77: Woodall, Joseph (9039), carpenter
Wilkinson, Jacob	"Glen Avon" Toodyay		1872: Adams, Thomas (3192), mason
Willey, George	York, Beverley		10.10.76: Davis, Herbert (8248), carpenter
Williams, John	"Willigully". Mines		10.67 - 12.67: Gore, Robert (7419), builder
Williams, John	Newcastle & Victoria Plains		14.1.76: Tams, Samuel (9591), b'maker
Williams, S.	Albany		1.1.72: Jones, Thomas (8611), carpenter
Williams, Thomas	Herdsmen's Lake		23.1.56: Geaghan, Robert (1315), ntg (mason)
Willis, Edward	Murray		9.1.55: Hinton, Joseph (177), ntg (b'layer)

Wood, Thomas James	Newcastle		1872: Bolton, Henry (6526), b'maker 1872: Adams, Thomas (3192), mason
Wood, W.	Chapman		15.5.69: Veasey, David (8448), b'maker 1871?: Chadwick, Thomas (5478), b'maker
Wood, W.H.	Preston, Wellington		29.11.67 - 31.12.67: Hogan, James (6319), carpenter
Wright, J.W. & Co.	York Rd, Swan		2.12.82: Potter, James (9545), carpenter (b'layer)
Wright, William	Balcatta		1857: Pierce, Thomas (4099), ntg (mason)
Yates, John	York Rd, Swan		23.4.70 – 30.6.70: Lowery, John (7478), carpenter
York, Harden	Beverley		12.7.73: MacDonald, James (958), stone mason
York, Joseph	Toodyay (or Beverley)		1870: Burton, Henry (7030); carpenter
Zeddie, Charls	Dardanup, Vasse		26.2.1867: Drabble, Joseph (7975), carpenter

Information obtained from:

Ticket of Leave dates obtained from: Erickson, R. & O'Mara, G.: Convicts in Western Australia 1850 - 1887. Dictionary of Western Australians Vol. IX, UWA Press, Nedlands, 1994.

Acc. 1386/1; WABI = Western Australian Biographical Index Cards; WABI Indexes: Employers of TOL A - W (1850 - 1890)

Ntg = No Trade Given

Appendix 2: Convicts with Trades

APPENDIX 2 Convicts with Trades Associated with the Building Industry

Information obtained from the Employers of Ticket-of-Leave Men held on microfilm in J.S. Battye Library (in State Library of WA)

CONVICT NAME	CONVICT NO	OCCUPATION	DATE OF TOL	EMPLOYMENT INFORMATION
Abbotts, Abraham <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9059	Brick maker (org. miner)	5.6.69 CF 26.6.75 To Eng. 28.7.75	1870: Irons, W. Guildford
Adams, Thomas <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8192	Brick layer (org. slater, labourer)	24.10.68 D. 23.10.72	1868: Savage, Charles [6177] Fremantle 1871: Ware, Henry? (Exp?) York 1872: Wilkinson, Jacob "Glen Avon" Toodyay; mason 1872: Wood, Thomas James Newcastle; mason Died Guildford Depot Hosp.
Aggain, Edward <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5717	Carpenter (org. farm labourer)	26.8.1863 CP 14.10.70 Champion Bay	1862: Bishop, L. Champion Bay
Aher, Jeremiah <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9645	Carpenter	FP 15.5.69 To Melb. 8.5.76	Left Colony 1876 (Police Gazette)
Ahern, Cornelius <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53 Exec. 12.4.67</i>	1697	Mason	7.2.53 CP 13.1.55	
Alder, George <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4184	Stone mason	24.2.57 Exp. 4.59 F'water Bay	
Allen, James <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4176	Bricklayer	15.4.57 Exp. 8.58	No info on areas or trades given in Erickson & O'Mara

Allen, William <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4844	Carpenter	5.12.59 CP 11.7.67	31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Smith, William Bunbury & Rose Farm, Dunsborough 1864: Moore, W. Busselton
Amos, Edward <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1359	Carpenter	10.6.54 CP 13.6.57 Perth	
Anderson, James <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6502	Carpenter (org. labourer)	10.10.1864 CP 15.6.69 CF 12.12.78 Perth	1864: Beardshalt, E. (Exp) Fremantle
Anderson, James Joseph <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7001	Mason	30.10.65 CP 4.2.71 Bunbury CF 13.10.71 Albany To NSW 25.5.75	Worked as hut keeper, sawyer and labourer
Anderson, Richard <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5497	Brick layer (org. labourer)	3.2.1860 CP 2.61	1860: Buggins, William Perth 1861: Self employed
Andrews, George <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9063 10,348	Carpenter	13.7.69 CR 1871 CF 3.9.72 Recon 3.7.84	1869: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay
Andrews, James <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6209	Builder	4.10.63 CP 24.5.66 CF 21.12.66	Listed as baker by Erickson & O'Mara. Labourer in Toodyay
Andrews, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6204	Carpenter	26.9.64	1864: Brown, David Perth 1868: Jarvis, William Fremantle 1817: Jarvis, Henry Fremantle 1871: Simpson, George Lockville

Angus, William <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5697	Stone mason	6.4.64 CP 26.5.70 Vasse CF 10.5.76	Worked in Fremantle, Sussex as mason for self. 8. 1864: Self Employed 3.1865: Self employed, Sussex
Ankers, Joseph <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4587	Carpenter	17.4.60 CP 7.11.62 CF 23.8.72 York	
Anning, John <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i> D. 1876	1372	Mason	1.12.53 CP 8.12.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary except details of wife & children arriving in WA. WAGS: Convict interest grp Died in Fremantle
Armstrong, Thomas <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8773	Carpenter (org. framework knitter)	20.4.69 CF 10.4.73 Guildford	1870: Turton, William Gingin
Ashbee, Thomas <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Not in TO: Index	333	Brickmaker	8.10.52 CP 3.9.59	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Ashmore, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8476	Carpenter	1870 CF 25.10.78 Perth To SA 26.7.84	1870: Hugh Francis Brophy, Perth 1870: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay; builder 1871: Carney (Kearney?), M Swan 1871: Howell, William Guildford 1871: Jones, Oliver Swan 1871: Meagher, M.R. Bassendean Farm & Sandalford 1873: Gittens, J. [6601] Swan 1873: Howell, William Guildford 1873: Jecks, J.B. Guildford 1874: Richardson, John Toodyay 1875: Howell, William Guildford 1877: Working in Fremantle (Police Gazette)

Ashton, Edward - entitled to TOL on arrival	901	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 1.1854 Perth To SA 29.11.54	1851: Hyde, Stephen Perth 1852: Nevare, Edward no place given; ntg Perth
Aspinall, Aaron – entitled to TOL on arrival	2801	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 10.5.55	Worked for self
Asplin, Jonathan Arr. <i>Nile</i> 1.1.58	4766	Carpenter	8.7.58 CP 8.5.60 Vasse	1858: Serra, R.C. Bishop New Norcia ntg
Atherton, David Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8479	Brick maker (org. grinder)	23.4.70 CF 21.10.75	1870: Jarvis, William Fremantle
Atkins, William Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	7916	Carpenter (org. farmer)	16.9.67	12.1869 – 12.1873: Self employed; Bunbury 6.69 - 6.70: Seabrook, John Beverley, Brookton 1870: Robinson, E. & Co. 'Winarling', Beverley 1870: Smith, Charles Roseland, Beverley 1871: Lukin, Will? Murram? of Haisethorpe 1873: Seabrook, John Beverley, Brookton
Atwell, Henry – came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865) D. 1894	6807	Carpenter (org. sawyer)	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 9.11.66 Fremantle	1864: Self employed, 6.65 – 12.65: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle 1866: Self employed Died at Fremantle
Austin, William Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9653	Brick maker (org. carter)	23.11.72 CF 11.82 Perth To USA 17.4.86	1873: Austin, James Perth 1874: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 1877: Barnesdale, Charles The Lakes, York Rd, as sawyer 1878: Self employed
Bain, William Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	6825	Carpenter (org. shipwright)	16.3.1863 CP 24.4.65 Fremantle	1863: Brakes, Samuel [26], Freshwater Bay, Freo 1863 Self employed as boat builder 1864: Self employed as boat builder

Bain, William <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8806	Carpenter (org. cabinet maker)	22.10.67 CF 28.7.71 Perth	1868: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 1869: Brown, David Perth 1870: Barry, R. of Perth
Bailey, James <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8499	Brick layer	11.9.68 CR 1871 Perth CF 27.7.72	1868 - 71: Buggins, William Perth
Baird, David <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4914	Mason	17.1.59 CP 10.5.60	1859: Dempster, J.M. 'Buckland', Toodyay; ntg
Baker, George <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9066	Brick maker	25.22.69 To Eng. 29.12.82	Worked in Perth as gen. servant & labourer
Baker, Robert <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6826	Brick maker (org. groom)	14.3.63 CP 25.9.65	1863: Tipper, Thomas [5105] Perth 1864: Bird, Thomas of Woodside, York 1864: Cox, James (Exp) Toodyay 1864: Lyons, James Newcastle 1865: Hassell, George Newcastle
Baker, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8209	Brick maker	21.7.68 CF 17.7.74 Fremantle	Fremantle. Boatman, gen servant; worked for self 1873: Self employed
Baldock, Edward <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9070	Brick layer	14.11.67 CR 1870 CF 7.12.70 Vasse	7.4.68: Beazley, John Northam 26.5.68: Byfield, W. Mahogany Ck; labourer 30.6.68: Byfield, W. Mahogany Ck 11.8.68: Sinclair, James Dumbarton, Toodyay; mason 31.12.68: Sinclair, James Dumbarton, Toodyay; labourer WAGS: Convict grp
Ball, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9382	Brick layer	14.5.69 CF 3.5.72 Perth	1869: Devereux, W. [7075], Perth & Mason's Station; b'maker

			Recon. 1.10.79	1870: Davey, Patrick (Exp), Perth; b'maker 1870: Jaffrey, J. Perth 1871: Collins, C. Gingin 1871: Jackson, Thomas Perth 6.71: Irons, W. Guildford; b'maker
Bambury, John <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4152	Builder	21.5.59 CP 1.4.64 Perth CF 21.10.74	Perth. Worked for self 1859: Self employed 1862: Self employed; Perth district
Banbury, Joseph <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1481	Brick maker	3.2.54 CP: 10.3.60 CP: 28.2.61 CF: 23.12.67	Swan, Champion Bay. Worked for self 18.2.54: Hughes, Henry Perth 1858: Self employed
Bannister, Elkanah - entitled to TOL on arrival	789	Mason's Labourer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 3.1854	Mason @ Toodyay
Barber, George <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> <i>Acc.1386/1:314;</i> <i>1386/3:865</i>	331	Mason's labourer Stone Quarrying	13.7.52 Exp: 19.7.64 CF: 19.7.64	1852: Friend, Isaac [216] Freshwater Bay; ntg 7.7.52: Isaac Friend (216) Working for self by 1860 as sawyer. (314). 7.5.62: Trans to Perth: James Wybrow, Sawyer. Working as Sawyer. (865) Employed by Bird & Mason, Canning & J'dale
Barker, George <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	39	Mason (O'Mara: lab)	24.11.51 Exp.14.5.62 CF 8.7.63	Contractor Fremantle. Employed 95 T/L men: various occupations - not related to bldg.
Barker, James <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5640	Brick maker	10.3.63 CP 18.5.67 Perth To Natal 18.11.75	Erickson & O'Mara list as weaver

Barlow, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	904	Bricklayer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 30.9.53 To Callao 1866	Perth
Barlow, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	1873	Brick maker	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 1.7.54	
Barlow, William Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63 D. 1883	6834	Brick maker (org. stoker)	14.3.63 CP 31.7.65 Perth	1865: Jackson, Thomas Perth Died at Roebourne
Barnes, Benjamin Solomon Arr. <i>Ramillies</i> 7.8.54	3125	Mason	27.8.56 CP 18.8.61	Info given on family
Barnes, George Arr. <i>Clyde</i> 29.5.63	7007	Mason	21.1.65 CP 28.4.69 Bunbury	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Barnes, William Arr. <i>Ramillies</i> 7.8.54 D. 20.10.55	3080	Bricklayer	31.8.54	Died of phthisis
Barnett, John Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9658	Mason	27.10.75 CF 4.1.84 Williams	1878: Freeman, John Railway Works, Champion Bay
Barrett, Cornelius Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9659	Plasterer	15.6.71 CF 9.10.77 Geraldton	6.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth 12.71 – 12.72: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth, b'layer 1873: Buggins, William Perth 1875: Trigg, William Geraldton; mason
Barron, Henry – entitled to TOL on arrival	2697	Bricklayer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 8.9.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Barrowise, Robert <i>Arr. Sultana</i> 19.8.59	5424	Stone mason	12.1.60 CP 2.2.61	Info known on descendants
Bates, John <i>Arr. Edwin Fox</i> 21.11.58	5177	Brick maker (org. tailor)	4.4.60 CP 4.10.61 CF 31.8.63	1868: Devereaux, William [7075] Perth & Mason's Station 1869; 2.70 - 12.70: Paul, Robert [8966] Guildford & Redcliffe 1871: Shenton, Job Guildford 1871: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Bates, John <i>Arr. Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8207	Brick maker	26.12.68 CP 1871 CF 12.7.73 Swan	Wan, Perth; Brick maker, gen servant, labourer
Battersby, William <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6217	Mason	1.10.62 CP 14.1.64 Fremantle	Fremantle; mason
Baxter, Charles <i>Arr. Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	7945	Carpenter (org. jeweller)	29.6.66 CP 1869 CF 8.10.72 Champion Bay	9.66 - 12.66: Trigg, William Geraldton 1866: Grant, Joseph of Flats & Dongara 3.67 - 12.67: Haddon, George 6310] Geraldton
Bayes, George – entitled to TOL on arrival	2887	Carpenter	<i>Arr. 5.4.54 Sea Park</i> CP 5.4.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Bayliff, Richard <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8779	Mason	4.8.68 CR 1870 CF 11.10.71 Perth	Perth, Murray; Fremantle; labourer, cook, sawyer
Bayliss, Samuel <i>Arr. Hashemy</i> 26.10.50 Not in TOL Index	83	Carpenter	10.11.51 CP: 9.12.54	Not on WABI Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Beazley, John <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5500	Carpenter	21.1.60 CP 21.1.61 CF 3.5.75	1860: Brown, David Perth; ntg 1860: Bryan, John Guildford; ntg
Beecham, William <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i>	344	Carpenter	29.8.51 Exp: 10.1.56	8.9.53: Branson, William Island Lake, Victoria Plains; ntg
Beeson, William <i>Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50</i> Acc.1386/1:300	97	Brickmaker	10.11.51 Exp 19.1.63	1856: Buzzard, William Perth; ntg 1856: Lister, Thomas Freshwater Bay; ntg 1860: Self employed Geraldton, Fremantle Employed T/L 1856 & T/L sawyer 1863 @ Canning Carter at Geraldton
Bell, Edward <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5616	Brick layer	FP 18.4.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Bell, William <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9662	Stone mason	4.12.75 CR 1880 CF 9.4.85 Fremantle To SA 21.8.85	12.75 - 76: William Bone [7023] Greenough as builder 12.75 – 6.76: Heal, George Fremantle? Contracted by Heal to Bone?
Belton, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2754	Brickmaker	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> To SA 62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Bennett, Charles <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4747	Brick layer	9.11.59 CP 18.5.51	12.60 - 1.61: Hagger, S. Dandaragan, Northam
Bennett, Charles <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5716	Stone mason	1.1.68 CP 14.7.75 Perth Recon 5.7.76 To SA 11.8.87	Perth, Fremantle; sawyer, wood cutter, labourer, gen servant

Berrett, James <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie</i> 28.12.63	7338	Carpenter (org. french polisher)	19.10.64 CP 8.8.66 CF 3.7.68 Reconv. 8.10.69	1864: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle At time of reconviction listed as French polisher
Best, Francis <i>Arr Scindian</i> 1.6.50 Not in TOL Index	73	Carpenter	5.12.50 CP 24.8.57 CF 26.10.63	5.12.50: M.W. Clifton Wellington BPP Vol. 10.2 Not in WABI
Best, Charles <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6223	Carpenter (org. clerk)	5.11.62 CP 14.1.64 Fremantle	1863: McLeod, George York & Williams
Betteridge, Thomas <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9078	Brick layer	22.6.67 CF 2.11.74 York	York, Fremantle, Swan, Perth, Beverley; gen servant, labourer, sawyer, cutting chaff
Bibby, Richard <i>Arr. Ramillies</i> 7.8.54	3134	Stone mason	20.9.56 Hanged 15.10.59	
Bickley, Absalon <i>Arr. Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8218	Mason (org. trimmer)	10.10.74 CF 25.8.84	1879: Hudson, Thomas [5440]
Biggs, Joseph <i>Arr. Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	7923	Carpenter	18.6.67 CR 12.1.72 Guildford	
Billings, James <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8784	Carpenter (org. wood turner)	10.4.74 CF 8.3.84 Perth	12.74 – 12.76: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) 1874: Barry, R. of Perth 1881: Chan, Hookam Perth
Bird, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	497	Brickmaker	<i>Arr.</i> 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> 28.6.51 CP 3.54	19.7.51: Perth, Henry Gray, boatman 21.10: Gray sent under charge to Mt Eliza Depot Employed T/L 1854

Bishop, Henry <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8496	Brick maker (org. labourer)	2.5.69 CF 7.8.74 Newcastle To NSW 2.3.75	1870: Paul, Robert [8966] Guildford & Redcliffe
Blackburn, George <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	7928 10.133	Carpenter (org. labourer)	9.7.66 CF 20.8.73 York Reconv 3.7.74	1870: Summers, Thomas Pinjarra
Blair, Peter <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8501	Carpenter (org. joiner miner)	10.7.71 CF 28.8.80 Pinjarra	1871: Price, J.S. (Rev?) Pinjarra 7.71 - 12.71: Mandurah Church Building Com. 1872: Hall, H. Mandurah 1872: Sutton, H. Mandurah 1873: Self Employed, Murray, carpenter 1874: Hall, H. Mandurah 1874: Cornish, W. Pinjarra 1875: Hall, H. Mandurah 1875: Heal, George & Savage Fremantle 1875: McLarty, E. Pinjarra 8.75 - 6.77: Sutton, H. Mandurah 1878: McLarty, J.P. Pinjarra 1880: Sutton, H. Mandurah
Bland, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2842	Carpenter	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 20.9.56	
Bloom, Charles <i>Arr. Marion 30.1.52</i>	1179	Carpenter (org. painter & glazier)	31.1.52 Exp 7.60 Recon 3.4.61 28.10.64	1854: Self employed 1867: Wallen, John S. Busselton

Boallen, James Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62	6525	Brick layer (org. cloth dresser)	26.6.65 CP 1874 Fremantle CF 11.5.77 Pinjarra To SA 10.5.79	1865: Brittain, James Guildford; as labourer 1870: Brittain, James Guildford 1870: Warren, Alexander "Minaloo" Bush Inn, Upper Swan
Bolton, Henry Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62	6526	Brick maker	30.11.64 CP 28.1.73 Newcastle CF 17.12.74 To SA 7.6.79	3.65 - 6.65: Morris, James Swan 1869: Jackson, Thomas Perth 10.68 - 6.69: W. Devereux [7075], Perth & Mason's Station 1870: McPherson, Donald Victoria Plains 1870: Morris, James Swan 1870: Shenton, Job Guildford 1870: Warren, Alexander "Minaloo" Bush Inn, Upper Swan 10.71 - 12.71: Clune, M. & Co. Victoria Plains 1872: Clinch, James L "Berkshire Valley" 1872: Martin, Ebenezer Baylup, Toodyay Rd, Toodyay 1872: Wood, Thomas James Newcastle
Bolyne, John - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6816	Carpenter	Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63 CP 10.11.71	1861: James Brown, West Guildford 1863: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) 1867: McPherson, Duncan Toodyay 1871: Fawcett, Theodore Pinjarrah Park 1871: Meagher, M.R. Bassendean Farm & Sandalford 1871: Picken, John Guildford
Bonsor, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	728	Brickmaker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 1.1.56	Info on descendents only
Bowes, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2928	Carpenter	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 24.12.55	

Brehant, Peter Arr. York 31.12.62	6521	Builder	23.4.63 CP 22.5.69 Newcastle	8.66 - 12.66: Richard Bourke, Toodyay & Northam
Bremner, Robert Arr. Clyde 29.5.63 D. 8.4.68	7015	Stone mason	30.12.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary. Died Fremantle Prison Hospital
Brennan, Michael Arr. Clyde 29.5.63	7008	Brick layer (org. labourer)	23.4.69 CP 21.10.71 Perth CF 21.5.72	1871: Spratt, Henry [9582] Perth
Brett, John Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61	5589	Carpenter	4.6.61 CP 11.3.65 York	1864: Kenworthy, Joseph "Marley", York
Brierley, Jonathon Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65	8204	Brick maker	31.7.70 CF 25.4.81 York	1870: W. Devereux [7075], Perth & Mason's Station 9.70 - 12.70: Cooper, David [8509] Claisebrook 1871: Doyle, J. Guildford 1871: Michael Benson, Perth 4.71 - 11.71: Sallenger, John (2400) Perth 1874: Norrie, J. Wellington; mason 1877: H. Atwell, Fremantle 1877: :Monger, George York No date (c.1880): John Bates (?8207), of Peninsula, Perth 1878: Forrest, Robert Bunbury; firewood cutter 1878: North, Daniel Bunbury 1879: Forrest, Robert Bunbury
Bristow, Arthur Arr. Scindian 1.6.50 1819 - 1873 Acc 1386/3 p.645	51	Carpenter	13.6.51 Exp 26.3.63 CF 26.11.63	29.3.60: On his own account. 6.?.60. Trans to Champion Bay Fremantle, Carpenter

Bristow, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7028	Brick layer	7.12.64 CF 10.4.73 Recon 3.7.78	
Bristow, Reginald <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> Not in TOL Index	50	Mason	13.6.51 Exp 26.3.63 CF 26.11.63	Employed 3 T/L @ Geraldton 1866 - 1871 including stone cutter. Builder @ Greenough (alm 1880)
Broadley, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8489	Brick maker (org. labourer)	28.1.70 CF 29.4.81 Fremantle Left colony on whaler 6.10.85	1873: Barnesdale, Charles The Lakes, York Rd 1877: McNamara, M. Toodyay
Broadwood, John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6150	Brick layer	18.1.64 CP 20.6.68 Newcastle	10.65 - 12.65: Collins, Peter Bunbury & Busselton; brick maker
Brocklesby, Henry <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9090	Carpenter (org. shipwright)	1.8.68 CF 1879 Champion Bay To London 25.8.78	1870: Bloom, Charels [1179] York 1870: Connor (s), Daniel [2334] Newcastle 1870: Matthews, James (Exp) Toodyay 1870: Russell, Thomas (9274) York 1871: Johnson, W.W. York 1871: Monger, Herbert York 1877: Maguire, James Dardanup & Wannerup 1878: Batt, H. of Northampton 1878: Trigg, William Geraldton
Brook, Benjamin <i>Arr. Merchantman 19.9.64</i>	7949	Carpenter (org. joiner, cabinet maker)	5.2.66 CF 7.6.70	2.66; 6.66: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle
Brooks, (Bryceson) John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6092	Mason (org. miner; soldier)	30.9.64 CP 16.5.72 Champion Bay	1866: Slim, J. (Exp) Champion Bay 1871: Harvey, John Gwalla, Northampton

Brooks, Joseph <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4083	Stone mason	22.6.58 CP 14.3.61	1858: Hale, Matthew (Bishop) Perth
Brown, Edward <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7021	Brick layer	13.11.64 CP 27.5.67 Vasse To SA 22.4.76	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Brown, Edward <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8219	Carpenter & sawyer	11.11.71 CR 14.10.74 Williams	1.72 - 8.73: Graham, William Henry "Fairfield" Edicup 1874: Norrish, R. (Snr) Kojonup
Brown, Edwin <i>Arr. Marion 30.1.52</i>	1096	Carpenter	25.6.53 CP: 13.10.60 CF: 28.4.70 Fremantle	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Brown, George - entitled to TOL on arrival	597	Carpenter & Sawyer	<i>Arr. 1.7.51 Pyrenees</i> CP 6.8.53	Not in WABI
Brown, George <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6266	Carpenter (org. watch maker)	26.1.63 CP 24.2.66 CF 18.1.68 Murray	1865: Price, J.S. (Rev?) Pinjarra
Brown, Isaac - entitled to TOL on arrival	877	Brick maker	<i>Arr. 14.10.51 Minden</i> Exp. 27.4.52	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Brown, Thomas - entitled to TOL on arrival	492	Brick maker	<i>Arr. 1.7.51 Pyrenees</i> CP 6.6.53	Not in WABI Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Brown, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8493	Mason (org. labourer)	2.2.68 CF 19.9.71 York	1870: Lennan, William Pat. Wanneroo, Perth
Brown, Thomas Henry J. <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i> D. 12.1.82	7340	Architect	12.6.65 CP27.12.69 Bunbury CF 11.5.72 Swan	CP: Bunbury; CF: Swan. Fremantle, Wellington; architect, schoolmaster. 6.65 -6.66: Self employed, Fremantle; architect

Brown, William <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	7932	Brick maker (org. gardener)	29.3.70 D. 16.9.84	1876: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine"
Bruce, James - entitled to TOL on arrival	3453	Mason	Arr. 18.7.55 <i>Adelaide</i> CP 9.10.58	1855: Church, Thomas [1094] Champion Bay; ntg 1855: Felton, George [1679] Champion Bay; ntg Perth
Bryan, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	2967	Stone mason	Arr. 7.8.54 <i>Ramillies</i> CP 19.4.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Bryan, John <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4770	Mason	12.7.58 Exp 4.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Bullock, James <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9397	Carpenter	22.10.68 CR 1870 CF 30.11.71 G'ford	Swan; gen servant
Bullough, Bullough <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:304	296	Mason's Labourer	21.8.52 CP: 12.12.59	1852: Friend, Isaac (216) Freshwater Bay; ntg 1855: Self employed Perth: 26.8.52 - 20.11.52 Isaac Friend, stone quarrier. Then working for self, 16.1.1855 Perth, Tanner 1860s
Bunney, Joseph <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8206	Brick making (org. silk manufacturer)	28.2.71 CF 14.3.78 Geraldton	6.72: Clarke, Henry (Exp) Perth 1872: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth 26.7.73 – 19.12.73: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Burgess, James <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5203	Carpenter	21.12.59 CP 21.3.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Burleigh, William <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:397; 464	227	Stonecutter	8.1.53 CP 21.2.62	10.1.53 Michael Walton (TOL), mason. (397) No date Building stable for govt. Trans. G'ford 11.11.53 (464)

				Perth, Guildford Not in WABI
Burnham, John <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7643	Mason	15.12.64 CF 16.4.69 York	Victoria Plains, Champion Bay, Mt Eliza, Perth, Beverley; labourer, teamster, farm servant, grubbing
Burns, Patrick <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2016	Carpenter	30.9.54 Exp 12.60	6.55 - 11.55: Haysom, George Woodbridge, G'ford; ntg
Burns, Robert <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6222	Carpenter (org. cabinet maker)	28.3.64 CP 22.1.70 Muray CF 11.8.71 Fremantle	12.65 - 6.66; 8.66 - 12.66: Clifton, W.P. Australind 1868: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 4.68 - 6.68: Hayward, Thomas Harvey 8.69 - 12.69: Fawcett, Theodore Pinjarra Park
Burton, Henry <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7030	Carpenter (org. rakemaker)	2.2.66 CP 9.10.71 To USA 12.3.74	1866: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle 1866: Smith, John Albany Rd, Perth 1869: Cutting, Henry Jones Victoria dist. 1871: Byfield, W. Mahogany Ck 1871: McKeown, James York 1871: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 2.71 & 8.71: Gibney, P. Rev. York
Bush, William <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4411	Mason	13.4.60 CP 16.1.64 York CF 10.5.88 Albany	1860: Boddington, Thomas [1018] 'Chauncey's Springs', Swan; ntg
Butler, George <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9399	Brick layer	1.3.71 CF 16.5.76 Guildford	Swan, Victoria Plains; gen servant, shepherd
Butler, John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5973	Stone mason	27.10.62 CF 23.9.69 Bunbury	Listed as labourer in Erickson & O'Mara

Butler, William <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9103	Brick layer	22.6.67 CF 4.10.70 Newcastle	1867: James Brittain of Guildford 1869: McPherson, Donald Victoria Plains 1870: McPherson, Donald Victoria Plains; labourer 5.1870: Finney, John Victoria Plains
Butt, Henry <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8783	Carpenter	11.9.67 CR 1869 CF 10.3.71 Champion Bay	Champion Bay; labourer
Buttery, Thomas <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8222	Brick maker (org. labour)	1.4.67 CF5.2.73 Guildford	1870: Kemp, Joshua [477] Guildford 1870: Shenton, Job Guildford
Byrne, Patrick <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i> D. 24.6.84	9677	Carpenter	17.11.70 CF 14.8.76 Newcastle	11.70 - 12.70: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay 8.71 – 12.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth 1871: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 1873: McPherson, Donald Victoria Plains 1873: Watson, John Perth 1874: McPherson, Donald Victoria Plains 1874: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay 1874: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) 1875: Churchyard, J.K. Perth 1875: Clinch, James "Berkshire Valley" 1875: Johnston, John Saunders York 1875: Lefroy, Henry Bruce Walebing, Vict. Plains 1875: Montgomery, Samuel Guildford 1876: J.M. Dempster, "Buckland", Toodyay 1876: Richardson, John Toodyay

Byron, Joseph <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9104	Brick layer	11.10.69 CR 1872 CF 21.7.74 Fremantle	Perth, Swan; labourer, cutting wood, teamster, gen servant
Calligan, James <i>Arr. Runnymede</i> 7.9.56 D. 10.4.85	4222	Carpenter	18.9.58 CP 11.5.63 Fremantle	1859: Barry & Patten Perth; ntg 4.62: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St), ntg 8 – 12.62; 1,63: Snowball, James Perth
Cameron, Daniel <i>Arr. Adelaide</i> 18.7.55	3484	Carpenter	18.7.55 CP: 3.2.57	1855: Brown, David Perth; ntg Worked for self 1861
Cameron, David <i>Arr. Palmerston</i> 11.2.61	5797	Carpenter	1.2.62 CP 1.5.66 Cham. Bay CF 10.12.73 Freo	12.63 - 12.64: Horrocks, Joseph L. [1014] Gwalla
Campbell, James <i>Arr. Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	5008	Brick maker (org. mariner)	9.3.61 CP 4.4.64 Vasse	1864: Godden, Thomas [1657] Busselton. Also employed: Monaghan, John 6386 (labourer) 22.9.64; Collins, Patrick 6268 (labourer) 1864.
Cantrill, Hansam <i>Arr. Hashemy</i> 26.10.50 Not in TOL Index	81	Carpenter	26.8.51 CP: 10.6.54	Fremantle: stockowner 1873
Carlton, Edward <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 13.7.67	9401	Architect	3.8.68 CF 24.1.73 Freo Recon. 7.1.74	1880: Thomas Henry J. Browne, Perth as carpenter 1886: Watson, Alexander Perth as carpenter
Carney, George <i>Arr. Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	5041	Brick layer	14.12.58 CP 23.12.61 Recon. 8.10.63 CF 8.10.69 Vasse	Wellington, Murray, Nelson, Sussex; shepherd, labourer
Carroll, James <i>Arr. Sultana</i> 19.8.59	5412	Brick layer's lab.	1.2.60 Exp 6.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Carter, George <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3664	Brickmaker? & shoemaker	16.5.59 CP 9.4.66 Perth	Labourer & general servant
Carter, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8515	Carpenter	23.5.68 CF 5.11.73 Vasse	1.70 - 6.70: Johnson, J. Sussex
Carter, Timothy <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4998	Brick maker	18.2.60 CP 7.9.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Carter, (Collins) William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5916	Brick layer (org. mason)	16.1.63 CF 19.6.71 Newcastle	1871: Fagan, Alexander Culham
Casey, Peter 1839 – 27.3.82 <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8822	Brick layer (org. labourer)	12.9.70 To lunatic asylum 25.5.72	1871: Hassell, George Newcastle
Castleton, Charles <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9403	Brick maker (org. labourer)	25.1.69 CF 25.9.76 York To London 5.1.78	1872: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine"
Cator, Robert <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4974	Carpenter	21.2.62 CP 4.7.64 Perth	1862: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) Worked for self as carpenter 1862 - 1864
Cawsey, James - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 19.6.69	909	Bricklayer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 3.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Chadwick, Thomas <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5478 10,031	Brick maker (org. labourer)	28.1.60 Exp 12.61 Recon 6.9.71	1871?: Wood, W. Chapman
Chandler, John <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1620	Mason	25.9.54 CP: 20.10.62 Freo	Perth

Chapman, George <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5374	Brick layer	3.3.62 CP 17.1.67 Perth	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Chappell, George <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6053	Mason	6.8.64 CP 24.2.72 Champion Bay	6.68 & 12.68: Maley, J.S. Greenough Flats also worked as labourer
Chappel, John <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8238	Carpenter	8.10.67 CF 13.2.72 York	Fremantle, Perth; carpenter, wheelwright, labourer, gen servant
Chidler, Thomas <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5968	Brick making (org miner)	17.12.62 D. 3.3.66	11.64 - 12.64: Lyons, James Newcastle
Chubb, William <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9119	Stone mason	5.8.70 CR 1972 CF 22.3.75 Freo	Perth, York; labourer, bootmaker, woodcutter, sawyer, gen servant.
Clancy, Thomas Wm <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	5048	Stone mason	14.12.58 Exp 20.9.63	Perth, Albany; labourer
Clarke, John <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i> D. 16.7.72	7045	Carpenter	19.9.65 CP 29.4.71 Champion Bay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Clark, Joseph <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1299	Carpenter	16.2.55 CP 2.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Clarke, Joseph <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8809	Carpenter	2.7.67 CF 18.9.71 Perth To Lacepede Bay 18.2.75	1869: Caporn, F. Perth & Busselton 1869: Cutting, Henry Johns Victoria District

Clarke, William – entitled to TOL on arrival	2744	Brick layer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 22.10.59	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Clarkson, William <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5803	Plastering & Carpenter (org. labourer)	18.7.62 CP 5.5.66 Ch. Bay CF 13.2.71 N'castle	12.63: Cleary, J. [4358] Champion Bay 6.64 - 12.64: Cornish, Joseph Geraldton as carpenter 11.65 - 12.65: Clarke, F (Frederick?) Chapman River
Cleary, Joseph <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4358	Carpenter	3.8.59 CP 9.8.62 Fremantle	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Clements, Isaac <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8516	Builder (org. elect. Telegr. messenger)	3.10.67 CR 1902	1853: Wallis, William Perth 1872: Jennings, Joseph B. Geraldton
Clements, James - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 12.6.69	1703	Brickmaker	Arr. 10.2.53 <i>Dudbrook</i> CP 11.3.54 Perth	10.2.53:Perth: James Dobson. 17.2. Ret Depot Went to Guildford Died Fremantle prison
Clift, Benjamin <i>Arr, Corona 22.12.66</i>	9122 (10,138)	Brick maker (org. sailor)	17.7.69 CF 5.5.73 Perth Recon. 3.7.74	1869: Sallenger, John (?Exp) Perth
Cobden, William <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	3207	Brick moulder	21.7.58 CP 23.9.62 Champion Bay	1855: Brown, David Perth; ntg 1858: Serra, R.C. Bishop New Norcia ntg 1859: Ayres, Thomas Perth; ntg
Cochrane, Patrick <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	7955	Brick layer (org. boot & shoecloser)	23.8.66 CF 12.7.75 Albany	1871: Spratt, Henry [9582] Perth
Coe, Horace <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9690	Carpenter	25.4.71 CF 4.7.86 Perth	Gen printer, labourer worked for self: 1874 - 1876

Coggill, John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6047	Carpenter (org. sofa maker)	7.4.64 CF 3.9.72 Fremantle To Vic. 27.2.79	6.64 - 9.64: Muir & Sons Albany, Forest Hill, etc. 11.67 - 12.68: Green, John U & McKenzie Albany 1869: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle 1870: McKeown, James York 1871: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay 1872: Clinch, James "Berkshire Valley" 1872: Lefroy, Henry Bruce Walebing, Vict. Plains
Cole, George <i>Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50</i> Not in TOL Index	89	Carpenter	27.10.51 CP: 30.12.54 To SA 3.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Coleman, John <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8510	Brick layer	26.4.69 CR 1871 CF 10.4.74 Fremantle To SA 16.1.76	Perth; labourer, sawyer
Collins, Charles <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9125	Brick layer	12.3.70 CR 1872 CF 8.7.75 Perth To Sweden 12.8.77	1869: Henry Duckham, of "Yangedine", York; working as b'maker 1870: Jones, Thomas Gingin as b'maker 1870: Langham, John [7182] Vict. Plains & Perth 1870: Lennan, William Pat. Perth, York, Toodyay, Champ. Bay 6.73: Weasley John (Exp) Buckland (1875); builder 1875: J.M Dempster, "Buckland", Toodyay; working as builder 1876: James Brittain, Guildford
Collins, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9127	Brick maker (org. labourer)	31.3.69 D. 15.8.70	1870: Jones, W. Perth

Collins, Reuben <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5658	Carpenter & wheelwright	11.6.62 CP 24.12.67 York CF 1.12.70	1865: Amos Bradshaw, York
Connell, Charles <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i> D. 1.10.96	8823	Brick maker (org. labourer)	21.7.70 CF 4.5.75 Champion Bay	1871: McNamara, M. Toodyay
Connolly, Bernard <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9128	Brick layer (org. labourer)	19.1.69 CF 5.12.72 Freo To S'pore 10.12.77	1869: Harding, James [3735] Vict. Plains
Connolly, Patrick <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9412	Carpenter (org. cooper)	14.5.70 CF 17.4.75 Pinjarra	11.70 - 12.70: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay
Connor, Charles <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	3812	Stone mason	16.7.58 CP 7.9.61	20.7.58: Brown, Stephen Perth 4.2.61: Canovan, John [2360] Northam; ntg 6.4.61: Allen, F. (Exp) no district given; ntg
Connor, Edward <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7373	Carpenter	8.9.66 CP 1.4.73 Perth	Wellington, Fremantle; gen servant, farm labourer
Conway, Thomas <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9129	Brick layer	13.3.69 CF 24.7.73 Swan	30.6.71: Lennan, William Pat. Perth, York, Toodyay, Champ. Bay as builder 26.4.72: William Buggins, Perth
Cooke, Edward William <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	2954	Carpenter	31.8.54 D. 30.12.66	Swan, York, Beverley; carpenter worked for self 1863 - 1865.
Coombs, Robert <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8812	Carpenter & general servant (org. groom)	9.5.72 CF 24.11.79 Geraldton	4.8.73 - 30.6.75: Holt, John P Narra Tarra, Dongara

Cooper, David <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8509	Brick maker (org. labourer)	5.8.68 CR 1870 CF 15.3.72 To S'pore 18.8.73	21.3.70: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth 31.12.71: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Cooper, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	1944	Bricklayer	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp. 8.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Corbett, James <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2241	Carpenter	28.7.55 CP 31.7.56	15.4.57 - 657: Serra, R.C. Bishop Perth ntg
Corbett, Michael <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4781	Mason (org. labourer)	19.5.63 CP 18.10.67	26.9.65: Phelps, William Geraldton (surveyor) 5.12.66 - 31.12.66: Gray, Henry Geraldton Also: Duthoit, James 6857 as labourer: 30.6.66 - 31.12.66 17.4.67: Lennan, William Pat. Champ. Bay 30.6.67: Perejuhn, John Greenough
Corkery, Cornelius <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9699	Carpenter (org. wheelwright)	18.9.73 CR 1877 CF 4.7.81 Perth To SA 6.8.83	18.9.72 - 30.6.75: Brown, William W. Canning & Fremantle "Wongong"
Cosgrove, John <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3520	Farm labourer & Brickmaker	19.11.58 CP: 13.1.63 York	York. Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Cottrell, John <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5457	Stone mason	17.2.60 Exp. 5.61 To SA 23.10.68	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Coulson, George <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9130	Carpenter	2.8.68 CF 30.10.71 Champion Bay To LND 10.12.75	Labourer

Cousins, William <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8512	Brick maker (org. waiter)	8.11.69 CR 1872 CP 19.6.74 Vasse	27.1.70: Irons, W. Guildford
Cox, James <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	53	Mason	24.3.51 CP 3.10.59	23.4.51: Kirwan, John Freshwater Bay; ntg 6.6.51: Perth - ? Kirwan, Freshwater Bay 30.3.53?: Toodyay - Esau Wetherall (54) Farmer - tenant "Hawthornden", Toodyay. Employed 11 T/L 1857 - 1872.
Cox, William <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7046	Carpenter & French polisher	23.2.65 CP 15.9.66 Fremantle	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Coy, William <i>Arr. William Hammond 29.3.56</i>	3802	Brick maker	17.5.58 CP1.12.60 Canning To Callao 25.1.69	6.5.59: Bickley, William ?Canning
Craddock, William <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8507	Carpenter (org. joiner)	3.2.67 D. 9.6.67	8.2.67: Churchyard, J.K. Perth
Craine, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62 D. 25.2.1907</i>	6265	Mason (org. farmer)	30.5.64 CP 10.9.68 CF 19.12.70 Champion Bay	10.8.64 - 31.12.64: Walsh, Thomas Greenough Flats 6.12.65: Stafford, Peter [2141] Greenough 30.6.68: Sileock?, Joseph (Exp) Greenough
Cramp, William <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7668	Brick maker	30.6.65 D. 1.12.66	Champion Bay; labourer
Crane, Walter <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7044	Builder (org. commercial traveller)	16.10.66 CP 20.3.75 Champion Bay CF 5.3.83 Fremantle	29.10.66 - 31.12.66: Mills, John "Narra Tarra", Gwalla 12.3.67: Walsh, Thomas Greenough Flats; mason 19.4.67 - 30.12.68: Smith, James Rudds Gully, Greenough; mason 20.4.69 - 30.6.69: Russ, Absolom Dongarra; mason

Crayfer, James <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6022	Carpenter	20.11.63 CP 20.10.67 Fremantle	Murray, York; carpenter, labourer, cook. Worked for self 1864, boatman, sawyer, gen servant.
Creamer. James B. <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8233	Brick maker (org. labourer)	3.12.69 CF 5.1.74 Pinjarra	27.5.70: Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Perth
Cressey, William <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6529	Carpenter (org. currier)	2.1.65 CP 21.9.69 Fremantle To NSW 14.4.73	3.1.65: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle 31.12.68: Pearse, W.J. Fremantle
Crewe, Edward – entitled to TOL on arrival	2803	Brick layer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 7.4.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Critchley, Edward <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9134	Brick maker	22.6.67 CF 13.9.70 Champion Bay To Vic. 25.5.74	11.3.69: Voils, William [5318] Perth 31.1.70: Moore, W.S. & J.F. Dongara
Currey, Samuel <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1540	Carpenter	12.4.55 CP 7.6.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Cussons, Benjamin – entitled to TOL on arrival	2896	Brick maker	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> Exp 5.61	23.11.59: Millard, Thomas E. Toodyay
Dabbs (Dobbs), Samuel <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5688	Carpenter (org. miner)	7.4.63 CP 2.3.69 Champion Bay CF 14.1.71 Swan	8.4.66: Trigg, William Geraldton Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Daley, Andrew <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6063	Carpenter (org. sailor)	26.11.62 CF 26.2.73 Ch. Bay To Vic. 19.12.73	23.11.64: Cornish, James Geraldton 31.12.64: Cornish, James Geraldton

Daley, John Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8542	Brick layer	23.7.78 CR 1898	12.12.78 - 18.4.79: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay; mason 1880s Wallace, Matthew [924] Perth 15.5.82: Brittain, James Perth; mason 3.1.83: Brittain, James Perth; stone cutter
Dampson, John Arr. <i>William Jardine</i> 4.8.52	1432	Carpenter	15.3.54 D. 6.12.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Danks, Joseph Arr. <i>Adelaide</i> 18.7.55	3626	Brickmaker	17.6.58 CP 13.6.61	28.6.58: Church, Thomas [1094] Champion Bay; ntg Perth. Worked for self 1858.
Davidson, Gordon - entitled to TOL on arrival	432	Carpenter	Arr. 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp.14.12.55	3.8.51: Perth, Bishop Serra Not in WABI
Davidson, William Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62	6572	Brick maker (org. labourer)	3.10.64 CF 10.4.73 Perth	8.10.64 - 21.12.64: Brown, William Perth
Davies, Benjamin Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64	7673	Mason	18.1.67 CF 28.8.80 Pinjarra	5.5.67: Savage, Charles [6177] Fremantle 13.7.70: Rose, R.H. Parkfield, Wellington 7.12.70 - 21.12.70: Carey, T.C. Bunbury, as brick layer 1871: Carey, T.C. Bunbury, as brick layer 13.7.71: Clifton, E. & W., "Wokalup", Wellington as brick layer 13.12.71: Rose, R.H. Parkfield, Wellington 31.12.72: Parmenter, William [6408] Bunbury 21.1.73: Clifton, J. Edward M. "Rosamel", Wokalup as mason 9.12.73: Learman, Henry "Wonnerup" Bunbury as b'layer 6.2.74: Higgins, E.G. Bunbury, Fremantle Rd

				13.2.74: A. Buchanan, Bunbury 5.3.74: Learman, Henry "Wonnerup" Bunbury 12.5.74: Clifton, J. Edward M. "Rosamel", Wokalup as mason
Davis, Herbert <i>Arr. Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8248	Carpenter (org. sawyer)	25.4.68 CF 23.12.73 Newcastle	25.4.68: Chan, Hookam Perth 24.5.68: McKeown, James York 6.7.68: Simpson, R. Albany Rd, Perth 27.3.69 ; 21.9.69: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 28.4.69: Wheeler, R.J. "Wootaling" York 18.10.69: Marwick, William York 1871: Crampton, Bernard Toodyay 2.1.71: Monger, Herbert York 21.3.71: Connor(s), Daniel [2334] Newcastle 9.8.71: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay 10.10.76: Willey, George York, Beverley 24.12.79: Bradshaw, Amos York
Davis (Davies), John <i>Arr. Scindian</i> 1.6.50 Not in TOL Index	52	Mason	28.5.51 CP 9.10.54	Not in WABI Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Davis, Joshua - entitled to TOL on arrival	1198	Brickmaker	<i>Arr.</i> 31.1.52 <i>Marion</i> CP: 3.12.59	Reconvicted. Gen. svt lab.
Davis, William <i>Arr. Clyde</i> 29.5.63	7077	Stone mason	26.10.64 CP 22.12.66 Tooyday CF 18.5.68	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Day, John <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8250	Brick maker	11.4.68 CF 3.8.74 Ch. Bay To SA 7.5.80	2.6.68: W. Devereux [7075], Perth & Mason's Station; as b'maker
Deacon, Charles <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9140	Stone mason	9.9.69 CF 27.9.71 Bunbury	Wellington; teamster, cook, labourer, sawyer
Dearden, Robert <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5754	Mason	15.7.63 CP 11.6.69 Ch Bay	Labourer, mason
Dearie, Michael <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3485	Brickmaker	18.7.55 Exp. 1.1862	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Deegan, Joseph <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8828	Brick maker (org. sailor)	6.4.71 CF 28.9.75 Ch Bay To Singapore 7.3.76	5.9.72: Baker, George Fremantle
Deer, Edwin – entitled to TOL on arrival	2784	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 12.5.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Dell, Luke - entitled to TOL on arrival	799	Mason	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 19.10.60 CF 4.5.69	22.7.59: Smith, John Albany Rd, Perth; ntg 29.7.59: Weedon, John Freshwater Bay; ntg 31.1.62: Stevens James Canning (Blackboy Swamp); ntg 30.6.62: Stevens James Canning (Blackboy Swamp); ntg 2.9.62: Lister, Thomas Freshwater Bay; ntg 2.6.66 - 20.10.66: Brockman, William Gingin 26.12.67: Brockman, William Gingin Toodyay, Perth, Swan Worked self 1860, 1863
Delory, Humphrey <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6279	Mason	30.3.63 CP 23.2.65 Freo	Labourer worked for self 1864. Fremantle; teamster, gen servant, hawker

			CF 3.3.68 Reconv 3.4.72	
Dibdin, Charles – entitled to TOL on arrival	2802	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 8.3.55 Recon 3.10.55	Sussex; moulder, labourer worked for self in Perth 1863 - 1870
Dickerson, Henry <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9712	Carpenter (org. painter)	24.12.73 CF 24.3.80 Geraldton	3.1.74: Heal, George Fremantle 30.6.75 -30.6.77: Heal, George Fremantle
Diey, Alexander <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9143	Carpenter	1.9.69 D. 25.2.73	Perth, York, Beverley, Wellington; wheelwright, teamster, shepherd, gen servant, labourer
Digan (Degan, Dugan), Francis - entitled to TOL on arrival	493	Brickmaker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> D. 26.11.54	16.7.51: Perth, Henry Gray, boatman 26.7.51: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg 7.8.51: Perth, John Dearden. 1.9.51 discharged by Dearden 10.9.51: Bishop Serra 13.9.51: Bishop, George Perth 4.10.52: Guildford, John Gaskin
Digby, George <i>Arr. Mermaid 15.5.51</i>	235	Stone mason	7.6.53 D. 3.1.56	15.6.53: Postans, George (Exp) Perth (ntg) 1.8.53: Perth - Arthur Drebank as mason
Diggle, Samuel <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> Not in TOL Index	58	Mason	10.12.50 Exp 5.62	10.12.50: A. Lawrance Fremantle BPP Vol. 10.2 Champion Bay: 4 T/L including mason , 1863, well sinker, 1863, hut keeper, 1867 & labourer, 1868 To Mt Eliza Depot 1880
Dilkes, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	2716	Bricklayer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> D. 2.7.54	

Dingley, David <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9428	Brick maker (org. waggoner)	19.12.70 CF 28.9.76 Williams	26.7.73: Brown, Edward Canning
Dixon, John <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9713	Carpenter	14.4.71 CF 15.1.77 Freo	Perth, Murray; carpenter, labourer, woodcutter. 3.6.72: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth 12.4.75: Jarvis, James Fremantle
Dixon, Robert <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> D. 3.1.88	304 8471	Builder (org. iron founder)	7.1.53 CP 1.11.62 Ch Bay Rec. 6.9.65 Ch Bay 23.3.70 CF 20.9.70 Ch Bay	1.7.70: Brodie, James C. Greenough
Dobb, John W. <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9430	Carpenter	14.4.74 CR 1879 CF 9.12.80	8.4.74: Simpson, George Lockville 24.3.75: Cross G. Vasse
Dobbs, Henry <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6564	Brick maker	23.3.63 CP 26.9.64 Vasse	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Dobson, Henry - entitled to TOL on arrival	652	Carpenter	<i>Arr. 1.7.51 Pyrenees</i> 28.6.51 CR 6.53 To SA 6.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Dobson, John <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	36	Brickmaker	2.10.50 CP 27.1.54	1.10.51: Gray, Henry Greenough; ntg 5.10.50: Perth - Henry L. Cole 1.10.51: Peninsula Farm - Henry Gray, B'maker. P.131 Statham
Docherty, Peter <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7401	Brick maker	15.8.64 CF 9.8.70 Fremantle Recon. 3.4.73	5.10.65: Phelps, William Geraldton (surveyor); labourer 24.4.68: Mitchell, H. York; labourer 28.6.69: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" as

			1.6.75 CF 10.5.76 Freo Recon. 3.4.78	mason 30.6.69: Mitchell, H. York; mason 19.1.76: Jarvis, James Fremantle
Docherty, Tole <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6168	Brick maker	2.8.62 Exp. 14.3.67 CF 25.2.68 Ch Bay	30.6.63: Horrocks, J.L. [1014] Gwalla, as builder 31.12.64 - 30.6.65: Pope, George '7 Mile Well' Geraldton; builder 2.10.65: Phelps, William Geraldton (surveyor); builder 31.12.65 - 30.6.66: Pope, George '7 Mile Well' Geraldton; mason 28.3.67: Carson, James Geraldton as stone mason 2.7.67: Pope, George '7 Mile Well' Geraldton; lab. 31.12.67: 2.7.67: Pope, George '7 Mile Well' Geraldton; mason
Dodd, John <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4187	Carpenter	17.8.57 CP 4.7.59 Freo Recon. 6.7.72 6.11.74 CF 7.7.75 Ch Bay	Reconvicted on numerous occasions. Didn't work as carpenter
Doherty, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7400	Brick maker (org. labourer; soldier)	28.12.65 CP 28.12.72 Bunbury	23.8.69: Bolton, Henry [6526] Perth
Donaldson, Francis <i>Ar. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	5007	Brick maker	26.11.60 CF 10.8.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Donnolly, Peter <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9146	Brick layer & plaster	16.8.69 CF 4.10.75 Perth Left on whaling cruise 5.6.78	1.1.74: Langham, John [7182] Vict. Plains & Perth as b'layer

Donovan, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	2968	Stone mason	Arr. 7.8.54 <i>Ramillies</i> CP 9.6.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Dougherty, James Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	7970	Brick maker (org. violinist)	30.12.65 CF 18.9.72	24.8.66: Marris, John Perth
Doyle, John Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8540	Brick maker (org. labourer)	10.5.67 CF 10.3.71 To SA 11.5.71	2.9.68 - 30.6.69: Gillman, H & J & W Bunbury 25.5.70 - 30.6.70: Learman, Henry "Wonnerup" Bunbury 24.9.70: Carey, T.C. Bunbury
Drake, Thomas Arr. <i>Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8833	Brick maker (org. labourer)	9.5.72 CF 20.1.80 Perth	11.2.73 – 30.6.73: Roberts, William Perth 31.12.73 – 21.5.75: Roberts, William Perth
Drearden, Richard Arr. <i>Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8831	Stone mason	15.2.69 CF 14.10.72 Freo	Perth, Swan; labourer, woodcutter, gen servant
Drebank, Arthur - entitled to TOL on arrival	592	Bricklayer	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> 28.6.51 CP 30.9.53	17.7.51: Perth, George Glyde, boatman 22.11.51: Perth, Richard Lennard as bricklayer Employed 17 TOL 1851 - 54
Dresch, Edwin Arr. <i>Corona</i> 22.12.66	9149	Carpenter (org. picture frame maker)	27.4.70 CR 3.3.73 Perth	6.5.70: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay 10.5.70: Bryant, John (Exp), Perth
Driscoll, Dennis Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8536	Stone cutter (org. sawyer)	1.7.70 CF 29.12.74 Ch Bay	9.10.71 – 31.12.71: Jarvis, Henry Fremantle
Drury, Michael Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Acc.3314/1:161; 1386/1:297	376	Carpenter	20.7.52 26.1.52 Recon. 6.10.52 19.5.56	20.7.52: Perth, Master: Illegible. 6.8.52: J. Dobson to quarry stone. Perth Escaped 1857 Not in WABI

Duckham, Henry <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3622	Brick & tile maker	9.3.57 CP 29.9.62 Toodyay	19.3.59 ; 2.4.59: Church, Thomas Greenough; ntg Toodyay, Swan, Perth Guildford. Worked for self 1860
Dudley, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	460	Brickmaker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> 28.6.51 CP 23.4.53	17.7.51: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg 17.7.51: Perth, Henry Gray 20.8.51: To hosp. at Fremantle. Ret.30.11. Again working for Gray Employed TOL, Perth 1852
Duke, Charles (Eli) <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5984	Brick maker (org. labourer)	7.11.63 CP 28.3.68 Newcastle	6.12.64 - 30.1.65: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" 2.2.65: Bagg, George Beverley
Duncan, John <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4534	Carpenter	14.4.61 CP 5.1.62 Ch Bay Recon. 4.12.72 Gerald	Didn't work as carpenter
Dunn, Theophilus <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7397	Engineer	1.7.64 CP 17.1.68 Ch Bay	5.7.64: Mount, Lionel S. Bunbury & Blackwood 8.8.64: Prime, F. Busselton 24.9.64 - 31.12.64: Glass, W.C. Geraldine Mine; carpenter
Eastwood, William – entitled to TOL on arrival <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	3129	Mason	10.11.56 CP 25.3.63 Ch Bay	Erickson & O'Mara lists info only on wife and children
Eades, Charles <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6862	Carpenter (org. labourer)	14.3.63 CP 24.7.65 Perth	23.6.63; 2.6.64: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle
Eaton, William John <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9723	Carpenter (org. joiner)	27.2.71 CF 24.4.78 Freo	28.4.71: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay 3.73 - 6.73: Brockman, William Gingin; as labourer 8.8.73: Brockman, William Gingin 6.75 - 12.77: Padbury, Walter "Yatheroo" Swan, Toodyay, Vict. Plains

Edwards, Charles <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4677	Carpenter (org. tailor)	19.9.60 CP 28.10.76 Bunbury CF 22.5.77	15.4.65: Jackson, Thomas Perth
Egerton, James <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8838	Brick layer (org. labourer)	12.11.67 CF 14.12 70 Bunbury	1868: Barnes, George [7019] of Paradise, Wellington
Ellis, James <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8837	Brick maker (org. mariner)	21.11.68 CF 31.10.72 York	23.7.69: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" 14.2.70: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine"; general servant
Ellis, William <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1442	Brickmaker	4.5.54 CP 10.12.59	Perth; worked for self 1855 - 1856
Ellis, William <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4128	Brick maker	21.4.59 CP 13.5.63 CF 22.4.70	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Emperingham, Edward - entitled to TOL on arrival	494	Brick maker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> 28.6.51 Exp.6.7.53	18.8.51: Perth, James Gallop, Dalkeith/Freshwater Bay 3.3.52: William ?Austin, Freshwater Bay; left 1.5.52 1.5.52: Weedon, John Freshwater Bay; ntg 7.8.52: J. Dobson; left 23.8. for G.Glyde 23.11.52: Uriah Spotter/Hatton as boatman Not in WABI
English, Bryan <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2208	Carpenter	10.7.54 Exp. 7.60	Erickson & O'Mara only list info on wife
Esquilant, Henry <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8259	Brick maker (org. labourer)	26.11.72 CF 9.1.74 Perth	8.3.73: Bunney, Joseph [8206], Claisebrook
Etyeo, Joseph <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8261	Stone mason	16.3.67 CF 26.9.71 Newcastle	Fremantle; labourer, teamster

Evans, John Arr. York 31.12.62	6580	Brick maker	22.6.67 CP 29.10.75 Williams	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Evans, Thomas Arr. Norwood 9.6.62	6286	Brick maker (org. labourer)	24.7.62 CP 15.10.64 CF 20.7.66	27.5.63: Tipper, Thomas [5105] Perth 19.8.63 - 31.12.63: Connor & Ayres Perth; brick layer 11.3.64: Connor & Ayres Perth 2.6.64: Church, Thomas Perth & Greenough 8.6. – 30.6.66: Morris, John Perth
Evans, Thomas Arr. Clyde 29.5.63 D.13.12.86	7102	Brick maker (org. engine driver)	7.6.66 CP 20.7.72 Perth	17.12.69: Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Perth
Ewart, Lawrence - entitled to TOL on arrival	1122	Mason	Arr. 31.1.52 <i>Marion</i> Exp: 10.7.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Ewins, Samuel – entitled to TOL on arrival	2805	Brick maker	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 7.4.55	Erickson & O'Mara only list info on family
Eyre, Robert Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58	4896	Carpenter (org. clerk)	20.5.60 CP 23.1.75 York	15.4.64 - 30.6.64: Turton, William Gingin 26.7.64: Turton, William Gingin
Farrant, Thomas Arr. Nile 1.1.58	4557	Stone mason	5.11.59 CP 15.1.63 Perth	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Farrell, John Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63	7414	Brick layer (org. labourer, soldier)	18.8.64 CP 16.1.67 York D. 20.9.1867	19.8.64: Brittain, James Perth
Fawcett, Edward Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51 Acc.1156R/6:12	263	Carpenter	11.6.53 CP: 17.4.58	20.8.53 - 28.6.54: Buckingham, John Wheelwright, Perth; ntg 1.12.54: Jewell, Richard 6.57: Self. Trans Swan

				28.7.57: Lefroy, A. O'Grady Not in WABI
Fawn, Thomas <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6867	Carpenter (org. painter)	14.3.63 CP 29.6.65 Fremantle	30.6.63: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle
Feeney, William <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9446	Brick maker (org. book binder)	2.12.70 CF 18.12.77 Newcastle	19.12.71: Doyle, J. Guildford 26.12.71: Benson, Michael Perth
Fegan, (Fagan) Alexander <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:740	317	Stone mason	12.12.52 CP: 24.12.55	27.4.54: Working self. Perth Worked self Not in WABI
Fenton, John <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Not in TOL Index	188	Mason	8.5.52 CP: 25.8.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Fergus, Robert <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:401	303	Mason's Labourer	7.1.53 CP: 29.5.61	10.1.53: Bryant, Henry [Exp], Tailor Perth; ntg
Ferris, Charles <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5990	Stone mason	4.2.65 To Callao 25.1.69	Plantagenet; gen servant, labourer
Ferry, John <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i> D.8.2.87	7687	Carpenter (org. cabinet carver)	16.4.66 CF 24.9.72 York	30.6.66: Brown, David Perth 31.12.66: Chan, Hookham Perth 18.6.67: Johnston, John Saunders York 19.3.69: Campbell, S. Champion Bay 8.6.69: Hoskin, Martin Cpt Gwalla 30.6.69: Jennings, Joseph B. Geraldton 27.7.69: Mann, M. & J. Geraldton

				30.8.69: Linthorne, W.H. Greenough 12.11.69: Cousins, Robert [270] Dongara 31.12.69: Sweeney, A. Dongara 24.9.70: Barry, R. Perth, Fremantle 31.12.70: Carp, Kerry Perth 30.11.71: McKay, T. York 31.1.72: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 25.4.72: Wall, George York
Finlay, George Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Not in TOL Index	360	Brick maker	22.9.51 CP: 31.10.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Fisher, Charles Arr. <i>Adelaide</i> 18.7.55	3589	Brick layer	9.11.57 CP: 14.7.60	Erickson & O'Mara only list info on family
Fisher, Jesse - entitled to TOL on arrival	749	Brick layer's Labourer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 31.12.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Fisher, Thomas Arr. <i>Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6138	Brick layer	2.6.64 CF 24.6.80 G'ford	Toodyay, Swan, York; labourer, cutting timber, gen servant
Fitton, James Arr. <i>Corona</i> 22.12.66	9155	Mason	8.1.71 CF 5.2.77 Bunbury	23.12.71: A. Duperouzel [4840], "Knockadin", York; working as mason 25.2.75 - 31.12.75: Clifton, M.W. Wokalup. Worked for Clifton from 26.11.73 - 30.6.74 as general servant
Fitzsimmonds, James Arr. <i>Runnymede</i> 7.9.56	4186	Stone mason	5.3.57 Exp. 12.58	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Foster, Joseph Arr. <i>Clara</i> 4.7.57	4456	Stone mason	5.4.58 CP 25.6.59	Bunbury, Wellington, Perth; labourer, gen servant. Worked for self 1864, 1866 - 1869: woodcutter

D. 29.8.87				
Fothergill, Thomas <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5373	Brick layer	14.2.62 CP 29.9.66 Toodyay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Fowler, Francis <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5515	Brick maker	16.2.60 CP 16.5.61 Exp. 2.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
France, Abraham <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8264	Carpenter (org. labourer)	15.8.71 CF 27.2.83 Fremantle	Chan, Hookam, Perth
Frome, George <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5531	Mason	15.2.60 CP 1.4.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Frost, George - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 21.4.52	1207	Brick layer	Arr. 31.1.52 <i>Marion</i>	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Gairdelli, Joseph <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9743	Builder (org. plasterer)	26.8.71 CF 21.11.76 Williams To SA 11.12.83 Not in WA Dic.	1.72: Moore, James D. Perth, b'maker 10.73: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle, plasterer 4.74: Stevens, Henry 125m Albany Rd, Williams; plasterer 6.74: Stevens, Henry 125m Albany Rd, Williams 12.74: Cornwall, William Williams River 4.75: Thompson, James Williams, Arthur R; b'layer 6.75: Thompson, James Williams, Arthur R.; mason 7.75: Fleay, Henry Walter Williams, Arthur River 8.76: Spratt, James Williams & Arthur R. & 125 Albany Rd, Perth; b'layer 10.76: Thompson, James Williams, Arthur R; gen. servant

Garden, John Arr. York 31.12.62	6606	Carpenter (org. wheelwright)	16.4.64	29.4.64 - 30.6.64: Brown, David Perth
Gardener, Robert – entitled to TOL on arrival	2726	Stone Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 15.3.56	7.1855: Broun, Thomas Perth; ntg
Garritty, Patrick Arr. York 31.12.62	6598	Mason (org. lab)	13.3.64 CP 25.3.67 Ch Bay To Callao 25.3.70	3.11.65 - 6.4.66: Glass, W.C. Geraldine Mine
Gatehouse, Edwin – entitled to TOL on arrival	737 2931	Carpenter (org. salesman)	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 31.10.53 Recon. 5.7.54 3.62	No date: Jewell, Richard R Perth
Gater, William Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63	7417	Brick layer	12.6.64 CP 7.7.66 Toodyay CF 8.7.68 Albany	nd: Monger, Stephen Stanton Springs, Beverley
Gates, Frederick – entitled to TOL on arrival	950	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 21.10.54	2.8.52: Dobson, John 4/12s; Freshwater Bay; ntg
Gaylor, Benjamin Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50 Acc.1386/4:325	175	Mason	19.4.52 Exp. 28.5.64 CF: 30.5.64	Listed York Census 1859: "on road", stone mason. Employed 4 T/L: 1865 - 67.
Geaghan, (Geoghan) Robert Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52	1315	Mason	7.3.54 Exp. 2.62 Recon. 2.7.62 Perth 1.9.64 Exp. 1.7.65 CF 21.3.68 Ch Bay	23.1.56: Williams, Thomas Herdsman's Lake; ntg 1.9.64: Curedale, George [4631] Rocky Bay & Freshwater Bay as builder

George, William <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8861	Carpenter	21.9.69 CF 7.4.75 Guildford	2.10.69: Johnston, John Saunders York 25.4.70: Montgomery, Samuel Guildford 20.10.70: King, Daniel Gingin 31.12.70: Rhodes, William Gingin 1.9.72: Rook, William Gingin 21.11.72: Biggs, Joseph [7923] Gingin
Gibson, David - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6874	Carpenter	Arr. 5.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 10.8.69 Ch Bay To SA 6.3.84	14.7.63: Brakes, Samuel [26] Freshwater Bay, Freo 31.12.68 - 30.6.69: Creswick, Robert [6551] Geraldton; ntg
Gildon, William <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6595	Carpenter	7.3.63 CP 2.2.64 Fremantle	Carpenter worked for self 1863 - probably in Fremantle
Giles, Aaron – entitled to TOL on arrival	2657	Stone Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 5.5.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Giles, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	976	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 14.7.54	Geraldton. Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Gill, Edwin <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8279	Carpenter (org. carver)	4.8.70 CF 27.7.76 Albany To USA 18.8.76	1.3. – 30.6.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth
Gillespie, John <i>Arr. York 21.12.62</i>	6604	Mason	2.5.64 CP 27.5.67 Bunbury CF 10.5.69 Ch Bay	Perth, Williams River, Wellington, Murray; labourer, herdsman. Worked for self 1864: gen servant
Gipson, William – entitle to TOL on arrival	1875	Brick maker	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 1.7.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Gittins, John Arr. <i>York</i> 21.12.62	6601	Carpenter (org. turner & finisher)	5.9.65 CP 8.5.73 Guildford To London 28.7.94	31.8.68: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 21.8.69: Hughes, John Bullcreek & labourers 20.12.69: Cook, Solomon - Toodyay Rd, Swan Bridge 25.2.70: Meagher, M. R. Bassendean Farm & Sandalford 22.4.70 - 30.6.70 Chatterton, Edward (Exp) Guildford 3.7.72: Harris, W.E. Middle Swan
Glann, William - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6875	Brick layer	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 26.12.63 Perth CF 13.12.65 To Vic. 20.3.68	30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Buggins, William Perth, as plasterer
Gleeson, John Arr. <i>Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8273	Stone mason	18.8.68 CF 8.5.74 York CR 1870	Wellington, Perth; gen servant, cook, labourer
Glennon, Christopher Arr. <i>William Hammond</i> 29.3.56 D. 19.3.86	3955	Brick maker	3.2.59 CP 8.8.63 Bunbury	1857: Baillie? A. No district given; ntg 5.2.59: Church, Thomas [1094] Champion Bay; ntg 5.5.59: Newton, John [450] ntg 11.11.59: Brown, William Perth & Williams, ntg
Godfrey, Francis - entitled to TOL on arrival	1700	Mason	Arr. 10.2.53 <i>Dudbrook</i> Exp. 5.57	Perth, York Worked self 1853
Goff, John Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8565	Mason	5.12.71 D. 26.12.71 Ch Bay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Goldthorpe, George Arr. <i>Lord Dalhousie</i> 28.12.63	7427	Carpenter (org. lab silversmith)	15.9.65 CP 2.9.69 Ch Bay	19.5.66 - 30.6.66: Cuttting, H.S. Geraldton 4.10.66: Shenton, George Geraldton 6.11.66: Scott, G.H. & Gale Geraldton 10.8.68 - 30.6.69: Thomson, John Geraldton, servant

Gooding, William <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9746	Brick layer	19.10.71 CF 1.7.76 Albany To Vic. 1.8.79	Plantagenet; labourer, gen servant, brick layer.
Goodland, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8269	Carpenter	Absconded 16.12.70	
Gore, Robert <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7419	Builder (org. coal miner)	10.12.65 CP 16.3.72 Fremantle	10.67 - 12.67: Williams, John "Willigully". Mines 1868: Bennett, Charles of Gwalla (Mines Champion Bay) 1868: Mills, John "Narra Tarra", Gwalla 2.68; 8.68: Thomson, John Geraldton
Goulding, John <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9750	Rough Carpenter	FP 15.5.69 Perth To NZ 11.5.71	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Graham, Robert <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1616	Mason	23.6.54 D. 15.2.58	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Grant, William <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3477	Carpenter	18.7.55 Exp. 4.1862	Listed as lab. In Dic. Perth, Fremantle & Guildford. Self 1857
Gray, Alexander <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6603	Carpenter	13.2.63 CP 1.1.64 Fremantle	No date: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle Labourer, carpenter
Green, Henry <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6194	Carpenter	16.3.62 CF 25.3.73 Albany To NSW 4.4.73	nd: Strickland, W. Albany (28.5.70, general servant) 2.4.62: Jewell, Richard R Perth
Green, James <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1308	Carpenter	23.5.55 CP 27.6.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Green, James Edward <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1476	Carpenter	24.12.53 D. 24.11.59	5.1.54: Skeldon, John [971] Perth: Freshwater Bay, ntg

Green, John Underwood <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3659	Carpenter	21.3.59 CP 3.1861 CF 21.11.68 Albany	Albany. Erickson & O'Mara provide info on descendants
Greenwood, George – entitled to TOL on arrival	8285	Carpenter	Arr. 10.8.65 <i>Racehorse</i> D. 12.2.83	4.10.65: Sutton, Thomas [7249] Perth turner 10.11 – 31.12.69; 13.4.76; 29.10.78: Sutton, Thomas [7249] Perth 15.5.76; 10.1.77; 27.7.77: Molloy, Thomas G. Perth
Gregan, William <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4022	Brick maker	7.11.58 CP 29.7.67 York	17.6.63 – 22.7.63: Tipper, Thomas [5105] Perth Worked for self 1864
Gregory, Edward <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8862	Brick maker	25.3.73 CF 2.5.81 Williams	25.3.73: Davey, Patrick [5304] Perth 31.3.73: Lyons, James Newcastle 3.4.75: Cornwall, William Williams River as builder 14.2.76: Dearle, John Arthur River
Gregory, Joseph <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6193	Brick maker	3.3.62 CP 18.4.65 York	Champion Bay, Toodyay, Beverley, Perth, Fremantle; miner, shoemaker, labourer, clearing
Griffiths, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9169	Brick maker (org. labourer)	6.2.68 CF 24.9.72 York	3.5.73: Roberts, William Perth
Griffiths, John <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9445	Carpenter	15.12.70 CF 11.11.75 Perth D. 12.12.78	Perth; carpenter worked for self 1871 – 73 31.12.70: Nunan & Brophy Perth 15.12.70; 30.6.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth
Grimes, Joseph <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9170	Brick maker (org. stoker)	21.9.70 CF 13.11.70 Perth	6.10.71: Marris, John Perth

Grout, Joseph <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8854	Carpenter	4.3.70 D. 27.2.75	York, Perth, Sussex, Wellington; labourer, gen servant
Groves, George <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4551	Brick maker	18.8.59 CP 1.4.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Gunn, Thomas <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7125	Brick maker	25.2.65 CP 22.12.66 Toodyay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hainsworth, John <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5714	Carpenter & Joiner	14.9.63 CP 6.5.71 Ch Bay	10.3.64 - 30.6.64: Miller, James (Exp) Geraldton 30.6.68 - 30.6.70(?): Mitchell, Samuel Geraldine 12.9.68: Chapman & Co Fremantle; carpenter 31.12.68: Chapman & Co Champion Bay; carpenter
Hales, William D. 13.4.87	4407	Stone mason	18.3.59 CP 27.11.61 CF 26.4.72 York	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hall, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	1893	Mason	<i>Arr. 1.5.53 Pyrenees</i> CP 1.7.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hall, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9178	Mason	17.3.69 CF20.8.73 Bunbury	Perth, Toodyay, Victoria Plains, York, Swan, Wellington; gen servant, horse breaker, labourer. Left colony
Hamilton, Joseph <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9179	Brick layer (weaver)	14.10.70 CR 11.1.73 Perth	16.2.71: - 30.6.71: Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Perth
Hamilton, William – entitled to TOL on arrival	3077	Bricklayer & mason	<i>Arr. 7.8.54 Ramillies</i> CP 2.1.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Hand, Charles <i>Arr. Marion</i> 30.1.52	1059	Carpenter	1.8.53 Exp: 11.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hanson, George – entitled to TOL on arrival	1908	Brick maker	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 1.7.54	Bunbury 1872
Harding, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	3735	Brick maker	Arr. 29.3.56 <i>William Hammond</i> Exp. 19.19.62 CF 9.9.64	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hargreaves, Thomas <i>Arr. Scindian</i> 1.6.50 Acc 721/30:119	31	Mason	17.6.51 Exp 9.62	22.9.51: Working on own account as mason for John Smith, Perth, miller. 6.2.53: Carter, William W. Freshwater Bay, plasterer for 3/12
Harris, Charles <i>Arr. Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4999	Brick layer	6.3.60	Escaped from Vasse 3.1861
Harris, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	2806	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 12.5.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Harris, John - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 4.2.90	618	Carpenter	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 31.12.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Harrison, George <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6311	Mason	5.11.62 CP 4.4.64 Swan	Toodyay; labourer
Harrison, Thomas <i>Arr. Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4948	Carpenter	29.2.60 CP 30.8.61 Pinjarra	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Harrison, William <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4245	Mason	19.5.60 CP 11.3.65 Perth	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hart, Isaac J. - entitled to TOL on arrival	653	Mason	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 30.9.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hart, Thomas <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	55	Mason	8.6.51 CP 29.7.54 To SA 29.11.54	Perth - James Dyson, Sawyer Pass for Perth: 9/6/51. Employer: James Dyson, Sawyer. 2.8.51: left Dyson went to Freo looking for work
Harvey, Francis <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4988	Brick maker (org. fish monger)	7.1.62 CP 4.7.65 York	24.10.64 - 3.12.64: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" 7.12.69 - 31.12.69: Blackell, Charles [634] York At Greenough 1873
Hathaway, John Gordon <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6888	Brick maker (org. labourer)	24.5.64 CP 13.2.71 CF 7.8.81	15.2.67: Bird, Thomas Woodside, York 1.4.67: Bird, Thomas Woodside, York At York 1883
Hatton, James <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	69	Carpenter (cotton mill manager)	10.6.51 CP 8.12.55 Fremantle	21.8.51: John Smith - began with Smith 5.9.51. 13.10.51: left to work for self
Hawkins, Henry <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1273	Brick layer	1.10.53 CP 5.7.56	3.10.55: Ingram, John [209] Perth 30.12.55: Brekley, W. Canning; ntg At. Collie 1876
Hawkins, William <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9760	Carpenter (org. joiner)	4.12.71 CF 18.4.78 Fremantle To SA 24.4.82	4.12.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth 21.10.72: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle 18.1.76: Montgomery, Samuel Guildford 8.12.76: Meares, R.G.M. Sandgate, Victoria Plains 31.12.76: Padbury, Walter "Yatheroo" Swan, Toodyay, Vict. Plains

				24.2.77: McPherson, Duncan Toodyay 20.3.77: Lefroy, Henry Bruce Walebing, Vict. Plains 27.6.77 - 30.6.77: Mitchell, James York 13.3.78: Studman, Charles Jarrahdale
Haycock, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2702	Mason's Labourer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 5.7.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Haynes, John <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	3990	Mason	12.1.65 D. 18.12.85	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Haynes, John <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4119	Carpenter	11.12.58 CP 9.4.61 CF 15.6.69 Ch Bay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Haynes, Robert - entitled to TOL on arrival	835	Mason's Labourer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp 23.1.64	Champion Bay 1867
Head, Charles <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6894	Mason's labourer	22.1.64 CP 22.9.69 Vasse	20.9.66: Lewis, Arthur Busselton as b'maker
Heal, George <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i> D. 1889	8292	Carpenter & joiner	1.1.73	1.1.73: Ralston, G.D. Fremantle 5.4.78 - 31.12.81: Thomas, Alexander (Exp) Geraldton 20.10.82: Allen, Charles Fremantle. Working as carpenter Worked for self 1873, 1876
Healey, James <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2261 10,113	Brick maker (org. labourer)	5.7.54 CP 27.8.59 Recon 2.7.73 Perth 14.7.77 CF 24.7.79 Bunbury	23.12.79: Trott, W. Bunbury Time of reconviction occupation: brickmaker

Healy, Joseph <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4109	Brick maker	24.11.58 CP 30.10.62 Toodyay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hebden, Edward <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7150	Stone mason	D. 30.1.64	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hemsley, Richard <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8877 10,151	Brick layer (org. plasterer)	23.8.68 CF 10.2.72 York Recon. 9.1.75	24.8.68: Brittain, James of Guildford 26.12.68 - 31.12.68: Wilmot, J. York; plasterer 14.3.71: Monger, Stephen Stanton Springs, Beverley Time reconvection occupation: plasterer
Hennessy, Dennis <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9763	Carpenter	FP 15.5.69 Swan To NSW 21.9.69	
Heyes, Henry <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6127	Carpenter (org. labourer)	25.4.65 CP 26.6.73 Fremantle	30.8.72: Hudson & Co Fremantle Worked for self 1865, 1867-68, 1870.
Hicks, John <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i> D. 10.11.76	8017	Brick layer (org. farm labourer)	7.8.67 CF 28.3.76 York	12.4.72: Taylor, George Wanneroo
Hickson, George <i>Arr. Raehorse 10.8.65</i>	8303	Brick maker (org. seaman)	22.2.68 CR 10.8.70 York	23.8.64: Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Perth
Higgins, James <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1343	Mason	18.9.54 CP 28.10.64 Ch Bay CF 44.2.67	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hill, Patrick <i>Arr. Phoebe Dunbar 31.8.53</i>	2516	Brick layer	26.6.54 CP 9.8.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Hill, Samuel <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4141	Brick layer	13.5.59 CP 19.3.63 Bunbury CF 31.10.72 Bunbury To NSW 17.6.73	19.5.59: Herbert, Henry (Snr) Freshwater Bay; ntg Worked for self 1859
Hindley, Thomas - entitled to TOL on arrival	932	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 3.58	Perth
Hinton, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i> D. 4.12.95	7446	Brick maker (org. labourer)	2.10.64 CP 27.4.67 Toodyay	15.3.66: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine"
Hinton, Joseph <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Died 10.12.66 Acc.1386/1:316	177	Brick layer	1.7.52 Exp: 4.60 Recon. 3.1.66	8.9.52 - 17.2.53: Debrank, Arthur Mason, Perth. 17.2.53: Dobson, John Freshwater Bay; ntg 9.1.55: Willis, Edward Murray; ntg
Hodges, James - entitled to TOL on arrival	1163	Carpenter	Arr. 30.1.52 <i>Marion</i> CP 1.1.54 Perth	11.2.52: for Guildford 10.3.52 6.3.52: Place, John no area given Larcombe & Osborne T-O-L men, sawyers ? – 14.2.52; left 6.3.52 Emplyd: John ?Plaer, Carp. Freo 9.11.52: Gallop, Freshwater Bay
Hoffman, Francis <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6318	Carpenter	28.6.64 CP 2.1.69 Ch Bay	8.7.64: Elliott, C.H. Chapman 6.11.64: Hosken, John Gwalla 30.6.66: Linthorne, W.H. Greenough 31.12.66: McNeece, John Champion Bay 30.6.68 - 31.12.68: Cousins, W. Irwin
Hogan, James <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6319	Carpenter	27.12.63 CP 15.10.68 Bunbury	28.1.64 - 30.6.67: Thompson, James G. Preston & Brookhampton 11.9.67: Lee Steere, J. G. Blackwood

				29.11.67 - 31.12.67: Wood, W.H. Preston, Wellington
Hogg, Robert <i>Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50</i> Not in TOL Index	80	Carpenter	13.3.52 CP: 24.3.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Holland, George <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1579	Mason	25.4.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Holland, Henry <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9769	Brick maker (org. labourer)	22.10.73 CF 22.12.81 Perth	11.12.73: Bates, John [8207] Peninsula, Perth
Holmes, Edward <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5549	Brick layer	3.2.60 CP 9.2.61 Reconv. 3.10.61 4.4.65 CF 13.7.69	30.6.66: Smith Jeremiah (Exp) Greenough 17.3.68: King, George Greenough 28.4.68 - 30.6.68: Herbert, Henry (Jnr) Irwin; mason 1.9.68: Ridley, L.F. Irwin; mason
Holt, John <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	8012	Carpenter (org. piano maker)	14.5.66 CF 19.12.72 Ch Bay	8.7.66: Linthorne, W.H. Greenough 17.7.66: Grant, Joseph of Flats & Dongara
Hood, John <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7147	Brick layer (org. miner)	13.8.68 To Calcutta 7.12.78	21.10.68: Barrett-Lennard, Edward P. St Leonards, Swan
Horn, Lancelot <i>Arr. Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6617	Carpenter (org. labourer)	1.5.65 CP 30.11.69 N'castle	6.5.65, 5.9.66 - 31.12.66: Brown, David Perth
Horton, James <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8865	Brick maker	22.6.68 CF 30.10.73 G'ford	Perth, Swan; labourer, gen servant, wood cutter, shingle splitter

Houghton, Samuel <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9464	Mason	14.12.68 CF 4.12.71 Albany To NSW 31.7.72	Plantagenet; gen servant.
Howard, Frederick - entitled to TOL on arrival	966	Stone cutter	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp 2.7.55 CF 15.10.67 To SA 27.3.76	Perth to
Howard, George <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:408	247	Mason's Labourer	27.9.52 CP: 30.7.55 To SA 27.4.56	Self. Left employment of W, Hubert 16.2.53 to go to Bunbury. Perth, Bunbury
Howard, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	786	Mason's Labourer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 30.11.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Howarth, James <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.1.63</i>	7439	Brick maker (org. packer)	14.4.66 CP 7.10.74 To Pt. Augusta 1875	27.9.70 - 8.11.70: Fagan, Alexander [317] Culham 1.11.72: Smith, William Down Farm, Avondale Beverley Worked for self 1866
Howarth, John <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9465	Stone mason	13.10.68 CF 26.2.72 Ch Bay To Vic 27.2.79	Champion Bay; labourer, gen servant
Howe, James <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9772	Builder (org. clerk)	21.11.71 CF 17.11.76 York	16.9.72: Fleay, John Gilgering. Bev/Toodyay Worked for self 1874 - 75
Howell, George <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i> 27.5.80	9467	Builder (org. horse breaker)	3.5.76	19.5.79: Eddie, John [1641] Williams
Howes, Joseph <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i> D. 3.8.85	8299	Brick maker (org. porter)	15.10.68 CF 3.12.73 Perth	1.12.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth

Hudson, Robert <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8304	Carpenter (org. labourer)	19.6.68 CF 18.3.73 Perth	26.11.68 - 31.12.68: Bancelles, John G'ford Rd, Perth 15.6.69: Bancelles, John G'ford Rd, Perth
Hudson, Robert <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9774	Brick maker (or.g labourer)	21.5.74 CF 13.2.82 Fremantle	22.3.75: Roberts, William Perth
Huggins, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	967	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 1.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hughes, Joseph <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8872	Brick maker (org. labourer)	2.8.70 CF 23.3.75 York	20.12.71: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Hughes, William <i>Arr. William Hammond</i> 29.3.56	3935	Carpenter	2.2.60 CP 1.8.64 Ch Bay	Perth. Worked for self 1861
Hunt, George <i>Arr. William Hammond</i> 29.3.56	3806	Stone mason	15.11.58 CP 9.11.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Hunter, Charles <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i> D. 17.8.66	4829	Stone mason	14.10.61	Sawyer worked for self Perth 1864
Hunter, Richard <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:346	377	Stone mason	27.10.51 CP 14. 10.54	25.10.52: George Fisher, labourer for 12/12. Left 2.11.52. Engaged to Alfred D Letch (Leech) 8.3.54. All seems to be in Perth
Hunter, Robert <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8287 10,188	Brick maker (org. labourer)	17.1.69 CF 15.10.75 Bunbury Recon. 5.7.76	16.1.69: Fauntleroy, R. Guildford
Huridane, Christopher <i>Arr. Phoebe Dunbar 31.8.53</i> D. 1889	2580	Carpenter	11.4.54 CP 3.2.55	At Champion Bay 1874

Hurley, James <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9203	Builder (org. groom)	16.10.70	6.12.70 - 31.12.70: Fagan, Alexander Culham
Hyde, James <i>Arr. Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8579	Carpenter	26.7.67 CF 24.12.70 Freo To SA 25.9.78	7.8.67: Manning, C.A. Fremantle 16.9.67; 31.12.67 – 30.6.68: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 25.9.68 – 30.6.69: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle
Ingleby, William <i>Arr. Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	5042	Stone mason	15.12.58 CP 14.7.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Ireland, William S. <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66 D. 1888	8892	Brick layer (org. miner)	24.1.72 CF 1712.74 Perth	27.3.72: Baker, George Fremantle 28.11.72: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth; b'maker
Isom, Joseph - entitled to TOL on arrival	696	Brick maker	<i>Arr.</i> 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 18.11.54	7.5.52: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg
Jackson, John - entitled to TOL on arrival Acc.1386/2:881	496	Brick maker	<i>Arr.</i> 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp: 3.7.56	27.12.54: Hardman, William Canning, Perth 29.12.54: William Hardman, Perth, working as shoe maker
Jackson, Thomas <i>Arr. Marion</i> 31.1.52	1190	Brick & Tile maker	31.3.52 CP 27.1.54	28.7.52: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg 7.5.53: Sherwood, Henry Peninsula; ntg Perth: Henry Gray, left 2.53 John Dobson, left 15.4 To ?? 7.5 Remained in Perth
Jackson, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8617	Builder (org. labourer)	1.6.67 CF 13.1.72 Ch Bay	1869: Clinch, Thomas Greenough 21.1.70: Connelly, James Geraldton; mason 3.3.71 - 30.6.71: David Blayney (Blaney), of Greenough: Chapman as mason

Jackson, William <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> D. 25.11.57 Not in TOL Index	253	Carpenter	21.4.52	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
James, William <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8894	Brick maker (org. labourer)	29.10.69 CR 23.4.72 Exp 1875 Freo	28.10.69 - 31.12.69: Paul, Robert [8966] Guildford & Redcliffe 31.3.70 - 31.12.70: Shenton, Job Guildford 27.12.71: Marris, John Perth
Jamieson, James <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9475	Mason	6.10.68 CF 20.12.71 Albany To SA 16.7.75	Plantagenet; labourer, gen servant
Javan, George <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.3314/1:350	183	Carpenter	5.6.52 Exp: 8.62 To SA 12.3.63	Perth
Jeffrey, Charles <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7731	Brick maker (org. papermaker)	21.8.65 CF 28.4.71 Perth To NSW 29.7.72	4.6.68: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth 24.9.69 – 31.12.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth 11.3.70 - 30.6.70: Irons, W. Guildford
Jeffrey, John William <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7732	Brick maker (org. auctioneer)	4.8.66 CR 17.9.69	25.5.68 - 30.6.68; Sallenger, John [2400] Perth 31.12.68 - 30.6.69: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Jeffery, William Henry <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9208	Rough Carpenter	25.4.75 CF 22.4.85 Geraldton	17.4.75: Voils, William [5318] Perth 28.8.76: Miller, Arthur Geraldton; carpenter
Jellis, John <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9777	Carpenter (org. labourer)	23.11.75 CF7.5.86 Vasse	12.12.77: Galley, John [5188] Bridgetown
Jenkinson, Edward <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8311	Brick layer	21.4.69 CF 10.4.74 G'ford Reconv 3.4.84	Fremantle, Swan; gardener. Worked for self 1870 - 71 gen servant. After conviction worked as gardener & brick layer

Jestice, Charles <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8314	Carpenter	4.1.68 CF 22.9.71 Ch Bay To UK 15.12.71	Wellington; shoe maker, gen servant, labourer
Johnson, Arthur <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9478	Brick layer	14.2.69 CF 4.1.73 Ch Bay	Perth, Fremantle; labourer, gen servant. Worked for self 1871
Johnson, Charles <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i> D. 1891	6339	Brick maker (org. miner)	28.8.62 CF 13.11.76 Freo Reconv. 2.10.78	20.9.73: Loxton, Stephen [9500] York
Johnson, Henry <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1418	Carpenter	15.1.54 CP 7.1.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Johnson, Thomas <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7163	Carpenter (org. french polisher)	26.10.65 CP 25.5.71 Freo CF 16.6.71 Freo Reconv. 6.10.81	2.3.68 – 30.6.68: Marshall, Charles [164] Fremantle
Johnson, Thomas <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7737	Brick maker & labourer (org. labourer)	18.1.66 CF 20.6.70 Swan To Vic. 15.7.82	28.12.68: Glennon, Christopher Toodyay
Johnson (Johnstone), William <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i>	70	Carpenter	20.7.51 CP 17.66 Bunbury	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Johnson, William <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6334	Mason	10.11.62 CP 13.8.64 Freo CF 1.2.66	Labourer. Worked for self 1864
Johnston, Henry <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i> D. 12.4.77	5861	Brick maker	22.7.61 CF 18.4.67 Kojonup	Albany; labourer, gen servant

Johnston, James (Samuel) <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Not in TOL Index	375	Brick maker	13.10.51 CP 14.1.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Johnston, William <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	5015	Carpenter	3.9.60 CP 21.3.62 Perth	Perth. Worked for self 1861
Johnstone, William – entitled to TOL on arrival	1948	Carpenter	<i>Arr. 1.5.53 Pyrenees</i> CP 16.9.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Jones, Edward - entitled to TOL on arrival	917	Mason	<i>Arr. 14.10.51 Minden</i> CP 4.3.54	15.12.56: Smith, William Nedlands; ntg
Jones, Edward <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8313	Brick maker	1.5.69 CF 10.2.74 Swan To SA 13.11.89	Perth; gen servant
Jones, James <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8614	Brick layer (org. weaver)	4.11.70 CF 1.8.74 Albany To NSW 2.3.75	4.11.70: Brittain, James Guildford
Jones, John <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:427	231	Carpenter	16.9.52 CP: 3.7.58	5.3.53: Thomas Smith, Perth, Carpenter, one year. Per half yearly return with George Wright, Perth, 8.1.55. 23.10.55: Taylor Alexander W. Guildford; ntg
Jones, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7457	Carpenter (org. french polisher)	19.12.66 CF 12.1.82 Freo To SA 16.1.83	20.2.67: Vincent, Henry Fremantle 7.7.67: Chan, Hookam Perth 18.10.67: Chan, Hookam Perth 18.4.72 - 19.3.73: Campbell, Robert Perth 21.6.72: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth 30.6.72: Chester, Joseph Perth

				5.4.73; 30.6.73: Watson, John Perth
Jones, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7463	Brick maker (org. farmer)	15.8.66 CP 6.8.73 York	4.10.69: Bolton, Henry [6526] Perth 22.1..70 - 31.12.70: Fagan, Alexander [317] Culham
Jones, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9210 (10,305)	Brick maker (org. coal miner)	22.6.67 CF 2.12.70 Albany Recon. 6.7.81	13.7.68: Regan, W. Kendenup
Jones, Richard Frederick <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9211	Brick maker (org. musician, soldier)	13.11.69 CP 17.12.74 York	12.10.71: Jackson, Thomas Perth 30.12.71: Benson, Michael Perth
Jones, Robert <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8604	Carpenter	8.3.68 CF 2.3.72 York To SA 16.8.78	7.3.68 - 30.6.68: Johnston, John Saunders York 7.6.69: McKean, James [413] York 23.9.69: McKean, James [413] York 13.12.69: Marwick, William York 7.2.70: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 25.4.70 - 3.7.71: Johnston, John Saunders York 10.11.70: Marwick, William York 10.4.71: Wheeler, R.J. "Wootaling" York 7.8.71: Gentle, William Quabuton, Wellington & York 16.12.71: Gault, Robert ?"Matedine", York
Jones, Thomas <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.3314/1:232; 1386/3:303	285	Carpenter	29.1.53 CP 30.1.63 Freo	25.4.59 - 8.8.60: deSilva, John Pedro Freshwater Bay; ntg 25.4.59 : John De Silva - culling wood. Worked for de Silva on several occasions. 22.2.62 back to Freo Prison. Fremantle; Perth
Jones, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6337	Stone mason	26.11.63 CP 7.8.65 Ch Bay CF 19.12.67	31.12.63: James or John Bryant, Dongara 9.4.64: Webb, George Champion Bay

Jones, Thomas <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7467	Brick maker, soldier	20.2.66 D. 29.9.67 Bunbury	5.3.66: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle, Serpentine Fremantle, Perth, Wellington, Bunbury, Toodyay; labourer, brick maker, gen servant, sawyer
Jones, Thomas <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8611	Carpenter	4.8.70 CF 13.1.75 Albany To USA 2.3.75	22.3.71: D. Brown, Albany 25.8.71: Jeffrey, William Albany 1.1.72: Williams, S. Albany 3.4.74 Jeffrey, William Albany 25.7.74: Carrott, J. [5677] "Warkup", Albany Rd, Balgarup
Jones, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	952	Carpenter	Arr.14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 5.5.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Jones, William <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5510	Mason	2.2.60 CP 2.2.61 Exp 6.61	18.6.60 - 31.6.60: Byrne, James [2077] Vict. Plains; ntg
Jones, William <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7468	Carpenter	24.2.66 CP 22.7.70 Bunbury CF 10.6.73 York	11.12.68 - 31.12.68: Johnston, John Saunders York 13.12.69: Preshouse, Joseph [6049] Perth 28.1.70: Carpenter, C. [891] Williams 21.4.70: James Bailey, Murray, Perth 30.6.70: Johnson, W. Pinjarra
Jones, William <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	8040	Brick maker (org. waterman)	23.9.66 CF 27.11.72 Recon. 3.10.77	7.12.66: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" 13.2.71: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" as teamster
Jones, William <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9787	Brick layer	20.1.71 CF 22.5.76 Perth	Murray; labourer
Jordan, Enoch <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5339	Brick maker	6.7.61 CP 14.9.67	Champion Bay

			CF 29.8.71 Ch Bay	
Joyce, Henry <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5955 (10,088) To SA 10.11.80	Brick maker	24.7.63 CF 7.2.72 Freo Reconv. 8.11.72 To SA 10.11.80	11.2.64: Harrington, James Arnold Farm, York 28.1.67: Johnston, John Saunders York as carpenter 21.7.70: Skinner, D. (Exp) Busselton, ntg
Kay, Robert <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6172	Carpenter (org. cooper)	2.8.62 CP 17.7.68 Bunbury	26.2.64: Miller, James (Exp) Geraldton
Kean, Simon <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Not in TOL Index	359	Carpenter	22.9.51	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Keenan, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7178	Carpenter	8.1.65 CF 2.6.70	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Kelly, Edward <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5739	Brick layer (org. labourer)	15.8.63 CP 2.1.69 Ch Bay	9.5.64 - 30.6.64: Corbett, Michael [4781] Dongara & the Flats
Kelly, James <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i> D. 15.5.73	4097	Mason	2.3.57 Exp. 8.58	Perth. Worked for self 1858
Kelly, James <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7470	Brick maker (org. labourer)	5.5.67	17.2.68: King, J. Dardanup
Kermode, John <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7179	Carpenter	7.4.64 CP 16.7.66	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Kerr, Thomas <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6909	Carpenter	10.11.63 D.25.7.64	31.12.63 - 30.6.64: James Brown, Fremantle Died in convict hospital

Kidner, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	2840	Mason’s labourer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 10.3.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Kilburn, Septimus <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8910	Brick maker (org. groom)	29.1.68 CR 10.9.69 Perth	31.1.68: Collins, Peter Bunbury, Busselton
Kilburne, Francis <i>Arr. Palmerston</i> 11.2.61 D. 19.7.73	5732	Carpenter (org. boatman)	29.6.63 CP 10.6.73 York	10.12.72: Johnston, John Saunders York Died at Fremantle
Killeen, Patrick <i>Arr. Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9798	Brick maker (org. horse trainer; soldier)	17.3.71 CF 12.6.74 York	21.3.71: Bonsor, John [728] Perth
Kilty, Robert – entitled to TOL on arrival	1894	Mason	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 27.1.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
King, Alfred <i>Arr. Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Not in TOL Index	349	Carpenter	7.10.51 CP 2.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
King, Henry <i>Arr. Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Acc.1386/1:393	186	Brickmaker	5.6.52 CP 10.7.58 To Vic. 4.3.71	7.8.53: Gray, George Bootnall, Greenough; ntg 7.8.??: George Gray. Left 24.10. 13.1.55 with John Doggett, Perth and also in 1856, 1857, and 1858. 17.12.69 – 31.12.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth
King, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	794	Carpenter & wheelwright	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp 4.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
King, John <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9218	Brick layer	16.12.69 CF 17.3.74 York Reconv 3.7.84	Perth, Swan, Beverley; brick maker, labourer, shepherd, woodcutter, herdsman, gen servant.

Kirkham, William Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Acc.1386/1:236	222	Brickmaker	24.2.52 D. 21.2.59	Perth Worked self 1852
Knight, William Arr. <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58 D. 15.5.80	4962 (9956)	Mason	1.5.61 CF 5.4.64 Recon. 1.9.69 G'ton 1.3.75 CF 12.11.79 Ch Bay	30.6.63: William Addison Perth 31.12.77: Major, Thomas "Glengarry", Champ. Bay Died Fremantle prison hospital
Knight, William Arr. <i>Lord Dalhousie</i> 28.12.63	7471	Carpenter	18.2.66 CP 23.3.70 Bunbury CF 3.8.72 Albany To NSW 19.10.72	17.2.66 - 20.2.66: Weir, William Bunbury 2.10.67: Moore, James Bunbury 4.3.69 - 31.12.69: Moore, James Bunbury; gen. servt.
Lake, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2681	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 7.60 Ch Bay	At Champion Bay 1864 - 79
Lambert, Richard - entitled to TOL on arrival	965	Brickmaker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 27.6.54 CF 3.10.54	Shepherd
Langham, John Arr. <i>Clyde</i> 29.5.63	7182	Brick layer	16.6.65 CP 25.2.71 Perth CF 31.12.73 To SA 2.12.76	6.6.75 - 12.8.75: Dempster, James Northam "Buckland" – mason. NB: He was not a TOL at this time.
Langridge, Edward Arr. <i>Marion</i> 30.1.52 D. 10.4.98	1006	Bricklayer's Labourer	21.1.53 CP: 10.2.55	Guildford Died at Fremantle

Lank, Samuel – entitled to TOL on arrival D. 28.7.56	1825	Carpenter	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i>	13.5.53: Thomas Smith, Carpenter Still there 8.5.55 Sent to Freo hosp. & died. Worked for self 1856
Lauder, Thomas Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61 D. 18.10.83	5602	Stone mason	11.4.61 CP 26.3.64 Ch Bay CF 29.8.71 Ch Bay	Champion Bay; builder, grubbing Died at Geraldton
Leach, Henry Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 13.7.67	9493	Carpenter (org. upholsterer)	11.3.71 CF 9.5.76 Geraldton	20.1.71: Mountain, James [3591] Irwin 29.7.72: Holt, John P Narra Tarra, Dongara 12.9.72: Elliott, C.H. Chapman
Leary, John Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	6915	Carpenter (org. rope maker)	14.3.63 CP 3.9.66 Ch Bay	30.6.63: Pengelly, Arthur Champ. Bay
Leeman, Henry Arr. <i>Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6121	Carpenter	7.11.63 CP 28.3.68 Bunbury	7.11.63: Vincent, Henry Fremantle 6.1.64: Smith, W. Fremantle 22.1.64 - 31.12.64: Fawcett, Theodore Pinjarrah Park At Augusta 1889
Leggett, James - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6913	Carpenter	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 8.3.65 Ch Bay	21.3.63: Samuel Brakes [26], Freshwater Bay, Freo 31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Chapman & Co Champion Bay 4.8.64 - 31.12.64: Garrad, W.C. [6306], Geraldton
Letts, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	720	Bricklayer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 18.11.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary 28.10.51: Morrell, Richard Perth (& Northam), ntg 24.11.51: Mitchell, John Perth, ntg
Leyland, James Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61	5836	Mason (org. labourer)	3.10.62 CP 30.5.68 Vasse	3.11.66 - 31.12.66: Lewis, Arthur Busselton
Lindley, Reuben Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61	5792	Builder	22.2.62 CP 23.2.67	30.6.63: Horrocks, J.L. [1014] Gwalla as mason 30.6.64: Seabrook, John Beverley, Brookton

Lindsay, Richard - entitled to TOL on arrival	887	Carpenter	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 30.9.53	No information listed in Erickson & O'Mara
Liston, David Arr. <i>Lord Dalhousie</i> 28.12.63 D. 23.9.89	7474	Carpenter (org. musician)	26.11.67 CF 13.2.79	Bellamy, John [785], Perth Died Fremantle prison hospital
Lockwood, Joshua Arr. <i>Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8916	Plasterer	30.7.70 CF 17.11.87 Freo	30.7.70 - 31.12.70: Wallace, Matthew Guildford & Gingin; mason 24.7.71: Shirkey, John [7270] Greenough; b'layer 19.5.71 - 30.6.71: Carey, T.C. Blackwood & Bunbury; b'layer 31.12.72: Platt, Frederick Bunbury; b'layer 27.1.77: & 14.8.77 Jarvis, James Fremantle 24.7.78: Wallace, Matthew Guildford & Gingin Worked for self 1874
Loveridge, John Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62 D. 29.11.75	6651	Brick maker	26.8.64 CP 3.11.68 Perth CF 26.4.72 Swan	13.3.67: 5.3.66: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle, Serpentine Died at Fremantle in lunatic asylum
Loveridge, Levi Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6356	Brick maker (org. groom)	7.4.63 CF 24.10.68 Albany	29.9.68: Barrett, W. (?Exp), of Albany
Loxton, Stephen Chislett Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 13.7.67 D. 7.5.83	9500	Mason	17.7.71 CF 6.3.76 Albany	17.7.71: Pettit, George? Porongorup Died at Albany
Lucy, Dennis Arr. <i>Robert Small</i> 19.8.53	2048	Mason	29.6.54 CP 5.7.56	Worked in Avon district

Lush, William <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6911	Mason	30.4.63 CP 15.4.68 Perth	Canning; labourer - worked for self 1865, gen servant At Perth 1872
Lynch, Patrick <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6129	Brick layer	10.11.63 D.9.2.70	6.64: Fagan, Alexander [317] Culham 31.12.64: Phelps, William Geraldton (surveyor) 26.1.65: Charles Bennett of Gwalla (Mines Champion Bay) 31.12.65: Cooke, Nathaniel Wm Irwin & Arrino 20.9.66: Hamersley & Co. Greenough 5.12.66: A. Dawson, Greenough; working as b'layer Died in Fremantle prison hospital
McAllister, John <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4744	Carpenter	23.8.60 CP 21.3.62 To SA 11.8.66	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
MacCormick, William <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9233	Stone mason	22.6.67 CF 24.11.70 Freo	22.6.67 – 30.6.67: Jarvis, Henry Fremantle 16.5.70 - 30.6.70: John Anning, Fremantle, working as mason
McAllen, John <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9503	Carpenter (org. plumber)	10.2.77 CF 30.6.85 Perth	19.5.79: O'Neil, John Swan, Toodyay 11.6.79 - 31.12.79; 5.9.83 - 30.6.84: Clinch, James L "Berkshire Valley" Worked for self 1877
McAuley, James <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6088	Brick maker (org. labourer)	21.1.64 CF 13.9.70 Ch Bay	1869: Back, James Greenough
McBride, James - from Bermuda <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6942	Mason	19.6.63 CP 28.11.67 Ch Bay	Champion Bay; whaling 9.4.70

McCabe, Bernard <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4457	Carpenter	5.4.58 Exp. 10.59	Perth. Worked for self 1859
McCabe, John <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7781	Brick maker (org. groom, soldier)	1.9.68 CR 30.1.80 Perth	28.12.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth
McCarthy, Peter <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8365	Carpenter (org. rough carpenter)	23.7.74 CF 13.8.83	23.7.74: Heal, George & Savage Fremantle 16.10.74: Rosenthal, I.A. Geraldton 5.4.79: Miller, Arthur Geraldton 30.6.79: Creswick, R. [Geraldton 2.3.80: Richardson, J. Geraldton Worked for self 1876 - 78
McCloud, Charles <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4011	Carpenter	5.1.60 CP 7.9.65 Bunbury	Perth. Worked for self 1860
McCormack, James <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9505	Carpenter (org. greengrocer, tailor)	24.10.71 CF 22.2.76 York	23.5.72: Hicks, Joseph "Gwambygine"
McDiarmid, Frederick <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4797	Carpenter (org. clerk)	8.4.60 CF 19.2.72 Perth	19.6.71; 11.12.72: Preshouse, Joseph [6049] Perth
McDonald, Benjamin - entitled to TOL on arrival	1684	Mason	Arr. 10.2.53 <i>Dudbrook</i> CP: 30.6.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
McDonald, Daniel <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.721/30:104;	310	Mason's Labourer	9.3.53 CP: 24.10.62 Toodyay CF: 13.1.64	11.3.53: Wm Yates, Publican, Perth. Returned to depot on expiry 13.12.53: engaged to John Skeldon [971] Perth:

1386/1:432				Freshwater Bay, ntg. Return 12.1.55 with William Laurence Toodyay
McDonald, James Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50	148	Bricklayer	10.8.51 CP 12.3.61	7.8.51: Perth - Stephen Hyde 28.8.51 left Hyde to Bishop Serra with John Wilson 15.12.51 Reported working for self Worked for self 1857
McDonald, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	2827	Masons' labourer	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 10.2.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
McDonald, James Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6371	Brick layer (org. labourer)	22.8.63 CP 16.4.66 CF 23.8.69 Ch Bay	7.8.51: Hyde, Stephen Perth 28.8.63: Cleary, J. [4358] Fremantle
McDonald, James Arr. <i>Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8350	Brick making (org labourer)	19.6.69 CF 21.1.73 York To Vic. 4.4.79	13.8.69: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine" 18.9.69: McLeod, George York
McDonald, John Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61 D. 4.1883	5651	Brick maker (org. sailor)	20.5.70	1.11.72: Smith, William Down Farm, Avondale Beverley Died Vasse hospital
McDonald, William Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Died 1851?	193	Carpenter	1.10.52 Exp: 12.59	?Escaped 17.12.59
McDonnell, William Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6388	Brick maker (org. smith)	8.3.67 CP 6.3.71 Bunbury	8.3.67: Bishop, John Minninup, Wellington 15.3.67: Bishop, John Minninup, Wellington
McDougal, Alister Arr. <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4969	Carpenter	3.3.60 CP 14.9.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

McGinness, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7497	Carpenter	16.3.65 CP 28.11.68 Freo	17.5.65 - 30.6.65: Johnston, John Saunders York 30.6.66; 31.12.66: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle
McGuire, Neil <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9816	Carpenter (org. shoe maker)	24.11.71 CF 24.10.89 G'ton	8.10.78: Studman, Charles Jarrahdale
McKay, Thomas <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4482 (7324)	Carpenter (org. joiner)	16.12.57 Exp 4.59 Recon 2.9.63 Ch Bay 15.11.66 Exp 1.9.70 CF 20.9.70 York	5.7.67 ; 31.12.67: Vincent, Henry Fremantle 7.9.68 - 30.6.70: Wheeler, R.J. "Wootaling" York
McNamara, Michael <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5706	Brick maker (org. labourer)	5.12.64 CP 18.12.71 N'castle Recon. 7.4.80	28.1.70: Connor(s), Daniel [2334] Newcastle 15.6.70: Bull, W. Toodyay
McNamara, Patrick <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7201	Brick layer (org. labourer, tailor)	5.6.67 CP 12.12.70 York	19.5.68: Taylor, George Wanneroo
McPartland, Thomas <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2189	Carpenter	9.10.54 CP 7.2.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
McSweeney, John <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7789	Brick layer	23.8.66 CF 1.7.74	31.7.71: William Beattie (Beatty) of Geraldton, Dongara, Dolly's Gully; as mason 21.9.71: John Buckley, Greenough as mason
Mack, John <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6377 10,091	Carpenter (org. wood turner)	38.3.65 CP 9.9.67 Murray Recon. 8.11.72	10.2.68: Marris, John Perth 11.6.68 - 31.12.68: Brown, David Perth 28.8.69 - 31.12.69: Brown, David Perth, as wheelwright Worked for self 1865

Mackie, Thomas Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51 Acc.1386/1:546	241	Carpenter	6.10.52 Exp: 9.3.64	24.8.53: John Thompson, Perth, Carpenter.
Madden, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	1731	Bricklayer	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> 10.1.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Maddock, Charles W. Arr. <i>Lincelles</i> 28.1.62 D. 18.9.99	5914	Carpenter	25.7.62 CP 17.10.66 York	17.5.65 - 30.11.65: Johnston, John Saunders York
Mahon, James Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	6931	Brick maker	20.8.64 CP 9.9.71 Ch Bay	Hutkeeper, labourer, shepherd
Mahon, John Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8659	Brick making (org. labourer)	1.8.70 CF 9.4.77 Perth	25.7.73: Ogle, Robert Guildford
Marks, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	911	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 14.1.54	No information in Erickson & O'Mara
Marshall, David Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	8088	Mason & stone cutter	3.4.66 D. 20.3.67	Fremantle; mason labourer, boatman
Marshall, William Arr. <i>Dudbrook</i> 10.2.53	1612	Carpenter	7.1.54 CP: 11.11.59	1.2.54: Briggs, Thomas Perth; ntg 2.7.54: Longstaff, James B [172] Perth 31.1.58: Sewell, Sampson, Yarra Mines & Sandsprings; ntg
Martin, Alexander Arr. <i>Adelaide</i> 18.7.55	3593	Carpenter	D. 28.10.55	

Martin, Thomas <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5729	Carpenter	8.6.63 CP 24.8.70 Perth Recon. 7.6.80	30.6.65 - 30.6.70: Smith, Thomas Victoria Plains
May, William Henry <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4555	Brick layer	25.8.59 CP 12.12.61 CF 8.2.71	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Mayo, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	2962	Bricklayer	Arr. 7.8.54 <i>Ramillies</i> CP 4.8.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Mead, Charles – entitled to TOL on arrival	2684 9055	Builder (org. labourer)	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> Exp 4.8.63 CF 5.8.63 Recon. 3.10.66 20.2.69 CF 5.10.69 Toodyay	26.2.69: Summers, N.H. Guildford 12.5.69 - 30.6.69: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam
Meakin, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	1952	Brick maker	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 7.4.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Mitchell, Henry <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4672	Brick layer	10.12.59 CP. 20.2.65 Freo CF 12.5.70 York	13.2.60: Burr, J. Toodyay; ntg
Mitchell, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7214	Carpenter	9.2.65 CF 18.8.75	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Mitchell, John <i>Arr. William Jardine 4.8.52</i>	1467	Mason	D. 11.10.52	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Mitchell, John <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1595	Carpenter	28.12.53 CP: 16.1.56	Perth
Mitchell, John <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	3135	Carpenter & joiner	10.11.57 CP 15.1162	20.7.58: Hale, Matthew (Bishop) Perth
Mitchell, William <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5789	Stone mason	15.3.62 CP 7.7.67 Perth CF 5.10.69	30.6.63 - 22.2.64: Joseph Ascion, Perth; working as mason Worked for self 1864 - 65
Moore, Henry George <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	8063	Brick layer	28.3.67 CF 26.5.77 Williams	29.3.67: William Buggins, Perth 7.10.67: Stevens, Henry 125m Albany Rd, Williams; mason 29.3.70 - 31.12.72: Claydon, Thomas Albany Rd, Perth as mason
Moore, Jesse <i>Arr. William Hammond 29.3.56</i>	3838	Brick maker	27.9.56 CF 3.11.63	18.6.58: King, John Williams & Masons 23.2.60: Hassell, George Newcastle; ntg 13.1.61: Church, Thomas [1094] Champion Bay; ntg
Moore, Thomas – entitled to TOL on arrival	1134	Carpenter	Arr. 30.1.52 <i>Marion</i> CP 11.53	17.2.52:Perth: Bond, Henry Rice. Left 20.3. to?Hes..... Left 2.7.52 as sick for Mt Eliza Dep.
Morfitt, Henry - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6930	Mason	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 24.7.65 Freo CF 10.8.70 Murray	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Morgan, Thomas <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9251	Plasterer & Slater	15.7.70 CF 5.5.83 Freo	3.4.70: Walsh, John York; builder 15.7.70: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam; b'layer 26.12.70 - 31.12.70: Cook, James York; brick layer 15.6.71: Russell, Thomas [9274] York 20.11.77 – 30.6.78: Jarvis, James Fremantle, as carp. 25.4.79: Jarvis, James Fremantle, as mason

				22.6.80: Jarvis, James Fremantle, as mason 25.3.82: Allen, Charles Fremantle working as mason 28.3.82: Atwell, H. Fremantle; as mason 15.5.82: Masters, Charles H. Gingin & Guildford; mason 11.10.82: Masters, Charles H. Gingin & Guildford; mason 8.1.61?: Beard, Cornelius of Northam; as b'layer
Morgan, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9526	Builder (org. civil eng)	9.11.72 CF 1.10.75 York	16.11.72: Ralston, G.D. Fremantle 28.2.73: Moore, Joseph Fremantle, mason 18.7.73: Hudson, Thomas [5440] Fremantle
Morgan, William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6132	Brick maker	27.9.63 CP 15.6.68 N'castle CF 3.9.70	10.1.68: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam; engineer
Moriarty, Bartholomew <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9828	Mason	CP 9.7.68	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Morris, John <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> <i>Acc.1386/2:1007</i>	67	Carpenter (lawyer, soldier)	26.5.51 CP 22.10.59	9.4.56 - 12.57: Cook, Solomon Toodyay Rd, Swan Bridge; ntg Working on own account trans. To Bindoon 7.1.56, returned 4.56. 9.4.56: Solomon Cook, Perth for 12/12. ?Sawyer.
Morris, Thomas <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i> <i>D. 13.5.91</i>	8347	Brickmaker (org. sailor)	17.8.65 CR 29.12.85 N'castle	6.11.66: 5.3.66: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle, Serpentine Died New Norcia
Morton, George – entitled to TOL on arrival	3195	Carpenter	<i>Arr. 7.8.54 Ramillies</i> CP 18.6.59 Recon. 7.1.63 24.10.66	Perth, Guildford.

			Exp. 6.1.72 CF 16.2.72 York	
Mould, William – entitled to TOL on arrival	2687	Carpenter	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 19.1.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Mountain, James Arr. <i>Adelaide</i> 18.7.55	3591	Carpenter	25.7.57 CP: 27.10.62 Toodyay CF: 13.12.69 Ch Bay	
Mulholland, Samuel Arr. <i>Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8372	Brick maker (or.g labourer)	26.11.69 CF 30.9.73 Bunbury	26.11.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth
Murdock, Edward Arr. <i>Corona</i> 22.12.66	9254	Mason (org. farm labourer)	22.6.67 CF 13.5.70 Newcastle	23.6. – 30.6.67: Savage, Charles [6177] Fremantle
Murgatroyt, James Arr. <i>Sultana</i> 19.8.59 D. 2.8.66	5387	Mason	11.1.60 Exp 3.4.63	11.2.60: Fagan, Alex. [317] Culham, Toodyay; ntg 27.3.62: Stevens James Canning (Blackboy Swamp); ntg 3.6.63: Smith, William Nedlands; ntg Died in convict hospital
Murphy, Darby Jeremiah Arr. <i>Phoebe Dunbar</i> 31.8.53	2553	Mason	20.3.54 CP 3.2.55	
Murray, John Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8641	Carpenter (org. wood turner)	24.5.68 CF 10.6.72 Newcastle	11.7.68 - 31.12.68: Roe, F.M. Roseland, Culham
Mustoe, Thomas - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6920	Brick maker (stone cutter)	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 28.1.65 Perth	18.6.63 – 18.8.63: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle & Serpentine

Mycock, John <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie</i> 28.12.63 D. 1.8.93	7485	Mason (org. iron turner)	30.5.66 CP 23.10.72 Ch Bay	7.4.69: Tetlow, John Geraldton Died at Geraldton
Naylor, Joseph <i>Arr. Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6126	Carpenter	2.2.65 CP 14.9.72 Bunbury To USA 11.1.75	3.2.65: McLarty, E. Pinjarra 24.6.65 - 31.12.65: Moore, James Bunbury 30.6.66 - 31.12.69: Moore, James Bunbury
Neal, William <i>Arr. Hougomont</i> 9.1.68	9835	Builder (org. soldier)	4.7.71 CF 21.11.78 Ch Bay	18.11.74: Kelly, William Mines, Champion Bay
Neale, Thomas <i>Arr. Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Not in TOL Index	372	Brickmaker	11.10.51 Exp: 25.2.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Newman, Joseph <i>Arr. William Hammond</i> 29.3.56	3896	Carpenter	10.5.59	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Nichol, William H. <i>Arr. Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6038	Mason (org. metal turner)	20.11.62 CF 7.8.68 Bunbury	30.6.63: Rooke, Bunbury
Nicholson, James <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6395	Brick maker (org. labourer, tailor)	14.1.64 CP 26.12.66 CF 14.5.72 York To London 8.1.78	2.1.65: Knight, William Brookton & Victoria Plains
Nicholson, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	900	Brick maker	<i>Arr.</i> 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 14.1.54	
Night, Thomas <i>Arr. Palmerston</i> 11.2.61	5633	Brick layer (org. tailor)	31.12.62 CF 20.2.72 Newcastle	6.3.69: Mooney, Thomas York, Vict. Plains

Noble, Charles <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9538	Brick layer (org. penknife grinder)	21.4.73 D. 8.1.75	23.1.74: Wallace, Matthew Guildford & Gingin Died at Champion Bay
Noble, James <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i> D. 6.10.75	4847	Brick layer (org. groom)	23.11.61 CP 30.9.69 York Reconv. 2.4.73	27.9.66: Jackson, Thomas Perth & Paradise Died at Vasse
Nodder, John W. <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i> D. 1887	6394 9050	Mason (org. groom)	17.4.63 CP 16.10.65 Ch Bay Reconv. 4.7.66 CF 21.7.69	30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Tetlow, James [23] Geraldton Died Fremantle lunatic asylum
Noonan, Joseph <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9837	Builder	Arr. 10.1.68 FP 15.5.69 Freo	
Norton, Thomas <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5976	Brick maker	4.10.63 CP 23.5.68	Erickson & O'Mara list as pudler Worked for self 1864 sawyer
O'Donnell, James <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3585	Carpenter	21.1.59 CP 18.10.62 Ch Bay	29.4.59: Church, Thomas [1094] Champion Bay; ntg
Ogle, John - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 9.7.87	784	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp 25.2.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Oldham, John Charles <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i> D. 9.7.87	7506	Carpenter (and soldier)	8.10.65 CP 27.6.70 Bunbury	20.2.69 - 31.12.69: Floyd, G.W. Bunbury Died at Jarrahdale

Osborn, George Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64	7812	Mason (org. shoemaker)	26.10.66 CF 23.12.74 Ch Bay To London 23.11.76	2.1.71: Manning, Francis [5750] Mines, Champ. Bay
Osborne, Frederick Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9844	Bricklayer	D. 28.10.71	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Osborne, James Arr. <i>Scindian</i> 1.6.50 Acc.1386/1:426	62	Carpenter	1.5.51 CP: 22.7.54	TOL was for Toodyay 3.3.53: Butcher, James Perth; ntg
Osborne, John Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62 D. 14.8.93	6398	Carpenter	15.8.62 CP 9.5.64 Perth CF 3.9.72 Ch Bay	31.12.63: Cook, M. Perth
O'Sullivan, William A. Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Not in TOL Index	224	Mason's Labourer (soldier)	2.6.52 CP 23.12.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Oxford, Robert Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62	6397	Carpenter (org. sawyer)	7.4.63 CP 14.8.65 Vasse	14.9.62: Cleary, J. [4358] Fremantle
Packer, Joseph - entitled to TOL on arrival	876	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> D. 13.4.52	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Page, Joseph Arr. <i>Clara</i> 4.7.57	4458	Carpenter	6.4.58 CP 25.6.59 To SA 20.1.79	28.11.59: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam
Parker, William - from Bermuda (BPP 1865) Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	6951	Brick layer	13.12.63 CP 2.10.69 Murray CF 24.7.77 Pinjarra	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Parkinson, Henry <i>Arr Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8674	Brick maker (org. labourer)	21.11.68 Absconded 8.3.74	3.1.72: Benson, Michael Perth
Parmenter, William <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 9.6.62 D. 15.4.1912	6408	Brick layer	28.10.62 CP 18.8.64 Bunbury	Labourer, brick layer Died at Bunbury
Parrott, William <i>Arr. Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	8099	Brick layer	6.11.67 CF 29.7.78 Fremantle	11.2.68: W. Devereux [7075], Perth & Mason's Station; as b'maker
Parsons, Fred. George <i>Arr. Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9845 (or 9345)	Stone mason	5.8.73 CF 3.1.82 Perth	10.73: Christie, Duncan York 17.12.75: Heal, George Fremantle
Parsons, Richard <i>Arr. Sultana</i> 19.8.59	5383	Brick layer	12.7.61 CP 6.5.65	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Paul, Robert <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8966	Brick maker	8.11.67 CR 14.6.69 Swan	21.10.68: Jackson, Thomas Perth & Paradise 9.12.68: Fauntleroy, Cornelius Charles, Perth Rd Guildford, "Redcliff" 14.4.69: Barker & Gull, Guildford, as brick maker
Peach, Benjamin <i>Arr. Edwin Fox</i> 21.11.58	5160	Brick layer	24.5.59 CP 3.10.59 To SA 24.10.69	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Pearce, James - entitled to TOL on arrival	956	Bricklayer's Labourer	<i>Arr.</i> 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 8.7.53	Guildford: Edward Willis TOL 11.52: Skeldon, John [971] Perth: Freshwater Bay, ntg

Pearson, George Arr. <i>Sultana</i> 19.8.59	5466	Brick layer	16.2.60 CP 22.8.61	24.8.60 - 12.60: Cooke, John Taylor 'Newline', Northam; ntg
Pearson, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	1857	Bricklayer's labourer	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp 16.9.59	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Pearson, William Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62	6706	Carpenter (org. cabinet maker)	8.2.65 CP 13.4.72 Albany	9.5.66 - 30.6.67: Sherratt, J. Albany 2.8.67 - 31.12.71: Moir, A.G. Cape Riche
Penton, George Arr. <i>Corona</i> 22.12.66	9261	Carpenter	23.4.70 CR 13.11.72 Fremantle	25.3.71: William W. Brown, of Canning & Fremantle "Wongong"
Perkes, James - entitled to TOL on arrival Acc.1386/2?:77	433	Brick maker	Arr. 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp. 16.10.52 CF 12.8.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Perkin(s), Richard - entitled to TOL on arrival D. 31.8.96	977 7911	Mason	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 10.6.54 Recon 7.7.64 21.6.67 Exp 6.7.69 CF 19.7.74 Bunbury	13.1.68: Trigwell, H. Preston; b'layer Died at Mt Eliza
Perry, Charles – entitled to TOL on arrival	1959	Mason	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 19.1.55	No info listed in Erickson & O'Mara

Peters, George <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6414	Stone mason (org. baker)	16.1.63 CP 9.10.67 CF 23.2.69 Ch Bay	3.12.66 - 31.12.66: Doran, William Champion Bay
Pettit, Thomas - entitled to TOL on arrival	481	Carpenter	Arr 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp. 2.1.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Phillips, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	1761	Mason	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 6.6.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Phillips, Thomas <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5645	Carpenter	6.8.62 CP 3.10.67 Ch Bay	3.6.63: Shenton, George Geraldton 31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Miller, James (Exp) Geraldton 31.12.64 - 30.6.67: Trigg, William Geraldton
Pierce, Thomas W. <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4099	Mason	28.7.57 Exp. 10.59	1.2.58: Shenton, W. Champion Bay; ntg
Pitchforth, William <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9267	Stone mason	16.4.71 CF 5.6.75 Ch Bay	18.7.71: Osborne, James (Exp?) "Bootnall" Geraldton 25.9.71: Ritchie, Matthew Greenough Flats
Pomeroy, Joseph <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6058	Carpenter (org. joiner)	3.8.63 CP 14.1.68 CF 15.2.70	31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Cornwall, William Williams River
Ponting, James <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:716	217	Brickmaker	21.2.52 Exp: 9.59	Worked self 13.3.54, boating on river

Pope, Henry <i>Arr. Stag 24.5.55</i>	3406	Mason	30.6.56 CP 8.8.59 CF 2.1.67 To East 12.1.67	4.5.57: Shearn, Farnham [2632] Wanneroo; ntg
Potter, James <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9545	Brick layer	22.7.71 CF 30.12.85 Perth	2.12.73: Richardson, John Toodyay; carpenter 7.2.74: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay 3.3.79: Halstead, Thomas Jarrahdale; carpenter. Also employs <u>lots</u> of labourers. 19.19.81: Henry Atwell, Fremantle; carpenter 30.6.82: H. Atwell, F'mantle; carpenter
Potts, Henry <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5528	Joiner & Carpenter (soldier)	8.9.59 D. 10.3.64	Toodyay, Swan Died at Bunbury depot
Prentice, Adam – entitled to TOL on arrival	2682	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 6.10.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Preshouse, Joseph <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6049	Carpenter	17.2.65 CP 16.1.72 Perth	17.5.65: William Brown, Perth Worked for self 1865
Prim, Eli <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7826	Carpenter (org. lithographic printer)	3.5.66 CF 4.2.78 Williams	3.10.70: Bayliff, Richard [8779] Mason's Landing, Fremantle
Proctor, William <i>Arr. Hougomont 9.1.68</i>	9850	Brick maker (org. labourer)	28.10.72 CR 1874 CF 3.7.79 York	4.7.78: Ball, Thomas [9382] Perth

Pugh, John <i>Arr. Marion 20.1.52</i>	1058	Mason	D. 5.7.52	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Pugh, Joseph <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9548	Rough Carpenter	4.7.69 CR 1871 CF 26.6.73 Newcastle To SA 29.12.77	23.6.69: Green, James "Katrine", carpenter
Pye, Charles <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> Not in TOL Index	59	Mason	4.12.50 CP 29.1.59 To Vic 1868	4.12.50: W. Chidlow Toodyay BPP Vol. 10.2 No info listed in Erickson & O'Mara
Puzey, Thomas <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7508	Engineer (org. engine fitter)	18.1.67 CP 8.9.74 Fremantle	9.4.67; 30.6.68; 30.6.69: Carter, Thomas & Henry Co Fremantle as Engineer
Quinn, James <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6415	Brick maker (org. basket maker)	19.12.63 CP 19.10 67 Swan	31.12.63: Ford, W. Pinjarra
Raison, John d. 1866 <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> Acc.594:66;3314/1:491	64	Carpenter	3.12.50 CP 5.4.62	3.12.50: J.W. Davey Fremantle BPP Vol. 10.2
Rattu, James <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5490	Brick maker	18.2.60 Exp 4.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rayner, Thomas <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9271	Carpenter	27.8.73 CR 21.10.75 Ch Bay	Miner, fencer, hutkeeper
Read, Joseph <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5778	Carpenter (org. shoemaker)	20.3.62 CP 1.3.66 Ch Bay	31.1.66: Hardey, Henry Wannernooka

Regan, Edward <i>Arr. Phoebe Dunbar 31.8.53</i>	2361	Brick maker (org. labourer)	12.12.54 Exp. 12.3.63 CF 21.3.63	7.3.63: Tipper, Thomas [5105] Perth Worked for self 1860
Reid, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7247	Mason (org. miner)	21.8.67 CP 14.1.74 Ch Bay To NSW 20.2.74	27.12.71: Jennings, Joseph B. Geraldton
Rhodes, William <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9855	Brick layer (org. housepainter)	12.11.73 D. 14.4.75	30.10.74: Wallace, Matthew [924] Perth Died Lockeville
Richards, Cornelius - entitled to TOL on arrival	541	Carpenter	Arr. 1.7.1.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 23.4.53	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Richardson, George - entitled to TOL on arrival	1644	Mason	Arr. 10.2.53 <i>Dudbrook</i> CP 15.4.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Richardson, George – entitled to TOL on arrival	2858	Stone mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 10.8.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Richardson, John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6089	Carpenter (org. labourer)	20.11.64 CP 15.4.74 Newcastle To SA 11.6.82	14.10.68: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay 17.10.68: Green, James "Katrine" 24.9.69: Roe, F.M. Roseland, Culham 27.11.69 - 31.12.69: Chitty, Charles "Culham", Toodyay 2.5.70 - 31.12.70: Phillips, Samuel P. "Culham", Baylup 13.12.70: Gregg, Samuel Newcastle 28.3.71: Ryan, Michael New Farm, Culham 23.5.71 - 31.12.71: Martin, James Newcastle 10.8.71: Connor(s), Daniel [2334] Newcastle

				Worked for self 1866 & 1872
Richardson, Simon <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i> D. 26.11.97	5969	Brick layer	4.12.63 CP 2.2.69 Ch Bay	28.10.65 - 31.12.65: John Browning, Greenough, as builder Died at Mt Eliza
Ridley, David – entitled to TOL on arrival	2884	Stone mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 30.7.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rigbye, George <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4375	Brick layer/ Mason	21.9.59 4.7.65 Albany CF 18.1.71 Albany	25.4.62: Chipper, Thomas Kojonup; ntg 10.8.62: Jewell, Richard R Perth 30.6.63 - 31.12.63: Warburton, G.E. St. Werburghs; mason 30.6.64: Muir & Sons Albany, Forest Hill, etc.; mason 30.8.65: Green, John U & McKenzie Albany; builder
Rigbye, John <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4332	Stone mason	D. 10.12.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary Killed on public works
Riley, Thomas - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6955	Stone mason	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 27.6.65 Fremantle CF 25.7.67 Perth	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rippon, Herbert <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7235	Carpenter (org. smith)	23.6.63 CP 3.6.64 Ch Bay	16.7.63: Smith, W. Fremantle
Roberts, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7239	Stone mason	D. 2.8.66	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Roberts, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	613	Carpenter	Arr. 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 3.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Roberts, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9273	Carpenter	4.12.67 CR 1869 CF 21.12.70 Perth	Fremantle; carpenter
Roberts, William (Robert) <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8984	Brick layer's labourer (org. glass metal maker)	17.12.69 CR 1872 CF 6.3.75 Perth	19.2.70: Buggins, William Perth 7.9.70 - 31.12.70: Jackson, John Bateman's Stn & Paradise as mason
Robins, Thomas <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9557	Carpenter	1.5.71 CR 1873 CF 17.11.76 Perth	4.8.71: Lawrence, G. Bunbury 21.8.71: Gillman, Thomas Bunbury
Robinson, George <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7835	Brick layer (org. fustian cutter)	9.11.65 CR 23.12.67 CF 4.1.70 Ch Bay	1.2.67: Cornish, James Geraldton Worked for self 1867
Robinson, Thomas <i>Arr. Scindian 2.6.50</i>	68	Stonemason (carpenter)	7.11.50 CP 27.1.54	7.11.50 M.W. Clifton – Wellington BPP Vol. 10.2
Robinson, Rowland – entitled to TOL on arrival	2728	Stone mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 7.4.55	Perth; worked for self 1854
Rodgers, Thomas <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9274	Bricklayer	1.11.71 CR 15.9.74 To Vic 5.11.80	
Rodrigues, Thomas Not in TOL Index	24	Mason	20.4.51 FP 30.9.53	Diver. Refer to wreck of <i>Eglinton</i>

Rogan, Thomas <i>Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56</i>	4078	Brick maker	10.11.59 D. 28.7.69	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rogers, James <i>Arr. Ramillies 7.8.54</i>	3170	Bricklayer	15.12.56 CP 28.11.62 CF 30.6.69 York	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rogers, John <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8401	Brick layer (org. miner)	2.11.71 CR 1875 CF 12.8.78 Geraldton	20.11.73 - 30.6.73: Martin, Ebenezer Baylup, Toodyay Rd, Toodyay Worked for self 1874
Rogers, Richard <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i> D. 21.9.74	8686	Mason (org. labourer)	8.1.70 CF 27.8.73 Vasse	30.12.70 - 31.12.70: Rutherford, J. Wonnerup, Ludlow Yaggonup 19.4.71: Simpson, George Lockville Died at York
Rook, James <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8684	Brick maker (org. labourer)	24.2.70 CF 12.6.76 Perth	5.4.71: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Rose, David <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i>	255	Mason (org. quarryman)	1.11.52 CP 5.2.57 To SA 3.57	20.9.54 - 1.55: Powell, Edward B. 'Gulls Creek', Canning, ntg
Rose, George <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.11.65</i>	8685	Brick maker (org. painter)	30.5.68 CF 24.11.74 Ch Bay	6.2.1872: Campbell, George Perth
Rose, William <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4743	Brick layer	15.6.59 CP 3.74.61 CF 10.7.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rosier, Harry – entitled to TOL on arrival	1728	Brick maker	<i>Arr. 1.5.53 Pyrenees</i> Exp. 2.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Ross, James <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8971	Brick maker (org. labourer)	21.11.72 D. 5.8.82	21.4.79 - 5.5.79: Bolton, Henry 6526] Perth Died in Fremantle prison hospital
Ross, Thomas <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5612	Stone mason (org. weaver)	23.4.64 CP 1.7.71 To Singapore 7.7.71	1.3.68: Lauder, Thomas [5602] Greenough 7.5.68: Brown, Kenneth A. & Aubrey of Glengarry, Champion Bay 21.7.68 & 31.12.68: Lauder, Thomas [5602] Greenough
Rossiter, Joseph <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	8978 (4867)	Builder (org. teacher)	16.3.75 CR 14.5.83 Fremantle	15.3.75: Snowball & Sloan Perth Org. transported <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1858 left WA 30.1.64. Recon. England for returning prior to exp. of original sentence. 1858 occupation listed as pupil teacher; 1866 listed as schoolmaster.
Round, Henry <i>Arr. Norwood 9.7.62</i>	6418	Brick maker	31.10.62 CP 26.12.63 Perth	
Rowe, Hugh <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8399	Brick maker (org. labourer)	21.9.68 CF 12.3.75 Vasse To Pt. Augusta 26.2.79	19.12.73: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth
Rowson, Thomas <i>Arr. Clara 4.7.57</i>	4379	Brick layer	23.11.58 CP 29.5.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Rudkin, Joseph - entitled to TOL on arrival	505	Bricklayer	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp. 15.10.55	21.7.51: Morrell, Richard, ntg Northam & Perth 16.7.51: Perth, George Glyde, boatman 24.11.51: Glyde reports has no further use 21.7.? enters service of ? bricklayer, Perth, daily labourer 7.8. ? : Arthur Drebank, bricklayer Thomas ? Clements, stonemason

				12.9.54 returned to Depot
Rugg, Henry – entitled to TOL on arrival	407	Brickmaker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 23.4.53	4.8.51: Bishop Serra working with John ?Larcombe 28.8.51: working with James Dyson 25.9.51 to hospital 7.10.51: Pass to G'ford seeking employ. 17.10.51: in service of ? 18.10.51 to hospital Lots of probs with health
Ryan, Thomas <i>Arr. Clara</i> 13.4.64	7841	Carpenter	5.9.65 1873 to lunatic asylum D. 22.10.82	Perth, Fremantle; carpenter, labourer, sawyer.
Saddington, George <i>Arr. Vimeira</i> 22.12.65 D. 20.4.85	8713	Carpenter	11.2.68 CF 2.11.71 Perth	8.6.68 - 3-.6.68: Rose, L. Blackwood Died at Champion Bay
Sanderson, John <i>Arr. Hougomont</i> 9.1.68	9863	Carpenter	9.6.69 CR 1871 CF 23.7.72 York	9.6.69: Collins, John Reuben York 7.9.69: Keating, John York 13.7.70: Clarke, A.S. Wanering. Beverley
Sandland, John <i>Arr. Sultana</i> 19.8.59 D. 21.7.98	5496	Brick layer	3.2.60 CP 9.3.61	Perth
Saunders, Daniel <i>Arr. Marion</i> 30.1.52	1064	Brick maker	1.8.53 CP 30.5.57	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Saunders, James - entitled to TOL on arrival	498	Brickmaker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 6.8.53	Perth, Swan
Savage, Charles <i>Arr. Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6177	Brick layer	19.9.62 CP 22.7.65 CF 12.4.68 Fremantle	Fremantle; mason. Worked for self 1863
Savage, George <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	8992	Brick layer	25.5.74 CR 1879 CF 19.12.84 N'castle	3.5. – 21.12.75: Savage, Charles [6177] Fremantle
Savage, James <i>Arr. Racehorse</i> 10.8.65 D. 25.1.1903	8417	Carpenter (org. labourer)	19.3.73 CR 7.10.78 CF 21.7.81 Vasse	5.73: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle Worked for self 1876 - 77
Saville, William - from Bermuda. (BPP 1865) <i>Arr. Merchantman</i> 15.2.63	6961	Brick layer	26.2.64 CP 4.5.69 Ch Bay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Scally, Roger <i>Arr. Robert Small</i> 19.8.53	2191	Carpenter	3.4.54 Exp. 19.8.64 CF 19.8.64	25.6.59: Barry & Patten, Perth; no trade listed 27.2.60: Snowball, James Perth, labourer 21.5.60: Fagan, Alexander Culham; mason 17.5.61: Sewell, Fred. K. Northam, York Worked for self 1863 - 64 21.5.68: Doncon, Reuben York; ntg
Schlegel, James <i>Arr. Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6190	Mason	20.11.64 D. 6.3.71	5.1.76?: Magan, Dennis Williams Worked for self 1864, 1870 Died Fremantle prison hospital

Scarebrook, James <i>Arr. Stag 24.5.55</i>	3433	Carpenter & joiner	22.4.57 CP 20.8.59 CF 12.5.68	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Scholes, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8419	Carpenter (org. ship steward)	21.12.73 CP 24.12.85 Fremantle	27.10.73 – 30.6.74: Heal, George Fremantle 26.8.75 – 30.6.76: Heal, George Fremantle
Screech, James - entitled to TOL on arrival Acc.1386/1:72	614	Mason Glass Maker	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> Exp. 25.3.66	TOL: Perth. J.S. Roe, went to Freo. 22.2.52: Convict Establishment. 6.10.53: Sent to York Depot
Searle, Thomas - entitled to TOL on arrival	814	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 1.54	No date: Hyde, Stephen Perth
Sedgewick, Edmond <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9284	Carpenter	22.6.67 CF 22.11.70 Vasse To NSW 4.4.73	27.11.67: Bolyne, John [6816] Perth 22.5.68: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 5.12.68 - 31.12.68: Henry Best, Fremantle
Shanegan, John <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6445	Stone mason	10.10.63 CF 10.3.71 Albany To SA 4.1.75	Albany, Fremantle, Plantagenet; mason, labourer, gen servant
Shannon, Patrick <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9286	Brick maker (org. porter)	6.3.73 CF 19.9.77 Fremantle To SA 1.5.81	11.3.73: Roberts, William Perth
Sharpe, John Henry <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5074	Carpenter	27.8.60 CP 3.3.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Sheen, John <i>Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50</i> Acc.3314/1:359; 1156/R6:163; 1386/1:272 D. 1.12.95	88	Brickmaker (soldier)	26.11.51 CP: 29.9.62 Exp 2.63	6.5.52: Lefroy, A.O'G. Perth, job fell through returned to depot South Perth, 22.6.52. 23.6.53: Mr Branson as sawyer, left 23.8.53.18.9.53: Dr Serra Says at Fremantle Est. 1853 Died at Mt Eliza
Sheen, Michael - entitled to TOL on arrival	910	Carpenter	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 2.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Sheen, Michael <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9565	Mason (org. waterman)	5.3.73 CF 18.9.84 Fremantle To UK 13.5.89	30.6.76: Heal, George Fremantle (as stone cutter) 28.8.78: Freeman, John Railway Work, Champion Bay 20.6.79: Smith, John Dongara 12.11.79: Linthorne, W.H. Greenough 20.7.80: Miller, Arthur Geraldton; builder
Shields, Henry <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7269	Carpenter (org. seaman)	12.5.65 CP 25.7.70 CF 24.11.74 Ch Bay	21.12.65: Carney (Kearney?). J. Greenough 31.12.66: Mills, John "Narra Tarra", Gwalla 10.11.67: Leverman, Lewis Greenough
Shoesmith, William – entitled to TOL on arrival	1774	Brick maker	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 1.7.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Shorrock, John <i>Arr. William Hammond 29.3.56</i>	3791	Mason	4.7.59 CP 8.2.64	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Showell, Frederick <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5209	Carpenter	6.10.60 CP 16.4.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Simpkins, James Arr. <i>Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6057	Brick maker	7.9.63 D. 10.9.64	Swan, Perth, Murray 27.11.63: Tipper, Thomas [5105] Perth Died in convict hospital Fremantle
Simpson, James Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61 D. 9.6.86	5791	Brick maker (org. labourer)	9.4.62 CP 19.1.66	30.6.64: Thomas, John (Cpt) Ravenswood; carpenter 4.10.64 - 31.12.64: Hood, W. Pinjarra Died Fremantle prison hospital
Sinclair, Robert Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 13.7.68 D. 22.8.1909	9567	Carpenter	20.5.70 CR 1873 CF 8.1.76 Williams	20.5.70 - 30.6.70: Williams & Arthur R. & 125 Albany Rd, Perth 22.12.78 - 31.12.78: Monger, Stephen Williams R. Died at Williams
Skalding, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	971	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 6.8.53 Perth	19.10.51: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg
Skinner, David Arr. <i>Nile</i> 1.1.58 D. 4.4.83	4542 10,052	Carpenter (org. silversmith)	23.5.61 CP 4.4.68 Bunbury Recon. 5.1.72 5.6.76 CF 9.1.80 Guildford	nd: Montgomery, Samuel Guildford Drowned Canning River
Slack, Herbert Arr. <i>Lincelles</i> 28.1.62	6069	Mason	25.5.64 CP 1.10.70 To London 5.1.78	Perth; shoemaker, sawyer, mason worked for self 1864
Slack, Samuel Peet Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68 D. 4.4.1902	9877	Carpenter	13.6.71 CP 17.4.82 Perth	31.12.79: Francis Bird, Canning Died at Perth
Sleath, Thomas Arr. <i>Belgravia</i> 4.7.66 D. 1874	8985	Carpenter	23.4.68 CF 2.1.72 Ch Bay	21.7.70 - 30.6.?: Walters, Joseph [7299] Irwin 1871: Holt, John P Narra Tarra, Dongara

Small, James Arr. York 31.12.62	6741	Mason	10.6.65 CP 17.12.68 Ch Bay CF 4.5.71 Albany To SA 26.3.78	3.6.66 - 30.6.66: King, George Greenough as builder 12.12.66 - 31.12.66: Alexander Dewar, Greenough Flats; working as builder
Smith, Charles Arr. Clara 13.4.64	7849	Stone mason	13.3.66 CR 17.7.69 CF 31.10.72 Vasse To Venice 9.10.78	Worked for self 1866 23.2.67 - 30.6.67: R. Barry, Wonnerup; as carpenter
Smith, Edward Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61	5667	Carpenter (org. labourer)	3.5.62	31.12.63: Mines, W.J. Champion Bay
Smith, George Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62	6108	Brick maker (org labourer)	9.2.64 CP 16.1.69 Toodyay	Worked for self 1864 21.12.65: Collins, Peter Bunbury & Busselton
Smith, James Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65	8408	Carpenter (org. waterman)	3.7.68 CP 17.2.74 York Reconv. 1.7.74 To SA 1878	26.1.71 - 30.6.61: Simpson, George Lockville 24.2.73; 20.9.73: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 16.2.74: Johnston, John Saunders York
Smith, James Arr. Corona 22.12.66	9291	Carpenter & Joiner	22.6.67 CR 1869 CF 9.6.70 Fremantle	Gen servant, carpenter
Smith, John – entitled to TOL on arrival D. 24.12.75	2946	Stone mason	Arr. 7.8.54 Ramillies CP 10.3.60	Perth, Champion Bay
Smith, John Arr. Clyde 29.5.63	7250	Carpenter	6.8.63 CP 23.1.64	

Smith, John Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64	7859	Carpenter, soldier	5.6.67 CF 18.10.72 To NSW 12.4.73	30.6.67: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle 7.8.67: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 10.7.68 - 19.9.68: Whittaker, Henry [4669] Toodyay 15.10.68: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam 5.12.68 - 30.6.69; 1.1.70: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 29.6.70 - 12.7.70: Chipper, John Charles Canning 22.8.70: R. Barry, Perth, Fremantle 9.11 – 31.12.70: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle 2.9.71: Jarvis, Henry Fremantle Worked for self 1871
Smith, John Arr. <i>Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8404	Brick maker (org. labourer)	22.10.69 CF 31.8.75 Newcastle	23.10.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth 26.2.70: Jackson, Thomas Perth & Paradise 19.5.73: Bunney, Joseph [8206] Claisebrook 21.8.75: Shenton, Job Victoria Plains
Smith, John Arr. <i>Corona</i> 22.12.66	9295	Plasterer	9.7.71 CF 16.8.81 Fremantle	12.1.74: Taylor, George Wanneroo 26.10.74: Bowen, Charles Northam 29.10.74: Monger, Charles, S. Newcastle; builder 7.11.74: Farrell, Richard D. [7412] Vict. Plains 29.12.74: Monger, Charles, S. Newcastle 24.3.75: Peter Brehaut [6521] Buckland, Northam & Toodyay 29.4.75: Weasley John (Exp) Buckland (1875); builder 2.10.76: Whittaker, Henry (Exp) Toodyay 8.5.77: Jarvis, James Fremantle, as carpenter
Smith, Richard Arr. <i>Palmerston</i> 11.2.61 D. 28.9.76	5830	Carpenter (org. ropemaker)	27.4.63 CP 18.7.67	31.12.63 - 30.6.65: Horrocks, J.L. [1014] Gwalla Died at Fremantle prison hospital

			CF 24.1.70 Ch Bay	
Smith, Samuel - entitled to TOL on arrival	577	Brick layer	Arr. 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> 1.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Smith, Samuel - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6962	Brick maker	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 22.9.65 Perth	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Smith, Thomas Arr. <i>Norwood</i> 9.6.62 D. 7.7.1922	6437	Brick layer (org. miner tailor)	18.5.63 CP 15.6.66 Toodyay	3.5.64: Edwards, E. Gingin Died at York
Smith, Thomas Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64 D. 20.9.89	7861	Builder (org. file cutter)	4.8.65 CR 31.10.67 Perth CF 3.4.69	18.5.66: Robins, J. Irwin
Smith, Thomas Arr. <i>Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	8127	Carpenter	25.6.66 CF 22.2.77 Fremantle To Falmouth 27.8.77	1.9.74: Roach, John Brookton 9.4.75: Marwick, William York 16.4.75: Richardson, John Toodyay 4.9.76: Jarvis, James Fremantle
Smith, William Arr. <i>William Jardine</i> 4.8.52	1424	Carpenter	1.8.54 CP 5.11.64 CF 17.11.82	Erickson & O'Mara list as labourer
Smith, William Arr. 7.8.54 <i>Ramillies</i>	2937	Stone mason	30.8.54 CP 23.1.60	
Smith, William Arr. <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4930	Carpenter	23.7.59 Exp. 30.10.62 CF 7.11.62	28.7.59: Snowball & Sloan Perth 9.4.62: Jewell, Richard R Perth 17.3.76: Heal, George Fremantle

			Recon. 6.9.72 6.2.76 CF 7.10.78 Geraldton	5.4.76 - 31.12.77: Barton, George (Exp), Geraldton
Smith, William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5988	Brick layer	20.11.63 CP 20.6.68 CF 21.9.70	Erickson & O'Mara lists as hawker
Smith, William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i> D. 1872	6019	Carpenter	7.4.63 CP 6.6.68 York	28.12.62: Beard, Henry York; 8.4.64: Craig, Samuel York 20.6.64 - 30.6.65: Johnston, John Saunders York 12.1.66 - 31.12.67: Fleay, John Gilgering. Bev/Toodyay
Smith, William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i> D. 4.6.85	6083	Stone mason (org. labourer)	2.9.63 CP 2.3.69 Ch Bay	31.12.64 - 20.6.65: Bennett Charles Geraldton, Gwalla (Northampton Mines) 21.8.65: Simpson, John Greenough; builder Died at Dongara
Smith, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8433	Brick maker	D. 21.6.73	
Snape, Robert - entitled to TOL on arrival	832	Bricklayer	Arr.14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 6.8.53	1851 - 53: Harris, John South Perth; ntg
Somers, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8434	Builder	3.8.70 CF 7.8.76 Guildford To SA 27.1.77	5.1.74: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle, mason 7.12.74: Chappell, George [6053] Greenough 30.6.76: Padbury, Walter "Yatheroo" Swan, Toodyay, Vict. Plains; b'layer
Sparks, Edward <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6036	Brick maker (org. chimney sweep)	17.4.63 D. 11.11.79	28.9.69: Jeffrey, John W. [7732] Perth Died at York

Spearing, James <i>Arr. Marion</i> 20.1.52	1021	Bricklayer	14.5.53 CP 5.11.59	18.3.55: Hardey, John W. Guildford
Speedy (Speeding), Thomas <i>Arr. Dudbrook</i> 10.2.53 D. 6.6.1909	1569	Carpenter	19.4.56 CP 29.12.60	21.4.56: Lister, Thomas Freshwater Bay; ntg Died at Narratarra
Spelling, Thomas <i>Arr. Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9881	Mason (org. labourer)	9.6.72 CF 25.9.82 Fremantle	17.5.81: Butler, C.M. Fremantle
Spiers, Robert <i>Arr. Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8405	Rough Carpenter	28.11.67 CF 15.11.73 Ch Bay	6.8 – 30.6.73: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth: Guildford
Spillet, Edward <i>Arr. Scindian</i> 1.6.50 Not in TOL Index	12	Stone Mason	6.6.51 CP 5.7.56 To SA 3.57	
Spratt, Henry <i>Arr. Norwood</i> 13.7.67	9582	Brick layer	23.7.69 CR 2.9.71 Perth	24.7.69 - 31.12.70: William Buggins, Perth 27.3.71: James, Abraham Newcastle 14.4.71 - 30.6.71: William Buggins, Perth
Stafford, Thomas <i>Arr. Phoebe Dunbar</i> 31.8.53	2373	Carpenter	12.1.55 CF 19.11.64	Erickson & O'Mara list him as shoemaker
Stanton, Thomas <i>Arr. Stag</i> 24.5.55	3309	Bricklayer	21.5.59 CP 29.11.61	
Statham, Samuel <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9304	Carpenter (org. gardener)	9.2.74	8.7.74 - 30.7.77: Creswick, R. [6551] Geraldton 27.3.79: Butt, H. [8783] Northampton 27.11.79: Creswick, R. [6551] Geraldton 1.8.82 - 30.6.83: Trigg, William Geraldton 30.12.85: Hepburn, David Geraldton

				10.3.86: Crowther & Mitchell Northampton
Stevens, (Stephens) Andrew Arr. <i>Mermaid</i> 17.5.51 Acc.1386/1:220	206	Mason's Labourer	16.2.52 Exp. 7.59	7.2.52: John Carson (TOL), Sawyer, Perth 1 year. 13.10.53: Samuel Brakes, Perth. Left employ James Dyson 4.4.54. Returned to Perth from Swan & entered service John Stokes 10.4.54. Still with Stokes 3.1.55
Stevens, Henry Arr. <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4902	Mason, Builder (org. plasterer)	28.6.63 CF 8.6.78 Bunbury	Worked for self 1863 and 1871 7.10.67 - 30.6.68: Cornwall, William Williams River as mason 23.8.69: Williams & Arthur R. & 125 Albany Rd, Perth 31.12.73: Wallace, Matthew [924] Guildford & Gingin; builder
Steward, Joseph Arr. <i>Racehorse</i> 10.8.65	8432	Brick maker (org. tailor)	10.7.68 CF 26.8.72 Perth	9.12.68: Cane, R. Wellington 5.2.72: Parkinson, H. [8674] Sussex & Perth
Stone, George - entitled to TOL on arrival	677	Carpenter	Arr. 1.7.51 <i>Pyrenees</i> Recon. 1.10.51 30.3.55 Dis. 1.1.57 Recon. 3.10.55 21.10.66	
Stoyle, Thomas Arr. <i>Dudbrook</i> 10.2.53	1518	Mason	19.4.54 Escaped 3.60 Vasse	
Sullivan, John Arr. <i>William Hammond</i> 29.3.56	3826	Mason	27.5.56 CP 8.8.59	30.6.58: Lockyer, J. & Thomas Toodyay; ntg no date: Serra, R.C. Bishop Perth ntg

Summers, John <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4942	Brick maker	21.12.60 Exp 20.1.63	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Summers, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	896	Brick maker	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 10.56	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Sutton, David <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5757	Mason (org. labourer)	20.10.63 CP 2.8.71 Fremantle	31.12.63 - 30.6.64: Snowden, Henry Geraldton 29.8.64 - 28.10.64: Cornish, James Geraldton 15.11.64 - 31.12.64: Walsh, Thomas Greenough Flats 18.2.65: Craine, Thomas Back Flats, Greenough 30.6.65: Wilcox, F. Champion Bay; builder 31.10.66 - 31.12.66: Cornish, James Geraldton 13.3.67 - 30.6.67: Walsh, Thomas Greenough Flats; builder
Swift, Samuel <i>Arr. William Hammond 29.3.56</i>	3866	Brick layer	29.5.58 CP 26.5.64 Albany	Worked as b'layer & builder in Albany
Sylvester, John <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5251	Mason	3.8.61 CP 6.4.67 Perth	17.9.61: Brittain, James Perth; ntg 31.12.61 - 21.4.62: Brittain, James Perth; ntg 24.4.62: Buggins, William Perth; ntg
Sylvester, Thomas <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	9008	Carpenter (org. fruit dealer)	26.8.71 CF 22.7.80 Williams	26.8.71: Smith, Thomas Victoria Plains 17.4.72 – 23.12.72: Watson, John Perth 5.4.73 - 17.12.73: Churchyard, J.K. Perth 22.5.77: Fallon, Sloan Williams 30.6.78: Larwood, W. Williams River Worked for self 1878 & 1879
Tams, Samuel <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9591	Brick maker (org. groom)	10.10.71 CF 21.12.76 York	3.1.74: Jackson, Thomas Perth & Paradise 30.12.75: McManus, James Northam 14.1.76: Williams, John Newcastle & Victoria Plains 22.2.77: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle, Serpentine

Taylor, David <i>Arr. Hougoumont 9.1.68</i>	9887	Brick layer (org. stone cutter)	22.6.72 CR 1874 CF 9.1.77 Perth	22.6.72 - 31.12.72: Taylor, George Wanneroo 2.1.77: Taylor, George Wanneroo; builder
Taylor, George <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i> D. 29.7.1908	6009	Brick layer	19.8.64 CP 7.1.73 Perth CF 8.5.74	31.12.64: Brittain, James Guildford & Wanneroo 20.8.67: Platt, Frederick Bunbury 18.12.67 – 30.6.70: Reilly, James Perth, mason Died Perth
Taylor, George <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i> D. 2.12.84	7873	Carpenter	17.4.66 CF 16.6.75 Fremantle	25.8.66: Cleary, Joseph [4358] "Coulston" Swan Bridge, Upper Swan Died Fremantle prison hospital
Taylor, James <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7567	Carpenter	3.6.67 CF 12.11.73 Fremantle To UK 4.1.74	Worked for self 1864 & 1870 17.7.67: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle 30.9.67: Smith, W. Fremantle 22.6.68 – 30.6.68: Kerr, Daniel Fremantle 17.12.69 – 31.12.69: Newman, J. Perth 20 .9. – 31.12.70: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth: Guildford 7.2.71: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth: Guildford 3.4.71: Cornish, Anthony Pinjarrah & Dandalup 20.7.72: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth: Guildford 6.9.72: McPherson, E. Victoria Plains 7.12.72: Richardson, John Toodyay 6.10.73: Ware, Charles [138] Fremantle 11.12.73: O'Neil, John Swan, Toodyay
Taylor, Levi <i>Arr. Merchantman 12.9.64</i>	8141	Brick maker (org. furnace man)	CR 1892	30.12.74: Sallenger, John [2400] Perth 18.6.83: Boladeras, Ignatius Perth 29.8.83: Bunney, Joseph [8206] Claisebrook

Taylor, William <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7876	Brick maker (org. lab. Gunsmith)	3.2.66 CF 10.6.71 Albany To NSW 12.1.72	5.3.67 – 30.6.67: Jackson, Thomas Perth & Paradise 28.12.67 - 30.12.67 & 20.2.68: Ladhams, George [1340] Swan
Thomas, John <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i>	9319	Carpenter	15.5.70 CF 29.12.73 To E. colonies 1877	26.10.72: Lyons, John York as b'maker
Thomas, William <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	6189	Brick layer (org. waiter)	20.10.63	14.3.64: Ward, William Bunbury, Preston R. Worked for self 1864
Thompson, James <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7284	Mason	25.7.65 D. 8.6.70	8.2.70: Ogle, Robert Guildford; brick layer 14.3.70: Webb, Charles "Wexcombe", Middle Swan; plasterer Accidental death Guildford
Thompson, James <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8726	Brick layer (org. labourer)	4.9.69 CF 23.11.75 Vasse To SA 1.5.81	6.9.69: Wallace, Matthew 924] Perth
Thompson, John <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5935	Brick maker (org. labourer)	30.9.70 D. 4.9.75	20.10.70: Bull, W. Toodyay Died Fremantle lunatic asylum
Thompson, Thomas <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7561	Brick maker (org. platelayer)	14.7.66 CP 2.11.74 Perth	2.3.71: Moore, James D. Perth
Thurgood, Isaac <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7881	Carpenter & Joiner	6.7.65	7.7.65: Sainsbury, John Fremantle 9.8.65: Carey, T.C. (District Assist. Surveyor) of Blackwood and Bunbury 18.9.66: Fowler, John ?Roesland, Wellington
Tilling, Thomas <i>Arr Corona 22.12.66</i>	9322	Brick maker (org. waterman)	1.2.70 CF 23.4.73 Newcastle	17.1.72: McNamara, M. Toodyay

Tizzard, William <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8435	Mason	28.1.69 CF 1.11.73 Ch Bay	26.10.69: Viner, Charles Dongara; b'maker 30.10.69: Critchley, E. [9314] Greenough as brick maker
Tolland, John <i>Arr. Marion 30.1.52</i>	1113	Mason	10.3.52 D. 2.6.53	16.3.52: Bickley, William ?Canning
Totterdell, James <i>Arr. Corona 22.12.66</i> D. 25.7.84	9324	Carpenter	22.6.67 CR 1869 CF 28.7.70 Perth	22.6.67 - 31.12.68: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam Died Fremantle lunatic asylum
Trott, Thomas <i>Arr. Scindian 1.6.50</i> Not in TOL Index	11	Mason	3.12.50 Exp 6.2.63	3.12.50: Daniel Scott Fremantle BPP Vol. 10.2 Serpentine, Bunbury.
Trussler, George <i>Arr Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	9013	Brick maker (org. brass founder)	3.11.69 CR 1872 CF 26.10.76 Perth To SA 21.4.78	3.8.69 – 31.12.69: Jaffrey, J. Perth
Turner, John - entitled to TOL on arrival	678	Carpenter	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 23.4.53	1.4.51: Hardey, John W. Grove Farm, Perth Rd, Swan
Turnock, William <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6748	Brick maker (org. labourer)	27.4.63 CP 28.6.65 York	24.10.64: Kenworthy, Joseph "Marley", York
Unsworth, John <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6466	Brick maker (org. labourer)	13.11.63 CP 3.4.67 Perth	1.2.65: McCarthy, John York "Yangedine"

Vass, Albert <i>Arr. Lord Dalhousie 28.12.63</i>	7575	Mason (org. groom)	3.5.66 CP 18.7.70 Perth To Maur. 18.4.72	23.6.70: Jeffrey, Charles [7731] Perth
Veasey, David <i>Arr. Racehorse 10.8.65</i>	8448	Brick maker (org. moulder)	16.10.67 CR 1869 To UK 5.1.72	15.5.69: Wood, W. Chapman
Vigo, Peter <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6467	Mason	29.12.63 CF 15.12.69 Recon. 8.11.72 13.5.76 CF 28.8.79 Perth	16.5.76: Heal, George Fremantle, mason
Vowles, Thomas <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4865	Carpenter	25.9.62 Escaped Vasse 8.3.63	31.12.62: Marshall, Charles (Exp) & Co Fremantle Fremantle; carpenter.
Wail, Adam <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1568	Carpenter	5.8.56 CP 29.4.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Wale, Edward <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7308	Brick moulder	23.3.65 CP 29.9.69 Perth CF 23.12.71 To UK 17.1.74	23.9.69: Vincent, Joseph (Exp) Claisebrook; b'maker
Walker, George <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:378	178	Mason's Labourer	5.6.52 CP 7.4.59	22.11.52: Drebank, A. [592] B'layer, Perth. 17.2.53 left Drebank, engaged by John Dobson, Brickmaker. 9.1.55 with James Britton, Perth
Wallace, Matthew Nathaniel - entitled to TOL on arrival	924 (7603)	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 10.6.56 Recon. 6.1.64	25.10.51: Morrell, Richard Northam & Perth, ntg Worked for self 1853

			10.1.65 CF 6.6.71 Perth	
Wallis, John <i>Arr. Palmerston 11.2.61</i>	5758	Carpenter	30.10.63 CP 8.2.70 Fremantle CF 11.9.76	Cabinet maker, carpenter. Worked for self 1864
Walsh, Michael <i>Arr. Robert Small 19.8.53</i>	2030	Mason	25.4.54 CP 5.11.59 To SA 8.2.63	Worked in Perth and Fremantle. Worked for self 1857
Walton, Joseph <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1593	Carpenter	3.6.54 CP 12.7.56	18.8.54 - 18.12.54: Sewell, Richard Geraldine Mine
Walton, Michael <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:317	254	Stone Mason	7.9.52 CP: 24.12.58	7.9.52: Friend, Isaac [216] Freshwater Bay; ntg 7.9.52: Friend, Isaac TOL [216], one year. Left 7.12.52 working for self.
Ward, William <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc.1386/1:221	207	Brickmaker	16.2.52 CP: 5.8.54 To SA 8.10.60 Returned	17.2.52: John C. Lukus Brean?, sawyer, Perth, 1 year. Left 19, then someone at G'ford, left 12.4 & returned to Perth. Worked with a lot of different people, including J. Dobson. Unclear if working as brick maker.
Ware, Charles <i>Arr. Hashemy 26.10.50</i> Not in TOL Index	138	Brickmaker	10.11.51 CP 18.11.54	
Ware, Henry <i>Arr. Clyde 29.5.63</i> D. 14.1.81	7307	Brick layer	8.6.65 CP 27.9.69 York CF 15.7.72 York	31.12.65 - 31.12.66: Mitchell, H. York; labourer 1.2.67 - 30.6.67: Moore, Isaac Beverley Died at York

Ware, James <i>Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66</i>	9037	Carpenter (org. seaman)	4.1.70 CF 16.11.76 Perth	5.1.70: Churchyard, J.K. Perth 11.3.70: Newman, J. Perth 28.12.74: Mitchell, James York 8.6.75: Richardson, John Toodyay 15.1.76: Churchyard, J.K. Perth 15.6.76: Baker, Thomas Perth
Watson, Alfred <i>Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62</i>	5998	Stone mason	10.12.63 CP 23.6.68 CF 31.5.71 Fremantle	Fremantle; mason, labourer, gen servant
Watson, James – entitled to TOL on arrival	2808	Mason	Arr. 5.4.54 <i>Sea Park</i> CP 7.4.55	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Watson, Wm Alex. <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6783	Carpenter	7.4.63 CP 22.10.66 Toodyay	Worked for self 1863 30.4.64: David Brown, Perth
Watts, Alfred <i>Arr. Sultana 19.8.59</i>	5484	Brick maker	2.2.60 CP 15.4.61	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Weaseley, John <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9605	Brick layer	20.9.70 CR 1873 CF 1.11.75 York To London 5.1.78	9.5.71 - 30.4.71?: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay 1.8.72: Stevens, Henry [4902] 125m Albany Rd, Williams; mason Worked for self 1872
Weir, David - entitled to TOL on arrival	855	Carpenter	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> CP 2.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Welby, James Arr. <i>Vimeira</i> 22.12.65	8740	Carpenter (org. tailor)	1.1.70 To London 29.12.81	71.12.70 - 30.6.71: Noonan, Joseph [9837] Perth, Swan & Champ. Bay
West, George Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64	7891	Brick layer	16.4.65 CF 3.5.69 Toodyay	Perth; woodcutter, herdsman, labourer, gen servant
Western, Richard Arr. <i>Clara</i> 13.4.64	7892	Carpenter (org. clerk)	5.2.68 Exp. 8.1.75 Vasse	1.11.70: Carey, T.C. Bunbury 30.12.70 - 30.6.71: Simpson, George Lockville 30.5.74: Simpson, George Lockville
Westmoreland, Francis Arr. <i>Scindian</i> 1.6.50	47	Mason/Shepherd	3.11.50 Exp 1.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Wetherall, Esau Arr. <i>Scindian</i> 1.6.50 D. 1889	54	Mason	15.12.50 CP 22.2.59	15.12.50: A. Lawrance Fremantle BPP Vol. 10.2 Henry Laroche Cole , Perth, Publican 5.8.51: self - Perth: John ?Smith's new house 2.12.51: Pye, Charles [59] Toodyay to work with Pye at church 27.6.51: pass to Northam district Worked for self 1851 Lived in Toodyay
Wheatley, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	1936	Carpenter	Arr. 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 30.7.55	
Whitby, William Arr. <i>York</i> 31.12.62	6771	Stone mason	17.2.63 CP 12.9.64 Ch Bay	Champion Bay; labourer, gen servant

White, Edward <i>Arr. Lord Raglan 1.6.58</i>	4952	Brick maker	24.4.60 D. 27.6.60	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
White, James <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i>	3668	Carpenter	6.11.57 CP 14.7.62 Perth	Toodyay; road making
White, John <i>Arr. Nile 1.1.58</i>	4678	Brick layer	10.8.58 CP 20.8.64 York To USA 2.3.75	Worked for self 1864
White, Thomas <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i>	6767	Stone mason	17.2.63 CP 1.1.64 Fremantle	Labourer
White, William <i>Arr Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7304	Brick maker	6.11.65 CP 23.3.71 Newcastle CF 9.4.72 To UK 3.7.73	Worked for self 1867 ?1869: Christie, Duncan, York as mason 9.9.70: Fagan, Alex. 317] Culham, Toodyay; ntg 22.11.70: Fagan, Alexander [317] Culham, Toodyay
White, William <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i> D. 1878	7895	Carpenter	23.6.65 CR 21.12.67 CF 10.1.70 Bunbury	Fremantle, Vasse, Sussex; labourer, gen servant Died at Vasse
Wignall, Samuel <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i> D. 10.2.97	7897	Brick maker	28.3.66 CF 25.1.78 Fremantle Recon. 4.2.81	18.9.66: Morris, John Perth 18.3.67 – 21.12.71: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle, Serpentine 28.11.67: Collins, Peter Bunbury & Busselton 3.8.68: Gray, M.W. Newcastle 18.9.68: Morris, John Perth, (labourer) 29.7.72: Henry Duckham, "Yangedine", York

				6.11.76: Mitchell, Joseph Bunbury 4.8.78: Morris, John Perth
Wilkes, John O. <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1614	Mason	1.3.54 CF 9.7.64	10.1.62: Haysom, George Woodbridge, G'ford; ntg Perth, Toodyay, Bunbury Worked self 1861, 1862
Wilkinson, Martin <i>Arr. Dudbrook 10.2.53</i>	1611	Carpenter	6.1.54 CP 8.9.56	9.1.54: Bond, Henry Rice Perth; ntg
Williams, Edward <i>Arr. Norwood 9.6.62</i>	6484	Brick maker (org. forgeman)	21.8.62 CP 9.10.65 York CF 28.1.67 To London 6.1.85	23.8.64: McCarthy, John [1224] York "Yangedine"
Williams, Evan <i>Arr. Clara 13.4.64</i>	7899	Brick layer	29.6.65 D. 31.1.69	5.8.67: McDonald, Sweeney Kojonup; mason Died Albany convict hospital
Williams, Frederick <i>Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65</i>	8730	Brick maker (org. groom)	1.8.70 CF 12.8.74 Fremantle	13.8.72; 6.2.73: Roberts, William Perth
Williams, George <i>Arr. Edwin Fox 21.11.58</i>	5261	Carpenter	9.4.60 CP 20.12.62 Ch Bay	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Williams, James - from Bermuda. (BPP 1865) <i>Arr. Merchantman 15.2.63</i>	6997	Carpenter	27.8.64 CP 15.10.70 Vasse To NSW 20.2.74	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Williams, Job - entitled to TOL on arrival	495	Brick maker	Arr. 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 23.4.53	16.7.57: Gray, Henry Peninsula, Perth; ntg Worked for self 1857
Williams, John Arr. <i>Clara</i> 4.7.57	4302	Carpenter	4.7.59 D. 14.8.67	Not in WA Bio Dictionary Drowned Pinjarra
Williams, John Arr. <i>Nile</i> 1.1.58	4568	Stone dresser	22.1.60 CP 24.9.62	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Williams, Robert Arr. <i>Hougoumont</i> 9.1.68	9914	Carpenter	17.6.76 CR 14.4.83	25.10.76: Carson, George Guildford
Williams, Thomas - came from Bermuda entitled to TOL on arrival. (BPP 1865)	6991	Carpenter	Arr. 15.2.63 <i>Merchantman</i> CP 12.2.66 Fremantle	Not in WA Bio Dictionary
Williams, William Arr. <i>Lord Raglan</i> 1.6.58	4795	Stone mason	10.9.60 CP 8.7.64 Swan Recon. 6.4.65 D. 23.7.65	Labourer, gen servant Died at Fremantle convict hospital
Willis, Edward entitled to TOL on arrival D. 11.12.63	974	Brick layer	Arr. 14.10.51 <i>Minden</i> Exp. 26.2.56 Perth	23.10.51: Hyde, Stephen Perth Died at Greenough
Willman, Robert Fred. Arr. <i>Clyde</i> 29.5.63	7298	Brick maker (org. seaman)	24.4.68 CF 24.3.79 York To London 16.7.79	2.10.71 - 31.12.71: Thomas, John Toodyay

Wilmot, John <i>Arr. Corona</i> 22.12.66	9353	Brick layer	26.12.67 CF 2.7.71 Albany To Shanghai 18.8.73	Plantagenet; gen servant, shepherd
Wilmot, Robert <i>Arr. Merchantman</i> 12.9.64	8168	Brick layer & Builder	11.5.66 D. 5.12.69	19.6.66: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) Died at York
Wilshere, Thomas <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66 D. 11.9.93	9027	Brick maker (org. labourer)	10.3.70 CF 18.10.76 Vasse	9.5.70 – 30.6.70: Jones, W. Perth 28.2.72: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle & Serpentine 21.12.74: Roberts, William Perth, labourer
Wilson, George <i>Arr. Edwin Fox</i> 21.11.58 D. 14.2.95	5089	Stone mason	22.10.62 CP 26.12.70 Vasse	3.11.66: Lewis, Arthur Busselton as labourer 26.8.68: Smith J. & W. Blackwood
Wilson, James <i>Arr. Hashemy</i> 26.10.50 D. 1877 Acc.1171:135	173	Brickmaker	17.2.52 CP 28.3.63 Swan Recon. 8.4.71 16.3.75	Not in WA Bio Dictionary Died at Gingin
Wilson, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	1711	Mason's labourer	<i>Arr.</i> 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 9.9.54	
Wilson, John – entitled to TOL on arrival	1895	Carpenter	<i>Arr.</i> 1.5.53 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 27.1.55	
Wilson, John Grainger <i>Arr. Belgravia</i> 4.7.66	9046	Carpenter (org. bookbinder)	28.12.69 CF 8.10.75 Bunbury To Pt Natal 18.11.75	28.12.68: Brown, David Perth
Wood, William - entitled to TOL on arrival	607	Mason	<i>Arr.</i> 1.7.1851 <i>Pyrenees</i> CP 3.54	Not in WA Bio Dictionary

Wood, William Arr. York 31.121.62	6775	Brick maker	27.5.65 CP 12.8.74 Ch Bay Recon. 2.1.78 To Vic. 16.5.85	Worked for self 1865 8.3 – 30.6.66; 29.9.66 – 31.12.66: Morris, John Perth, Fremantle & Serpentine 1.8.67: Perejuhn, John Greenough 16.9.67: King, William Greenough 3.10.67: Perejuhn, John Greenough 10.10.67: Francis Allender, Greenough 31.12.67: Hull/Hall, John J. Champion Bay 23.3.68: Leverman, Lewis Greenough
Woodall, Joseph Arr. Belgravia 4.7.66	9039	Carpenter (org. cooper)	28.5.70 CF 14.5.78 York	31.12.73: Tomkinson, Thomas York, Beverley 24.3.75: Sloan, William Perth (Murray St) 27.2.77: Wilding, Thomas [3558] Northam 18.3.78: Seabrook, John Beverley, Brookton
Woodward, Charles Arr. Lincelles 28.1.62	6191	Brick layer	1.4.62 CF 14.7.70 Albany To NSW 9.6.73	3.4.62: Jewell, Richard R Perth Plantagenet, Perth; gen servant
Wooldridge, George Arr. Vimeira 22.12.65 D. 30.8.87	8742	Carpenter	16.12.70 CF 27.5.76 Ch Bay	31.12.70: Nunan, Joseph [9837] Perth: Guildford 24.2.71: Pearson, Frank W. Greenough 17.4.71 - 30.6.71: Allender, Francis Greenough; working as carpenter 29.7.71: Pearson, Frank W. Greenough 14.8.71 - 31.12.71: Leverman, Lewis Greenough Died at Greenough
Wootten, Bernard Arr. Runnymede 7.9.56 D. 8.10.67	4002	Mason	2.2.59 CP 3.12.62 York Recon. 7.1.63	Toodyay, Perth. Hanged Perth

Would, Joseph <i>Arr. Norwood 13.7.67</i>	9630	Brick layer	5.11.70 CR 1873 CF 29.12.75 Williams	Perth, Plantagenet; teamster, labourer, gen servant
Wright, Jacob <i>Arr. Adelaide 18.7.55</i> D. 8.3.74	3583	Brickmaker	22.3.58 CP 20.1.70 Albany	Died at Albany
Wybrow, William <i>Arr. Mermaid 17.5.51</i> Acc. 1386/1:336	274	Brickmaker	13.10.52 CP 14.9.57 To SA 21.3.55	Working for self, sawyer. Left Perth district 8.9.53 to go to York.
Wynn, William <i>Arr Clyde 29.5.63</i>	7311	Mason	19.8.65 CP 28.3.71 Ch Bay Recon.	18.10.69: Simpson, George Chapman 1.1.70: Simpson, George Chapman; plasterer 7.6.70: Allender, Francis Greenough; working as mason
Young, John <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i> D. 2.10.68	6796	Mason	24.7.65 D. 2.10.68	Champion Bay; labourer, baker Died Fremantle prison hospital
Young, Richard <i>Arr. York 31.12.62</i> D. 17.10.78	6794	Labourer & B'layer	26.7.64 Exp. 15.10.67 Recon. 8.4.69 16.4.73 CF 10.4.74 Fremantle	Died Perth invalid depot

Information obtained from:

Ticket of Leave dates obtained from: Erickson, R. & O'Mara, G.: Convicts in Western Australia 1850 - 1887. Dictionary of Western Australians Vol. IX, UWA Press, Nedlands, 1994.

Acc. 1386/1

WABI Indexes: Employers of TOL A - W (1850 - 1890)

ntg = no trade give

Appendix 3: Western Australian Almanacks

APPENDIX 3 – Western Australian Almanacks

Compiled from Almanacks published by A. Shenton & Stirling and Sons, held in J.S. Battye Library (in State Library of WA)

NAME	PROFESSION	YEAR	TOWN/DISRICT
None		1869	Road Bet. Perth & Albany: Narrogin Brook, Wandering Brook, Williams R., Beaufort R., Kojonup, Gordon
Adams, H.	Carpenter	1867 - 1870 1872 - 1876	Buss. & Sussex Dist. Buss. & Vasse
Adlam, W.	Carpenter	1867 - 1870	Greenough
Andrews, E.	Carpenter	1874	Albany
Andrews, T.	Carpenter	1873	Fremantle
Anning, J.	Builder	1867 - 1876	Fremantle
Arment, Thomas	Carpenter	1864 - 1870	Albany
Atchison, J.	Carpenter	1873	Perth
Baldock, J.	Mason	1872 - 1873	Busselton & Vasse
Barnett, Charles	Mason Brickmaker	1869 - 1870	Geraldton & Suburbs
Barry, R. see Employer TOL Index, Perth	Carpenter	1869 - 1878	Perth
Basset, T.	Contractor & builder	1873	Roebourne
Basset, T.L.	Carpenter	1878	Roebourne & Cossack
Beasley, J.S.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Northam
Bell, G.	Carpenter F'man Pub. Works	1862 - 1870 1872	Perth
Blair, P.	Carpenter	1878	Murray (Pinjarrah)
Blechynden, George	Carpenter & wheelwright	1878	Blackwood, Warren & Bridgetown
Bloom, C.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	York
Boncer, J.	Brickmaker &	1869 -	Northam

see Employer TOL Index, Bonser?	farmer	1878	
Bond, H.R. see Employer TOL Index, Perth	Carpenter	1864	Perth
Brittain, J. see Employer TOL Index, Perth: Guildford & Perth	Builder Bricklayer	1862 - 1870 1872 1878	Perth
Brittain, J.	Bricklayer	1872 - 1873	Guildford
Brown, D.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Albany
Brown, J.	Carpenter	1874	Albany
Brown, T.H.J.	Architect	1869 - 1870	Bunbury & Australind
Bruce, J.R.	Carpenter	1864 - 1870	Albany
Buckle, Jonathan	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Bunbury
Buggins, W. see Employer TOL Index, Perth	Bricklayer & Plaster B'smith & plasterer Mrs Buggins	1862 - 1872 1874 1878	Perth
Bunting, J. Banting, John	Carpenter	1869 - 1872 1874, 1878	Bunbury & Australind
Burman, J.	Carpenter	1873 - 1874	Roebourne
Burns, R.	Carpenter	1870 1874	Murray
Burns, R.	Carpenter & joiner	1878	Roebourne & Cossack
Butt, H.	Carpenter	1876 1878	Geraldton Northampton
Cameron D.	Carpenter & S'keepr	1878	
Campbell, Walter	Carpenter	1872 - 1878	Perth
Carter, T. H.	Carpenter Carpenter & Lodging house keeper	1874 1876 - 1878	Buss. & Vasse Buss., Vasse, Nelson
Carter, W.	Carpenter	1872 -	Busselton & Vasse

		1873	
Cartmill, H.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Swan
Charlesworth,	Builder	1878	Geraldton
Chipper, John C. see Employer TOL Index, Perth	Carpenter Publican	1869 1872	Perth
Chipper, S.J.	Carpenter - becomes victualler Builder	1862 - 1866 1872 - 1878	Perth
Christie, D.	Mason	1874 - 1878	York
Church, A.	Brickmaker	1878	Perth
Churchyard, J. see Employer TOL Index, Perth Churchyard, J.K. Churchyard John	Carpenter Builder	1862 - 1873 1874 1878	Perth
Churchyard, J. jnr	Carpenter	1869 1873	Perth
Clarke, Joseph	Carpenter	1864 - 1874	Fremantle
Coles, J.	Thatcher	1874 - 78	York
Cook, E.	Carpenter	1864 - 1868	Guildford
Corbett, J. see Employer TOL Index, Perth (Serra)	Carpenter & Builder	1868 - 1878	Perth
Cornish, James	Builder & Plaster	1865 1866 - 1878	Geraldton/Champion Bay Geraldton
Cousins, Robert [270] -arr. 7.5.51; TOL 23.10.52; CP 29.1.59 -farm lab. -worked for self 1854	Carpenter & Builder	1866 - 1867	Perth
Cox, Hudson	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Crampton,	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Toodyay
Crane, J.	Brickmaker & carter	1864 - 1873	Perth
Crane, J.W.	Mason	1874 - 1876	Irwin & Dongara

Creswick, Robert see Employer TOL Index, Geraldton	Carpenter	1869 - 1873	Geraldton
Criddle, W.	Mason	1874 - 1876	Irwin & Dongara
Cronin, J.	Bricklayer & Plasterer	1869 - 1876	Arthur River
Cutting, J.H. see Employer TOL Index, Victoria Plains	Carpenter & Builder	1866 - 1878	Perth
Davey, H. snr	Bricklayer	1869 - 1878	York
Davey, T.	Bricklayer	1873 1876	York
Davey, T. & H.	Builders	1878	York
Davie, T. Davis	Bricklayer	1874 - 1876	Newcastle
Davis, H.	Carpenter	1873 - 1876	Newcastle
Delaporte, W.	Carpenter	1878	Bunbury
Devereux, William [7075] -arr. 29.5.63; TL 23.6.63; CP 13.1.64 -farm lab. -not listed in Employees list -WA Dict. Listed as Brickmaker at Perth & Mason's Station D. 1880	Brickmaker	1870 - 1873	Perth
Doreen, J.	Carpenter	1873 - 1876	Roebourne
Dower, John	Mason	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Duckham, H.	Brickmaker	1876 - 1878	York
Duff, Peter	Carpenter & Joiner Carpenter	1869 - 1872 1876 - 1878	Newcastle York
Ellery, W.	Carpenter & joiner	1878	Roebourne & Cossack
Ellsgood, W.	Carpenter	1874	Fremantle
Elsegood, John	Carpenter	1872 - 1873	Perth
Elsegood, W.	Carpenter Carter	1869 - 1870 1873	Perth jnr? 1878

		1876	
Elsegood, W. jnr	Carpenter	1872 - 1873	Perth
Evans, G.	Architect	1862 - 1866	Perth
Fagin, A.	Mason	1869 - 1873	Newcastle
Farrelly, F.	Carpenter	1878	Geraldton
Floyd, G.	Carpenter	1869 - 1874	Bunbury & Australind Bunbury
Floyd, G.W.		1878	
Ford, W.	Bricklayer	1878	Roebourne & Cossack
Foscott, R.	Carpenter	1862	Fremantle
Fox, Joseph	Carpenter	1878	Newcastle
Gibbs, J.D.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Bunbury
Gibson, David	Carpenter	1869 - 1878	Geraldton
Godden, Thomas	Brickmaker	1874	Buss. Sussex, Nelson
Graham, J.	Bricklayer rtc	1873 - 1878	Perth
Gray, David A. [8856]	Bricklayer etc	1874 - 1878	Perth
Green & Mackenzie	Builders	1864 - 1870	Albany
Green, J. W.	Carpenter & u'taker	1872 - 1878	Albany
Haggar, J.	Carpenter	1878	Newcastle
Hall, W.H. (Hale)	Carpenter	1873 - 1876	Roebourne
Hall, Wilson	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Perth
Halliday, Alex.	Carp. & Join.	1862 - 1878	Perth
Halliday, James Org listed as just "J" no idea which one is which!	Carpenter & Builder	1866 - 1878	Perth
Halliday, John	Carpenter & Builder O'seer City Council	1872 - 1876 1878	Perth
Halliday, T.	Carpenter & Builder - becomes warder	1866 - 1868	Perth

Harwood, Joshua James son of Joshua Josiah	Builder & contractor	1874	Fremantle
Harwood, Joshua Josiah Harwood & Sons J.J. & Sons	Builder & Auctioneer Builders	1862 - 1868 1873 - 1878	Fremantle
Harwood, Thomas	Mason	1862 - 1869 1878	Fremantle
Hastie, Charles Hastie, C.L.	Carpenter Carp. & wheelwright	1869 - 1876 1878	Bunbury & Australind Bunbury
Hazel, G.	Bricklayer & plasterer Plasterer	1869 - 1873 1874 1876	Newcastle Toodyay
Hazel, Henry	Builder	1878	Newcastle
Heal, J.	Carpenter & builder	1876	Fremantle
Hepburn, D.	Carpenter	1878	Geraldton
Hornblow, J.	Carpenter	1874 - 1876	Northam
Howe, T.	Carpenter	1878	Albany
Hurodine, C. Haradine, C.	Carpenter	1869 - 1870 1878	Geraldton
Inkpen, W.	Carpenter	1862 - 1878	Perth
Jackson, T.	Brickmaker	1870 - 1878	Perth
Janning, B.	Carpenter	1862	Fremantle
Jarvis, H. see Employer TOL Index, Fremantle	Builder	1872 - 1876	Fremantle
Jarvis, J.C.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Jarvis, R.	Carpenter	1878	Fremantle
Jeffrey,	Brickmaker	1870	Perth
Jewell, R.	Architect 1868: Clerk PW	1862 - 1869	Perth
Johnston, Henry	Carpenter	1862	Fremantle
Jones, A.J.	Mason	1876 - 1878	Guildford

Jones, F.	Carpenter	1876	Fremantle
Jones, William	Carpenter	1864 - 1878	Guildford
Joyce, E.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Perth
Kellow, B.	Mason	1878	Northampton
Kerr, D.	Carpenter	1862 - 1874	Fremantle
Keyser, C.	Carpenter	1878	Albany
King, C.	W'wright & builder	1862 - 1867	Perth
King, H.	Brickmaker	1878	Bunbury
Knapton, G.H.	Carpenter	1872 - 1873 1876 - 1878	Busselton & Vasse
Laddams,	Brickmaker	1869 - 1872	Perth
Ladhams, G.	Brickmaker	1874	Albany
Lane, William	Bricklayer	1878	Blackwood, Warren & Bridgetown
Laurence, George	Carpenter	1869 - 1876	Bunbury & Australind
Lawrence, G.		1878	Bunbury
Law, S.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Lawrence, Ambrose	Mason	1862 - 1866	Fremantle
Layton, William	Carpenter	1867 - 1870 1872 - 1876	Buss. & Sussex Dist. Buss. & Vasse
Lee, Hugh	Carpenter	1878	Bunbury
Leerman, Henry	Carpenter	1878	Bunbury
Lennam, P.	Mason	1872	Perth
Lennard, J. or Leonard	Bricklayer	1862 - 1872	Perth
Lennon, Patrick	Builder	1869 - 1870	Mines
Leno, J.	Carpenter	1862	Fremantle
Leverman, L. see Employer TOL Index, Greenough	Carpenter Carpenter & farmer	1867 - 1873 1876 - 78	Greenough
Lewis, A.	Builder	1862	Fremantle
Lewis, George	Carpenter	1872 -	Perth

		1873	
Lewis, George	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Lewis, John	Bricklayer	1870 - 1878	Perth
Lewis, P.	Carpenter	1868 - 1872	Roebourne
Linthorne, W. see Employer TOL Index, Greenough	Carpenter Carpenter & farmer	1869 - 1870 1874 - 1876	Geraldton Greenough
Love, W.	Carpenter	1867 - 1873	Perth
MacGlew, W.H.	Builder	1872 - 1873	Perth
Mackenzie, John	Carpenter	1872 - 1878	Albany
Mason, T.	Carpenter	1862 - 1872 1876 - 78	Perth
Masters, E.	Builder	1862	Fremantle
May, Thomas	Carpenter & farmer	1878	Preston & Upper Capel
McCarthy, D.	Bricklayer	1874 - 1878	Perth
McCarthy, J. see Employer TOL Index, York	Brickmaker	1869 - 1870 1874 - 1878	York
McCormac, W.	Mason	1873	Roebourne
McKay, A.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	York
Melluish, W.	Carpenter	1864 - 1870 1876	Albany
Miller, A.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Geraldton
Miller, James	Carpenter	1865 1866 - 1873	Geraldton/Champion Bay Geraldton
Mitchell, James	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	York
Monger, H.	Carpenter	1878	York
Moon, C.	Carpenter	1862 - 1876	Fremantle

More, J.	Mason	1878	Northampton
Morgan, F.	Carpenter	1876	
Morrison, W.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Beverley Northam (1876)
Myers, J.	Carpenter	1878	Albany
Newell, M.R.	Carpenter	1878	Albany
Norman, Josiah	Carpenter	1878	Albany
Norman, T.	Carpenter	1878	Albany
Nunan, J. see Employer TOL Index, Champion Bay & Perth (Noonan)	Builder	1870 - 1876	Perth
Ogle, R.	Brickmaker	1878	Guildford
O'Neill, P.	Carpenter & u'taker	1878	Roebourne & Cossack
Oriol, I.	Carp. & Join	1862 - 1874	Perth
Osborne, J.	Carpenter	1878	Greenough
Park, H.	Bricklayer	1870 1876	Murray
Parkes, H.		1878	Pinjarrah
Parker, John	Carpenter	1878	York
Paul, R.	B'mker	1873	Guildford
Pead(e), William	Carpenter	1869 - 1870 1874 - 78	Geraldton
Pead, Frederick	Carpenter	1869 - 1870 1876 - 1878	Mines Geraldton
Pearson, W.	Carpenter	1876	Albany
Place, J.	Builder	1862 - 1868	Fremantle
Platt, F. see Employer TOL Index, Bunbury	Bricklayer etc	1869 - 1873 1876 - 78	Perth
Postan, G.	Bricklayer	1868 - 1876	Murray
Pyke, S.	Carpenter	1878	York
Quick, H.	Carpenter	1874	Albany
Ralston, G.D.	Master Carpenter, C.E.	1868 - 1878	Fremantle
Read, C. jnr	Carpenter	1869 - 1873	Perth
Read, F.	Carpenter	1872 - 1873	Perth
Richardson, John	Carpenter	1874 -	Newcastle

		1876	
Robinson, G.	Bricklayer	1878	Pinjarrah
Rose,	Carpenter	1878	Fremantle
Rose, T.	Mason	1878	Fremantle
Russell, H.	Bricklayer	1872 - 1873	Perth
Sainsbury, J.	Carpenter	1872 - 1876	Fremantle
Salkilld, T.	Bricklayer Land Proprietor	1862 - 1868 1872	Perth
Scaisebrook, James	Carpenter	1869 - 1874	Geraldton
Sedgewick, E.	Carpenter	1874	Roebourne
Sharp, Chas.	Builder	1865 - 1866	Fremantle
Sherwood, C.	Carpenter	1872 - 1873	Perth
Sloan, W.	Carpenter Victualler Victualler & builder Victualler	1861 - 1864 1872 - 1873 1874	Perth
Smith, C.	Carpenter	1878	Perth
Smith, J.J.	Carpenter	1869 - 1873	Perth
Smith, J.S.	Carpenter	1874 - 1876	Perth
Smith, John	Carpenter	1873	Perth
Smith, M.	Carpenter	1864 - 1867	Perth
Smith, Thos. Smith, T.	Auctioneer, appraiser, commission agent, builder, undertaker Contractor	1862 - 1866 1873 1876	Perth (ad, not in directory)
Smith, W.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Northam
Snowball, J. James & John. Which is which?	Carpenter & Joiner	1866 - 1876	Perth
Snowball, J. T.	Carpenter &	1873 -	Perth

	Joiner	1876	
Snowball, W.	Carpenter & Joiner	1872 - 1876	Perth
Sparkles, R.	Builder	1874 - 1876	Irwin & Dongara
Spencer, H.	Carpenter	1873 - 1874	Roebourne
Stevens, J.	Bricklayer	1870 - 1873	Buss. & Sussex Dist. Buss. & Vasse
Stinton, J.	Carpenter etc	1870	Bunbury & Australind
Tansley, A.	Carpenter	1864 - 1870	Albany
Tapper, F.	Mason	1862 - 1866	Perth
Taylor, C.	Carpenter	1874	Guildford
Tetlow, James	Builder & mason Mason	1865 1866 - 1868 1870 1874 - 78	Geraldton/Champion Bay Geraldton Victoria Plains (1876)
Thomas, William	Mason	1864 - 1869	Albany
Thomas, W.	Mason & Bricklayer	1876 - 1878	
Thompson, A.C.	Architect	1869 - 1876	Murray
Thompson, John	Carpenter & joiner	1869 - 1876	Perth
Tompkinson, T.	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	York
Tonkin, J.F.	Carpenter	1876 - 1878	Fremantle
Tonkin, R.	Carpenter	1878	Mandurah
Trigg, Stephen (Ad. has timber yard)	Builder & U'taker Carpenter	1862 - 1873 1874 - 76	Perth
Trigg, W. see Employer TOL Index, Geraldton	Carp. & Builder	1866 - 1868 1876	Geraldton Victoria Plains
Trott, Thomas	Bricklayer	1869 - 1876 1878	Bunbury & Australind Bunbury
Turner, H.	Builder	1878	York

Turner, James	Carpenter	1873 1876	Geraldton Victoria Plains
Turner, J.	Carpenter	1878	
Vaughan, G.	Mason	1878 - 1878	Fremantle
Vincent, H.	Carpenter	1865 - 1866 1878	Fremantle
Walker, J.	Plast., Painter, etc	1862 - 1868	Perth
Wall, P.	Carpenter	1878	Irwin & Dongara
Wallace, J.	Carpenter Carpenter & grazier	1870 1874 - 1876	Murray
Wallis, M.	Bricklayer	1878	Perth
Wallis, W.	Builder	1874	Guildford
Wansborough, G.	House carpenter Wheelwright Carpenter	1867 - 1868 1870 1876 - 1878	York
Ward,	Carpenter	1873	Perth
Ward, Owen	Carpenter	1874 - 1878	Bunbury
Ward, William see Employer TOL Index, Bunbury	Bricklayer	1869 - 1876 1878	Bunbury & Australind Bunbury
Ware, C.	Carpenter	1869 - 1874	Fremantle
Ware, H.	Bricklayer	1876 - 1878	York
Watson, J. jnr	Carpenter	1869 1873	Perth
Watson, J. jnr	Carp., builder & u'taker	1870	Newcastle
Weetman, C.	Mason	1867 - 1868	Buss. & Sussex Dist.
Welbourne, J.	Builder & U'tker	1866 - 1873	Guildford
Wells H.	Bricklayer	1878	Perth
Wells, W.	Carpenter	1878	Perth
Wenn, James	Carpenter	1878	Bunbury
Whittaker, H.	Carpenter	1874	Newcastle
Whittaker, J.	Carpenter & joiner	1869 - 1873	Newcastle
Wiggett, W.	Carpenter	1870 -	Perth

		1873 1876 - 78	
Willmott, J.	Mason & Bricklayer	1870	York
Wilson, E.	Carpenter	1870 - 1873	Perth
Wood, W.	Brickmaker	1876 - 1878	Guildford
Yeddi, C.	Carpenter	1869	Bunbury & Australind

Appendix 4: 1836 Returns and 1837 Census

APPENDIX 4 – Skilled Mechanics from 1836 Returns and 1837 Census – Total population for 1836: 1764

Note 1837 Census does not appear to include Perth.

NAME	OCCUPATION	WHERE LIVING	1836 RETURN	1837 CENSUS
Ambrewes, Peter	Carpenter			?
Atkinson, George	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Balchin, James	Carpenter	Fremantle	?	?
Bell, Robert	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Blechynden, George	Carpenter	Upper Swan	?	
Brown, Maurice	Blacksmith	King George's Sound	?	
Bulls, Richard	Carpenter	Guildford	?	
Burges, Henry	Sawyer	Richard Jones' farm		?
Chappell, Cleophes?	Carpenter	Fremantle	?	
Clarke, Thomas	Carpenter	D.S. Murray's farm, 'St Leonards'		?
Cook, John Taylor	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Cooper, Joseph	Blacksmith			?
Cooper, Joseph	Wheelwright	Pinjarra		?
Davis, Thomas	Blacksmith	Perth	?	
Earle, Richard	Carpenter	King George's Sound	?	
Ellis, G.	Sawyer			?
Ellis, Joseph	Thatcher	Perth	?	
Ellis, William	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Embeldon, George	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Ferguson, Alexander	Blacksmith	'The Smithy', Middle Swan		?
Franklin, Thomas	Carpenter			?

Gee, (male)	Carpenter			?
Gordon, Andrew	Builder	King George's Sound	?	
Harwood, Thomas	Mason			?
Harwood, William	Mason	Fremantle	?	
Headge, Henry	Blacksmith			?
Holmes, William	Bricklayer	Perth	?	
Jecks, Thomas	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Jenkins(on)?, James	Shingle splitter	Perth	?	
Jenkins(on)?, Samuel	Carpenter	Swan	?	
Jenkins, William	Carpenter	King George's Sound	?	
Knight, Stephen	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Knott, Edwin (22)	Blacksmith	Guildford	?	
Knott, William (57)	Blacksmith	Guildford	?	
Layman, John	Carpenter	Augusta	?	
Layton, William	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Lazenby, George	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Leroux, Charles	Architect	Fremantle	?	
Lewington, William	Mason	Fremantle	?	
Lloyd, George	Mason	Fremantle	?	
Manning, William	Builder	Perth	?	
Marlow, Daniel	Carpenter	Middle Swan	?	
Millard, Thomas	Wheelwright (1837) Carpenter (1836)	Swan	?	?
Minchin, James	Carpenter	Middle Swan	?	
Moore, Robert	Carpenter	Middle Swan	?	

Morrell, John	Bricklayer	Perth	?	
Morrell, Richard	Mason	York district	?	
Morris, Joseph	Mason	Maj. W. Nairn's farm		?
Morris, Thomas	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Nairn, William	Blacksmith	Perth	?	
Ougden, James	Blacksmith	Perth	?	
Pengilly, John R.	Carpenter	Fremantle	?	?
Powell, Charles (17)	Bricklayer	Perth	?	
Powell, Edward (52)	Bricklayer	Perth	?	
Reveley, Henry W.	Civil Engineer	Perth	?	
Short, William	Mason	Perth	?	
Sinclair, Thomas	Builder	King George's Sound	?	
Skippen, John	Carpenter	York		?
Smedley, Thomas	Carpenter	Fremantle	?	
Smith, Richard	Carpenter	Guildford	?	?
Spice, Saul	Brickmaker	Perth	?	
Stokes, George	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Summerland, Abraham	Carpenter			?
Syred, Daniel	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Thomas, William	Bricklayer	King George's Sound	?	
Thompson, John	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Tomkins, John	Carpenter	Swan	?	?
Trigg, Henry	Builder	Perth	?	
Truslow, J.	Carpenter	Maj. Nairn's Farm		?
von Bibra, Benedict	Carpenter	Perth	?	
Wadge, Henry	Blacksmith	Swan	?	?

Wall, Thomas B.	Carpenter	York	?	?
Wallace, Thomas	Blacksmith			?
Waller, Thomas	Blacksmith	Swan	?	
Ward, William	Brickmaker	Perth	?	
Welbourne, John	Carpenter	Near Guildford	?	?
Willey, Thomas	Sawyer	Fremantle		?
Williams, John	Builder	King George's Sound	?	
Withnell, William	Mason	Fremantle	?	
Wright, William	Blacksmith			?
				?

Information obtained from Western Australian Census 1837, extracted from Vol. 58 Correspondence Inwards, CSO by Staff of Battye Library, Library Board of WA, Perth, 1974.

APPENDIX 5 – Building plans, descriptions and histories of buildings discussed in Chapter 8

Group 1 Buildings

Boyadine	563
Gwambygine	574
Hall’s Cottage	582
Kojonup Barracks	590
St Nicholas Church	598
Tranby	604

NB The Group 1 Buildings at ‘Berkshire Valley and ‘Yangedine’ are included with the Group 2 Buildings

Group 2 Buildings

Berkshire Valley	612
Bishop Hale’s House	654
Glentromie	665
Martinup	691
Walebining	713
Yangedine	741

BOYADINE HOMESTEAD

Located on the York-Williams Road approximately 116 km east-south-east of Perth and approximately 25 km south-west of Beverley in the Shire of Beverley. The place was visited on 22 April 2011.

History

Henry and Robert Burgh (de Burgh after 1848), arrived in Western Australia in 1841. They were well educated, as they belonged to a highly respected Irish family; their father was an Anglican Dean. Unfortunately their ship, the James Matthews was wrecked on arrival and they lost goods and a large sum of money that they had brought to establish themselves as farmers in the colony. They stayed briefly with the Burges brothers on their property Tipperary (York) before striking out on their own and leasing a property in the York district. They acquired sheep and purchased 40 acres of land in 1842 on which they built a hut. They leased nearly 7,000 acres of land further to the south on the Dale River in 1843 (de Burgh and de Burgh 1981). It was in December that year that *Boyadine* was first mentioned by Henry in his diary: "sent out a flock of 1122 to Boyadine" (de Burgh and de Burgh, 1981, 80).

Henry's diary comes to an abrupt halt after January 13 1844. According to de Burgh and de Burgh, other historical sources indicate that Henry's growing love for Sophie Roe led him to start work on the construction of a house for her at *Boyadine*, although what that source is was not referenced. Henry purchased *Boyadine* as his own property, rather than one in partnership with his brother Robert. The land was surveyed in November 1844 and a title issued in June 1845 (de Burgh and de Burgh, 1981, 97). Henry left the colony in December 1845 to assist his mother on the family's property. Robert was left in charge of *Boyadine*.

A description of the house was provided in 1851 where it was described as a 'commodious five-roomed house and hall, weather boarded and shingled' (de Burgh and de Burgh, 1981, 104). Following Henry's departure the George and Sophia Hancock occupied the house and managed the property.

Henry did not return to the colony and *Boyadine* was finally sold in 1870 to Edward Doncon. Prior to purchasing *Boyadine*, Doncon had leased the property from Henry de Burgh (Battye, 1985; de Burgh and de Burgh, 1981).

Building Description

The single storey rectangular building is located in a rural area with other farm buildings associated with it. The house was built around 1843. The Dale River is located to the east of the homestead and the junction with the south arm of the Dale River lies approximately 1 km to the south of the building.

Roof: The roof form is not simple. The three rooms on the southern side are

covered with a hipped roof, then the four rooms on the northern side are covered with two separate hipped roofs forming an 'M' shape. A verandah runs around all sides of the building and is covered with a skillion roof that springs from the top of the wall plates. All roof forms are covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheets. There are two brick chimney stacks.

Walls: The walls are made from rammed earth that has been covered with a layer of cement render. On the northern and western walls line have been marked into the render to give the appearance of dressed ashlar blocks. It was not possible to determine either the presence of absence of foundations.

Openings: Timber lintels set into the rammed earth walls form the tops of the window and door openings. The sills are also timber.

Interior: The interior has three rooms running across the southern side and then there are four rooms located to the north of these rooms. Entry into the building leads directly into the parlour area which has a renovated fireplace and timber mantelpiece. To the east of the parlour is a dining room and on the western side is a bedroom. Both rooms have fireplaces fitted with timber mantelpieces.

Access to the northern rooms is via a door on the northern side of the parlour and also via a pair of French doors in the dining room. The doorway leading from the parlour leads into short passage that provides access to bedrooms on the western side and the kitchen on the eastern side. The french doors from the dining room also lead into the kitchen. The kitchen is a large open area that has subsequently had a bathroom placed on the western side. The walls for the bathroom do not extend all the way up to the ceiling.

The floors are timber boards of varying sizes.

As stated above the ceiling in the kitchen is open to the rafters. Sarking boards have been fixed to the topside of the rafters. The remaining rooms are a mix of plaster boards and masonite.

The door and window frames are embedded into the walls making it impossible to determine how they were put together. Architraves have been fitted to all of the doors and windows and date from a period when the house was remodelled in the c. 1930s.

The doors are a mixture of french doors, three panel doors (in the 1930s style) and ledged, braced and sheeted (with tongued and grooved boards) doors. The windows are all casements.

Comments:

The building appears to have been built in at least two stages. The three rooms running across the southern side were probably constructed first. In the north wall of the kitchen, which is shared with the dining room, the top of the wall has gable a form and displays evidence that it is a later extension: constructed from mud bricks. Then the rooms running along the northern

side of these three rooms were constructed next. The 1851 description of the house describes it as having 5 rooms with a hall. The changes visible in the fabric suggest that Rooms 4 – 7 were added only a short while after Rooms 1 – 3. The fabric also indicates that Rooms 6 and 7 were once one large room that has since been converted into two rooms.

At a much later stage a garage was added onto the south-east corner under the line of the verandah. A bathroom and laundry were added onto the north-west side. The first three rooms represent the type of dwelling that was first constructed by early settlers on their rural blocks. It is a Stage 1 house.

Plan

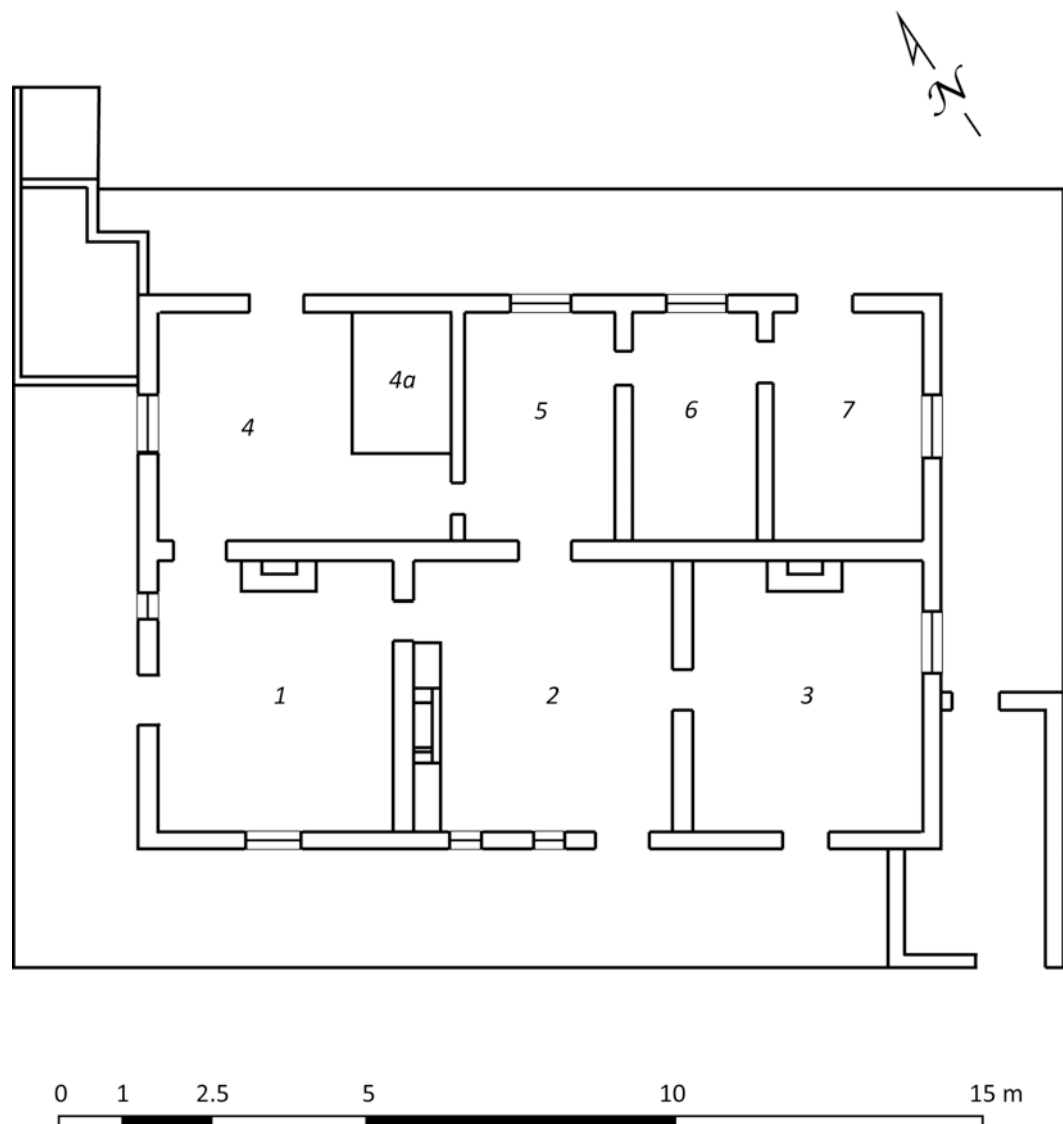


Figure 1 Plan of House. Rooms 1, 2 and 3 and thought to be the original core of the house built by Henry de Burgh (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 22 April 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 Front (western side) of Boyadine Homestead



Figure 3 Detail of front showing the three hipped roof sections and chimney stacks



Figure 4 North-west corner of Boyadine Homestead



Figure 5 Rear (eastern side) of Boyadine Homestead



Figure 6 Detail of southern side showing lines of wall imitating dressed ashlar masonry. Note casement windows



Figure 7 Detail of French doors and flyscreens on eastern side



Figure 8 Detail of south-east corner of building showing rammed earth construction



Figure 9 Detail of lintel above window opening



Figure 10 Interior view of Room 2 looking south-east. Door leads into Room 3



Figure 11 Interior view of Room 1 looking east



Figure 12 Interior view of Room 3 looking east, door leads out to Room 2



Figure 13 Interior view of Room 5 looking east. Note bookcase on left which blocks up a doorway. A doorway on the right hand side leads into Room 6



Figure 14 Room 5 looking south towards Rooms 6 and 7



Figure 15 Interior view of Room 4 (kitchen) looking south towards the bathroom that has been built in this large room



Figure 16 Detail of eastern wall in Room 4 showing extension to the wall and the rafters. The doors lead out to the rear verandah



Figure 17 Detail of western wall of Room 4 showing extension to this wall

GWAMBYGINE

Located on Lot 36 on Great Southern Highway a few kilometres to the south of York, in the Shire of York. York lies 97 km to the east of Perth. The place was visited on 12 October 2009.

History

The Reverend John B. Wittenoom, a widower, arrived in Western Australia in January 1830 accompanied by his sister Eliza and his four sons. Formerly a teacher in a private school in England, he had decided to take up the appointment of Colonial Chaplain. The assets that he brought with him entitled him to a grant of land of 3,186 acres. However the Board of Audit increased this amount to 5,020 acres. Deciding on the newly opened up district near York, Wittenoom was granted 5,000 acres on the Avon River, just to the south of York. By 1835 the land had been surveyed and the three oldest boys were sent out to establish the property with the assistance of three farm labourers. One of these men was Henry Carter who took out an improvement lease with Wittenoom. In this way Carter, who was familiar with agricultural practises, could assist the three elder boys and improve the property for Wittenoom (Statham Drew 2010). By the time Lieutenant Bunbury visited the York district in 1837, he reported that Wittenoom had constructed a small house on his grant using rammed earth (Bunbury 1930). Henry Carter provided a further description of the house when he wrote home to his family about the property. Included in a letter that he wrote in July 1840 was a small thumbnail sketch of the plan of the building. It showed an 'L' shaped house with five rooms and a verandah along one side (Carter 1840 – 1841).

During the 1830s John Wittenoom (Reverend Wittenoom's oldest son), worked the farm with the help of his younger brothers. Their grandmother and their Aunt Eliza also lived at the farm and looked after the boys while the Reverend Wittenoom attended to his church duties. In 1840 John relinquished control of the property to his brother Charles. Charles married Sarah Harding in 1853 and the Reverend Wittenoom gifted the house and 2,000 acres of land to the couple. Sarah died in 1861, together with the couple's youngest child during a measles epidemic on the property. Charles left the farm and moved to Perth, leasing Gwanbygine to Joe Hicks and his family. Charles remarried, but died in 1866. Gwanbygine was left in trust to his children (Statham Drew 2010).

Building Description

A 'U' shaped building with an extension beyond on of the 'legs' of the 'U' on one side. The current footprint incorporates the original 'L' shaped cottage together with later extensions. The long sides of the building are oriented north-south. The original five roomed cottage was constructed in c.1836. The house is located in a rural environment close to the Avon River.

Roof: The gable roof is covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheeting. Skillion roofed verandahs run across the front (east) and rear (west) elevations. The

verandah roof springs from the top plate. There are three brick chimney stacks. Two of the stacks are in the oldest section of the house. The original shingles can still be seen beneath the current corrugated iron sheeting.

Walls: Constructed from rammed earth and subsequently covered with a layer of cement render. The original limewash coatings can be seen in places where the cement render has fallen off the walls. It appears to have random rubble stone foundation but the depth is unknown.

Openings: The openings for the doors and windows have been formed from timber lintels set into the rammed earth wall. These lintels consist of two parallel beams. The window sills are timber.

Interior: The interior arrangement is essentially a line of single rooms running north-south with a room on the eastern side of the southern-most room (forming the short section of the 'L'). Rooms 11, 12, 13, 14 and 16 represent the rooms that were built in c. 1836. The wing to the north of room 11 was added sometime in the early twentieth century and will not be described.

Rooms 11 and 12 can only be accessed via the eastern verandah. Access to Room 13 is from both the eastern and western sides of the verandah and a doorway at the southern end of the room provides access to Room 14. Room 16 is accessed from the eastern verandah and also through Room 14. A later opening also provides access to the exterior on the southern side. Room 14 does not have any access to either verandahs, it can only be accessed from Rooms 13 or 16.

Fireplaces can be found in Rooms 11, 13 and 16. The fireplace in Room 11 has been blocked up but the timber mantelpiece has been retained. The mantelpiece in Room 13 is now a brick surround. Room 16 has a high timber mantelpiece.

The floors are a mixture of cement and concrete. The verandahs both have concrete floors. The ceilings are masonite with cover battens.

The timber door and window frames are constructed using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg.

The doors to Rooms 11 and 12 are ledged and sheeted with timber planks. The door on the eastern side of Room 13 is a two panel door with a glazed upper section. There are a pair of french doors leading out to the western verandah. The door between Rooms 13 and 14 is ledged and sheeted. There is no door between Rooms 14 and 16, simply a wide opening. The door on the northern side of Room 16 is panelled.

All of the windows are casements.

Comments:

The original five rooms represent the type of house constructed by early settlers when they first moved onto their rural properties. An early plan of this building indicates that the current access to Rooms 11, 12, 13 and 14 is the same as in the 1830s (with the exception of an additional door on the western side of Room 13). However there was no access between Rooms 14 to Room 16. Room 16 could only

be accessed from the eastern verandah area. As with other buildings constructed during this period, the verandah served as a passageway. The original core of the building represents a Stage 1 building and the later additions are indicative of the manner in which settlers consolidated their properties during the 1850s onwards.

Plan

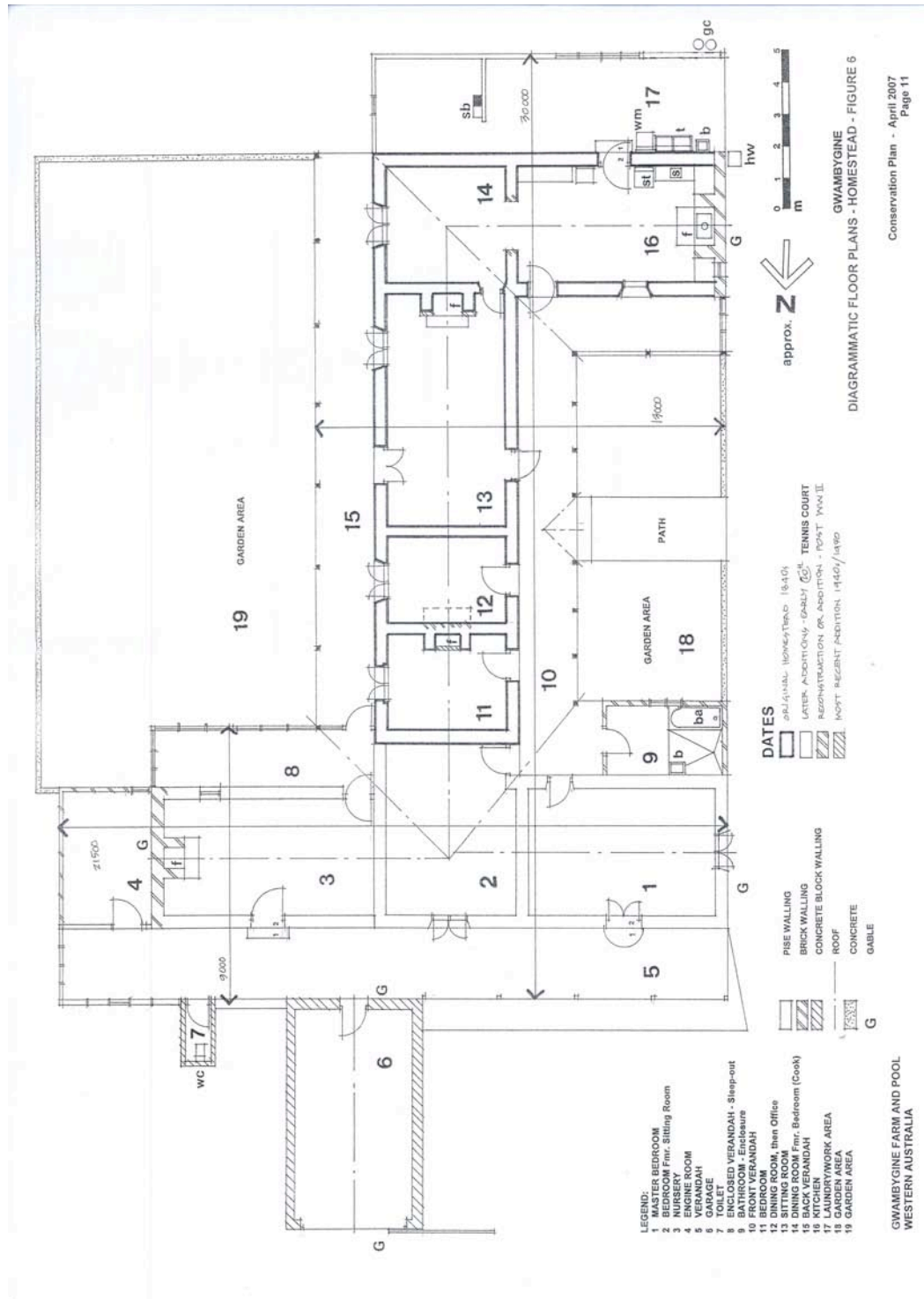


Figure 1 Plan of Gwanbygine from Bodycoat 2007 (reproduced with permission of Ronald Bodycoat)

Photographs – Taken 12 October 2009 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 Eastern side (front) looking towards the northern end



Figure 3 South eastern end of the building showing the kitchen wing



Figure 4 View along eastern verandah looking north. The door with the glazing to the upper panel leads into Room 13.



Figure 5 View of western verandah (rear) looking north



Figure 6 Detail of rammed earth wall where limewash render has become dislodged



Figure 7 Detail of door frame in Room 11 showing mortise and tenon joint



Figure 8 Room 11 showing blocked up fireplace and timber mantelpiece



Figure 9 Room 13 looking south towards doorway to Room 14. Note new fireplace surround and casement window

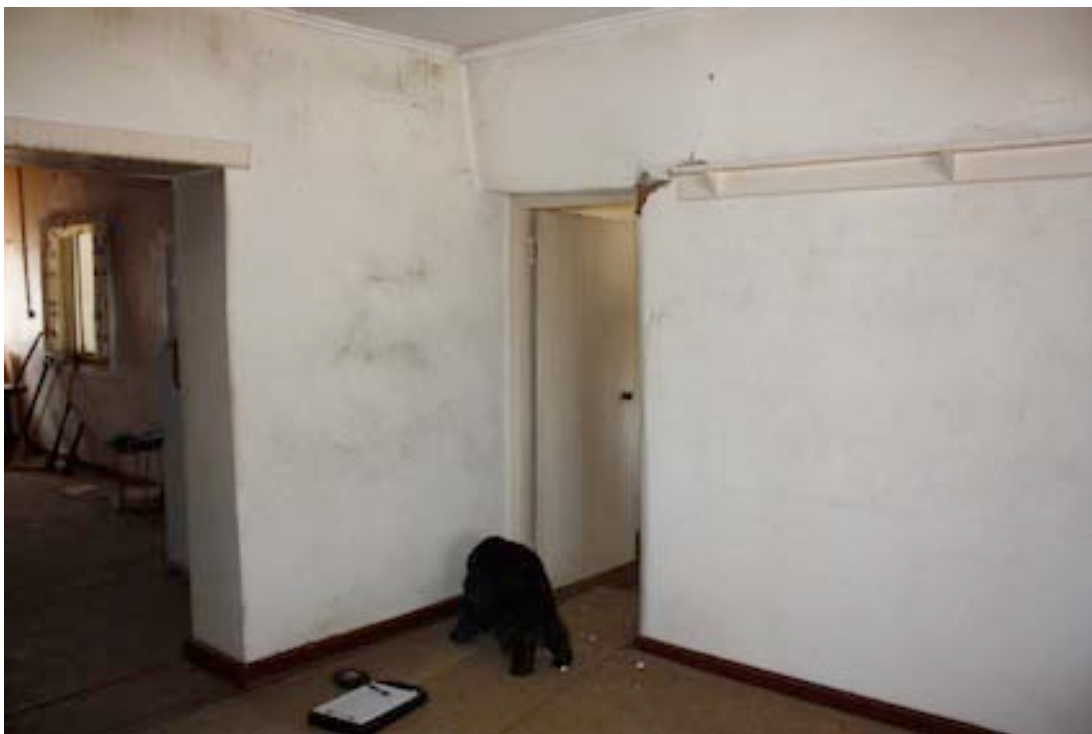


Figure 10 Room 14 looking north towards door to Room 13. Room 16 is visible on the left side of the photograph

HALL'S COTTAGE

Located on Lot 173 Leighton Road, Mandurah in the City of Mandurah. Mandurah is a coastal settlement 74 kilometres south of Perth. The place was visited on 15 May 2011.

History

Hall's Cottage was constructed for Henry Hall. Originally the Squire of Shakerstone Manor in Leicestershire, the Hall family had been associated with this estate since the 1600s. Hall sold the ancestral home and together with another settler, chartered the *Protector* to take himself and his family and cargo to Western Australia (Bracher, 2008). They arrived off Fremantle in February 1830. The cargo and servants that Hall brought entitled him to a grant of 16,720 acres. He was given a grant near the present day town of Mandurah, near the mouth of the Harvey River and had begun clearing land on it by November 1834 (Richards 1978, 60). An early house constructed on the site was destroyed in a fire and it is thought that Hall's Cottage was built sometime between 1832 and 1834. Although it is not known who was responsible for the construction of the cottage, Hall's servants included a carpenter and a blacksmith so it is quite possible that they helped construct, or were responsible for the construction the house (Richards 1978, 57).

Like so many other settlers, Hall ran into financial difficulties and his wife returned to Britain to try to obtain some additional funding. Whether she was able to secure additional funds is not known, but by 1835 a large percentage of Hall's land at Mandurah, together with the family's personal belongings were auctioned off to pay debts, leaving the family with only their house and 200 acres. Hall and his family moved to Perth where he found employment as a brewer and later as a doctor (Richards, 1978, 120). The cottage was leased to a succession of people including John Sutton who made improvements to the building in the 1870s when he provided accommodation to travellers (HCWA 1995).

The environs around the cottage were considerably altered in 1989 when the Port Mandurah Canal development created a canal system in the area around the river mouth. One of the canals lies within 20 metres of the building (HCWA, 1995). Today the Mandurah Historical Society Inc. occupies the building that is owned by the City of Mandurah.

Building Description

The building is a small, single storey structure with a simple rectangular form. The date of construction is estimated at c. 1832. The long sides of the building are oriented approximately east-west. The building sits in a residential area next to a canal development.

Roof: The northern end of the roof has a gable form, while the southern end is hipped. A skillion roofed verandah springs from the top of the wall at the front and rear and also covers the three rooms along the southern side. This gives the roof an unbroken appearance as the verandah roof merges with the main roof. The roof is

covered with shingles. There is a centrally located chimney with a stringcourse at the top. To increase the drawing capacity of the chimney, a very short ventilator, made from bricks set at the corners and centre and topped with a coping, has been added at a later stage.

Walls: The walls are constructed from coursed limestone and set with lime mortar. The walls have been covered with several layers of lime wash. The stones are roughly dressed. The extent of presence of a foundation is not known. Evidence in the stonework indicates that the walls were built up slightly when the verandah was added to the front and rear of the building.

Openings: The door and window openings have been formed using timber lintels (two parallel beams beneath the stonework). The windowsills are also timber.

Interior: The cottage has a simple plan and is only one room deep. A row of three rooms has been added onto the eastern side of the building. The front (northern side) door opens immediately into the main room, Room 1 (parlour/dining). This room contains a large fireplace with a timber mantelpiece. This fireplace was probably used for cooking purposes. On the eastern side of this room is a bedroom (Room 2), accessed from the parlour. This room also has a fireplace with a timber mantelpiece. This fireplace, and the one in the parlour share the same chimneystack. Further to the east of the main bedroom is a much smaller bedroom (Room 4) that can only be accessed via the main bedroom. The two remaining rooms (3 and 5) on the eastern side are accessed from the front and rear verandahs.

The floors are jarrah boards (6 – 8 ") throughout. There is no ceiling; the remains of whitewash on some of the lower sections of the rafters suggests that the current varnished coating does not reflect the original whitewashed finish.

The door and window frames are all held together by mortise and tenon joints and secured with a wooden peg. Flat battens have been added to the doorframes to give the appearance of a beaded finish. The corners of these battens are mitred. The doors are ledged and sheeted with timber planks. The windows are all casements.

Comments:

This is a simple cottage built to accommodate a family following their arrival in a new country. It has been competently constructed. It represents a Stage 1 house.

Plan

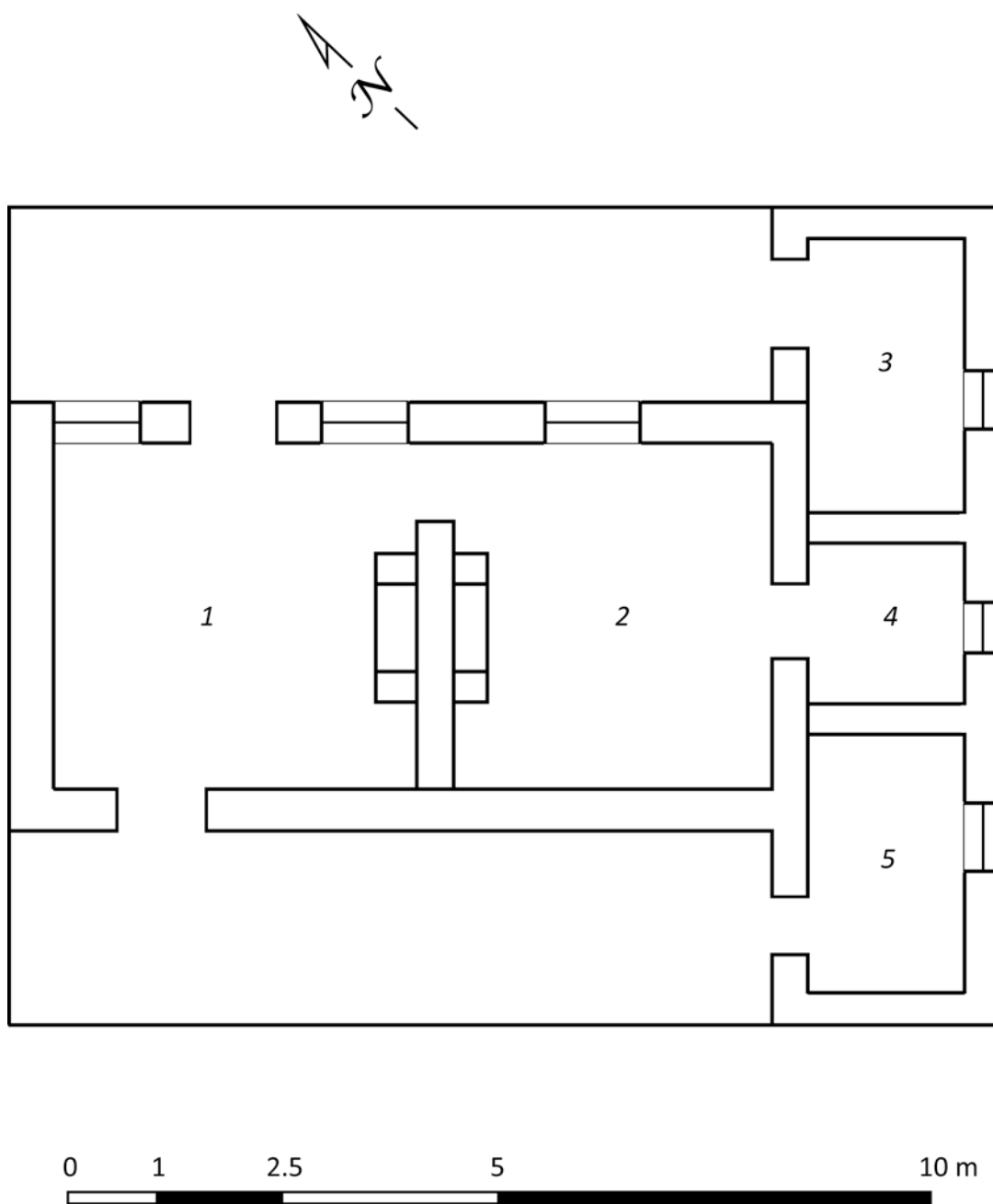


Figure 1 Plan of Hall's Cottage (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken date by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 Front view of Hall's Cottage with slightly later addition on left side



Figure 3 View of Cottage from south-west side



Figure 4 View of Cottage looking at the south-east side



Figure 5 View of front verandah. Note additional layer of stonework above timber plate at top of the wall and timber lintels.



Figure 6 Interior of Room 1 looking towards front door. Door on the right leads to Room 2



Figure 7 Interior view of Room 1 looking towards back verandah area.



Figure 8 Room 1 looking east towards the chimney brest



Figure 9 Rear verandah area looking east towards Room 5



Figure 10 Detail of doorway leading from Room 5 onto the back verandah. Note timber lintel and the doorframe with mortise and tenon joint secured with timber peg



Figure 11 Detail of door frame

KOJONUP BARRACKS

Kojonup Barracks are located on the north-western outskirts of Kojonup at Barracks Place in the Shire of Kojonup. Kojonup is a small country town 256 km to the south-east of Perth. The place was visited on 4 July 2008.

History

The surveyor, Alfred Hillman and his party camped at a spring at Kojonup in February 1837 after being shown it by a group of local Aborigines. At the time he was surveying a route between Albany and Perth (via York). The spring became a strategic point for travellers heading either to or from Albany, as there was little freshwater on the road. By September 1837 a military camp had been established at Kojonup Spring and a hut built. Once the route was surveyed, travellers would often stay at the hut overnight. The hut was deemed to be unsuitable for occupation by 1845 and Major Irwin ordered the construction of a new barracks building. He sent a plan for the new building to the commander of the district, Lieut. Warburton of the 51st Regiment (Bignell 1982, 43).

Following the arrival of convicts in 1850, a group of Pensioner Guardsmen were stationed at Kojonup and stayed in the Barracks while they constructed their own houses on the 5 acres of land allocated to them. Due to the presence of the Barracks and the village that sprang up after the arrival of the Pensioners, Kojonup developed into a small settlement. However by the late 1860s the steady arrival of new residents to the district saw the focus shift away from the military Barracks. This was due in part to the construction of a new police station and a couple hotels to the east of the barracks. This changed the nucleus of Kojonup to the present town area.

In 1869 the Barracks were renovated so that the building could be used a school. The dirt floors were replaced with timber boards and the roof was re-shingled. Over the years the building was used for social functions until the construction of an Agricultural Hall. Following the construction of a purpose built school in 1892, the Barracks building was used as the schoolmasters' residence (Bignell 1982, 110 – 111, 164). The Kojonup Historical Society currently operate the building as a district museum.¹

Building Description

A small, single storey building set in a semi-rural environment on the western outskirts of Kojonup. It was built in 1845. A freshwater spring, lies just to the east of the barracks.

Roof: The barracks has a hipped roof with a skillion roofed verandah to the front only. Two rooms at the rear sit beneath a skillion roofed extension. The whole of the building is clad with sheets of corrugated galvanised iron. The verandah roof

¹ Permission to visit the Barracks was obtained from the Kojonup Historical Society 4 July 2008.

springs from the top of the wall plate. The original shingles can be seen beneath the corrugated galvanised iron sheets.

Walls: The walls are constructed from roughly dressed stone (granite) laid in rough courses. A stone foundation was visible above ground level but the depth is not known at this stage. The type of mortar used is not known as the joints have been re-pointed with cement. The front wall (east) has been covered with several layers of limewash. The north wall has two large stone chimney boxes topped with large stone stacks.

Openings: On the front elevation, the door and window openings have been formed using timber lintels. Then stonework has then been placed above the timbers. On the rear (west) wall, the top of the door and the window in this elevation are in line with the top plate of the wall and this forms the timber lintels for both the door and the window. All the window sills are timber.

Interior: The building was constructed in two stages. Rooms 1 and 2 comprised the original extent of the building and then Rooms 3 and 4 were added beneath a skillion roof. A ladder on the southern side of Room 1 provides access to an attic room that runs the length of Rooms 1 and 2. Entry into the barracks leads directly into Room 1 that contains a fireplace with a timber mantelpiece. Room 2 is then accessed through a doorway on the southern side of Room 1. In the south-west corner of Room 1 (directly opposite the front door) is a doorway leading to the rear of the building and Rooms 3 and 4. Room 4 is accessed via a doorway in the southern wall of Room 3. Room 3 also has a fireplace with a timber mantelpiece. The rear door of the building lies directly opposite the door leading into Room 3 from Room 1. There are no fireplaces in Rooms 2 and 4 and Room 4 does not have a window.

The floors are timber boards. The ceiling in Room 1 is ripple iron, in Room 2 masonite with batten cover strips and Rooms 3 and 4 have no ceiling. In these rooms the shingles on top of the rafters can be clearly seen.

The door and window frames have been made with mortise and tenon joints secured with timber pegs. The front door is ledged and sheathed with timber boards, the rear door is ledged (and braced with narrow batten strips) and sheathed with tongued and grooved boards. The windows are centrally hinged.

Comments:

The constructional evolution of the building can be clearly seen in the stonework and also the roofing timbers. On the eastern wall of Room 3 the timber bearers (for the attic space) project from the wall. Prior to the construction of the skillion addition these bearers would have supported the roof rafters for Rooms 1 and 2. The walls of Rooms 3 and 4 clearly butt up against the western wall of Rooms 1 and 2.

An examination of the roofing timbers and wall plates displayed evidence that these timbers had been cut using a pitsaw.

Plan

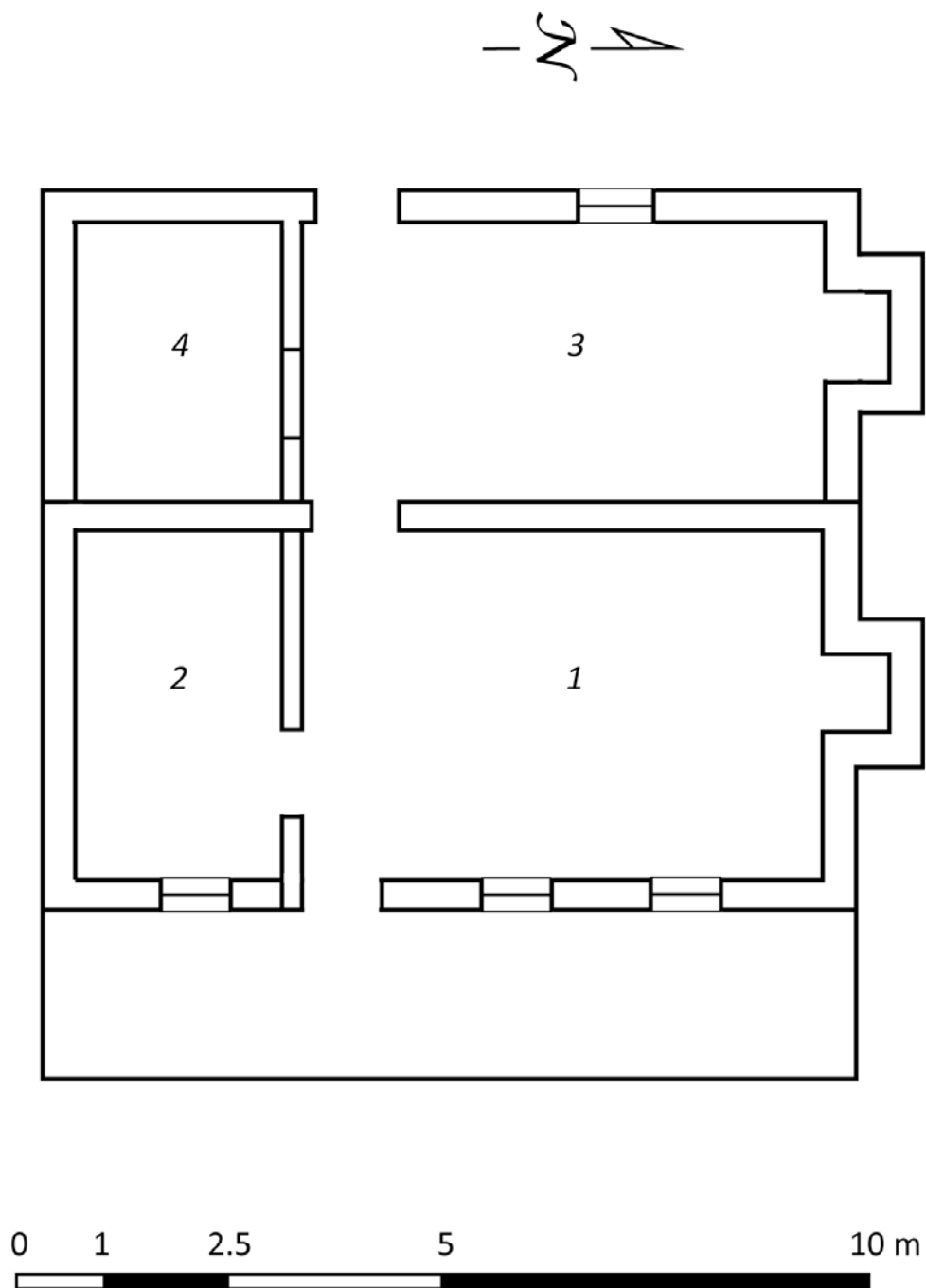


Figure 1 Plan of Kojanup Barracks (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 4 July 2008 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 View of south-east corner showing first section and later skillion addition at rear



Figure 3 View of rear south-west corner



Figure 4 Rear of Barracks building



Figure 5 Northern side of building. Note differences between the two chimneys.



Figure 6 Front verandah. Note timber sills and lintels to windows



Figure 7 Interior view of Room 1 looking south-east towards front door and door into Room 2. The ladder leads up to the attic.



Figure 8 Detail of front door and doorframe of Room 2 on the right



Figure 9 Detail of timber lintel above doorway and door frame. Note adze marks to lintel and the timber peg in the door frame denoting mortise and tenon joint.



Figure 10 South-east corner of Room 3 showing edge of floor joists in attic



Figure 11 Doorway on the western side of Room 3 leading to the exterior. The door is not original

ST NICHOLAS CHURCH

Located on Lot 324 Paris Road, Australind in the Shire of Harvey. Australind is a coastal town, 156 km to the south of Perth. The place was visited on 24 June 2010.

History

The Australind settlement, to the south of Perth was a privately organised immigration scheme run by The Western Australian Company that was established in 1838. The Company's aim was to establish a colony based on the systematic colonisation process that was espoused by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. In this system land would be sold at a reasonable price and then the proceeds would pay to bring out labourers to work the land (Clifton, 2010). Due to circumstances beyond the Commissioners' control, the operation collapsed due to a change in land location in Western Australia. Many would-be settlers who had purchased land were able to obtain a refund and despite the allocation of a new grant land from the colonial government, new sales did not progress well. The first of the immigrant ships sailed in December 1840 with Marshall Waller Clifton, the Company's Chief Commissioner, aboard with his family. By March 1843 the Company's coffers were nearly empty and Clifton was ordered to take a reduction in salary and dismiss the Company's other employees. By that time a number of town lots at Australind had been built on, together with other settlers moving onto their rural lots (Clifton, 2010).

The exact construction date for the building is not known but it certainly had not been built by 1843, as the building does not appear in Clifton's annual report to the Company in January 1843 (Clifton 1826 – 1933). St Nicholas Church was originally constructed as a settler's cottage and the construction date has been estimated at around 1844. The building may have been built by Clifton's son William who purchased the land in January 1844 or perhaps William Narrowway who arrived with his wife in May 1844 (Heritage Council, 2009b). Narrowway worked as a labourer for local landowners following his arrival and purchased the property in 1850. Regardless of who actually built the cottage, it is remarkably similar in design and materials to that seen in a sketch drawn by Louisa Clifton in 1841 (see Figure 15) of Mr Greensill's Bush Cottage (Chapman, 1979).

Following the failure of the Company many of the settlers left Australind to settle elsewhere in Western Australia, leaving behind a much-depleted settlement. After Narrowway's purchase of the cottage in 1850, it was converted for use as a church by Australind's Congregational community (Heritage Council, 2009b). Apparently, local landowner John Allnutt arranged for the removal of a dividing wall and then provided pews and a pulpit. The church was officially opened in September 1850. The Congregational Church continued to hold services in the building until it was transferred to the Anglican Church in 1914. St Nicholas Church continued to be used for Anglican services by the Australind community until a new church was built in 1993. St Nicholas Church continues to be used by the local Anglican community for special events. The building was damaged by a car in 2007 and repairs were made to the south-east corner of the building and a new casement window was

installed (Heritage Council, 2009b).

Building Description

A small rectangular, single storey building located in a commercial precinct in Australind that was constructed in c.1844.

Roof: The hipped roof is clad with corrugated galvanised iron sheets.

Walls: The timber framed building is clad with plain timber weatherboards. The nails used to fix the boards to the frame are a mix of hand-made and modern nails. The corner posts appear to be set well into the ground.

Openings: The doorway and window openings are timber framed.

Interior: The building consists of a single room with a raised dais at the western end. The interior walls are lined with wide flat boards; narrow battens cover the gaps between the boards. Carpet currently covers timber floorboards. There is no ceiling and it is possible to see the timber sarking boards beneath the roof sheeting.

Some of the bracing timbers in the rafters indicate that they were pit-sawn, and others were sawn with a modern circular saw.

The door and window frames are made using butt joints. The doors are ledged, braced and sheeted with tongued and grooved timber boards. The windows are casement.

Comments:

This was originally a residential building but it has not retained any evidence that it was once divided into more than the single room that currently exists today. The weatherboards appear to be a mix of old and new, particularly in the south-east corner where the building was damaged. Both doors are covered with new timber boarding. The building is typical of an early settler's first house and is a Stage 1 building.

Plan

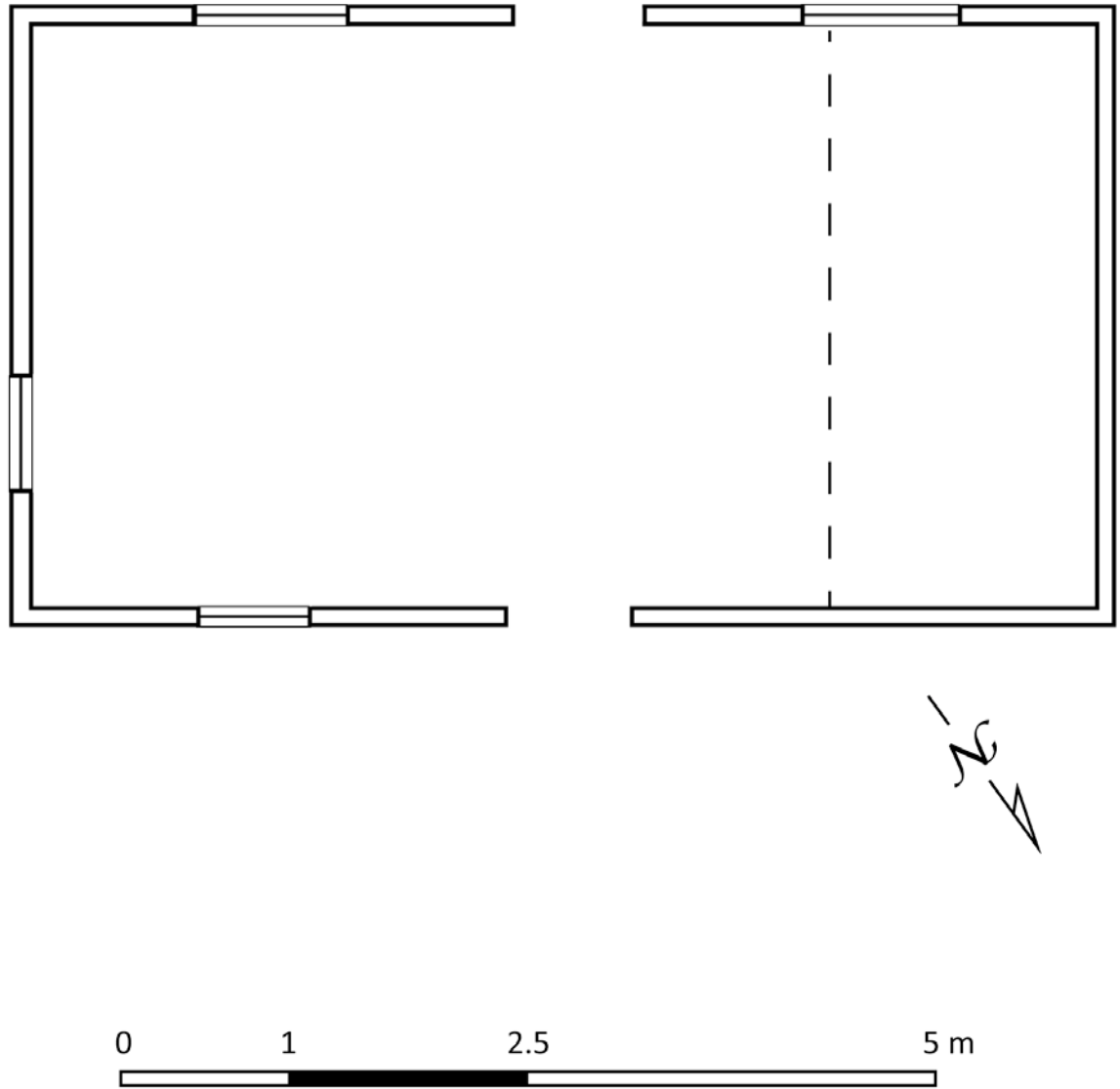


Figure 1 Plan of St Nicholas Church (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 24 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 South side of Church which faces Paris Road



Figure 3 North side of church which faces new church offices. Henton Cottage, which was built around the same time can be seen in the background



Figure 4 Interior looking east towards rear of church



Figure 5 Interior looking west towards dias



Figure 6 Detail of timber frame and weatherboard cladding

TRANBY HOUSE

Tranby is located at 2 Johnson Road, Maylands, a suburb of Perth. The place was visited on 10 June 2011.

History

Joseph Hardey arrived in Western Australia in February 1830 aboard the brig *Tranby*. Aboard the ship with Hardey, his wife Ann, his older brother John (and his wife) and a number of other settlers who all shared the Hardey family's Methodist faith. These settlers later joined together and settled near each other at Maylands. Joseph became the surrogate minister for the group. The advantage of this association was that these families could provide assistance to each other (such as the loan of servants with building skills). The Hardey family brought a number of servants and labourers with them as did some of the other families on the ship (Heritage and Conservation Professionals, 2005). Amongst the servants indentured to the Hardey brothers were E. Etherington (bricklayer), Jonathan Green (bricklayer), and Ronald Simpson (joiner).²

The Hardey brothers joined their goods together to improve their land allocation that entitled them to 16,546 acres. The Tranby group were assigned 512 acres on what became known as the Peninsula Farm on the Maylands peninsula. Joseph received 102 acres and moved on to his grant in May 1830. By July he had completed a wattle and daub house that was inundated by the flooding Swan River in August. He began work on a new house on a slightly higher elevation and was able to move in to this new house in October. The Hardeys received the bulk of their land allocation on another grant at York and Joseph and his family briefly moved out to this new grant in 1837. However, Joseph decided to move back to Maylands and in May 1839 began work on a new brick house, the current Tranby House. Jonathan Green assisted in the making and laying of the bricks and Messrs Lazenby and T. Lockyer put up the roof (Hardey, 1830 – 1839). By the 1850s Hardey had built up a thriving farming property and it is estimated that the dry store and cellar may have been constructed sometime during this decade (Heritage and Conservation Professionals, 2005).

By the time of his death in 1875 Hardey owned nearly the whole of the Maylands Peninsula. Joseph and Ann's only son, Richard Watson Hardey, inherited the farm. Richard expanded the holding still further to include the whole of the peninsula. The house and land moved out of the ownership of the Hardey family when it was sold in 1913 (Heritage and Conservation Professionals, 2005).

Building Description

The house is a long, single storey structure with attic rooms. On the western side of the house is a detached one and a half storey structure that contains a cellar with dry store above. Construction on the building began in 1839 and then there were

² Information obtained from Peggy Clarke during the site visit to Tranby on 10 June 2011.

several later additions. The long sides of the cottage are oriented approximately east-west. The building is located adjacent to the Swan River in a residential area.

Roof: The main area of the house has a gable roof and a skillion roof covers a row of rooms along the northern side of the house. There is a verandah on the southern side. A skillion roof also covers a set of rooms that were added to the eastern end of the house during the 1920s and 1970s. The roofs are clad with corrugated galvanised iron. There are four, painted brick chimneys, three towards the western end of the building and one near the eastern end.

Walls: Soft fired bricks laid in English bond and covered with a thick layer of render. A brick foundation, 1 course wider than the walls was detected beneath the floorboards but the depth is not known. The bricks are held together with a mud mortar.

Openings: Due to the thick render covering the bricks it was not possible to determine whether brick arches were used above door and window openings. Timber lintels stretch across the openings below the line of the bricks. All of the window sills are timber.

Interior: The house is essentially one room deep with an access passage to these rooms running across the full width of the building on the northern side. Three rooms were constructed in 1839: 10, 8 and 7. Previous historical research has estimated that the corridor on the northern side may have been created during the 1880s with the enclosure of the verandah. If this was the case then the prior to the enclosure the verandahs operated as corridors. Room 12, was probably constructed sometime during the 1840s.

Currently rooms 7, 8, 10 and 12 have doorways on their northern sides and rooms 8 and 10 have French doors providing access to the southern verandah. Rooms 7 and 12 are fitted with casement windows on their southern side. All of the rooms are fitted with fireplaces that have timber mantelpieces.

The east-west passage has a centrally placed door with casement windows on either side.

Access to the four attic rooms is via steep timber staircases leading from rooms 7 and 12. These rooms are also linked with each other.

The store-room and cellar is linked to the main house via a breezeway. The large cellar and cool room is accessed via brick stairs on the eastern side of the building. Access to the dry store section is via a staircase on the northern side.

The passage floor is brick pavers and the rest of the building (with the exception of the concrete floor in the cellar) has jarrah floor boards (6 – 8" wide).

The ceilings are lathe and plaster throughout.

The door and window frames and made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a wooden peg to each corner. Architraves on the doors are present on the southern side and not on the passage side. The windows are also fitted with architraves.

The door to room 12 is ledged and sheeted the doors to rooms 7, 8 and 10 are all 6

panel doors. The staircases have enclosed treads with no handrail.

The rooms added to the eastern side of the house (1 – 5 and 21) were constructed sometime after 1880 and have therefore not been discussed.

Comments:

Due to the render it was difficult to view large areas of the bricks so it is impossible to tell how well they are made. The layout of the house is indicative of early settler housing: a small number of rooms that are sufficient at the time of construction with additions made as required or when time and money permitted. The lack of provision of a hallway or entry area meant that the verandahs served as quasi passageways between the rooms. Represents a Stage 1 house.

Plan

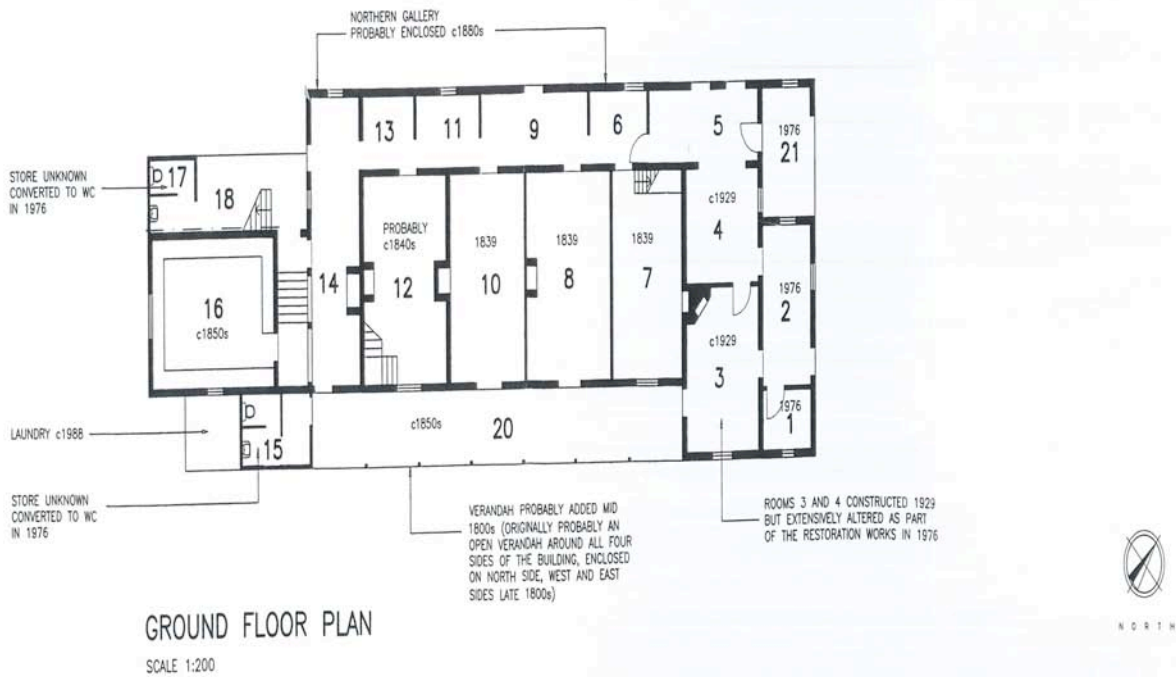
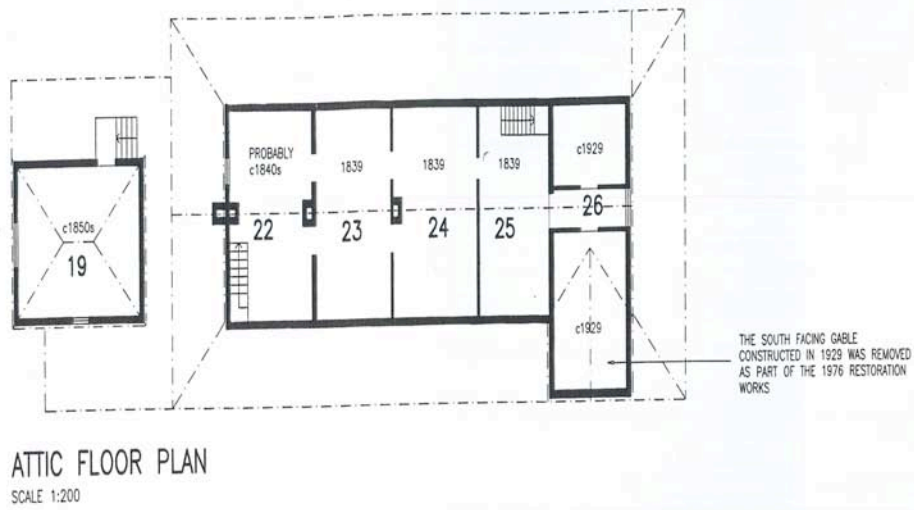


Figure 1 Plan of Tranby from Heritage and Conservation Professional 2005 (reproduced with permission of National Trust of Australia (WA))

Photographs – Taken 20 June 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 South side of Tranby. The detached store room is on the left and on the right are the extensions built in 1920s



Figure 3 Northern side looking east. Detached store on right.



Figure 4 Verandah on the southern side of the house looking east



Figure 5 Interior view of large kitchen (Room 12) with staircase on the left which leads up to the attic



Figure 6 Interior view of Room 8 looking south



Figure 7 Interior view of attic area. Room 23 looking east towards Rooms 24, 25 and 26



Figure 8 Detail of door frame which was joined with a mortise and tenon joint and a wooden dowel



Figure 9 Interior view of east-west passage with timber shutters to one of the windows in the passage

BERKSHIRE VALLEY

Located on the Old Geraldton Road, approximately 8 km south-east of the small country town of Moora. Moora lies 172 km north of Perth. The place was visited on 11 August 2010.

History

James Clinch landed at Fremantle on the 1st January 1840. A farm labourer from Berkshire, he was indentured to Frederick Slade as a shepherd. Slade purchased land near Toodyay and settled there with his family. According to Erickson & Taylor (2006, 43), Clinch built a cottage for them shortly after the land was purchased in 1840. Like so many of the other shepherds in the Toodyay district, Clinch travelled towards the Victoria district looking for pasture for his flock. It was in this area, according to family legend, that Clinch decided to after his dray became bogged in heavy soil in 1842. However it was not until 1847, when he took out a pastoral lease on the land that would become 'Berkshire Valley', that he was able to achieve his aim. By that stage he had his own flock of sheep. Apparently the Mill and the Original Homestead were built around this time (HCWA 2008, 6).

Clinch married Catherine O'Connell in December 1853 and the couple had six children, although only three lived to adulthood. Toodyay's Resident Magistrate J.S. Harris visited the district in 1855 and recorded that Clinch had around 4,000 sheep, a herd of cattle, some fine horses and about 50 acres of wheat. Clinch had also erected 'a substantial house, a neat dairy and buildings for his men, stables and stockyards' (HCWA 2008, 7).

The construction of the Manager's house is apparently estimated to have taken place around 1856, although evidence for this construction date is not adequately provided in HCWA 2008. The dates for the construction of the other buildings were obtained due to the construction date being shown on a number of the buildings or as estimated by the current owner of the property Robin Hamilton (HCWA 2008, 8). Apparently the reason why the Shearing Shed was provided with a washing area for the sheep was that prior to 1869, Clinch experienced a number of dry years when the creek dried up making it difficult to wash the sheep (HCWA 2008, 8).

Clinch became a foundation member of the Victoria Plains Road Board in 1871. Due to the location of 'Berkshire Valley', many prominent travellers stayed at the farm including several governors, prominent explorers as well as bushrangers (HCWA 2008).

Clinch offered the property for sale in 1897 but either no interest was shown or Clinch changed his mind as he died at Berkshire Valley in April 1899. The property passed to his eldest son Alfred and he sold it to the Benedictine Community in 1905 (HCWA 2008).

Ticket-of-Leave Men Employed

Henry Bolton (6526) – brickmaker. Employed 1872

John Coggill (6047) – carpenter. Employed 1872

Patrick Byrne (9677) – carpenter. Employed 1875

John McAllen (9503) – carpenter. Employed 11.6.1879 – 31.12.1879; 5.9.1883 – 30.6.1884

Building Descriptions

Berkshire Valley farm is set in a rural environment and has a small creek running north-south through the property. The current access gate is located to the south of the original entry, previously visitors passed on the northern side of the Shearing Shed (1869). The drive then passes over the creek (via a brick bridge, 1869) and arrives at the main cluster of farm buildings. This includes the Gatehouse (1867) on the southern side of the drive, which in turn provides access to the Original Homestead (c.1847), the Manager's House (1856) and the Slaughterhouse (which was not inspected). Directly opposite the Gatehouse is the Mill (c.1847) and to the east of the Mill is the former Worker's Quarters (not inspected) and the Stables (1867). The Worker's Quarters is now used as a crutching shed and on the day of the visit it was in use. A pigsty (to the north of the Mill) and a hay barn to the east of the slaughterhouse were also not inspected. A brick wall (1860s) running to the west of the Gatehouse and then turning south to run parallel with the creek creates a partial barrier along the western side of the homestead complex.

Original Homestead (c.1847)

The building is a single storey rectangular building with the long walls oriented east-west. It was not possible to inspect the interior.

Roof: Gable roof form covered with corrugated galvanised iron. There is a verandah on the northern side (front). The rafters fall from the top plate. There are two painted brick chimneystacks at either end of the building. The original timber shingles can still be seen on the underside of the verandah roof.

Walls: Constructed from soft-fired bricks set into a mud mortar. The walls have been rendered. A foundation could be seen, but as it was rendered the material used is not known.

Openings: The rendering also made it impossible to determine how the openings above the doors and windows were formed.

Interior: The interior was not inspected. However the plan made of the building when it was inspected in 2007 shows that the main door leads into a hall that then access a small sitting room on the west side and a bedroom on the east side. The sitting room then provides access to a parlour on its western side. The southern end of the hall provides leads to what was once a rear verandah but which has been enclosed to create a long narrow area containing a kitchen, bathroom and three other rooms of indeterminate use. Glimpses through the window indicate that the interior was extensively modernised sometime in the 1950s.

The verandah floor is concrete.

The door and window frames are heavily concealed beneath later modernisations. The windows are now sliding casements and the main door has glazing to its upper section and appears to date to the c.1910s.

Comments:

The building was apparently built by Clinch himself shortly after he settled on this location. The removal of a section of render would provide information on the construction techniques used in the building, particularly around the door and window openings. The original door and window frames might also still be extant beneath the later joinery. The layout indicates that this is a Stage 1 building.

Plans

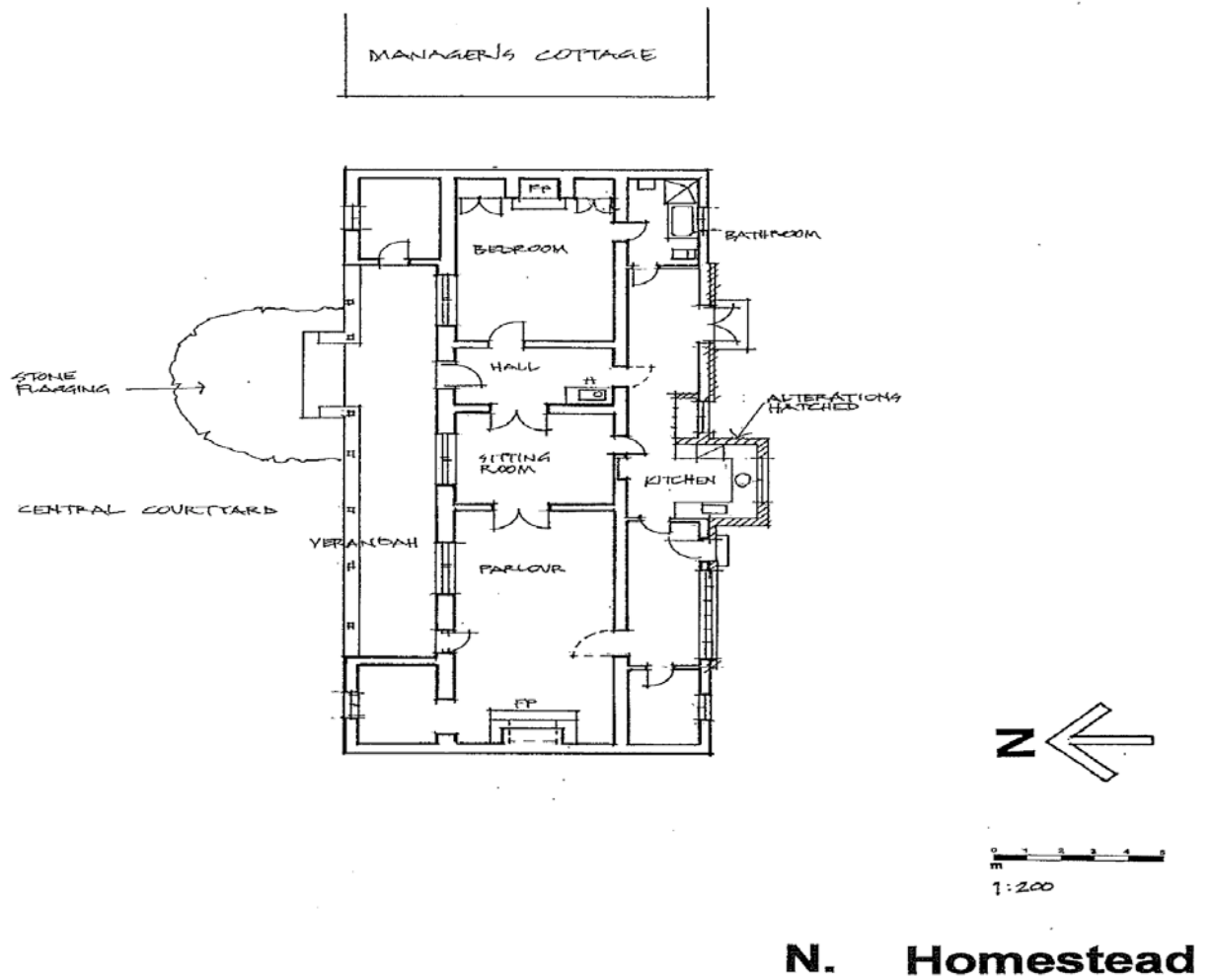


Figure 1 Original Homestead from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 Front view of Homestead looking west



Figure 3 Rear view of Homestead

Mill (c.1847)

This is a two storey rectangular building at the front, with a single storey lean-to at the rear. The long sides are oriented approximately east-west.

Roof: The building has a hipped roof form covering the main section (front) of the building with a skillion roof form at the rear. Both forms are covered with corrugated galvanised iron. Centrally located in the roofline on the southern side is a gable roofed extension that provides protection for a loading door in the upper floor. Shingles are still visible beneath the corrugated galvanised iron in the interior.

Walls: The rear wall has been constructed from roughly coursed stone of varying sizes. The front and side walls are rendered making it difficult to determine the material used in the building's construction. Historical sources state that it was constructed using adobe blocks and stone rubble (Moora Historical Society n.d). A small section of render missing near the front door displays a clay and straw matrix; which could be part of an adobe block. The gable extension in the upper floor is made using soft fired bricks laid in a hard lime mortar.

Due to heavy re-pointing in the rear stone wall it was not possible to determine what type of mortar was used.

The building has a very narrow foundation of unknown material.

Openings: The openings are all squared and covered with render. The rear door reaches up to top plate height.

Interior: The two storey front section of the building is one room deep. The rear skillion section is also one room deep. The ground floor contains two rooms that are not inter-connected but accessed through individual doors on the southern side (front). In the room on the western side a timber staircase leads up to the second floor. The second floor area is a single space that stretched the length of the building. It still retains the bins where the grain was stored at the eastern end.

In the rear, single storey section there are also two rooms that are not inter-connected and accessed through individual doors.

The floors are timber. The ground floor ceiling is the underside of the timber bearers and joists for the upper floor. The upper floor has no ceiling.

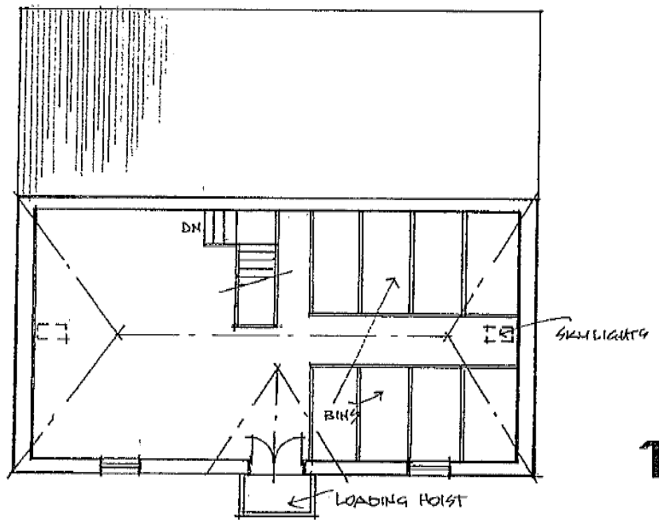
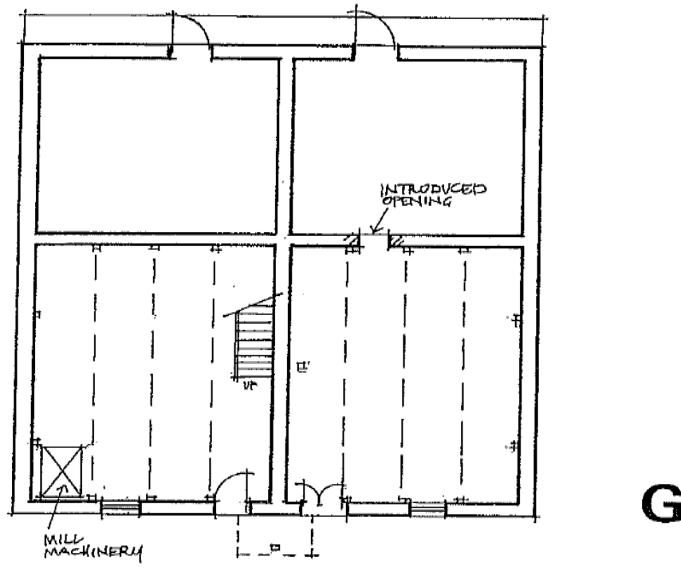
In the upper floor bush poles have been used as ties across the building.

The door and window frames appear to be joined together with butt joints but the central pivoting sash windows and the architraves made it difficult to make a definitive analysis on the joins.

Comments:

Some of the roofing beams and other timber supports in the building bear marks that indicate the timbers were dressed with an adze.

Plan



1:200

H. Mill House

Figure 4 Mill Building from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 5 Front view of Mill Building



Figure 6 Rear view of Mill Building looking towards the north-east corner of the building. Note wall ties.



Figure 7 Detail of rear (north) wall showing stonework.



Figure 8 Interior view of upper floor looking east towards bins. Note bush pole ties.



Figure 9 Detail of adzed timber bearer on ground floor.

Manager's House (1856)

The building lies slightly to the east of the Homestead and is a single storey rectangular building with the long walls oriented east-west. The building is one room deep with a lean-to extension along the southern side. At the eastern end of the building is a brick pier, surmounted by a gabled top that holds a farm bell. A modern extension has also been added to the southern side of the building at the eastern end.

Roof: The building has a hipped roof clad with corrugated galvanised iron sheets. It has a verandah running down the length of the building on the northern side. The verandah rafters fall from the top plate. The original timber shingles can still be seen on the underside of the roof. There is a single painted brick chimneystack located approximately in the centre of the building. The eastern stack has had a gabled feature added to the top to house a farm bell.

Walls: Soft-fired bricks laid using Flemish bond and set into a hard lime mortar. Just above dado height, the brickwork has been hidden behind a panel made from vertically arranged tongued and grooved timber boards. This is to hide the badly fretting brickwork. The brickwork on the eastern, southern and western sides has been painted.

Openings: Bonded brick arches have been used for the window openings. The opening above the front door (northern side) has been rendered. The shape suggests that it too is a bonded brick arch.

Interior: The interior has four rooms arranged in a linear pattern under the main roof line. The eastern most room is the largest and has been divided into a dining and lounge area. At the eastern end of the room, a rope descends through the centre of the ceiling (it is attached to the farm bell). On the western side of the room is a large fireplace and a separate bread oven; indicating that this area of the room originally functioned as the kitchen. It is presently used as a lounge room. A door in the north-west corner leads into another small living room and beyond that is a bedroom.

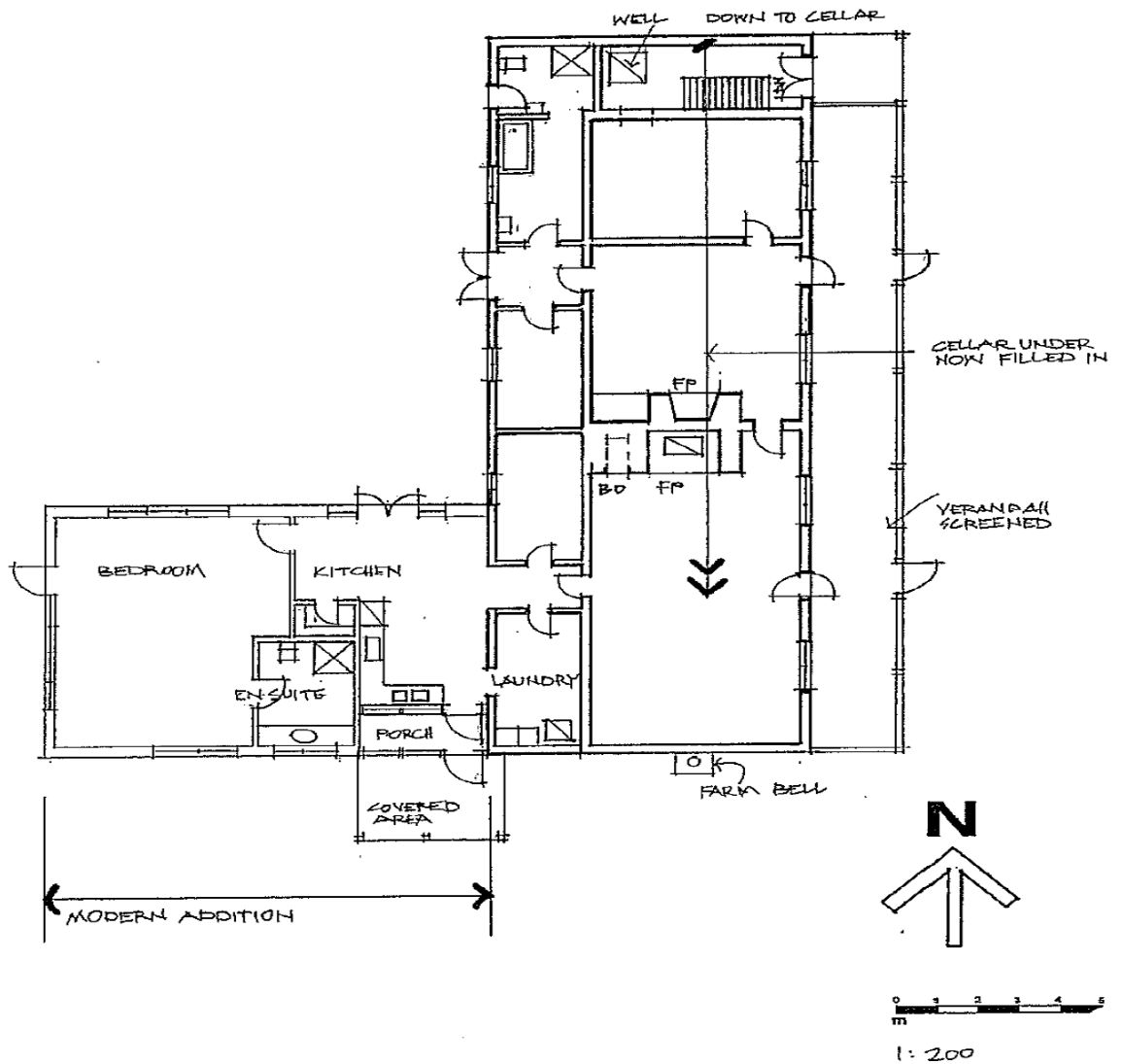
The floors are slate with the exception of the dining area which is paved with octagonal wooden blocks. The ceiling in the main room is lathe and plaster with the roof beams and rafters expressed. The other rooms have plaster board ceilings.

The door and window frames have been made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. The windows are casements and on the exterior side have a curved timber infill for the space between the timber frame and the brick arch. Doors are a mix of ledged and sheeted and panelled with glazing to the upper section. The rooms on the southern side represent a later construction period and the southern extension is modern.

Comments:

The brickwork visible on the northern side displays competently made and laid bricks. The bricklayer has used to his advantage the darker coloured headers and lighter coloured stretchers to achieve a pleasing diaper work effect.

Plan



N. Manager's Cottage

Figure 10 Manager's House. Note: N point incorrectly drawn, the south wall is actually the east wall. The original section of the building is the wing on the right from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage).

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 11 North east corner of Manager's House with bell 'tower'



Figure 12 View of Manager's House on left and Original Homestead further to right. North side



Figure 13 Front (north) of Manager's House, western end



Figure 14 Southern side of Manager's House with new addition on right



Figure 15 North side, front verandah area looking east.



Figure 16 Detail of French doors at the western end of the building. Note timber dado covering bricks and the door frame with mortise and tenon join secured with a dowel.



Figure 17 Detail of window frame and brickwork



Figure 18 Lounge room looking west. Note large fireplace and bread oven on the left.



Figure 19 Dining area looking east. Note exposed ceiling beams and the hole through which the bell rope falls.

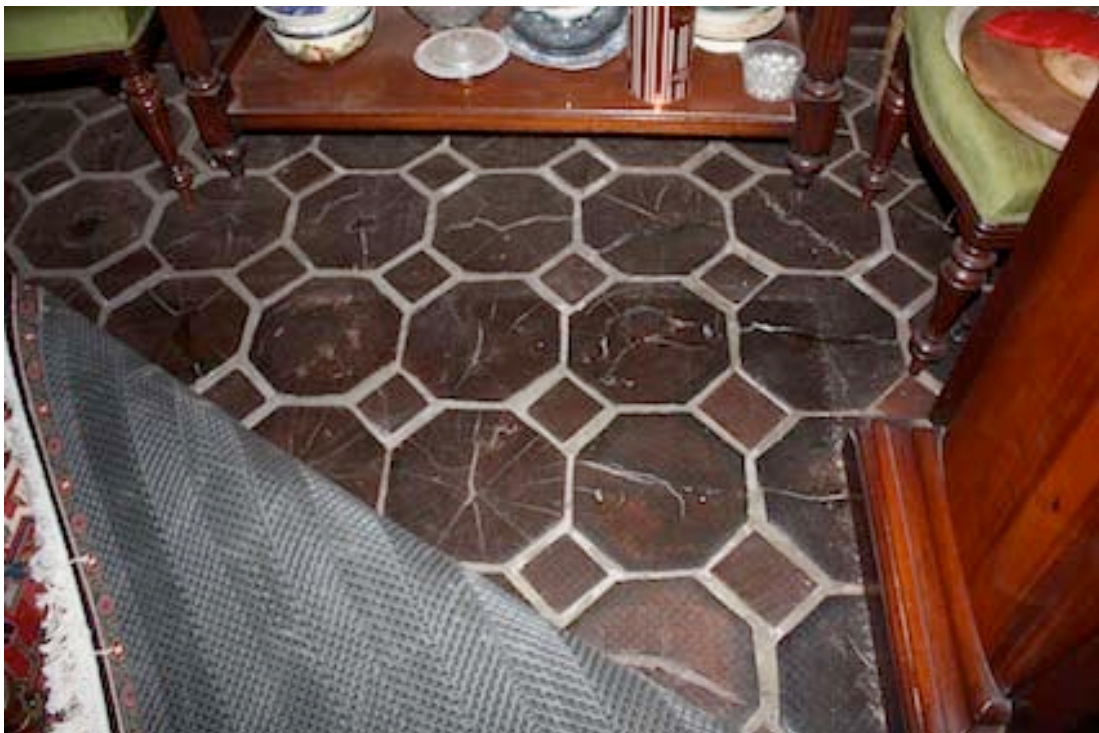


Figure 20 Timber floor in the dining area.

Gate House Entry Block (1867)

The Gate House was the original access point for visitors arriving at the Homestead. It comprises the actual entry way and also a suite of rooms organised in a linear pattern to the east of the double entry. There is also a room on the western side. The long sides of the building are oriented approximately east-west. A verandah runs along the southern side of the building. In the central fore-court area where travellers would have alighted, gardens have now been planted. It is located to the north of the Original Homestead and the Manager's House. A wall running north-south between the western end of the Old Homestead and the western end of the Gate House encloses the complex. The Slaughterhouse encloses the eastern side. A keystone on the northern side of the archway bears the date 1867.

Roof: Hipped roof clad with corrugated galvanised iron. The rafters of the verandah fall from the top plate. There are two brick chimneystacks. The verandah is finished with a scalloped timber valance.

Walls: Brick construction, the foundation material if present is not known. The soft fired bricks are laid in Flemish bond with a strong lime mortar. On the interior sides of the entry section the walls display English bond. The lower half of the wall (on both the northern and southern sides) has been rendered to a height of approximately 1.3 metres (to hide evidence of rising damp).

Openings: The two wide openings have bonded arches and the doorways on the southern side have flat arches. A doorway on the western side of the entrance has a relieving arch set above a timber lintel. The windows on the northern side all have flat arches.

Interior: The Entry Block is one room deep. There is a room on the western side of the entrance (dairy). This room's western wall is set at a slightly oblique angle to the north and south walls. There are three rooms on the eastern side of the entrance: two guest rooms and a large kitchen (eastern end). One of the doors into the kitchen has been bricked up and a false door painted onto the brickwork. Both the guest rooms and the kitchen have retained their fireplaces. The bread oven also survives in the kitchen.

The entry area is paved with local stones and the room on the western side is also stone paving. The verandah area is concrete paving, although the western section is stone paving. The guest rooms and kitchen are concrete.

The ceilings in the guest rooms and kitchen have exposed rafters with fibrous sheeting above. The dairy and the entrance have no ceilings.

The door and window frames have been made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. The doors to the guest rooms are four panel, as is the painted image on the blocked up kitchen door. The remaining kitchen door is ledged and sheeted.

The windows are double hung sashes.

Wrought iron gates are located on the northern side of the entry way.

Comments:

The brickwork above the cement dado on the southern side of the building is of a similar style and quality as that found on the Manager's House. The interior brickwork in the entrance area does not show the same care in laying and the courses are quite rough.

The bricks on the northern side have suffered extensively from rising damp and are in poor condition therefore the impressive effect that the Gate House block probably once had has since been lost due to the deterioration of the brickwork.

A new extension has been added onto the eastern end of the building. It was not inspected.

Plan

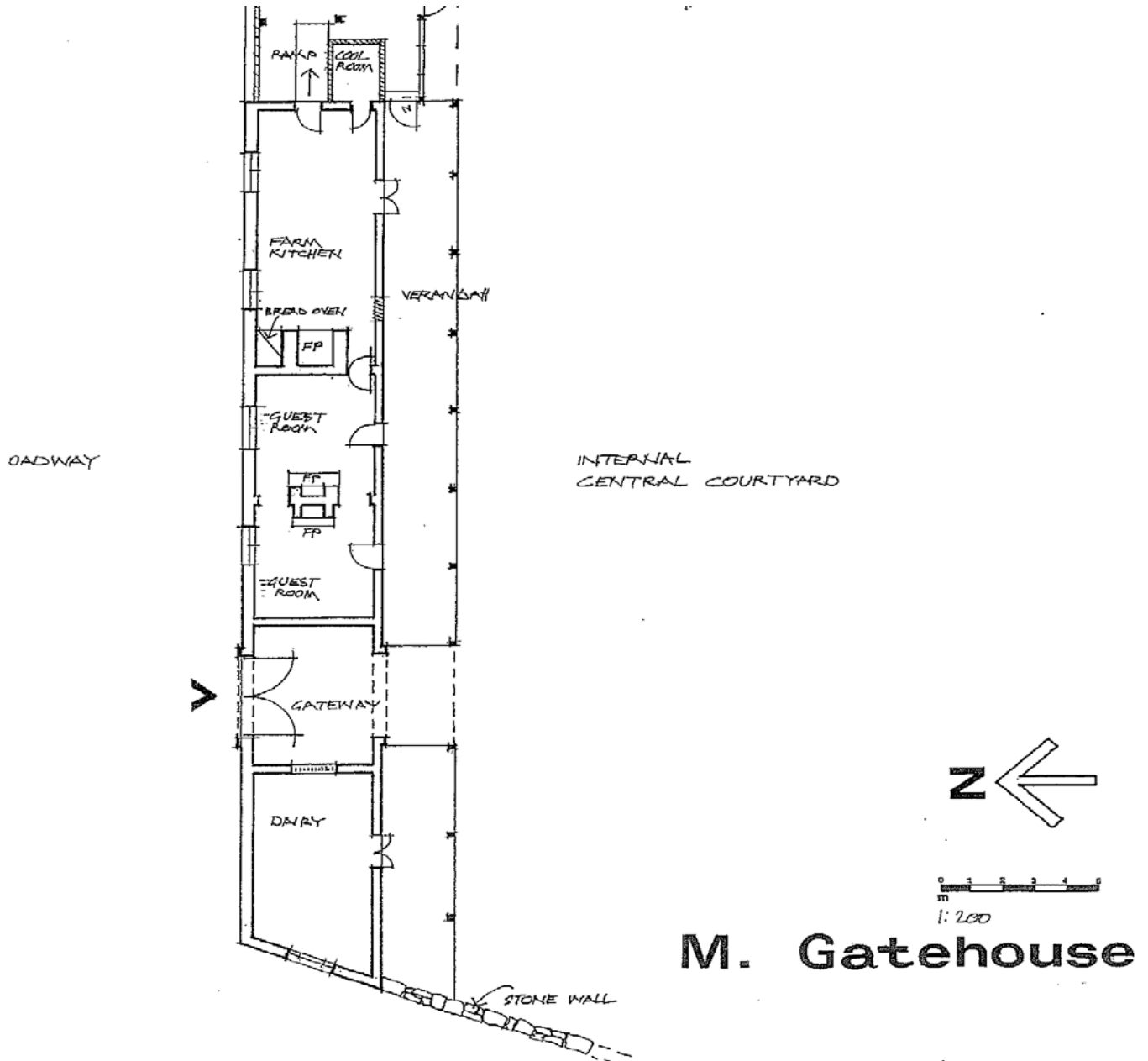


Figure 21 Gate House Entry from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 22 Front (north) view of Gate House with central entry arch, the dairy on the right and the kitchen and guest rooms on the left.



Figure 23 Gate House viewed from the west. Note the brick enclosure wall on the right.



Figure 24 Gate House from the southern side which faces the central courtyard dividing the Gate House from the two houses.



Figure 25 Detail of valance on the verandah.



Figure 26 South wall of Gate House looking west along the length of the Gate House, note rendered walls.



Figure 27 Entry area looking west towards door that leads to dairy. Note the brickwork that has been laid using English bond



Figure 28 Detail of brick arch above one of the doorways to the guest rooms. Note Flemish bond brickwork.

Stables (1867)

This long rectangular building is two storied on the southern side, with a single storied lean-to on the northern side. It lies to the east of the Workers Quarters (now used as a crutching shed). Currently there is no access to the loft area. The long rectangular sides are oriented approximately east-west.

Roof: Gable roof covered with corrugated galvanised iron. The lean-to section has a skillion roof also covered with corrugated galvanise iron.

Walls: The walls are constructed using a mix of materials. The foundation is random rubble stone walling, although the stone faces are dressed. The depth of the foundation is not known. The ground floor on the southern and eastern sides is constructed from cob. The first floor section on the southern and eastern sides is adobe bricks. Some areas of these walls have been repaired with cement. The cob and adobe wall sections were formerly covered with cement render, but this has fallen off large areas of the walls exposing the wall material. The northern and western walls are un-coursed faced stone.

Openings: The window and door openings in the cob section are squared and use timber lintels.

Interior: The interior has been divided into distinct zones. The southern section has been divided into three spaces that contain horse stalls. The interior walls are cob that have been rendered. The cob material sits on a stone foundation. The exception to the cob walling is the room at the western end of the building, which has stone walls on its western and northern sides. The eastern wall of this section is cob.

The divisions between the stalls are made from timber components. The uprights are stop-chamfered. The floors are stone flags and the ceiling is the underside of the loft area.

Access to the northern side of the building is via doorways in the centre and eastern rooms. The northern section is divided into four distinct areas: a blacksmith's room with forge and fireplace at the western end, then continuing east is a harness and saddle room (with a passage to the southern section), then five horse stalls and at the eastern end another harness and saddle room. A further passage to the southern area is located at the eastern end of the horse stalls. The divisions between the horse stalls are cob walling. There is no wall on the northern side of the horse stalls.

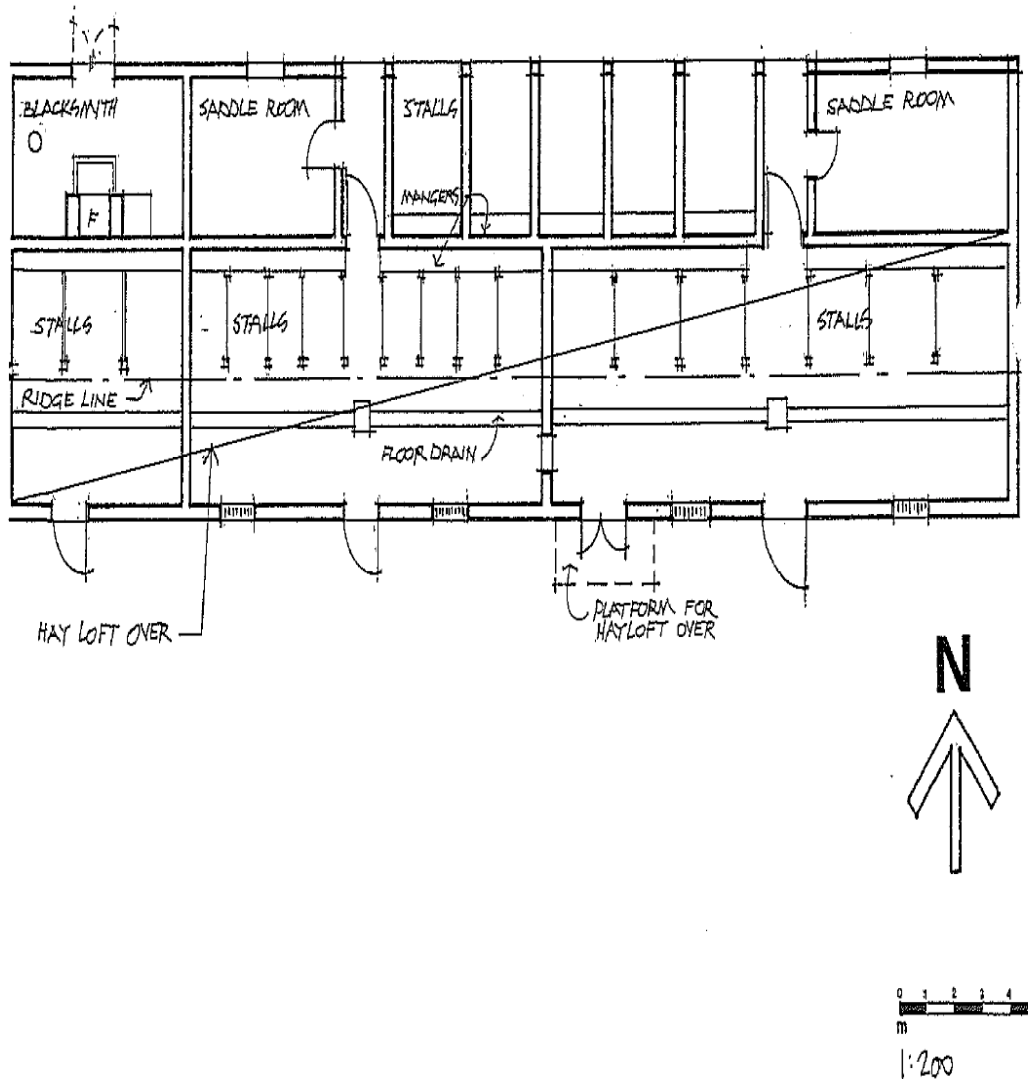
The door and window frames are made using butt joints. The windows are fixed vertical louvers on the southern side and just openings on the northern side. The doors are a mix of ledged and sheeted and open palings (on the southern side only). The two passage doors are of the stable type and are ledged and sheeted.

Comments:

The building has suffered considerable earthquake damage, in particular the southern side. From the interior it is possible to see that the northern lean-to section is a later addition as the walls butt up against the northern cob walls. The

former care that was taken to construct this building can be seen in the carefully detailed timber work to the stalls, the fittings that once took the saddles and the positioning of hooks on all of the stalls to take bridles. The timber mangers are also still insitu.

Plan



K. Stables

Figure 29 Stables from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 30 Western side of stables showing stone construction.



Figure 31 Northern (rear) side of Stables. The open area leads to the horse stalls. The door on the right to the blacksmith's room.



Figure 32 South side (front) of Stables. Note cob walling to the ground floor and then the unfired bricks above.



Figure 33 Interior view showing one of the interior cob walls in the southern section.



Figure 34 Horse stalls on the southern side of the Stables, looking east.



Figure 35 Horse stalls on the northern side of the building. Note the cob dividing walls.



Figure 36 Doorway leading from the western saddle and harness room to the passage that leads between the northern and southern side of the building.

Shearing Shed (1869)

The Shearing Shed is located to the west of the other farm buildings close to the entrance to the property. It is a long rectangular building two storeys high with a single storey lean-to along part of the western side. The long walls are oriented approximately north-south.

Roof: Hipped roof clad with sheets of corrugated galvanised iron. The lean-to has a skillion roof, which is also clad with the same material.

Walls: Brick construction on a stone foundation. The depth of the foundation is not known. The soft fired bricks are laid using English with a strong lime mortar. The lower section of the walls has been rendered (approximately 60cm) and then above this the wall has been painted to about the height of one metre. Decorative touches, using brick, have been added to the building on the southern, eastern and northern sides. On the eastern and northern sides, in the fourth course below the top plate the bricks have been angled bricks to create a saw-toothed edge. These bricks are set between two rows of stretcher bricks that project slightly from the rest of the wall.

The brickwork in the interior walls has not been laid as carefully as that on the exterior.

The lean-to addition on the western side is constructed from brick and stone. The stonework is about 1.2 metres high with brickwork above. The brickwork has been laid using a system of brick piers with a section of open brick walling formed by laying the bricks in a stretcher pattern with a gap between each stretcher to provide ventilation.

Openings: The building has four large double doors that have been formed using a three centred brick arch. Five smaller door openings have also been formed using a three centred brick arch. The large door openings in the southern, eastern and northern elevations have been emphasised through the use of brick piers on either side of the openings. All three are slightly different. The archways all project by the width of a brick from the main face of the wall, creating engaged piers on either side of the openings. On the southern doorway these piers extend up to top plate height and in the centre of the arch is a rendered plaque bearing a ram's head. In the eastern doorway the piers end at the row of the sawtooth bricks and they have corbelled tops. In the northern doorway the projecting section of walling extends above the line of the brick arch and it too is has a corbelled top, although it falls once course short of the saw-toothed bricks. A rendered plaque in the centre of the arch bears the date 1869. This doorway is also taller than those on the southern and eastern sides.

The window openings in the upper section of the building have been formed using a timber lintel.

Interior: The building is one room deep and is divided into three distinct spaces by brick walls. The room at the southern end was set up to wash sheep as there is a large brick plinth which contains a firebox above which are two circular holes that probably once held coppers to heat water. The brick chimney stack no longer projects beyond the line of the roof. On the northern side of the coppers is a

rectangular pit with a ramp at the western end. Both this room and the central room have dirt floors. The ceiling is open. The central section was probably used for shearing with the sheep either entering or exiting at the four doorways in the eastern elevation. The northern room has a timber floor and also retains a floor to the second storey. The upper loft area was probably used to hold the wool clip. There is a squared opening in the upper floor.

The door frames are made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. There are no frames in the window openings. Original doors were ledged and sheeted. The smaller doors in the eastern elevation are made up of pairs with long vertical ventilation holes to the upper section. The frames do not enclose the arched area of the doorway.

The southern double doors are made from widely spaced timber palings that do not extend into the arched area of the opening. The eastern doors are missing. The timber double doors at the northern end are ledged and sheeted and are replacements. There is a ventilation space above the door (created using uprights and braced diagonals) and above this space the arch has been bricked in.

The lean-to section is a long open room with a dirt floor and open ceiling.

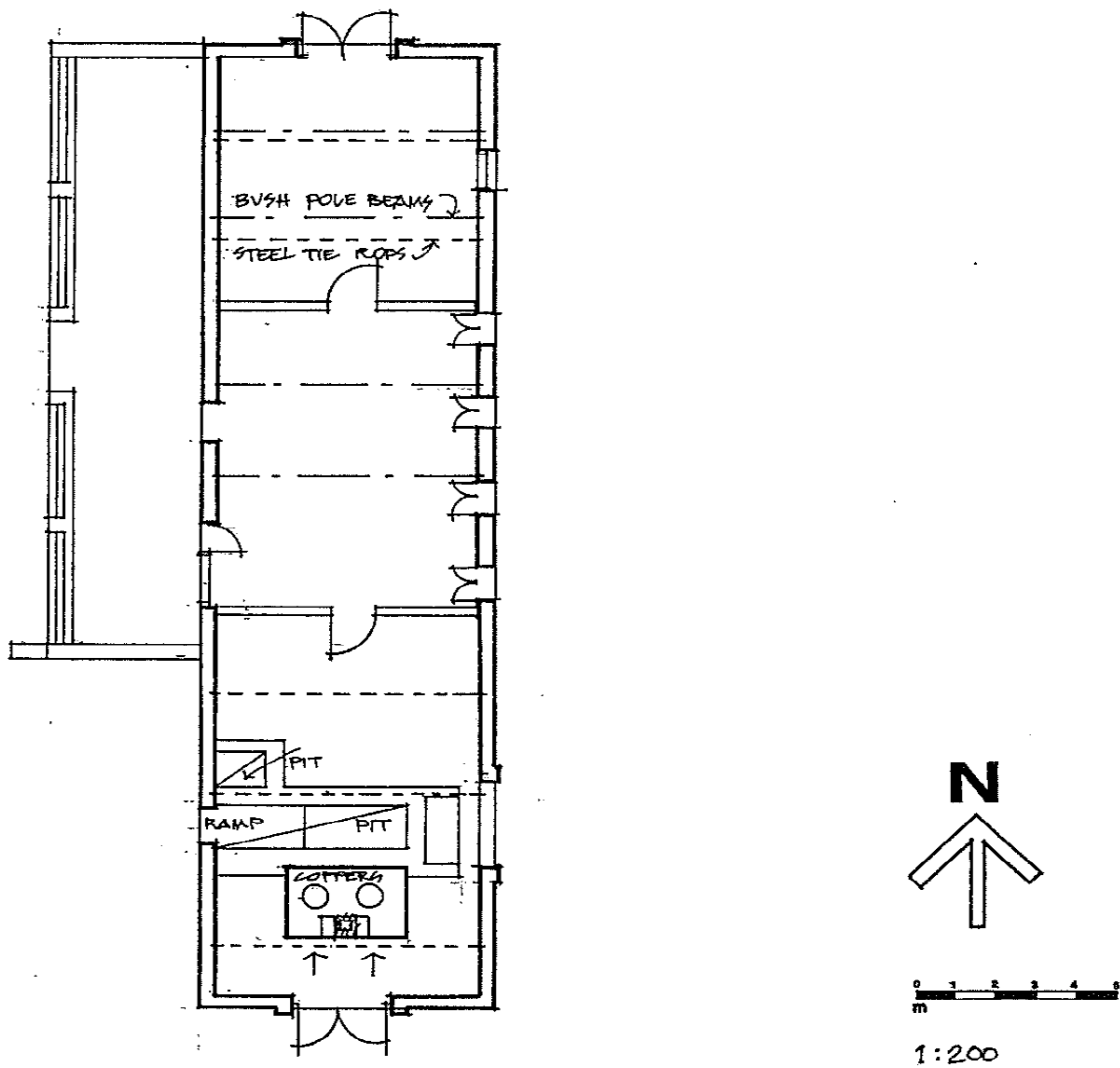
Comments:

The attention to detail provided in this building provides an interesting insight into what Clinch was trying to convey. The same differences between how the bricks were laid in the interior and the exterior is here, as was seen in the Gate House Block. However, the differences between the exterior elevations point to an understanding of what visitors might or might not see. When originally constructed the main entrance to the property was on the northern side, and this is the side where there is better detailing to the brickwork and the double door is slightly grander than the doors on the eastern and southern sides. The saw-toothed brick pattern has only been applied to the northern and eastern sides. However, the inclusion of the projecting door on the southern side, plus the use of the plaque with the ram's head indicates that Clinch obviously thought this wall merited some extra treatment, unlike the western doorway. What is interesting is that the western wall has been given no additional treatment at all, yet travellers moving along the Old Geraldton Road would only have seen this side of the building. Perhaps Clinch was only interested in trying to impress visitors to his property rather than travellers along the road.

It is not known when the lean-to extension was added to the western side of the building.

As with the other buildings on the property, this building is in poor condition and the brickwork has been heavily braced in areas and render applied to hide rising damp.

Plan



C. Shearing Shed

Figure 37 Shearing Shed from HCWA 2008 (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 August 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 38 Eastern side of building



Figure 39 Western side of building with new addition on the northern side of the building.



Figure 40 Northern side of building which displays high attention to detail in the laying of the bricks in Flemish bond and also the detailing of the doorway arch.



Figure 41 Southern side of building.



Figure 42 Detail of the brickwork to the doorway arch on the northern side of the building.



Figure 43 Detail of the brickwork to the doorway arch on the eastern side of the building.



Figure 44 The coppers at the southern side of the building next to the sheep dip.



Figure 45 Interior of central room (shearing area) showing the less carefully laid bricks and the door leading into the room at the northern end of the building.



Figure 46 Room at the northern end of the building. Note the bush pole girders and the flooring members above.

Bridge (1869) and Walls (1860s)

The Bridge is located to the east of the Shearing Shed and spans a small creek. The Walls can be found on the eastern side of the creek running north-south and then extend eastward at the northern end to the north-west corner of the Gate Entry House.

Walls: The bridge is of brick construction on a stone foundation. The soft-fired bricks have been laid in Garden Wall bond using a hard lime mortar. The double arched section is rendered with plain bricks above. The ends of the walls are defined by brick piers that are capped with rendered square pyramids. The tops of the walls are finished with a rendered cap. In the centre of the bridge, above the point where the two arches meet is an engaged brick pier. The top of this pier (beneath the rendered cap of the bridge wall) has been rendered area and carries the date AD 1869.

The walls are brick construction on a stone foundation. The depth of the foundation is not known. The soft-fired bricks have been laid in Garden Wall bond using a hard lime mortar. The north-west corner is defined by a brick pier topped with a brick, pyramid shaped cap that was once rendered. The east-west wall has a rounded rendered finish, but the north-south wall has no rendered finish.

Comments:

Construction dates for the brick walls in not known. It is possible that their construction dates to around the same time as the construction of the Shearing Shed and the bridge.

Photographs – Taken date by Fiona Bush



Figure 47 Former road looking east that passes over the bridge with the Gate House on the right and the Mill on the left.



Figure 48 Bridge, viewed from the north.



Figure 49 Southern side of bridge looking west towards the Shearing Shed and the main road.



Figure 50 Brick wall to the west of the Gate House that forms an enclosure around the two houses and the Gate House.

BISHOP HALE'S HOUSE

The house is situated on the Bishop See's site that is located at 235 - 239 St. George's Terrace in Perth. The house formerly fronted onto St. George's Terrace but it is now hidden behind a multi-storey modern building. The rear of the property, with its gardens still retains a boundary Spring Street (the south-western corner) and also on Mounts Bay Road (on its south-east side). The place was visited on 22 March 2010.

History

The Reverend Mathew Blagden Hale, educated at Cambridge, held various clerical posts before accompanying Bishop Short to Adelaide in 1847 following Short's investiture as Bishop of Adelaide. Short appointed Hale his Archdeacon and the two men arrived in Western Australia, part of the Bishopric of Adelaide, in 1848. While in Western Australia Hale met and married Sabina Molloy, daughter of one of the colony's first settlers, John and Georgiana Molloy. Hale returned to Adelaide with Short and then in 1856 Hale was appointed Bishop of Perth (Williams 1989). He returned to Western Australia in that same year to purchase land in Perth and then he and his family left for Britain in July 1857. Following his investiture as Bishop of Perth, Hale left his family in Britain and returned briefly to Perth in January 1858. During this time he organised for a house to be constructed on his block of land. Part of that organisation included employing two ticket-of-leave men: Joseph Brooks (a mason) and John Mitchell (a carpenter). Hale returned to Perth with his family in April 1860 to find that the house had been completed during his absence (Hale Diary 1847 – 1865; Henn 1936; Williams 1989). He noted in a letter to his eldest daughter in May 1860, that the house was 'equal to our expectations in every way, everyone is perfectly enchanted with the view from it' (Hale Notebooks 1857 - 1864).

Hale left Western Australia in 1875 following his appointment as Bishop of Brisbane. He passed the ownership of his house over to the Perth Diocese of the Anglican Church (Heritage Council Western of Australia 2001).

Ticket-of-Leave Men Employed

Joseph Brooks (4083) – mason. Employed 1858

John Mitchell (3135) – carpenter. Employed 20 July 1858

Building Description

A two – three storey rectangular building with a complex floor plan sitting on a sloping block. It was constructed between 1858 – 1860. The two storey section is at the front (northern side) of the house and the three storey section is at the rear (southern side) of the house and forms the basement for the house. The main front door is defined by a flat roofed portico with an arched opening. To the west of the main door is a secondary doorway that is defined by a projecting bay. On the southern side of the building, in the south-east corner is a bay window that extends

up to the first floor and down into the basement area.

Roof: Hipped and covered with clay tiles (Bristile, Brisbane and Wunderlich). A single storey verandah that wraps around all sides of the building. The exception to this is the front portico where the verandah roof butts up against this projecting wing. Four brick chimneystacks, decorated with rendered bases, vertical rendered bands and corbelling to the tops.

Walls: Brick walls on a random rubble stone foundation. The brickwork is laid using English bond and is set in lime mortar. The bricks are well made and laid. A rendered string-course runs beneath the line of the first floor windows. Three window openings have been bricked up: two in the north-east corner of the building and one in the south east corner. The building was apparently designed with this particular feature as the windows appear in this manner in early photographs of the building.

Openings: The majority of the door and window openings are flat arches of two courses. The exceptions are two doorways and one window. Both the main front door opening and the main doorway opening on the southern side have semi-circular arches of two courses. The exception in the window openings is a set of three sash windows to the west of the secondary front door. This is a new opening that has been accommodated into the brickwork just below of a row of header bricks.

Interior: The plan of the ground floor of the house is arranged around a transverse corridor running approximately east-west and another passage that runs approximately north-south. The east-west corridor can be accessed via the main front door and also the secondary front door. Immediately to the east of the main front door is a large room that runs the full width of the house. This room has the bay window on its southern side. The east-west corridor terminates at the northern end of the north-south passage that is accessed either via the secondary front door or the main door on the southern side. This corridor also contains a timber staircase that leads up to the first floor or down to the basement area. This passage effectively operates as an entry hall. On the western side of the north-south passage is a new bathroom that is approximately the same width as the east-west corridor. The north-south passage provides access to large rooms on its eastern and western sides. The room on the western side has been altered to serve as a modern kitchen. The large room on the eastern side is fitted with French doors on its southern side that lead out onto the verandah area and there is a fireplace with a marble mantelpiece on the northern side. The large room at the eastern end of the building has French doors leading onto the verandah on its eastern side and also in the bay window. There is a fireplace with a timber mantelpiece on the northern side of this room.

Double-hung sash windows are located on the northern side of the ground floor in the east-west corridor on the eastern side of the secondary door and also on the western side of this door. Those on the western side are new additions.

The first floor area has three bedrooms and an ensuite. The landing area permits access to two bedrooms: the one on the western side extends the full width of the building and it contains a fireplace with a timber mantle piece. On the eastern side

is another bedroom that also contains a fireplace. This room does not extend the full width of the building as at its southern end there is a east-west passageway that is accessed from a small landing, three-quarters of the way up the stairs. At the eastern end of the building is a further bedroom that is accessed via the middle bedroom (the passage does not provide access to this room at present). This eastern room does not extend the full width of the house as an ensuite bathroom has been added to the northern side of this room. This large bedroom also has a fireplace with a timber mantelpiece.

All of the upstairs rooms have been fitted with double-hung sash windows.

The ground floor contains a number of function rooms that have been extensively modified and modernised and also the original cellar at the western end. The cellar has retained some timber shelving that may be original.

Floors throughout the building are timber boards that appear to be largely original.

The ceilings are plaster and are not original.

The original doors, windows and their architraves have survived. The main front door and the door on the southern side have semi-circular fanlights above double doors. The secondary door on the northern side has a rectangular fanlight above double doors. The three sets of doors all have single arched panels and on the main front and southern doors the upper section is glazed.

The French doors all have double leaves, with the exception of the two side doors in the ground floor bay window area which are single leaf.

On the ground floor the interior joinery for the doors and original double-hung sash window is characterised by finely crafted timber shutters that when not in use fold back against the architrave to become an integral component of the door frame. They are all panelled and fitted with a heavy metal locking bar. The stylistic appearance of the panels and the metal locking bar suggests that these shutters, if not original, were constructed a short time after the original construction date of the house.

The timber staircase has been constructed from local jarrah. The bottom newel is a solid, round timber post that is topped by flat onion shaped cushion on a timber spike. The turned balusters support a solid handrail.

Comments:

The building has a high level of intactness in the brickwork and timber joinery. None of the original lathe and plaster ceilings have apparently survived. The marble and timber mantelpieces extant throughout the building may or may not be original, the rather simple style makes it difficult to determine their originality.

The joinery to the door and window architraves displays a high level of artistic skill and is probably the work of a master craftsman rather than a semi-trained ticket-of-leave man. The brickwork is competent and may well have been constructed by a ticket-of-leave man under the supervision of a more fully trained man.

Plans

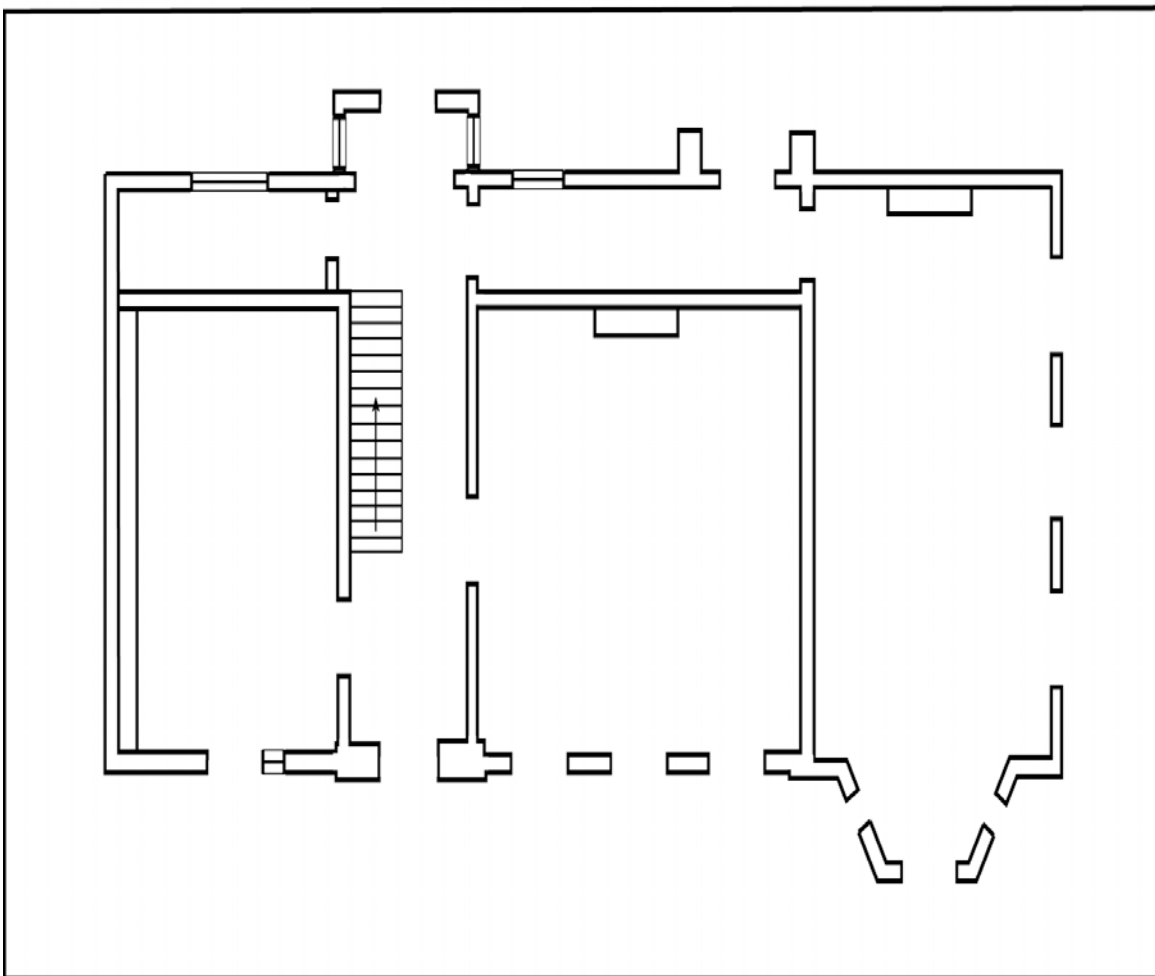


Figure 1 Ground floor plan of Bishop Hale's House (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 22 March 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 North-east corner of the building showing front portico where the main front door is located. Note the two infilled brick windows on the north side and the single window on the east side.



Figure 3 Southern side of building.



Figure 4 South-east corner of building showing basement level.



Figure 5 Northern elevation looking west towards arched portico and projecting bay containing secondary door.



Figure 6 Detail of brick arch above main door on the north side.

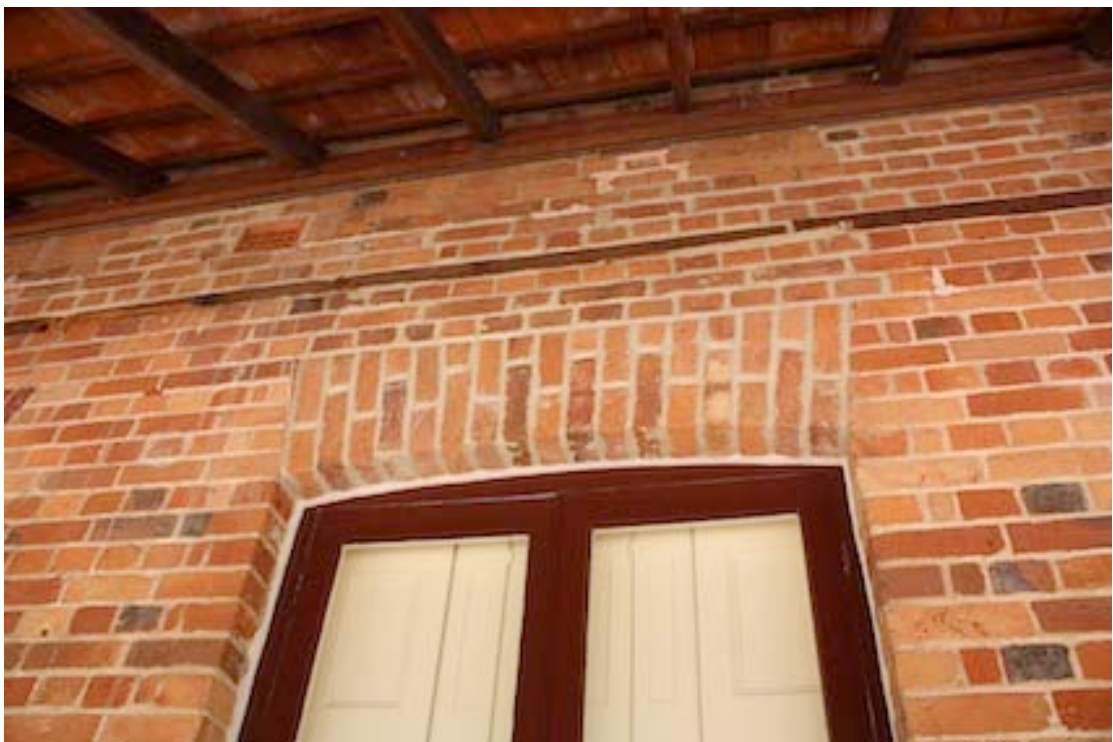


Figure 7 Detail of brick arch above French door on southern side of the building.



Figure 8 Detail of secondary door on the northern side.



Figure 9 Interior view of main room, ground floor at the eastern end of the building. Note the closed shutters that protect the French doors on the eastern side of the room and also those in the bay window.



Figure 10 Detail of shutter housing in French doors in bay window.



Figure 11 Detail of staircase in main entry hall, looking north.



Figure 12 Staircase looking down to the ground floor and the main entrance on the southern side of the building.



Figure 13 Bedroom on the southern side of the house, first floor.

GLENTROMIE

Located approximately 10 km north, north east of New Norcia on the Glentromie – Yerecoin Road in the Shire of Victoria plains. New Norcia lies 134 km north-north-east of Perth. The place was visited on 16 March 2010.

History

John and Donald MacPherson were two Scottish shepherds who arrived in Western Australia in 1839. They initially found work with Capt. John Scully in the Toodyay district, looking after his sheep. During the early colonial period, when cash was hard to come by, shepherds were often given a percentage of a season's newborn lambs as payment. In this way, some shepherds were able to amass their own flocks and then competed with their former masters for land (Erickson, 1974). The Macpherson brothers were no exception and by 1845 they had accumulated a large flock of sheep when they applied for several pastoral leases in the Victoria Plains district, one of which included the present site of Glentromie (Georgeson, n.d.). Donald purchased one of these leases, 'Murra Murra' in 1856. In 1853, Donald MacPherson married Jessie McKnoe. The Toodyay resident magistrate, J. S. Harris toured the Victoria Plains district in 1855 and described MacPherson as having several substantial buildings on his property. Between 1858 and 1884, MacPherson employed 26 ticket-of-leave men (Beaton, 2004; Erickson, 1988). Three of these men had skills in brickmaking, bricklaying and carpentry and MacPherson employed them between 1869 and 1874 (see Appendix 1). It was during the early 1860s that 'Murra Murra' became known as Glentromie. The earliest mention of 'Glentromie' appears to be in a newspaper advertisement when MacPherson advertised the services of the Clydesdale Stallion "Lochryan" which he had imported from Scotland (*Perth Gazette* 15 August 1862). Many of the colony's pastoralists turned to horse breeding during the 1840s onwards as there was a demand for horses in Indian market (Beaton, 2004).

Georgeson noted that letters in the New Norcia archives between MacPherson and the Benedictine monks recorded requests for lime, bricks and sheet iron (among other things) at various times. During the 1860s the monks were erecting buildings at New Norcia at the same time that MacPherson was erecting brick buildings on his property. Georgeson discovered that MacPherson did obtain some of his bricks from the monks. In 1866, due to water shortages, he was unable to repay his loan of 6,000 bricks and requested instead that he pay for the bricks with cash. This statement indicates that both the monks and MacPherson were both manufacturing their bricks on site (Georgeson, n.d.). No specific information has been obtained on the construction dates of the buildings at Glentromie. The construction dates given below are estimates only and are largely based on the information obtained by Georgeson from the New Norcia archives and also the employment of a ticket-of-leave brickmaker and bricklayer. However, in December 1874, MacPherson wrote to the monks requesting the loan of shingle nails for the stable roof. This date may indicate the completion date for this building (Georgeson, n.d.).

MacPherson became the first chairman of the Victoria Plains Road Board when the colonial government established these boards in 1870. The council meetings were held at Glentromie until 1876 when MacPherson resigned from the Road Board (Georgeson, n.d.). The property was described in April 1887 as having a dwelling-house with 11 rooms, a detached cottage with 7 rooms and a splendid stable block 100 feet long with 20 foot walls and built of brick. A loft ran the length of the building and could accommodate 50 tons of hay. "The building contains 27 stalls and four loose boxes... Adjacent to the stable are the cart-shed, harness-room and chaff house, also a shearing-shed with a screw press.....A men's cottage of two rooms and two cottages for married men are close by and very comfortable" (*The Inquirer – Supplement*, 20 April 1887). Donald MacPherson died shortly after this article was written, in August that year. He had been pre-deceased by his wife Jessie in 1869 and had remarried Selina Earnshaw in January 1871 (Erickson, 1988). At the time of his death, Glentromie was heavily mortgaged to businessman Walter Padbury who acquired the property after it was put up for auction. Padbury installed his niece, Amelia Jane Payne and her husband Charles Davidson to manage the property and it passed to the Davidsons following Padbury's death in 1907 (Georgeson, n.d.).

Ticket-of-Leave Men Employed

William Butler (9103) – bricklayer. Employed 1869

Henry Bolton (6526) – brickmaker. Employed 1870

Patrick Byrne (9677) – carpenter. Employed 1873; 1874

Building Descriptions

Glentromie comprises several buildings including the homestead (1850s), workers' cottage (1850 – 60s), barn (1850 – 60s), stable block (1850 – 60s), shearing shed (1850 – 60s) and other additional modern sheds that have not formed part of this study.

Homestead (1850s – 1870s)

The homestead was extensively altered during the late 1950s and early 1960s (when two wings were demolished) and then again in the 1990s. The last additions led to considerable changes to the internal arrangement of the building and the replacement of the plaster ceilings and much of the internal joinery. The tiled roof (originally installed in the 1960s) was also replaced at this time with Zinalume sheeting. The exterior brickwork has been covered with render. Due to these many alterations the building was not examined as much of the original fabric and layout of the building had been extensively altered.

Barn (1860s – 1870s)

A brick and iron structure. Gable roof with concrete buttresses on the southern side. Brickwork laid in English bond. This building was not examined as it had undergone alterations to the eastern and western sides and some of the original fabric was missing.

Henry's Cottage (1860s – 1870s)

The building has a rectangular form with the long sides running east-west. Openings are on the longer northern and southern elevations with none on the shorter sides. The interior has been divided into two rooms of unequal size.

Roof: The hipped roof is covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheeting, has a central, brick chimney stack - stretcher bond with a brick string course below the final row of bricks. A verandah extends around all sides of the building. The skillion roof springs from the wall below the roof eaves. The verandah rafters supported from a timber plate nailed to the brick walls and supported on the outer edge on stop chamfered timber posts set into metal stirrups. The verandah is not original.

Walls: Brick construction on a random rubble stone foundation. Soft fired bricks laid using English bond with a strong lime mortar.

Openings: Doors into the two rooms are currently located on the northern side at the eastern and western ends of this elevation. These openings feature a flat lintel supported with a metal arch bar. A bricked up doorway in the south-west corner has a flat, gauged arch of two courses, which is the same style as that found in the two window openings located in the southern elevation. The courses in the arches are alternating headers and stretchers with the darker headers creating an interesting polychrome effect. The windowsills are timber.

Interior: The western room (Room 1) is slightly longer than the eastern room (2). The gable wall dividing the two rooms is fitted with a fireplace, located centrally in this wall, which shares the single chimney with Room 2. The chimneybreast is quite deep. Both fireplaces have been fitted with a simple timber mantle piece that does not appear to be original.

The brick walls have been covered with a thick layer (or layers) of render that has been painted white. Timber boards, fitted with timber dowels (that would have been used to hang clothes or implements), have been fitted to the west and north walls of Room 1 and east and north walls of Room 2.

The floors are concrete.

There is no ceiling.

The door and window frames feature mortise and tenon joints that have then been fixed with a single timber dowel in the corner of the frame. Each of the timber doors are ledged and sheeted and fitted with rim locks with brass knobs.

The window openings are unglazed, although fitted on the exterior side with flyscreen wire. The opening is closed with ledged and sheeted timber shutters.

Comments:

The bricks used in the construction of the walls have been well fired and neatly laid. The carefully constructed window openings (and bricked up door opening) with their brick arches on the southern side suggest that these were original openings. Those on the northern side were put through at a slightly later date. However, all openings show the work of a skilled bricklayer. The bricks used in the arches were

carefully selected so that the darker header bricks provide a contrast to the reddish brown stretcher bricks. The door openings on the northern side were expertly worked as it is only by carefully examining the openings that it is possible to see where the bricks have been altered to accommodate the doors. It seems likely that the bricks from these openings were used to fill in the original door opening. The type of mortar used for this infill suggests that the changes were made comparatively early in the life of the building.

The door and window joinery uses well dressed timber and shows that the carpenter responsible for the work had at least reached a level of training that enabled him to do simple mortise and tenon joints and drill out holes for the wooden pegs.

The roofing timbers were not examined.

Plan

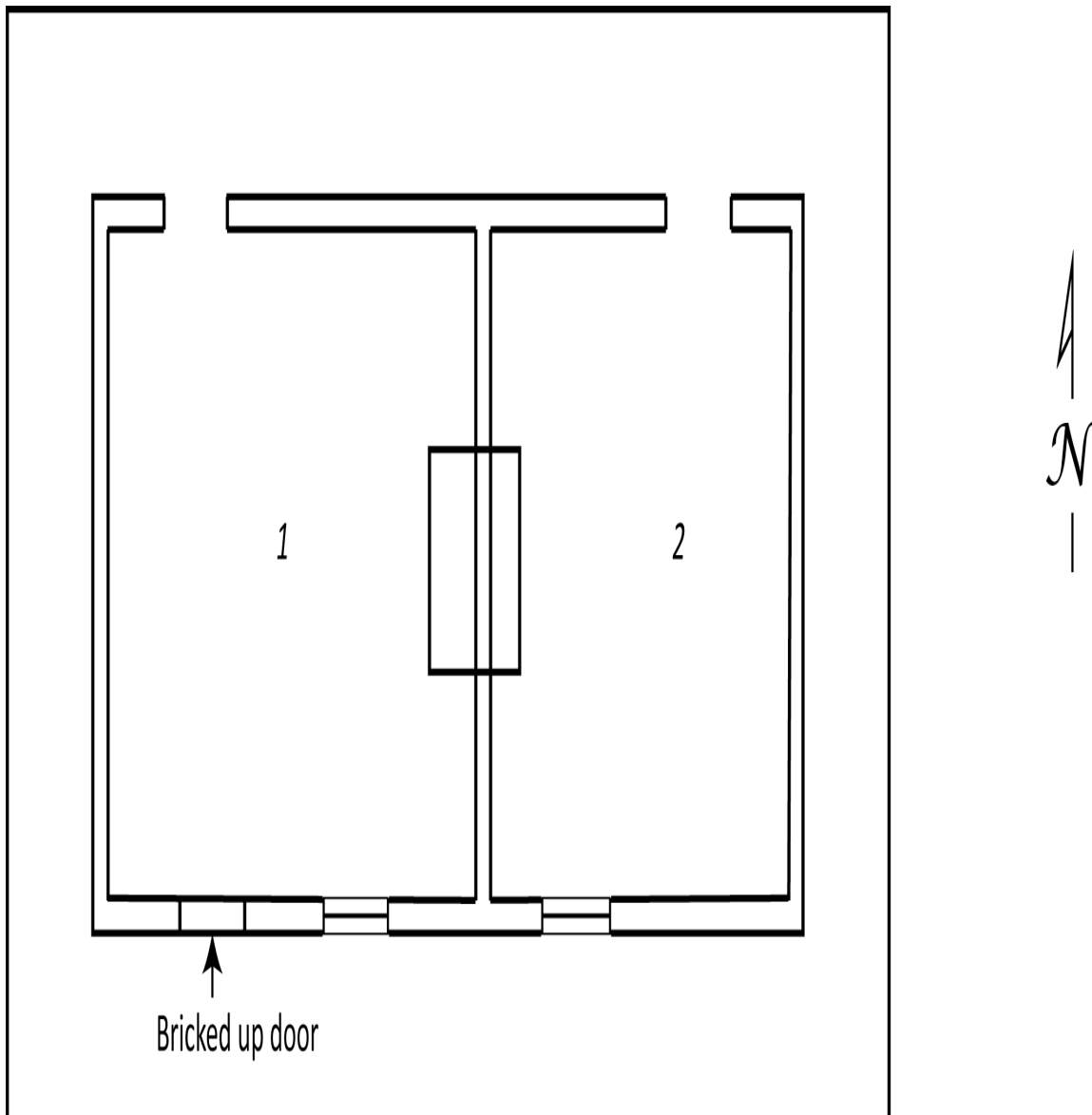


Figure 1 Plan of Henry's Cottage (F. Bush)

Photographs - Taken 16 March 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 North-west corner of Henry's Cottage



Figure 3 Window opening on southern side



Figure 4 Bricked up opening on southern side; note brick arch



Figure 5 New opening in north wall.



Figure 6 Interior view of Room 1 looking east.



Figure 7 Interior view of Room 1 looking west.



Figure 8 Interior view of Room 2 looking west.



Figure 9 Detail of door joinery showing wooden dowel fixing mortise and tenon joint.

Stables (1860s)

This long, rectangular building sits on a slightly sloping site with the long sides running north-south. The main section of the building, the eastern side is two stories high, while the western side (rear) is only a single storey. The building is essentially divided into two parts: the western portion contains spaces/rooms that were used to store tack, possibly accommodation for grooms and also a loading point for the loft space on the eastern side of the building. The eastern side was divided into stalls for horses on the ground floor (18 stalls) with storage for hay in the loft area (first floor).

Roof: The main two storey section is covered with a hipped roof, the rear section is covered by a steeply pitched skillion roof. The cladding to both roofs is corrugated galvanised iron sheeting.

Walls: Brick construction on a random rubble stone foundation. Soft fired bricks laid using Flemish bond (to the exterior) and English bond in the interior, in a strong lime mortar.

Openings: Door openings are found on both the eastern and western sides with none on the shorter northern and southern sides. The door openings on the eastern side are currently about 1 metre above ground level. The openings have timber lintels with relieving arches constructed with two rows of headers above. The exception to this is the door on the first floor (eastern side) which has no relieving brick arch above the timber lintel. Window openings appear in all of the elevations. On the ground floor they are quite narrow while those on the eastern upper floor are much wider. All of these openings have segmented brick arches. Those on the ground floor have been formed using a single row of stretchers, the wider openings on the upper floor are formed from two rows of headers. All of them have been fitted with timber sills. On the eastern sides the openings alternate between windows and doors (beginning and ending with a window).

Interior: As stated above the interior is divided into two distinct areas. The western side has a large room at the northern end. The floor is dirt and there is no ceiling. The remains of a few joists, and evidence of seating holes for them in the eastern wall of this whole section, indicate that this side of the building formerly had an upper floor that has since been removed. The northern wall is heavily braced with vertical and timber posts due to instability in this wall. The southern end of this section is divided into four rooms of approximately equal widths. The dividing walls are constructed to just below the height of the floor joists. As with the northern portion of this section the rooms have no ceiling and a dirt floor. A doorway in the eastern wall, at the southern end of this section leads into the stable section.

The stable section stretches the full length of the building although it is divided into two separate spaces of approximately the length. The dividing brick wall is English bond and it has a central doorway. The two large spaces or rooms retain the remains of eighteen stalls, nine in each room. The horse stalls were constructed using vertical timber uprights and then horizontal boarding divided the stalls from each other. Most of these boards are now missing, but the vertical uprights provide evidence of the number of stalls that the two storey section formerly contained.

The stalls' timber uprights are all stop-chamfered and bear evidence of the former mortise joints that once housed the top timber components that divided this area into stalls. One stall has retained the top timber component: it is not set horizontally; rather it is higher at the western (or inner side of the stall) and lower at the outer edge of the stall (see the photograph on page ?). The uprights are set into timber bearers using mortise and tenon joints. In the northern area of this section, narrow vertical slits have been made in the western wall to provide additional ventilation to the stalls. There are no slits in the southern area.

Stone flags in some of the horse stalls indicate that the stall area was once floored with stone flags, these flags are missing in some of the stalls or have since been covered with a thick layer of dirt. The area in front of the stalls appears to be dirt although stone flags could lie beneath the layer of dirt.

The timber bearers provide support to the floor joists for the loft area. All of the joists remain in place, however the timber floorboards have either been removed or pushed to one side. A timber ladder, located at the southern end of the northern area, leads to the loft. The loft runs the length and width of this section.

The door and window frames have been constructed using a mix of mortise and tenon joints and butt joints. Wooden pegs do not appear to have been used to hold these joints in place. Door frames that appear to use the mortise and tenon joint are the doorways on the western side of the building, those on the eastern side appear to be butt joints. All of the doors are ledged, sheeted and braced and clad with vertical timber boards. The central doors on the eastern and western sides (and also the door between the eastern and western sections) are stable form (divided in half horizontally) the remaining doors are one piece.

All of the windows are louvered; those in the loft area of the eastern section are fixed, but the narrower ones on the ground floor (in both sections) are not fixed. They can be opened and closed by means of a vertical timber shaft, fitted into metal bearings at the top and bottom of the window. Small timber dowels attached to the shaft force the louvers open when the shaft is rotated. Several of the windows have lost their vertical opening bars.

Comments:

An earlier photograph of this building indicates that the ground level on the eastern side was formerly higher than it is today, as there appears to be a much smaller drop between the ground and the bottom of the door. As this is the side that the horse stalls are located on it seems odd that there is such a large drop on this side as it would have been impossible to lead the horses out of their stalls to the outside from this side of the building. It therefore seems likely that the drop in ground level was carried out (for unknown reasons) after the building ceased to be used for stabling horses.

The lack of a brick arch (found in all of the other doorways in this building), to the door in the loft on the eastern side, indicates that this is a later opening in comparison to the other doors.

The thickness of the brick walls indicates that the walls were constructed as a double leaf, thus permitting the use of English bond on the inside of the building, and Flemish bond on the exterior. The interior brickwork is more poorly finished in comparison with the exterior that displays fine polychrome brickwork of light and dark due to the clever use of the darker headers and the lighter stretchers. Differences between the bricks in the lower floor (of the eastern section) and the upper floor probably indicate that the building was built in stages as the bricks became available. That said, the skill of the brickmaker and layer is very evident in this building. The bricks have been well-made and the bricklayer has taken full advantage of using the darker header bricks to produce a beautiful polychrome effect that enhances this building. The fine workmanship on the exterior points to a fully trained craftsman, but the interior brickwork was more likely done by a ticket-of-leave man as the workmanship is of an inferior quality.

The rather novel approach to the construction of the narrow louver windows shows off the skill of the carpenter and the rather simple measures taken to ensure that a building was well ventilated.

Plan

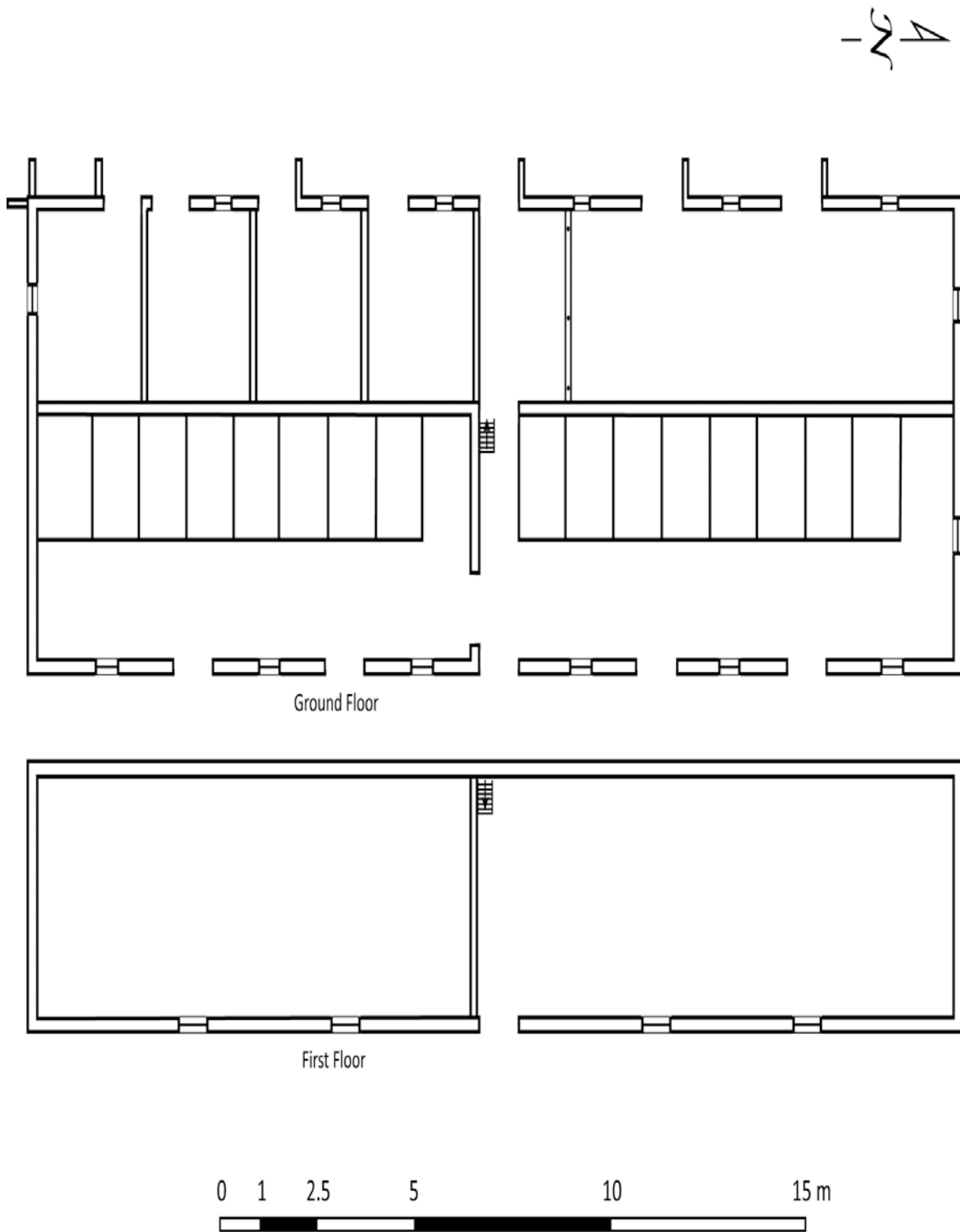


Figure 10 Ground and first floor plans of Stables (F. Bush)

Photographs - Taken 16 March 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 11 Eastern side of stables, looking south.



Figure 12 Western side of stables, southern end.



Figure 13 Detail of eastern side showing brick arches above door and window openings.



Figure 14 Interior of western side looking north; note bracing to north wall. On the right is the western wall of the two storey section.



Figure 15 Interior of western single storey section, one of the rooms at the southern end. Note openings in the eastern wall that formerly held joists.



Figure 16 Interior view of two storey section looking south. On the right is the entrance from the western side of the building and the ladder to the loft. The door leads to the southern half of the building.



Figure 17 The remains of the timber stalls in the southern half of the stables. Note stop chamfering to vertical posts.



Figure 18 The loft area looking south.

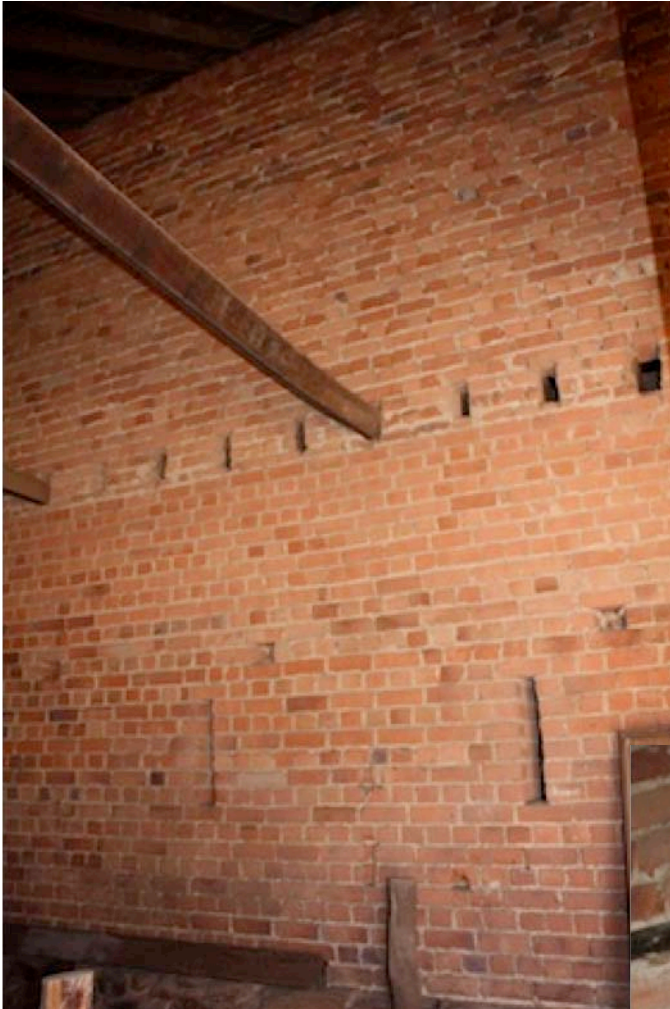


Figure 19 Western wall of two storey section from the single storey side. Note joist holes and vertical vents.

Figure 20 Louvered window: the shaft fits into metal bearings at the top and bottom of the window and when rotated open or close the louvers .



Shearing Shed (1860s – 1870s)

The building has a rectangular form with the long sides running north-south. As with the stables, the eastern elevation of the building is two storeys high, and the western elevation is single storey. The two storey section contains a loft in the upper floor.

Roof: The two storey section has a gable roof and the single storey section is a steeply pitched skillion form. Both are clad with corrugated galvanised iron sheeting.

Walls: Brick construction on a random rubble stone foundation. Soft fired bricks laid using Flemish bond to the outside and English bond on the inside. The bricks are set into a strong lime mortar. A string course runs below the line of the windows in the eastern elevation.

Openings: Doorways are located on all four sides of the building. The doorways have all been constructed in the same manner: the top of the opening has a timber lintel with a brick relieving arch above; made from a double row of header bricks. An additional doorway on the ground floor towards the eastern side of the northern elevation has been constructed using a timber lintel but no relieving arch. This suggests that this is a new opening.

The doors on the eastern side of the building currently lie about 750 cm above ground level.

Above each of the doors at either end of the loft area is a timber beam that extends out from the wall. This beam would have supported a pulley to assist in loading and unloading wool bails from the loft.

The upper floor of the eastern elevation features three windows (unevenly spaced). The top of these windows has been formed using a long timber lintel above which is a row of header bricks. The deliberate use of header bricks suggests that these window openings are probably original. A small window on the ground floor of the southern elevation is a later addition as the timber lintel sits below an uninterrupted line of headers and stretchers. All of the windows have timber sills as do the doors in the upper floor.

Interior: The shearing shed is divided into three distinct areas. The northern area of the ground floor area was concerned with shearing the sheep, the southern section was used for storage (and possibly this is where the wool press was located) and the upper floor was a loft area where the bails of wool were stored.

The ground floor area of the building is divided into four rooms: two long rooms of the same length that take up two-thirds of the northern part of the building, and then two rooms in the remaining southern third. The western wall of the two storey section is punctuated by three, unevenly spaced doors (and of uneven width) that would have permitted the sheep to access (or exit the shearing floor). The layout of the building suggests that the shearing floor was located on the eastern side of the two storey section as it is wider than the western side. The floor in both sections uses timber slats with small gaps between them (indicating an area accessed by sheep). The floor in the southern third is composed of boards butted

up against each other. Access to the loft is via a timber ladder located at the south-west end of the shearing floor.

In the western section of the shearing shed, rectangular holes in the brickwork above the top plate in the eastern wall indicate that this area once had a floor. None of the joists remain and the area is open to the rafters.

The ceiling in the eastern portion of the building is formed by underside of the loft's floor.

The upper loft area is divided into two rooms, the northern section is longer than the southern section, with a gable dividing wall located directly above the dividing wall on the ground floor. The doorway in this wall is formed using a timber lintel with a brick relieving arch above (comprised of two rows of headers). The timber floor is composed of butted planks. There is no ceiling.

The door and window frames have been made using butt joints. The door frames in the western wall of the two storey section have been carefully finished with a chamfer. The central doorway in this wall retains the only original door which consists of the lower portion of a stable door. This ledged door is constructed from vertical tongued and grooved boards with a beaded edge. The remaining doors are ledged, braced and sheeted with vertical timber boards. The windows in the loft space are fitted with timber shutters: ledged and braced and clad with vertical timber boarding.

Comments:

The brickwork in this building displays the similar fine skills that were present in the stables. The thickness of the brick walls once again indicates that the walls were constructed as a double leaf, permitting the use of English bond on the inside of the building, and Flemish bond on the exterior. The exterior brickwork is a particularly fine example of polychrome brickwork that makes use of darker stretchers and light headers, rather than the lighter stretchers and dark headers that were used in the stables. By comparison, the brickwork in the interior is extremely rough.

Plans

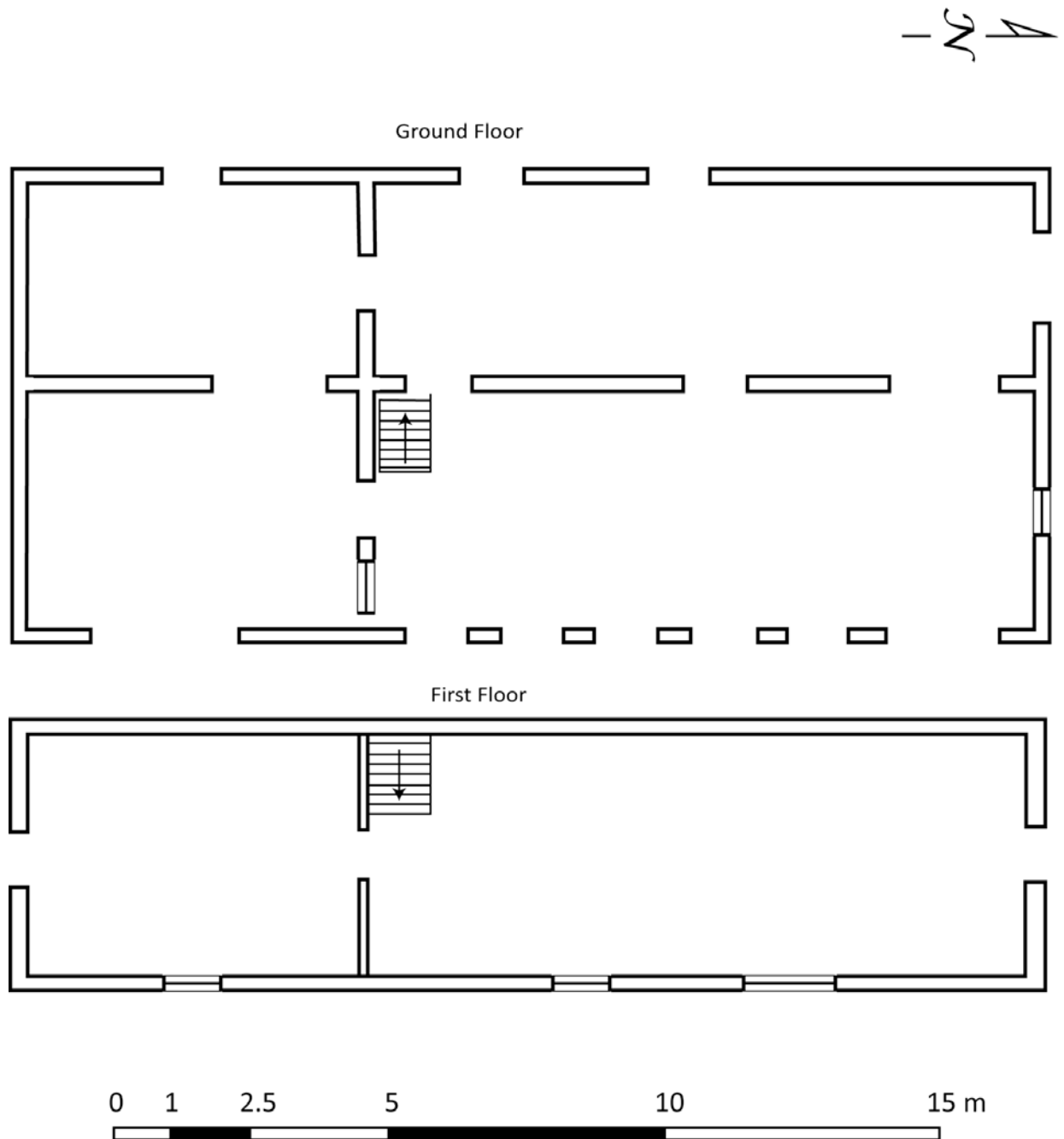


Figure 21 Ground and first floor plans of Shearing Shed (F. Bush)

Photographs - Taken 16 March 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 22 Eastern side of shearing shed.



Figure 23 Western side of shearing shed.



Figure 24 Detail of eastern side showing door and window openings.



Figure 25 Interior view of western section of shearing shed looking south. Note slatted timber floor.



Figure 26 Eastern side of shearing shed with slatted timber floor and floor joists for loft area above.



Figure 27 Eastern side of shearing shed looking south towards ladder to loft area and rooms at the southern end of the building.



Figure 28 Loft area in eastern section looking north.



Figure 29 Detail of door frame in eastern wall of western section. Note chamfered edge.

MARTINUP

Located on the Gnowangerup-Broomehill Road approximately 24km to the east of Broomehill in the Shire of Broomehill - Tambellup. Broomehill is approximately 317km south-east of Perth. The place was visited on 10 February 2011.

History

Europeans first passed through the Broomehill region in 1835 when the Surveyor General, John S. Roe was trying to find a suitable route for a road between Albany and Perth, via York. However, although Roe noted in passing that the countryside had potential, it was some years before settlers began to take up pastoral leases or grants in the region.

Edward Treasure arrived aboard the convict ship *Minden* in October 1851 after being convicted of larceny and sentenced to ten years. He was 24 years old and at the time of his conviction his occupation was listed as collier. He was unmarried and was entitled to his ticket-of-leave as soon as he landed. While he was working in Albany, he obtained his conditional pardon in August 1855 (Erickson & O'Mara 1994). A group of local aboriginal people told him that there was plenty of fresh water, grass and kangaroos at a place called Martinup. Following an inspection, Treasure headed back to Perth to apply for a lease on the land around Martinup spring. W.H. Graham, whose property 'Fairfield' was slightly to the north of the spring recorded in his diary in November 1860 that he passed Edward Treasure on his way south to settle on his lease (Graham 1949).

He employed some labourers to assist him in clearing the land and once a start on this had been made employed Sam Swift, a builder to construct some buildings on the property. All of the bricks were made on site (Marshall 1993). It is known which buildings were constructed at this time, but in February 1863, Edward married Anna Marie Norrish, whose family lived north of 'Martinup' near Kojonup (Bignell 1982). It seems highly likely that at the time Edward married Anna, he at least had the homestead and perhaps the workers' quarters and blacksmith's workshop.

Treasure obtained the title to his 80 acre block (Kojonup Location 48) in May 1864. On the title Treasure is described as a yeoman (Heritage Council 2010). Treasure apparently went to great pains not keep his convict origins secret as some members of the family refute his convict origins.³ Marshall's account of Treasure states that he was a single man who had previously had farming experience in England and decided to settle in Western Australia (Marshall 1993, 147). Battye's Cyclopaedia entry for the Treasure family similarly makes no reference to Treasure's convict background. At the time of publication, Battye was describing the property as run

³ Information supplied by Robin Chinnery, historian who spoke to some members of the Treasure family when she was collecting historical information on the history of Martinup for the Heritage Council's assessment documentation on Martinup, 19 January 2012.

by Treasure's son John, who had taken over from his father. John described his father as a 'farmer and grazier who came from Somersetshire, England in the forties' (Heritage Council of Western Australia 2010b, 10). John had no idea that his father had not been telling him the whole truth.

During the 1870s Treasure continued to increase his holdings in the district and the family prospered. He purchased town lots in Albany, sent his eldest son (John) to school in Adelaide and once again employed Samuel Swift to construct a building for him in 1879. This time it was a stone shearing shed, which was added onto the side of the wool barn (Heritage Council of Western Australia 2010b). The date of the building's construction, and Swift's initials were marked on a stone above the keystone of the building's main entry door.

Treasure died in January 1886 and his third son Levi took over the management of 'Martinup' (Marshall 1993).

Expirees Employed

Samuel Swift (3866) mason. Employed during the 1870s.

Building Descriptions

The buildings at Martinup form a small group that were all built sometime between 1863 – 1879. The buildings are: The Homestead, Meat Room, Workers' Quarters, Blacksmith's Workshop and the Wool Barn and Shearing Shed. Martinup is located in a rural area and remains as a working property although the buildings described below are no longer occupied or used for farming purposes.

Homestead (1860s)

A long rectangular building, one room deep. Immediately to the south-west of this building is the Meat Room and to the south-west if the Wool Barn and Shearing Shed. The Worker's Quarters and Blacksmith's Workshop are located to the north. The building is currently in a state of collapse and it is possible to see the original core of the farmhouse that was probably constructed c.1863 and then the later additions.

Roof: The original core of the building was covered with a hipped roof and then shingled. Following the additions of rooms on the northern and the southern sides the roof form was gabled at both ends. The western and eastern sides of the building have skillion roofed verandahs. The rafters spring from the top of the walls. The whole roof was originally covered with sheets of corrugated galvanised iron but many of these sheets have become displaced. There are four brick chimneys: one at either end of the building and two that are located towards the centre of the structure.

Walls: Soft fired brick laid in a mud mortar using English bond. The walls were then covered with cement render. Stone was used for the foundations but the depth is not known. Many of the walls are in a state of collapse so that it is possible to see how the walls were constructed as large areas of render have fallen off. A large section of the northern wall has fallen outwards. The most intact wall was the long wall on the eastern side. This wall largely retains its rendered coating.

Openings: The render hid the presence of absence of brick arches although a brick arch was detected one of the doors in the entertaining room. However there was no timber lintel below this arched opening, just the timber frame. Many of the openings appeared to be simply bricks above a timber lintel.

Interior: As stated above the house is arranged linearly with the sitting room, main bedroom and bedroom forming the original core of the house and the later addition of the entertaining room on the northern end, together with two rooms and then a pantry and kitchen at the southern end. Fireplaces were present in the entertaining room, the sitting room, the main bedroom and the kitchen. Timber mantle pieces remained in the entertaining room, the sitting room and the kitchen. The kitchen was built at the same time as the house, but originally it was detached. The later extension on the southern side incorporated it into the Homestead.

Due to the decay of the walls it was possible to see that on the interior side, the bricks had been covered with a coating of mud render before paint was applied.

The floors are timber boards. The ceilings in the main bedroom, sitting room and bedroom are timber boards, the ceiling is missing in the entertaining room and there is no ceiling in the kitchen, which is open to the rafter area.

Despite the dilapidated condition of the building, many of the interior doors and windows had retained their architraves making it impossible to see how the actual frames were put together. Those frames that could be seen were all mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg.

The doors have four panels. The front door has two glazed upper panels. The windows are double-hung sashes.

Comments:

The dilapidated state of the building made it possible to see how it had been put together, such as the early core and its roof still extant below the later roofline. The often poor quality of the bricklaying and the composition of the bricks.

Plans

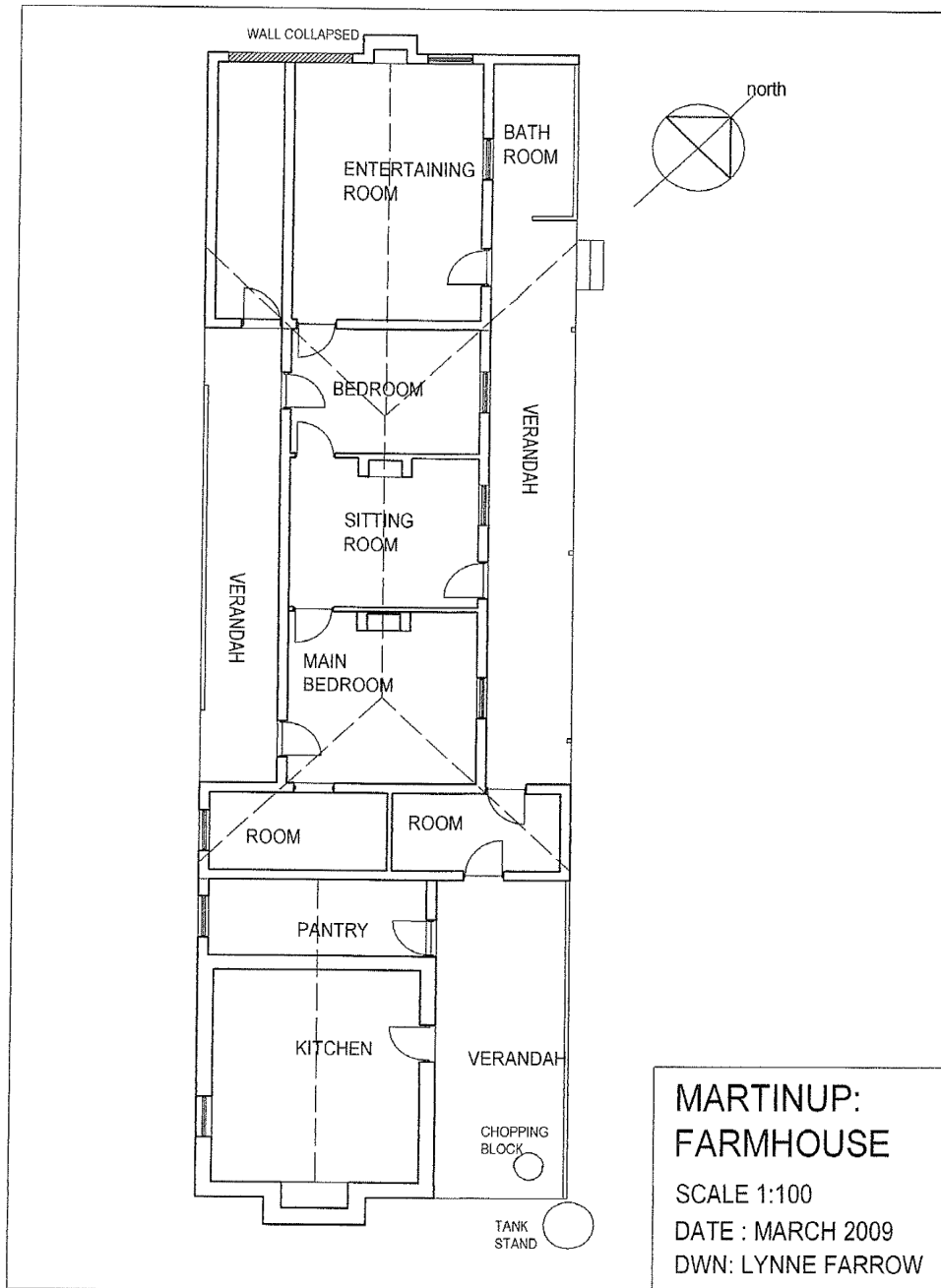


Figure 1 Plan of Homestead from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 February 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 2 Eastern (front) side of Homestead with originally detached kitchen on left and later addition to right



Figure 3 Western side of Homestead. The originally detached kitchen can clearly be seen on the right



Figure 4 Detail of the original core of homestead which has retained the original hipped, shingled roof beneath later iron cladding



Figure 5 Eastern side of house with the front door that leads into bedroom with sash windows on either side



Figure 6 Northern end of Homestead showing the collapsed wall of the Entertaining Room



Figure 7 Bedroom looking towards the south-west corner with doors leading to the exterior and the Sitting Room



Figure 8 Detail of the door leading from the Bedroom to the Entertaining Room. Note the timber lintel above the door frame



Figure 9 Southern door in Entertaining room that leads to Bedroom. Note the lack of a relieving arch and also the mud render that was applied to the wall before layers of lime wash and then paint.

Meat Room (1860s)

This small rectangular building is located just to the south-east of the Farmhouse.

Roof: The building had a gable roof clad with sheets of corrugated galvanised iron.

Walls: Soft-fired bricks laid in garden wall bond with a mud mortar. The walls are covered with cement render. Evidence of a stone foundation although the depth is unknown.

Openings: The door and window openings are formed using timber lintels then stretcher bricks above.

Interior: Contains only a single room with a door at one end and a fireplace opposite. There are two windows are in the eastern wall.

The floors are timber boards and there is no ceiling.

The door and window frames are made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. The door is ledged and sheeted with timber boards. The windows are centrally hinged.

Plans

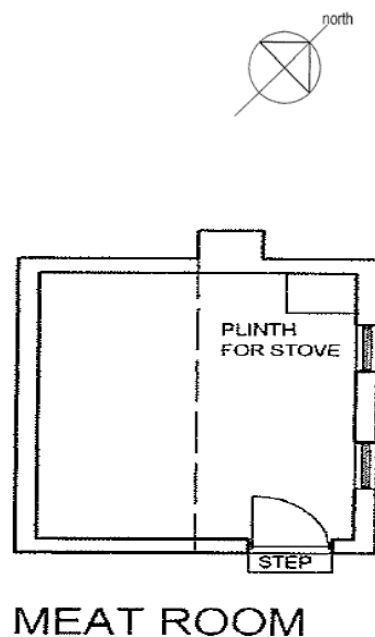


Figure 10 Plan of Meat Room from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 February 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 11 Northern end.



Figure 12 Southern end. Note ventilation in gable end and the timber lintel that spans the door opening.

Workers' Quarters (1860s)

This building is located to the north-east of the farmhouse. The roof is no longer extant and the north-east wall has fallen outwards.

Roof: None. The south-west (south) end of the building is gabled.

Walls: Constructed from soft-fired bricks and laid using Flemish bond with a mud mortar. The walls are rendered. A stone foundation was noted although the depth is unknown.

Openings: Evidence of central doorway could be seen at the north-east (north) end. There was a single window in the eastern wall. This was made using a timber lintel set into the brickwork. No relieving arch was used.

Interior: The building had only a single room with a fireplace on the wall directly opposite the door (eastern wall). The mantelpiece is no longer extant.

The floor and ceiling are no longer extant.

The window frame was made with butt joints.

Comments:

Despite the collapsed wall and the missing roof, the bricks used in this building appeared to be better than those used in the Meat Room and the building overall displayed better construction techniques. Documentary evidence suggests that this building was constructed around the same time as the core of the Farmhouse.

Plans

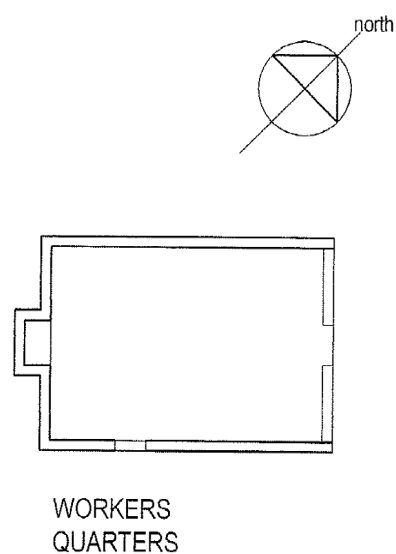


Figure 13 Plan of Workers Quarters from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of Office of

Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 February 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 14 Eastern side with collapsed wall on the right (northern end)



Figure 15 Looking south towards the fireplace



Figure 16 Window in eastern wall, looking towards the Homestead. Note butt joints to window frame

Blacksmith's Workshop (1860s)

This building lies to the east of the Workers' Quarters.

Roof: Gable roof covered with shingles. The remains of the later covering of corrugated galvanised iron sheeting can still be seen at the eastern end of the roof.

Walls: Soft-fired bricks laid using garden wall bond in mud mortar. Evidence of stone foundation although the depth is unknown. The exterior of the walls is covered with render.

Openings: The top of the doors and windows are formed using timber lintels. Above the window the bricks have been placed on edge along the width of the opening forming a pseudo-arch. Above the door the bricks form a row of stretchers.

Interior: The building contains only the one room with a doorway in the eastern side and a window at the southern end. A rectangular brick plinth directly opposite the door points to the former presence of the forge.

The floor is dirt and there is no ceiling.

The door and window frames have been formed using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. The door (in poor condition) is ledged and sheeted with timber boards.

Comments:

The different carpentry techniques displayed in this building possibly indicate that the carpenter responsible for this work was different to the one used to build the openings in the Meat Room.

It is interesting that the shingles have survived while the iron sheeting has largely disappeared.

Plans

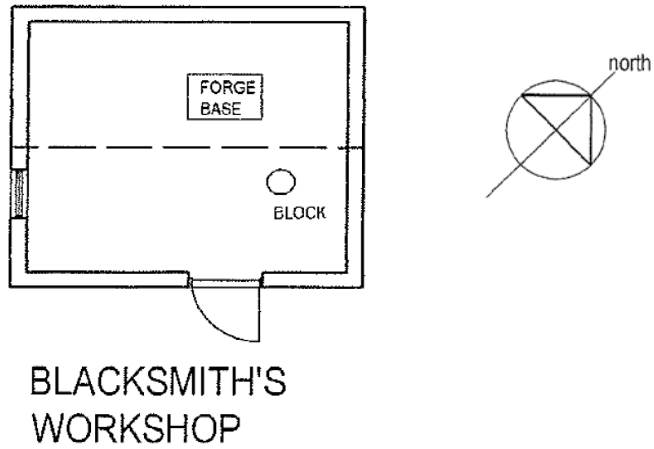


Figure 17 Plan of Blacksmith's Workshop from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 February 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 18 South-east corner. Note the stone foundation and the original shingle roofing material that survived beneath later iron cladding



Figure 19 Interior view looking west. The collapsed forge is represented by the pile of bricks



Figure 20 Detail of window in southern wall. Note the use of header bricks to create a relieving arch over the window's timber frame and the use of butt joints.

Woolbarn (1863) and Shearing Shed (1879)

This building lies to the south-east of the Farmhouse and comprises a single long building built from different materials and at different times. It is only one room wide (with the exception of an additional room on the northern side of the Woolbarn at its southern end. Open covered areas are located on the northern side of the building.

Roof: The whole building is covered with a gable roof that is clad with corrugated galvanised iron.

Walls: The walls of the Woolbarn are constructed using soft-fired brick and laid in English bond in a mud mortar. The walls have then been covered with render on the northern and eastern sides, the southern side remains unrendered. The interior walls are also rendered. There is evidence of a stone foundation although the depth is not known.

The walls of the Shearing Shed are constructed using roughly dressed stone, roughly coursed and set into a mud mortar. There is evidence of a stone foundation although the depth is not known.

Openings: The doorways in the Woolbarn have been formed using long timber lintels and no brick arches. The date '1863' is prominently displayed above the western most door.

The openings in the Shearing Shed comprise rounded arched window openings constructed in brick in the upper section of the building. Openings near the ground (where the sheep exited) are square arched openings formed with stone voussoirs. A doorway at the northern end of the building on the eastern side is simply a long timber lintel with the stonework above. The large opening at the southern end is formed using stone voussoirs and a long timber lintel beneath. Above the keystone is a stone bearing the date '1879'.

Interior: The Woolbarn is divided into two rooms: a long room that is divided into into three distinct areas due to different floor materials. Concrete has been used at either end of the room, while timber boards have been used in the central section. On the southern side of this long room is a smaller room which has a small anteroom on its northern side.

There is no ceiling.

The door frames are constructed using mortise and tenon joints secured by a timber peg.

The Shearing Shed is one long single space divided by sheep pens. A shearing stand is located at the northern end of the building, corresponding to the lower arched openings on the exterior. The floor in the Shearing Shed is slatted boards with a bricked area around the shearing station.

There is no ceiling.

The upper window frames have rebated joints and there are none in the lower openings. The doors are mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg.

Plans

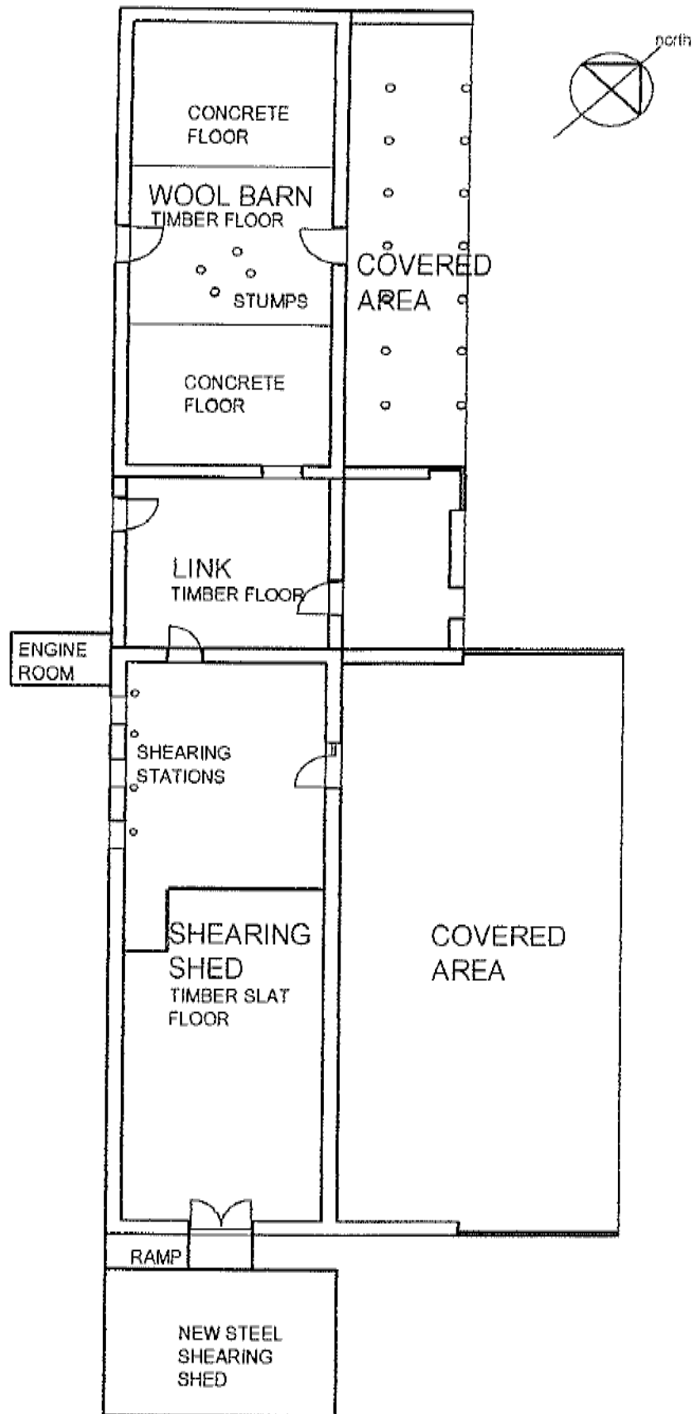


Figure 21 Plan of Wool Barn and Shearing Shed from HCWA 2010b (reproduced with permission of Office of Heritage)

Photographs – Taken 10 February 2011 by Fiona Bush



Figure 22 North-west corner of building with the Wool Barn on the left, the stone Shearing Shed in the Centre and the later steel shearing shed on the extreme right



Figure 23 Northern side of Wool Barn



Figure 24 Detail of door on northern side of Wool Barn. Note lack of relieving arch



Figure 25 Interior view of Wool Barn looking south towards Shearing Shed



Figure 26 Western side of Shearing Shed with new steel shed on the right



Figure 27 Detail of double door arch at southern end of Shearing Shed. Note date stone above the arch



Figure 28 Interior view of Shearing Shed looking south. Shearing station is visible on the right



Figure 29 Interior view of Shearing Shed looking north. The sheep pens are in the foreground with the shearing station visible on the left beyond the sheep pens

WALEBING

Located on the Great Northern Highway near the junction with The Midlands Road, it is approximately 22 km east of Moora. Moora is a small country town that lies approximately 200 km to the north of Perth. The place was visited on 29 June 2010.

History

The Lefroy brothers, Anthony O'Grady and Gerald de Courcy came from an old Irish family and both had received a sufficient education to pass the entrance examinations for the University of Dublin. Possibly due to a shortage of funds, neither brother actually enrolled. Anthony decided to immigrate to Western Australia after hearing about Western Australia from his English cousin Henry Maxwell Lefroy, who had settled in the colony in 1841. After receiving a gift of money from a great uncle, and a promise from cousin Henry to teach them farming practises, the two brothers left Ireland in 1842. They arrived in Western Australia in 1843 in time to learn that Henry was about to set off on an inland exploratory trip, so their education was passed over to the Burgess brothers who owned 'Tipperary' a property near York (Lefroy 2003).

After a year with the Burgess brothers the Lefroys leased the property 'Springhill', near Northam, while they looked for their own property. The brothers explored the country to the north of them, around the Victoria district and in 1846 applied for a pastoral lease that became the property 'Walebing'. By 1848 they had finally shifted all of their stock to 'Walebing' and built themselves a small house. Diary entries by Gerald indicate that the brothers constructed much of this building themselves (Lefroy 2003). Anthony decided to take up the position of Private Secretary to Governor Fitzgerald in 1849, leaving Gerald to manage 'Walebing' (John Taylor Architect 2001). During 1850, Gerald began to construct a larger house for himself and once again diary entries show that he was involved in much of the construction, although he did employ a stonemason named Pyke. Pyke not only worked on the stonework but apparently made bricks as well (Lefroy 2003, 219). Gerald's diary entries indicate that he was heavily involved in the construction of the house, turning his hand to making door and window frames, laying stones and also making some of the walls from rammed earth. He also became proficient at plastering. The bulk of the house appears to have been completed by the beginning of 1852 and he married Elizabeth Brockman in March of that year (Lefroy 2003, 261).

The partnership between Gerald and Anthony was dissolved in May 1853 as Gerald decided to return home to Ireland. Anthony took over the management of 'Walebing' although he appointed a series of overseers to assist him. The first of these was John Joyce. According to Erickson (1988c, 1839) Anthony employed a total of 13 ticket-of-leave men between 1852 and 1864 to 1881. However, none of these men appear in the Register as being employed in the construction of buildings at 'Walebing'. Given that the Register did not record what the ticket-of-leave men were actually employed to do until after 1860, it was not possible to determine if the men that Lefroy employed in 1852 were doing general farm work or were

involved in construction work. A comparison was made between the men listed in Erickson and O'Mara (1994) with a building related trade, against those employed prior to 1860. No convicts with a building trade were listed as being employed by Anthony Lefroy in 1852. However, according to John Taylor (2001), the Lefroy family⁴ believes that ticket-of-leave men were responsible for the construction of the stone buildings on the property during the 1850s and that the stone for the buildings was obtained from outcrops on the property (John Taylor Architect 2001, 29). The Wool Shed has the date 1859 carved onto a section of concrete by R. Seminara who was responsible for the restoration work on the building in 1990. As the date 1859 was recorded at the same time as the restoration work, its accuracy could be questioned (see Figure 1).



Figure 1 Rendered area showing inscribed construction date, restoration date and the builder's name

Anthony's son, Henry, took over the management of the property in 1872 and occupied the cottage that Gerald had built. Henry became engaged in 1876 and he and his fiancée, Rose Wittenoom, began planning a new house in 1876. The new homestead, which was completed in 1880, was constructed from local granite and bricks (John Taylor Architect 2001, 30).

The 1850s buildings at 'Walebing' comprised the Kitchen Stores, which was used as a workers' kitchen and mess, a cook's room and a store for the property. The Bulk Store and Quarters retains the room to storage room, but the two rooms to house workers collapsed in 1968. The Stables was composed of two sections; one section housed draft horses and the other riding horses. The Wool Shed and the Mill and Store comprise one building. The Mill equipment that was used to grind flour is now missing. The long Carriage Shed, which had a small dairy at one end, was used to accommodate farm carts. The dairy was only used when feed was plentiful enough to keep milking cows (John Taylor Architect 2001, 29).

Henry Lefroy became premier in 1917 and died in 1930. His son Robert took over the management of 'Walebing' in that year (John Taylor Architect 2001, 39).

⁴ 'Walebing' continues to be owned and operated by the Lefroy family.

In 2001, John Taylor Architect prepared a conservation plan for the building.

Ticket-of-Leave Men Employed

Edward Fawcett (263) – carpenter. Employed 28.7.1857

John Coggill (6047) – carpenter. Employed 1872

Patrick Byrne (9677) – carpenter. Employed 1875

William Hawkins (9760) – carpenter. Employed 20.3.1877

Building Descriptions

‘Walebing’ comprises several buildings including the first homestead (1850 – not inspected), the kitchen stores (1850s), the bulk store (1850s) the wool shed, flour mill and store (1850s), the stables (1850s) and the carriage shed and dairy (1850s). Together with other modern sheds that have not formed part of this study.

Cottage (1850 – 52)

This is the cottage that Gerald built for himself. It was not included in the comparative analysis as the building had been partially rebuilt in 1892 after being damaged in a fire.

Kitchen Stores (1850s)

The building is rectangular in form with the long sides running north-south. The majority of the door openings are on the western side, with the exception of a single door on the eastern side at the southern end of the building. There are no openings on the two short ends. The interior is divided into three rooms of differing sizes.

Roof: The gable roof is covered with corrugated galvanised sheeting and there are two, short stone chimneys at each end of the building. A verandah extends across the western side of the building and is formed by the continuous fall of the roof line. New bush posts support the verandah top plate.

Walls: Random rubble stone (local granite) walling on a stone foundation. The walls have been re-pointed with cement making it impossible to determine the type of mortar used in the building’s construction.

Openings: Four doors lead into the three rooms on the western side of the building. The large room at the southern end of the building, referred to in the conservation plan as the Men’s Kitchen Dining Room, has two doors at either end. The Men’s Kitchen also has a third door in the eastern wall. This door once led out to a galvanised extension that has been removed. All of the windows are of the casement style. The room at the northern end (Station Store) has a pair of casements, while the other rooms have single casement windows. All of the openings are composed of squared stone with timber lintels and sills.

Interior: As stated above the building has three rooms arranged in a row. The northern most room is referred to in the conservation plan as the Station Store, which is possibly mislabelled as the room has a large fireplace at the northern end. The central room (referred to as the Cook's Room in the conservation plan), has no fireplace and it is also the smallest room in the building. It is possible that this was actually the Station Store, rather than the Cook's room. As mentioned above, the southern room is referred to as the Men's Kitchen and is the largest room. At the southern end is a large fireplace. Both end rooms are fitted with simple timber mantelpieces.

The walls have been coated with several layers of lime wash which has now been covered with paint.

The Station Store has a stone floor, the Cook's room has a timber floor and the Men's Kitchen has a concrete floor.

All of the rooms have an open ceiling, which reveals bush pole bearers and the roofing timbers.

The door frames are a mixture of butt joints and mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber pegs. The window frames are made using mortise and tenon joints with timber pegs.

Comments:

The exterior side of the stones have been carefully dressed to present a smooth face, but in general the rocks have been roughly cut and display a variety of sizes.

Plan

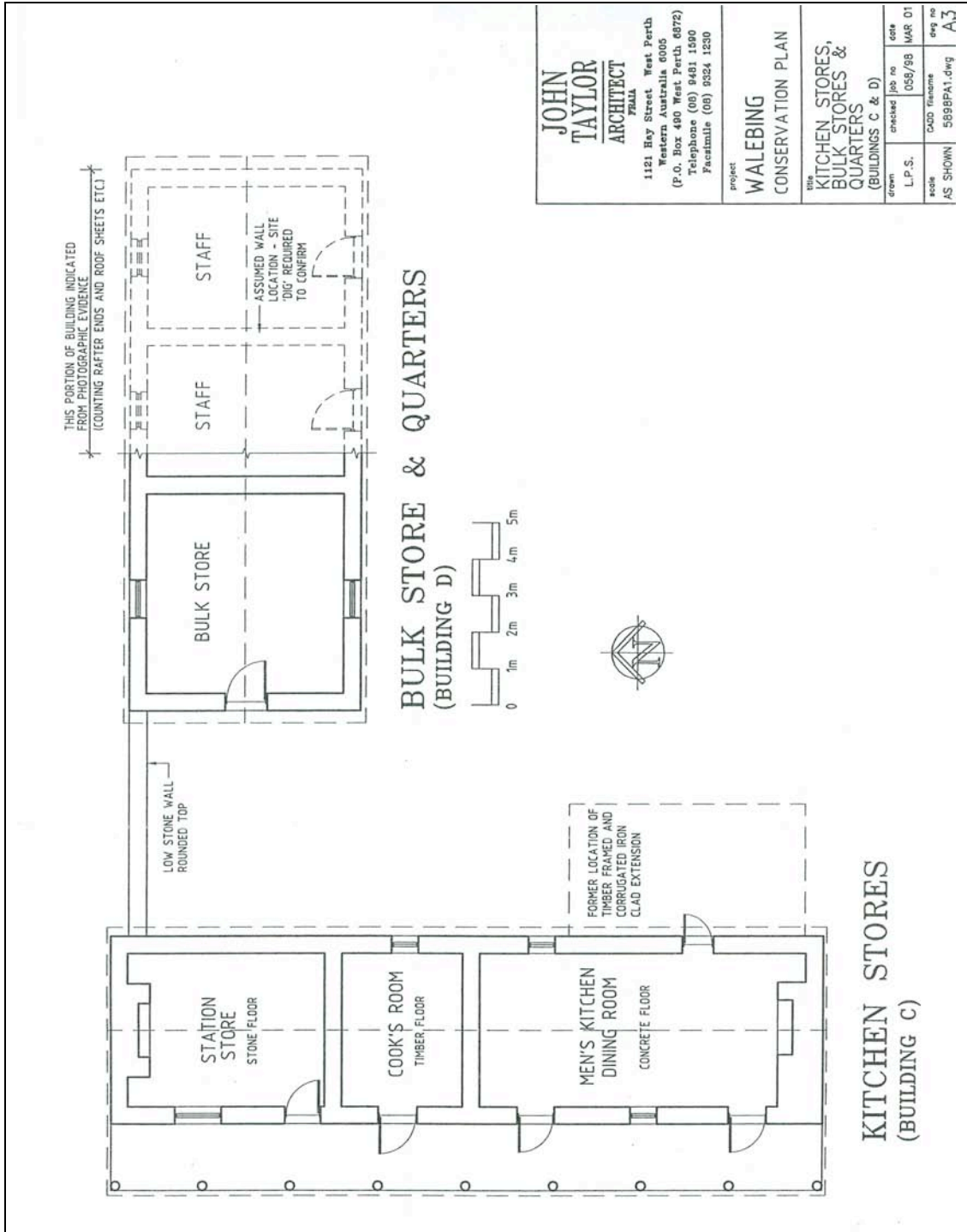


Figure 2 Plan of Kitchen Stores and Bulk Store from John Taylor 2001 (reproduced with permission of John Taylor)

Photographs – Taken 29 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 3 Western side of Kitchen Stores looking towards the south.



Figure 4 Eastern side of the Kitchen Stores looking north towards the east-west wall that butts up against the eastern wall of the Kitchen Stores at the eastern wall of the Bulk Store



Figure 5 Detail of stonework on the western side of the Kitchen Stores. This stonework has been marked out to resemble dressed stonework.



Figure 5 Detail of window frame in the Station Store room.



Figure 6 Detail of door frame to the Station Store Room.



Figure 7 Window on the western side of the building in the Men's Kitchen



Figure 8 Interior view of the Cook's Room, looking east



Figure 9 Interior view of the Men's Kitchen looking south towards the large fireplace

Bulk Store (1850s)

The Bulk Store is located just to the east of the Kitchen Stores. It comprises one single room, which is all that is left of what was once a three roomed building. The remaining room is roughly square.

Roof: Gable roof covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheets. The eastern end of the rafters extend beyond the line of roof sheeting.

Walls: Random rubble stone (local granite) walling. No foundation was visible. The walls have been re-pointed with cement. However, in the interior it is possible to see that mud mortar has been used.

Openings: There is a single door at the western end and windows on the northern and southern sides. All the openings are formed using a timber lintel.

Interior: The building comprises a single room. The interior walls retain evidence that they were once covered with a mud render that was then covered with a lime wash.

There is no floor.

The ceiling is open to the roofing timbers.

The door and window frames had been formed using butt joints. The windows are no longer glazed. The door is currently missing.

Comments:

The exterior sides of the stones have been carefully re-pointed, however it is the interior side, which has not undergone any restoration work, that provides detailed information about construction and former wall finishes. The two rooms that were formerly located to the east of the structure were once used to accommodate farm workers.

Plan

See Figure 1

Photographs – Taken 29 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 10 Southern side of building. The exposed rafters and jagged wall on the right, indicates the former location of the quarters. Note the wall that runs between this building and the Kitchen Stores.



Figure 11 Western wall. The timber lintel supports the stone work for the doorway



Figure 12 Interior side of window frame. Note the mud mortar and evidence on the stones of a lime wash coating



Figure 13 Interior view of building looking towards the north-east corner. Note the remains of the mud render above the window

Wool Shed, Flour Mill and Store (1850s)

This large building is located some distance to the east of the Kitchen Stores and Bulk Store building. It is a long rectangular building, one and a half storeys high on the western side and single storied on the eastern side. A modern, galvanised iron addition, which is used for shearing, has been added to the northern end of the building. This structure was not examined.

Roof: The gable roof is covered with corrugated galvanised iron sheets. The single storey section on the eastern side of the building is covered by the continuation of the main roof.

Walls: The walls are random rubble stone (granite) walling on a stone foundation. The stones were laid using a mud mortar. The building has been re-pointed with cement.

Openings: There are two doors on the western side of the building, two doors on the southern end and also internal doors. No relieving arch was used to form these openings, timber lintels support the stonework above the openings. In some instances these timbers have begun to sag.

Interior: The building contains four rooms on the ground floor and a loft area at the southern end. The small square loft area was formerly associated with flour milling activity, and the room immediately below (see Figure 15) was where the millstones were located. Immediately to the north of this room is a long room that is referred to as the 'wool shed'. This room still appears to be used to sort and class wool. Running down the eastern side of these two rooms is the single storey section. It contains two narrow rooms. The southern room is only accessible through a door at the southern end. The room to the north can be accessed from the northern end, and also via a doorway in the eastern side of the wool shed. This section of the building appears to originally have been one long single room, but at some stage the wall dividing it into two separate spaces was inserted.

The floors are a mixture of concrete and timber. The former mill area has a concrete floor on the ground floor and a timber floor to the loft area. The small room on the eastern side of the mill section is dirt. The wool shed and the room immediately to the east of the wool shed both have timber floors.

All of the rooms have open ceilings.

The door and window frames have been joined using butt joints. The door frame leading into the small room on the eastern side of the former mill has chamfered sides.

Comments:

The area that once housed the flour mill has not retained any evidence of this activity in the loft floor. Any evidence on the ground floor was lost when the concrete floor was laid.

Plan

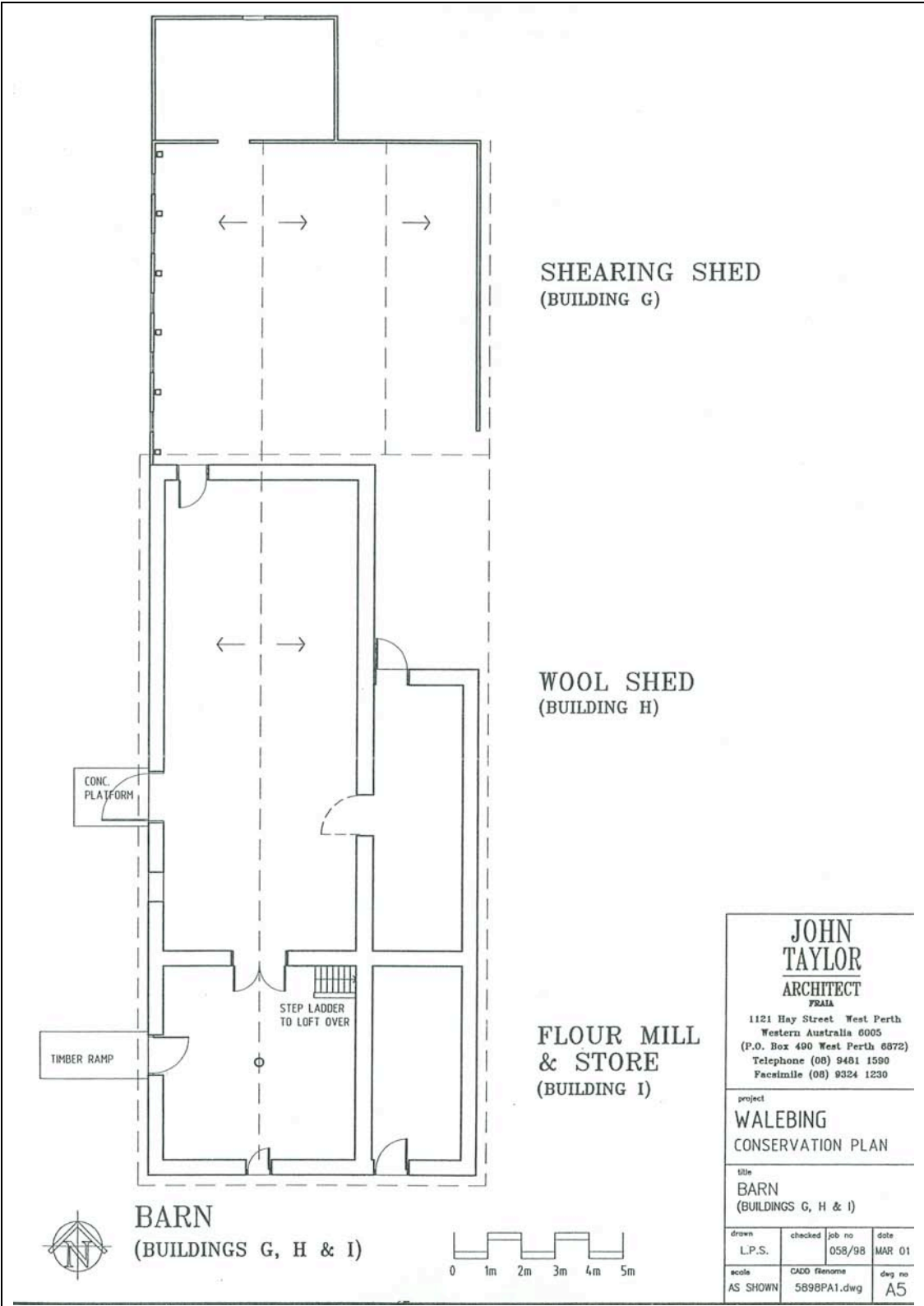


Figure 14 Plan of Wool Shed, Flour Mill and Store from John Taylor 2001 (reproduced with permission of John Taylor)

Photographs – Taken 29 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 15 Southern side of building showing the former flour mill section. The Stables are visible in the distance on the left



Figure 16 Eastern side of building showing single storey section with the new shearing shed at the rear



Figure 17 Western side of building. The stone wall is all that remains of the horse works area. The flour mill was powered by horses walking around a central shaft.



Figure 18 Interior of single storey section looking south. This is the room on the eastern side of the wool shed.



Figure 19 Wool shed looking north



Figure 20 Ground floor of the mill section with the ladder leading upstairs to the loft



Figure 21 Door on the western side which leads into the mill area. Notice the sagging timber lintel



Figure 22 Door on the eastern side of the wool shed which leads into the narrow single storey room on its eastern side

Stables (1850s)

This building is located to the north-west of the Wool Shed, Flour Mill and Store. The building is not particularly large and is approximately square.

Roof: The gable roof is clad with corrugated galvanised iron. A skillion roof extends along the northern side of the building. This section covers an open section where the horses were formally stabled.

Walls: The walls are random rubble stone (granite) walling. No foundation was visible. The stones were laid using a mud mortar. The building has been re-pointed with cement.

Openings: There is a door on the eastern side, in the open section and windows in the western wall. No relieving arch was used to form these openings, timber lintels support the stonework above the openings.

Interior: The building plan consists of two separate sections: the open stalls on the northern side of the building and an enclosed section (with a later corrugated iron and concrete addition on the southern side) on the southern side. The southern section has been divided into two rooms, a long room on the western side and a small, square room at the eastern end. The northern side has retained the divisions between the stalls and also the feeding troughs on the southern side of the stalls. Short concrete walls have divided the larger southern room into small pens. This area is now used to breed pigs.

The floor in the southern section is concrete and that in the northern section is dirt.

There are no ceilings.

The door and window frames have been formed using butt joints.

Comments:

The original layout of the southern section is now difficult to discern, but the arrangements for stabling horses is still clearly evident in the northern section.

Plan

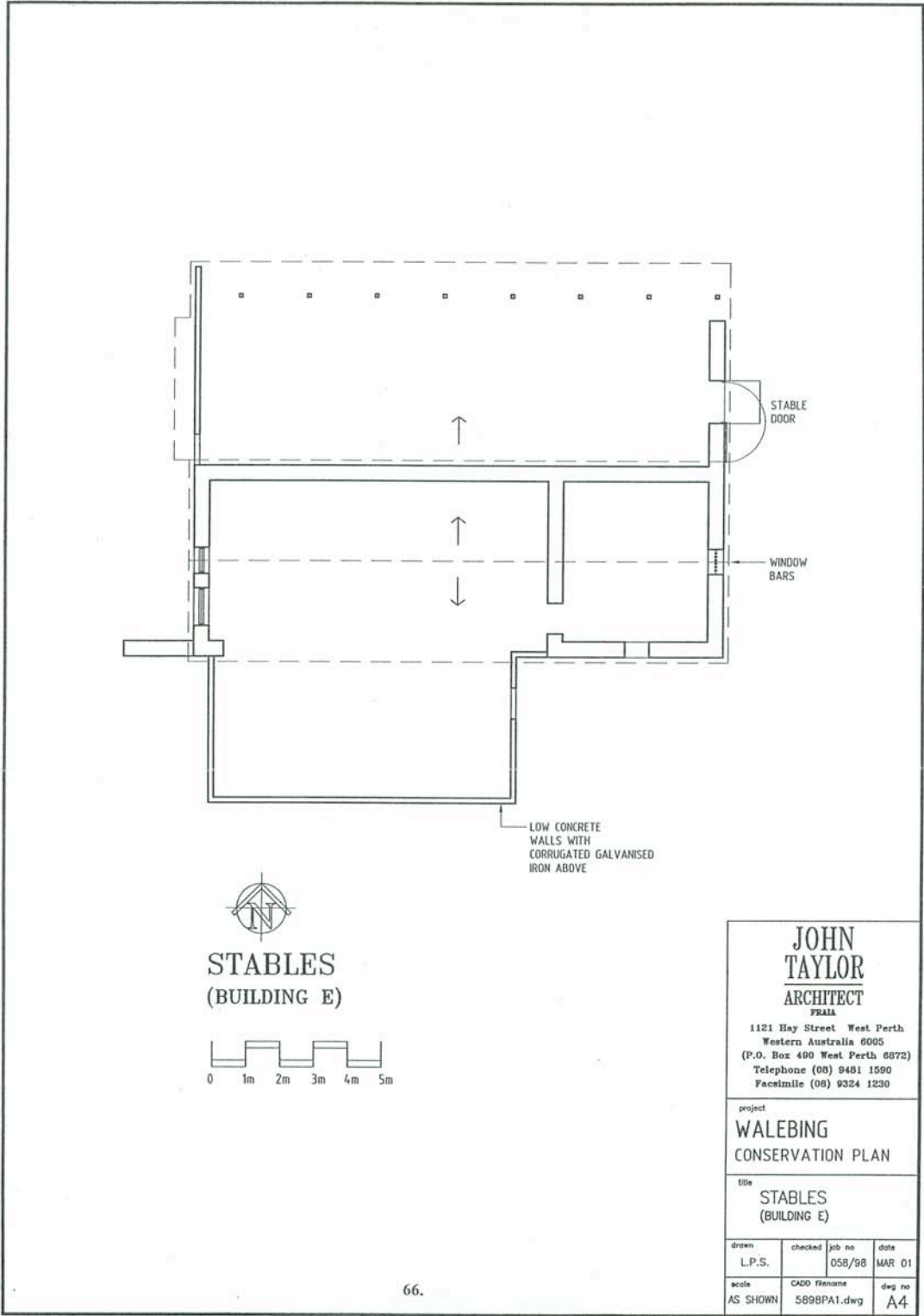


Figure 23 Plan of Stables from John Taylor 2001 (reproduced with permission of John Taylor)

Photographs – Taken 29 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 24 Southern side of Stables with the more recent concrete and galvanised iron section on the left side of the building



Figure 25 Western side of Stables. The iron clad wall on the left replaces a stone wall. This wall can be seen in a 1959 photograph in the conservation plan



Figure 26 Interior of southern section.



Figure 27 View of horse stall in northern section together with feeding trough



Figure 28 Interior view of southern section showing concrete walls and pig pens



Figure 29 Detail of window on western side of building

Cart Shed and Dairy (1850s)

This is a long narrow building located to the south west of the Stables and the Wool Shed, Flour Mill and Store. The long walls run north-south.

Roof: Gable roof clad with corrugated galvanised iron.

Walls: The walls are random rubble stone (granite) walling. No foundation was visible. The building has been re-pointed with cement making it difficult to determine the mortar used in this building.

Openings: The building has two doors, in the dairy section (on the western and eastern side) at the northern end of the building. The doorways have been created using a brick arch of two rows of headers.

Interior: The building is essentially a single long space with a wall on the western side and half height concrete walls on the eastern side. This area was formerly open sided. The interior has now been divided into pens to house pigs. A small room at the southern end was used as the dairy.

The floors in both sections are dirt. There are no ceilings. The door frames are formed using butt joints.

Plan

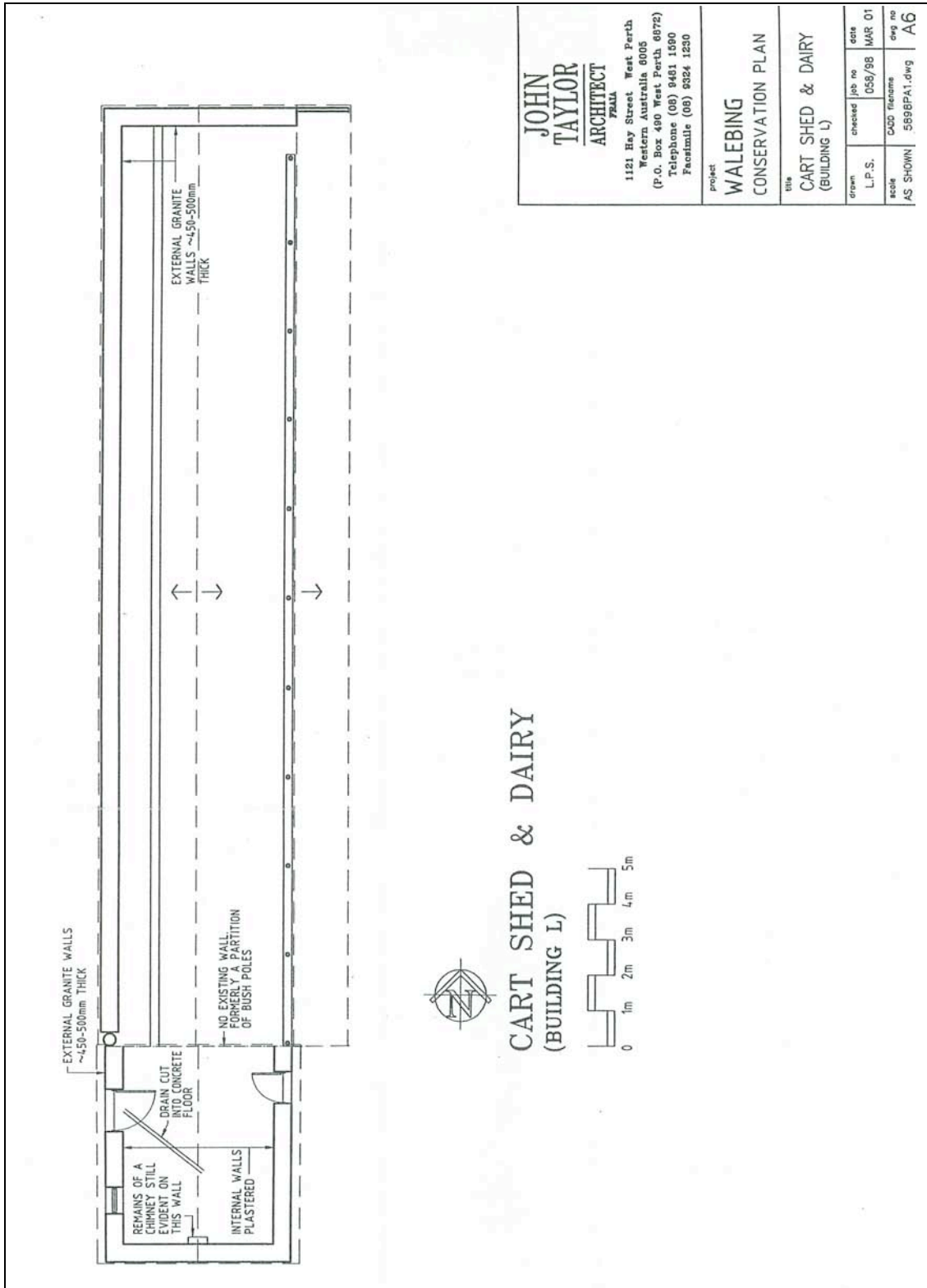


Figure 30 Plan of Cart Shed and Dairy from John Taylor 2001 (reproduced with permission of John Taylor)

Photographs – Taken 29 June 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 31 Western side of Cart shed with dairy on the right hand side



Figure 32 Eastern side of Cart Shed showing new concrete walls to c.1 metre high.



Figure 33 Western side of Cart Shed



Figure 34 Dairy at southern end of Cart Shed



Figure 35 Interior view of Cart Shed, looking north. The concrete walls represent pig pens



Figure 36 Interior view of the dairy

YANGEDINE

Located on the Top-Beverley Road, approximately 19 km to the south of York in the Shire of Beverley. York lies 97 km east of Perth. The place was visited on 19 December 2010.

History

James Walcott arrived in Western Australia in January 1830 and received Avon Location H (on which Yangedine is located) as part of his land allocation. Walcott sold off portions of Location H until by 1839 Location H2 (Yangedine) was reduced to 11,993 acres. Samuel and Robert Viveash (together with their brother-in-law John F. Smith) purchased the property from Walcott in 1839. As the brothers were already leasing another York property, Smith was left to develop H2, which acquired the name 'Yangedine' during his occupancy. Documentary sources suggest that John Smith built the first homestead at 'Yangedine' around 1842. In 1845 there was further re-distribution of the location and Smith was left with only 5,996 acres of Location H2. Smith was also heavily mortgaged to John Wall Hardey and being unable to pay off a large part of this debt the property reverted to Hardey (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2008).

In the 1850s Hardey leased the property to John Taylor who had arrived in the colony as an indentured servant to Thomas Brown (who owned the nearby property 'Grassdale'). In the 1859 Census he was recorded as a farmer with over 100 acres under various crops, 40 horses, 5 cattle, 3,500 sheep and 80 pigs (Enumerator's Schedule 1859). In 1860 he was able to purchase 'Yangedine' from Hardey and by 1866 had built his own mill as he advertised milling services in January 1866. The advertisement stated that 'Mr John Taylor having erected a very extensive steam flour mill at Yangedine is prepared to grind any quantity of wheat at 9d. per bushel (*Inquirer*, 30 January 1866; Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2008).

The construction date for the other buildings on the property (shearing shed, carriage shed and worker's quarters) is not known, with the exception of the stables, which bears the date 1875 on the front gable. Historic photographs of the property show that apart from the Worker's Quarters there was also a dairy, a two storey carriage house and a brick entry statement with an opening that would have been wide enough to take a loaded wagon. The original homestead can also be seen.⁵ This collection of brick buildings, together with the evidence supplied by the ticket-of-leave employers' list suggests that the bulk of the building at 'Yangedine' took place between 1864 and 1876. One of the historic photographs shows that the Mill (now the Shearing Shed) was originally three stories high.

Following the death of his wife Ann in 1884, John re-married a year later and moved into York. Taylor leased the property to the Darlot brothers who appointed Frank Lodge as their manager (*Inquirer*, 5 April 1895). The Darlots later purchased the

⁵ Photographs: 1133B/101 in J.S. Battye Library; photographs in possession of current owner, Duncan Young.

property and in 1890 sold all of the Mill equipment. It was after this date that the Mill was altered to function as a shearing shed. The Darlots sold 'Yangedine' in 1900 to the Marwick Brothers, a local farming family (*Inquirer*, 24 August 1900). A year after the Marwicks purchased the property a description of 'Yangedine' referred to the Mill building as having three stories and operating as a shearing shed with a granary above (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2008).

A new homestead was constructed on the eastern side of the road in c. 1924 and farm employees or visitors used the original homestead (Heritage Council of Western Australia, 2008). In c.1942 a small tornado ripped through the district and caused considerable damage to buildings on 'Yangedine'. The gatehouse entry, carriage shed and dairy were practically levelled and the stables lost most of its roof sheeting. The northern section of the original homestead was also badly damaged and was rebuilt using timber framing and asbestos sheeting.⁶ It is possible that remnants of the two storey carriage shed remain as part of an open shed on the western side of the original homestead.

Ticket-of-Leave Men Employed

The men listed below were all employed by expirée John McCarthy – brickmaker in York.

Edward Williams (6484) – brickmaker. Employed 23.8.1864

Francis Harvey (4988) – brickmaker. Employed 24.10.1864 – 3.12.1864

Charles (Eli) Duke (5984) – brickmaker. Employed 6.12.1864 – 30.1.1865

John Unsworth (6466) – brickmaker. Employed 1.2.1865

John Hinton (7466) – brickmaker. Employed 15.3.1866

William Jones (8040) – brickmaker. Employed 7.12.1866

Peter Docherty (7402) – mason and brickmaker. Employed 28.6.1869

James Ellis (8837) – brickmaker. Employed 23.7.1869

James McDonald (8350) – brickmaker. Employed 13.8.1869

Charles Castleton (9403) – brickmaker. Employed 1872

William Brown (7932) – brickmaker. Employed 1876

The men listed below were all employed by expirée Henry Duckham – brickmaker in York.

Charles Collins (9125) – brickmaker. Employed 1869

Samuel Wignall (7897) – brickmaker. Employed 29.7.1872

⁶ Information obtained from the current owner, Duncan Young as well as photographs that were taken following the aftermath of the destruction, 19 December 2010.



Figure 1 View of property looking towards the Homestead and the former arched gateway. The building to the left of the gateway may be the carriage house, now referred to as the Blacksmith's Building (reproduced with permission of Duncan Young)

Building Descriptions

'Yangedine' a rural property comprises a suite of buildings that includes the original homestead (c.1842), worker's quarters (1860s), shearing shed (former mill – 1866) and stables (1875). A newer homestead (c.1924) is located to the north of the buildings just listed and has not been included in this study.

Homestead (c. 1842)

The building is a single storey house with a north and a west wing. The northern wing was damaged in the c.1942 storm and this part was rebuilt using timber framing and asbestos cement sheets for the cladding. The description given below only refers to the western wing.

Roof: Gable roof form on the northern side with a skillion roofed form covering the rooms on the southern side of the building. The roof is clad with corrugated galvanised iron sheets. There is a single tall brick chimney on the southern side of the house.

A verandah runs across the northern side of the house and has a scalloped timber valance.

Walls: Rendered brick construction on a stone foundation of roughly coursed, faced stone. The soft fired bricks are set in a mud mortar. Due to the presence of the render, the manner in which the bricks were laid was not possible to determine. The walls have been marked out to resemble dressed ashlar masonry.

Openings: As the walls are rendered it was not possible to determine how the

openings were formed. The rendered sides of the openings have been finished with a chamfer. All of the windows are fitted with timber sills.

Interior: The internal layout comprises a set of rooms located under the main room and then an additional set of rooms running across the southern side (rear) of the house under the skillion roof. Two of the rooms in this section of the house are set at a slightly lower level than the rest of the house and are therefore reached by three steps. The third room has been raised so that it is level with the northern part of the house and has been converted into a ensuite bathroom for the main bedroom.

There are two rooms running across the front of the house and two passages. The central passage provides access to the lounge and the main bedroom and to the rear of the house. The lounge room has a fireplace fitted with a timber mantelpiece that is not original. The rear section contains a kitchen. The second passage is at the eastern end of this wing and formerly gave access to bedrooms in the rebuilt northern wing. This passage runs the full length of the house. It continues to provide access to rooms in the north wing.

The house has timber floors throughout.

The ceiling in the lounge, central passage and main bedroom is mansard in shape. The lounge and central passage ceiling are lathe and plaster, the main bedroom is plasterboards and battens. The ensuite and the eastern passage are also plasterboard and batten. The two rear rooms have timber plank ceilings.

The door and window frames have been made using mortise and tenon joints secured with timber pegs. The frames are fitted with timber architraves. The main door has a circular fanlight and a three panel door. The upper panel section is a replacement. The eastern passage door has no fanlight and it is glazed in its upper half. The windows are double hung sashes.

Comments:

Duncan Young has a sketch of the house prior to the damage to the northern wing (see Figure 1). This plan shows what the various rooms were used for. The dining room, kitchen, storeroom and dairy were all located in this section together with additional bedrooms that may have been used by house servants. It is highly likely that the current lounge and main bedroom were the three rooms first constructed by John Smith with additions made to the rear of these rooms and then a new wing on the eastern side.

Plan

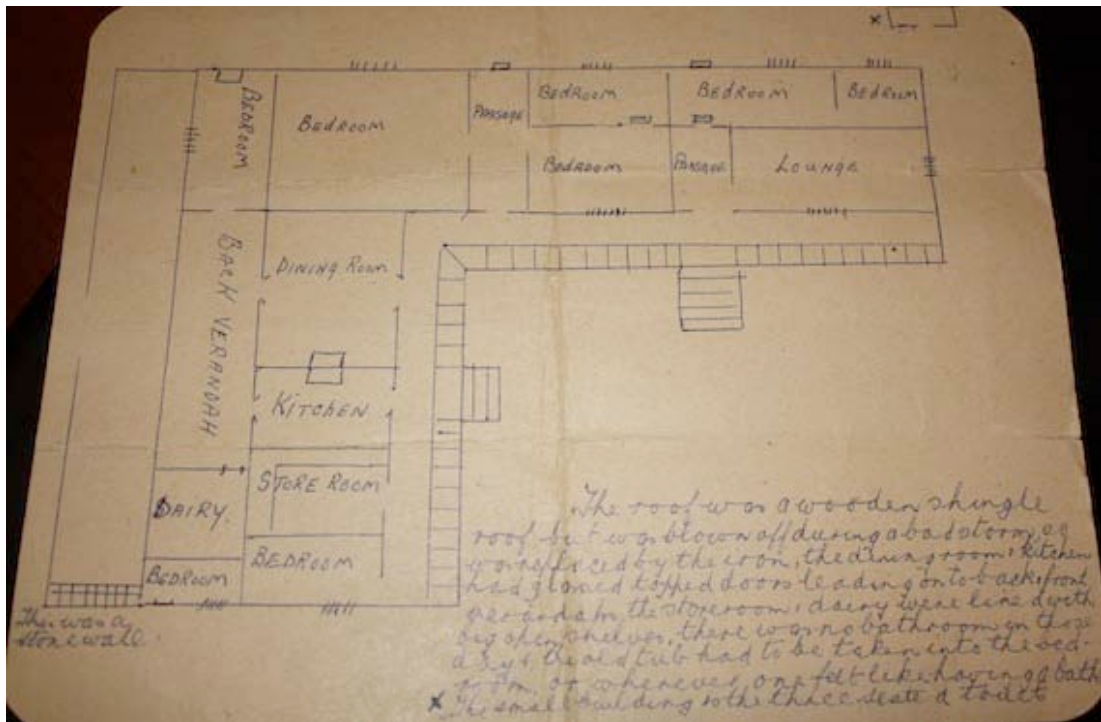


Figure 2 Plan drawn by former resident of the Homestead (reproduced with permission of Duncan Young)

Photographs – Taken 19 December 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 3 Looking south towards Homestead from the driveway



Figure 4 Southern side of Homestead. Note scalloped timber valance along verandah



Figure 5 View of front verandah looking west. Note round arched fanlight to main door



Figure 6 Southern side of Homestead (rear)



Figure 7 Interior view of Homestead. Central passage looking south. Note masard profile to ceiling at the end of the passage



Figure 8 Interior view of lounge room looking north-east. Note mansard shaped ceiling



Figure 9 Detail of door frame showing mortise and tenon joint secured with a wooden dowel

Shearing Shed (c.1865)

This is a rectangular building lying to the west of the old homestead. It is located next to Walcott Spring, which once supplied the mill's steam engine with water. This spring is now causing considerable damage to the south-east corner of the building as it was constructed too close to the spring. A verandah runs across the eastern side of the building and a newer addition (built in c.1902 when the building was remodelled to function as a shearing shed) along its northern side. The building is now only a single storey.

Roof: The skillion roof and the verandah is clad with sheets of corrugated galvanized iron. The original roof was hipped.

Walls: Brick construction on stone foundation. The faced stones are roughly coursed and set in hard lime mortar. The soft-bricks are laid in Flemish bond using hard lime mortar. Above the line of the verandah roof is a line of angled bricks, forming a saw-toothed design. The interior walls are painted white.

Openings: The openings that remain in this building are formed with row-lock arches with a triple row of brick headers. Large timber lintels extend across the width of the individual openings. The only original openings remaining in the building are those across the northern side. The large doorway in the south-east corner has collapsed and the access to a skillion roofed addition to the south is via a gap between the eastern wall and the southern wall.

Interior: The front (north) of the building, in the verandah area is set up to receive the sheep. The sheep then move into the main section of the building which comprises a single room that has pens and a shearing stand.

The floors are timber slats. The ceiling is formed by the underside of the corrugated galvanized iron sheets.

The door frames are made using mortise and tenon joints secured with a timber peg. The gap between the bottom of the timber lintel and the top of the brick arch is covered by a shaped timber board that has a timber batten nailed to its base to form a decorative 'bead'.

Comments:

Historic photographs show that this was once a very substantial building. According to the current owner, his grandfather commented that the third floor walls were two bricks wide then the first storey was three bricks wide and the bottom storey was 4 bricks wide.⁷ Certainly the remaining walls of the lower storey are 470 mm thick and four stretcher bricks run across the length of two header bricks. See detailed photograph of wall construction.

The bricks are well made and show competency in their laying. The decorative saw-tooth pattern was once repeated at top plate height in the other floors (see historic photographs). The bricklayer effectively used the darker coloured headers and the lighter coloured stretchers to create a decorative diaper work pattern. The

⁷ Information relayed by Duncan Young, 19 December 2010.

photographs also show that the window openings in the upper storey were row-lock brick arches with a double row of headers. The timber steps that once led up to the upper floor are currently stored beneath the verandah floor.

Plan

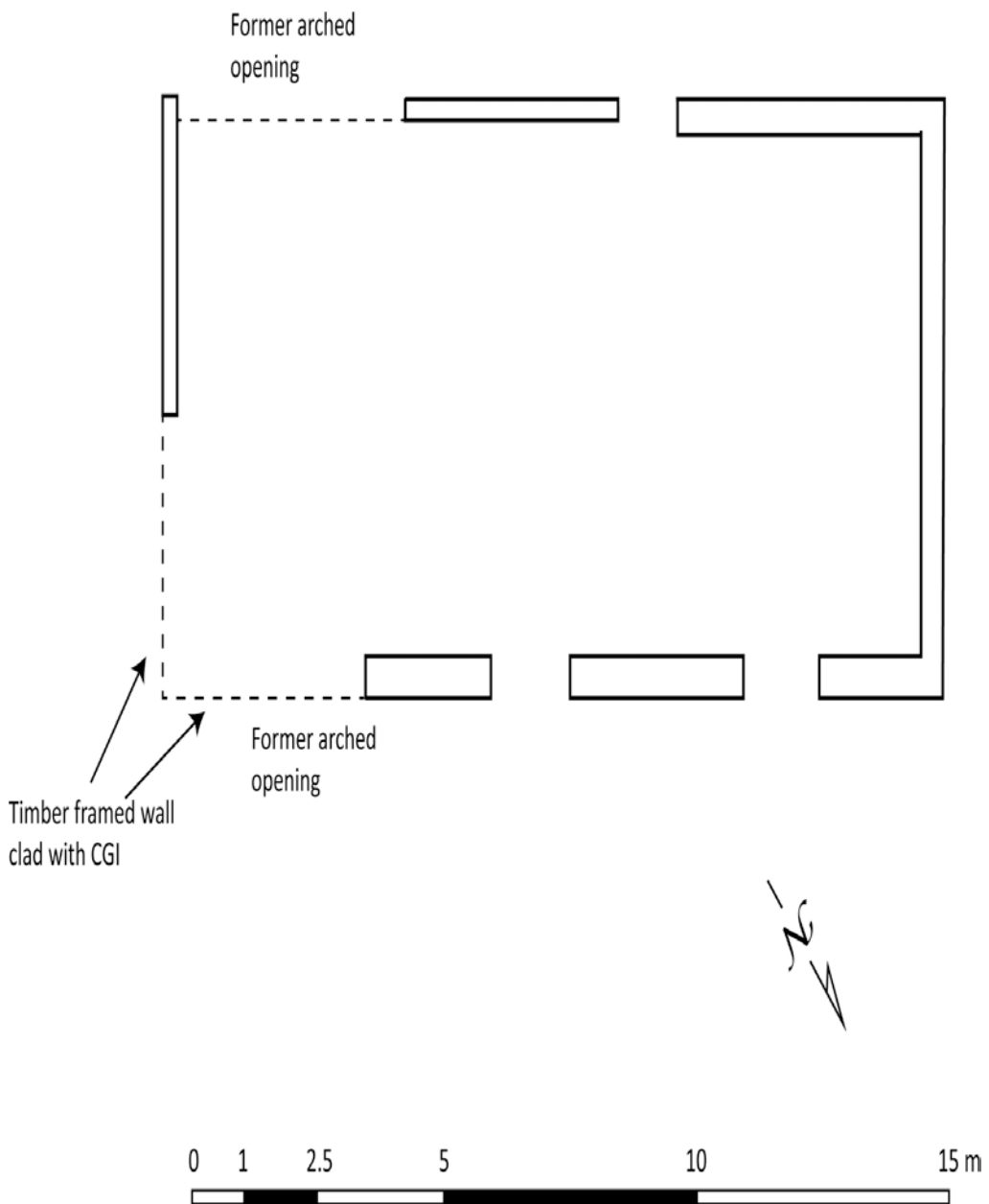


Figure 10 Plan of Shearing Shed (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 19 December 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 11 View of northern side of Shearing Shed



Figure 12 View of western end of Shearing Shed. A single row of saw-toothed edged bricks can be seen just above the line of the roof of the side addition



Figure 13 Detail of the Shearing Shed's brick foundation



Figure 14 Northern side of the Shearing Shed



Figure 15 Interior view of the Shearing Shed looking north towards the side addition. Note brick arch above the timber lintel



Figure 16 Detail of door frame on northern side of building which shows the mortise and tenon joint



Figure 17 Detail of the wall on the ground floor of the Shearing Shed



Figure 18 The Shearing Shed during the 1900s after the removal of the upper storey (reproduced with permission of Duncan Young)

Quarters (1860s)

This small square building is located some distance to the north of the shearing shed and to the west of the stables.

Roof: Steeply pitched hipped roof clad with corrugated galvanised sheets. The original shingles have been retained beneath the iron sheets.

Walls: Brick construction laid on a stone foundation that is roughly coursed. The soft-fired bricks are laid using Garden wall bond with a hard lime mortar. The corners of the building extend slightly from the rest of the wall to form corner buttresses. Large areas of the wall have been re-pointed with cement.

Openings: An original window opening remains on the southern side. The opening is formed using a timber lintel and no brick arch. A doorway on the eastern has been partially blocked up to form a window. Once again the opening is formed using a timber lintel. There is also a doorway on the northern side. However, the bricks above the timber lintel have been heavily repaired and re-pointed as have the bricks on the sides of the opening making it difficult to determine whether this is an original door, originally a window or a new opening.

Interior: The interior is simple a single room. There is evidence on the west wall that a fireplace was once located against this wall and also for where the chimney stack used to rise above the roof line.

The floor is concrete and the ceiling is open to the roof.

The door and window frames have been made using butt joints.

Comments:

The bricks have been well made but the building the walls display signs of movement which has led to cracking that has been repaired using cement. The areas above the lintels has been particularly affected apart from the window on the southern side, which may be original.

Plan

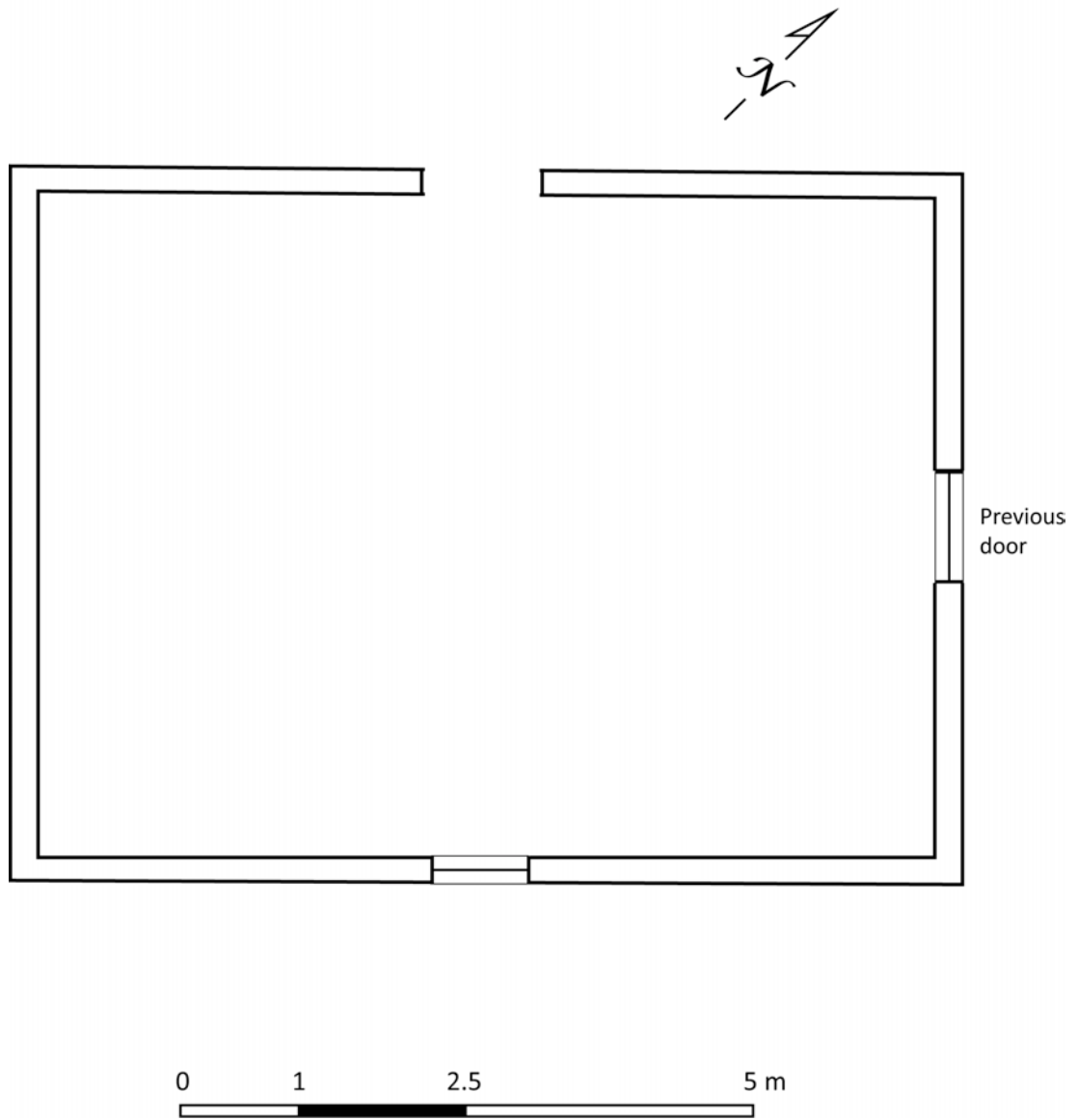


Figure 19 Plan of Workers' Quarters (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 19 December 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 20 Northern side of Workers' Quarters



Figure 21 Southern side of Workers' Quarters



Figure 22 Interior view of Workers' Quarters looking south. The previous location of the chimney and fireplace can be seen in the west wall at the rear.



Figure 23 Detail of brick arch above doorway on the northern side

Stables (1875)

This is a long rectangular, two storey building located to the north of the old homestead and shearing shed and slightly to the east of the Worker's Quarters. The long walls are oriented approximately east-west.

Roof: Gable roof covered with corrugated galvanized iron sheeting.

Walls: Brick construction laid on a stone foundation, that is roughly coursed. The soft-fired bricks have been laid using English bond on the southern and western walls and Flemish bond on the northern and eastern walls. The bricks are set in a hard lime mortar. In the gable ends and along the southern wall, bricks with a semi-circular edge to one side have been inserted into the brickwork, forming circular ventilation holes. In the gable ends they have been laid to form a decorative diamond pattern while in the southern elevation they are evenly spaced along the upper storey. On the southern side of the building, at the corners of the building on the ground floor, every second course of bricks has been left protruding slightly beyond the line of the wall – presumably to provide a key for a single storey addition. Some areas of the wall have been re-pointed with cement or the bricks have been completely covered with cement. The upper area of the western gable has been covered with cement render. The interior walls are rendered.

Openings: The door openings are formed using relieving arches constructed from a triple row of headers. Beneath this is a large timber lintel. New door openings have been created on the ground floor at the eastern and western ends simply by inserting a timber lintel. Above the new door in the eastern wall is a relieving arch with a triple row of bricks that may represent an original door opening into the loft space. The top section still remains but it has been boarded up. The original door opening to the loft area at the western end has been blocked up. A new doorway has been inserted midway along the northern wall using a timber lintel.

The original ventilation holes along the southern side of the stables have all been formed using a flat arch of 3 bricks. There is also a window on the northern side in the upper section that has been formed using a relieving arch with a double row of headers. New windows have been inserted along the length of the northern wall, on the ground floor. These have all been formed using a timber lintel.

Interior: The interior is divided into three separate areas on the ground floor: a room at the eastern and western ends of the building that are open to the roof and then an enclosed space (with a ceiling) in the middle of the building. This room is the chaff room and it has a ceiling as it has retained what were once the floorboards for the loft area. All evidence of the loft floor in the eastern and western sections has been removed.

The floor to all areas (except the timber floor above the chaff room) is cement. There is no ceiling.

The original door frames are made using mortise and tenon joints. The new windows (which are fitted with fixed timber louvers) have been made using butt joints. There are no timber frames in the vertical ventilation openings. The doors (sliding) at the eastern and western ends of the stables are metal framed and covered with corrugated galvanised sheeting and hung from the top.

Comments:

The stables was originally constructed with long vertical vents to the ground floor and small circular ventilation holes (discussed above) in the upper storey. This type of ventilation apparently proved to be insufficient as windows were later inserted all the way along the northern side of the ground floor. The loft floor was removed when the Marwicks owned the property.⁸

The way in which the bricks have been laid is quite interesting. The northern and eastern sides, were completed using the smarter Flemish bond, although there is little inter-play of light and dark which can be seen in the shearing shed. On the southern side, which shows evidence that a single storey addition was planned, English bond was used. As a large part of the wall would be obscured by the addition it is possible that it was decided to go with English bond and perhaps Flemish bond was planned for the on the new addition. English bond was also used on the western end of the building. This end would not be readily seen from the road so what we are seeing here is the use of display to denote importance to one or more elevations. This practise later became very popular in houses built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

While the bricks have been competently made, the bricklaying is not of the same standard as that seen in the shearing shed.

⁸ Information supplied by Duncan Young. He thought that this change had been made quite some time ago, 19 December 2010.

Plan

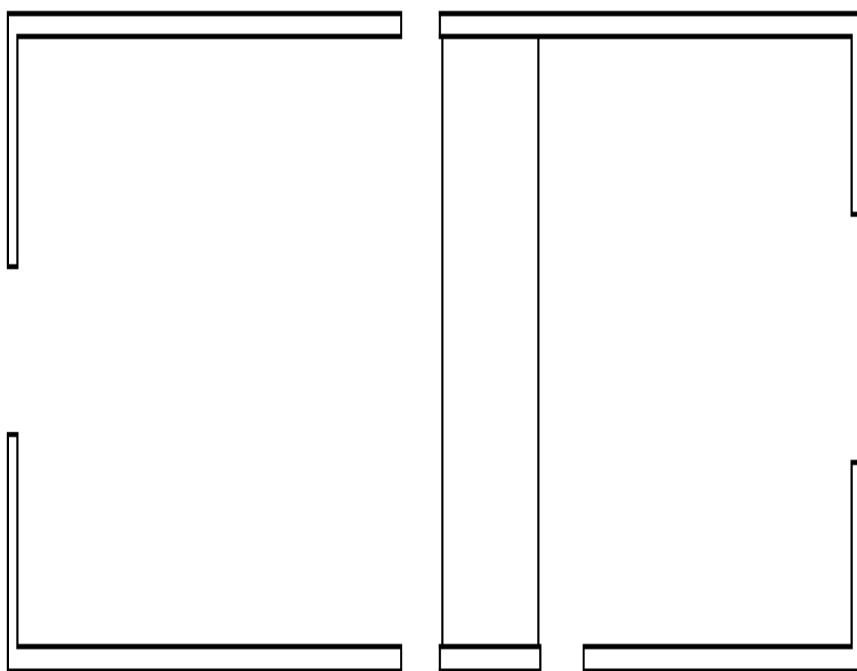


Figure 24 Plan of Stables (F. Bush)

Photographs – Taken 19 December 2010 by Fiona Bush



Figure 25 Eastern side of Stables bearing the plaque with the date of construction. Note round bricks which have been laid in a diamond pattern.



Figure 26 Southern side of Stables showing row of round bricks to the first floor and the original narrow windows on the ground floor at the western end of the building.



Figure 27 Western end of the Stables. The left doorway has been filled in but the round bricks have been retained. Note the irregular edge on the right hand side.



Figure 28 Northern side of the Stables. The windows along this side replace the earlier narrow windows. Note the lack of a brick arch to these windows compared to the narrow window on the southern side



Figure 29 Detail of southern side of window showing brick arch to doorway and also to the narrow window.



Figure 30 Detail of south-west corner of Stables showing toothed edge that may have been provided for a future extension



Figure 31 Interior view of Stables looking east.



Figure 32 Interior view of Stables looking towards doorway that leads into the Chaff Room.

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for Margaret Allen
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