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Keith Jennings
Registrar and Deputy Principal

*‘Thesis’ includes ‘treatise’, ‘dissertation’ and other similar productions.
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STRATHALLAN, NEAR BRAIDWOOD, NEW SOUTH WALES, AN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

by

Kirsty Altenburg

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Pass)

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Introduction

"...every rod of land cultivated in the wilderness is a link added onto the chain of civilization."

The site Samothrace in the Aegean Sea was established during the assignment period, when the labour of cultivating every rod of land was performed by convicts formerly bound. The labourers, believing it to be their duty to be obedient to the laws and duties of the empire and to the instruction of the officers, till the land were physically broken by hard and constant toil, and to give of their substance and to be time for the great events taking place in the world. The government and society of the nation have overshadowed the events of the past, but studying the archival material will reveal the logic and context of the nation's history.

I have divided this thesis into three periods: the first into documentary evidence to establish the population, its composition...
Introduction

"...every rod of land cultivated in the wilderness is a link added onto the chain of civilisation." 1

The site Strathallan in the Braidwood area was established during the assignment period, when the labour of cultivating every rod of land was performed by convicts either still serving their sentences or formerly bond. The masters shared the romantic vision of Sidney, believing pioneering to be a 'chain of civilization' extending the frontiers of the empire and traditional society. They were oblivious to the irony in his remark, that the convicts who cleared and tilled the land were physically fettered by the links, the chains. My aim is to give the convicts, these "historical neuters" 2 substance and significance, following the methodology Isaacs 3 and Glassie 4 have used, by studying the "architecture of past thought"5 to reveal the logic and culture of the non literate and powerless in society.

"In order to understand that vast majority of people who left behind no literate legacy it is necessary to learn how to obtain information from the artifacts they did make... Rigorously analyzed, the artifact is always genuine because it is an expression of its maker's mind." 6

I have divided this thesis into three sections- the first uses documentary evidence to establish the population, its composition

1 John Sidney, A Voice From The Far Interior Of Australia. By A Bushman, London.1847, (pseudonym of John Solomon), 17
2 M.Roe, '1830-1850', in A New History of Australia, ed. F.Crowley, Melbourne, 1974, 121.
5 Glassie, Folk Housing, vii.
6 Glassie, Folk Housing, 10-11.
and settlement patterns in the period 1822-1851 in the Braidwood area; the second section is an archaeological investigation and analysis of the site Strathallan, and the third section examines convict housing throughout the assignment period in country areas.

According to local tradition, one building at Strathallan was used as a "convict barracks". I have developed a research design to investigate the veracity of this tradition, by demonstrating the characteristics of accommodation built to house assigned convicts, and showing how these relate to settlement patterns. Lewis points out that the primary consideration

"is the development of a research design capable of discerning the process of past sociocultural change." 7

I will investigate the process of housing convicts and examine the wider significance of this process in the relationship of the convict to his society. I will examine the way convicts were housed because

"architecture provides a potent medium for elaborately coded non-verbal statement." 8

so, by decoding the shared meanings which such buildings embodied for both the convicts and their masters in a class structured society, demonstrate how they were used as symbols to communicate the convicts' lack of status and power. Houses

"show most clearly the link between form and life patterns." 9

8 R. Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 351.
so, by looking at convict housing I will show that differences between their housing and that of their masters illustrates the social and cultural differences between the two groups.

Historical archaeology is particularly well suited to this research design since, by comparing and contrasting the two sets of evidence, historical and archaeological, the omissions and the contradictions in the documentary and oral records can be shown up. As Leone says,

"historical archaeology, regardless of what it is called, encompasses an entire level of reality: all the objects we create as well as their patterned uses..." 10

Thus historical archaeology enables us to study and analyse the artefactual material, and decode meaning which is not always available in the documentary record. Many of these records were written by the literate for their own use, and the literate, in the main, 'men of substance' and power who formed the upper classes in society, shared class preconceptions and prejudices. They were writing often with an English readership in mind, and for intending settlers in Australia. These records need to be looked at in conjunction with the records of the poor, and also by using new approaches to old records, and by analysis of preconceptions in the visual evidence of prints, drawings and paintings. Glassie cautions:

"The written record is a rationalization; it not only may be wrong, it is definitely shallow and incomplete. Occurrences cannot be explained by

10 M.P. Leone, Foreword, in Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology, ed. S. South, XXI.
appeal to consciousness alone, because the historic pattern is at least as much the product of the unconscious as it is of the conscious."\textsuperscript{11}

As transportation was a highly emotive subject both for contemporaries and later commentators people often wrote passionately, either in its defence or attacking the system. But it was primarily a subject not written about, to be avoided, because

"Australian colonists willed transportation to mean remarkably little in their lives... conventions developed in counter-response."\textsuperscript{12}

Omissions thus resulted which now can be examined using archaeological techniques. This is especially useful in sites such as Strathallan which were remote from Sydney, and where often very little documentary records survive, either from administrative or private sources.

The settlers had a common view of their environment, as something alien and frightening, to be exploited and made profitable. Their ideal, like that of John Sidney, was to tame, to "civilise" this unfamiliar landscape. They believed in the concept of 'improvement',\textsuperscript{13} which meant to them trying to make this hostile new environment look as much like 'home', their old environment, as possible.

'Like the Swiss Family Robinson, they had brought with them to a strange land the varied impedimenta of their civilisation- tools, techniques, animals, seeds, slants of vision, habits of thought. These endowments, they believed, were all that they would need in their work as improvers of the land."\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11} Glassie, \textit{Folk Housing in Middle Virginia}, 11.
\textsuperscript{12} M.Roe, '1830-1850', in \textit{A New History of Australia}, ed.F.Crowley, 119-121.
\textsuperscript{13} W.K.Hancock, \textit{Discovering Monaro}, London, 1972, 72.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 72.
If, at the start of the third century since the settlement of Australia by Europeans our attitudes to land use and land management are changing, historical archaeology is a valuable tool in helping us understand the attitudes and preconceptions of previous settlers to the land. As Robson noted in Tasmania,

"...the violence done to the landscape was part of the cost of financial success derived from an economy in which English grasses replaced the native herbage and sheep and cattle complemented the work of destruction accomplished by the axe and the plough."\(^5\)

Thus the settlement of the Braidwood area provides an opportunity to study the process of exploitation of this environment.

---

AN ANALYSIS OF THE BRAIDWOOD DATA

1.1. Sources for the Braidwood Data

Primary sources used are both government records and personal letters and papers. I have made extensive use of material collected in the census of 1828,1 1833,2 1836,3 18414, 18465 and 18516. As together they provide a comprehensive record giving details of population, employment, civil condition, i.e. whether bond, freed, born in the colony or immigrant. As the Braidwood area comprises parts of both the Counties of Murray and St Vincent these census records are often the only way of distinguishing the Braidwood area from the general county records. Using the 1828 Census7 I have been able to establish the names of the settlers and their employees, their occupations, the acreages cleared and cultivated, and their stock numbers. The 1833 Census consists of abstracts and tables of returns which list the districts, enabling the compilation of population figures for the two districts, Mt Elrington in Murray, and Strathallan "North of the Clyde" in St Vincent.8 The 1836 Census only has figures for
Mt. Elrington; the Strathallan return was not received. The 1841 Census is particularly revealing as the abstract and tables of returns lists every household in the Police District of Braidwood, the name of the establishment, the number of people living there, their ages, occupations, whether married or single, civil condition, religion, and the number of houses and type of building materials. This provides a valuable insight into the composition of the society, and the location of the households. This information, combined with that from the 1828 Census, shows the developing settlement patterns. The information in the 1846 and 1851 Census is also very comprehensive, giving the population, their sex, ages, occupations, civil condition, religion, and the number and building materials of the houses. The returns are in two parts, one for the town of Braidwood, and the second for the police district of Braidwood.

Other primary sources used were the Colonial Secretary's records relating to land. These provided information relating to land alienated by grant or purchase, disputed titles or boundaries, previous occupiers of land, either by lease or illegal occupation, information on buildings constructed, settlers' financial assets, dates of arrival in colony, and many other details. Used in conjunction with the Colonial Secretary's register of Land Grants and Leases and the

9 AONSW. 1836 Census. 4/1242.7, 4/1242.8
10 AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
13 AONSW. CSIL. Reels 1130, 1143, 1180, 1185, 1188, 1189, 1194, 1199, 1133, 1177, 1179, 1139, 1083, 1091, 1085, 1086, 1146, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1160, 1166, 1173, 1143, 1124, 1132, 1133, 2654, 1104, 1111, 1114, 1119, 1160.
14 AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.
Returns of the Colony.\textsuperscript{15} I have been able to confirm the title to land held by many of the landholders referred to in the 1841 Census. For information on the names and locations of the earliest settlers I used surveyors Hoddle's\textsuperscript{16} and Larmer's\textsuperscript{17} Field Books, Letters to the Surveyor General received from Surveyors\textsuperscript{18}, as well as Letters from the Colonial Secretary to the Surveyor General\textsuperscript{19}, and Letters to the Colonial Secretary from the Surveyor General.\textsuperscript{20} Maps drawn by the surveyors\textsuperscript{21} have also been useful for locating settlers' farms.

Other sources used in the Archives Office of New South Wales were the letters to the Colonial Secretary written by the magistrates and settlers in the Braidwood area.\textsuperscript{22} These deal generally with administrative matters, and the implementation of government policy in relation to the convicts, but they are revealing of the 'mind set' of the writers, and give background information about conditions in the area. They give a reality to the problems associated with the remoteness of the area, and the isolation felt by the writers. After the construction of a courthouse at Braidwood the court moved from Strathallan to Braidwood and the series of letters from magistrates to

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{15}AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1826- 1845. Reels 1-10.
\item \textsuperscript{16}AONSW. Fieldbook no. 278, reel 2625; 279, reel 2627.; 295,323,324, reel 2628; 443, 2/5063,444, 2/5064.,
\item \textsuperscript{17}AONSW. Fieldbook nos. 443,2/5063; 444, 2/5064; 452, 2/5069; 467, 2/5081; 468, 2/5082; 497, 2/5108.; 572, 2/8067.2
\item \textsuperscript{18}AONSW. Surveyor General. Letters Received from Surveyors. 2/1542,
\item \textsuperscript{19}AONSW. Surveyor General. Copies of Letters Sent To the Colonial Secretary. 4/5398., 4/5400.- 4/5406.
\item \textsuperscript{20}AONSW. Surveyor General. Letters From the Colonial Secretary. 4/ 3920.
\item \textsuperscript{21}AONSW. Map SZ480, SZ478,SZ479, SZ508, SZ481-3, SZ35 r.2.1112' SZ36 R.1119.b, SZ37 R.1119.c, SZ38 R.1119.e.,AO Map 6354, 6355, 28030, AO Map 1453, 1452, AO Map 05303A, AO Map 1450,
\item \textsuperscript{22}AONSW. Colonial Secretary's Correspondence. Strathallan.1834, 4/2252.7; 1835, 4/2293.3; 1836, 4/2333.1.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the Colonial secretary continued.\textsuperscript{23} I was particularly searching for details of convict barracks, to see if I could locate any records about barracks on private land being used for public use. The Returns of the Colony\textsuperscript{24} were informative for crop returns, and details about police and other public officials. The Police Magistrate's Reports\textsuperscript{25} provided information about the various mills and boiling down establishments in the Braidwood area from 1842 -1850.

In the Mitchell Library the Maddrell Papers\textsuperscript{26} contains an enormous amount of material, providing details from letters, accounts, day books, journals, etc. I was not able to look at all this material, but chose that which seemed most relevant to the period under investigation. Two books by men who lived in the Braidwood area during the period I am investigating provided very useful details. Mackellar was a resident magistrate and wrote his guide for prospective emigrants after he had returned to Scotland, seemingly the epitome of a successful coloniser.\textsuperscript{27} Like Mackellar, Archibald Crawford had come to the Braidwood district from Scotland. He was the son of an emigrant family whose father was employed by the only other resident magistrate in the area. He wrote his memoirs\textsuperscript{28} at the end of his life, but despite the decades between the writing of the

\textsuperscript{23}\textsuperscript{23} AONSW. Colonial Secretary's Correspondence. Police, Braidwood, Letters to the Colonial Secretary. 1838, 4/2417.2; 1839, 4/2464.3; 1840, 4/2504.5; 1841, 4/2542.3; 1842, 4/2584.5; 1843, 4/2622.3, 1845, 4/2699.3; 1846, 4/2738.3; Police, part iv, 1847, 4/2778; Police, 1848, 4/2817.
\textsuperscript{24}\textsuperscript{24} AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1826-1845. Reels 1-10.
\textsuperscript{25}\textsuperscript{25} AONSW. Police Magistrates Reports. 4/7268.
\textsuperscript{26}\textsuperscript{26} ML. Uncat. MSS 155. Items 1-3, 7-9, 31, 71, 73.
\textsuperscript{27}\textsuperscript{27} Duncan Mackellar, The Australian Emigrant's guide: or, A Few Practical Observations and Directions for the Guidance of Emigrants Proceeding to that Colony. Edinburgh. 1839.
\textsuperscript{28}\textsuperscript{28} Archibald A. Crawford, Eighty Five Years in Australia, Sydney, 1925.
two accounts Crawford's provides a comparison with Mackellar's successful account.

I consulted official records in the Mitchell Library in an attempt to find more information about the administration of convicts in the assignment period and privately built convict barracks. Evidence given to the Select Committee on Police\textsuperscript{29} in 1835 was useful as magistrates from the Braidwood area had given evidence, and this could be compared with evidence from other areas. The New South Wales Government Gazettes\textsuperscript{30} provided some scanty information about the few public buildings which were constructed in this period. They were revealing in showing how difficult it is to find information about buildings in remote country areas seen by the administrators in Sydney as "insignificant". The absence of material in official records about this area and the difficulty of working with a region which fell within parts of two counties, reinforced the value of the information found in the Archives Office of New South Wales, the data from the censuses and the letters of settlers to the Colonial Secretary already mentioned.

In the National Library, I used the Perkins papers\textsuperscript{31} which contained some information about the Braidwood area. The Mowle family papers\textsuperscript{32} were useful for both details about the assignment period and later enquiries about the area in 1922. I consulted the map

\textsuperscript{29} ML. Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, 1833-1841. MDQ328.9106/4.
\textsuperscript{30} MLSydney, 1836-1842.
\textsuperscript{31} NL. J.A. Perkins. MS936.
\textsuperscript{32} NL. P.C. Mowle. MS258.
collection, and searched the photographic collection both for information on the Braidwood area, and for comparative material on privately built convict barracks.

1.2 Braidwood during the Assignment Period: the Historical Context.

The Braidwood area comprises parts of two counties, the South West portion of the County of St. Vincent, and the Eastern portion of the County of Murray. When the Police Districts were published on 12 August 1840 Braidwood was declared the ninth Police District and the area it embraces I have taken as the Braidwood area. 33 The town is three hundred kilometres from Sydney, and is situated in the Southern Tablelands, being 660m. above sea level. (Fig.1) The region is dissected by the Shoalhaven River, which rises in the most southerly area and flows in a clearly defined valley to the North East, where the three hundred and fifty metre gorge cut by the river through sedimentary rocks forms a natural barrier. Tributaries of the Shoaalhaven, the Mongarlowe River and Jembaicumbene and Boro Creeks drain the area, and the Deua River rises in the steep coastal ranges. Along the river there are alluvial flats, while the area around the town of Braidwood consists of undulating lowlands on granite with some rocky outcrops. The most attractive soils to the pioneering settlers were these alluvial and texture contrast soils lying on granite. The region is enclosed by mountains, except to the North where undulating country provided access to Sydney and its markets. To the West and South lie the Great Dividing Range on

33 New South Wales Government Gazette, 1840, IX,783-784. See Appendix 1.
granites and sediments, rising to a height of 1200 metres; to the East
the deeply dissected coastal mountains on sedimentary rocks with
steep ridges and narrow valleys form another natural barrier.

The climate is relatively harsh, because of the altitude and the
proximity to the coast. It is classified as a marine type, with a rainfall
average between 60 and 80mm. annually, the higher readings
increasing towards the East. There is a rainshadow effect caused by
the mountains, and droughts occur periodically. Frosts are common
and severe in the winter, which limits the growing season. Prevailing
winds are generally from the West to North West, and because the
distance to the sea is only fifty km. the sea breeze affects the climate,
particularly in summer.

The vegetation varies according to the rainfall and the topography of
the region. It consists of

"wet sclerophyll forest, intermediate sclerophyll forest, dry sclerophyll
forest, tall woodland, savannah woodland, heath and grassland." 34

The report of the first Europeans to explore the area, in 1822,
described the Shoalhaven River and valley,

"the land both to the Northward and Southward of us appeared to be
fine Level Forest Country between two Ranges of Hills... The Country
was very thinly wooded, ... is a very extensive Level Country very well
watered and in most parts very rich Land and in many parts beautiful
Plains with very fine grass." 35

34 CSIRO, *Lands of the Queanbeyan-Shoalhaven Area, ACT and NSW*,
Melbourne, 1968, 114.
35 AONSW. William Kearns, 'Copy of a Journal of a Tour to the Coast about nine
miles to the Southward of Bateman Bay; performed by William Kearns in 1822
Kearns may have been wildly enthusiastic in his report of his discovery in 1822 for he was hoping to be granted some land as a result of this expedition, but Sir Thomas Mitchell gave a more sober assessment when he returned to the area in 1855.

"crossing the river Shoalhaven near Mr. Ryrie's... the beautiful and extensive flats of this fine river with extensive paddocks looked well and reminded me of the former high opinion I had entertained of this part of Australia." 36

From the evidence of ecology it is apparent that the only grasslands before settlement were on river flats, or on steep slopes.

"Since then (settlement) much bigger areas have been produced artificially through the clearing of the forests and woodlands. Natural grassland, artifical grassland, and the grassy floor of various woody communities have all been influenced to some degree by stocking, fertilising, burning, and cultivating, singly or in various combinations, and have been profoundly changed in consequence." 37

Thus the vegetation as it is seen today differs quite considerably from that which was encountered by the first white settlers.

Exploration of the area took place in January 1822 when three men, William Kearns, William Packer and Henry Marsh left Lake George on the East side trying to reach the coast. 38 Settlement followed quickly. Hoddle started to survey the area in 1824, a survey which took

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30 January-21 February) and Kearns to Brisbane, 19 July 1824. ' Reel 2647, 9/2743.4.
36 ML. Thomas Mitchell, 'Sir Thomas Mitchell's Field Notes and Sketches 1835 Journal of visit to Braidwood and Clyde River Road 1855' 27 March. C53
37 Story, 'Vegetation of the Queanbeyan-Shoalhaven Area', in CSIRO, Lands of the Queanbeyan-Shoalhaven Area, ACT and NSW, Melbourne, date, 127.
38 AONSW. William Kearns, 'Journal'. Reel 2647, 9/2743.4.
more than four years. On 11th October 1827 Hoddle was given specific instructions by Surveyor-General Oxley to survey the Church and School Estate. This was an area of 42,000 acres of the best land. He was also given the names of fifteen settlers and four discharged soldiers who had been given permission to take up grants or purchase land in the Co. of St Vincent. Amongst these names was Duncan Mackellar who was to take up a land grant at Strathallan, and later wrote a handbook *The Australian Emigrant's Guide: or, a few practical observations and directions for the guidance of emigrants proceeding to that colony*, based on his experiences as a settler at Strathallan. The occupation and settlement of the site Strathallan on this land grant will be studied in detail in Chapter 2.

On Knapp's map of the upper reaches of the Shoalhaven River, (Figs. 2-4) dated 1827, five stations are marked, one of which is land granted to a resident settler, Major Elrington, the other four being out stations rented from the government. The stockowners were pushing South with a determination the government was unable to check. When the government, as part of its reorganisation of its land policy, proclaimed the nineteen counties in 1829, the counties of

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39 AONSW; Surveyor-General's Correspondence. Oxley/ Hoddle. 2/1544.
40 AONSW. Map no. SZ481, SZ482, SZ483. map 1.-3 The other four stockowners marked are Joseph Underwood at Bendoura, who later was granted 400 acres of land at Oranmeir. Creek. Map reference Register General A66-642R.. This land was subsequently purchased by William Roberts, map reference AONSW, SZ5111, Surv.Gen Correspondence. Cat. A.201.642. Larmer/Surv.Gen.; Hemmett and Wentworth at Ballallaba. This land was subsequently granted to Mrs. Sadleir, nee Ann Cartwright, Map reference Register General A66-642R; Mrs. Jemima Jenkins at Krarwaree, who later purchased 1,000 acres at Tomboye. Map reference AO SZ479. This land subsequently formed part of John Burke's 2,560 acre grant. AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases, reel 2550, CSIL, reel 1104.; Bowman and Hutchinson at Jerrabatgulla Creek. This land was part of 200 acres subsequently granted to John Tarlinton of Prospect, AONSW.CSIL, reel 1188.
Murray and St Vincent formed the two most southernly counties. Their boundaries were clearly defined by the distinct topographical features of the area.

The settlement of the Braidwood area can be seen as part of the diffusion process of the pastoral and agricultural industries.

"The County of Cumberland was the technological hearth of the early pastoral industry... Arable agriculture, including wheat growing, was first adapted in this same area..." 41

The settlement patterns illustrate this process, from an initial exploratory and pioneering phase through a learning and developmental phase. 42 The Census taken in 1828 provides information which illustrates the exploratory stage of the Braidwood area. 43 Convicts were employed as the labour force which created this pioneering stage of settlement. Out of a population of 95 people, 73 had a convict background, i.e. they had served or were still serving a sentence of transportation. This represents 77% of the population and must reflect government policy which was to assign convicts to country areas away from the supposed 'contamination' of the towns, and

"...out of the reach of pleasures, which are open to those, who reside in the town of Sydney, and which prevent transportation from being either an object of terror or the means of reformation to such persons..." 44

42 Birmingham and Jeans, ibid,9.
43 Census of New South Wales November 1828.
44 HRA I, XII, 585, Bathurst/Darling, despatch 66, 24 September 1826; HRA, 1,XI, 85, Bathurst/Brisbane, despatch 21; HRA, 1,XI, 181, Brisbane/Bathurst, despatch 17;
The percentage of the population employed by landholders in the physical work of establishing a farm was 74%, while the balance, 26%, consisted of resident landholders, women, children, and people residing with the landholders. This low proportion of 'non productive' elements reflects the pioneer phase, and from the data available from the later censuses it is clear how this proportion composed of resident landholders, women and children under twelve years increased as the region is developed. This group, despite its classification in the official censuses as "all others" or "residue," formed part of the workforce in both the pioneering and established phases, for resident landholders, women and children under twelve all participated in the gruelling work of establishing and running farms.

77% of the population of the district were convicts. 84% of all males had a convict background, 62 adult males, or 65% of the total population were employed as labourers, fencers, ploughmen, stockmen, shepherds, hutkeepers, or dairymen, i.e. they were engaged in establishing a pastoral industry. The most labour intensive area was the care of stock, both sheep and cattle, which occupied 47 people, or 50% of the population. Seven percent of males were employed as mechanics, and this low figure must reflect the difficulty of obtaining mechanics in remote areas, and also settlers' priorities in pioneering. 5% of the population were resident male landholders, and two percent were engaged as overseers.
There is a high percentage of convicts with long sentences assigned to this region. 52% had life sentences, 17% had fourteen years, and 31% had seven year sentences. Robson says of the convicts generally sent to Australia

"...a half were sent out for seven years and a quarter for life." 45

Again this reflects government policy to assign convicts to remote areas.

From Appendix 3 in the 1828 Census 46 I have summarised the stock numbers and acres cleared and cultivated on fourteen of the known eighteen farms. 47 (Fig. 5) The other four were apparently out stations and it is not possible to separate the stock figures for this area from their other holdings. (Fig. 6) By superimposing a location map of the identified farms over a map of the soils of the area it is clear that the settlers carefully selected the most productive soils along the water courses.

There seems to be a significant distinction between the figures for resident and non resident landholders. Resident landholders employed five out of the six convict mechanics who were employed in the area. On resident farms men were in charge of 1,883 cattle, or 47%, sixteen horses, and 5,140, or 84% of the sheep. On farms occupied by resident landholders out of a total acreage of 19,357 the number of acres cleared was 596, and 91 acres, or 76% of the total of

45 Robson, Convict Settlers Of Australia, Melbourne, 1965, 9; also 143.
46 Census of New South Wales November 1828.
47 See Appendix 2.
119 acres was cultivated. On farms where the landholder was not resident 2,136 head of cattle, or 53% were stocked. The number of horses, sixteen, is identical to that stocked on farms where the landholder was resident. 1,000 sheep, or 16%, were on one farm not occupied by the landholder, but employing an overseer. 38 acres, or six percent, were cleared, and 28 acres, or 24% were cultivated on farms where the landholder was not resident. Thus it is apparent that there is least distinction between the cattle numbers stocked on the two classifications of farms, more difference between the sheep numbers, but the most meaningful distinction is between clearing and cultivating land. Of the eighteen known farms from the 1828 census figures five of the resident settlers were emigrants, 'men of substance' or members of their families, who had been authorised to select land by Surveyor General Oxley. 48 Only one farmer resident on rented land 49 was an emancipist. 50 Of the other twelve farms, five were alienated either by grant or purchase, either by 1828 or subsequently, to the landholders in whose names they are listed. Three landholders subsequently purchased, or were granted, different land in this region. The remaining four stations were subsequently alienated to other landholders. 51

Thus a picture emerges of centres of occupation being established around settlers who resided on their land grants, engaged in

48 AONSW. Surv Gen Correspondence.4/3920. Oxley/ Hoddle, 11 October 1827. Stewart Ryrie grant of 2,560 acres; CSIL, reel 1179, Ryrie’s son James Ryrie, grant of 2,560 acres; George Galbraith, grant of 2,000 acres; D.Mackellar grant of 640 acres; AONSW Special bundles, 4/1116. Major Elrington grant of 2,560 acres on 20 April 1827.
49 AONSW. CSIL, Reel 1160, 30/952. Collector Internal Revenue/ Col.Sec.
50 Census of New South Wales November 1828.
51 AONSW. Census. 1841.Reel 2222.
agriculture and sheep raising, and to a lesser degree cattle raising, while stations on leased land which were managed by overseers concentrated on raising cattle. Residents who settled on their land grants with the intention of becoming successful colonists, and establishing themselves as landed gentry in the pattern of their English models saw sheep as being the most productive way to achieve this goal. The product, wool, was far more easily transported to overseas markets than beef, which supplied only the local Sydney market. Cattle had to be walked to Sydney, and then held and fattened close to that market. Sheep were the staple of the large landholder, cattle generally left to the small man, mainly because sheep were so labour intensive, and the large landholders had access to cheap labour in the form of assigned servants.

One settler who received a grant of land in the Braidwood area on which he resided was Captain Duncan Mackellar. He named his property Strathallan, (Fig. 7) and the site and his period of occupation at Strathallan will be examined in more detail in the next section of this chapter. Mackellar wrote a handbook for prospective emigrants which gives very useful information about farming conditions for this area in the 1830s.\(^{52}\) He compared the returns from sheep and cattle at Strathallan. From an initial outlay of £932 for 100 cows with calves, 55 oxen for work and for meat, and eight working oxen, after eight years he realized a profit of £4,361. No account was made of the profits to be made from dairying. From an outlay of £1,590 for 1,200 ewes, 1,080 lambs and 30 rams in the same period the profit was £14,412. Mackellar, who was writing his

handbook to advise potential emigrants, wanted to convey an impression of success. Also he was at Strathallan during a boom period of optimism, the result of unprecedented stock prices combined with good seasons, but the comparison between the returns is dramatic. The large landholders also preferred sheep to agriculture. From early in the Colony's history agriculture had been associated with emancipist farmers, while the large landholders grew enough to supply their own needs, and sometimes the local market. By the time of the Census in 1833 the population had increased to 416 people. There is a decrease in the percentage of convicts, 66%, but from the figures it is impossible to tell what proportion of the population were emancipists. Free women and children under twelve form eight percent of the population so this continuing low percentage of 'non productive' elements reflect a continuing pioneer society. Although the census does not provide any information about employment, the crop returns are more informative.

In 1832 on the farms around and including Mt Elrington, (Fig. 8) 504 1/2 acres were cultivated, by far the largest crop being wheat. The average yield was seventeen bushels to the acre. In 1833 on the farms around and including Strathallan 366 1/2 acres were

54 AONSW. Census 1833. 4/1242.1, 4/1242.2, 4/1242.3, 4/1242.4, 4/1242.5.
55 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1832. Reel 3.
56 AONSW. Returns of the Colony, 1833. Reel 3.
cultivated, in 1834,\textsuperscript{57} 489 acres, and in 1835\textsuperscript{58} 430 1/2 acres. A comparison with the acres under wheat in the state for the same three years, 1833, 36,679 acres, 1834, 48,667 acres and 1835, 47,111 acres \textsuperscript{59}, shows the size of the crops to be grown purely for self sufficiency. In 1833 the wheat crop averaged only four bushels to the acre, although the maize, which is harvested later in the season, seems to have fared better and averaged 45 bushels to the acre. In 1834 and 1835 the wheat crop averaged 20 and 21 bushels respectively, while the maize averaged 37 and 36 bushels. The acreages cultivated do not show a steady progression as one would expect, and this must be due to seasonal variations, and possibly labour shortages. Both Mackellar and Major Elrington, the magistrates from the two benches in the Braidwood area wrote to the Colonial Secretary requesting additional assigned labour to help with the harvest.\textsuperscript{60} Mackellar, after the sale of his farm Strathallan and his return to Scotland, recommended in his emigrants' guide,\textsuperscript{61} the first year ploughing and putting in 30 acres of wheat, the second year forty, third and fourth years fifty acres, and from the fifth year on sixty acres. Mackellar realised the necessity to be self sufficient in remote areas. In his book which was published in 1839 he gave the following advice to emigrants,
"the Sheep establishment appears to be the most productive; and perhaps it would be as well for an emigrant to have no other, if provisions and labour, with carriage of produce to market, could be readily obtained in the distant parts of the colony; but when it is borne in mind that a supply of flour and other necessaries must be taken from Sydney, a distance of 200 miles and upwards,-that meat is difficult to be got at times without sending a considerable distance for it,-that labour is exceedingly scarce, and not to be procured for money in some parts of the Colony, besides the want of any public carriers,-the necessity will then appear of raising everything on the establishment for its own consumption, rather than trust to such precarious and expensive means."62

By 1841 the population had increased to 1100,63 and the percentage of convicts had dropped to 54%. Adult males still comprised 64%, and of those 79% were convicts or emancipists. Only 26% of the adult females had been or were still serving their sentences. 57 males were landholders, and they comprised 5.5% of the total population. There were 73 men employed as shepherds, and 45 as gardeners, stockmen or agricultural workers, and this four percent were all on one establishment. Six percent were domestic, and the 'non productive' element had increased to 36%. Thus there is a marked change away from the composition of the population in 1828, when 74% of the people were employed in the establishment of farms, and the 'non productive' element was 26%. In 1841 59% of the population were engaged in the running of farms. This population lived in 62 houses, 54 being of wood, three of brick and five of stone. (Figs. 9-15) The accompanying graph64 shows the distribution of population according to the number of people in each household. Each bar represents the total number of people in one household, the lower section (white) the number of people described as "bond", i.e.

62 Mackellar, ibid., 24.
63 AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
64 See Appendix 7.
those who have been freed, those still serving their sentences, or holding tickets of leave, and the top section (black) the number of people not bond in each household. The smallest establishment ranged from four households each with two people, to the largest with 127 people. Over half the households, 35, had ten people or less, and nine had 40 people or more. Only six households had no convicts at all. 87 people, or 38%, on the small establishments with ten people or less were or had been convicts, while 324 people or 61% were bond on the nine largest properties. Strathallan has the fourth largest number of people, 55, at the time of this census. Thus it is apparent that convicts were widely distributed throughout the farms, the greatest number being on the biggest establishments. The evidence seems to support Governor Bourke's attempts to

"dispose equitably and productively of the services of the convicts"  

although the largest landholders obviously were best served by the Commissioner for Assignment.

In this examination of the location of the farms identified in the 1841 Census I will exclude the four householders in the township of Braidwood. One farm marked on the census is not in the Braidwood area at all, and must have been incorrectly included by the compiler.  

By marking in different colours the land alienated by 1828 and 1841 (Fig. 133) a picture emerges showing the concentration of settlement along the watercourses, taking

66 AONSW.CSIL. Reel 1165. Mr.Mortimer at Mogo.
advantage of the most productive soils. This is more clearly seen by superimposing transparencies showing the farms occupied in 1828 and 1841 over a map of the soils of the region. (Fig.16) Looking at the nine largest establishments 67 three, including Strathallan, were established in the initial exploratory phase by resident landholders, and the other six during the early 1830s. Four are situated on alluvial soils on the Shoalhaven river, three are on alluvial creeks and two are on texture contrast soils on granite close to where the township of Braidwood was sited. An examination of the location of five of the six smallest establishments with two or three people each, comprised almost entirely of emancipists or people holding tickets of leave, shows them to have been located on pockets of alluvial soil along creeks, in more inaccessible rugged terrain, not already occupied by the large settlers. Doubtless the inaccessibility of some of these landholdings was seen as an advantage by the emancipists who used the opportunity to hide stolen stock and harbour bush rangers. Certainly the large landholders complained repeatedly of their "squatter " neighbours.68

I have been able to verify the locations of twenty five of the remaining medium size households, out of a total of forty three, with households ranging between four and forty people. I know the locality of a further fifteen farms, but not their precise location. (Figs.17-19 ) Three I have been unable to identify.69 The largest landholders with their almost complete monopoly of assigned labour

67See Appendix 2.
68ML. V & P. 1835. Evidence of J.Coghill to Police Committee. 17 June 1835; AONSW. Col.Sec Correspondence. Letter Elrington/Col.Sec.
69Kesey(?), Burwar; Newlands, Millouded.
have continued to occupy the most productive land, while the small settlers, composed of free emigrants, and people born in the colony, probably often of convict descent, have taken up land along the smaller creeks. The subdivision of Dr. Reid's original land purchase at Reidsdale enabled some landholders, a mix of free emigrants seeking to acquire their own land, and emancipated convicts who saw an opportunity to become landowners themselves, to acquire small holdings of productive land. This subdivision was most opportune for the gold period which followed, as it created small areas for the miners and their families to occupy, and laid the basis for the land occupation patterns which followed the end of mining, when miners turned to dairying with the introduction of new technology from the 1870s on.70

Five years later in 1846 the percentage of convicts was 34%, out of a total population of 1526.71 47% of the adult males were or had been bond, compared with eleven percent of the adult females who had been bonded. There were 24 people in private assignment, i.e. 1.6% and no convicts in government employment. Eleven percent were holding tickets of leave. This is worth comparing with the figures in New South Wales generally. According to Weidenhofer,

Over the years the proportion of convicts to free settlers gradually dropped... in 1830 it was 43% and in 1840, the year transportation to

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Australia ceased it was a little under 30% By 1847 convicts made up only a little more than 3% of the colony's population."  

Again it is clear that the proportion of convicts in the population is significantly higher in the Braidwood area than in the state generally, and this must reflect the remoteness of the region, and its topography. Convicts and emancipists were able to squat, to rent or to buy small acreages of poor land, beyond the land controlled by the large landholders.

There were 200 houses, 154 of wood and 46 of brick or stone in 1846. The population of the town of Braidwood, which had been surveyed in 1839, (Figs. 20, 21) had increased from 29 in 1841 to 206, while 1,320 people were living in the surrounding area. 431 people, or 28%, were wholly employed in agriculture or pastoral labour. Mechanics, other labourers, and domestics, in all 297 people, made up nineteen percent, and would have been employed both in the township and in the country. The 'non productive' element had increased to 48%.

The crop returns for 1844 exist, which provide information about farming in this period. compared with a decade earlier. There was a very severe drought in 1841-2 and that, combined with the general depression in the Colony in 1843, caused great dislocation in the

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73 Australian Bureau of Statistics. Statistical Returns. 1846 Census
75 See Appendix 6.
area. The returns show that no potatoes or maize were grown in the part of St Vincent which is included in the Police District of Braidwood, but the wheat acreage had increased significantly.\textsuperscript{77} There were 4,050 acres of wheat grown in Co. St Vincent, and the much smaller amount of 517 acres in Co. Murray. This compares with 74,428 acres of wheat throughout the state.\textsuperscript{78} The barley and oats had also increased to a total of 754 acres of barley for both counties, and 303 acres of oats. The landholders had responded to the increase in population in the area, and were growing more grain, while at the same time commencing to build flour mills. These mills illustrate the learning process and the way in which settlers experimented and adapted technology to suit the unfamiliar environment. All three types of power sources for flour mills were experimented with in the area within a very short space of time The first two mills were wind driven, one built by Capt. John Coghill at Bedervale in 1843,\textsuperscript{79} (Fig.22) the second built at Braidwood Farm by Dr. T. B. Wilson, (Fig.23) also in 1843, constructed of bricks by his assigned labourers, but never completed.\textsuperscript{80} The third was a water driven flour mill built of granite blocks, which was completed by 1844 when Charles McArthur drew a sketch of it.\textsuperscript{81} (Figs. 24-26.) This mill, like most water-mills, suffered from both drought and flood. When it was damaged by flood in 1853 it was suggested to the owner Hugh Gordon he should

\textsuperscript{77} AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1844. Reel 10.
\textsuperscript{78} E. Dunsorfs, \textit{The Australian Wheat Growing Industry}, 532.
\textsuperscript{81} Private papers held at Manar, Braidwood.
"install a steam engine in the stone barn and continue his flour milling operations there."  

There was already a steam-mill in the district. It was completed by 1850, as a letter, dated 1850, in the Maddrell papers addressed presumably to John Coghill states that,

"Yourself and Mr. Zouch are security for the payment of rent for the Braidwood Steam Mill. When Mr. Zouch left Braidwood he owed £18-15-0 being balance of rent."  

The severe drought and consequent depression were responsible for the other technological innovation which was introduced into the Braidwood area in the 1840s. The process of boiling down sheep to obtain tallow which Henry Deuro O'Brien discovered in 1843 had been adopted by settlers in Braidwood by 1845 when the Police Magistrate's report lists one boiling down establishment. In 1846 there was no boiling down establishment listed, but in 1847 one boiling down establishment produced 88 tons of tallow from 4,300 cattle and 4,692 sheep. In 1848 41 tons of tallow was produced from 1,600 sheep and 721 cattle, and 127 hogs produced lard. In 1849 720 cwt. came from 200 sheep and 580 cattle. 1850 saw eight boiling down establishments operating, where 2,237 sheep and 978 cattle produced 1,116 cwt.1 qt. 6lb of tallow.  

82 Letter Hannibal McArthur/Hugh Gordon. Private papers at Manar, Braidwood.  
83 ML Maddrell PAPers.UnCAT.MSS115.Item 74.  
86 AONSW. Police Magistrates Reports, 4/7268.
By 1851 there were no convicts employed either in private assignment or in government employment. Emancipists comprised 22% of the population, adult males 49% and adult females fourteen percent. 212 people now resided in the town of Braidwood, while 1429 lived in the district. 437 people, or 27%, were engaged in pastoral or agricultural industries, 234 or fourteen percent worked as labourers, mechanics or domestics. The 'non productive' percentage had increased to 55%. There were 300 houses, 227 wooden and 82 brick or stone. 87

By 1851, just before the gold rushes started to the Braidwood area, the pioneering phase of the development of the area had effectively ended. Transportation to Eastern Australia had ceased and no more convicts were employed in the area. The Braidwood region had moved into the developmental phase of Birmingham and Jeans' model.

"From the emergence of a suitably-adapted production system in the hearth area and the spread of an industry to all those areas in Australia in which it can compete, there is a continuing process of adjustment, reinforcement and change which never ceases as the industry reacts to new local and international circumstances. This can be called the developmental phase." 88

This exploratory pioneering phase had produced patterns of land settlement and use which would survive into this century; although another pattern created by the search for gold was superimposed on this basic structure. In the pioneering phase of the Braidwood area

the proportion of convicts in the population is significant. From the earliest census in 1828 when they comprised 77% of the population, to 1851 when there were no convicts still serving sentences, but 22% of the population had an emancipist background, their presence can be used as an indicator of the process of pioneering. As the hard labour of establishing farms was carried out and the population increased the proportion of convicts decreased. Sir Francis Forbes, giving evidence before the Molesworth committee on transportation in 1837 stated,

"My opinion is, that in the first settlement of a country, you are obliged to have to recourse to coercive labour to overcome the first difficulties in its settlement." 89

Settlers in the Braidwood area used the opportunites provided by the assignment system to develop the region. The Census figures show how dependent the large landholders were on their assigned labour force. They opposed the end of their cheap labour supply which they envisaged bringing ruin to this newly established pastoral industry. 90 The landholders used the convicts as a labour force to clear the land, fence and cultivate it, tend the livestock, build farm buildings, the flourmills, and the "Wool" road from Braidwood to Jervis Bay built by some colonists residing in the counties of St Vincent and Murray at a cost of £2,400. 91 A courthouse, (Figs. 27, 28) lock-up

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89 NL. Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation; and the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index. London.1837, 86. F2276.
house, 92 (Fig.29) and mounted police barracks 93 (Fig.30) had been built by assigned labour to administer them, and this formed the focal point around which the town of Braidwood grew. 94 They also built dwellings, both houses for their masters and accommodation for themselves. Settlement patterns show the spread of the earliest settlers, and their accumulation of land through the period, while small landholders started to settle on the vacant, much poorer and less accessible land. They started to cluster in areas where they could obtain small holdings on fertile land, or along the alluvial soils of creeks. There is not a great difference in the type of grazing on large and small farms; both seem to have raised sheep and/or cattle, and agriculture was carried out only to fill the requirements of the establishment. The type of stock raised was the main difference between the size of the farms.

Having looked at the historical context of the settlement pattern for the Braidwood area I intend now to examine one site in detail. I have selected the site Strathallan for both historical and archaeological reasons. The site was occupied continuously from the initial settlement period, and as it was the residence of the magistrate for Co St Vincent became the administrative centre. Thus there are various historical records for the site for the assignment period, unlike most other sites in the area, which enables a comparison to be

92 ML. V & P. 1840. Return of expenditure of Police and Gaol Establishments. Court and Lock Up House, Braidwood. 1838 £1,450, 1839, £70. MDQ328.9106/4; AONSW. Letters from ColSec/ColArchitect. 4/3884. 36/9431. 23 November 1836.; 37/43. 10 February 1837.
made between the historical and archaeological record. Also the building standing on the site referred to as a "convict barracks" warrants investigation. The site requires archaeological inquiry as no buildings have been constructed since the assignment period, and provides an excellent opportunity to study an incipient village site, which did not however expand.

1.3. Historical documentation of Strathallan.

The site Strathallan was part of land granted to Captain Duncan Mackellar, who first came to Australia in 1822 in command of the ship *Clydebank*. Mackellar's entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is confused, being an amalgam of this settler and another Duncan Mackellar, the son of Neil Mackellar. The settler Duncan Mackellar was born on 23 January 1789 in Scotland, the eighth child of nine children born to John and Mary Mackellar. His birth is recorded in the Old Parish Register at Kilmodan, a parish in the district of Cowal in the County of Argyle. He is sometimes referred to as Duncan Mackellar the Elder, or Captain Mackellar, to differentiate him from his nephew, another Duncan Mackellar. Captain Mackellar received a promise of a grant of 2,000 acres of land.

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95 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. 29/3629. Application for additional Grant of Land. 8 May 1829.
"upon fixing your permanent residence in this colony...and will order six convict servants to be assigned to you." 98

This land was selected in his absence "near Batemans Bay." 99 (Fig. 31) Mackellar also held 2,000 acres of land on a ticket of occupation adjoining Surveyor General Oxley's land at Argyle. 100 He purchased sheep and cattle from Oxley and left them in his charge until he returned to the Colony in 1825, in command of the Leith Australia Company's ship, *City of Edinburgh*. He brought with him from Scotland a nephew to act as his overseer. 101 Mackellar continued to visit regularly until he arrived in the *City of Edinburgh* on 6 March 1829 102 with his family, intending to reside permanently on his land grant. Mackellar's nephew was also called Duncan Mackellar and he lived with his family on a small farm of 60 acres which his uncle had purchased near Kirkham, at Upper Minto. 103 The nephew Duncan Mackellar's wife Janet was murdered by a convict on 3 March 1828 104 and she was buried at Campbelltown on 6 March. 105 At the time of the 1828 Census Duncan Mackellar Junior had moved to St Vincent with his three sons, and was residing there together with six convicts and two men holding tickets of leave, of whom three were shepherds,

98 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Letter ColSec/Mackellar, 4 December 1822.
99 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Land Board"s Report no.297, 21 May 1829.
100 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Land Board"s Report no.297, 21 May 1829.
101 Ibid.
102 Sydney Gazette, 17 March 1829.
103 Ibid. Neither of the Duncan Mackellars in the ADB. Duncan Mackellar, father, and Janet Leitch, mother, issue John, date birth 2 June 1824, residence Garvie, taken from Index to the Plan of the Kilmodan Churchyard. Information kindly supplied by J. White.
104 Sydney Gazette, March 17, 1828; Australian, 12 March 1828.
105 Register of Births, Marriages and Deaths, no.1279, vol.12.
two stockkeepers, two dairymen and one labourer.\textsuperscript{106} The acreage given is 3,280, of which twenty were cleared and twenty cultivated. There were two horses, 600 cattle and 1,000 sheep.\textsuperscript{107} This 3,280 acres comprised 2,000 acres granted to Captain Duncan Mackellar,\textsuperscript{108} 1,240 acres granted to Duncan Mackellar the nephew, of which 640 acres were an additional grant of land on account of the loss of his wife.\textsuperscript{109} (Fig.32) The remaining 40 acres must have been purchased from a landholder.

Duncan Mackellar Senior on his arrival in 1829 applied for an additional grant of 2,000 acres of land. He wrote

"I understand there is a good slab house, a stock yard and about forty acres cleared. There is this year twenty acres of wheat...."\textsuperscript{110}

Mackellar had obviously not yet gone to his grant, and this is confirmed by George Galbraith, who writes in a letter to the Colonial Secretary dated 9 September 1829

"Mr. Mackellar left Sydney about eight days ago to reside on his land but cannot yet have reached it."\textsuperscript{111}

In his application form Mackellar stated

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{106} \textit{Census of New South Wales November 1828}.
  \item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid. Appendix 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{108} AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Collector of Internal Revenue. Memo 30/868. Warrant from Sir Thomas Brisbane for 2,000 acres of land dated 16 June 1825.
  \item \textsuperscript{110} AONSW. CSIL Reel 1160. Letter Mackellar/Land Board, 18 May 1829.
  \item \textsuperscript{111} AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1130.
\end{itemize}
Although from the application for additional land it is clear Mackellar had not yet been to see his grant since his arrival in Australia two months earlier in March, he said he intended to

"settle permanently on my land and I am about to... build a house for them (his family) on my own land which propose immediately to do... intend to devote my intention exclusively to agricultural pursuits, and to reside permanently in my Grant."  

Mackellar's application was rejected on the grounds that he had not carried out sufficient improvements on his grant. However Mackellar's Schedule of Assets had satisfied the Land Board that Mackellar was

"a bona fide settler and has ample mean to improve his land."  

Eleven months later on 4 April 1830 after residing on his grant and

"having made very considerable improvements" Mackellar again applied for the additional land grant. In the Memorandum of Improvements he stated there was

"one Stone House 48 feet by 32 feet value £500
one slab house 34 feet by 20 feet value £150
fenced 140 acres, 70 of which is cleared, in cultivation 50 acres, 815 rods of fencing, extensive stock yard and garden fence."  

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112 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Application for an additional grant of land without purchase. 29/3629.
113 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/Land Board, 18 May 1829.
114 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/Land Board, 18 May 1829.
115 AONSW. CSIL..Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/ColSec.
116 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/ColSec.4 April 1830}
On 5 July 1830 Mackellar again applied for the additional grant of 560 acres. He stated,

"...120 acres cleared; 6 horses; 200 horned cattle; 1760 sheep; available money capital £1,000. Buildings One stone House 48 * 32 feet £500
One wood or slab House 34 * 18 £150

Several Houses for the men- not valued
2 1/2 miles fence, employed and maintained 12 convicts and two free servants."\(^{117}\)

In the same year he applied to purchase 4,000 acres of land and lists the same buildings with the same dimensions and values, and also that there are

"five Houses or Huts for Servants," no value given, and that he has

"...employed and maintained, during the last year, Eleven convict and Two free servants."\(^{118}\)

A letter Mackellar wrote to the Colonial Secretary dated 26 January 1830 confirms his assertion that he was building a house for his family at Strathallan.

"...my application for a Carpenter, which from the demand for that class of persons for the work of the Government I would not have presumed to have done had it not been for the very great distress under which I am now labouring for the want of a man to roof and otherwise finish, a House I am building for myself and family, a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Sydney, nor would I have made this application could I have obtained a free man in this place, they all refuse from the great distance and no prospect of other work, notwithstanding I have offered the highest rate of wages."\(^{119}\)

\(^{117}\) AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/ColSec.30/5102.
\(^{118}\) AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Application to bid for land with a view to eventual purchase. 14 May 1830.
\(^{119}\) AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence.4/2066, 1830. 30/677.
Mackellar was appointed a magistrate in July 1833, and as he was the only resident magistrate in the County St Vincent Strathallan became the embryonic administrative centre for the area. On 9 November 1833 one constable and one scourger were stationed there. They remained there until a Court House was completed in Braidwood in 1838. In March and April 1834 Mackellar complained that he could not forward the Returns of Corporal Punishment

"...in a regular manner" as "the post does not extend to this part of the Country and other conveyances seldom offers...".

Mackellar's letters must have been heeded because from 1 January 1835 until the Court House was completed in Braidwood a Post Office was also situated there.

Mackellar and other settlers were concerned at their remoteness and hoped

"the Government would extend to them an equal degree the protection and security afforded to other parts of the Colony."

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120 AONSW. Col. Sec. Register of Letters, Reel 2566, 33/4798.
121 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1833. Reel 3.
122 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1837. Reel 5.
123 AONSW. Col. Sec. Correspondence, 4/2252.7, Strathallan, 1834; Mackellar/Col. Sec., 34/2481, 25 March 1834; 34/2801, 10 April 1834.
124 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1835. Reel 4
Coghill, \textsuperscript{126} Galbraith \textsuperscript{127} and Mackellar \textsuperscript{128} wrote to the Colonial Secretary reiterating the settlers' fears. Mackellar also wrote deploring the amount of time he was spending on public business:

\begin{quote}
..."I hope you will see the necessity of having a Gaol and Court House erected in this part of the Country as soon as possible, indeed it is impossible for me to devote so much of my time to public business without manifest injury to my own Interest as I have to adjudicate all cases when brought before me their being no place of Security to detain Prisoners for regular Court Day... and it cannot be expected that I am to Sacrifice so much of my time in doing the necessary writing and erect Buildings for Constable and Scourger at my own expense when for the public benefit." \textsuperscript{129}
\end{quote}

John Coghill, like Mackellar a retired merchant navy captain, lived at Kirkham outside Camden in 1835 when he gave evidence to the Committee on Police, but he owned land near Strathallan (Fig. 33) and sat on the Bench there when he was visiting his property in Co St Vincent. His evidence supported Mackellar's claims.

"There is neither jail nor lock-up house in the county; its police force consists of constable and scourger. The weekly average of cases brought before the Bench, during the periods of my attendance is about four; this number would be greatly increased if there was a lock-up house at Strathallan. Constables at present prefer taking prisoners to Inverary, (Bungonia) where they can be properly secured." \textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{126}AONSW. Police. Goulburn, 1833. 4/2202.2. Coghill/Col.Sec.,29/6781, 27 August 1829.

\textsuperscript{127}AONSW. Police. Goulburn, 1833. 4/2202.2. Galbraith/Col.Sec.,33/3571, 20 May 1833.

\textsuperscript{128}AONSW. Police. Goulburn, 1833. 4/2202.2. Mackellar/Col.Sec., 33/7042, 15 October 1833.

\textsuperscript{129}AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence. 4/2252.7 Strathallan, 1834. Mackellar/Col.Sec., 34/2801; 10 April 1834.

\textsuperscript{130}NL. Maddrell Family Papers. Reel G7710. Items 1-3. Examination of J.Coghill before Police Committee, 17 June 1835.
Mackellar was concerned about security, and wrote to the Colonial Secretary asking for a reward to be offered for the apprehension of the offenders who had broken into his stores and stolen goods. In the reward notice a building is designated "the private store of Duncan Mackellar Esq. JP." Mackellar was a conscientious magistrate who, despite his protestations to the Colonial Secretary, continued to spend a considerable amount of time on public business. Throughout the years 1834 to 1836 he wrote copiously to the Colonial Secretary recording details of the Bench at Strathallan. In 1834 he received a letter from the Colonial Secretary, apparently in answer to a request he had made.

"Your letter respecting the supply of Rations to Prisoners in confinement at Strathallan." This letter is the only evidence that convicts were being imprisoned at Strathallan. The complaints of Mackellar and the other settlers were apparently acknowledged and in 1838 £1450 and in 1839 £70 were spent on building a Court and Lock Up House in Braidwood.

These were completed by 26 May 1838, and were enthusiastically described by one resident magistrate as,

"the only building of the kind yet erected in the interior." 137

From the evidence it appears there had been a need felt for a town site. The Colonial Secretary wrote to Sir Thomas Mitchell, that a town is to be surveyed

"... after application by many people." 138

There had been however considerable debate about the site of these buildings, and several settlers signed a memorial petitioning

"the governor to move the proposed site of the Court House, and Lock Up and Military barracks from Braidwood Reserve ... to the junction of the Jembaicumbene and Shoalhaven River. Most residents reside ten to thirty miles South of Braidwood and the site is therefore more central. The present road to the extreme Southern districts passes through it. It is an excellent crossing place, over the river, to and from both counties and is abundantly supplied with water. Braidwood is deficient in this." 139

Mackellar however was not to see the result of all his diligent lobbying, for on 25 May 1837 Mackellar had sold all his land and stock to his neighbour John Coghill. 140 Mackellar had purchased additional land in St Vincent, including 1,120 acres of land in 1836 adjoining Strathallan, 141 and part of this land plus his grant of 2,000

137AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence. Police, Braidwood.1838. 4/2417.2. T.B.Wilson/ ColSec 38/5470.
138AONSW. Col.Sec./ Surv. Gen. 4 January 1839. 4/3920.
140Register General, Book 35, p.785.
141AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550,31-32.
acres comprised the 3,299 acres of land which he sold to Coghill. The purchase price was £12,329 which included the house and 3,299 acres of land valued at £2,170, ten horses at £35 each, sheep at £6,012/15/-, cattle at £2,508, plus all the household stores, wheat in the stack and barn, drays and farm implements. A complete inventory of all items was included. On 13 January 1838 Mackellar's case for an additional grant of land was reviewed, and it was found that the Collector of Internal Revenue had inadvertently charged Duncan Mackellar of Strathallan with a debt of his nephew Duncan Mackellar of Upper Minto. The Executive Council were satisfied that Mackellar the Elder was entitled to receive an additional grant of 560 acres. Duncan Mackellar, the successful colonist, had sold out at the height of the boom, and returned to Scotland. There he published *The Australian Emigrant's Guide* about his experiences as a farmer and grazier in the Colony of New South Wales.

Throughout his ownership of Strathallan Mackellar had depended on the labour of his assigned convict workforce to do the hard work of pioneering. Records remain documenting the food and clothing in the store at Strathallan in 1837, the rations distributed each week, the sheep returns for the year with each shepherd individually named, the number of sheep in his care, the increase or the decrease, the amount of corn threshed, and the amount of wheat sown. During the

143 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Minutes of Council 38/5, 13 January 1838.
month of April the number of men issued with rations varied from seventeen to twenty four.\textsuperscript{145} One convict assigned in 1834 was James Loveless, one of the Tolpuddle martyrs charged and transported for having administered an illegal oath, seen in the eyes of the establishment as having conspired to form a trade union.\textsuperscript{146} Loveless "appears to have found a reasonable master in that he did not record any ill treatment."\textsuperscript{147}

In the Census of 1841 Coghill was residing at Strathallan. The house is stated as being of wood. This does not correspond to the evidence given by Mackellar, that he had constructed a stone house at Strathallan in 1830. One explanation is a clerical error- the column for wood house was inadvertently ticked instead of the column for stone or brick houses. But I do not think this simple solution is correct, and I will explain this discrepancy satisfactorily in chapter two, in section 2.8 interpreting the archaeological evidence. There were 55 people resident on Strathallan, 46 males and nine females, of whom 32 males and three females were assigned convicts, four held tickets of leave, and five were in government employment. 38 were employed as shepherds, two were mechanics, and five domestic servants.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{145}ML. Bedervale Papers. Uncat.MSS115, item 31.
\textsuperscript{146}J.Marlow, \textit{The Tolpuddle Martyrs}. 145-147.
\textsuperscript{147}J.Marlow, \textit{ibid}, 147.
\textsuperscript{148}AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
Coghill built himself a mansion on his grant which he named Bedervale where he moved in 1842 and Strathallan was rented to William Musgrove Kirk. The rent paid for Strathallan in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839 was £151/4/-.

In November 1837 3,000 sheep were washed at Strathallan, fifteen men each working six days and being paid 4/- each, a total of £18/-/-. 

In 1844 Coghill received an enquiry about the rent he was asking for Strathallan,

"At the expiry of the present tenant's occupation... I wish to have such a farm as will admit of a dairy on the homestead and will keep three or four thousand sheep behind."

John Hepburn, a friend and business partner of John Coghill and his brother William Coghill, set out from Strathallan on 15 January 1838, together with his wife and family and ten assigned men who had all been working for John Coghill, on his overlanding expedition to Victoria. The property Strathallan and the homestead remained in the Coghill/Maddrell family until 1916.

In 1858 Mrs. Elizabeth Matilda Coghill, while holidaying with the family at Bedervale, noted in her diary,

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152L.M. Quinlan. *Here My Home the Life and Times of Captain John Stuart Hepburn 1803-1860 Master Mariner, Overlander and Founder of Smeaton Hill, Victoria*, Melbourne, 1967, 56. William Coghill is incorrectly described as having the "well established station at Strathallan," while his brother John Coghill is at Kirkham, outside Camden.
153L.M. Quinlan, *Here My Home the Life and Times*, 61.
"Went to see "Strathallan". It is an old house now, but has an air of homeliness and comfort about it." 155

It is interesting that Mrs. Coghill refers to the house as being "old." If we assume the house she is referring to is that constructed by Mackellar for his family in 1830 then it is 28 years old. As there is no mention of destruction by fire, or of any rebuilding on the same site, and since Capt. Coghill built a very grand house on his property Bedervale almost adjacent to Strathallan he would scarcely have contemplated building another house at Strathallan. As there is also no evidence of destruction in the archaeological record I think it is correct to assume the house Mrs. Coghill described was the one built by Mackellar in 1830.

Despite reports that the barracks were used as a headquarters for convicts working on road gangs in the area 156 I have not been able to find any documentary evidence to support this assertion. I can find no reference to convict road gangs being deployed in the Braidwood area during the assignment period, nor to rent being paid to Coghill for the use of his buildings. Since the property remained in the Coghill/Maddrell family until 1916 and the family papers provide detailed records, such information should appear if these buildings were used to house convicts as the district headquarters.

Looking at the documentary evidence available in the form of plans and photographs the homestead consisted of three structures. The

earliest sketch of Strathallan drawn by the surveyor Hoddle when Duncan Mackellar applied to purchase 1,120 acres on 5th January 1836 shows a U shaped arrangement of buildings.\(^{157}\) (Fig.35) A map at Bedervale drawn by James Larmer in 1881 shows the 1,138 acre Strathallan paddock

"in which Mr Maddrell's stock are depastured."\(^{158}\)

and the plan of the original homestead with three buildings forming a U can clearly be seen. (Figs. 36, 37) However by the time of the auction of Strathallan in 1916 there are only two buildings marked on the plan, the northern one described as "store" and the southern one as "house".\(^{159}\) (Fig. 38) A photograph dated c. 1912 shows clearly two buildings with the remains of a third building in the centre. \(^{160}\) (Fig.39) Two photographs taken in the 1960s, record the deterioration of the buildings. \(^{161}\) (Figs. 40, 41)

Thus having examined all the available documentary evidence for the buildings at Strathallan it appears that the original structure was a wooden house, built of slabs, between 1825 when Mackellar received his grant and his nephew came out from Scotland as his overseer,\(^{162}\) and 1829 when Mackellar emigrated to the Colony and decided to reside permanently on his land grant.\(^{163}\) According to the

\(^{157}\) AONSW. Hoddle. 2/5064. Field Book no.444, 83.
\(^{158}\) Map at Bedervale Homestead, Braidwood. Drawn by James Larmer, January 1881.
\(^{159}\) Sale Notice, W.H.Wheatley, 19 October, 1916. Courtesy of Lavis Family, Strathallen, Braidwood.
\(^{160}\) Photograph courtesy of the Australian National Library.
\(^{161}\) Photographs courtesy of the National Trust (NSW).
\(^{162}\) Letter Col.Sec./Mackellar 4 December 1822.; AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.
\(^{163}\) AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.
Memorandum of Improvements made with his application for an additional grant of land dated 4 April 1830\textsuperscript{164} and the Application for land dated 5 July 1830\textsuperscript{165} and only eleven months since his application for an additional grant on 8 May 1829 \textsuperscript{166} and his letter on 18 May 1829\textsuperscript{167} he had constructed a stone house 48 feet * 32 feet. Whether it was completed by the time of these two applications in 1830 is not clear, but his letter written to the Colonial Secretary on 26 January 1830\textsuperscript{168} requesting the services of a carpenter seem to corroborate the other evidence that the stone building dates from this period.

1.4. Conclusion

From an examination of the historical documentation it is apparent that Strathallan is of particular significance as a site in the assignment period in the Braidwood district. It was one of the earliest land grants in the area. Mackellar's decision to reside permanently on his property and his appointment as the only resident magistrate in the County meant Strathallan became the administrative centre and the focal point for the district, thus displaying the prerequisites for the evolution of a township. After Mackellar had left the area the administrative functions were transferred from Strathallan to the newly planned town of

\textsuperscript{164}AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.
\textsuperscript{165}AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.30/5102.
\textsuperscript{166}AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.29/3629.
\textsuperscript{167}AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160.Letter Mackellar/ Land Board.
\textsuperscript{168}AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence. 4/2066, 30/677.
Braidwood, Coghill moved to his new grand house and the site Strathallan remained unchanged for more than a century, except for the process of deterioration. Thus Strathallan provides an excellent opportunity to examine archaeologically a pioneering settlement site, as no further building has taken place on the site since the assignment period, and the site was significant in its own period as an administrative centre when the buildings were constructed. Because County St Vincent was the most remote of the nineteen counties the difficulties of pioneering, distance, security and administration would have been particularly acute and may appear in the archaeological record. As no further building has taken place on the site since the assignment period it provides an opportunity to investigate buildings used to house convicts and their role in "prisons without bars" \textsuperscript{169} that was the assignment system.

Having located the site in its historical context I will now examine the archaeological record. The first section comprises the archaeological data, the second is an interpretation of that data, and includes an investigation of the tradition of the convict barracks. I will look at the evidence revealed by both archaeology and the historical research, compare and contrast the two, and show how the barrack building was not constructed as a prison but as the expression of an ideology.

I have used the same primary sources in the Archives Office of New South Wales, the Mitchell Library and the National Library as referred to in 1.1, the introduction to the first chapter. I have also made use of secondary sources for detailed information about people which were unavailable in primary sources, and I have used oral interviews with two Braidwood residents for information about the buildings. In the section examining the tradition of the convict barracks I look at the evidence in detail from one building on this site, while in Chapter 3 I investigate the historical documentation for convict barracks generally throughout the assignment period. This is a valid enquiry as references are made in local histories and biographies to convict barracks located on homesteads throughout country areas, without adequate research having been done.

In the interpretation of the construction of the buildings I have used several handbooks on British vernacular architecture as a guide to understanding the built form. Brunskill defines vernacular architecture as being

"designed by an amateur, probably the occupier of the intended house, and one without any training in design; he will have been guided by a series of conventions built up in his locality, paying little attention to what may be fashionable on an international scale. The function of his building would be the dominant factor, aesthetic considerations, though present to some small degree, being quite minimal. Tradition would guide constructional as well as aesthetic choice, and local materials would be used as a matter of choice, other materials being chosen and imported quite exceptionally."3

However these buildings can tell us more than only the conscious ideas which the designer intended, which we see now expressed as windswept, bleak stone walls and foundations. To understand the symbolism and unconscious motives of the designer which he formed into stonework I used several authors to whom I am deeply indebted.4 Rapoport makes the point,

"The reason why construction (which, of course, involves technology) and materials are best regarded as modifying factors, in spite of their fundamental nature, is that they do not determine form. They merely make possible forms which have been selected on other grounds...."5

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3Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture, 25.
5Rapoport, House, Form and Culture, 104.
and also says,

"Man may build to control his environment, but it is as much the inner, social, and religious environment as the physical one that he is controlling— the ideal environment in cultural terms."  

Glassie, who is always such a pleasure to read, is beautifully explicit.

"Artifacts are worth studying because they yield information about the ideas in the minds of people long dead. Culture is pattern in mind, the ability to make things like sentences or houses."

Following the same analytical approach of these authors I look at the evidence available from the buildings and their location at Strathallan, and draw conclusions which tell us much about the intentions of the designer. My aim had been to reveal as much as possible about the convicts who constructed the buildings, but very little evidence about this was forthcoming. Therefore chapter 3 continues the investigation into convict accommodation.

2.2. Site Description.

The site Strathallan, CMA topographic map reference, 8827-11-s Braidwood GR842253, (Fig.7) is situated on a gently undulating hillside. The structures stand on a rise which is bounded on three sides, Western, Southern and Eastern, by tributaries of the Mackellar creek, and are on the 2,175ft. (714m.) contour line. A cemetery is

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6Rapoport, House, Form and Culture, 60
7H.Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 17.
located 385 m. North of the structures, on the slope of the hill which rises to a crest of 2,200 ft. (722m.)

The soils are texture-contrast with a loamy or sandy surface horizon and a clayey subsoil, which is visible along the eroded creek banks. (Fig.42) Rocky outcrops of granite occur frequently. The rainfall is between 70 and 75mm. annually. The vegetation is savannah woodland. The original forest trees have been cleared, and the native grasses have almost disappeared as a result of grazing, clearing and artificial fertilisers. 8 (Fig.43) The only remaining trees on the site are exotics—willows (Salix babylonica) along the creek, three pear trees (Pyrus) East of the structures, (Fig.44) and to the North some hawthorns (Cratageus). The site is covered with grasses, with introduced species such as phylaris (Phylaris tuberosa) and subterraneum clover (Trifolium subterraneum) predominating. There is an extensive cover of Scotch thistle. (Carduus lanceolatus) The land is used for grazing cattle.

The site consists of several features which are listed on the site plan, (Fig.45) and each will be discussed in order of listing on the plan. These include the following:-

~1. A standing structure known in oral tradition as the "Barracks" building. (Fig.46)

~2. The foundations of a building parallel to the first. (Fig.47)

8CSIRO, *Lands of the Queanbeyan-Shoalhaven Area*, 124, 133.
2.3. "Barracks" Building.

1. Construction.

A structure, which lies on an East-West alignment, comprising one rectangular block, with a rectangular addition on the Eastern end. (Figs. 50, 51) Refer to ground plan. (Fig. 52) It is built of granite stone rubble construction in courses, bonded with particles of crushed limestone, pieces of charcoal and clay mortar. (Figs. 53, 54) The courses are c. 0.33m. in width, using larger stones and filling with smaller stones to create a level course. Larger stones are used on either face of the wall, and usually smaller stones packed with mortar in the centre. (Fig. 55) At the corners larger squared blocks of stone have been used to create clean sharp edges. (Fig. 56) These stones are generally set in a header/stretcher combination, to distribute the weight at the corners. Gable ends on the East and West walls terminate in false chimneys. There are two window and one door opening in the wall facing North, one window opening in the gable and one small window 0.78m. above the basal ledge in the
internal East wall, and one small window 0.77m. above the base ledge in the internal West wall. All walls both outside and inside have traces of cream coloured lime wash.

The external measurements are 10.63m. on the Northern wall, 10.67m. on the Southern wall, and 5.73m. on the West wall. The East wall measures 3.00m. from the Northern end to the point where the extension abuts the main building. The internal measurements are 9.54m. on the North wall, 9.55m. on the South wall, 4.55m. on the East wall and 4.64m. on the West wall. The depth of the walls are c.0.56m.

11. North Wall.

Refer to internal elevation plan. (Fig.57) The wall stands 3.80m. above the ground level at the Eastern end, and 3.93m. at the Western end. On the external wall window perforations occur 1.89m. and 7.81m. from the Eastern end, and a door opening 4.66m. from the Eastern end. The internal height of the wall above the basal ledge at the North East corner is 4.32m.

Wall construction is of granite masonry built up in regular courses. One line of small stones is packed above the Eastern window lintel. (Fig.58) Header/stretcher construction is used at the window and door openings. The stones used in this wall are generally smaller than those used in the other walls, and it it is possible that in the sequence of construction this was the last wall built. The smaller stones used may indicate the stock of materials was running low. The
thickness of the walls at the Eastern window is 0.45m. Traces of whitewash occur intermittently over the external wall.

The width of the most Easterly window opening is 0.93m., the height above ground level to the base of the lintel 1.50m., the height of the window from the base of the lintel to its top 1.50m., and the depth 0.56m. (Fig.59) The lintel consists of two massive hardwood beams laid adjacent to one another, each measuring 1.50m. in length and extending 0.40m. into the stonework beyond the opening on both sides. The window frame consists of four hardwood pit sawn beams, 0.19m. wide, by 0.095m. deep. The horizontal top beam and sill, length 0.93m., are set into the stone work on each side, and the vertical side beams, height 1.15m., were morticed into tenons in the top beam and sill beam. (Fig. 60) The underside of the top beam has four perforations, regularly spaced at 0.14m. intervals, to hold four vertical bars of square section, which have been removed. (Fig.61) The most Easterly vertical timber has two circular holes, 0.03 * 0.02m. in diameter, being located 0.28m from the top beam and 0.23m. from the bottom sill on the inside of the building. (Fig.62) These would have contained hinges for a shutter fitting on the inside of the window frame. The corresponding vertical timber has one vertically oriented rectangular hole, 0.015 * 0.06m., 0.55m. above the bottom sill on the Western side of the frame, which was for a closing device. On the internal wall mortar adjacent to the timber frame shows vertical line caused by pressure from the shutter as it closed back against the frame. Whitewash is visible on the undersides and external face of the lintel and on the horizontal top beam of the window frame. On the vertical timbers on either side of the frame
whitewash is visible in strips on either side of the timber, 0.09m. and 0.04m. wide, with a strip in the middle 0.06m. wide, unpainted. On the top sill adjacent to the joint of the vertical frame is a similarly positioned rectangular unpainted space, 0.06m. long * 0.02m. wide, giving therefore the dimensions of a piece of timber which was evidently attached to the frame. This would have been wood to hold a window, inserted in a subsequent stage.

The doorway is located 4.66m. from the Eastern end of the building, the width is 1.30m., the height is the same as the Eastern window opening, being 3.00m. above ground level on the outside. The base of the door frame commences 0.85m. above the exterior ground level, and 1.40m. above the interior basal ledge. This created a floor level inside the building which is higher than ground level, and thus a space below the floor sufficient to be usable. The Eastern door jamb is missing below 1.80m. as the masonry has fallen out. The lintel consists of two top beams, 0.10m. high, 1.70m. long, 0.09m. wide, pit sawn hardwood projecting into the stone work 0.21m. on either side. (Fig.63) Wooden dowel pegs were used to secure the mortice into the tenon joint. Three pegs still remain. Beneath the lintel the door jamb consists of a piece of horizontal timber 0.19m. wide, 0.095m. deep, 1.28m. long, which extends into the masonry. Beneath this another board, 0.14m. wide, 1.02m. long, and 0.02m. deep, is attached to the top to form the inward opening door jamb. This piece of timber has since fallen off and is now lying inside the building, and the three hand made nails can be seen which attached it to the frame. This is one sign of the deterioration which is occurring to the building, which
I have been able to document since the building was surveyed two years ago.

On the Western side of the doorway there is a cavity, 0.13m. high, 0.25m. wide and 0.56m. deep, where a beam for the base of the door frame was secured into the masonry. Brownish paint is visible on all sides of the lintel and door jamb, except on either ends of the vertical beam where the now removed horizontal beam formerly fitted. Plaster is wedged in above the doorway between the lintel and the jamb, which shows one line of black wash on the outside and another line of brown paint closer to the jamb. (Figs.64, 65) No evidence of stair access remains, nor is any apparent in the photo taken c. 1912. (Fig.39)

The third opening in the Northern wall commences 7.81m. from the Eastern end. (Fig.66) This opening extends for 1.86m. in width, commences 0.80m. above ground level to the full height of the stonework. (Fig.67) The Western end of the North wall measures 0.96m. and the height of the wall at the Western end is 3.93m. The actual dimensions of the original window opening cannot now be measured because of the collapse of the wall, but from photographic evidence (Fig.39) it is quite clear that this window was identical to the Eastern one. Timbers from the window frame lie scattered around the site. (Fig. 68) The method of construction using mortice and tenon joints was identical to the Eastern window, and accords with the photographic evidence that the windows were identical. (Fig.69) In the former the rectangular slot of the mortice is clearly evident, as is the projecting tenon. One of the two top beams of the
window frame lies in the rubble heap below the window opening. It measures 1.07m. long, 0.08m. deep and 0.095m. wide. The four holes for vertical bars are distanced 0.14m. apart, the same as those on the Eastern window. The width of the morticed hole for the vertical timber is 0.11m.

Sockets for projecting timber beams occur regularly, c.0.47m. along the external wall 3.27m. above the ground. Each socket measures c.0.18m. high * c.0.08m., and fifteen are visible. On the exterior of the wall all except one of these sockets has a piece of timber projecting c.0.45m. from the wall. (Fig.55) These timbers are very weathered and may not represent the original length. The longest piece in situ measures c.0.65m. Each piece of timber is packed round with mortar to secure it in the socket. On the interior these sockets occur 3.95m. above the basal ledge. Nine of them have a timber end in them, and three have intact timbers, one running parallel to the East wall (in the first socket), one spanning the building between the door and the East window on the North wall (seventh socket from the East), and another (tenth socket from East) which is broken midway. These sockets were incorporated into the construction of the wall by the stone mason, to accommodate extended wooden floor joists for an upper storey which spanned the entire building and project in the same manner beyond the Southern wall as they do beyond the Northern wall. Since these sockets were designed to carry the floor joists originally there would have been twenty one, corresponding to the same number on the Southern wall. The discrepancy is caused by the collapsed masonry around the Western window opening.
On the interior wall there is a second row of six sockets in the stonework which occur at infrequent intervals, at 0.08, 1.09, 2.45, 3.84, 5.48, and 7.03m. from the Eastern end of the building. (Fig.62) They are 2.41m. above the basal ledge, and 1.54m. below the first row. Each socket varies in measurement between 0.15 * 0.12m., 0.16 * 0.13m., and 0.25 * 0.08m., and all are empty. They do not pierce through the wall. As with the first row of sockets there are evidently one or more missing, due to the masonry collapse around the window opening.

There is a third row of sockets running horizontally below the other two, 1.22m. above the basal ledge, and 1.04m. below the second row. There are thirteen sockets, being regular in size, the average measurement 0.16 * 0.09m. Nine are empty, and four at the Western end have timber joists in them. (Fig.70) As with the other rows of sockets eight, which must have corresponded with the sockets on the Southern wall, are missing, due to the masonry collapse. These sockets are spaced to correspond to the upper storey sockets for the joists in the upper row. The timber joists measure 0.13 * 0.16m., and span the width of the room. These sockets average 0.35m. in depth, i.e. 0.20m. deeper than the sockets above in the middle row. The greater depth suggests they could have been used during the construction phase as support for scaffolding.

The height of the main room equals the distance between the base of the upper sockets for the floor of the loft, 3.95m. and the top of the sockets for the lower floor joists, 1.22m. i.e. 2.52m. The height of the basement is the distance from the base of the lower row of sockets to
the ground, i.e. 1.47m. A basal ledge runs horizontally along the wall, 0.25m. above the ground level at the North West corner. It extends 0.10m. wider than the wall above, forming the foundations of the building.

The photograph taken c. 1912 (Fig.39) shows traces of a pathway leading along the Western end of the North wall, of which no traces remain today. However outside the doorway and towards the Eastern end of the wall fragments of a brick path remain.

111. South Wall.

Refer to elevation of interior of wall (Fig.71) The wall measures 10.67m. externally, and 9.55m. internally. It stands to a height of 4.29m. internally above the basal ledge. There are no openings. The wall construction is of granite masonry built up in regular courses of 0.37m. (Fig.50) Some courses in this wall utilise particularly big stones. Generally the stones used in the South and West internal walls are larger than elsewhere in the building. Smaller stones are used in the construction of the wall below the third row of sockets, i.e. in the basement level. There are traces of whitewash on both sides of the stonework of this wall.

The same series of sockets as was observed on the Northern wall is found here, commencing 3.92m. above the basal ledge on the interior. There are twenty one sockets. Nineteen sockets on the outside have wooden beams projecting from the wall. On the interior two sockets have beams in them, corresponding to the ones already mentioned on
the North wall which span the width of the building. These are the first socket, with the extended joist lying adjacent to the Eastern wall, and the seventh socket. Another fifteen sockets have timber in them which has been sawn off flush with the wall. I suggest these beams were sawn off earlier this century to enable hay to be stored as stock fodder. The conversion of empty dwellings to hay sheds is very common practice in the country, and there are several examples in the Braidwood area, one of the most notable being the stone house, Bellevue, on the Araluen Road. Four of the sockets are empty. Beneath these a second row of five sockets run horizontally along the wall, being 2.44m. above the basal edge, c. 0.10m. high, spaced at irregular intervals, 0.53-0.62m., 2.67-2.78m., 4.79-4.91m., 6.90-7.02m., and 9.00-9.11m. from the Eastern wall. Each socket is empty and does not pierce through the wall to the exterior. (Fig.72) They do not correspond to the sockets on the Eastern wall in any systematic way. Below this a third row of twenty one sockets run horizontally along the wall, 1.22m. above the basal ledge, each a regular size, measuring c. 0.09m. * 0.17m., being spaced at regular intervals, commencing at the Eastern end of the wall. The first socket is adjacent to the Eastern wall, the next commences at 0.46m., 0.95m., 1.38m., 1.87m., 2.40m., 2.86m., 3.34m., 3.83m., 4.29m., 4.76m., 5.19m., 5.71m., 6.18m., 6.64m., 7.10m., 7.54m., 8.02m., 8.51m., 8.98m., 9.45m. (Fig.73) The distance between the sockets varies between 0.32m. and 0.49m., but fourteen sockets are spaced between 0.35m. and 0.40m. apart. Such accuracy shows the level of competence of the stone mason working on the structure. This row of sockets contained floor joists, and correspond to the sockets with floor joists on the Eastern wall. This third row of twenty one sockets
are aligned directly beneath the openings in the first row of twenty one sockets for the upper level floor joists. Eight sockets on the Western end of the structure contain decayed wooden beams projecting into the building, the one floor joist adjacent to the Western wall still spans across the length while the remainder are empty. The base ledge runs horizontally along this wall, 0.08m. above the ground level at the South East corner, corresponding to the one on the Eastern wall.

IV. East Wall.

Refer to elevation of interior of wall. (Fig. 57). The external length of the wall is 3.00m. from the North East corner to the junction of the extension, and a further 2.52m. where the extension has been added to the original structure. (Fig. 74) The wall rises to a height of 3.75m. above ground level, and narrows to form a gable which finishes in a false chimney. (Fig. 50) The external height above ground level to the base of the chimney is 5.88m., the height to the top of the chimney is 7.13m. (Fig. 75) The chimney is rectangular, and is broken by a string course consisting of one course of stone, capped with a layer of plaster sloping at 45° to meet the masonry of the chimney. Two courses of stone above the string course complete the chimney. The chimney is the width of the stone wall, and there is no flue for smoke. On both sides of the North and South ends of the gable wall is a cavity for a plate, the cavity being centrally recessed for the plate and the stonework on either side raised. (Fig. 51) At the base of this cavity on each side of the gable wall there is a triangular recess,
formed by the exterior wall being continued while the interior section of the wall terminates in a vertical line at the base of the recess for the plate. Above the cavity for the plate on the North side of the East chimney is a patch of mortar on the masonry of the chimney where the roof was attached. Also on the East side of the chimney is an inverted V shaped patch of mortar where the two rafters would have been positioned adjacent to the stonework of the chimney on the eave of the building. The stonework courses match those on the South wall, but internally generally smaller stones have been used. Centrally positioned in the East wall beneath the chimney is one window on the upper level, (Fig.75) and one window on the below floor level, (Fig.76) corresponding to one in the Western wall. The height of the base of the upper window above ground level is 3.75m., the height of the window is 1.11m., and the width is 0.78m. Above the window opening is a wooden lintel, consisting of four timbers placed horizontally adjacent to each other, and which project 0.21m. into the stone coursework on either side of the opening. The lintel measures 0.10m. high. The boards are narrower, and therefore lighter, than the ones used on the windows in the North wall. The construction of the window frame is similar to the Eastern window frame on the Northern wall, being made up of two vertical and two horizontal beams, the corners morticed and tenoned to form secure joints. The timbers used are not as large as the Eastern window. In the top horizontal beam are four diamond shaped holes, similar to those in the Eastern window on the North wall, shaped to fit square section iron. On the external wall below the upper window runs a row of sockets similar to those on the North and South walls. The height of the base of the sockets above ground level is 3.35m., the
width of the sockets is 0.08m., their height 0.15m., and the distance between the sockets 0.50m. There are nine sockets, and each one has a piece of well weathered timber projecting from the wall c.0.34m. In the photograph (Fig.50) the beams can be clearly seen projecting from the wall, and extending around the North West corner.

The internal length of the wall is 4.55m. One extended floor joist running North-South is still in position adjacent to this wall. (Fig. 77) The top edge has been rebated to accommodate the wooden jack joists which extrude through the wall. These beams cease flush with the masonry wall. As five have jagged top ends where they were slotted into the rebate in the floor joist it seems unlikely they were sawn off, as the top should have been sawn through cleanly. I suggest these beams have rotted through and the floor joist has sagged below its original position.

On the internal wall there is a second row of three sockets, 0.10m. wide,* 0.20m. high, * c.0.10m. deep, which occur 2.37m. above the basal ledge, the first adjacent to the South wall and the other two spaced at 1.90m., and 3.93m. from the South wall. They roughly correspond to sockets in the West wall, although those in the West wall are less deep. The middle row of sockets in the internal North and South walls do not correspond in size as exactly as the top and bottom ones, and their positioning is also not matched with the same care as that with which the sockets for the floor joists were placed, as I noted earlier.
The window opening in the basement level is 2.00m. from the North wall, and 2.10m. from the South wall. It is 0.78m. above the basal ledge. Its height is 0.29m., and its length 0.43m. The depth is 0.56m. One iron bar is embedded in the stonework, 0.23m. from the internal wall. The bar has a square profile, and the width is 0.02m. There is no lintel in this window.

V. West Wall.

Refer to elevation of interior of wall. (Fig.71) The wall measures 5.73m. externally, and 4.64m. internally. The wall stands to a height of 3.93m. with a gable above, which finishes in a false chimney. The chimney matches the chimney on the Eastern gable, and is purely decorative as there is no flue for smoke to escape. On both the North and South ends of the gable wall is a cavity for a plate and a recessed triangular area, corresponding to those on the East wall. There is only one window opening, unlike the East wall which has two.

The masonry courses on this wall match that on the South wall, except in the North-West corner where some larger blocks were used. These measured slightly more than 0.37m. in height. The upper row of sockets on the external wall follow the pattern seen on the previous walls. There are nine sockets which are spaced at regular intervals along the wall. All the sockets have weathered wooden beams still in place. In the photograph (Fig.78) the timber can be clearly seen projecting from the wall, and continuing around the North West corner of the building.
On the interior of this wall the nine sockets are 3.92m. above the base ledge. (Fig.70) They are regularly spaced, and eight sockets have a piece of sawn off timber in the cavity. These timbers acted as jack joists. A row of three sockets are located 2.42m. above the basal ledge, the first measuring 0.31m. * 0.10m. and being 0.26m. from the North wall, the second measuring 0.28m. * 0.10m. and being 2.32m. from the North wall, and the third adjacent to the South wall.

There is one window opening 0.79m. above the base ledge. (Fig.79) The opening has one horizontal square section iron bar located 0.16m. from the internal wall. (figs.80, 81) There is one piece of wood, 0.05 * 0.05m. set 0.23m. from the exterior wall, on top of the opening to act as a lintel. This was not found in the matching small window in the Eastern wall. The base ledge is 0.20m. above ground level.

West of the wall outside the structure is an unevenly paved area. 1.67m. from the North West corner a line of stones one stone wide runs adjacent to the building for 1.54m. From this point for 1.34m. the paving stones extend Westwards increasing in width. 1.97m. West of the wall a line of stones runs 2.40m. North-South. After a clear break in the stones they continue West for another 5.11m. At this end of the paved area the stones run North in a line for 4.00m. In the photograph (Fig.39) taken c.1912 there are traces of foundation stones, and a piece of timber is attached vertically to the wall. No archaeological evidence remains of this timber. From the photograph there is no evidence of a skillion roof, as there is at the Eastern end. I
suggest this entire area was paved as a working area, dissected by a drain.

The floor of the building is littered with fallen debris from the structure, including stones and decaying timbers. (Figs. 82, 83) There are also numerous artefacts, including fragments of glass, and transfer decorated china. (Figs. 83-87)

VI. Eastern Extension.

The extension is a series of rooms with a skillion roof butted against the Eastern wall of the original building. (Fig. 52, 74, 88.) Nothing remains of the roof construction. The length of the North wall of the extension is 4.50m, the South wall is 5.68m, with foundations extending 2.23m. (Fig. 71) Eastward from the South East corner of the wall. The length of the Eastern wall of the extension is 1.23m., plus the doorway which measures 0.96m., plus the width of the Southern wall, 0.48m.

The stone used is granite similar to that used in the original building, but in appearance the walls are not identical. The stones used are smaller, the courses are not so clearly defined, and their height is smaller than in the main building, being c. 30m. The width of the South wall is 0.48m, the others are 0.45m. The height of the North wall is 2.10m. The stonework is not incorporated into the main building, but butted against it indicating the extension was added at a later date. The inside length of this wall is 4.02m. The wall is pierced with two window openings, at 0.88m and 2.92m. from the
Southern end of the wall. (Fig.89) Both of these windows were constructed in the same manner as those in the main building. There are no remains of the wooden timbers used as the window frames. Each window measures 0.28m. in length. The top of the window is missing but the height from the base of the window to the top of the wall is 0.46m. A ledge is formed above the opening for the window where the lintel timber would have been positioned. The height to this ledge from the base is 0.31m. The height of the lintel was thus 0.16m. The depth of the wall is 0.46m. The plaster stops abruptly at 0.26m. from the inside, indicating the frame of the window was inserted at this point. Beyond the line of the plaster in each window there is a square hole on both sides at the base, in which the bottom sill of the window frame sat. It is plastered inside, and measures 0.075m. wide * 0.05m. high. At the East end of the Western window there is another hole at the top 0.27m. above the base of the window, in which the horizontal top timber of the frame fitted.

At the lower edge of the plaster 0.34m. above the ground and 1.80m. below the top of the wall the plaster ceases in a straight line, indicating the floor level. (Fig.90) At the North-West corner 0.50m. above the floor level there is a socket, 0.09m.* 0.17 m. similar to those half way up the walls in the main building. An indistinct socket is set in the wall 0.92- 1.10m. from the West wall. The dimensions of the socket are unclear as some stones have fallen out. The plaster stops in a line above these sockets, at 0.70m above the floor level at the junction of the North/South foundations. In this instance the shelf supported in the socket appears to have carried across to the central foundations (running East-West) The only indication the
shelf may have continued to the Eastern end of the structure is the line of plaster ceasing at the same height as in the first section for half its length. The remaining plaster indicates a beam was attached to the Northern wall at the position of the North-South foundations. At 1.86m from the Western end of the North wall there are foundation stones running North/South across the structure. (Figs. 91, 92) This foundation is 0.50m. wide, its length is 1.75m. The plaster in the North wall has a gap at 1.97m. from the West end, the gap measures 0.14, and the plaster recommences for a further 1.90m. to the Eastern end of the wall. This break in the plaster indicates a wooden partition wall was built on the stone foundations.

The East wall of the extension measures 1.24m. from the North corner. There is a space of 0.93m. between the wall and the South wall. The Eastern wall ends at the junction of stone foundations which runs East/West from the Western end. This foundation is built of the same granite blocks as the walls. It measures 0.45m. wide, less than that running North/South, and its length is 4.06m. It meets the North/South foundation line at 1.86m. from the West wall. East of the Eastern wall lies a granite foundation wall 3.15m. in length, 0.33m. in width. (Fig. 93) It lies 1.18m. East of the Northern end of the East wall. The blocks are regularly laid commencing at the Southern end. At the Northern end the line becomes indistinct and its termination is uncertain.

The South side of the East wall shows trace of the same plaster as on the other internal walls of the extension. Thus this was a doorway.
The East side of the East wall has traces of the same plaster as on the other internal walls.

The south wall of the extension is 5.68m. long, with one door and one window opening. *(Fig.88)* The height of the wall is 2.43m., being 0.33m. higher at this side than the Eastern side. Thus the skillion roof sloped from South to North, which would make good sense in the Braidwood climate given that driving rain comes from the South, and seldom from the North. There is a gap of 0.03m between the stonework of the main building and the southern wall of the extension caused by the extension wall leaning away from the main wall as it has deteriorated. Between the main wall and the extension wall mortar was filled to create a bond. All sections of the external wall show two layers of plaster, on the bottom a layer of mortar scored in a lozenge pattern, and the top plaster in a false stone pattern. The plaster on the internal wall consists of a first layer of mortar to the floor level—i.e. the level of the base of the door, 0.31m. above ground level. *(Fig.90)* This mortar is roughly applied in an undulating pattern. The second layer is plaster which discontinues in a straight line 0.14m. above the mortar, i.e above the floor level. The door commences at 1.00m., the window at 3.40m. from the Western end. The width of the doorway is 0.90m. and the depth that of the wall, 0.47m. In the western side of the door opening there are three recesses. The bottom one is for the base of the door frame. The height from the ground to the base of the door frame is 0.25m.. The recess is 0.12m. high, 0.24m wide and 0.21m. deep. The height from the base of the door frame to the gap in the masonry is 0.98m. This recess is 0.10m * 0.10m. and the width of the wall. The height of the base of
the door frame to the bottom of the lintel is 1.91m. The lintel measures 0.10m * 0.06m and is the width of the wall. On both East and West ends of the door frame marks are visible in the plaster where the timber was positioned. The West face of the East doorway shows a vertical line of plaster 0.215m. from the South edge where the timber was butted against the plaster. The window measures 0.93m in length, 1.20m. in height. The construction of this window is different to the previous windows examined, but similar to the door in this building, having vertical timbers set into the masonry at the sides to create additional attachments for the frame. The recesses for the timber framing all extend the width of the wall on the West side. The bottom one for the bottom sill was recessed 0.11m. deep, 0.08m. high. The second is 0.09m. high * 0.10m. deep * the length of the wall. The top recess for the lintel is 0.10m. deep. The top is unclear as the stones are missing. There is plaster on either side with a 0.10m gap for the wood. On the East side a lot of the masonry has fallen away. The bottom recess is 0.29m. deep* 0.09m high * 0.10m.wide. The second recess is similar to that on the Western side, 0.09m high by 0.10m. deep, and the length of the wall. (Fig.94) There are also remains of plaster. Beyond the window the wall continues for 1.35m. to the foundations already mentioned which run Eastwards. From this intersection of walls is the trace of another narrower foundation, 0.33m. wide, running Eastwards for 2.23m. towards the South East corner of the house foundations. 

The West wall. measures 1.70m. (Fig.90) This consists of two layers of plaster put onto the Eastern wall of the main building. The first layer is very thick mortar. The second is a very thick layer of plaster,
0.02m., with a smooth finish. The first layer follows the line of the skillion roof, the second layer follows the same line but commences 0.05-0.06m. below the first.

2.4 Foundations of Building 2.

The remains of a stone masonry structure lie 20.70m. to the North of Building 1, and parallel to it on the same East-West alignment, thus forming the second side of the three sided courtyard. (fig.52) Although most of the building was demolished in the 1960s,9 some of the foundations are visible and some walls are standing to a height of 0.87m. above the ground. (Fig.47) The rectangular structure measures 10.45m * 5.67m, with a contiguous set of rooms on the Eastern end measuring 6.10 * 2.78m. The walls are built of granite blocks bedded in clay and limestone mortar, similar to those in building 1. (Figs. 95, 96,) The same coursed rubble construction technique is used, the size of the granite blocks used, the height of the courses, 0.33-0.37m., and the quality of the stonework is comparable to that executed in the main part of Building 1. This is visible in a comparison of photographs of the two buildings. (Figs. 53, 97.) The width of the wall in the main building is 0.60m., which is wider than those in Building

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9Interview Mrs. R. Maddrell/ K.Altenburg.
The walls.

The north wall consists of two separate walls, butted together. (Figs. 99, 100) In the first section of the wall some of the courses remain, some stones remaining to a height of 0.87m. It is clear at the Western end that the wall once extended further West than it does now, due to disturbance caused by the collapse of the stonework. The foundations of the wall which commences at the Western end continue for 10.45m. Eastward. From this point foundations which butt up against the stones of the initial wall continue a further 6.10m. Eastwards. This wall is narrower, being 0.45m. wide. Beyond the Eastern end of this wall there is a scatter of bricks. From the Eastern end a wall runs South for 2.78m. The remains of foundations and collapsed rubble from the wall running East-West extend 6.00m to the West, thus forming a rectangular extension room East of the main structure. At this point they meet the foundations of a wall running 2.87m. South which once extended 5.67m. South from the junction of the two Northern walls. The foundations are indistinct at this point due to a mound of rubble, from the collapsed fireplace at the Eastern end of the building which has fallen outwards. (Fig.101) The Southern wall is again 0.60m. wide, similar to the Northern wall of the main structure. The Southern section of the foundations are visible and incorporating some stones which are solid wall built up to a height of 0.33m. near the junction of the walls. At 2.87m. South the wall extends West for a distance of 10.80m. From 0.80- 2.70m. from the Western end the wall is built up to a height of 0.70m. The external length of the Western wall is 6.15m. Between the North and South walls the internal measurement is 4.95m, and there is visible
evidence of foundation wall and fireplace. This structure, unlike Building 1, clearly had a functioning chimney. At 1.95m. from the Northern end the rectangular fireplace recess commences, the depth of the wall is 0.50m., the inglenook recess extends for 1.00m. and its depth is 0.70m. (Figs. 102-105) The distance beyond the fireplace is 1.95m. on the Southern side of the wall. On the Western side of the fireplace there is a scatter of granite stones, which fell outwards as the building was demolished. (Figs. 106, 107.)

In the creek West of the structures are stones which have been brought here to form a crossing. (Figs. 108, 109.) The stones most likely came from this building when it was demolished in the 1960s.

2.5 **Foundations of Building 3A.3B.3C.**

3A. A rise comprised of granite stones and rubble (Fig. 52) situated 12.05m., measured from the centre, to the South East corner of Building 2, being roughly square in shape. (Fig. 110) It is densely covered with vegetation. The granite stones are similar to the ones used in the construction of Buildings 1 and 2, and are scattered irregularly across the mound. The rise measures 4.00m on the Northern side, 4.2m on on the Eastern side, 3.7m. on the Southern, and 5.4m. on the Western side.

3B. A mound of of granite stones and rubble, (Fig. 52) the centre of which measures 11.30m from the North East corner of Building 1, and 22.10m from the South East corner of Building 2. The granite
stones are similar to ones used in the other buildings surveyed on
the site. (Figs. 111, 112) They are laid in two courses, and form a
square within the mound. (Fig. 48) The external measurements of the
mound are 1.80m. on the North side, 2.07m. on the Eastern side,
1.37m on the South, and 2.00m. on the Western side. There is an
irregular scatter of stones in all directions around the mound. At the
North West corner of the mound there is one sandstone block with a
square depression measuring 0.04 * 0.04m. (Fig. 113) Beyond the
mound, 10.25m. to the South East, there is a depression, which is
11.85m. from the South Eastern end wall of the extension to Building
1. (Fig. 114) This depression extends North for c.6.70m.

3C. This is a scatter of granite stones, forming a triangular shape. It
lies 10m. West of 3B, 8.m. West of 3A, 12.20m. from the North East
corner of Building 1, and 12.20m. from the South East corner of
Building 2. The scatter measures 2.8m. * 3.45m. * 1.6m.

2.6 Well.
A well is located 10.85m. from the North west corner of Building 1,
10.50m. from the South West corner of Building 2. (Figs. 39, 52.) The
well is circular, measures 1.05m. in diameter, and is stone lined. In a
Canberra and District Historical Society Newsletter I found the
following estimate of the depth of the well.

"In order to investigate the depth of a carefully made stone lined well in
the barrack courtyard a brave young lady from Goulburn volunteered
to be let down on a rope for 20 feet. after clearing away some
accumulation of rubble and animal bones she estimated that the bottom of the well was 6 ft. below her. 10

2.7. Cemetery.

The cemetery lies 385m. North of the structures. (Fig. 45) It consists of four walls forming a rectangle, enclosing one gravestone. (Fig. 49) The walls are built of granite stones, laid in random courses, bound with mortar made of roughly crushed limestone. There is a cement capping over the walls, which dates from repairs carried out this century. (Fig.115) The walls measure 3.35m on the East, 3.40m. on the West side, 4.50m.on the North and 4.48m. on the South side. They are 0.46m. thick. The stonework is disintegrating. (Fig.116) The headstone is of sandstone, measures 0.84m. wide, 0.11m. depth, and projects 1.52m. out of the soil. (Fig.117) From the pick marks in the centre of the back of the headstone it is apparent it was designed to lie on the ground, and it has since been placed in its present upright position. It is now standing slightly North of the centre of the enclosing wall, with the inscription facing west. The moulding on the headstone is squared off on the front, with a distinctive profile. The inscription reads as follows:-

10 Newsletter no.72, 1966, 5.
Sacred
to the memory
of
Susanna Mary Ann Kirk
third
daughter of Rupert Kirk Esq
of
Woodford Park near Sydney
who
departed this life on 10th Jan
1838
aged 24 (?) years

The quality of the incised inscription is very high. From Coghill family letters it is known that Susanna Kirk was living with the Coghill family and was ill for a considerable time before her death. Her father Rupert Kirk (1777-1850), a former Captain in the Army Medical Corps, had established a pioneering refinery of oils, vinegar and manufacturing sugar at Lane Cove in 1831, on his property which was called Woodford Park.

A second grave was apparently located at this site, and demonstrates that this area was used as an informal cemetery. The location of this second grave is not known, as it is unmarked. The

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12Eric Russsell, A North Shore History, Lane Cove 1788-1895, Sydney, 1970, 64.
grave is that of Edward Boxer Mowle, Stewart's uncle. Mowle was renting a neighbouring property, St. Omer, and he died at St. Omer on 1st. May 1840. According to his nephew he was buried at Strathallan in an unmarked grave, as he couldn't afford the cost of a head stone. According to a report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* Mrs Mackellar gave birth to twins, a son and a daughter, at Strathallan, County St Vincent, on 3 January 1833. The son died soon after birth so it is likely he too was buried at Strathallan in this same graveyard.

Stewart Mowle, in his Reminiscences wrote

"The Maddrells, who succeeded to the Coghill estates, including Braidwood, raised a stone to Miss Kirk."

Mowle states he was asked by the Maddrell's if he wanted his uncle, Edward Boxer Mowle's name to be included on the same headstone as Miss Kirk. Unfortunately he doesn't explain why he didn't accept their offer. Since John Coghill died in 1853 Robert and Elizabeth (ne‘e Coghill) Maddrell presumably erected this headstone after 1853. The desire to mark the grave of a young woman who died at least fifteen years earlier demonstrates concern which probably denotes a familial connection. William Musgrave Kirk leased Strathallan from Coghill after he purchased the property, and given the same surname, this might be another family link. I have not been able to confirm any family connection. Oral tradition has attributed

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15SMH, 21 January, 1833.
16ML. S.M. Mowle, "Reminiscences 1822-1851", 14, B1448.
this grave to the Coghill children's governess, but the quality of the
inscription, the care with which the surrounding wall was erected,
the erection of a headstone several years after the death, and the
position in society of the Kirk family as social equals of the Coghills
makes the tradition of governess seem unlikely.

2.8 Interpretation.

Building 1 was constructed in two stages, the first being the
rectangular building, and the second stage the Eastern extension. The
fact that the Southern wall is not one continuous wall, but built
separately, demonstrates that the extension was added after the
main building was completed. There are similarities and differences
in the construction between the two parts of the building. The
window on the South wall of the extension is the same size, 0.93m. as
that on the North wall of the main building. However the widths of
the door openings, 0.90m., 0.93m. and 1.18m. in the extension
compared to 1.30m. in the main building, the use of smaller stones in
the walls, a different technique for constructing the door and window
on the South wall, the different thickness of walls, suggest a different
stonemason was used for the subsequent extension. The use of
plaster on the walls of the extension point to a different use for the
extension. The plaster on the internal walls was designed to keep the
stonework clean, to protect food etc. from contamination. The device
of render to look like false stone blocks on the exterior Southern wall
shows a taste for the pretentious otherwise only found on these
buildings in the construction of the two matching false chimneys. I would suggest a later date for this render..

The roof construction was identical in both this building and Building 2. (Fig.41) The evidence is in this photograph, which shows the recess for the plate to sit in which is still visible in Building 1 also was found on Building 2, as are the jack joists projecting through the Western wall. This schematic drawing (Fig.118) shows the gable roof construction as it would have been on both buildings. The evidence for such a reconstruction is the recessed space in the gable ends for the plate, the triangular area at each gable end for the struts, the extended joists projecting through both the North and South walls, the jack joists projecting through the East and West walls, and the evidence of the extended joist lying adjacent to the Eastern wall being rebated to accommodate the jack joists. The load bearing walls would have supported the weight of this gable roof construction. There is no archaeological evidence to show that the ridge plate was built into the stonework. I suggest that the bracing of the rafters with struts and collar ties as drawn in the reconstruction would have supported the ridge plate. Looking at the Western wall of Building 2 in the photograph (Fig.39) the projecting eave on Building 2 finishes with a plain barge board. On the photograph the horizontal brace connecting the two barge boards lies in the same position as the collar ties in the reconstruction, and fulfills the same function. In the photograph (Fig.39) there is a timber brace from the projecting jack joist to the outside of the barge board. Naismith, in Buildings of the Scottish Countryside, found that projecting verges were
"....more common in the mid nineteenth century buildings...These occur in three forms:
(1) the projection is supported underneath by the projecting ends of the purlins, which are usually half-rounded on the lower corners;

(2) the ends are finished with a plain barge board:______"  

The system of jack joists projecting beyond the stonework on the East and West walls below the gables are an unusual feature of these structures, and seem to have no parallels with other buildings in the area. Jack joists are found in other buildings in the Southern Tablelands, e.g. Goulburn Brewery and two barns at Moss Vale, one at Throsby Park and one at Browley. The only examples I have located where the joists extend beyond the gable walls of the building are in the gable end of the brick barn at Throsby Park, which Roxburgh dates to before 1828, and in the detached stone kitchen building at the rear of the house at Inverary Park. Inverary Park was built by Dr. David Reid between 1821 and 1840. This is the same Dr. Reid who purchased land at Reidsdale, outside Braidwood.

The unusual levels in the building suggest the building was constructed to store goods in a dry, well ventilated space. The raised ground floor level, with a height of 2.52m., and a loft above created spaces which fulfilled these criteria. The below floor level, with a height above the ground of 1.47m., could have been built as a cold

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20 Ibid, 92.  
21 Ibid, 417.
storage area, but also been used for imprisoning prisoners awaiting trial.

The construction of chimneys which were never intended to be functional, (compare the depth with those on Building 2 in this photograph (Fig.40) suggest they were incorporated to mirror the symmetry of the design of Building 2. Such careful attention to design and proportion is clear when analysing the measurements of the external elevation of the North wall of Building 1. Looking at the diagram (Fig.119) shows that on either side of the door are two rectangles, with their diagonals intersecting above the bases of the windows. Each of these rectangles is formed by two rectangles, on either side of the window openings, and each of these rectangles in turn is composed of two rectangles. The length of one side of the rectangle is equal to half the height of the building, or one section of the wall between window or door openings. The door is positioned centrally in relation to the overall height and length of the building. A diagonal at 45° intersects the door at its mid point, at the mid point in the height of the building. Naismith, in an analysis of design principles in small country buildings in Scotland, found that the square

"applied especially to the overall shapes of the elevations. Single-storey buildings often divide into multiples of squares from 2 to 5 in length. The shape of the elevations in 1 1/2- and 2-storey buildings frequently consisted of 2 squares in length. Sometimes the front was slightly elongated so that the two square shapes lie on either side of the centrally placed door." 22

22 Naismith, ibid, 140.
The length of the diagonal of the window is equal in length to the diagonal which intersects one half of the door. The angle of the diagonal of the window is 60° which falls within the range surveyed by Naismith. He found windows with diagonals which

"ranged between about 57° and 63 1/2°." 23

Looking at the elevation of the East wall (Fig.119) there is a similar division with a rectangle on either side of the window. Each of these rectangles further divide into two rectangles, the shorter side having the same length as the sides of the rectangle in the North elevation, i.e. half the height, while the longer sides plus one half of the centrally positioned window rectangle measure the same as the width of one rectangle plus one half of the width of the window in the North wall.

This building was quite deliberately designed. The control of proportion shown here was precise and deliberate, and shows a sense of order which was never random, left nothing to chance. The fact that the position of the door, with its above ground level access, was so carefully balanced into the overall plan of the building, and the proportions of the chimney matching the windows on the North wall, reveal a harmony orchestrated by an ordered mind.

23Naismith, ibid, 140.
Shingles were used on this roof. The evidence for this comes from the information in Mackellar's letter to Breton and the photograph (Fig.39) which shows the battens for the shingles on Building 2 still in position on the roof.

Any interpretation of this building must examine the local tradition that it was used as a convict barracks. The first research undertaken in 1922 to establish the date of the founding of the town of Braidwood put forward this idea which has been repeated ever since.

The arguments in favour are:–

~ the strength of the local legend. Oral history from old people closer in time to the building's original use was still available when Miss Agnes Hogg was carrying out her enquiries. However the reliability of oral history must be taken into consideration, especially as convictism was an emotive subject.

~Documentary evidence, in the letter written by the Colonial Secretary to Mackellar in 1834, quoted on page 39.

~personal safety because of remoteness. Duncan Mackellar's niece by marriage, Janet, the wife of his nephew who was acting

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24 AONSW. Col. Sec. Correspondence. Strathallan, 1834. Mackellar/Major Breton. 4/2293.3. 34/1859.
26 AONSW. Col. Sec. Correspondence to Magistrates. Reel 2810. 34/395.
as overseer at Strathallan before Mackellar the Elder had settled in the Colony, was murdered by a convict in 1828 at Upper Minto while her husband was away from home 'up country.' 27 It is clear from the documentary evidence that Mackellar was most concerned about safety, bushrangers, convict servants, and sly grog sellers, and perceived there to be a threat.

omission in all documentary evidence, for instance sale documents, letters to the government, evidence to Parliamentary committee. However settlers in other areas were not so reticent when giving evidence to the Parliamentary Committee into Police. 28

omission because of prevailing contemporary attitudes, in that very little documentary evidence is available for housing of convicts in private assignment, or for a comparison of farms with Britain. Both these themes will be treated in greater detail in chapter 3. The only reference is Demarr, 29 who compares and contrasts the appearance of an Australian farm with those in Britain. This passage will be quoted in full on page 146.

The arguments against the use of the building are:-

27 Sydney Gazette, March 17 and March 19, 1828.
lack of documentary evidence to support contemporary use of secure structures in pastoral areas. The majority of convicts were employed in pastoral holdings as shepherds or cattle men, who lived with the stock, and were not housed close to the main homestead. The occupation figures for Strathallan (Census 1828 30 and 1841,31) support this argument, as well as Mackellar's statement that there were five houses on Strathallan (quoted on page 36).

~ the need for a secure building to keep stores in, which the documentary evidence shows Mackellar had,32 (Fig.34) which likewise served to keep convicts, and other potential thieves, out. There was a real necessity to guard the stores against theft, since the convicts' propensity to theft was well known, and the distance and difficulties in getting stores from Sydney was enormous.33

~ The hard won grain was often stored in the upper of two storey buildings in Britain, to save it from damp. Lofts and

"...other two-storey granaries give(s) a less agreeable impression of the physical demands of the pre-mechanical farmstead on the farmer and his men, who had to carry the corn harvest on their backs in a succession of hundredweight sacks up a flight of steps."34

30Census of New South Wales, November 1828.
31AONSW. Census 1841. Reel 2222.
32AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence. Strathallan, 1834. 4/2293.3.
34N.Harvey, The Industrial Archaeology of Farming in England and Wales, London, 1980, 137.
Using the labour of convicts in this way would have been considered appropriate.

The necessities of establishing a farm in such an unfamiliar climate and conditions would have led to the building of only the most essential structures. The difficulty of obtaining skilled workmen, as noted by Mackellar in his plea to the Colonial Secretary 35 would have been a deterrent to undertaking non essential building.

This argument is strongly supported by the archaeological evidence. There are several compelling and logical reasons which add weight to the arguments already mentioned:-

~ the width of the doorway in the main building is 1.30m. wide. If this were to be used as a doorway for men only it would surely measure the standard 0.96m. door, as was constructed in the Eastern extension. Such a wide doorway would have been built to enable stores to be carried in and out, not to secure prisoners inside.

~ the so called "cells" in the Eastern extension do not have the ordinary dimensions and do not correspond to Mackellar's own specifications. The length of the Western "cell" on the Northern wall was 1.97m.(6ft.5 1/2ins.) to the gap in the plaster where the internal wooden partition wall was 0.14m. (5 1/2ins.) The length of the "cell" on the Eastern side was 1.90m.(6ft.3ins.).

35AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence. 4/2066, 1830. 30/677.
The width of the Western wall was 1.70m. If there had been a wooden partition wall along the foundation running North/South in the centre of the area which was as wide as that in the East/West wall, 0.14m., this would make "cells" measuring 0.78m (2ft. 6 1/4ins.) in width. There is however no mark in the plaster on the Western wall to show where such a partition wall would have been attached. The height of the rooms from the floor level to the top of the plaster on the skillion roof was 1.80m (5ft. 11ins.) at the Northern end, 2.12m. (6ft. 11 1/2ins.) at the Western end.

At Hobart Gaol by 1820 there were five solitary cells measuring 6 ft. by 5 ft. 10 ins. The solitary cells for disciplinary purposes at Port Arthur about 1838 were 7 ft. long, 4 ft. wide and 8 ft. high, with a shelf 2 ft. 6 ins. wide for sleeping on. 36 Kerr says

"These dimensions appear frequently in single cells of the time. Greenway had used them, together with the sleeping shelf, at Hyde Park Barracks, and Arthur specified them for road party solitary cells in 1834." 37

Mackellar, in a letter to Major Breton 38 after being asked to consider the plans for a Gaol and Courthouse Breton had drawn up for the Braidwood area, altered them slightly. In Breton's plan the three mens' cells measure 6 ft. by 6 ft 8 ins.

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37 Kerr, ibid., 87.
38 AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence, 4/2252.7. Strathallan, 34/1859, 6 March 1834.
There are no fireplaces provided for the prisoners. Only the court room, clerk and constable are to be warm.

If the internal North/South partition walls are not included in these hypothetical "cells" four cells reduce to two which increase in size to measure 1.70m (5ft.7ins.) wide by 1.97m.(6ft. 5 1/2ins.), the length of the Western "cell" on the Northern wall, and 1.90m.(6ft.3ins.), the length of the "cell" on the Eastern side. However the Eastern cell has a large window in its Southern wall. This doesn't explain the North/South foundations on the floor, or why the building is carefully given two coats of plaster, or the discrepancy in width between the North/South foundations, 0.50m., in contrast to the narrower East/West one, 0.40m. It appears the North/South foundations were built to carry a load bearing wall or shelf while the narrower East/West one carried a partition wall. Also the plan with two doors- one in the South wall giving people access to the building from outside the courtyard, and one in the East wall, giving access to the household from within the courtyard complex, seem to negate any idea of security, and imply ease of entry.

The middle row of sockets which tradition suggests contained iron rings to which convicts were chained at night, and also triangles where they were flogged, run around all four walls of the main building at irregular intervals and are more appropriate for shelving. The irregularity of these sockets suggest their purpose was not important structurally.
for the building. The sockets are larger, yet not not as deep, compared with those constructed for the jack joists, which would have carried a heavier load. Their size suggests they were constructed for wooden brackets, which carried a wooden shelf on which goods, possibly milk setting pans were stored. No traces of these brackets or the shelf remain. No traces remain either of rings or triangles, although local tradition says they were apparently removed in the 1960s and donated to an historical society, but not the Braidwood and District Historical Society.\textsuperscript{39}

The rings and triangles theory seems unlikely as iron rings would not have required sockets, they would have been built into the stonework. Other buildings such as the cellars at Arrowfield \textsuperscript{40} still had chains with rings embedded in the walls in 1978 which are built into the stonework.

The other alternative is that the shelf was used as a sleeping bunk. The width of bunks at Port Arthur were 1 ft. 4 ins. wide and 6 ft 2 ins. long.\textsuperscript{41} At Cockatoo Island Barrack, completed in 1841, prisoners slept on sloping bed platforms

\begin{quote}
"each man being allocated a 7 ft by 2 ft. slice of boarding."
\end{quote}

Thus from a thorough investigation of both the archaeological and documentary evidence it seems clear that this building was not

\textsuperscript{39}Information from Mrs R. Maddrell.
\textsuperscript{40}Historic Homesteads of the Muswellbrook District, Muswellbrook Historical Society, compiled 1981-1984.
\textsuperscript{41}Kerr, Design for Convicts, 70.
\textsuperscript{42}Kerr, ibid. 75.
constructed as a convict barracks. It was constructed as a store in which to keep goods secure. The space below ground level may very well have been used for the temporary confinement of prisoners awaiting trial, or found to be refractory. There is no physical proof for or against this use., but the Colonial Secretary's letter stating that prisoners were confined at Strathallan. tends to suggest that the space was used for confining convicts, or free men facing a criminal charge, in this way.

Building 2 is comparable to building 1 in its design, proportions and construction technique, but not in its function. From the evidence in the photographs, (Figs. 39, 40) it is apparent the two buildings were similar in design, each structure being rectangular, with gable ends both East and West ending in centrally positioned chimneys, each chimney having a decorative element in matching string courses. These buildings were evidently carefully designed to conform to the tastes of Georgian symmetry, and a strong sense of order. The false chimneys on Building 1 prove the extent to which this symmetry of design was considered important.

In proportions these two buildings are similar. Both are rectangular with an extension on the Eastern end, on the outside, viz. on Building 1 to the South and on Building 2 to the North, creating a courtyard area. These photographs (Figs. 98, 99) show the relationship of the two buildings to each other, and their extensions. Building 2 is comparable to the main part of Building 1. The depth of the walls in

43 AONSW. Col.Sec. Correspondence to Magistrates. Reel 2810. 34/395.
slightly wider, 6.15m. on the Western wall, than Building 1, which measures 5.73m on the Western wall. The width of the building was constrained by the roof construction. The vernacular builder

"was often restricted, because of the length of available timber, to the construction of a long, narrow rectangular building rarely more than eighteen feet from front to back." 44

The length of Building 2 without the extension is 10.45m. on the North wall, the length of Building 1 is 10.63m. on the North wall. The dimensions of the extension on Building 1 was 5.62 on the South wall, by 2.67m. on the East end. The dimensions of the extension on Building 2 are 6.10m. on the Northern wall, by 2.78m. on the East end.

There are ten jack joists visible on the Western wall of Building 2 in this photograph (Fig.39) which compares with only nine on Building 1. The dimensions of the chimneys are not similar. From an examination of this photograph (Fig.40) and the archaeological evidence it is evident that the two chimneys on Building 2 functioned in conjunction with fireplaces, while the two on Building 1 did not. The photograph shows that the chimneys on Building 2 were square, and the archaeological evidence shows that they have a recessed inglenook which allowed space for a flue, while those on Building 1 are only the depth of the wall.

In construction technique the coursed rubble granite stonework is comparable to the main part of Building 1. The depth of the walls is

greatest in the main part of Building 2 at 0.60m., those of the main part of Building 1 being 0.56m. The walls in the extension of Building 2 are the same as the Eastern wall of Building 1, i.e. 0.45m., while the Southern wall of the extension to Building 1 is slightly wider at 0.48m. This photograph (Fig.40) shows the roof construction to be identical in the main part of both buildings. The skillion roof construction on the extension buildings was a system quite commonly used in Britain and brought to Australia.\textsuperscript{45} It was a successful way of creating additional rooms, with economy of materials.

There can be no doubt these buildings were designed to form a cohesive group, creating two sides of a courtyard complex. The extensions on the Eastern ends of the both buildings, although the archaeological evidence suggests were not constructed simultaneously, were planned to form an integral part of the design. The two buildings, despite their visual similarities, were designed to serve different functions. The difference in levels, in chimneys, in window openings all indicate different usage. The difference in levels points to a major difference in function. Building 2 was designed to be used as a kitchen block with normal ground floor entry. Building 1 was designed as a store with two floors of storage space to keep goods and produce above the damp ground. Thus also there was the need for windows, both in the attic, and in the below ground floor, for ventilation. The two functioning chimneys of Building 2 were designed for domestic use. Kitchens were always

detached in Australian houses at that period, and since the main house was built of wood, it would have been practical to build the kitchen structure in stone, which was available locally, to avoid the hazards of fire. Plaster can be seen in the photo from c.1912 to be evident on western wall of Building 2 below the jack joists, but not on Building 1.

In the Memorandum of Improvements Mackellar stated in 1830 he had built,46

"one stone house 48 feet by 32 feet value £500"

The measurements of neither Building 1 or 2 accord with the documentary evidence of Mackellar's stone house, 48ft. (14.63m) by 32 ft (9.75m.) The measurements however are much closer to those of the house between the two fireplaces. I can only explain this discrepancy by assuming Mackellar gave larger measurements for his house than he had built in the hope of strengthening his case with the Colonial Secretary for an additional grant of land, for which he had once been refused for not carrying out sufficient improvements.47 It is rather out of character for from his letters Mackellar otherwise seems a meticulous man, in contrast to Major Elrington, who fulfilled his administrative duties as a magistrate rather indifferently.

Interpretation of items 3A,B,C. The archaeological evidence shows the remains of two fireplaces, 3A and 3B, which were situated at either

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46AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Letter Mackellar/ColSec.
47AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Letter Mackellar/ColSec.
end of a building, the physical remains of which have disappeared, save for the depression South East of 3B. This depression was either the verandah, or a drain along the Eastern side of the house. The photographic evidence (Fig.39) shows the remains of the fireplace at the Southern end standing several courses high, behind the figures. In the photograph the raised area in which the fireplace is situated can be clearly seen. The scatter of stones at the Northern end marks the position of the Northern fireplace. The scatter of stones surveyed at 3C does not form any significant pattern, and in the photo the process of scatter can be seen at work, including one of the causes (the Hereford cow)! The sandstone block found at the site of the Southern fireplace must have served some specific function. Sandstone does not occur naturally on the site, and would have had to be brought some considerable distance. It has been moved from its original position to its present one. From the documentary evidence Mackellar wrote in 1830 stating he had

"one slab house 34 feet by 20 feet" 48

The distance between the central points of the two chimneys is 15.25m., which is 50ft. 1/2in. Mackellar's measurement for his stone house agrees much more closely with this measurement. In the Census of 1841 the house was stated to be built of wood.49 Archaeological evidence has confirmed this to be correct.

Any interpretation of the cemetery site must take into account the quality of craftsmanship of the lettering on the headstone, and the

48AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Letter Mackellar/ColSec.
49AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
care with which the wall enclosure was built. This demonstrates the taste and the cultural influences which motivated the Coghill and Kirk families, and it illustrates their desire to ensure that Susanna Kirk should be given a gravestone reflecting her social status in society, despite the difficulties caused by the remoteness of the area. It also illustrates the difficulties and hardships of pioneer life, in contrast with the unmarked grave: for Stewart Mowle could never afford to erect a headstone for his uncle.

The grave site is also significant because it demonstrates that, together with the other features at Strathallan, it forms part of an embryonic township, which, in turn, was part of the land settlement pattern of pastoral expansion in the 1820s and 1830s. Graveyards were generally associated with house sites but the fact that E.B. Mowle was also buried here and not at St. Omer, the property which he was leasing and where he died, illustrates that the community looked to Strathallan as the focal point in the district.

The cemetery forms part of the Strathallan features which are intact and which have remained unchanged since the assignment period. Together they present a strong visual image of the process of forming a township site, which never developed further than this initial stage. This relationship between the grave and the other features, as well as their setting, reinforces their qualities. The silent bare hillside is highly evocative of its brief period as an administrative and social focal point, followed by many decades of obscurity.
2.9 Courtyard complex.

It is apparent that this group of buildings were conceived of as a complex, the planner having in mind formal farm yard configurations common in Britain at the time.\textsuperscript{50} Naismith describes the grouping of buildings around a rectangular courtyard with one end left open as being

"frequently employed in medium and large steadings."\textsuperscript{51}

Model farmeries, sometimes architect designed, were becoming fashionable among the more progressive landholders in Britain, with carefully planned relationships between the buildings. \textsuperscript{52}

The location of the buildings in relation to each other, the formality of the design and the permanence of the structures were all deliberate, to convey the colonist's values and perceptions of his world which he had brought with him and which he sought to impose on this foreign and uncivilised countryside.

The site Strathallan is revealing because it enables us to penetrate the mind behind the design of the buildings. Whereas I had initially thought the buildings would reveal something of the 'mindset' of the builders, the evidence shows the strong influence of the landholder and settler Mackellar. From a study of the archaeological material it

\textsuperscript{51}Naismith, \textit{Buildings of the Scottish Countryside}, 66.
\textsuperscript{52}J.C. Loudon, \textit{An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, and Furniture; containing Numerous Designs for Dwellings}, London, 1869, 627.
is apparent that Mackellar drew on the traditional building logic he had known in Scotland.

"Often without knowing it themselves, the Colonial Australians - whether professional or laymen - brought hundreds, sometimes two thousand years of tradition to their task of building houses."\(^{53}\)

We find when Mackellar came to build at Strathallan he constructed a group of buildings incorporating many traditional Scottish characteristics. Naismith, studying buildings of the Scottish countryside says,

"The study has made it evident that the essence of country building in Scotland can be drawn from three sources.

1. The setting in the open country where building submits to the influence of landscape, topography and climate and merge with the local colour...
2. The use of local materials and the sound building techniques applied to them by the craftsmen.
3. The system of related proportions applied by the builders."\(^{54}\)

This group thus conform with Naismith's categories of Scottish country buildings. Scottish builders preferred to work in stone wherever possible.\(^{55}\) A slab house was built first at Strathallan,\(^{56}\) before Mackellar settled permanently on his grant. However after his arrival he then continued building in stone. Both Building 1 and 2 in their design and proportions show strong traces of Mackellar's Scottish background. The two roomed cottage, with gable ends can be

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\(^{54}\) Naismith, *Buildings of the Scottish Countryside*, 145.

\(^{55}\) Naismith, *Buildings of the Scottish Countryside*, 86.

\(^{56}\) AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1160. Letter Mackellar/Col.Sec.
traced back to Scotland.\textsuperscript{57} These simple vernacular forms were repeated in architectural plans as cottages for labourers as early as 1781, when Mr. John Wood published in London, \textit{A Series of plans for Cottages of Habitations of the Labourer, either in Husbandry, or the Mechanical Arts, adapted as well to Towns as to the Country}. Woods' plans already show a more sophisticated use of the internal space, with an internal dividing wall, and a "shed" behind, for pantry and privy.

Mackellar's place of birth was Kilmodan, County Argyle in Scotland and it is revealing that these buildings show several characteristics which Naismith lists as being typical of the region, zone 10 in his classification.\textsuperscript{58}

1. Granite stone would be familiar as hard metamorphic rock was characteristic of the region.
2. Stone walls were mostly painted white, or left with the natural stone finish.
3. Random rubble was one of the three building techniques most usually occurring.
4. Naismith found that

\[\text{"- despite the high winds, however, nearly half the roofs have projecting eaves- presumably to comply with the styles of the times when they were built."}\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{57}R.W. Brunskill, \textit{Traditional Buildings of Britain}, an introduction to Vernacular Architecture.
\textsuperscript{58}Naismith, \textit{Buildings of the Scottish Countryside}, 191-195.
\textsuperscript{59}Naismith, \textit{Buildings of the Scottish Countryside}, 194
Thus the projecting eaves, despite the frequent winds at Strathallan, conformed to roof construction typical in Argyle. Also the open verge ending with a barge board is characteristic of the region.

"The strong feature of the zone, open verges with purlin or barge board ends, appears throughout and the normal style of stone skew is found less than in most other zones in the country." 60

5. Plain doorways are also a feature, as at Strathallan.

"Local builders have preferred plain margins to rybats for the (door) surrounds, and the omission of any differentiation with the walling is a recurrent theme." 61

6. Mackellar chose to design his buildings using familiar heights.. Brunskill found that,

"One and 11/2- storey buildings in equal proportions represented about 80 per cent of the total sample surveyed." 62

7. The sense of proportion and symmetry with which Mackellar designed these buildings was also brought with him from his native Argyll.

"Local builders from exercising their natural aptitude for making out of such unpromising material well proportions elevations of character. The appearance of secondary rectangles such as the 51 1/3 ° shape, recurs to the extent that might have been more expected in the ancient buildings which preceded classical Greece than in the small cottages of this zone." 63

60ibid, 194.
61ibid, 194.
62ibid, 192-193.
63ibid, 195.
Thus it seems clear that Mackellar designed these buildings, and made use of the traditional building forms he had known in Scotland.

From an examination of the evidence it appears Mackellar, like the other settlers, shared a common view of the country, as a vast resource to be exploited, tamed, and made "civilised". In other words, to be made to look as much like the countryside they had left behind as possible. 64 Thus these colonial settlers, imbued by the eighteenth century doctrine of progress were encouraged by reformers such as Wakefield who believed in spreading British civilisation, in extending the traditions of old societies rather than creating new ones. Wakefield called this

"an extension of civilisation." 65

Moreover cultivation of the land was sanctioned by Biblical authority,

"That basic principle laid down for Adam by divine authority that in the sweat of his brow he should eat bread " 66

which saw the rationalisation for colonial entrepreneurs to exploit the opportunities offered by the unlimited land in Australia. The landscape of the Strathallan site shows the degradation- the loss of

trees and all native vegetation, extensive weed growth, and the effects of soil erosion caused by this ruthless attitude.

By the time the period of pastoral expansion had commenced in which Mackellar participated a pattern of social domination of a gentry class whose wealth was dependent on the labour of their assigned convicts had developed.

"In England the rank of gentleman was typically guaranteed by the ownership of broad acres of land. In Virginia, where the land was cheap and plentiful, the ownership of slaves was essential."\(^6^7\)

In New South Wales the gentry class depended for their authority and prestige on their assigned labour, and the most powerful men in each district were the resident magistrates who maintained local control over the convicts. Their rights and privileges of property were guaranteed by the state, which,

"through its coercive machinery, constrains their prison labour force."\(^6^8\)

Connell and Irving considered their power to be more broadly based than simply economic, and to encompass both cultural and institutional dominance through their hegemony.

"Hegemony can be seen as a situation where the subordinate class lives its daily life in forms created by or consistent with, the interests of the dominant class, and through this daily life acquires beliefs, motives and ways of thinking that serve to perpetuate the class structure."\(^6^9\)

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\(^6^7\) R.Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 132.

\(^6^8\) R.Connell and T.Irving, *Class Structure in Australian History Documents, Narrative and Argument*, Melbourne, 1980. 34.

\(^6^9\) Ibid, 22.
This system of social differentiation was reflected in the architecture of the buildings for the different classes.

"... one of the basic functions of the house may be the definition of territory." 70

The houses of the gentry were planned as a one family dwelling, and became larger and more refined with increasing specialisation of use of space. They were designed, either consciously or unconsciously, as the focal point in the landscape, with the out buildings, perceived to be of less significance, flanking, or more usually, behind the main structure. This pattern of location is evident in many contemporary accounts cited in the following chapter, and is found in the arrangement of the buildings at Strathallan. Such structures were designed to demonstrate the status and authority of the master to his assigned servants, and to make them feel at all times aware of their place in the order of society. Thus authority would be reinforced by powerful visual symbols. Neal, in his critique of Hirst's book, *Convict Society and Its Enemies* says that

"Day-to-day social interaction could be less status-oriented because the powerful, coherent ideology of the criminal law and punishment ensured the subordinate position of the convicts." 71

I see the use of buildings as symbols of authority reinforcing the ideology of the system. Their unease in this strange and menacing environment led to the necessity for such symbols

70 Rapoport, *House, Form and Culture*, 79.
"Because our elites have always been so uncertain of who they are, they have always been ill at ease over issues of authority, and their uncertainty contributes to what some have seen as an unusual degree of authoritarianism in Australia. But feelings of authority are central to identity, and the strange unease Australians experience over authority questions is reflected in their general uncertainty about who they are." 72

The day-to-day social interaction took place in and around such buildings. The builders who erected these buildings chose73 the symmetrical Georgian style with its closed front as an image to signal order and control.

"Symmetry needs nothing beyond it, nothing out there. Alone it is complete; its parts repeat, mirroring themselves into totality. Easily perfectible, contained entirely within itself, bilateral symmetry is the simplest way to create balance, the simplest proof of control, a certain, fearful emblem of order." 74

Mackellar at Strathallan chose to build a pair of symmetrical buildings, each a mirror image of the other. Visual symmetry evolved from humanist ideas developed in the Renaissance, and spread gradually throughout Europe, but more rapidly in the New World.

"... the situation, socially and environmentally, in the New World was more frightening and more liberating: opting for the newer, more closed and symmetrical form follows logically." 75

73 see Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*, 402, for an explanation of why builders choose styles and do not simply follow architectural fashions.
74 Glassie, ibid, 399-400.
75 Glassie, ibid, 767
Thus these buildings reflect the fears of the colonists—the control they sought over the prison population was to be perceived in their buildings, as an assertion of their dominance and their power over a hostile environment and potentially hostile convicts. The fact that they used such symbols to indicate this reveals the tension and stress in the society. It also raises the possibility that the convicts themselves had some slight bargaining power, that they were perceived of as a threat, an opposition. This theme will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. Using historical documentation the final chapter will examine the way convicts were housed generally in the assignment period, and assess the evidence from Strathallan in comparison with this material.

CONVICT ACCOMMODATION

3.1 Introduction

In this examination of privately built accommodation for convicts in the assignment period I start by discussing the work of other historians and archaeologists on the topic,¹ but as there is so little information I return to primary sources to trace the development of government regulations during the time of transportation. I used the evidence given to the "Select Committee on the Manner in which Sentences of Transportation are executed," in 1812.² For information a decade later I used the reports of Commissioner Bigge³, for the conditions as he found them, and the evidence given to Commissioner Bigge I used John Ritchie's, *The Evidence to the Bigge Reports.* ⁴ For conditions at the end of the transportation period I used the report of the Molesworth Select Committee,⁵ to which several landowners in New South Land gave evidence in 1837.

²Great Britain. Parliament. Report from the Select Committee on Transportation ordered by the House of Commons, 10 July 1812. 1812 (34l),II, 573.
⁵Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation; with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index., 1837.
In tracing the development of convict accommodation I have used the evidence from contemporaries, using as diverse a range of sources as possible, in order to be able to compare and contrast the views expressed. James Demarr⁶ and Alexander Harris⁷ both worked physically on farms, and provide an account which can be compared with most of the others, who were either employers of farm labour or travellers who were their guests.⁸ In my search for information on comparative material for privately built convict barracks I wrote to 34 local historical societies throughout New South Wales in 1985 requesting any information they could give me in locating such buildings. From 28 replies, ten could give some information about buildings allegedly associated with the accommodation of assigned labour.

In discussing factors such as security of land tenure, availability of labour and human resources which influenced convict accommodation I referred to economic and social historians of the

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⁶J. Demarr, *Adventures in Australia Fifty Years Ago*.
⁷A. Harris, *Settlers and Convicts, or Recollections of sixteen years' in the Australian backwoods, by an emigrant mechanic*. Carlton, Victoria, 1969.
period,\(^9\) and supplemented their accounts with primary sources, using where possible material from the Braidwood area.\(^10\) To document contemporary nineteenth century attitudes for farm servants and British practice I used evidence from the reports into transportation and contemporaries' accounts already cited above, as well as Hammond *The Village Labourer*, \(^11\) evidence quoted in J.C.Loudon's *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* \(^12\) and Atkinson's *Views of Picturesque Cottages with Plans*. \(^13\)

3.2 **Historical context of convict accommodation built privately in the assignment period.**

To examine privately built accommodation for convicts in the assignment period it is necessary to follow the development of such accommodation throughout the period, in order to be able to place the buildings at Strathallan in their historical framework. A total of

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\(^10\) AONSW. Col.Sec Correspondence; ML V & P., 1835, 1838.  


59,788 convicts were transported to New South Wales from 1788 to 1840 when transportation to this state ceased.14

"Up until 1840 the majority spent much of their sentence under assignment."15

Assignment was the system which commenced once the officer-farmers of the New South Wales Corps were authorised to receive land grants,16 and ceased in 1840 as a result of the House of Commons' Report of the Select Committee on Transportation's recommendations.17 Under the Transportation Act convicts were sent to Australia and their services were given to the governor for the length of their sentence. Authorisation was given to the governor to assign the convict to any other person.18 Although government regulations were consistently in force prescribing food and clothing rations convict lodging was never regulated once the convicts had been assigned to private masters. Historians and archaeologists have mentioned the subject only briefly. Shaw, in his chapter, Prisons without bars,19 quotes from the introduction to James Tucker's novel, Ralph Rashleigh, that men lived in huts with

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15 M. Roe, The Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, Melbourne, 1965. 119
17 Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, 1837.
18 HRA, I, 1, 328. Dundas/Phillip, despatch no.2, 10 January 1792.
19 Shaw, Convicts and the Colonies, 217-248
"roofs of stringy bark laid on sapling rafters tied with cords from a kurrajong tree."

and he concludes that

"the squatters in the 1830s were little better off themselves."

Kerr mentions in his chart showing the steps of the assignment system that private accommodation was provided, but takes the subject no further as his concern was with buildings erected by the government. Hirst recognises that, because of the security problems,

"In Sydney and in the country servants slept outside the house in a detached kitchen or outbuilding, the master and his family slept with their valuables inside."

And he goes on to say,

"on properties where large numbers of convicts were employed the men built themselves huts to take four to six and chose their own hut mates."

Hirst sees this as one of the areas in which the assigned servants could exercise their relative freedom of movement.

I have limited this investigation to privately built accommodation on farms in country areas throughout the assignment period. Wooden huts were the almost universal housing for convicts on farms, both on government farms and privately, from the beginning of the

20 Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, 224.
21 Shaw, ibid., 224.
22 J.S. Kerr, *Design for Convicts*, 61
23 Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies*, 55
24 Hirst, ibid., 55.
assignment system. Governor Bligh, giving evidence before the Select Committee on Transportation in 1812, was asked if the convicts had separate houses, to which he answered,

"There were houses which were called Government huts. How many lodged in each of those Government huts? There might be five or six, according to the size of the apartment."

He went on to describe how other convicts

"were distributed to the different settlers in the Colony. The settlers were under injunctions to give them lodging as well as board."

George Johnson, giving evidence to the same committee, was asked if the assigned convicts

"live under your own roof? No, they had a house to themselves, but they lived immediately under my eye; that is, the labouring men."

Johnson had also stated that he had

"two women convicts and I think four men in the house I lived in."

Robert Campbell gave evidence to the same committee, that when large numbers of convicts were assigned to one settler they were lodged in separate huts, but that when they are

"with the other settlers, where they do not exceed two or three convicts they are generally under the same roof with their masters."

26 "Select Committee on Transportation." 1812. Appendix 1,73.
27 "Select Committee on Transportation." 1812. Appendix I,, 71.
Commissioner Bigge a decade later found conditions had not altered. He wrote in his report in 1823,

> The convicts upon the large estates are generally lodged in separate huts built of wood, and covered with the Bark of the eucalyptus. The numbers in each hut are not limited... The convict servants of the lower classes of settlers inhabit the same houses, and frequently the same apartments as their masters."28.

Commissioner Bigge had been informed by one witness

> "That the refusal of the convict servants whom he superintended to mess together, and to sleep in a barrack rather than in separate huts on their master's farm, proceeded from the fear of interruption that it might occasion to their habits of nightly plunder."29

This is the first indication of a slight bargaining power the convicts could use against their masters.

Bigge, concluding that the production of fine wool was the best way of employing convicts, recommended that the majority of them should be privately assigned.30 In part of his recommendation of masters' obligations to the assigned servants he stipulated that

> "the master should only be required to furnish a regulated amount of clothing and food; The former, consisting of two full suits of slops, with two additional pairs of shoes to stock-keepers in the year, with a rug and palliass."31

28Bigge. Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of NSW, 77-78
Convict accommodation continued to remain unregulated throughout the assignment period, despite the government's attempts to tighten up the system. The Select Committee on Transportation in 1837 asked Sir Francis Forbes if there were

"any regulations with regard to the Lodging?"

The answer was

"None with regard to the lodging." 32

3.3 A Process of Development of Convict Accommodation.

There was no change in government policy regarding privately assigned convict accommodation throughout the assignment system. This system continued for more than forty years in New South Wales, and in that time settlement spread from Sydney and its environs to beyond the Limits of Location. The scale of farming, and the type, whether agricultural or pastoral, varied greatly, but these factors do not seem to have affected the type of accommodation erected.

There was however, according to contemporary accounts, a process of development, in which adaptations were made both spatially and temporally, throughout this period. It was a progression which

32Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation, 1837, 3.
accompanied the process of pioneering, part of the experimentation and adaptation which constitutes the first exploratory phase of Birmingham and Jeans' colonisation model already referred to. Both the convicts' and the masters' accommodation followed the same pattern, of transition from pioneering to permanent, which Denholm calls "layers of intention." Alexander Harris described it in the order of priorities he gave for establishing a farm, giving as the first priority, "make two bark huts." As his fifth priority, "the splitters build a more permanent roofed hut." Dawson gave a similar account, "As soon as a party of convicts arrives at a settlers station, their first employment is to build huts for themselves which is done by forming the sides with split logs placed in an upright direction with a covering of bark upon a roof of poles. These are considered to be the more permanent kinds of building for convicts. But in the hurry of the moment, they are sometimes preceded by others of a more temporary nature, consisting of poles tied together with narrow strips of young bark with a view to saving nails, while the sides are enclosed with sheets of thick strong bark."  

33 Birmingham and Jeans, *The Swiss Family Robinson and the Archaeology of Colonisations*, 8  
34 D. Denholm, *The Colonial Australians*, 77  
35 A. Harris, *Settlers and Convicts*, 159.  
Eyre gave a very detailed description of the slab house he and his government men erected in "just 36 days" on first arriving at his land at Molonglo Plains. He praised settlers who looked after their stock and fencing first, and then

"only later when they feel financially secure attend to house."\(^{37}\)

Backhouse described the settler's first building, a two room slab and shingle hut, which many families live for several years in a hut of this description, until they can find time and means to build themselves a better habitation, and a hut of this kind is generally found contiguous to a better habitation, and is occupied by the male servants who are mostly prisoners.\(^{38}\)

Lang detailed the progression of buildings on his brother's farm in the Hunter Valley in the 1830s, from a three room slab building, with detached kitchen which

"was inhabited by a convict servant and his wife, and which served as the farm-cottage for three or four years. By that time considerable improvement had been effected on the land, a suitable situation had been pitched on for the future and more permanent dwelling-house. A range of outbuildings of stone intended for a kitchen, store room etc. was accordingly erected in that situation and fitted up and occupied as a second temporary residence, the wooden building being then given up to the farm-overseer. At length a permanent dwelling-house was erected adjoining the out-buildings."\(^{39}\)

\(^{37}\)ML.E.J.Eyre, *Autobiographical Narrative of residence and Exploration of E.J.Eyre*, vol.1, A1806, 54. Reel CY118,
\(^{38}\)Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies...*, 29.
Durable, much more labour intensive and expensive buildings were erected during this second phase of consolidation. Lumley Park, a grazing property near Bungonia, was offered for sale in 1841, and advertised,

"in the rear (of the Cottage) is an extensive Range of Stone Buildings, comprising large secure Stores with excellent dry cellars underground, convenient dairy and cheese rooms, Servants' Hall and Sleeping Rooms."\(^{40}\)

This description can be compared with Elizabeth Farm, built by John and Elizabeth Macarthur near Parramatta, where the servants' hall survives. \(^{41}\) It seems that wealthy settlers, as they established themselves in this second phase of consolidation, were following the arrangement of British farm buildings, and attempting to establish their ideal of a 'country seat' which could be passed on from generation to generation.\(^ {42}\)

Throughout the governorships of Darling and Bourke there was a process of increasingly strict regulation of the convicts.\(^ {43}\) Karskens has shown how this process altered the development of the convict road-gang stations.\(^ {44}\) Documentary evidence seems to show there was an attempt by some settlers to persuade the government to similarly regulate convicts' accommodation in the assignment system, but that this attempt failed. It took place in a climate of acrimonious debate between the emancipists and the emigrants, at a time when

\(^{40}\)R.Roxburgh, *Colonial Farm Buildings of New South Wales*, 70.
\(^{44}\)G.Karskens, 'The Convict Road Station Site at Wisemans Ferry: an Historical and Archaeological Investigation.', *ASHA*, vol.2, 1984. 17-22.
Governor Bourke was being criticised for being too lenient. Judge Burton, in an address to the jury in the Supreme Court in Sydney on 18th November, 1835, claimed that there was insufficient superintendence of masters over their assigned servants.

"...convict servants being left too much at liberty to roam where they please during the hours of sleeping; it was well worth the consideration of all parties whether convict servants might not, during these hours, be placed under such restraint as to put it beyond their power, either to injure their master's property or that of his neighbour. He felt himself that some such measure was called for, at least in and near populous towns. He knew that no individual could do it, but he spoke of recommending it as a public measure."

Mudie, in his evidence to the Select Committee on Transportation in 1837, was asked to comment on Judge Burton's charges. Mudie stated,

"There is no particular government order; and therefore any individual who would make certain rules and regulations to restrain his convicts in a way different from the other settlers, would become so obnoxious and marked, that I'd say his life would be in danger. As a proof of that being my opinion I suggested to the Colonial Government that I thought there ought to be a sort of stockade for the convicts to sleep in; that the building, instead of being huts scattered over the establishment, should be altogether enclosed with a fence of sufficient height, and a gate, so as to secure the men after a certain hour, and the gate to be opened in the morning; that if there was a government order to that effect, compelling all settlers to do it, of course one would not be more obnoxious than the other."

45 Hirst, Convict Society and its Enemies, 182.
47 Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 292.
48 Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 98.
Mudie has repeated a theme mentioned earlier in evidence given to Commissioner Bigge, 49 that the convicts had a slight bargaining power based on both precedent and a common standard. The fact that both Judge Burton and Mudie acknowledged the force of this common standard 50 reinforces the argument Hirst uses in regard to wheaten and maize flour in the bread ration. He concluded that

"the maintenance of the bread ration in both government and private employment, where wheat could be grown and where it could not, was a marked uniformity in a system too often described by its contemporary critics and recent commentators as varying only according to the disposition of the master. It is the clearest and best sustained instance of convicts exercising some control over the conditions of their bondage." 51

Hammond documented from 1796 on, a similar refusal among the labourers in Britain to change their diet from wheaten breads to cheaper cereals when diet reform was proposed as a remedy to ease the distress of the labourers.

"All attempts to popularise substitutes failed, and the poorer the labourer grew the more stubbornly did he insist on wheaten bread." 52

Cobb has shown how it took a full scale famine,

"a catastrophe of 1795 to break down something of the conservatism of the French consumer." 53

50See also C.White, Early Australian History Convict Life 143-145
51Hirst, Convict Society and its Enemies,..49..
52Hammond, The Village Labourer,.. 124.
Thus it appears that the convicts were consciously or unconsciously using a form of protest which they had brought with them, belonging to a long European tradition. Grocett has also shown how similarly the convicts resisted efforts to compel them to attend church, which the convicts saw as an effort by the ruling class to impose their morality on them, and how this resistance to compulsory attendance continued throughout the period, hardening into hatred and opposition.54

3.4. Differences in scale and type of farming.

The scale and type of farming practised do not seem to have affected the type of accommodation erected, and contemporary accounts do not make any distinction between housing conditions on agricultural and grazing establishments, despite the much greater numbers of men necessarily living together on the former. Agricultural farms were much more labour intensive, and a large workforce was needed for most months of the year, ploughing, seeding, weeding, mowing, reaping, carting and threshing if cereal crops, or picked, transported, stored or carted to market if fruit or vegetables. The work was unceasing and large numbers of labourers were needed on a small acreage. It would seem logical to house assigned labour in barrack-type accommodation.

On a sheep raising property the technology of farming demanded that shepherds and hutkeepers were isolated. By dividing up the flocks of sheep amongst the various out-stations they could be folded at night, and moved each day to find fresh grass, and to keep their fleeces clean. The sheep were divided into flocks of between 400 and 500 ewes, or about 1000 weaned lambs and wethers, and there were usually three flocks at each station. Three men, two shepherds who were in charge of the sheep by day, and a hutkeeper whose job it was to count the sheep in and out of the folds in the evening and morning, and to look after the sheep at night. Mackellar commented,

"This may appear a laborious duty, but the reverse is the case, as he has a good comfortable watch box, which contains his bed, and in which he can sleep as soundly as if in the huts, if provided with a good watch-dog, and keep a fire during the night." 55

It was very important to prevent the flocks from boxing (mixing) with other sheep, to avoid spreading diseases such as scab and catarrh, both of which were believed to be highly infectious. 56

Contemporary sources give several descriptions of convicts' huts all following the same pattern, i.e. the settlers' dwellings with outbuildings erected behind, including huts for the assigned servants. 57 Several give good descriptions. and dimensions

"The convict-servants on the different farms of the colony are usually lodged in huts formed of split-timber, and thatched with long grass or straw, at a little distance from the proprietor's house. Two of these huts, with a partition between them, form one erection, and each is inhabited by four men. A large fireplace is constructed at one end of the hut."  

Atkinson, in his book which was intended as a handbook for both agriculturalists and graziers, gives advice along with his description of how to build huts,

"Comfortable huts for the men should be by no means neglected; many people suffer them to live in dirty and comfortless bark huts; but it is certainly to the interest of every settler, to get his men as comfortably lodged as soon as possible. The best and cheapest huts are built of logs, plastered within and without, with a bark or shingle roof, and stone chimneys; fourteen feet long by twelve wide will be found large enough to accommodate three men, and it is better not to put too many together into one hut."  

J.P. Townsend, in his Journal, commented that

"their comfort, within their huts, depends upon themselves, some make them very neat and comfortable, both within and without, whilst others are too lazy to attempt any improvements- Captain Maconochie complains that they are lodged in outhouses, six, eight or more under a stable roof that they sleep there on truckle bedsteads."  

Mountains, ed.G.Mackaness; J.P.Townsend, Rambles and observations at the Antipodes, ML.Mss 1461/2, vol.2, 182, 184; Joseph Lingard, A Narrative of a Journey to and from New South Wales including a seven years' residence in that country, 30.

61 Ibid, 67a.
Another critical commentator was Backhouse, in his *Report upon the State of the Prisoners in Van Diemen's Land, with Remarks upon the Penal Discipline, and Observations upon the General State of the Colony in 1834.*

The accommodations of assigned servants are usually far removed from comfort. They generally live in huts constructed of logs, apart from the dwellings of their masters, having wooden shutters instead of windows, and inferior to the commonest stables in England; they are generally untidy and dirty, and the sleeping accommodation are of the meanest kind. Elsewhere he describes a settler's house and comments that

"...the kitchen was also the sleeping-place of the prisoner-servants."

Huts were the standard way of housing assigned men. James King at Irrawang had established himself by 1837. Besides his homestead, separate kitchen and servants' quarters, there were several farm buildings and

"The other workmen were housed in huts, twenty-five feet by fourteen feet, with brick fireplaces and shingle roofs."

Looking at the documentary evidence available from the Braidwood area we find all references are to convicts being housed in huts. Mackellar himself in his application to buy land lists

"five Houses or Huts for Servants."

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Mackellar in his book costs the hut for servants at £10.67. In the Braidwood Bench books there are numerous references to convicts' huts.68 Alexander Harris stayed in a stockkeeper’s hut at Jembaicumbene.69

Sir Francis Forbes, giving evidence to the Select Committee on Transportation in 1837, said the size of his estate was,

"about one hundred thousand acres."

He employed

"about thirty five or thirty six, perhaps more; under forty convicts. They always have their own huts; and the farming servants have their huts immediately in the neighbourhood of the farming establishment."70

He was asked:

"Do several of them live together in one hut? Generally upon the shepherd establishment three persons live in one hut; but near the house the number varies according to circumstances."71

The only work differentiation contemporaries made was in their description of isolated shepherds' and watchmen's huts.72

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69A.Harris, Settlers and Convicts, 134-135.
70Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 18.
71Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 18.
72A.Harris, Settlers and Convicts, 182.
Charles White, writing fifty years after transportation to New South Wales ceased, did see a relationship between the size of a farm and a convict's treatment. White disagreed with the large landholders, that convicts were better off on the large farms where there was greater supervision.

"The men who were assigned to masters of the less wealthy class were infinitely the best off, for the master acted as his own superintendent and lived on the farm with his family and his two or three, or perhaps six servants." 73

White blamed the brutality of the overseers for much of the convicts' ill treatment on large establishments. 74

Mudie giving evidence to the Molesworth Committee on Transportation claimed that

"...my establishment, it being a very large one, I believe the most extensive in the colony as an agriculturalist (employed) occasionally one hundred and twenty convicts, and generally not less than seventy." 75

When asked how these convicts were housed Mudie replied,

"Upon my estate there are huts that four men would be living in; and perhaps, in a larger hut, six or eight; but when a man marries, he is allowed to put up a hut for himself and his wife." 76

An interesting description is given by David Burn of Van Diemens Land who in 1840 described his establishment as being

73 C. White, Convict Life in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land, 152.
74 Ibid, 162.
75 Report of the Select Committee on Transportation,30-31.
76 Ibid, 40.
"a medium one as to extent, and offering a fair picture of the general run. I usually employed about twelve men and a free overseer. My men's cottage- a good substantial stone edifice- is situated some 40 or 50 yards in the rear of the dwelling-house; it consists of three apartments; one, with a stone partition, is appropriated to the exclusive use of the overseer; the remaining two, communicating with each other, are used, the one as a mess, the other as a sleeping-room; the latter being fitted up with berths the same as a soldier's barrack."  

From the title of Burns' pamphlet, *Vindication of Van Diemen's Land in a Cursory Glance at the Colonists as they are and Not as They have been Represented to be*, we can see the context, the anti-transportation debate, for which he wrote this description in 1840. David Burn purchased 500 acres from Dr. Officer near New Norfolk after his return to Tasmania for the second time in November 1830. He left the colony in 1836, and did not return until 1841, when in November he settled on his land at Rotherwood on the river Ouse.  

Thus he wrote the pamphlet quoted from above while he was still in England. Another description of a barrack building comes from Tasmania, and it is an interesting comment from a letter, written with no political motive.

"... after seeing a most frightful fire on Friday which burned down a House which was the habitation of above thirty men, which with all their bedding etc. was a great loss to Mr. W."  

This building was clearly built of wood. Burns' description is the only documentary evidence I have found of a stone barracks built

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privately for convicts, and yet Van Diemens Land differed from New South Wales in several ways:- its topography which offered the benefits of good soils, which is illustrated by the pattern of land grants which followed the river valleys, extending inland from both the Tamar and the Derwent estuaries; 80 a more secure climate for farming; the dominant use of stone built houses compared with New South Wales and their tendency to treat these (outbuildings) with the same reverence as the architecture of the main homestead "81; of a smaller population which was more densely concentrated; a larger proportion of convicts per population,

"the colony was saturated with convicts", 82 and thus a greater fear of their collective numbers by the non-prison population; a higher proportion of convicts with previous convictions, so

"it seems likely that the more persistent offenders were deliberately shipped to the Southern colony", 83 and finally, Governor Arthur's stricter supervision "everywhere." 84 All these factors demonstrate the differences between the two colonies, and do not support the argument that Burns' description of

84 Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies*, 247.
his stone built barracks can be used as the only precedent for stone barracks built in New South Wales.

In my attempt to find comparative material for convict barracks I wrote to local historical societies and from their replies and other publications located some buildings used to house convicts, identified some whose use is uncertain, and discounted others. Although it has not been feasible to undertake field work on these sites I have divided the buildings in three groups on the basis of the documentary evidence. I will commence with the group which seem to have been constructed as convict barracks.

One of the buildings reported as a convict "barracks" was on Winbourne, the former estate of George Cox 85; The historian of Mount.Sion (Winbourne), Brother A.Keenan wrote a very detailed description of the building which was demolished in 1960. (Fig.120)

"When the Christian Brothers acquired the Winbourne property in 1958, there was a primitive structure adjoining the winery which was reputed to be "the barracks" in which the Government men were accommodated. Judging by its solid frame of bush timber and mortised beams and a vestige of a slab wall, it would have pre-dated the sand-stone wine-storage building of the 1840's. The downward slope of the land on the western side provided a ground floor paved with sandstone flags, so the barracks had two storeys. The upper floor consisted of rough slabs pared off at each end to fit into slotted beams. according to the late Mr James Hewitt who owned Winbourne 1903-14, the upper storey served as the dormitory for the workmen of the early Cox days. Indeed, I noticed that the interior had been at one time plastered with clay. The long room could have accommodated a dozen men with 'beds' in a row; and there was ample space in the width."86

86 Ibid, 1.
It seems as though this building was constructed to accommodate convict servants. Lanyon outside Canberra is another farm alleged to have a building constructed as a convict barracks. Moore refers to it as

"The convict gaol or barracks would appear to have been built more as a place of confinement than as living quarters. It was the custom, especially before the advent of law and order into the district, for each large station using convict labour, to have its own lockup and farm constable. Proof of this is to be found in the depositions before the Queanbeyan bench during the first years of its operation. Also built of random stone, it measures 50 feet by 20 feet, with walls ten feet high. It had a pitched gable roof covered with shingles, an earthen floor, no windows or fireplace and only one small door. Around its walls at a height of about eighteen inches from the floor, a series of ring bolts were embedded into the walls to which leg irons could be attached. The absence of any fireplace or openings for ventilation must have made it extremely cold in winter and unbearably hot in summer, and supports the view that it was built as a place of detention. ... In later years, after the abolition of transportation, this building was described as a barn on official documents relating to Lanyon."

The later documents referring to this building as a barn reflect change in use after the abolition of transportation; they also reflect the desire to avoid any association with the "taint of convictism": as a result, there are difficulties in describing these buildings as convict barracks. Each building needs to be assessed individually, as Moore has done in the case of Lanyon, which he seems to have proved was constructed as a place of detention.

One of the other buildings in the Braidwood area referred to as a convict barracks is situated on land purchased by John Wallace.

This land was on fertile alluvial river flats beside the Shoalhaven, and was marked on Knapp's map of 1827, Part of the Shoalhaven River, (Fig.2) as "Bunwybee Clear Flat".

In the 1841 census there were 32 people, 29 males and three females, resident on this property known as Nithsdale. (Fig.122) Five people had arrived free, one was born in the colony, three held tickets of leave, and 23 were assigned. Three were employed as mechanics, 23 as shepherds, one was a domestic servant, and there were five others. The wooden house was finished. The stone building referred to as the convict barracks is situated between the river and the house, nearly two kilometres from the house. Connah quotes it as an example of a convict barrack building in his description of the stages of the assignment period. It was used as a police station in the period of bushrangers in the 1860s. The building consists of one rectangular room on the ground floor, with a fireplace in the wall on the southern end, and one large loft above. Two windows and a door pierce the eastern wall, (Fig.123) and there are two windows in the western wall. (Fig.124) The windows are barred. In the loft upstairs there are two small windows in the southern gable end on either side of the chimney, and a door in the gable end facing north. (Fig.125) The width of this door is comparable with loft doors where goods or produce were brought in through the opening. The location

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88 AONSW. AO Map no.SZ481.
90 P. C. Smith, Tracking Down the Bushrangers, Kenthurst, N.S.W., 1982, 92.
of this building at a considerable distance from the homestead, combined with later evidence that it was used by the police as a barracks, suggests that this building was indeed constructed for convict accommodation. Its location on the alluvial river flats where the farming activities would have been most intense would be a logical place to construct such a building. It is consistent with other documentary evidence, that farm labourers were housed at some distance from the homestead. 91 The width of the doorway in the loft indicates that the building had a dual function, with the loft used for storing produce.

The second group consists of buildings which have been described as convict barracks, but which I have grouped together as there is not sufficient evidence to support or disprove the claim. Such buildings were allegedly on the estates of Invermein and Segenhoe in the Scone district92. In Historic Homesteads of the Muswellbrook District, compiled by the Muswellbrook Historical Society 93 the convict barracks at Invermein are described as

"...old convict barracks-butcher shop, partly built from stone and weatherboard"94

Rachel Roxburgh, in her book Early Colonial Houses of New South Wales 95 quotes from the papers of John Bingle (the grantee at

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91 J. Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, ,447.
93 Compiled 1981-84.
94 Ibid. Invermein.
95 R. Roxburgh, Sydney, 1980,
Invermein), complaining that he and his neighbour from Segenhoe had to form a bench of magistrates at their houses, and "to secure prisoners in their own kitchen."  

She alludes to the convict stories associated with the buildings at Segenhoe.  

Two houses still existing allegedly "had cells erected underneath for the purpose of containing their convict servants are- Windermere 5 km. NE of Lochinvar... and Stroud House in the Main Street of Stroud...I believe Tanilba House at Tanilba Bay also has cells which once housed convicts."  

Balkeria in the Hunter area; Tahlee House in the Port Stephens area, Boroona built by the infamous Major Moodie, Balmoral at Muswellbrook and Edinglassie, both built by Dr. Bowman, are all reputed to have accommodation to house convicts.  

"Some foundations are said to exist north of the town of Dungog, referred to as 'convict barracks'. This site is private land and if authentic, then it would have been a 'privately built building for convicts."  

Two stations near the Cudgegong River are connected with convict accommodation.  

"...a small stone two story brick cottage built near the Cudgegong River on the Guntawang estate... Guntawang Station was taken up by the Rouse family in 1822 and granted in 1828. Later a sister station Biraganbil was

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96Ibid., 378-379.  
97Ibid., 371.  
98Letter Mrs. M. Saunderson /K. Altenburg, 26 June 1985  
added adjacent to Guntawang. The earlier Guntawang homestead was close to the river in proximity to the present two story cottage but I have no idea when it was built. The traditional story was that the convicts were housed in the cellars. My husband has been in the cellar and said it would hold 20 to 30 people. The irons attached to the walls were said to be there this century when orders were given for them to be torn out and thrown down a mine shaft."  

Toolamatong at Cudjegong apparently had cells in stone, which have been demolished. Other properties reputedly with cells include Douro, outside Yass, Carwoola near Bungendore, Kippilaw and Springfield both near Goulburn.

The third group consists of buildings which have been described as convict barracks, but which I have discounted. One such building was on the estate of Mt. Gilead at Appin. (Fig.126) Carol Liston, in her recent book *Campbelltown The Bicentennial History*, lists the farm buildings Thomas Rose had completed as part of his impressive development at Mt. Gilead by 1838. There is no building listed for convict accommodation, although in 1828 Rose had employed twelve convict servants, and doubtless employed several on this large farming establishment in 1838.

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106 Ibid, 100.
108 Ibid, 47.
The woolshed at Dabee illustrated in R. Roxburgh and D. Baglin *Colonial Farm Buildings of New South Wales* 109 and a stone shed on Rawdon, both near Rylstone were constructed in the same style.110 Roxburgh refers to these stone buildings at Dabee and Rawdon as being woolsheds.111

There are numerous unconfirmed reports of convicts being housed in cellars.112 However in one house which reputedly had convicts housed in the cellars the story has been discounted. This is Hobartville, the grand house built by William Cox in 1828. Ian Jack in his book, *Exploring the Hawkesbury*, 113 describes the cellars below the house and sees

> no reason to believe the story that convicts were kept there, although there were assigned servants on the property in William Cox's time: the bars are to keep people out rather than to keep people in."114

A third building alleged to have been a convict barracks in the Braidwood area is a stone building which forms one wing of the homestead at Mt Elrington 115. This building has several parallels with the alleged barracks building at Strathallan. Major Elrington was granted 2,560 acres on the west bank of the Shoalhaven River in Co

114 Ibid, 156.
Murray, the date of the order being 14 May 1827, the date of possession 26 July 1827.\textsuperscript{116} (Fig.127) Major Elrington was resident on his property in 1828, together with his son, Mrs. Mary Smith aged 75, and another man who had arrived free, and was described as 'resident with'. (Fig.8) The major employed five convicts and two emancipists, one man being a ploughman, one dairyman, one shepherd, one stockman, and three labourers.\textsuperscript{117} Major Elrington was a magistrate and formed a bench with Mackellar when two magistrates were required. One constable was under his charge, there was no lock-up keeper or scourger stationed at Mt. Elrington.\textsuperscript{118} He was

"... obliged to send prisoners under the constable's charge to Mr. McKellar's to receive such corporal punishment as I have authority to award." \textsuperscript{119}

In November 1832 Elrington wrote to the Colonial Secretary requesting the assignment of a carpenter and stonemason to finish his house which he describes as

"discontinued, and likely to fall into decay if allowed to remain in its present unfinished state." \textsuperscript{120}

By 1841 there were one proprietor, three mechanics, thirty shepherds, six domestic servants, and nineteen others. Of these

\textsuperscript{116}AONSW CSIL, Reel 1124. Schedule of Lands already granted. 14 December 1837.
\textsuperscript{117}Census of New South Wales, 1828, E427.
\textsuperscript{118}ML. V & P. Minutes of evidence taken before the Committee of Police, 1835, 341; AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1833, 1834, reel 3; 1835, 1836, reel 4; 1837, 1838, 1839, reel 5.
\textsuperscript{119}ML. V & P. Minutes of evidence taken before the Committee of Police, 1835, 341.
\textsuperscript{120}AONSW. Col Sec Correspondence. 4/2163. W.S. Elrington/ColSec. 32/9350. See Appendix 9.
twenty three had arrived free, six were born in the colony, eleven were emancipists, two were holding tickets of leave, two were in government employment, and fifteen were assigned. The house is stated as being built of wood.\textsuperscript{121}

Major Elrington applied for an additional grant of land on 14 December 1837, and in the improvements he stated to have carried out he listed the buildings he had erected.

\begin{itemize}
  \item "Two habitable Houses. Kitchen & Washhouse\ £680-0-0
  \item Barn Sheep Shed and Store\ £195-0-0
  \item Milking Shed, Pig Sty and Dairy\ £62-0-0
\end{itemize}

The total of his available capital he lists as £13,868-0-0."\textsuperscript{122}

From the amount he states he had spent on the house a stone house would fit more closely with the amount that Mackellar claimed to have spent on his stone house at Strathallan than a wooden house. However Archibald Crawford in his memoirs, written many years later, describes the delight his father afforded Major Elrington by being able to build a stables in stone, and remarks that it was the first occasion on which Major Elrington had employed a man capable of building in stone.\textsuperscript{123}

The present house at Mt. Elrington is stone, while the rear wall on the western side is built of weatherboards. Local tradition claims this is the oldest house in the Braidwood area. Two wings extend westwards

\textsuperscript{121}AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
\textsuperscript{122}AONSW CSIL, Reel 1124. Schedule of Lands already granted. 14 December 1837.
\textsuperscript{123}A. Crawford, \textit{Eighty Five Years in Australia}, 9.
behind the house, in a similar configuration to Strathallan. (Fig.128)

The northern wing, which is the kitchen area was apparently rebuilt by the present owner's mother-in-law, on the site of an earlier building. The southern wing is described as the convict barracks, and one room in the house is referred to as the charge room. Either there is a clerical error in the 1841 census or the present house dates to the period after the property was purchased in 1845 by Sir Charles Nicholson and William Lithgow. Corroborative evidence comes from two travellers who passed Mt.Elrington on their way to the goldfields in 1853. They described the estate in glowing terms,

"There are considerable improvements going on within its boundaries and much greater are in progress. ...In a happily chosen spot ... is a grassy knoll commanding an extensive view of the valley and the broad flats on the banks of the river; upon this knoll a residence is being built and when finished this spot in the course of time will become one among the choicest places in New South Wales that will attract the stranger." 127

Evidence from the Braidwood bench books does not support the tradition that convicts on Mt.Elrington were housed in a barrack building. Timothy Condon, superintendent to Major Elrington, giving evidence in 1839, stated that

124 Interview Mrs.B.O'Brien/K.Altenburg
125 Interview Mrs.B.O'Brien/K.Altenburg.
I called at the Prisoner's Hut and found him absent. I then went to the other Huts and did not find him. Some time after this I went towards the Dairy.128

The convicts were housed not in a barracks but in huts grouped relatively close together not far from the dairy. A convict assigned to Mrs. Smith, for whom Major Elrington was manager, was also living in a hut.129

A newspaper article of 1923 entitled "Romance of a Pioneer Family" about the Elrington family makes several references to the convicts, and mentions both the "barred sleeping loft" and the recent removal and burial of

"the leg-irons from the walls of the convict prison."130

This article enshrines several of the unsupportable traditions about the convicts and their treatment at Mt. Elrington.

The wing of the house described as the convict barracks is constructed of random rubble, using the local granite stone. It is a rectangular building, with gable ends aligned East/West. The ground floor is one room, with a wooden ladder access to an upper storey. On the ground floor, two windows and a door pierce the Northern wall, (Fig.129) two windows on the Southern wall, and there is a large chimney centrally positioned on the Western wall. (Fig.130) The doorway is wider than a conventional door. Running the length of the Southern wall two horizontal timbers are inserted into the masonry,

130 Sunday Times, 16 December 1923.
in which there are a series of morticed holes. This feature only occurs in the Southern wall. The holes are reputed to have held the framework for cells, but they do not appear large enough to support the heavy timber needed for cell construction, and I would suggest they held supports for shelving. In the upper storey there are two barred windows in the Eastern gable end. (Fig.131)

There are several reasons why I have assigned this building to the third group, those which I do not think were built as barracks. Firstly the evidence of Elrington's schedule of assets which makes no mention of a convict barracks, and from the proximity of the "barrack building" to the house I would suggest this is the store he mentions. As at Strathallan prisoners awaiting trial may have been confined in this building, which gave rise to the mistaken description of the building as a prison.

Thus the three groups of convict buildings do not appear to have any specific characteristics which differentiate them, and each building needs to be assessed both on the basis of the documentary and archaeological evidence. The buildings which I have discussed in the three categories above were all, with the exception of the wooden building on Mount Sion, built of stone or brick, and have survived because of the durability of the materials, and the functional value of the building for their owners. This separates them from the far more frequently occurring wooden huts which were the most common way of accommodating assigned convicts. Because the huts have

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131 Interview Mrs. B. O'Brien/K. Altenburg.
disappeared from the archaeological record these surviving buildings acquire more numerical significance than their frequency would warrant.

Buildings which were constructed as places of detention, such as the one at Lanyon, fall into a separate category from those used for accommodation. One of the difficulties in identifying such buildings with certainty is their change in function after the end of the assignment system, which is a difficulty common to many farm buildings whose function changes through time. However an added difficulty is imposed by their change in name in later documents, due to the desire to obliterate all references to the convict era. Some buildings may have been constructed with a dual function, serving as sleeping quarters downstairs, and storage area in the loft above, as was suggested for the building at Nithsdale. Many buildings which were not constructed as convict accommodation may often have served as places of temporary detention for prisoners awaiting trial or punishment, which has given rise to the barracks legend. The only characteristic the buildings share is the tradition that convicts were housed in them, often described in dramatic and emotive language.

3.5 Class Distinctions in Convict Accommodation.

From contemporary sources we know that the masters themselves perceived there to be two classes of settlers, those who had arrived voluntarily and the small farmers who were usually, but not always,
emancipists. Eyre called it "a natural bias." 132 Campbell, in his evidence to the Select Committee on Transportation in 1812 (page 110) had distinguished between the different accommodation provided by what he saw as "settlers" and "the other settlers." 133 Commissioner Bigge reflected the attitudes of the emigrant settlers, the 'men of substance', in his report and made the same distinction in accommodation provided. 134 Most contemporaries writing of the assignment period shared the same class perceptions as the large landholders. Cunningham described convict living conditions on farms in the Hunter Valley in the period 1825-26.

"The convict servants are accommodated upon the farm in huts walled and roofed with bark, or built of split wood and plaster, with thatched roofs. About four convicts generally sleep and mess in each hut." 135.

Elsewhere he wrote,

"that (bark) of the box and stringy-bark makes good roofs for cattle, as also cart-sheds and workmen's huts." 136

Backhouse praised the establishment of the Dumaresqs in the Hunter Valley. On Arthur's Vale belonging to Henry Dumaresq he found

"the prisoner-servants were numerous, and under excellent management. The greater portion of them are lodged in ten neat cottages, with gardens attached...the cottages of the married people present a neater appearance, than those in which the different classes of single men reside." 137.

132 Shaw, Convicts and the Colonies., 224.
133 Great Britain, Parliament. 'Report from the Select Committee on Transportation, ....1812.' 70.
134 Bigge, Report of the State of the Colony, 77-78.
135 Cunningham, Two Years in New South Wales., 3rd.ed.vol.2,186..
136 Cunningham, 104.
137 Backhouse, A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, 393.
He was similarly enthusiastic about W. Dumaresq's farm at St. Albins. Lang,\textsuperscript{138} Breton\textsuperscript{139}, and Parry also commented favourably on these convict cottages with their gardens.

"filled when I was on the spot with vegetables and flowers."\textsuperscript{140}

Lang described them as

"one of the best regulated farms..."

and added that

"prizes are regularly awarded to those who keep their cottages in best order."\textsuperscript{141}

There was an attempt to impose order which would bring the rewards of respectability to the 'lower orders.' Contemporaries endorsed these attempts to establish the ideal paternalistic master servant relationship.\textsuperscript{142} Conversely, they drew unflattering pictures of convict accommodation provided by "the lower class of settlers," who were competing with them for the labour of the assigned convicts. Many large landholders were opposed to emancipists being assigned any convicts.

\textsuperscript{138} Lang, An Historical and Statistical Account, vol.2, 17.
\textsuperscript{139} Lieut. Breton, Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land, during the years 1830, 1831, 1832 and 1833. New York, 1970, 316.
\textsuperscript{140} Sir Edward Parry, Early Days of Port Stephens, 71.
\textsuperscript{141} Lang, An Historical and Statistical Account, vol.2, 17
\textsuperscript{142} Hirst, Convict Society and its Enemies, 32.
The buildings erected for the convicts were intended to make apparent the differences between the 'lower orders' and their masters. They were designed for communal living, with several men sharing usually one room in which all activities took place. There was almost no specialisation of space. Lieut. Breton, who had been the Police magistrate at Goulburn in 1834 and with whom Mackellar corresponded about plans for a Court House at Braidwood, wrote a vivid description of all the innumerable activities which could take place in a very confined space,

"The huts of the men are seldom notorious for cleanliness or comfort, and the inmates are not infrequently more numerous than that of an Irish cabin; the last that I inspected contained a multitude of noisy parrots, intended for sale, pet kangaroos and opossums, and a variety of kangaroo dogs, grey hounds and sheep dogs: on the fire was a huge boiler filled with the flesh of a kangaroo, and close by were suspended the hind-quarters of another of these animals; in one corner was a large pan of milk, in another, a number of skins partially dried; while, a few feet from the ground, were the filthy bed-places or cribs of the people themselves."  

Because of Breton's prejudices this description of the interior of a convict hut illustrates the variety of functions which occurred in a one room building, and contrasted with the segregated spaces for different functions the 'men of substance' perceived to be essential in their houses. Alexander Harris recounted spending some days with a stockman at Jembaicumbene, a few miles from Strathallan, and his description of the varied activities which took place accords with Breton's description, although his conclusions about companionship and enjoyment contrast markedly. Breton and Harris clearly show

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143 AONSW, ColSec Correspondence, 4/2252.7. Mackellar/Breton.  
144 Lieut. Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Diemens Land*, 315.  
the cultural and social differences between the convicts and their masters, and how they were deliberately created and maintained through the means of built form.

"...there is a link between behavior and form in two senses: first, in the sense that an understanding of behavior patterns, including desires, motivations, and feelings, is essential to the understanding of built form, since built form is the physical embodiment of these patterns; and second, in the sense that form, once built, affect behavior and the way of life...." 146

Thus the social and cultural relationships between convicts and their masters are illustrated by the differences in the form of buildings for each group, and these buildings, once constructed, maintain and reinforce these relationships.

Evidence supports the settlers' assertions that convicts assigned to smaller settlers lived with them in the same building 147 but not their inference that living conditions were any different. It seems that there was often no difference in accommodation between being assigned to a settler in large numbers or to a small settler, or even to a large company. The Australian Agricultural Company, formed in 1824 to establish a pastoral domain of one million acres to raise sheep, 148 started with good intentions. Robert Dawson drew up a plan of a convict barracks for fifty men, to be built of brick, 149 which is the only plan of a barracks for convict accommodation to be built privately I have found.(Fig.132 It was, however, never erected.

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146 Rapoport, *House, Form and Culture*, 16.
147 Select Committee on Transportation, 1821. 70.
The assigned servants lived in huts at Carrington in 1828 and Mr. Bowman in his report on the state of the company found that

"the convict servants were badly clothed, and their habitations very miserable." 150

Conditions seem no different to those described by Tucker in his novel, *Ralph Rashleigh*. Rashleigh had been assigned to a small emancipist farmer and he found the living conditions there no better than they had been at the government farm at Emu Plains. Rashleigh's master was not living any differently.

"The principal dwelling of the Arlocks (his master) touched the nadir of even Australian architecture of that day, in sheer ugliness and shapelessness. Crude props shored up the leaning walls, gaping holes showed in the bark roof, and the walls were unsightly with gaps between the timbers, half-stopped up with dirty plaster and mud." 151

Waugh, a free emigrant who worked as an overseer on Mummel Station outside Goulburn in the 1830s shared Tucker's opinion, a settler

"may clear £1,000 a year and live in a house you would scarcely put a pig into in Scotland, but nobody thinks anything of a house here, if it keeps off the rain, and sometimes not that even..." 152

Bigge had taken pains in 1823 to ensure that the convicts in the government clearing parties he proposed should be housed in huts which were to

"be erected in the course of one day... it possesses the additional advantage of equalizing the condition of the class of convicts employed by the Crown with those employed by settlers, who, as I have already observed, are all lodged in the same manner." 153

However a master still had some degree of choice, and did not have to suffer the indignities and degradations inflicted on many assigned servants, who had to endure conditions such as White recounted,

"One man... (and I believe he is not singular) who is in the habit of locking out his female servants with his men at night in the out houses, and letting them do as they like." 154

White wrote Convict Life in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, in 1889 after there had been much moral debate on this topic in Scotland in the 1860s, polarising around the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, who took opposing views.155 From Johnson's evidence given to the Select Committee on Transportation in 1812 156 he housed both men and women in his own house, while the labouring men were in a separate building. This supports White's claim that there was a difference between assigned servants, and that agricultural workers, labourers and shepherds, were treated the most harshly.

154White, Convict Life in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 200.
155Information from Prof.R.I.Jack.
156Select Committee on Transportation, 1812, 73.
"Their condition was one of considerable hardship and they were inferior as a class to either male domestics or mechanics."^157

Women's condition is not mentioned by White, but this omission can be seen as part of a pattern followed constantly throughout Australian history. There is no reason to think women

"... were regarded as anything other than of trivial economic importance during the formative decades in Eastern Australia. Further, it's pretty clear that the English elite thought of convict women,- to the extent they did think about them- mainly as a kind of sexual servicing outcast group."^158

Locking women out in the outhouses was typical of the treatment meted out to convict women throughout the assignment period, and was designed to reinforce their own low opinion of themselves.

3.6 Security

Security is another factor which needs to be considered when evaluating privately built convict housing. Many contemporaries assert personal security was not a problem.^159 Such writers of emigrant handbooks and travellers accounts were undoubtedly writing with their English readers in mind, be they prospective emigrants or critics of the transportation system.^160 Two men who

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^159Hirst, *Convict Society and its Enemies*, 144.
wrote describing conditions in the last years of the transportation system, both of whom, although born into families 'of means', lived and worked while in Australia with the 'lower classes.' Alexander Harris, describing conditions from 1826-1842, decried the

"extraordinary institution of private lock-ups." 161

James Demarr, an acute observer who grew up on a farm in Yorkshire and travelled extensively throughout New South Wales from 1839 to 1844, wrote fifty years later,

"Let no one suppose that these lands with their buildings had any resemblance to an English farm. There was a foreign and colonial appearance about them. There were no cottages as we see in an agricultural district in England, but the workmen were lodged in huts, and every farm had its jail or lock-up for those refractory... The rural simplicity and attractive pleasantness, usually the accompaniment of a farm homestead in England, had no place here. The most conspicuous feature was the farm jail, generally well and strongly built." 162

Demarr shared his contemporaries' prejudices about things colonial and the need to make the unfamiliar landscape look as English, and hence as "civilised" as possible, but there is good documentary evidence to support these descriptions of private lock-ups on farms in the 1830s. 163

Insecurity would have increased with isolation, particularly resident settlers in remote areas where the generality of grazing runs were owned by absentee landowners, and manned by overseers, often

161 A.Harris, *Settlers and Convicts.*, 84.
convicts themselves or ticket of leave holders, with assigned men under them. 164 Thus it seems likely that some individual settlers felt apprehensive of their convict servants, and security is a factor to be considered in the building of secure buildings for assigned convicts.

Security was compounded by the fact that not only did some settlers feel personally insecure, their possessions could also be stolen. This was another of the convicts' means of passive resistance to his master. Maltreatment by the master could result in the convict's maltreatment of the goods or stock in his care, or its theft. Contemporaries of all classes complained of theft, and there is no doubt this influenced building design and layout. Henry Robertson, architect, surveyor and builder, gave evidence before a committee of the Legislative Council in 1838, that

"...the difference of climate, drainage, and servants, require a different arrangement of domestic architecture." 165

In Britain at this time servants were seen as a protection to the house, and slept indoors.

"In England, the females and children usually sleep in the attics, or rooms in the roof, and the male servants sleep in the basement story. In this colony, ... supposing the male servants to be Convicts, few persons would like them to have access to the whole of the house, night and day, but would prefer their sleeping in out-buildings." 166

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164 AONSW. ColSec Correspondence. Police. 4/2202.2. Coghill/ColSec. 29/6781.
165 ML. V & P. Report from the Committee on the Building act, 8Wm.IV,no.6. with the Minutes of evidence. 1838. 14.
Therefore although "it is very doubtful if any new ones (detached kitchens) were built after 1700" 167 in England, detached kitchens became the norm in Australian house design until the beginning of the twentieth century.

3.7 SECURITY OF LAND TENURE.

There are other factors which need to be taken into account when looking at privately built convict housing. These are security of land tenure, availability of labour, contemporary British housing for farm servants, and finally, human resources.

Security of land tenure was essential before any settler expended resources on durable buildings to house assigned servants.168 From the start of the colony the government had tried to restrain the spread of settlement because of the difficulties of security and administration in a penal colony. Land was granted by the governors, within the County of Cumberland, but settlement beyond this area did not take place to any great extent until after 1819 or 1820 when a combination of reasons, including increasing stock numbers with their detrimental effects of grazing and overstocking the poor soils of the region, growing population, and droughts all led to a scarcity of

suitable land.\textsuperscript{169} The 1820s and 30s were a period of optimistic expansion. Graziers were pushing outwards North, South and West from the County of Cumberland in their search for land. \textsuperscript{169}Macquarie had issued grants of land proportional to capital and set the maximum grant at two thousand acres.\textsuperscript{170} Thus capital became a prerequisite for obtaining a grant of land. On 25 November 1820 Macquarie published an order which permitted graziers to send flocks to the New Country South of Sydney.\textsuperscript{171} This

"marked the real beginning of the great outward spread of pastoralists and graziers which continued into the thirties and forties."\textsuperscript{172}

Settlers were able to graze stock on land legally by holding a ticket of occupation, which they were eligible to obtain if they owned stock. Bigge had reported that the land system was not working efficiently,\textsuperscript{173} so Governor Brisbane, on his arrival, tried to make the land regulations simpler and more systematic. Regulations were issued abolishing tickets of occupation and requiring settlers to obtain title to their land either by grant or purchase. A settler was entitled to one square mile of land for every £500 he possessed.\textsuperscript{174} The government's policy, which had evolved through its determination to avoid expense, thus encouraged the emigration of

\textsuperscript{170}G.J.Abbott, \textit{The Pastoral Age}, 127.  
\textsuperscript{171}T.M.Perry, \textit{Australia's First Frontier}, 33.  
\textsuperscript{172}Ibid, 33.  
\textsuperscript{173}R.B.Madgwick, \textit{Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-1851}, Sydney, 1969, 78.  
\textsuperscript{174}Perry, \textit{Australia's First Frontier}, 51.
'men of substance' who would support not only themselves and their families, but the convicts too.

"It seemed that at last the government had not only accepted the policy, which Bligh had enunciated in 1807, of encouraging the emigration of a propertied class, but were determined to make it effective." 175

This led to the arrival of more military and naval officers, well off merchants and farmers. And this trend was further encouraged by the government granting special concessions to army and naval officers in June 1826. 176 To see how successful this policy was it is worth looking at the Census figures for Braidwood in 1841 when, out of 62 heads of households in the area eight were retired army, navy, merchant navy or surgeon superintendants 177. The boundaries of the colony were fixed, and beyond these imaginary lines land was not to be alienated. The government hoped to contain settlement within these limits. 178

Once the idea of land alienation by purchase had been established it paved the way for the introduction of the Wakefield system, which "established the principle that colonial lands should be sold and not given away indiscriminately." 179

Under the Ripon regulations introduced in 1831 land grants were abolished and land could only be sold at auction at a minimum upset

175 R.B. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia, 50.
176 R.B. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia, 54.
177 Col. J.K. Mackenzie, Capt. John Coghill, Dr. Thomas Bell, Dr. T.B. Wilson, Capt. Grant, Dr. R.R. Huntley, Major Elrington, Dr. Mathew Anderson.
179 R.B. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia, 84.
price of five shillings per acre. The aim was to further regulate and concentrate settlement within the Limits of Location.\textsuperscript{180} A further aim was to foster the growth of the gentry class, to

"build a close-knit, ordered or hierarchical social structure in the mould of rural England."\textsuperscript{181}

Such a society could be politically educated, and eventually receive the representative political institutions being demanded by some groups in Sydney.\textsuperscript{182}

Thus Governor Brisbane's regulations gave settlers security of land tenure in the eighteen counties beyond the County of Cumberland, which enabled them to consolidate their holdings and to start investing in improvements such as durable buildings, which would demonstrate their successes. The confidence and optimism which propelled them in their great expansion outwards from the environs of Sydney was reflected in the construction of the buildings on their estates. "Men of substance" were the driving force pushing this movement of great pastoral expansion and consolidation in the 1820s and 30s, armed with convicts as their cheap source of labour. Perry has categorised the settlers in New South Wales by 1826 into three groups, firstly the small emancipist farmers; secondly, the emigrant settlers such as Captain Mackellar, generally with capital whom the government was hoping to attract by its land policies in the twenties,

\textsuperscript{180}G.J.Abbott, \textit{The Pastoral Age}, 135.
including the ex-naval and ex-military officers; and thirdly, the group whom Perry termed "old colonials" \(^{183}\) which included the

"first of the free settlers to arrive in the colony, well established Sydney merchants, former officers of the New South Wales Corp turned settler, and some of the more prominent public servants." \(^{184}\)

Both of these two latter groups are represented in the Census of 1828 in the Braidwood area,\(^{185}\) and all three groups are well represented in the 1841 census.\(^{186}\) Many of these emigrant settlers, enticed by the government's attractive land policies, were colonists

"who intended to make enough money to be able to return to a life of comfort in England." \(^{187}\)

Mackellar was very successful in fulfilling his aim. All these groups shared a common view of the countryside, as an alien environment to be exploited. They spoke in terms of taming, civilising, rendering fruitful and productive the unfamiliar.

### 3.8 Availability of Labour

Availability of labour must play a part in assessing whether settlers had the resources, both in power and in skilled labour, to build durable buildings to house their assigned servants. Labour shortages

\(^{183}\)T.M.Perry, *Spread of Rural Settlement*, 392.
\(^{184}\)T.M.Perry, *Spread of Rural Settlement*, 392.
\(^{185}\)Census of 1828.
\(^{186}\)AONSW, 1841 Census.
were a recurring complaint of the settlers. Sir Francis Forbes told the Molesworth committee on Transportation

"since the year 1823 or 24 the supply is not equal to the demand... the supply of convicts generally is not equal to the demand." 188

Madgwick has demonstrated how government regulations in the 1820s regarding land grants and sales discriminated against the poor emigrant, and how this contributed to the shortages of labour, 189 despite the marked increase in the numbers of convicts being transported and assigned in the 1830s, the peak period for transportation. Shaw has shown that the scarcity continued until

"in 1835 just before the tremendous boom in pastoral expansion, nearly all applications were met in both colonies." 190

Despite Shaw's demonstration that the settlers' applications were being fulfilled by 1835 settlers still perceived there to be a shortage. 191 The Committee on Immigration appointed in 1835 was

"the first of twelve appointed before 1851", 192

so there can be no doubt that the settlers saw the shortage as being acute. The technology of shepherding was labour intensive, and all

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188 Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1837, 2.
189 R.B. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia, 50-51.
190 A.G.L. Shaw, Convicts and the Colonies, 254-255.
192 G.J. Abbott, The Pastoral Age, 139.
the settlers would have agreed with John Sidney when he wrote in 1847

"New South Wales cannot flourish without an ample supply of labour."

Labour shortages, particularly of skilled tradesmen, increased with distance from Sydney. The settlers from Braidwood, the most remote area within the Limits of Location, lacked both skilled tradesmen and labourers. Mackellar wrote imploring letters to the Colonial Secretary, as did Major Elrington, the resident magistrate in County Murray with whom Mackellar sat to form a bench of two magistrates, both attempting to obtain skilled tradesmen to finish their houses. They also wrote repeatedly requesting additional labour to help get in the harvest Coghill, giving evidence before the Committee on Immigration in 1835, stated

"We are decidedly in want of laborers of every description, particularly husbandry laborers, and certain descriptions of mechanics for the country, such as carpenters, blacksmiths etc. I find it very difficult to get mechanics from the town...I should myself take from twelve to fifteen men in the ensuing year, if I could obtain such as I require."

This lack of skilled labour influenced both the design and construction of buildings in country areas. Mackellar, the only

194 AONSW, ColSec Correspondence, 4/2066. Appendix 8; ColSecCorrespondence, 4/2163. Appendix 9
196 ML,V & P.. Committee on Immigration, 1 July 1835, 85-86.
resident magistrate in Co.St Vincent, wrote to Major Breton in 1834, commenting on and altering a plan which Breton had sent him for a courthouse and gaol, to be built at the site of the future township of Braidwood. The buildings were to be built of slab, with bark roofs. Mackellar recommended shingles as

"it would be very difficult indeed to find bark for that purpose... no bricks can be got (for a fireplace), the lime is within a short distance and stones would answer... There are very few individuals in this part of the Country that would undertake such Buildings."197

Mackellar provides a useful picture of the building materials readily available, and how buildings were designed to take advantage of these local materials, a characteristic of all vernacular architecture.198 He also shows the difficulty builders encountered, finding people who would build even such simple slab buildings as were envisaged, in remote areas.

Thus lack of labour was one element which influenced the decision about whether to build durable dwellings. In the first pioneering phase there was only sufficient labour to establish the farm, and crude slab buildings were erected for both the master and the assigned convicts. As the next phase of consolidation took place considerations of durability could be entertained, depending on a variety of factors, like available labour and nineteenth century attitudes to housing for farm servants.

197 AONSW, ColSec Correspondence. Strathallan, 1834. 4/2252.7, 34/1859.
Another factor which needs to be considered when looking at housing provided for assigned convicts is nineteenth century attitudes to housing for farm servants, and contemporary practice in Britain. Contemporaries, justifying transportation, often claimed the assigned convicts were better off than a farm labourer in Britain.\(^\text{199}\) Waugh, quoted on page 139, compared settlers' dwellings unfavourably with pigsties in Scotland.\(^\text{200}\) The reality was that farm labourers were often housed in worse conditions than the farm animals. The agricultural revolution had commenced in Britain c. 1750 due to a rapidly growing population, more and more of whom were concentrated in towns. This led to a demand for more food, which gave rise to the Enclosure movement and the engrossment of farms, led by the landed gentry and a rising class of professional men.\(^\text{201}\) Hammond has documented its result— the relentless decline in living standards of the farm labourers, and the dislocation of traditional rural society.\(^\text{202}\) Cobbett, the great champion of the farm labourer, wrote of a group he met.

"their dwellings are little better than pig-beds, and their looks indicate that their food is not nearly equal to that of a pig."\(^\text{203}\)

\(^\text{199}\) Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1837. Evidence of J.D.Lang, 226; Evans and Nicholls, Convicts and Colonial Society, 35.
\(^\text{200}\) D.L.Waugh, Three Years' Practical Experience as a Settler, 35.
\(^\text{202}\) Hammond, The Village Labourer, 184-186.
\(^\text{203}\) Hammond, The Village Labourer, 185.
Loudon, in his *Supplement*, reviewed the Present State of the Labourers Cottages and was extremely critical. He quoted three references, all of which were published in 1841 or 42, so they are contemporaneous with the assignment period.204 Loudon reported that

"the accommodation provided for the farmer and the farm stock have formed a most marked, a very discreditable contrast with the habitations provided for the labourers, without whom the farmers could not exist. The arrangement of the dining and the drawing room has engaged the attention of the farmer; the skill of the architect has been employed in erecting convenient accommodations for the poultry and the pigs, the gig and the saddle horse, while any hovel is reckoned sufficient for the labourer."205

With the break down of village society and the increasing polarisation between the farm labourer and the farmer or landowner the farm labourer was forced to build his own dwelling on waste land or rent a house from either his employer or another property owner.206 On farms in the North of England and Scotland Loudon found

"in most districts, there is a room, or a couple of rooms, in some places called a bothy, for the single men, with one or more, cottages in a line, not too far distant from the farmery, for men having families."207

Cobbett also described the farmhouses of Northumbria and further North,

"big enough and fine enough for a Gentleman to live in, and nearby bothies or sheds for unmarried labourers and the single storey barracks of stone for the married." 208

Despite admonishments like those from Loudon and Atkinson who wrote,

"The building of Cottages for the labouring classes of society, and the keeping of them in good repair, are objects of the first national importance," 209

laissez faire attitudes to farm housing did not change until after this period. Therefore this attitude of neglect was brought by the emigrant settlers to Australia with them, perpetuated by the government in their regulations, and magnified by the problems inherent in pioneering in an unfamiliar and difficult environment.

3.10 Human Resources

Human resources are a factor which must be considered when looking at the construction of privately built convict accommodation. Self interest in the form of economic gain was the motivating reason which propelled most of the settlers to emigrate to Australia. Men who

"were apprehensive lest events in England should deprive them of their expectations" 210

208 J.C.Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture,, 627.
saw the opportunities and joined the merchants, public servants, and former members of the New South Wales Corp from Sydney who were equally keen to take up advantages of cheap available land. Emancipists and ticket of leave holders, also men still serving their sentences if they could escape from their master and avoid detection by the ever vigilant administration, joined the rush for land.\textsuperscript{211} Pioneering required from all classes extraordinary degrees of initiative, persistence, skills and resources. The unfamiliar environment, the unpredictability of the climate with its droughts, fires and floods, the huge stock losses, all demanded great resilience from the settlers. Roberts says,

"The bush was a hard task-master, and the vagaries of the climate almost eliminated the squatter's few chances of survival."\textsuperscript{212}

His description applied to all settlers on the land, not only squatters. For such men building a durable dwelling modelled on those familiar from "home" symbolised a victory over adversity, an overcoming of the enemy, represented by the harsh, foreign environment. They created their buildings out of the materials grown in this hostile environment, using the order and harmony of Georgian symmetry to reinforce their values and ideology.

"Hearth and homes must be founded in the wilderness."\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{211} S.R.Roberts, \textit{The Squatting Age in Australia}, 65.
\textsuperscript{212} S.R.Roberts, \textit{The Squatting Age in Australia}, 388.
\textsuperscript{213} J.Sidney, \textit{A Voice From the Far Interior of Australia}, 31.
Every house meant another chain in the link of "civilisation" had been forged. Conversely the convicts were housed in huts, in a non specific space where all activities took place. This created a differentiation between the classes which reinforced the hegemony of the gentry. Contemporary accounts emphasised the undesirability of the convict living conditions, their 'Irish' squalor and disorder. Chaos is the antithesis of the neat order desired by the designers of symmetry. The opposition and tensions in the society were reflected in the need of the ruling elite to express their authority. Perhaps if we detect a note of overstatement this reflected a hint of a lack of confidence on the part of this small elite establishing its control over an alien environment and potentially hostile convicts. The fact that there never were any regulations regarding the housing of convicts at any time during the assignment period, and the indications from two sources\textsuperscript{214} that any restraints would have been difficult to implement, lends weight to the argument of Hirst's that the convicts had some slight control over the conditions of their assignment.

3.11 Conclusion.

After examining the evidence available from historical documentation it is apparent that landowners followed the practice established very early in the colony on both government and private farms, whereby assigned servants lived in huts erected by

\textsuperscript{214}J. Bigge, Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on Judicial Establishments, 17; Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1837, 98.
themselves at minimal expense. Differences in scale or type of farming did not make any appreciable difference to the type of accommodation built. The masters perceived there to be two classes of settlers, the large landowners whose assigned convicts lived in huts, and the small landholder, often an emancipist him or herself, where the convicts lived in the same conditions as their masters, often in the same building. The only precedent that was found, looking at British housing for farm workers, was disregard. Any progression throughout the period from huts to more durable buildings was dependent on the settler, on his security of land tenure, his concerns about safety, the availability of labour, materials and capital, and his own desire to build permanent buildings to prove his success and domination over a foreign landscape. The building of convict barracks in stone or brick would have been uncommon, although more general in Tasmania, and not typical of convict accommodation in the assignment period. Because of the number of reports of convicts being housed in cellars they cannot be completely dismissed. The documentary evidence available from the Braidwood area all mentions huts as being the standard way in which convicts were housed. After examining Strathallan it is evident the "barrack" building is not an exception. The building was constructed as a store, and the tradition of the barracks can be attributed to the probable use of the lower floor to detain prisoners. However the power of the legend has endured because of the symbolism inherent in the structure of the building, the power and authority it was designed to convey, to keep the convicts at all times aware of their place in the hierarchy of society.
APPENDIX I

BRAIDWOOD

9. BRAIDWOOD. Embracing the south western portion of the County of St Vincent, and the eastern portion of the County of Murray; bounded on the north by the range north of Endrick River, the Shoalhaven River and Boro Creek to its source at Wolowolar; on the west, including Long Swamp by the Gourock Range to Tumanwong; on the south by a line bearing easterly to the south-western angle of Curlewis' grant, and by the southern boundary of this grant to the Shoalhaven River, and a line bearing east to Deua River; on the west by the Deua River, to the confluence of the Araluen, thence by a line bearing north-easterly to the Budawang range, and by this range to the range aforesaid, north of the Endrick River.¹

APPENDIX 2

Resident Landholders 1828:

George Galbraith, Narriga. Arrived free on ship Deveron from London in November 1824. Granted 2,000 acres of land. Employed four labourers, five shepherds, and one overseer.²

¹ Mitchell Library. Government Gazette, 1840. 783-784.
William Ryrie, Arnprior. Arrived free in 1825. Father Stewart Ryrie granted 2,560 acres, promised on or before 7 October 1826. (Fig.133) Employed one ploughman, one bullockdriver, two sawyers, one lathmaker, three shepherds, one milkman, one stockman, and one convict whose occupation is not stated. 2,500 acres given in Appendix 3 of the 1828 Census, of which 35 acres were cleared, and 23 cultivated, 5 horses, 553 cattle, and 1,100 sheep.\(^3\)

James Ryrie, Durran Durrah, arrived free in 1825. Granted 2,560 acres on 7 October 1826. (Fig.133) Employed one shoemaker, one dairyman, and one stonemason. One acre cleared, one acre cultivated, 75 cattle, 540 sheep. \(^4\)

Duncan Mackellar Jun. Arrived free in 1825. Granted 1280 acres. Also overseer for his uncle Capt. Duncan Mackellar who had received a grant of 2,000 acres, 4 December 1822.\(^5\) Employed one labourer, three shepherds, one dairyman, one stockman, one stockkeeper, one milkman. Area given as 3280, 20 cleared, 20 cultivated, 2 horses, 600 cattle, 1,000 sheep. \(^6\) (Figs. 17, 31)

\(^3\)1828 Census, R1819, A395,A826,B469,B960,B2908,B869,J264,S2504,TT980, W554,W2329 AONSW. CSIL, Reel 1179.; Register of Land Grants and Leases, reel 2550.

\(^4\)1828 Census, R1828; G1126, O108, T774. AONSW. CSIL, Reel 1179. Register of Land Grants and Leases, reel 2550.

\(^5\)1828 Census. M902; AONSW. CSIL, Reel 1160.

\(^6\)1828 Census M902; B322, B2297, C372,H820, M0003, S826, T1054, W1368.
William Sandys Elrington. Mt.Elrington. Arrived 1827. Granted 2,560 acres on 20 April 1827. Employed one ploughman, one dairyman, three labourers, one shepherd, and one stockman. 7 (Fig, 2)

Resident emancipist farmer on rented land 1828:

George Crook, age 42. Free by servitude. Arrived on ship Surry in 1814, fourteen year sentence. Rented 6,000 acres. Resided with his wife, and employed one labourer.8

William Roberts. Born in the Colony. Granted 640 acres by Sir Thomas Brisbane. (133) Employed one stockkeeper, one farmingman, one shoemaker. 640 acres, 10 cleared, 2 cultivated, one horse, 580 cattle, 9

George Hill. Granted 220 acres. Land selected on 4 May, 1829. 10 (133)

H.F.Dale. Arrived 1825, settler at St Omer. St.Omer was 2,560 acres of land granted to George Bunn on 19 February 1827. Employed one labourer, two shepherds, and one stockman. 11

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7 1828 Census. E427, F513, K770, M3535, N120, N526, R906, R1774; AONSW. Special Bundles. 4/1116.
8 1828 Census, C3027, C3028, R556. AONSW. CSIL, Reel 1160. 30/952. Collector Internal Revenue/ ColSec.
9 1828 Census. R963, H2664, J,793, M2565; AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1177. Letter W.Roberts/ColSec. 8 December 1826. "...640 acre grant made me by Sir Thomas Brisbane, and that I have had my cattle there these two years."
11 1828 census, D44; B792, C2166, K220, Y50. AONSW. Special Bundles, 4/1116.
Mrs. Jemima Jenkins. (Fig.4) 1,000 acres purchase at Tomboye. 12

Robert Jenkins. 645 acre purchase at Mongarlowe River. 13 (Fig.133)

Andrew Badgery. Born in Colony. Landholder at Cabramatta. Employed two convicts as stock and hut keeper at Allalin (Araluen), Co.St Vincent. 14 (Fig.132)

David Reid. 2,000 acres purchased at Jemmaicumbene under permission granted by Sir Thomas Brisbane on 17 May 1825.15 (Fig.133) Employed two stockmen, three shepherds, one dairyman, two milkmen, and one overseer.16

Thomas Cowper. Age 26. Came free. Landholder at Camden. 23 June 1827. 500 acres of land granted at Bombay on or before 5 June 1831. Land relinquished 5 October 1831, and selected 1,420 acres at Ballalaba. Entitled to 1,920 acres as a clergyman's son. 17 (Fig.133) Employed one hutkeeper, one stockkeeper, one fencer. Acreage given 500, 5 cleared, 3 cultivated, 1 horse, 302 cattle. 18

Joseph Underwood. Ticket of occupation.19 (Fig.2)

12 AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.
13 AONSW. Returns of the Colony 1838, 4/270. Reel 5.
14 1828 Census, B16; , B3673 G190.
15 1828 Census. R0457. AONSW. Register of land grants and leases. Reel 2550; CSIL. Reel 1114.
19 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1114. 27/1905. Location- Knapp's map of part of Shoalhaven River. Map no. SZ481.
Employed one stockman and one hut keeper. 100 acres, 10 cleared, 5 cultivated, 20 horses, 3 cattle.\textsuperscript{20}

David Reid. Settler, Inverary, Argyle. Purchased 2,000 acres at Jembaicumbene.\textsuperscript{21} Employed two stockmen, three shepherds, one dairyman, two milkmen, and one overseer.\textsuperscript{22} (Fig.133)

Land rented and subsequently relinquished 1828:

John L. Campbell. Settler Liverpool. Employed two stockkeepers at Colombo.\textsuperscript{23}

Bowman and Hutchinson. Employed three stockmen at Oranmur.\textsuperscript{24} (Fig.3)

W. Wentworth. Employed one ticket of leave stockkeeper.\textsuperscript{25} (Fig.2)

\textsuperscript{20}1828 Census. B1594, S3035.
\textsuperscript{21}1828 Census. R0457. AONSW. Register of land grants and leases. Reel 2550.
\textsuperscript{22}1828 Census. C2004, C2533, F587, G498, I678, M1035, S37, S2316, T254.
\textsuperscript{24}1828 Census. Robert Glover, G568, League, L429, League L430.
\textsuperscript{25}1828 Census. Morris Fitzgerald, F607. Location- Knapp's map of part of Shoalhaven River. Map no. SZ481.
APPENDIX 3

Landholders in Braidwood District, Co. St Vincent 1841.26

Mr. Nanlen. Durran Durra. One proprietor, one mechanic, five shepherds, ten other persons. One arrived free, four born in colony, six emancipists, five holding tickets of leave, one assigned. Wood house, unfinished, inhabited.

Mr. Hush. Mongarlo. One proprietor, seven shepherds, five other people. Five arrived free, one born in colony, four emancipists, three holding tickets of leave. Wood house. Margaret Hush, emancipist, purchased 640 acres in 1835.27

Mr. James Wallace. Mongarlo. Four shepherds, six other people. Seven arrived free, two emancipists, one assigned. Wood house.

Mr. Grady. Mongarlo. One proprietor, four shepherds, one domestic, four others. One arrived free, three born in colony, six emancipists. Wood house. Martin Grady applied to lease land in Co. St Vincent in 1837, 1838. 28

Mr. McKenzie. Narriga. Ten shepherds, two other people. One arrived free, three emancipists, two in government employment, six assigned.

26 AONSW. 1841 Census. Reel 2222.
27 AONSW. CSIL, reel 1143.; Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.
28 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1132.
Wood house. Colonel John Kenneth McKenzie purchased 4541 acres at Nerriga, part of which was George Galbraith's primary grant.  

**Mr. Wood**, Jerricknora. One proprietor, one mechanic, five shepherds, two others. Two arrived free, born in colony, indecipherable, one holding ticket of leave. Wood house. Joseph James Wood purchased one hundred acres in St. Vincent in 1843, but this date is two years after the census was taken, so it is not clear if this is the same householder.  

**Mr. Dignum**, Elms Grove. One proprietor, one other. Two emancipists. Wood house, unfinished, inhabited. George Dignum applied to purchase 960 acres, 12 September 1835. Hannah Dignum purchased 885 acres at Jerricknorra Creek.  

**Mr. Fay**, Corang. Two shepherds, two others. One born colony, one emancipist, one in assignment, one holding ticket of leave. Wood house, unfinished, inhabited.  

**Mr. Bradley**, Corang. One shepherd, one other. Two emancipists. Wood house.  

**Mr. Thompson**, Jarrack Nora. One landed proprietor, two mechanics, two shepherds. One born colony, two emancipists, two holding tickets

---

30 AONSW. Returns of the Colony., 1843. Reel 8.  
32 AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.
of leave Wood house. Edward Thompson purchased 800 acres from Dr. Sherwin.33

Mr. Nichols. Burney Creek. One proprietor, one shepherd, one other. Three emancipists. Wooden house.

Mr. Mortimer. Mogo Mogo. One proprietor, one mechanic, two shepherds, eight others. Three arrived free, nine born in colony. Wood house.

Mr. D. Coghill. Beder Vale. One proprietor, two mechanics, seventeen shepherds, three others. Nine arrived free, one born in colony, two emancipists, two holding tickets of leave, nine assigned. Unfinished brick house. (Fig.10) Grant of 2,560 acres to his father Capt. John Coghill.34

Capt. Coghill. Strathallan. One proprietor, two mechanics, thirty eight shepherds, five domestic servants, nine others. Eight arrived free, three born in colony, four holding tickets of leave, five in government employment, thirty five assigned. Wood house. Land purchased from D. Mackellar 1837. 35

N. W. Jones. Braidwood. One proprietor, one other. One arrived free, one emancipist. Wood house.

34 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1111.
Mr. Freer. Braidwood. Nine other persons. Five arrived free, four born in colony, brick house.

Mr. Goulding. Braidwood. One proprietor, three domestic servants, eight others. Seven arrived free, one born in colony, one holding ticket of leave, three assigned. Brick house. Patrick Goulding appointed post master Braidwood, 1 September 1838 until 1 July 1841. Clerk to the Bench 1 July 1838 until 1 September 1841. 36

Mr. Wallace. Nithsdale. Three mechanics, twenty three shepherds, one domestic servant, five others. Five arrived free, one born in colony, three holding tickets of leave, twenty three in assignment. Wood house. John Wallace purchased 1995 acres at Bunwybee, (Nithsdale) 6 June 1836. 37

Mr. Lee. Jembaicumbean. Three shepherds, four others. One arrived free, two born in colony, one emancipist, three assigned. House marked blank.

Mr. Badgery. Exeter Farm. One proprietor, ten mechanics, forty six shepherds, three domestic servants, thirteen others. Twelve arrived free, seven born in colony, twenty one emancipists, fifteen holding tickets of leave, eighteen assigned. Wood house. 38

36 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. Reels 5, 6, 7.  
37 AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.  
38 Andrew Badgery's stockmen at Araluen in 1828 census.
Mr. Walker. Reedsdale. One proprietor, three shepherds, two others. Three arrived free, one born colony, two holding tickets of leave. Wood house. Charles and Dennis Walker were both employed as shepherds on Strathallan in 1837. but I cannot identify this Walker at Reidsdale. 39

Mr. Salmon. Reedsdale. One proprietor, one shepherd, four domestic servants. Five arrived free. One born in colony. Wood house. Dr. Reid subdivided his land at Reidsdale into 40 acre blocks 40. John Salmon, holding a ticket of leave, was employed by Dr. Reid as a shepherd in 1828 41 but the census records no men in this household as being emancipists. None of these landholders at Reidsdale are in the Colonial Secretary's Records Relating to Land. From the map by Roche Ardill drawn in 1859 it is apparent that settlers occupying small acreages congregated in this fertile locality, helped by Dr. Reid's land subdivision.

Mr. Lloyd. Reedsdale. One proprietor, three shepherds, two others. One arrived free, one born in colony, two emancipists, two holding tickets of leave. Wood house. Charles Lloyd was employed at Bedervale in 1838, and applied for a ticket of leave on 15 August 1841. No evidence to connect this with Lloyd at Reidsdale. 42

40ML. Archibald A.Crawford, Eighty Five Years in Australia, A926.36/C, 14.
411828 Census. S0037.
Mr. McMahon. Reedsdale. One proprietor, five others. Four arrived free, one emancipist, one holding ticket of leave. Wood house. MacMahon collecting rations at Strathallan in 1837. Also John McMahon employed as shoemaker by William Roberts in 1828. Maybe a son.\textsuperscript{43}

Mr. Girvan. Reedsdale. One proprietor, one shepherds, one domestic servant. One arrived free, two emancipists. Wood house. On Larmer's map \textsuperscript{44} John Girvan marked as owner of 1172 1/2 acres, also land is being occupied by his tenants.

Mr. Burnett. Reedsdale. One proprietor, four shepherds, one domestic servant, five others. Eight arrived free, one born colony, two emancipists. Wood house. On Larmer's map Thomas Barrett, John Barrett, and Thomas Barrett Jun. are marked as land owners.


Mr. Fairley. Reedsdale. One proprietor, one mechanic, one shepherd, seven others. Five arrived free, four born in colony, one emancipist. Wood house.

\textsuperscript{43}ML. Maddrell Papers. MSS 115. Item 31; 1828 Census. 
\textsuperscript{44}AONSW. AO Map 05303A. Road Reidsdale to Braidwood. Larmer, 1845.
Mr. Burnell. Araluen. One proprietor, eight mechanics, eleven shepherds, three domestic servants, seventeen others. Thirteen arrived free, ten born in colony, eight holding tickets of leave, nine assigned. Wood house. Henry Clay Burnell arrived in Colony as free settler in ship *Pyramus* in June 1829. Received authority dated 27 September 1831 to take possession of 1280 acres at Araluen. Purchased 1060 acres in Araluen, 29 March 1837.45

Mr. Lundie. Araluen. Eight shepherds, one other. Three arrived free, one emancipist, five assigned. Wood house. Charles Lundie purchased 640 acres at Araluen, 12 August 1840.46

Dr. Bell. Belle Vue. One proprietor, one mechanic, eighteen shepherds, four domestic servants, four others. Six arrived free, one born in colony, one ticket of leave, twenty assigned. Wood house. Dr. Thomas Bell purchased 760 acres at Bendoura on 18 June 1840, giving his address as Belle View near Braidwood.47

Mr. Fisher. Braidwood. One mechanic, five others. One arrived free, four born in colony, one emancipist. Wood house. William Fisher applied to purchase ten allotments in Braidwood, 20 March 1840.48

Mr. Orford. North Angle. One proprietor, one mechanic, two shepherds, four domestic servants, one other. Two arrived free, four born in colony, three emancipists. Wood house. George Orford

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45 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1086.
46 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1154.
47 AONSW. Register of Land Grants and Leases. Reel 2550.
purchased 1,020 acres on Mongarlowe River. Rose Orford purchased 980 and 1020 acres near Monkittee.

Mr Wick. North Angle. Two shepherd, eight others. Seven born colony, three emancipists. Wood house.

Mr Atkins. Jembaicumbean. Seven shepherds, three others. Three arrived free, six assigned. Unfinished wood house, inhabited.

Dr Wilson. Braidwood. One proprietor, six mechanics, thirty eight shepherds, forty gardeners, stockmen, and persons employed in agriculture, three domestic servants, thirty nine others. Forty four arrived free, eight born colony, eight emancipists, eleven holding tickets of leave, fifty six private assignment. Wood house. Dr. Thomas Braidwood Wilson, free settler, first arrived on ship Richmond in 1822. Received 2,560 acre grant. Before his death in 1843 Wilson wrote

"I have a loan of 5,000 on all my lands and property above 16,000 acres..."

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49 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1839. Reel 6.
51 T.B.Wilson, Narrative of a Voyage Around the World.
52 AONSW. Hoddle Field Book 279, 68. Reel 2626; ML. Maddrell Papers. MSS 115, Item 74.
Landholders in Braidwood district, Co Murray, 1841.

S.Ryrie Esq. Arnprior. Three proprietors, ten mechanics, fourteen shepherds, six domestic servants, fifteen others. Twelve arrived free, nine born in colony, six emancipists, six holding tickets of leave, three in government employment, twelve assigned. Stone house. (Fig.11) Stewart Ryrie granted 2,560 primary grant 53

Mr.Scaly, Burwar. One proprietor, one shepherd. One emancipist, one holding ticket of leave. Wood house.

Mr Brown, Gilslou. One proprietor, nine shepherds, one other. Two arrived free, one emancipist, two holding tickets of leave, six assigned. Wood house.

Mr Kesey(?), Burwar. One proprietor, one mechanic, three shepherds, one domestic servant, six others. Four arrived free, four born colony, two emancipists, one holding ticket of leave, one assigned. Wood house.

Capt. Grant, Krarwaree. Two mechanics, sixteen shepherds, one other. Five arrived free, two born in colony, seven emancipists, two holding tickets of leave, three assigned. Wood house. Capt. Alexander Grant,

free settler, arrived in 1840, purchased G.C.Curlewis's primary grant of 2,560 acres, plus 775 acre purchase.54.

Mr. Burke, Fairfield. Two proprietors, two mechanics, sixteen shepherds, three domestic servants, nine others. Seven arrived free, three born in colony, six emancipists, three holding tickets of leave, thirteen assigned. Wood house. John Burke granted 2,560 acres primary grant dated 15 July 1831, purchased 1,180 acres 10 August 1836. Free settler arrived ship Wellington in October 1830. 55

Mr. Campbell, Gundellan. One proprietor, three shepherds, one domestic servant, five others. One arrived free, six born in colony, one emancipist, two holding tickets of leave. Wood house. Thomas Campbell purchased 676 acres between Dempsey and Tarlinton.56

Mr. Dempsey, Emu Flats. Two proprietors, one domestic servant, six others. Two arrived free, six born in colony, one assigned. Wood house. Cornelius Dempsey free settler, entitled to 300 acre grant of land.57

Mr. Tarlinton, Ornmeir. Two proprietors, seven shepherds, two domestic servant, fourteen others. Four arrived free, ten born in colony, four emancipists, six holding tickets of leave. Wood house. John Tarlinton granted 200 acres in exchange for land.

55AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1104. Land occupied by Mrs. Jemina Jenkins in 1828.
57AONSW. CSIL. Reel 2654.
taken for quarry at Prospect, 19 November 1828. Son William Duggan Tarlinton purchased 870 acres 13 July 1836.⁵⁸

Mr G. King. Ornmeir. Two mechanics, one shepherd, four others. One arrived free, two born in colony, four emancipists. Wood house.

Mr T. Cowper. Chatsworth. Two proprietors, sixteen shepherds, two domestic servants, twenty others. Fifteen arrived free, one born in colony, six emancipists, seven holding tickets of leave., eleven assigned Brick house. (Figs.12, 13) Henry Cowper, brother of Thomas, purchased 1150 acres on Shoalhaven River south of Thomas's grant.⁵⁹

Dr Huntley. Farringdon. Two proprietors, three mechanics, eight shepherds, one domestic servant, six others. Seven arrived free, two born in colony, eleven assigned Wood house. Robert Reynolds Huntley applied to purchase 2,560 acres of land originally granted to George Miller on 26 November 1836.⁶⁰

Major Elrington. Mount Elrington. One proprietor, three mechanics, thirty shepherds, six domestic servant, nineteen others. Twenty three arrived free, six born in colony, eleven emancipists, two holding tickets of leave, two in government employment, fifteen assigned Wood house.⁶¹

⁵⁸AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1188.
⁶⁰AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1143.
⁶¹Major Elrington resident in 1828 Census
Mr. Popham. Mornington. Four shepherds, one domestic servant, one other. One arrived free, one born in colony, four assigned Wood house. Free settler, arrived ship Caroline 1830.62

Mr. Taylor. Jinglemoney. Two proprietors, one mechanic, sixteen shepherds, two domestic servants, twenty four others. Twenty nine arrived free, four born in colony, two emancipists, one holding ticket of leave, nine assigned Stone house. (Fig.14) Joseph Taylor leased Jinglemoney. This was part of the grant of Duncan Mackellar Jun., resident in 1828, who had since died.63

Mrs. Roberts, Virginia Creek. One proprietor, five shepherds, ten others. Eleven arrived free, two born in colony, two emancipists, one holding ticket of leave. Wood house. John Roberts applied to purchase 100 acres at Boro creek., 23 July 1835. Arrived as free emigrant with wife Maria.and nine children on ship Margaret, January 1835.64

Mr. R. Roberts, Boro. One proprietor, one mechanic, one shepherd, four others. Two arrived free, four born in colony, one emancipist. Wood house, unfinished, inhabited. Brother of John Roberts. Free emigrant, arrived ship Margaret in January 1835. Applied to purchase 1,000 acres on Boro Creek which formerly leased.65

62AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1173.
64AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1177.
65AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1177.
Mr. Bassingthwaite, Boro. One proprietor, eight others. Seven arrived free, two born in colony. Wood house. Edward Bassingthwaite applied to lease crown land.66

Mr. Fursie, Boro. Three shepherds, one other. Three arrived free, one emancipist. Wood house.

Mr. Newlands, Millouded. One proprietor, one mechanic, five shepherds, one domestic servant, nine others. One arrived free, ten born in colony, six assigned. Wood house, unfinished, inhabited.

Mr. Bobroskie, Boro Creek. One proprietor, three others. Four arrived free. Wood house.

Mr. Neil, Boro Creek. One proprietor, two mechanics, one shepherd, six others. Five born in colony, emancipists. Wood house.

Mr. Ferris, Boro Creek. One proprietor, one domestic servant, one other. Three emancipists. Wood house.

Mr. Burton, Duralla Creek. One mechanic. Four others. Three born in colony. Two emancipists.

Mr. Hyland, Long Swamp. Three proprietors, four shepherds, four domestic servants, six others. Four arrived free, eight born in colony, two emancipists, three holding tickets of leave. Wood house. Mathew

66 AONSW. ColSec Correspondence. Police. Braidwood. 1841. 4/2542.3. 31 May 1841., 41/3909.
Hyland occupied 250 acres on Grubberdedruck Swamp by 16 February 1833.67

**Mr. Scott.** Long Swamp. One proprietor, three mechanics, two shepherds, eight others. One arrived free, nine born in colony, one emancipist, one holding ticket of leave, one assigned. Stone house, unfinished, inhabited. (Fig.15) William Scott, free, arrived on ship *Gambier* in August 1814. 9 March 1836 purchased 1280 acres at Mulloon and Grabberdedruck.68

**Dr. Anderson.** Redesdale. One proprietor, one mechanic, forty shepherds, two domestic servants. Six arrived free, one born in colony, six emancipists, three holding tickets of leave, two in government employment, twenty six assigned. Wood house. Matthew Anderson. Order for primary grant of 2,000 acres made by Sir Thomas Brisbane in 1826. Date of deed 3 February 1837. Purchased 8,541 acres at or near Modbury in 1836.69

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67 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1180, description of location of William Scott's land purchase.
68 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1180,
69 AONSW. CSIL. Reel 1083; Register of Land Grants and leases. Reel 2550.
### APPENDIX 4

**Summary of Population⁷⁰**

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<th>1828</th>
<th>1833</th>
<th>1841</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>1851</th>
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<td>Bond/Freed#</td>
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<td>275</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>360</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>c.95</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>1526</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>22%</td>
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# Convict sentences:
- Life: 24, 52%
- 14 years: 8, 17%
- 7 years: 14, 31%

---

### Composition of population:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total adults</th>
<th>Male adults</th>
<th>Female adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Born Colony/ Arrived free</th>
<th>Convict:</th>
<th>No. of houses:</th>
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<td>646</td>
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<th>Female adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Born Colony/ Arrived free</th>
<th>Convict:</th>
<th>No. of houses:</th>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>471</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<th>Male adults</th>
<th>Female adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Born Colony/ Arrived free</th>
<th>Convict:</th>
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<td>1828</td>
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<td>646</td>
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71 AONSW. Copies of letters sent to Braidwood Bench. Reel 664. Thomas Bell/ Princc. SuperConvicts. 11 September 1844. "There are no convicts so employed here." (in Government service)
### 1833

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<th>North of Clyde</th>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>237</td>
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<td>391</td>
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| **Females:** | | | |
| Free, over 12 | 7 | 9 | 16 |
| Free, under 12 | 4 | - | 4 |
| Convict | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| **Total** | 15 | 10 | 25 |

**General total:** 252 164 416

### 1836

|        | | |
|--------| | |
| **Males:** | | |
| Free, over 12 | | 23 |
| Free, under 12 | | 4 |
| Convict | | 52 |
| **Total** | | 79 |

| **Females:** | | |
| Free, over 12 | | 12 |
| Free, under 12 | | 2 |
| Convict | | 2 |
| **Total** | | 16 |
## APPENDIX 5

**Summary of Employment**

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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Females</th>
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<td>Wives and children</td>
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<td>Labourers, fencers, ploughmen</td>
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<td>Stockmen, shepherds, hutkeepers</td>
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<thead>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>674</td>
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| District | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Braidwood | 116 | 96 | |||

| District | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Braidwood | 116 | 96 | |||

| District | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| District | 851 | 578 | |||
## APPENDIX 6

### Crop Returns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1832</th>
<th>1833</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mt.Elring-</td>
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<td>Strath-</td>
<td>Strath-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>allan74</td>
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<td>254</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duncan Mackellar;....."the seed is generally ploughed in, and the quantity is a bushel per acre, the produce from which, in the district where I resided, was from 20 to 30 bushels (wheat)."77

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72 AONSW. Copies of Letters sent to the Braidwood Bench. Reel 664. Letter D.F.Coghill/ ColSec. 10May 1844. "Returns of Stock in counties of Murray and StVincent so far as each are included in the Police District of Braidwood."

73 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1832. 4/262. Reel 3.

74 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1833 4/262. Reel 3.

75 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1834. 4/262. Reel 4.

76 AONSW. Returns of the Colony. 1835. 4/262. Reel 4.

Archibald Crawford: "Major Elrington sold 1,000 bushels of wheat that year (1839) &1 per bushel. He supplied all his employees with wheat. He had a man to thresh the wheat, and we each had to grind our own flour. There was only one steel mill on the place, and the overseer, six assigned servants, and all the rest of us had to wait our turn to use it. The major charged employees 12sh. a bushel of wheat." 78

78ML..Archibald Crawford, Eighty Five Years in Australia. , 8.
APPENDIX 7

Graph showing composition of households in 1841.

TOTAL NO. OF PEOPLE IN EACH HOUSEHOLD
\[\square\] NOT CONVICT
\[\square\] CONVICTS

1. Brittanow metal coffee pot
2. Six Covers
3. Six coffee pot
4. Set candle snoods. 1-4, 1-8
5. Poalings dishes
6. Side plate
7. Two basins
8. Large slopping pan

EACH VERTICAL BAR REPRESENTS ONE HOUSEHOLD AS DESCRIBED IN THE 1841 CENSUS
APPENDIX 8

Inventory of Household Goods Included in Purchase of Strathallan.

7 Candlesticks
1 Britannia metal coffee pot
6 tin Covers
1 tin coffee pot
2 sets candle moulds. 1-4, 1-6
3 pudding dishes
6 cake pans
2 Am basins
1 large dripping pan
1 roasting Jack
1 Cullender
1 Iron tea kettle
3 small iron saucepans
4 small iron pots
1 hair sieve
3 sieves flour
1 large frying pan
1 small gridiron
3 trays
5 large knives and forks
12 small knives and forks
6 Pewter egg cups
6 Pewter spoons
2 mincing knives
1 Iron cleaver

APPENDIX 9

Correspondence Mackellar/ Colonial Secretary

"26 January 1830. George Street........my application for a Carpenter, which from the demand for that class of persons for the work of the Government I would not have presumed to have done had it not been for the very great distress under which I am now labouring for the want of a man to roof and otherwise finish, a House which I am building for myself and family, a distance of nearly two hundred miles from Sydney; nor would I have made this application could I have obtained a free man in this place, they all refuse from the great distance and no prospect of other work, notwithstanding I have offered the highest rate of wages."
Correspondence Major Elrington/ Colonial Secretary.

"16 November 1832. .......... special application for indulgence of having assigned to me two convict mechanics of the following description viz one Carpenter and one Stone Mason; or if this be impossible, the loan of them, it being a case of necessity, the Building now began for my residence is discontinued, and likely to fall into decay if allowed to remain in its present unfinished state.

On the 12th July last, I made a regular application for a Stone Mason and have by this days date, done the same for a Carpenter.

I also beg leave to state that since I have been in the Colony (upwards of five years) I have never received this indulgence and in only one instance the loan of a Carpenter for a few months whose services entitled him to a Ticket of leave, and whose services I have lost, from ill health since he has been with me."

(Note in the margin)" Requesting special orders for the assignment or Loan of a Carpenter and Stonemason. The circumstances are urgent but not being of a public nature the request cannot I presume be complied with." 81

81AONSW. Col Sec Correspondence. 4/2163. William Sandys Elrington/ColSec. 32/9350.
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Colonial Secretary's In Letters
Colonial Secretary's Out Letters
Colonial Secretary's Register of Letters.
Letters from Colonial Secretary to Colonial Architect
Maps
Police Magistrate's Reports
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Secretary
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1822 (30 January-21 February) and Kearns to
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