PARRAMATTA
CORRECTIONAL CENTRE

JAMES SEMPLE KERR

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIVE SERVICES
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND SOURCES

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Cover photograph

Air oblique of the Parramatta Correctional Centre from the north-east taken 21 June 1994 by John Lugg. The O'Connell Street residences are in the foreground and the Parramatta Linen Service is on the right. The palms on the land between the walled complex and the Parramatta River mark the site of the women's wards of the Hospital for the Insane. The boundaries of the Department of Corrective Services land are shown on the plan on page iv. NSW Public Works photograph 250/91/128/3.

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INTRODUCTION

Parramatta is Australia's oldest serving gaol. It is the major component in the Department of Corrective Services' property at North Parramatta, which also includes residences east of O'Connell Street and part of the extensive river lands between the walled complex and the Parramatta River. It is the upstream link in the chain of early colonial buildings and landscapes along the river valley—one of Australia's most important historic sites and a prime cultural resource in the early history of European settlement in Australia.

The walled complex contains Australia's most intact early gaol as well as a progression of extensions and additions—all of which reflect changing concepts in penal design and planning over 160 years. As such, it is Australia's most historic penal complex. When this is combined with the character and quality of its largely homogeneous sandstone and slate structures, the complex becomes a place of exceptional significance to Australia's heritage.

That, however, presents the Department with a problem. The complex is not an institutional museum but a working correctional centre and much of the accommodation is inappropriate by present standards. To help resolve issues of continued use and conservation, the Department has commissioned Dr James Kerr to prepare a conservation plan for the entire property. In conjunction with officers of the Department of Corrective Services and NSW Public Works, he has recommended policies for the future care and development of the place. These are based on a strong understanding of past use and present significance and are designed to be sufficiently flexible to facilitate the continued use of the place as a correctional establishment and to accommodate the possibility of the incorporation of subsidiary uses.

The complete document is published for public information as well as an aid to all persons and agencies involved with the planning and management of the place. Copies may be obtained from the Department of Corrective Services' Academy Library at Eastwood and the Corrective Services' public relations unit on level 11, 24 Campbell Street, Sydney, 2000.

N.R. Smethurst
Major General
Commissioner of Corrective Services
UNDERSTANDING THE PLACE

Parramatta's first gaol, 1796–1799

In 1796, Governor John Hunter was irritated by the robberies which continued to be committed in the new penal colony of New South Wales. He therefore resolved to build the much-wanted gaols at Parramatta and Sydney so that the "pests" responsible might be secured. Lack of masons and the need for urgent action convinced him to build in double log and thatch, and he issued a General Order (26.9.1796) which required every settler and householder to furnish and deliver

\[
\text{ten logs weekly each, the logs to be 9 feet long, not under or over 7 inches diameter and... quite straight. The Governor thinks it also necessary to inform the officers who are furnish'd with labourers from Government that he expects from them twenty logs each (HRNSW 3.159).}
\]

As the produce of the persons thus taxed was the prime object of the thieving, the initial response was gratifying and the few convict labourers and hired artificers Hunter could muster were unable to keep up with the supply (ibid., 175; Collins 2.2). Parramatta Gaol was probably complete by May the following year at which time Hunter was still appealing for thatch for Sydney (HRNSW 3.209).

The Parramatta Gaol site was a little apart from the township on the north bank of the river near the south boundary of the present Prince Alfred Park. Both gaols were of similar design and construction although Parramatta, with its large convict population, was 100 feet long to Sydney's 80 feet (HRNSW 3.220). The construction may have been primitive but the plan, with its individual cells for prisoners, was up with the latest English concept. David Collins' description of Sydney with its twenty-two cells, together with Thomas Watling's painting in the Dixon Gallery, shows that the configuration was that of cells flanking a longitudinal corridor (fig.1) (Kerr, Design for Convicts, 19). Except for the additional cells, Parramatta Gaol would have been similar and both were surrounded by a "strong high paling fence".

\[
\text{Log and thatch was highly inflammable and both gaols were torched by arsonists in 1799: Sydney in February and Parramatta on 28 December. The gaol at Parramatta was "intirely consum'd" and several of its inmates, being locked in, were "shockingly scorched"—at least one of whom died shortly after (Hunter to Portland, 7.1.1800, CO201.16/202).}
\]

The second gaol and factory, 1800–1841

Hunter and his successor, Philip Gidley King, had been impressed by their London masters with the need for economy and this took the form of a "user pays" approach. Hunter attempted to cajole or force the few free settlers and officers to adopt English county practice and fund the erection of permanent masonry gaols. His subjects understandably felt that the county analogy was inappropriate in a colony largely composed of convicts transported by the home government and
their passive resistance rendered gaol building a slow process. The problem was finally solved by a tax on spirits and strong drinks—a development which helped swell the use of illicit stills as well as the gaol fund. At least King was able to assure his masters that the gaols were erected "at the expense of the inhabitants" (Kerr, Design for Convicts, 20&22; King to Hobart, 9.5.1803, CO201.25/215).

Work on the new Parramatta Gaol was finally begun in August 1802. Unlike the previous cellular scheme the plan was a modest variant of an army barrack, that is, it had a central transverse corridor with wards to the left and right and cells added to each end (fig. 2). Similar gaols were already almost complete at Sydney and Norfolk Island and the same basic plan with variations was later built at Windsor and Liverpool (Kerr, Design for Convicts, 20&22).

The construction of the second Parramatta Gaol was the responsibility of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. In addition to his activity as farmer, clergyman and acting magistrate, he superintended the public works at Parramatta and in lieu of extra pay received an additional five assigned convicts (Return of Officers, CO201.17 f143). Both Francis Greenway (Ritchie, Bigge, 2, 135) and Commissioner John Bigge (Bigge, 1, 69) later confirmed that the gaol was constructed under his direction.

The tradesmen and costs involved in the work up to 16 April 1803 (when the building was nearly complete) were listed in a "Statement of dispersals from the Gaol Fund for building Parramatta Gaol".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Ralph Wiggan, principal stone mason, for himself and 6 men</td>
<td>£219.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Haslum, principal quarryman and 3 men</td>
<td>£169.9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Quinlan, burning lime and dressing stone, and 3 men</td>
<td>£195.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Hughes, stone and lime carrier, and 1 man</td>
<td>£74.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbott and Moore, blacksmiths</td>
<td>£41.4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Barnes for paving the cells</td>
<td>£15.14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat Clarke, nailer</td>
<td>£7.8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Hall, shingle splitter</td>
<td>£15.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirgold, sawyer</td>
<td>£17.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horax, carpenter</td>
<td>£22.9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jarvis</td>
<td>£1.19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sundries</td>
<td>£4.18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500 lbs of Iron at 5½d per lb expended in building</td>
<td>£57.5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252 lbs Iron at 4d expended in building</td>
<td>£4.4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2834 bushels of lime</td>
<td>£106.5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errors excepted</td>
<td>£952.0.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Enclosure 14 in King to Hobart, 9.5.1803, CO201.25/215.)

Of all the early ashlar stone buildings of New South Wales, the second Parramatta Gaol was probably the one that deteriorated the most rapidly and required the most frequent repair and reconstruction. The experienced builder, James Houison, was later to comment:
the stones are worth nothing except for a rubble building. They are almost all prepared to stand like a soldier straight up on the wrong beds. The government can have nothing to do with them (Houison to Blacket, 21.3.1854, A/NSW 2/68A).

It is unlikely that the convict artisans involved (Wiggan, Haslum and Quinlan) were that ill-versed in their trades and there remains the strong suspicion that they conspired to erect a place of confinement with as short a life as possible. The pleasure derived from pulling the wool over the eyes of the flogging parson would have been considerable and, in view of Marsden's technical ignorance and preoccupation with magisterial and entrepreneurial activities, the risk would have been modest. Although several reports detailed how badly built the building was (e.g. Rouse & Moore, 13.8.1807, CO201.44/255), it was not until 1816 that a person both skilled in stone work and sufficiently impudent told Marsden of the gaol's shortcomings. That person was (of course) Francis Greenway. He later reported to Mr Commissioner Bigge that Marsden "did not seem to be pleased" (Ritchie, Bigge, 2, 155).

At some time during construction (before April 1803) King decided to add a linen and woollen manufactory to the gaol and in August 1803 he came to a productivity agreement with a Dundee weaver named George Mealmaker. Mealmaker was a "United Scotsman" transported for sedition in 1800. He was to superintendent the work of both male and female convicts in the gaol and his remuneration was to be related to output (ADB 2.218). The gaol complex including additions was finally completed in December 1804 (King to Hobart, 20.12.1804, CO201.35/166).

King's description suggests that a diagrammatic plan of 1813 (fig.3) reflected the layout of the complex in 1804. It consisted of two functionally separate precincts: the southern being the gaol and the northern the factory. The factory yard had sole access to the added upper floor of the main building and was flanked by narrow ranges or sheds set against the perimeter walls. These sheds were at least in part the "rope walks" mentioned by John Harris in a Statement of... Disbursements... to 31 December 1804 (CO201.36/124). The factory was evidently also intended to manufacture rope from flax.

The factory yard was the domain of the female convicts. King described it as a "most comfortable asylum" which would "answer every purpose of a secure place of confinement for Delinquents and a House of Industry" (King to Hobart, 4.8.1804, CO201.32/213). In December the same year he reported that, on the upper floor, twelve looms were at work on linen, woollen and sailcloth weaving (King to Banks, HRNSW 5.530).

The factory continued to function under Mealmaker and the patronage of King until 21 December 1807 when both factory and gaol were damaged by yet another unknown incendiary. The next Governor, William Bligh, reported:

[the factory] had been set on fire by a quantity of rubbish of the flax under the shed, which surrounds the yard, and speedily communicated to the outside of the building, which it destroyed [i.e. the upper or factory floor]. The gaol, being connected with this building, was with difficulty saved (Bligh to Castlereagh, 30.4.1808, HRNSW 6.611).
Government enterprises such as the factory were low on the priorities of the military junta which supplanted Bligh in January 1808. The factory did not reopen until May 1809 (GG 7.5.1809) and then only after a rough patch-up job. Meantime Mealmaker had taken to the bottle and died destitute—of "alcoholic suffocation" (ADB 2.218).

The history of the place over the next decade involved a series of surveys and reports which referred to the structural and functional deficiencies of the buildings. In October 1816, for example, Greenway wrote on the "State of Parramatta Gaol and Factory":

I find the End where the Cells are in a dangerous State, and should be immediately taken down and rebuilt.

The breast of Chimney in common Gaol room is in a tumbling state, and no Barrack [boards] for the men to sleep on, in consequence the men are obliged to sleep on the Ground to the great Injury of their health... the men will be disabled for work and only fit for the Hospital as water comes through the Ground which is not floored even. The Men too have access to the women above by what Information I can obtain which should be done away with as early as possible by removing the Factory entirely...

The Gaol Wall is not high enough and should be raised...

(Greenway to Gill, 10.10.1816, ML, BT20, 3328-9).

The "dangerous State" of "the End where the Cells are" was partly the work of Michael Hoare. In February 1816 a new chum magistrate and "acting deputy-judge-advocate", Frederick Garling, sentenced Hoare to three years in Parramatta Gaol, the first twelve months to be served in solitary on bread and water (GG 10.2.1816). It was an aberrant sentence which exhibited extreme cruelty or remarkable ignorance of the likely consequences, or perhaps both. What followed is best related by Governor Lachlan Macquarie.

He had not been long in his cell before he again became outrageous, and the Jailer in order to secure him, put on him heavy Irons, and locked him to a chain made fast in the Wall of the cell, wherein he was confined. The people in the Jail and those residing near it, were greatly disturbed by his violent noise Night and Day, but particularly in the Nights; at length he wrenched an Iron Bar out of the Window of his Cell, by the aid of which he broke down a great part of the Cell. The head Constable together with John Nicholson (then [deputy] Jailer) came and reported this to me, and at the same time intimated that if something were not done with Hoare... he would pull down the end of the Gaol... (Macquarie to Bathurst, 4.12.1817, HRA 1.9.538).

Hoare was transferred to the care of George Suttor at the Castle Hill Asylum where he resumed normal criminal behaviour of stealing and absconding from the establishment.

The various reports by Greenway and others resulted in tardy and erratic measures to repair and reconstruct parts of the complex. William Watkins, for example, worked on the gaol during the first half of 1817, effecting, among other things, repairs to Hoare's depredations and raising the perimeter and cell yard walls by three extra courses (Watkins' contract, 11.11.1816, ML, BT20, 3330 & Return of expenditure from Police Fund, CO201.85, folios 314&316). By the end of the decade the gaol configuration was as shown on fig.4.
Both Macquarie as governor and Marsden as chaplain and magistrate at Parramatta made separate and desultory attempts to get a new factory underway for the females. Increasing mutual dislike hampered their somewhat half-hearted efforts and in the meantime necessary improvements to the “old” structures were blighted.

In 1812 Macquarie had accompanied his request for plans and permission to build a new factory with a plea for a superintendent to be sent out who was

- a Married Man of good Moral Character... Well acquainted with the... Manufacturing... of Linen and Woollen Cloths
- [and one who had been made to understand] that it was his indispensable Duty to be present with the Working People during the Hours of Labour (Macquarie to Liverpool, 17.11.1812, HRA 1.7.614-615).

What Macquarie did not want was a well connected and technically incompetent silvertail who would pay a small part of his salary to an underling to do the actual work. It was an English practice which maddened the few efficient colonial (and penal) administrators and was to linger on throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Macquarie received neither man nor approval from London and in 1814 made his own appointment—Francis Oakes.

Oakes turned out to be a mixed blessing for Macquarie but he did retain a high profile association with the factory until his dismissal in 1822. Oakes had been successively a Warwickshire shoemaker, a Tahitian missionary, a NSW farmer and, at the time of his appointment to the factory, he was combining farming activities with those of police officer, baker, shopkeeper and contractor. John Dunmore Lang later said he was known as a “settler, chief constable, an auctioneer and a scoundrel”. His clerical colleague, William Pascoe Crook, described him as a “bold rough creature” (ADB 2.291). Unlike Oakes, the gaolers, Richard Jones, John Nicholson and John Beale had relatively modest roles as custodial officers subject to the inspection of Marsden, although Beale (a lifer) was to have his moment of glory in January 1820 defending charges of corruption, and fighting with his accuser, Oakes (Bigge 1.132).

In 1815 Marsden had described the working of the factory:

The number of women employed in the Factory under Mr Oakes the superintendent is one hundred and fifty; they have seventy children; there is not any room in the Factory that can be called a bedroom for these women and children. There are only two rooms and these are both occupied as workshops; they are over the gaol and are about 80 feet long and 20 wide. In these rooms there are 46 women daily employed; 20 spinning wool upon the common wheel and 26 carding; there are also in them the warping machine etc belonging to the Factory. These rooms are crowded all the day, and at night such women sleep in them as are confined for recent offences, among the wheels, wool and cards, and a few others who have no means whatever of procuring a better abode (Marsden to Macquarie, 15.7.1815, SC Report on Gaols, 1819).

Mr Commissioner Bigge provided a useful description of the gaol and factory which, in conjunction with a plan of about 1819, provides a clear picture of the way it had been adapted and used. Plan and text are combined in fig.4.
4. Parramatta Gaol. Redrawn from a ground plan of about 1819 which shows amendments to the original design of 1802. C0201.133 f193.

162 "...two small rooms added for debtors, or for women. Confined by order of the Criminal Court..."

364 "...rooms for men, one measuring 17'x13' and a dark cell that is used as a store-room for tools and fetters."

5 "...the charge-room, that measures 21'x26'. In this room there is a fire-place and a small platform for the prisoners to sleep on much broken."

6-9 "...three solitary cells... entirely separated from the other parts of the gaol... [with] a spacious yard adjoining."

10 Gaoler's Lodge [with access outside gaol as well as yard].

11 "...Gaol gang room, measuring 30'x15', where there is a fire-place at which the prisoners cook their daily rations."

One of the problems which helped delay the separation of the factory from the gaol was the choice of site. A copious fresh water supply was a requirement and the most convenient land flanking the fresh water stretch of the Parramatta River above the town was occupied by Bligh's 105 acre grant (fig.5)—a grant which Macquarie pointed out had been made by King "in direct violation of the Standing Orders of His Majesty's Ministers". Macquarie therefore in 1814 sought colonial office approval to appropriate Bligh's grant, obtained that approval in 1815 and finally issued a proclamation in 1819 declaring the grant null and void (ERA 1.8.339&645; HRA 1.11.517). The legal complications however were not put to rest until 1841 when Sir Maurice O'Connell on behalf of his wife Mary (Bligh's daughter) formally surrendered the land (HRA 1.6.xiii).

What actually stirred Macquarie to action was his receipt of an extract from a critical letter enclosed in a dispatch from Lord Bathurst. Bathurst had removed the writer's name. Macquarie thought it was Marsden's work but it was actually by an aggrieved Nicholas Bayly. In addition to discussing the Hoare sentence, the letter charged Macquarie with condoning prostitution by failing to provide accommodation for female convicts (HRA 1.9.198-200). Much stung, Macquarie replied at length in December 1817 and in January 1818 ordered Greenway to prepare a plan for a "Factory and Barracks sufficient to lodge 300 Female Convicts" (Kerr, Out of sight... , 42-43). The site was beside the river on Bligh's grant. Macquarie laid the foundation stone in July 1818, it was built by William Watkins and Nathaniel Payten for £4,800 and the females were moved in at the beginning of February 1821 (ibid., 41-45). Some of Greenway's buildings still survive as part of the Parramatta Psychiatric (now Cumberland) Hospital today.
One of the results of Mr Commissioner Bigge’s inquiry was the transfer of emphasis from Macquarie’s public works to land clearing and agricultural pursuits. Despite stop-gap repairs, the Parramatta Gaol was to remain in its “insecure and dilapidated” state through the 1820s and ’30s. A report passed by Governor Richard Bourke to London in 1833 noted that the gaol was in “a falling state” and that for several years the walls of the main building had been bulging and shored up. Major work was still not contemplated; instead the building was to be held together with tie rods and further shoring until a new gaol could be built (PRO, WO44.187, f163&168).

After 1836 the gaol shared the north bank of the river with a newly-built King’s School—a somewhat similar Georgian stone edifice on the seven acre site of the Horticultural Society’s garden (fig.6). The two institutions had more in common than architecture. The first headmaster of the King’s School, Robert Forrest, was another flogging clergyman. He had assisted Marsden and was for a time a regular visitor of the iron’d gang convicts (Waddy, The Kings School, 48). The King’s School in turn was to receive the numerous sons of the gaolers and superintendents. The four Oakes and the five Aliens were examples. Forrest had an ill-governed temper and believed in beating the classics into colonial youth. John Blackman later recalled his escape when a ten year-old scholar:

I did not sleep much that night; I was so full of bruises and plotting for my escape next morning (there had been many ‘bolters’ just at that time, some being brought back), for orders were issued to persons to look out for K.S. ‘bolters’, also to the chain gang’s overseers, etc., at the Duck River new bridge on the Sydney-road. I knew the danger of capture; besides, I was so weak that I did not think I should be able to walk the 16 miles of the road to Sydney, plus the ‘round-about’ I had planned so as to avoid being noticed (ibid., 50).

At Parramatta, as elsewhere, executions were carried out in public, not within the gaol. Forrest had earlier expelled two boys for going to view a public hanging (ibid., 41). The gallows were erected when needed and removed after use to prevent vandalism or destruction. Floggings took place in the gaol yard. The debtors in the gaol complained to Henry Kingsmill (gaoler from December 1830 to July 1834) that they could not avoid seeing and hearing the punishments (Evidence, 29.7.1835, Committee on Police and Gaols, 367). The stocks were set up in front of the gaol. In these, drunkards and minor offenders were gripped by the ankles and exposed to public scorn (Hassall, 12).

Hugh McRoberts, the gaoler in 1837, provided a useful picture of the administration and function of the place. He was appointed by the sheriff and had a staff of three turnkeys—all male. Gaolers were expected to have wives who could attend to peculiarly female wants. There was no appointed visiting magistrate but the gaol was “open to the inspection of any magistrate”. Provided numbers permitted there were separate rooms for:

- felons and prisoners awaiting trial;
- fines and confines (persons serving sentences in lieu of discharging obligations laid on them);
- females;
- debtors.
No daytime classification was possible other than that separate yards were provided for males and females. Even then the previous gaoler, Kingsmill, gave evidence that cooking and privy facilities were shared by all, women included (ibid., 367). In addition to the above, there were five cells for solitary confinement (A/NSW, CS 4/269, Return of Gaols, f 601 et seq).

Each prisoner was allowed two suits of slop clothing annually and a single blanket—the latter provision occasioning some hardship in June and July during periods of heavy frost. There were three diet scales:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items per week</th>
<th>No.1</th>
<th>No.4</th>
<th>No.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bread</td>
<td>8½ lbs</td>
<td>5½ lbs</td>
<td>10¼ lbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meal</td>
<td>3½ lbs</td>
<td>5½ lbs</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>7 lbs</td>
<td>1¼ lbs</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>3½ ozs</td>
<td>3½ ozs</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>1½ ozs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3½ lbs</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
<td>7/-</td>
<td>5/10</td>
<td>3/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No.6 was the famous bread and water diet while in solitary confinement (ibid.).

Neither employment nor means of earning pocket money was available within the gaol. Visits and gifts from outsiders were not normally permitted although "special cases" were considered at the discretion of the gaoler. There was no religious instruction, no bibles, no appointed chaplain and dissenting ministers were not permitted to visit. The surgeon or his assistant was supposed to visit the gaol daily but there was no separate room for the sick. The most prevalent diseases were listed as "catarrh, rheumatism, dysentry, diarrhea and other affections of the bowels". Diet, damp and dirt were contributing factors. Punishment was most common for theft, insubordination and insolence (ibid.). It was apparent that the colony's penal administration was as run down as its buildings.

McRoberts received the modest salary of £80 per year and in his return he noted that no fees were demanded (of prisoners, their friends and legal representatives) Such demands were by no means uncommon in some English and colonial prisons.

The design and construction of the third gaol, 1835–1842

After Governor Richard Bourke's arrival in December 1831 he set about rectifying the situation. It was a tedious process only brought to partial fruition under his successor, George Gipps. In 1833 he sought authority for new gaols at Sydney and Parramatta. The following year he informed his masters at the colonial office that unless he heard from them by May 1835 he would commence work from colonial funds. His appointees on the NSW Legislative Council gave him the necessary numbers to make this possible and, despite colonial opposition, the 1836 vote included £10,000 for Sydney and £5,000 for Parramatta.

In January 1835 Bourke appointed one of Thomas Mitchell's surveyors, Mortimer William Lewis, to the post of colonial architect and instructed
him to prepare plans for both gaols. Lewis prepared several alternative plans for each place but the versions actually submitted to the 1835 Committee on Police and Gaols are not known to have survived. The Parramatta design had four radial “prison buildings” (i.e. wings) and Sydney six, both proposals having a gaol governor’s house in the centre. The source of inspiration for the plans was the published propaganda of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders (SIPD for short) which Bourke had already drawn on for the plan of Berrima Gaol (Kerr, Design for Convicts, 94–95).

The SIPD advocated a developed prisoner classification system. In this, each class was to be kept free of contamination in separate night and day accommodation. The maximum number of classes could be achieved and economical surveillance maintained by adopting a radial plan and by splitting each wing and yard by a longitudinal wall (fig.7). Prisoner movement outside the class areas took place through the controlled circle or semicircle between the gaoler’s house and the noses of the wings. The SIPD provided plans with 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 radial wings grouped round a central gaoler’s house.

The committee accepted Lewis’ plans with the provisos that the privies and ablution facilities be removed from the ends of the wings. The local climate and contemporary sanitary technology made this a prudent suggestion. While the amendment was not heeded by Lewis, the fact that the removal provided space for 22 extra prisoners in an additional six rooms and four cells (PRO, CO201.252/23) revealed his intended wing configuration of single- and three-person cells.

In November 1835, Nathaniel Payten’s tender of £2,125 for the erection of a 250-feet square perimeter wall was accepted and it was built during 1836 and 1837. Payten was allowed to work a government quarry “off the Windsor Road” for the stone (A/NSW, 4/3883, p.494, CS to CA, 4.11.1835). John James Galloway’s 1846 plan of North Parramatta shows a stockade erected beside the gaol site (fig.14) and it is a reasonable presumption that convicts were a significant part of the workforce for both the wall and, later, gaol contracts.

In February 1833 Bourke had asked London for an ordnance officer to design a range of new works in the colony. The bureaucratic mills ground slowly and in April 1835 the master general of ordnance approved the appointment of Captain George Barney as commanding royal engineer in NSW. Treasury agreed to Barney investigating English prisons and preparing plans and estimates for the proposed colonial gaols at Sydney. Barney arrived Sydney at the end of 1835 and presented Bourke with the dilemma of a set of conflicting plans. To solve the problem Bourke appointed a committee of the chief justice, colonial secretary and auditor general. It sat in August 1836 and took evidence from both Lewis and Barney (NSW, LC, 1832–37, pp.548–553).

The committee considered only the design for Sydney Gaol, but it was clear that the form finally recommended would become a type for other colonial gaols such as Parramatta. The secretary of state for the colonies had indicated that the royal engineer’s plans were to be preferred to
any colonial designs (Glenelg to Bourke, 3.8.1835) and Barney became the expert adviser and Lewis the executor of the works. The plan which emerged and upon which Sydney Gaol was commenced was signed jointly by both Barney and Lewis (fig.8). It was based on individual cells. Also the gaoler’s house was replaced by a chapel and re-sited near the gate where it was less likely to be encircled and overpowered by a combination of prisoners.

The plan on which the smaller Parramatta Gaol was actually commenced has not survived but one of Lewis’ transitional proposals was included in the colonial secretary’s returns of 1837 (fig.9). As at Sydney the chapel retained its central location and the gaoler’s house was sited between it and the gate. The smaller scale of Parramatta, however, required the two structures to be joined, although Lewis took care to retain their individual circular and rectilinear forms. By the time building was started this expensive differentiation had been abandoned.

As the perimeter wall neared completion Lewis called for tenders for the masons’ and pavers’ work on the buildings (GG 14/21/6/1837). The tenderers were not required to respond with a lump sum but with a percentage variation to an established schedule of costs. The schedule was set out to facilitate measuring and hence costing the work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excavation of ground or rock including carting away—at per yard cube</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone for foundations and drains including labor and best mortar—at per foot cube</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stones for upper work in the rough including labor and best mortar—at per foot cube</td>
<td>1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add if draft and axed—per foot super</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add if chiselled—per foot super</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add if rubbed—per foot super</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Add if rusticated—per foot super</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional labor for steps.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two tenders were received: Robert Gooch, add 40 percent; James Houison and Nathaniel Payten, add 35 percent. Lewis recommended the latter and it was approved by Bourke in September (A/NSW, CA, 2/618A, Barrington to Lewis, 18.9.1837). An abstract of expenditure of colonial funds on Parramatta Gaol shows the progress of the work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>£2,570.13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>£5,801.14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>£11,537.10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>£8,467.2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>£3,807.17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>£1,886.11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>£96.17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£34,168.5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A/NSW, CA, 2/618A, Schedule… new gaol at Parramatta.)
Tendering for the roof took place in February 1840, for the hardwood cell doors in July 1841 and for the gaoler's house joinery in September 1841 (GG 1840, p.31; 1841, p.993&1338).

The building campaign was punctuated by changes of plan: the perimeter wall was built to Lewis' 1835 design; the wings and central block were commenced to a design evolved by Lewis in 1836–37 after Barney's arrival and finally major alterations were required by the newly arrived Governor Gipps in 1838–39. Gipps had been instructed by the secretary of state of the colonies to implement the recommendations in the 1837 (English) inspectors' of prisons report. These had been developed after Barney's departure from England and required the abandonment of SIPD type longitudinal walls in the cell wing corridors and the replacement of upper level corridor flooring by narrow galleries for access to the cells. Compare figs 10 and 11.

The new arrangement created a central open space from ground floor to roof, removed the overpowering sense of confinement experienced in corridors of the SIPD type and improved both ventilation and surveillance. This was to become the standard arrangement for cell wing design in Australia for most of the next century (Kerr, Designing a colonial gaol, 44).

The other instruction Gipps brought with him was an English treasury demand to exercise the most stringent economy. As an administrator Gipps was one of the better governors, but he did exhibit more than ordinary insensitivity to the problems of those under him and more than necessary deference to those above. His application of treasury inspired economies to the penal construction program was an example. Lewis was instructed to convert two-thirds of the proposed 8-feet by 5 single cells to half that number of 8-feet by 12 double cells so that six prisoners might be packed into the space previously occupied by two (Committee on Police and Gaols, Lewis evidence, 11.10.1839; SG, 5.3.1839, p.2).

At Parramatta this meant that an extra storey was added, 96 single cells were to be located on the ground floors of the three wings and 96 double cells on the upper two floors—each "capable" of holding six persons. This intended prisoner density would have been entirely unacceptable to the English inspectors' of prisons on whose recommendations the "improvements" were nominally based. For the rest of the century penal administrators in NSW regarded three or four prisoners as the appropriate capacity for the large cells.

Gipps' substantial revisions of the design would have been ordered late in 1838 by which time the masonry of one wing at each place was half complete. At Parramatta it was the northern or No.3 wing, now known as 1 wing. (The irregular renumbering of gaol wings is one of the more maddening quirks of gaol governors, so, to avoid muddle, the numbering system used in the Department of Corrective Services 1993 inventory will be adopted in this text.) No.1 wing was therefore left with the original SIPD configuration on the ground floor while Nos 2 and 3 were completed to the scheme required by Gipps (fig 12). The No.1 wing configuration was to last at least to 1918 when Gorrie Blair prepared a plan of the gaol (NSW PW, FC 407/106). Visitors to the wing can now see the rough axed underside of the galleries where the original upper corridor floor was cut off.
The first building campaigns had lasted from 1836 to 1842 and resulted in a perimeter wall, governor's house cum chapel and three of the intended five wings. None of the auxiliary facilities necessary for the efficient running of a medium size gaol had been commenced; nor had the SIPD type yard walling been completed—instead makeshift fencing and walling would be erected on an ad hoc basis. The treadmills which appeared on some plans were stillborn. Economy in the face of impending depression and the discontinuance of transportation to New South Wales were the governing factors.

The only major work to be done for a decade was the very necessary gatehouse. Lewis estimated it would cost £360 (A/NSW 2/518A, CA to CS, 22.12.1843) and the sum was approved by Gipps. Houison drew up the plans himself and it was built in 1844. It remains the plainest gatehouse of its size in Australia (fig.13). Galloway's 1846 map of that part of Parramatta "up the Windsor Road" shows the state of the gaol and its relationship to the female factory and Roman Catholic orphan school (fig.14). It also shows the most recently completed subdivisions and their holders. Persons associated with the gaol were well represented—Nathaniel Payten's name being ubiquitous. It is apparent from his recently constructed duplexes on the Windsor Road near the gaol that he was a speculative builder and investor as well as contractor.

**The reign of Thomas Duke Allen**

Although, at the end of 1841, the new gaol was incomplete, the second gaol was in such a bad state of repair that Gipps was prevailed on to proclaim the new work to be a "Public Gaol, Prison and House of Correction" on 3 January 1842 (GG 7.1.1842). January was to be an eventful month: the prisoners were transferred under military escort on the 15th; the gaoler, John Lackey, was dismissed on the 28th; and Thomas Duke Allen was installed in his place.

Allen was to remain in charge for over twenty years. Through the depression years of the 1840s he ran a tight and disciplined ship with limited resources and a modest salary of £80 a year. His wife, Martha, acted as matron for the female prisoners. Allen's staff generally believed him to be tough and fair. He was also enterprising and took every opportunity to build up his income by levying fees to execute duties required of him in the line of work. It was a practice which at various times has been regarded as corrupt but in the 1840s and '50s in NSW it was a grey area tolerated as an income supplement and known to, but not specifically prohibited by, the sheriff.

Allen used his income prudently. By the mid 1840s he had acquired a number of subdivision allotments in the vicinity of the gaol (Parramatta North: section 27, lots 65&66; section 28, lots 68&69; section 72, lots 1&2; section 74, lots 7&8). Four of the allotments are shown on fig.14. On the lots opposite the gaol gate he installed pigs which would be fed on the waste hominy from the gaol. During the 1850s his five sons were sent to the King's School at least two of whom continued the family interest in money by becoming bank managers. A third was a solicitor.
14. Plan of part of North Parramatta reduced and adopted by JSK from a large plan signed J.J. Galloway, Asst Surveyor, 21 August 1846 (AO Map 4804). Some additional annotations have been taken from Galloway's plan of June 1843 (AO Map 4801).
Unfortunately for Allen he fell out with the sheriff, John O'Neil Brenan. Brenan was the cranky and idiosyncratic son of an even more cranky and idiosyncratic father. Both were magistrates. In 1844 Gipps offered the father the post of sheriff at £1,000 a year but he declined (ADB 1.149). Brenan Junior later took the job. Evidence tendered to board inquiries suggests that Brenan made appointments to Allen’s staff without consulting him and in the process provided him with a mix of incompetents, drunkards and spies—the latter having been briefed to build a case for the dismissal of Allen.

The sheriff instigated several board inquiries designed to remove Allen. That chaired by Chris Rolleston reported on 13 February 1860:

The Board can come to no other conclusion than this, that the Sheriff had been misled by ill-disposed and designing persons in the establishment, inimical to the Gaoler and impatient of his discipline and authority, ... it speaks much for Mr Allen’s temper and judgment that he has borne with them as well as he has done, and has been able to maintain such good discipline under so serious disadvantages.

The Board cannot dismiss this branch of their inquiry without expressing their conviction that Mr Allen has done nothing to forfeit the confidence of the Government.


The 1861 Select Committee on Prisons resulted in the removal of Sheriff Brenan but not before he had put in train a process whereby his successor and former deputy, George Uhr (another Kings old boy), was able to dismiss Allen summarily in June 1862 for “having received a fee of £3.1.6 for executing a writ of Habeas Corpus in the case of John Taylor”. Part of the fee covered the legitimate expense of accompanying Taylor to Sydney and part was pocketed by Allen. Uhr maintained that gaolers as salaried officers were not entitled to fees. Allen reasonably pointed out that such fees had been a long established practice accepted by the legal fraternity, and known to visiting magistrates and the sheriff. Behind the dismissal was a malicious and baseless allegation that Allen had made improper connection with female prisoners (SC on petition of T.D. Allen, NSW, LA, Vol.2, 539 et seq.).

The mistake Allen had made was to let his avarice and warped sense of humour get the better of his common sense. Allen had sent Taylor's father away to borrow the £3.1.6 fee. When Taylor senior returned he pulled the £3.1.6 out of his pocket plus five pennies. It was all he had. Allen reached out, took both the fee and the five pence saying "I'll have that too". No doubt the long exercise of power on his own dunghill had dulled his sensitivity to others' feelings. Taylor senior was so incensed that he made a formal complaint (ibid) thus giving the sheriff the pretext he sought.

In August 1862 James Green was appointed gaoler and in September his wife Eliza replaced the unlucky Mrs Allen as matron (ibid., 547). Under Green, the Allen regime fell apart and he in turn was replaced by Stephen Price as acting gaoler. A series of riots did minor damage to the gaol. The sequel was yet another select committee report on
Allen's petition. In December 1863 the report recommended the rein­
statement of Allen on the grounds that he had never been given
specific instruction on the matter of fees. The message was "come back
Thomas, all is forgiven, now please restore order for us". Allen was
back at work in January 1864 but the strain had told. He died in April
the following year.

**Improvements, use and conditions, 1842–1861**

Allen spent much of the 1840s and early 50s trying to requisition the
necessary facilities, furniture and repairs to make the gaol habitable.
Cupboards, shelves, fire grates for gaolers' quarters, chairs, forms and
bedboards with short legs were all required; the latter so that prisoners
would not be obliged to sleep on the stone floors of the cells. The
requisitioned materials used in the painting of plaster, timber and iron
were:

- white lead [in large quantities]
- boiled oil and turpentine
- umber
- litharge [lead monoxide]
- black paint

(A/NSW, 2/618A, CA correspondence.)

The interiors of the cells were whitewashed.

The gaoler's house suffered most from the premature termination of
work on the gaol. The upper floor remained unplastered and bed bugs
took up protected day residence in the cracks. The plastering
was not carried out until December 1866 (A/NSW 2/618B, Hussey
to Maclean, 26.9.66). The roof admitted rain in "large quantities"
in the 1840s and early '50s and sections of the plaster ceiling
fell from time to time and had to be replaced and repainted
(A/NSW, 2/618A). Whiting, ocher and umber were the colours
ordered for the interior of the house in the early 1850s and
this was supplemented by brunswick green and lemon
chrome in the 1860s (ibid., 18.2.1865).

The timber cell doors proved insecure and had to be
progressively sheeted in iron and rivetted. Inner iron grate
doors were added to some cells. Much of the blacksmith's
work was done by Daniel Meehan in 1850–52. The privies
discharged into cesspools at the rear of the gaol and these
had to be emptied periodically. They still produced a powerful
effluvium (ibid).

The female prisoners occupied the upper floors of No.1
wing. Their adjacent yard was so hot in midsummer that they
remained in the wing for the greater part of the day. In 1852
the Visiting Justice, David Graham Forbes, got the colonial
architect to erect the first of the lean-to timber sheds that
were later built in each of the gaol yards (fig.15).

Requisitions relating to the buildings and furniture were prepared by
the gaoler and endorsed by the visiting justice or magistrate. The
bureaucratic chain of recommendation, comment, endorsement and

15. Plan of Parramatta Gaol attached
to the Report of the Select Committee on
the Public Prisons of Sydney &
Cumberland, 1861.
approval involved the offices of the sheriff, colonial architect, colonial secretary and, for large items, the governor. After “responsible” government was introduced in 1856 the governor was replaced by the responsible minister or, in some cases, a gaggle of ministers. Until 1864, when Harold Maclean took over, the sheriff’s office was at best erratic in performance—often neglectful but occasionally suddenly intrusive.

The late 1840s and ’50s also found the colonial architect’s office under resourced and in periodic turmoil: Lewis was removed for peculation in 1849; Edmund Blacker escaped to design and supervise Sydney University in 1854; William Weaver was dismissed for financial incompetence in 1856 and his replacement Alexander Dawson succumbed to the bottle (Kerr, Sydney Observatory, 17, 19&21). Dawson, fortunately, was joined in 1857 by William Coles, a competent, sensible and loyal officer who had just completed the supervision of Fort Denison under the direction of George Barney. Coles became the de facto expert on prison design and served as second-in-command to Dawson’s successor, James Barnet, until 1890. From 1859 he was to be directly or indirectly responsible for all the new work on Parramatta Gaol on behalf of the colonial architect.

As a result of the difficulties Allen experienced in the 1850s in endeavouring to make the unfinished gaol both functional and habitable, he did what generations of gaolers have done before and since: he combined with the visiting magistrate, Forbes, to carry out as much minor work as possible using hard labour prisoners and local or staff supervision—sometimes with and sometimes without formal approval. The work was made possible by the judicious underestimation of probable costs, an entrepreneurial capacity and a degree of inertia in the sheriff’s office.

In 1852 or ’53 Forbes and Allen took the process a step further and marketed the prisoners’ skills and labour in the neighbourhood. A range of goods and services from cabbage tree hats to wheelbarrows to stonemasonry was sold. For example, the stone used in additions to the King’s School in 1856–57 was cut in the gaol (NSW, LA, 1858, vol.2, 375). Forbes later recounted:

I had such confidence in Mr Allen that I had a forge erected and tools placed in the hands of the prisoners in order to carry out the system of work which I had introduced.

Forbes claimed to be the first to introduce the system into the colony and later said he was inspired by the American prison system where “they made prisoners pay all their expenses”. He also claimed that the gaol took in “as much as £5,000 in hard cash” over his last two years—up to about June 1856 (SC on Allen, Forbes evidence, 2.9.1863). At the same time Charles Simeon Hare, the superintendent of convicts in South Australia, was introducing similar ideas to the penal system in that colony (Kerr, Out of sight..., 86).

Sheriff Brenan, who practiced both evasion of responsibility and waspish condemnation of any enterprising operators who occupied
the administrative vacuum his inertia created, denied that Forbes had introduced any new or worthwhile system to Parramatta Gaol.

I have yet to learn that a number of men cooped up in a small yard cutting stone and 54 seated in the corridor of one of the wings of the gaol cabbage tree hat making, and sleeping four or five in a cell at night, is a new and improved system of prison discipline... it would have been much better had Mr Forbes exerted the same energies to get the Government to obtain funds to enable them to carry out improvements... (SC, Prisons, 1861, Brenan evidence, 197).

This was, of course, a part of the job Brenan had been paid to do.

A practice concomitant with the Forbes Allen marketing system was that of prisoners working for the gaoler and his staff. Most officers, for example, purchased their boots from the prisoners. The transactions were conducted in an open manner and recorded—separate percentages going to gaol funds and prisoners. Forbes believed it was undesirable but acceptable until such time as gaoler and staff received adequate pay. Sheriff Brenan never managed to evolve a firm policy on the practice and it continued with modifications into the 1860s.

Henry Parkes’ 1861 select committee on prisons set an official if modest seal of approval on the activity at Parramatta Gaol.

The arrangements for directing prison labour at Parramatta evince more business aptitude than at Darlinghurst, and the work performed is of greater variety and character (ibid., xx).

The Parkes report also commended the Parramatta Gaol hospitals. A hospital had been much needed at Parramatta but not provided in the initial campaigns. It was not until 1852 that the NSW governor, Augustus Fitzroy, approved of the work being carried out by the hard labour prisoners. The colonial architect, Edmund Thomas Blacket, prepared a simple plan (fig.16) and the colonial secretary endorsed the employment of James Houison to supervise the work (A/NSW, 2/618A, CS to CA, 8.10.1852 & 25.10.1852). Houison had remained a long serving and trusted contractor and supervisor at the gaol on tasks ranging from emptying the cesspools to supervising new work.

Blacket’s design was never built. Allen and the visiting surgeon, Richard Greenup, wanted separate buildings for males and females with fireplaces in each room and a bathroom and watercloset at each place. Forbes disagreed because of the expense: “one good large building with fireplaces, turnkey’s room and bathroom” would suffice (A/NSW, 2/618A: Greenup to CA, 17.3.1853; Forbes to CA, 19.3.1853; Allen to CA, 23.3.1853).

The differences helped delay the project and it was not until 1858–59 that twin hospitals were finally completed flanking the gaoler’s house on the sites of the originally intended fourth and fifth wings (fig.17). The female hospital was in front of the females’ yard and wing and that part of the gaol became known as the “female side”. Both hospitals were square in plan with a hipped slate roof and picked and drafted stone walls (A/NSW 2/618A, measurements of work).
Greenup and Allen then agitated for a detached dead house or morgue. Greenup wrote:

...there is no place in this gaol where the body of a dead prisoner can be deposited in the interval between death and interment except the lobby of the hospital.

The consequence is that an unpleasant smell arises which is of course injurious to all, whether sick or well, who have occasion to remain in or to visit the hospital (A/NSW, 2/618A, Greenup to CS, 21.6.1860).

Construction of the dead house was delayed until after the southern extension of the gaol was completed in 1863.

In May 1861 a prisoner at Darlinghurst attempted to murder a warder by throwing him over the iron rail of the gallery on the upper level of a cell range. Greenup, by then visiting justice at Parramatta, was alarmed at the prospect:

I have always felt in walking along these galleries... that however well they may look to the eye yet they are very dangerous and that the present arrangement allows valuable space to be wasted which might be utilised without any injury to the ventilation of the prison and with decided advantage in classification (ibid., Greenup to CS, 31.5.1861).

Greenup therefore sought the insertion of floors at upper gallery levels. Coles advised the colonial architect that it would be a departure from a principle which had been found to work well but, that if additional day rooms were really needed, it would at least be a cheap solution (ibid., Coles manuscript 26.10.1861). One wing was completed the following year but the arrangement was then disapproved by the sheriff and the project aborted (ibid., Coles notation). The floors actually completed were removed in 1868. The potential danger to both staff and prisoners remained and was the reason wings in some gaols were given rope safety nets stretched between the galleries at first floor level. They were not known to have been used at Parramatta in the nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Greenup's forebodings of danger were prophetic even if the location was wrong. In 1866 he was stabbed by an inmate of the adjacent Parramatta asylum and died two days later (ADB 4.291).

By 1861 the use of the gaol with its additions and accretions was approximately as set out on fig.18. As well a the self-contained female side with its wing, yard, shelter shed, kitchen, laundry and hospital, there was a mechanics' yard for blacksmiths and carpenters, a hard labour yard for stoncutters and a yard for males committed for trial. The latter contained the underground tank which provided the gaol water supply and was flanked on the east by the men's cookhouse. In the sterile zone at the west end of 2 wing a deep circular well had been dug and lined with ashlar. The cesspools to receive the considerable volume of excrement from the gaol were located outside the west perimeter wall. Heavy rains caused them to overflow and pollute the Parramatta River dam which at that stage helped supply the town with water (A/NSW, 2/618A: Greenup memo, 30.4.1857; Bassett to sheriff, 3.9.1859).

In 1861, facilities, although improved, were still inadequate. There were no permanent baths for prisoners. Allen reported that he had
procured wine hogsheads and cut them in half for prisoners to wash in (SC, Prisons, 1861, 157). Water was distributed to key points by pipes from the tank (fig.18) although the supply failed in dry weather (ibid., 158). James Collins complained:

since I have been in gaol all I have been able to wash
has been my feet and legs, and sometimes I have got
another man to wash my back (ibid., 43).

Hygiene standards were supervised by the famous "show leg" routine. Allen told the select committee:

Every Sunday... the prisoners are ranged in the ward at
0800 and I go round and inspect every man. I stop short
at each, examine him, and make him pull up his
trousers... above the knees (ibid., 157).

At Darlinghurst "only one leg was shown to see if it was clean and had
had a bath" (Bradshaw, 122).

Visitors to the gaol all noted its internal cleanliness under Allen. He
believed that idle hands worked for the devil and told the Parkes select
committee that the floors of the cells were cleansed "two or three times
a day" and the walls whitewashed "once a month, perhaps oftener" (SC,
Prisons, 1861, 157). If this sounds obsessive, it must be remembered that
bed bugs, boobies (lice) and fleas were the bane of existence in contem­
porary gaols and that Parramatta was, at that time, host to a flea plague.

Prisoners in the cells normally had a straw mattress and two blankets
on a 6' x 2' deal bed board mounted on battens which raised it three
or four inches from the floor. The defect of the system was the
absence of facilities and resources for changing and washing bedding.
Night buckets were slopped out each morning. Three or four males occupied the double cells intended by Gipps to hold six persons.

The original SIPD type solitary cells on the south-western part of the ground floor of 1 wing (fig. 18) were used for punishment. The Parkes committee examined the cell occupied by Caleb George and noted that he had no furniture and slept on the stone floor with two bits of blanket. He was supplied with a kid of water, 1 1/2 lbs of bread a day and a night tub which was emptied every morning. He was also allowed books and a daily wash. Undressing at night was not possible as the irons on his legs prevented the removal of his trousers but he hoped to get these altered (ibid., 1103 & 1109).

The women occupied the upper floors of 1 wing—four women to a double cell was the maximum. They produced two classes of work: fine needlework for ladies and gentlemen; and second class work such as clothing for the children in the orphan schools (ibid., 1107). Both men and women joined in divine service on Sunday morning. It was not held in the intended chapel but in a cell wing. Male and female turnkeys sat between and separated the sexes (ibid., 49).

The standard gaol diet had not changed over the previous half century. Hominy (a sort of porridge made of maize meal), bread, beef, potatoes and salt were the staple. The hominy was boiled up overnight and served out at 0800 in kids (tubs) which held an allowance for four men (8 lbs). The beef and potatoes (no other vegetables) were boiled to form a soup which was thickened by the addition of any remaining hominy. Metal cutlery was not permitted so the lumpy parts of the hominy and "soup" were eaten from the kid using fingers—a horn spoon was used to finish the job (ibid., 1106-7 & 1111). It was a boring and inadequate diet made worse by the government practice of accepting the cheapest tender from contractors for the supply of the raw materials, although Allen did make an effort to keep them up to a reasonable quality.

No taste of contemporary gaol life and Australian character is complete without a verbatim quote from the evidence gathered by the Parkes committee—in this case offered by prisoner John Driscoll.

1487 What did you say to Dr Greenup? I told him that as we were going out I looked at Mr [Patrick] M'Cormick, who treats the men more like dogs than anything else, and he said "What are you looking at?" I said I was looking at nothing. If I had said what suggested itself to my mind... I should have been insolent...

1488 Was it for that you were put in the cells—did you say anything more in his hearing: Yes; I told Dr Greenup I was looking at and admiring Mr M'Cormick (ibid., 41).

The first extension, 1861–1866 and Harold Maclean

Publicity and prosperity associated with the gold rushes made the colonies of Victoria and NSW a destination for both short and long-term immigration. Between 1851 and 1861 the population of NSW almost doubled—from 178,668 to 350,860. Among those attracted to
this antipodean El Dorado were a fair number destined to be guests of her majesty's prisons. A substantial minority had been prisoners who had been dumped in Tasmania under the probation system of the 1840s and '50s. These men had gained notoriety in the press and the epithet "Van Diemonian" was to remain a term of opprobrium on the mainland to the end of the century (Kerr, Out of sight..., 70).

As a result both Victoria and NSW were forced to expand their penal facilities between 1858 and 1865. In October 1859 Brenan sought an extension of Parramatta Gaol by "enclosing a portion of the land... on the town side... equal in size to the land on which the present Building stands" (A/NSW, 2/618A, Brenan to PUS, 24.10.1859). The proposal was approved in November.

The five years from 1861-1866 were a period of turmoil at Parramatta Gaol. Decisions on proposed works were affected by six changes of gaoler (Allen, Green, Price, Allen, Bindon, Black and Hussey) and three changes of sheriff (Brenan, Uhr, Douglas and Maclean). Fortunately one officer remained constant throughout the period: Coles, the first clerk of works for the colonial architect. It was he who, in August 1863, as the perimeter wall of the extension neared completion, prepared a proposed schedule and plan for future work at the gaol and it was he who moderated the various contradictory requests from the penal administration.

Coles' program involved substantial work in both the original and new areas of the gaol as well as the demolition of that part of the perimeter wall which separated them. Most of the work was carried out by hard labour prisoners supplemented by skilled tradesmen on contract and supervised by overseers engaged for the purpose. The stone was initially quarried by a gang of prisoners working out of the gaol but from 1863 its procurement was let to tender. As might be expected from a workforce composed primarily of prisoners the annual expenditure was fairly consistent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Additions and Alterations</th>
<th>Hard labour expenses (including gratuities and indulgences)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>£374. 6. 1*</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>£1066. 7. 6*</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>£1315.15. 2*</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>£1536. 7.11*</td>
<td>Not known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>£875. 8. 1'</td>
<td>£1584.18.3'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>£1300.17. 1'</td>
<td>£1508. 2.9'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>£1318. 2. 4'</td>
<td>£789.17.9'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>£220. 4. 8'</td>
<td>£82. 5.4'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Colonial architect's office, return of expenses in enlarging and improving Parramatta Gaol, 1858–1865, NSW, LA, 1866, Vol.1, 831.

The most useful summary of the work intended and underway was set out in a schedule of estimates Coles prepared in November 1864 and subsequently presented by the newly appointed colonial architect, James Barnet, in April 1865. An adaptation of the schedule follows. The estimate covers only the cost of materials and hired tradesmen.
With the exception of the new cell range, the work was executed over the next few years. None of the many plans prepared in the office of the colonial architect have survived but the work, as far as it can be ascertained, is plotted on fig. 19.

Apart from drawing attention to the problems of penal administration and fabric in NSW, the 1861 Parkes committee had stressed the need
for an administrator of character and ability to supervise the system of
the colony (SC, Prisons, 1861, 7). After two short term appointments, the
government, in August 1864, appointed Harold Maclean—at the time
commissioner in charge of the Western Gold District at Bathurst.
Maclean was to evolve a consistent and moderate philosophy based on
the “best” contemporary English and Irish practices and he brought a
quarter of a century of conscientious and stable administration to the
prisons of NSW. Initially appointed sheriff on £650 a year, he was
redesignated comptroller general of prisons in 1874 on £800 (Blue Books).

In March 1865, Maclean proposed a system of control and classification
in which an initial period was served in solitary confinement and this
was followed by a regulated progression through a series of classes or
stages (see Kerr, Out of sight..., 101–104 for an account of the system). The prison
fabrics immediately affected were Berrima and Parramatta (A/NSW, 2/886,
Maclean, Report on classification.) Berrima was adapted to provide initial soli-
tary treatment (A division) as well as segregation for “desperate and
violent” characters and Maclean proposed that Parramatta should hold
prisoners in their second stage (B division). The existing 60 solitary
ground floor cells were to be used for those A division prisoners which
could not be accommodated at Berrima and for the “first, or lowest,
class of B division”. All that was needed at Parramatta to meet Maclean’s
requirements was a sixteen unit radial exercise yard on the Pentonville
model and the extension of an existing wing (fig.20) to provide six dark
or punishment cells for the recalcitrant.

The radial exercise yard remained unbuild, instead a number of irregu-
larly shaped yards were fitted into the space intended for and beside
the proposed three storey wing (fig.19). As supervision proved diffi-
cult, an elevated catwalk was subsequently built above the east-west
wall to permit the inspection of all adjacent yards by a single warder.

The enlargement of the gaol to the south-east made it inevitable that
3 wing would be extended to accommodate the 22 extra cells including
the six dark cells. The latter were fitted into a separate compartment on
the ground floor and so arranged with central and perimeter passages
that no two cell doors faced one another (fig.20). The extended upper
floors contained conventional single cells. The addition was probably
 commenced late in 1865 (A/NSW 2/886, CA to USPW, 27.4.1865).

Maclean had come to the colony as a nine year old and was immedi-
ately enrolled at the Kings School where he met George Uhr as well as
the youngest sons of Francis Oakes and the eldest of Thomas Duke
Allen. Unlike many of his predecessors in penal administration, he
regarded himself as a New South Wales native rather than an
Englishman on sojourn in the colony. He was down to earth and
prepared to listen to all—whether United Kingdom penologists, local
staff or prisoners and to select what was appropriate for local con-
ditions. Two incidents illustrate how strongly his attitude contrasted to
many of his establishment contemporaries.

A civil engineer, Henry Anderson, was doing time at Darlinghurst in
1862 when the disposal of latrine waste and outbreaks of typhoid were
a real if officially underestimated problem. Anderson provided the
gaoler with professional written proposals for rectification. The gaoler
passed them to the sheriff, Uhr, who passed them to the colonial secretary, "Slippery Charlie" Cowper. Cowper, in a characteristic response, merely noted:

I would remark that it seems hardly a proper course for the sheriff to forward me communications from prisoners upon such subjects (Kerr, Designing a colonial gaol, 45).

Maclean's subsequent handling of the proposal of another prisoner emphasises the difference. In September 1866 the Parramatta gaoler "Henry" Hussey wrote to Maclean forwarding a prisoner's design for improvements to the ventilation of the yards and circle (fig.21).

Wings 1, 2 and 3 in this Gaol are connected in the front by a low stone wall as in Plan No.1 herewith forwarded.

I have the honour to recommend that it should be pulled down and in lieu thereof an iron fence be erected as in Plan No.2, herewith forwarded. This plan if carried out will enable the Warder to see better into the yards, would give better ventilation, more light and better defence (ibid.).

The job was approved by Maclean and carried out by the Public Works Department without more ado. The open iron work designed by the unknown prisoner remain in place today.

The later extensions, 1870s–1890s

Little documentary evidence has survived of the gaol during the 1870s. Rosamond and Florence Hill visited the gaol in November 1873 during John Garda "Henry" Hussey's 21-year stint as gaoler. They found 169 male prisoners, mostly undergoing the second stage of penal servitude (B division). They reported the building to be in a state of "exquisite cleanliness"—probably as a result of an earlier severe outbreak of typhoid. The facilities included excellent baths which were intended to be used once a week although this objective was defeated by the inadequate water supply. The Hills had reservations about staff attitudes:

The bearing of the officers towards the prisoners reminded us unpleasantly here, as it had done to some extent at Darlinghurst, of their manner in some gaols at home [England], suggesting painful comparison with what we had observed in South Australia (R. & F. Hill, What we saw in Australia, 308–310).

Three further extensions of the gaol perimeter wall were carried out during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The first extended the gaol to its present Dunlop Street alignment (fig.22). The need was
created by the increasing prison population and Maclean's objective of providing a separate cell at night for each prisoner. Successive governments were, however, reluctant to provide the funds and it was not until the early 1880s that the first of these wall extensions was completed (AR, Prisons, 1881 & 1882).

Within the new enclosure three cell wings were slowly built, largely with prison labour. Dates on the lintels of the first two indicate when the masonry was complete:

1883 (briefly known as 4 wing) 5 wing in this text; 1887 (briefly known as 5 wing) 4 wing in this text.

The wings were roofed and fitted out approximately a year later. The third, 6 wing, was not completed until 1899.

Near the "southern" end of 5 wing a large masonry tank was set in the ground (T. & C.J., 1888 cutting). It gathered rainwater from the adjacent roofs and was intended to be potable. It proved to be an ideal medium for cooling heated inmate bodies and provoking the staff. During 1886 and 1887 Patrick Finn, Michael Doran, Stephen Gardiner, Con Cavanagh and John Wilson all received 25 lashes for jumping into the tank and swimming about in it during working hours (Register of corporal punishment, 1880-1905).

The standard cell size in 5 and 4 wings was 10' x 8' although 4 wing had pairs of enlarged 13½' x 10' cells on each level at the northern end. The 10' x 8' cells were intended for single occupation but were large enough to accommodate three men if necessary. Official abhorrence of homosexual activity always prevented the placement of two men in a cell. The new wings differed from 1, 2 and 3 wings in that entry was gained mid wing and the stairway occupied the cell space immediately opposite—thus leaving the central space unencumbered (fig.66). The fall of the ground to the west also meant that 5 wing was mounted on an arcaded and vaulted basement for most of its length. Six of the basement bays were adapted by the gaoler as a bath house and others for storage (T. & C.J., cutting, 1888).

The bedding in the cells consisted of two blankets and a rug on a "thick velvet pile cocoa fibre coir mat... one end of the mat doubled under for a little distance making a sufficiently comfortable pillow". The mats were woven by NSW prisoners, a mat weaving industry having been established by the comptroller general from coir purchased in England for the Prisons Department (ibid.).

Owing to the overcrowded state of the observation ward at Darlinghurst Gaol, part of 5 wing was set apart under section 7 of the Lunacy Act for the detention of prisoners who are "supposed to be insane, or to be unfit, owing to mental imbecility, for penal discipline (AR, Prisons, 1890). To these "wards" at Parramatta and Darlinghurst, prisoners suspected of real, or feigned, insanity were sent from all over the state for careful observation (ibid, 1895). Although the "wards" received "regular" inspection by the inspector general of the insane, Frederick Norton Manning, staffing provisions remained inadequate and night care was effected by
locking each "lunatic" into his cell at night with two "sane" prisoners. Both parties found it objectionable and the practice was officially (but probably not actually) abandoned in 1898 (ibid., 1898).

Contemporary journalists and letter writers reacted to the new prison structures of the 1880s at Goulburn, Bathurst and Parramatta with those polarised attitudes still to be seen in the press today. The scribbler for the *Town and Country Journal* who inspected Parramatta in 1888 presented an extreme if not atypical example of conservative attitudes to prison life and recidivism.

There is nothing whatever to make gaol life other than agreeable to the great mass of the criminally inclined. The proof of this is to be found in the fact that once a member of the criminal class has tasted the bitterness of life in prison, after a short spell of liberty he begins to long for another taste of the delicious dolce far niente of prison discipline and returns to it with the same uncontrollable instinct that drives birds of passage to a milder climate at the approach of winter weather (ibid).

Readers who detect a tongue in cheek element in the comments may be disabused by examining the tone of the entire article.

Hussey died in the gaol at 2030 on 14 August 1886 (circumstances unknown) after twenty years continuous service as gaoler at Parramatta (A/NSW, 5/1772, Officers' Register, 19-20). He was the last of the old style gaolers. His successor, Thomas James Barnett, was appointed in January the following year with the new title of governor. An ambitious and competent Penrith boy, he joined the service at 19 in 1868, became storekeeper and schoolmaster at Parramatta Gaol in 1874 and in 1878 clerk at Darlinghurst. In 1880 he applied for the post of Chief Clerk and Deputy Comptroller of Prisons, not surprisingly without success (ML, Parkes correspondence, vol.5, 406-7).

Barnett had romantic horticultural and gardenesque impulses and proceeded to embellish the gaol after the fashion of the time. In 1888 the *Town and Country Journal* reported:

between the three wings... and the Governor's House... and the deputy gaoler's quarters, there is a considerable open space where Mr Barnett has erected a handsome conservatory in which is a collection of choice ferns, and a considerable variety of orchidaceous plants collected from the neighbourhood of Parramatta. Close to the conservatory is a piece of waste, rocky, ground, which, under the instruction of Mr Barnett is being converted into a handsome rockery, the skill of a professional landscape gardener, who is undergoing sentence, being put into requisition for that purpose. Here and there in this open space are handsome rustic tables made by prison labour. Those we saw were circular, or rather like a star with eight rays, the sides of the top and tripod supports being covered with the rough bark of the eucalyptus known as ironbark. The bark used is stripped from the firewood sent to the gaol. These tables, filled with growing flowers, are exceedingly handsome, and we believe the authorities can supply them to the public to order at a very reasonable figure. (T. & C.J. cutting, 1888.)

The rockery when completed included a fountain with fish, also an aviary and bush house. A plan and photographs made at about the
time of Barnett's transfer to Biloela in 1898 show the physical extent of his landscaping in the precincts of the original gaol and first extension (figs 23, 54 & 64).

In 1890 the perimeter wall was again extended to enclose a further space to the south-west (fig. 22), initially to provide a large labour yard where prisoners could cut stone for a new wing (AR, Prisons, 1890). The stone cutters worked from a large open shelter in the centre of the yard but by 1896 a new two-storey workshop had been constructed of stone in the north-west corner (ibid., 1895). The stone cutters worked behind the open arcading at ground level and the carpenters and a paint shop occupied the upper floor. In 1995 it is an educational facility.

The new wing (No. 6, fig. 23) built from this yard, took almost a decade to complete. The iron stairs and galleries were installed in 1899. The masonry work was protracted because of the erratic supply of useful hard labour prisoners and even more erratic funds for the purchase of materials due to the 1890s depression. Unlike 4 and 5, the wing was similar in plan to the recent developments at Goulburn and Bathurst with iron staircases in the central space and a generous 13' x 7' cell size. The three floors were mounted on a full length arcaded basement. This meant that, despite the fall of ground, the mid-range entry

23. Parramatta Gaol plan, signed George Oakeshott, chief draftsman, and George McRae, for the government architect; it was dated 3.1.1899 but prepared somewhat earlier. The plan was photo-lithographed by the government printer and this copy was inscribed "Governor's Office Copy". Later ink additions to the plan included the "Radiating Exercise Yards" and the demolition of the mess sheds and yards against 5 wing; also inserted were the proposed power house, smoke stack, wash house and drying ground in the south-western extension. Supplied by NSW Public Works.
doors of 4, 5 and 6 wings were on the one level and debouched onto an enclosed cut and fill platform.

For this platform the government architect in June 1899 designed a 32 unit radial "exercise yard" (fig. 24). The concept of continuous unseen inspection from a central point was already a century old. Jeremy Bentham's late eighteenth and early nineteenth century propaganda for the panopticon design of his brother Samuel finally found developed expression in the radial exercise yards of the Pentonville model prison, London, built in the early 1840s and it inspired a number of colonial examples from the 1850s on. The Parramatta "circle" or "bull ring", as it was variously known, was the largest and, on its completion in 1901, almost the last example built in Australia.

Prisoners' entry and departure was via ground level passages from the surrounding wings and, in the early days of use, was so ordered that they did not see one another's faces. The central tower was occupied by a warder who kept the prisoners under surveillance. Four upper level radial galleries or bridges extended the warder's view to the associated corner yards outside the circle. The bridge to the north was extended to the upper floor of the workshop range to facilitate the warder's escape in an emergency.

Although inspired by the panopticon principle, the circle as constructed differed from its model in that the prisoners could see the warder in his tower and were aware when they were being inspected. Also the use envisaged by the comptroller general was at variance with the usual intentions for such structures. Neitenstein's statement that they were "preventive yards" constructed for the reception of "men of particularly ungovernable and vicious temperaments where they can be temporarily detained until their mania had left them" (AR, Prisons, 1900) set the tone for the future use of the place. The circle became a highly significant fabric in the oral history of Parramatta Gaol and because of the occasional uses to which it was put, it achieved an almost totemic status—all of which helped ensure its demolition in 1985 (Kerr, Out of sight..., 119).

**Accommodation for the insane, 1880s–1890s**

The female division of the Parramatta Hospital for the Insane was completed in 1883 immediately west of the gaol complex. It is relevant to this story because the site is now owned by the Department of Corrective Services. When Frederick Norton Manning was appointed inspector general of the insane in 1874 he had inherited a "lunatic asylum" at Parramatta on which a considerable amount of money had been expended on buildings he considered entirely unsuitable (Manning, Report on Parramatta Asylum, 29.11.1878). Part of his solution was to construct an entirely new female division relatively cheaply in timber. Because of the potential fire hazard he kept it to a single storey and based it on the "telegraph pole" plan then popular in the United States.
In this system congregate facilities (day and dining rooms) were in the trunk flanked by communication verandahs, and ward and brick cellular accommodation was in the arms. The supervising matron was at one end of the trunk and work places (laundry, sewing room, etc.) at the other (fig.25). It was a developed example of its type, rare in Australia, and its subsequent landscaping and planting gave it a park-like setting by the early twentieth century. The female division, but not its associated plantings (fig.78), was removed in 1971–72 and the site remains undeveloped.

The final nineteenth century walled extension of Parramatta Gaol took place to the north-east of the female division and extended the complex to the bank of the Parramatta River. It necessitated both a resumption in 1887 of the previously subdivided section 74 fronting Clifford (now O'Connell) Street and an exchange of land in 1889 with the hospital to the west. The joint boundary of hospital and gaol had followed the old mill race (fig.26) which cut diagonally across the intended extension. The gaol gained the required triangular piece to the north-east and ceded a similar piece to the south-west (fig.25).
In 1890 the Prison Department proposed to erect an establishment for lunatic criminals on the site: that is, for persons who became insane after being committed to gaol. Such people had to be kept separate from those who "were insane first and only criminal by reason of acts committed during their insanity" (AR, Prisons, 1890). The latter were appropriate inmates of the criminal section of the adjacent hospital for the insane. It was a distinction important in law and obscure in practice. The proposed establishment would have removed or at least substantially reduced the need to use part of 5 wing Parramatta and Darlinghurst as observation wards.

Probably because of the 1890s depression the project was aborted but the enclosing wall was finally completed in 1898 (ibid., 1898) by John Howie and Sons (Argus, 4.7.1922). The enclosure remained in use as an intensively cultivated vegetable garden (known as "the farm") until developed for a laundry service in the 1970s. It is now no longer department property. In 1899 the newly appointed governor, Francis Edward Bloxham, noted on a plan of the prison:

Gaol vegetable garden, trenched, roads, drains, etc. made.
All available land laid out to best advantage. All night soil utilized as manure. Total weight of vegetables this year 11 tons... Two consignments sent to Darlinghurst for use this month (Annotation of original of fig.25, signed F.E.B.).

It was a nice irony that while the prisoners worked in the open among the potatoes and cabbages their guard was locked in an elevated iron cage ("sentry tower") as a security measure. He could, if necessary, summons help with a rifle shot.

Neitenstein’s system

In June 1896 William Frederick Neitenstein was appointed comptroller general of prisons. He was to hold the job for thirteen years but in his first five years, with the assistance of his deputy, Samuel McCauley, he made a considerable impact on NSW prison discipline and systems. An account is published in Kerr, Goulburn Correctional Centre, pages 9 to 16.

Neitenstein’s emphasis was on the reform of the prison system to make it more efficient and economical, and the adaptation and refinement of the approach to prisoner treatment introduced by Maclean. Most of the latter changes were made possible by Neitenstein’s completion of Maclean’s building program in 1899. In that year Neitenstein claimed that, except at Biloela and in hospitals which had dormitory accommodation, a separate cell was available for every prisoner in NSW (CAR, Prisons, 1899). This permitted the introduction of his “restricted association” program which was intended to improve classification, to reduce the level of contaminating intercourse between prisoners during the day and to ensure that meals were taken individually in cells.

The new program was introduced progressively, starting with Berrima in October 1897 and finishing 21 gaols later, with Parramatta in June 1899 (ibid., 1899). The introduction at Parramatta coincided with the completion of 6 wing and followed the conversion of all double cells in 1, 2 and 3 wings to single cells (ibid., 1898). To ensure that nothing
went wrong McCauley took personal control of Parramatta during the three months preceding the introduction.

Other changes within the NSW penal system included the substitution of numbers for prisoners' names (to protect identity), the abolition of the use of dark cells (such as those on the ground floor at the end of 3 wing, Parramatta), the development of vegetable production adjacent to the gaols, the extension of prison industries within the gaols, the reduction of the period of initial separate treatment and the replacement of the "circumambulatory walk" by physical drill (AR, Prisons, 1901).

The "circumambulatory walk", also known as the exercise ring, was introduced as a means of giving an hour's daily exercise to prisoners in their initial period of separate confinement. It was a cheap facility usually introduced where space for individual yards was lacking. The 1899 plan of Parramatta shows six such walks: three in the yards adjacent to 1, 2 and 3 wings, one on the present site of the recreation hall and two in the sterile zone beside 4 wing (fig.27). By the 1890s they must have been in more general use. The iron screen around which the prisoners circled prevented them coming face to face. Physical drill was initially introduced for the 7th, or larrikin, class of young prisoner but was extended by Neitenstein to other prisoners and even to a somewhat reluctant staff.

Neitenstein and McCauley (the latter an accountant by trade and nature) were zealous in the pursuit of economy. The night duty staff, for example, were reduced and the remainder were kept on the hop by the need for the successive and regular punching of mechanical detector clocks at various parts of the prison (Kerr, Goulburn, 9-11). This and other "efficient" practices were unpopular with staff but Neitenstein was an earnest operator who "demanded absolute obedience from his subordinates" (ADB 10.674) and the Parramatta staff, as elsewhere, obliged.

Compared with most other NSW institutions, Neitenstein was quick to take advantage of the development of electric lighting. It was relatively cheap and offered real benefits for the security, health and cultural improvement of the inmates. Installation took place at Parramatta in 1898 and 1899 and prisoners could read in their cells from a few minutes past four (when work ceased) to eight o'clock or eight thirty, depending on their class (AR, Prisons, 1898 & 1899). Since the British Government thought fit to provide the convicts of the first fleet with a library of 100 copies of Exhortations to Chastity, NSW gaol libraries had been dismal—mostly "improving" and "moral" texts of the "lives of great men" type. Neitenstein expanded the libraries and included the formerly disallowed Dickens, Thackeray and Walter Scott (ibid., 1901). It was an advance, but still did not reach the majority of prisoners who would have preferred saucier fare.

For library books, I give my voice,
When thus selected—here's my choice;
Our Irish Rogues and Rapparees,
The Scottish, Welsh and English thieves.

These I would read with great delight,
When from the truck I get respite.

27. The exercise rings in the sterile zone beside 4 wing, Both the central screen and the yard (left front) have been clad with corrugated iron to prevent prisoners recognising one another. Prison Dept photograph about 1898. Private collection.
On Humphrey Davy, and his science,
The boys of Spike have no reliance.

O give us some more fearful tale,
Of convict life or city jail:
This is the theme that would please me,
And bring to mind some former spree.

Or Robin Hood, and Little John;
The life of Turpin I could con;
Freney, O'Hanlon, and the like,
Would make me merry while in Spike.

Your humble servant,
M'C.

(Gibson, *Life among convicts*, I, 268.)

### O'Connell Street properties

In 1898 or '99 Neitenstein agreed to build residences outside the gaol for the governor and deputy governor. The new gaols of Goulburn and Bathurst were so arranged but the impetus for this probably came from Neitenstein's deputy, Sam McCauley. Governor Barnett had been transferred to Biloela in March 1898 and the next appointment, Francis Edward Bloxham, then the governor of Goulburn, did not take over until January 1899. As McCauley had assumed personal supervision of Parramatta from March to June 1898, prior to the introduction of the new systems, he became intimately acquainted with the existing residences within the gaol (AR, Prisons, 1898 & 1899).

In June the following year McCauley purchased in his own name lot 65 section 27 and, about the same time, part of lot 66 (fig. 28). The properties faced the gaol across Clifford (now O'Connell) Street. Three months later he sold the assembled properties to the minister for public works for "gaol purposes" (Lands Dept Ms. 2070 Sy provided by Kass). Lot 64 was acquired from Johanna Groves direct.

It is now unclear whether McCauley was availing himself of the opportunity to turn a quick profit on the transaction or simply denying the vendors knowledge of the real purchaser in order to prevent them combining to raise the price. Whatever the case, lots 65 and 66 have a gaol associated history. In 1845 both were "grants by purchase" to Thomas Duke Allen and it was on them he kept his pigs and fowls (Cert. of title, Reg. Bk, vol.1109, folio 185).

The governor's house was sited on the north-western boundary of lot 65 and the deputy's house occupied lot 64. The government architect
prepared the plans in May 1901 (NSW PW, plans PC 407/75-76) and the two storey brick villas were completed the following year (AR, Prisons, 1902). Figs 29 and 30 are 1952 tracings of the original plans. Both structures have been progressively adapted and added to over the years and in 1973 the governor’s residence was occupied by a periodic detention centre for males and the deputy’s was used as a staff mess.

The next block down Clifford (now O’Connell) Street between Barney and Board Streets was also subdivided in the early 1840s (lots 74 to 79 of section 28). The block on the Barney Street corner was held for a time by Nathaniel Payten but in 1895 the entire frontage to Clifford Street remained undeveloped. The northern part was low and crossed by a non-perennial stream which left it soggy in the wetter months.

It is unclear when the Prisons Department acquired lots 75 to 79, probably in the early twentieth century, but certainly before 1920 (Lands Dept map 31.1.1920). The property remained undeveloped until about 1960 when a tennis court and fibro club house for staff were built on the
upper part. By 1970 a substantial sandstone retaining wall had been constructed to provide a level terrace around the club and court, and part of the lower area was bitumened for car parking (fig.31).

In 1973 the court and club were replaced by nondescript brick veneer cottages for the governor and deputy governor (at that time officially redesignated superintendent and deputy superintendent). Due to the 24-hour noise from the pie factory on the northern boundary their residential use was brief (Keith Coleman). In 1976 cottages were purchased elsewhere for the two senior staff and the O'Connell Street residences were turned over to office accommodation (AR DCS, 1971-72 & 1976-77; Keith Coleman).

**Refining the facilities, 1900–1917**

With the completion of 6 wing, the circle and the governor’s and deputy governor’s residences, accommodation for staff and prisoners had been completed. The period from the end of the nineteenth century to the first world war was devoted to the improvement of auxiliary facilities—industrial, spiritual and hygienic. By the outbreak of war in 1914 the complex had reached its operational as well as an aesthetic climax as a nineteenth century gaol—aesthetic because the work continued to be carried out in the stone of the district, simply and carefully detailed, using the forms traditional at the time.

The only exception to the use of stone was the permanent boiler-house range. It provided electricity (and later steam) to the gaol and was completed in 1900 (AR, Prisons, 1900). In its service yard west of 6 wing it remained largely concealed from the formal parts of the gaol and, while unashamedly industrial in character and executed in brick, it was designed to continue the existing circular arch and roof forms of the complex. The roofs were hipped and topped by a shuttered lantern and lantern range: features which were already on the dead house and cookhouse, and were to be continued on the mat shop. It was a time when the architectural concept of good manners was still accepted by those involved.

In 1906 the building formerly used as the deputy governor’s residence was demolished and a chapel commenced on its site. Much of the original stone was redressed by the prisoners and the work was completed in 1908 (AR, Prisons, 1906 & 1908). It was designed by the government architect and made a handsome addition to the complex (fig.32) complete with open timber roof, fine joinery, organ and stained glass
windows. After 66 years delay, it permitted the abandonment of the "temporary" practice of holding services in wing corridors.

Coir mat making had been extended from Darlinghurst to Parramatta and Biloeela Gaols in 1899. Products marketed ranged from domestic runners to filter mats (AR, Prisons, 1899 & 1900). In the 1930s suburban and country cricket clubs were still using prison made coir matting to provide a more or less uniform surface on otherwise uncivilised pitches.

As pressure on exercise yards had been relieved by the construction of the circle, a new large mat shop was commenced in 1911 on the site of 5 yard and the adjacent makeshift mat shop (that is, on the site of the present recreation hall). More than half the stone came from demolished yard walls and the interior partitions of the former female hospital which was, at the time, being converted to full use as a store. Denis Gaynor D'Arcy, then Governor of Parramatta and later comptroller general reported that "the whole of the work has been carried out by prison labour". Glazed and shuttered lantern ranges and groups of slots in the side walls provide light and ventilation. It was still dark and illumination was supplemented by glazed roof panels (fig.32). The shop was occupied in January 1913 (ibid., 1911 & 1912).

A two-storey annexe to 5 wing was constructed at its western end in 1910–11 (fig.33). Its ground floor was approximately level with the basements of 5 and 6 wings and was furnished with 16 enamelled iron baths (AR, Prisons, 1910 & 1911). It replaced the basement of 5 wing as the bathhouse for the southern extension of the gaol. The floor above was used as a workroom for the 7th or larrikin class of prisoners. In later years the lower floor became the laundry and the upper floor the gaol library.

Also in 1911 the sewerage system was completed, partly with prison labour. It serviced water closets throughout the gaol but not individual cells (ibid., 1911). The cells retained the traditional night buckets which were emptied into a sewer inlet beside a tub shed in the south-west corner of the gaol.
The Parramatta water supply had proved "insufficient" and when a new fire service was installed at the gaol in 1914 it was connected to the Sydney water supply. Also in 1914 a system of steam reticulation was introduced which provided for all cooking, dyeing and lathe operating as well as hot water for prisoner baths and laundry work (ibid., 1914).

In December 1915 a pig raising industry was commenced. The permanent styes were subsequently located at the north-western end of "the farm". They were initially fed on the "refuse from the prisoners' diet" plus a supplement of pollard (ibid., 1915).

**Disestablishment and re-establishment, 1918–1927**

The first world war brought with it a temporary decline in gaol entries—a not uncommon phenomenon at times of some patriotic fervour. There were other reasons: by 1914 many persons who would formerly have been in gaol were now in the mental health system, also the army had recruited a wide cross-section of the male population and had established their own places of confinement.

McCauley was comptroller general from 1914 to 1919 and, ever on the lookout for economies, recommended that the government close Parramatta. This took effect on 15 September 1918 and the buildings were "placed at the disposal" of the inspector general of mental hospitals (AR, Prisons, 1918). The unoccupied complex suffered the fate of most institutions in such circumstances and it was stripped both officially and unofficially of much useful equipment and furniture as well as saleable materials such as lead and copper. The department of mental health demolished the sandstone perimeter walls to the west of the complex (fig.34) and removed the stone to a now unknown destination.

Thomas Howard Morrow, as a former officer of Parramatta Gaol and the local member in the NSW Legislative Assembly, had an intimate knowledge of the place both before and after acquisition by the Health Department. In July 1922 he informed the minister for health, Charles William Oakes, that

- large quantities of massive iron railings and doors, costly iron verandahs, thousands of cubic yards of dressed stone, enamel baths and wash basins, scores of brass taps, several large coppers for cooking and steam-cooking plant, some tons of lead and lead piping, up-to-date electric light plant with other valuable property have been removed or destroyed (Argus, 4.7.1922).

Unfortunately for the government of the day, by 1922 the prison population had returned to normal and the prisons department found itself "handicapped by lack of accommodation". Darlinghurst Gaol had been disestablished in 1914 and in 1922 it was being recycled as a technical college. The new comptroller general, William Urquhart, noted that 70% of the total gaol entries came from metropolitan courts and that the state penitentiary at Long Bay could only provide accommodation for 21%; moreover, 45% of the gaol entries were short sentence prisoners (less than a month) and were not worth transferring to the country;
also, trial and remand prisoners had to be accommodated. Parramatta gaol was desperately needed.

Following the initial rape of the gaol, the Department of Health had come to the conclusion that the complex was not really suitable for mental patients after all (Argus, 9.9.1922). It was therefore no hardship for Oakes to visit the place and announce:

that it would be a mistake to put this fine pile of buildings to any other use than that for which it was constructed (Argus, cutting, undated).

The minister for justice, Thomas John Ley, had already come to the same conclusion and there must have been a happy unanimity in cabinet when Urquhart was directed:

...to put on a gang of prisoners forthwith to execute the necessary repairs... [and] to reinstate all warders who still had their homes in Parramatta (Argus, cutting, undated).

Ley was one of the more infamous ministers of justice: "virulently sectarian", "unctuous in manner" and "given to pious utterances", he was alleged to have had his Labor electoral opponent, McDonald, and a critic, Goldstein, murdered. He was later convicted and sentenced to death for arranging the murder of a barman (ADB, 10.97-98).

On 14 July 1922, George Smith was installed in the gaol with a party of officers and prisoners to bring the gaol back into efficient operation (AR, Prisons, 1922). This involved a process of repair, reconstruction, re-equipment and some modification, and an "enormous amount of work and materials". The wall reconstruction alone required 100,000 bricks. The "reconditioning", as it was called, was carried out by prison labour and proved a long and tedious process as the department gave first priority to the re-establishment of industrial production and there were consequent financial constraints on the purchase of building materials. The work was more or less complete by 1927 (AR, Prisons, 1926-27).

One of the last acts of the reconditioning process at Parramatta nicely illustrates the pendulum character of penal design. In 1925-26, the comptroller general, George Steele, or his deputy and successor, William Francis Hinchy, reconverted the cells of 1, 2 and 3 wings (ibid, 1925-26). It was just one act in a continuing sequence which had modified cell accommodation in Parramatta gaols since the eighteenth century:

| 1st gaol, 1797 | single cells (see p.1); |
| 2nd gaol, 1802 | associated rooms and cells (see p.2); |
| 3rd gaol design, 1837 | SIPD type single cells (see p.11); |
| 3rd gaol, 1838 | Gipps redesign and conversion to associated cells (see p.11); |
| 3rd gaol, 1898 | Maclean/Neitenstein conversion of associated cells to single cells (see p.30); |
| 3rd gaol, 1925-26 | Steele/Hinchy reconversion to associated cells. |

It was the old, old, story: what is built today is rejected tomorrow and returned to the day after.
"The State's principal manufacturing gaol", 1928–1939

From the late 1920s, departmental publications referred to Parramatta as "the State's principal manufacturing gaol" (e.g., AR, Prisons, 1929–30). This was made practicable by Parramatta’s role throughout most of the twentieth century as the receptacle for "habitual criminals and other confirmed recidivists" (ibid., 1949–50). It meant longer sentences and an opportunity to train and extract comparatively productive work from the inmates. According to Hinchy the average numbers of prisoners engaged in the various activities during the years 1930–32 were:

- tailoring 22
- carpentry 31
- french polishing 13
- baking 12
- bootmaking 31
- tinsmithing 11
- blacksmithing 8
- brush making 15
- agriculture and piggeries 46
- road-making (e.g. in the grounds of the Parramatta Mental Hospital) 12
- gaol repairs (painting ashphalting, etc.) 8
- labours assisting with the above as required 74

In addition, the usual gaol housekeeping was carried out by sweepers and cleaners (43) and cooks (12). The average non-effective strength during the period due to sickness, etc., was 3 (ibid., 1930–32). An indication of the way in which these activities were distributed within the walled complex is shown in fig.35.

Not all divisions within Parramatta Gaol were decreed by the prisons department. In both the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, the prison and police services were always assured of a strong intake of Irish Catholics as well as supporters of the Protestant ascendancy including Orangemen intent on refighting the Battle of the Boyne. Prison literature, as well as reminiscences of officers who joined the service in the 1930s and '40s, strongly reflects the effects of sectarian discrimination (and malice) of both Protestant and Catholic when in power. It was for this reason McCauley had inserted prison regulation 4(13) in December 1915 "...officers permitting their official conduct to be influenced by sectarian feelings will be removed" (GG, 1.12.1915, 18).
The 1930s saw a continuing battle for ascendancy between Protestant and Catholic factions on the staff of Parramatta Gaol, the Presbyterians being well to the fore. By the late 1930s the enmity was partially channelled by what was in effect a territorial division—Protestants held sway to the north and Catholics in the southern extension (W.H. Morrow). The situation was an intensification of attitudes in the outside community which the second World War and its aftermath gradually reduced.

Hinchy, the first comptroller general to come of convict stock, remained in charge of the department throughout the 1930s. It was a difficult time: financial constraints imposed by the depression prevented any new building initiative at Parramatta as elsewhere. Just when the economy was improving the second world war intervened to impose strains of a different type.

The war and what came after, 1940–1969

In January 1940 Hinchy retired and was replaced by Colonel George Murphy. Murphy left in March 1941 to head the Volunteer Defence Force. The VDC had been assembled to offer a last line of resistance to the invading Sons of Nippon and was a more competent antipodean version of "Dad's Army". Murphy retained his comptroller generalship, however, and Leslie Cecil Joshua Nott ran the department as his deputy for the duration of the war.

Nott was known to his men as "The Little King" on account of his size and fancied resemblance to O. Slogo's comic character of that name then featuring in Australian newspapers. Oral tradition has it that a Parramatta warden on tower duty, on having Nott pointed out to him, uttered an incredulous "He's a Jap!" to the mixed amusement and embarrassment of his auditors (W.H. Morrow).

Despite the prison service being declared a reserved occupation (i.e. essential to the war effort), the department lost officers to the defence forces and it became seriously short staffed. The few temporary recruits obtained were inexperienced. Industries not related to the war effort flagged and the larger prisons, including Parramatta, were heavily involved in making camouflage nets and reconditioning military equipment and clothing, both for military and civilian use (AR, Prisons, 1941-42 & 42-43). It was as a result of occasional prisoner disruptions to this work in the stresses of wartime that Nott resolved to set Grafton Gaol aside "for the incarceration of known troublemakers where they could be employed under strict supervision and where any disaffection could not spread to ordinarily well conducted and industrious men" (ibid., 1942-43).

During the time he kept Murphy's seat warm for him, Nott had proved to be an efficient and respected operator. Within a fortnight of Murphy's return he (Murphy) was given an official farewell party (W.H. Morrow) and Nott was appointed comptroller general. Including the war years, Nott ran the department for fifteen years, retiring in March 1956 (AR, Prisons, 19956 & 57). In 1953 he outlined the policy changes he had introduced. Those that affected gaol facilities and programs included:
- 40 -

- the provision of a full-time dental officer and parole and after-care officers;
- the introduction of radios and weekly films;
- the overhaul and extension of educational and library services;
- the mechanisation of workshops and the introduction of modern laundry facilities;
- the replacement of hammocks by beds and the issue of sheets and pyjamas;
- the commencement of sewering individual cells.

It is one thing to introduce a policy, it is another to carry it out. At Parramatta all the above were finally implemented but the most important of the changes from the prisoners' point of view was the sewering of the cells. Work was underway in 1969 and it was completed in 1974, twenty years after the policy was adopted (AR, DCS, 1973–74). The towers had been sewered in 1965–66 (AR, Prisons, 1965–66). Slatted beds replaced the hammocks which were in use throughout the gaol. These were in turn replaced by the present tubular steel beds which are capable of being arranged as double deckers. Documentary evidence indicates that bed boards were the early facility provided in 1, 2 and 3 wings (page 15) and coir mats in 5 wing (page 26). The wings were probably converted to hammocks in the late 1890s as each cell was fitted with a single set of four hammock rings and hooks (fig.36). This would have accorded with Neitenstein's policy of one prisoner to a cell. The hammocks consisted of stout canvas doubled at the ends and fitted with four reinforced eyelets which were hooked directly on to the wall fittings. They were unlike the traditional naval (and some early gaol) hammocks which, with a single rope and spreaders, were designed to counter the roll of a ship.

The 1940s began a period of official mistreatment of nineteenth century institutional establishments throughout NSW. It was not simply a matter of shortages of funds and design skills in executing additions and alterations. There is every indication that those involved regarded the complex as old, "Dickensian" and "bad"—in contrast to modern architecture which was enlightened, progressive and "good". Hence the sooner the old fabric was swept away the better—meantime, the attitude seems to have been that it didn't much matter what was done to the place. Both Cobden Parkes and Edward Herbert Farmer as government architects approved additions designed in their office which consistently degraded the older NSW gaols and asylums. It was not what was done but how it was done that was the problem.

The forecourt fencing of 1940 and the bakery additions of 1943 at Parramatta set the tone. Prior to 1918 the axial approach to the governor's house was flanked by the elegant and sturdy pike and rail fencing usual in late nineteenth century gaols. It was removed, probably with some other gaol ironwork during the 1918–1922 interregnum. The present cumbersome and visually intrusive structure was designed (NSW PW plan PC 407/94) and erected in 1940 (fig.37).
The various nineteenth century additions to the former female hospital had resulted in a structure which remained a fitting visual component in a homogeneous precinct, despite its entirely recycled interior. During the 1940s and '50s it was progressively added to—the major additions which filled 1 yard were designed in 1943 (plan PC 407/96) and most of the façade accretions followed. A comparison of figs 38 and 39 makes obvious the impact of the work on the forecourt. Some other additions within the gaol were merely nondescript and when appropriately sited produced only a modest adverse effect. The 1943 northern extension and the 1953 southern extension of the gatehouse, as well as the one and two-storey 1952 ablution and storage range in the south-west corner of the complex, were examples.

The cumulative effect of such treatment had an insidious effect on both local staff and the tradesmen working in the gaol. It diminished their respect for (even pride in) the fabrics within which and on which they worked and led in turn to a casual attitude to local alterations and the insertion and removal of services. By 1975, when this author first examined the gaol, parts of it were in visual and physical distress.

Adventures and additions in the 1970s

Apart from making Parramatta Gaol more habitable and improving services and facilities, the 1950s and '60s had been a relatively quiet time for capital works. This changed in the 1970s with the construction of the Parramatta Linen Service, a new large auditorium and an extension of the gatehouse to accommodate visiting facilities. The 1970s also saw the opening of periodic detention centres for both males and females and the rebuilding of the roof and interior of the 1860s workshop range which had been gutted by fire in 1975.

The Parramatta Linen Service

The Parramatta Linen Service precinct is not now in the possession of the Department of Corrective Services but it remains an instructive saga in the development of the farm site. It was the conceptual baby of Walter Richard McGeechan, comptroller general from 1968 to 1978, and of W.F. (Bill) Malone, his assistant commissioner (management [i.e. industries]). McGeechan had been deputy principal of Meadowbank Technical College when he joined the department in 1963 and the following year he was appointed supervisor of industries. He was an innovator but he needed a Sam McCauley to vet and control the hares he set running.
The linen service was to process laundry on a high volume commercial basis particularly for large institutions such as hospitals. It was to be run in-house by the department using trained prison staff and inmates. Planning was sufficiently complete for sketch plans to be prepared in 1971–72 (AR, DCS). Notwithstanding the magnitude and complexity of what in the circumstances was always to be a risky venture requiring industrial management skills of a high order, no explanation, justification or budget for the project ever appeared in departmental annual reports (ARs, DCS, 1970–71 to 1975–76) before the monumental structure was opened in September 1975; nor was any explanation given when, after six years of strife, the property was finally relinquished by the department, other than the bald statement:

in the interests of overall efficiency and rationalisation within the two bodies it is proposed that the Parramatta Laundry Service should be transferred to the Health Commission of NSW (AR, DCS, 1981–82, 65).

The planning consequence for the department of corrective services is the permanent alienation of its most readily usable piece of real estate for future prison development.

The evolution of the Parramatta Linen Service exactly followed the pattern of the contemporary Katingal special security unit project at Long Bay. Katingal was also opened in 1975, received only a single line mention in that year’s annual report, and had to be closed in June 1978 after less than three years use (Kerr, Out of sight..., 132–139). Apart, of course, from the technical aspects of security, there are evident advantages in subjecting such large project proposals to public scrutiny. Not to do so often proves costly in the long run and in any case what is done quietly by government usually breeds suspicion and opposition.

Auditorium

The new “auditorium and linen workshop” was another Parramatta contemporary of the Linen Service. Drawings were prepared in 1970 in the office of the government architect, Farmer, (PC 407/213–216) and it was built on the site of the carpenters’ (former mat) shop which had been so spectacularly destroyed in a 1964 fire (AR, Prisons, 1963 & 64). It was also the intended site of the 5th radial wing of the gaol—designed in 1837 but never built. The size of the new auditorium was acceptable but its form, materials and texture were a distinct and unfriendly intrusion into a homogeneous precinct.

When the government architect’s draftsmen prepared the brick boiler house plans in 1899 they chose bricks, and articulated openings and roof lines to be reasonably complementary to the surroundings. By contrast, Farmer’s boys made a strong statement of hard bricks and powerful rectilinear horizontal and vertical forms which dominated the surroundings and demanded attention (fig.40). It would have fitted appropriately behind an early 1970s design for a new Holden sales shop. In the gaol complex it remained an obtrusive (but functional) element. The auditorium continued in use for recreational purposes but the ground floor linen workshop (i.e. tailoring shop) was converted to professional interviewing rooms (AR, DCS, 1976–77).
Workshop rebuilding and periodic detention

In 1975 the 1960s workshop range was largely devoted to the tin and boot shops. It was burned following a “disturbance” in November 1975 (PW, Fire damage report, 1975). The interiors and roof were rebuilt in 1977 and the exterior presents an almost unchanged appearance today.

About 1974 the former governor’s house facing the gaol in O’Connell Street was extended to fit it for use as a periodic detention centre for males. In April 1978 “Merinda” was opened as a similar centre for females.

Redevelopment, 1980s and 1990s

Both the Parramatta Linen Service and Katingal were the subject of recommendations in the 1978 Royal Commission report of Mr Justice Nagle. He also pointed out the need for resources for the co-ordinated long term forward planning of capital works. That planning, however, proved to be a difficult exercise in the turmoil which beset the department in the wake of the Nagle report and it was further exacerbated by management and ministerial changes which affected policy throughout the 1980s.

Minister for Corrective Services Haigh was followed by “the honeymoon is over” Jackson, Anderson (briefly), Akister and then after the return of a Liberal Government in 1988, Aston and “truth in sentencing” Yabsley. Some initiated strong policy changes. At Parramatta Gaol these resulted in the protracted consideration of development proposals and options as well as stop/go directives of which one example will suffice.

In February 1985 it was the department’s intention:

to renovate and modernise Parramatta to serve the community into the next century. The [work]... will result in an improved living environment and working conditions for both officers and prisoners (NSW PW file B/7199/2, CSC to PW, 4.2.1985).

The program had been evolved following three years of planning and consultancy advice and involved, as a first stage, the sealing of the southern extension and the demolition of all except the pre-first World War sandstone buildings. These were to be renovated for future use and, along with appropriate new development, would be occupied and attention then turned to upgrading the original precinct.

Wings 4, 5 and 6 were accordingly emptied but two events overtook the project. First, at the end of 1984, a riot at Mulawa resulted in the transfer of female prisoners to 4 wing at Parramatta. Second, and more decisive, Minister John Akister visited Parramatta in February 1985 and immediately wrote to Premier Wran that he was “appalled by what he saw”:

I consider that the [funds] earmarked for the redevelopment of Parramatta would be better spent on... [a new remand prison in the metropolitan area]. I do not believe that Parramatta Gaol can be made into an acceptable institution without the destruction of most of the existing structures, a course prevented by historical considerations. We should abandon Parramatta as soon as practicable although it will be required in the interim until other facilities become available (ibid., Akister to Wran, 28.2.1985, c.c. Brereton and Sheehan).
Public works was therefore advised by corrective services that "this Department has decided not to proceed with the redevelopment" of Parramatta Gaol and required the reoccupation of 4, 5 and 6 wings at the "earliest possible date" consistent with repairs to the necessary services to render the wings habitable again (ibid., DCS to PW, 9.7.1985 & DCS to PW, 10.5.1985).

What particularly provoked Akister was the "circle" between 4, 5 and 6 wings (fig.41) and, on learning that its proposed demolition was not proceeding, he wrote to public works Minister Breton:

the design and concept [of the "Circle"] are totally abhorrent... I would consider it a disgrace if we are forced to reoccupy the closed section of Parramatta with the "Circle" still standing... your co-operation in expediting demolition... appreciated (ibid., 29.5.1985).

After a further more exigent reminder by Akister and peremptory demand by Breton, the circle was hastily demolished in October 1985.

By the following year, however, a modest development program had been reinstated and designs prepared for new segregation yards between 4 wing and the former workshop range. Early in 1988, the Liberal Party regained office and later in the year Michael Yabsley was appointed minister for corrective services. He proceeded, as promised while in opposition, to stir the penal possum and commenced by abolishing the Corrective Services Commission on the grounds that it was "inefficient and not sufficiently responsive to Ministerial direction" (AR, DCS, 1988-89, p.1). He also expedited, with cabinet support, a major gaol building program. A substantial redevelopment of Parramatta Gaol scheduled for completion in 1991 was included. It was estimated to cost $4,274,000 (AR, DCS, 1988-89). By 1990 the program had been extended and the estimate revised to $6.1 million (ibid., 1990-91).

The new scheme was completed in 1993 and involved a pedestrian and large vehicle entry off Dunlop Street into the southern extension of the gaol (fig.42). New adjacent buildings provided reception, administration and visiting facilities, and temporary holding cells. Prisoners' stores were kept in the former laundry at the west end of 5 wing. The 1890s arcaded sandstone building was used for education and programs. The original and inadequate entry from O'Connell Street was no longer used but left intact. Visits to both prisoners and administration were thus restricted to the entry area—an arrangement which improved security and made possible a more economical deployment of staff resources.

The public works designers made a conscious effort to create buildings of form and scale appropriate to the precinct: hipped roofs, some with gambrel heads and parapeted gables as central features, continued the architectural vocabulary of the place. The brick chosen was a reasonable complement to the sandstone and the general effect is that of a functional and inoffensive infill and a improvement on the situation a decade earlier.

The expansion of prison industries under Yabsley was to be a government priority and he had acquired a maxim for the occasion:

Every gaol a factory, every prisoner a worker.  
(AR, DCS, 1988-91, p.1.)
A large steel-clad industries building and adjacent substation was constructed at the northern end of the sports field as part of the Parramatta program. It is a strictly utilitarian structure designed in August 1988. Because it is contained in a walled enclosure it is without impact on the surrounding precincts.

In 1995 the future use and development of the correctional property in the area, both within and without the walled precincts, is again being planned. The second half of this report deals with the heritage issues which arise and recommends conservation policies which are based on an understanding of the significance of the place and its individual elements.
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLACE

The general approach to assessing the nature of significance of the Parramatta Correctional Centre is adapted from that set out in the third edition of *The Conservation Plan* published by the National Trust in 1990. It relies on an understanding of the physical attributes, uses, relationships and associations of the place up to and including the present.

Statement of significance

Parramatta Correctional Centre walled complex is of exceptional significance because of:

1. its status as the oldest gaol in original use in Australia and as the most intact of the early (pre-1850) gaols of Australia;
2. the way its fabric reflects the shifts of penal philosophy and changes in use from the 1830s to the construction of Long Bay in the early twentieth century;
3. the constructional character and quality of its early buildings and in particular its stone slab floors, ashlar walls and timber roof trusses;
4. its strong, documented, century and a half associations with people who have shaped its fabric and regimes and with those who have been shaped by it—both for better and worse and whether famous or infamous;
5. its physical and spatial quality as an enclosed complex: in particular the character established by its coherent architectural form and predominant sandstone and slate materials.

As a corollary of the above, the fabric of the complex is an educational and archaeological resource: educational, as a continuing document of Australian social history; and archaeological, as a potential source of information about the post-1788 cultural past of the colony. Nevertheless, the primary significance is as a continuing and developing institution, not as an obsolete and static monument.

The complex is also significant to Parramatta as an element in a group of early institutions linked by a parkland setting along the left bank of the Parramatta River: embracing the Cumberland Hospital (originally Female Factory, 1822) and the Norma Parker Centre (originally the Roman Catholic Female Orphan School of 1841–43).

In general, the Department of Corrective Services' land and buildings to the east of O'Connell Street, as well as the former Health Department property between the walled complex and the river, are of modest significance. Individually, the elements of the walled complex and the satellite lands vary in significance and are separately assessed in the policy section.
CONSERVATION POLICY

Explanation

The purpose of the conservation policy is to provide a guide to the future development and care of the Parramatta Correctional Centre and its adjacent property in a way which takes into account practical requirements for use as well as the retention of its significance.

The policies are framed to:

• be flexible enough to facilitate the continued use of the place;
• retain or complement, in the walled complex:
  a) the concept, spatial relationships and designed fields of vision, and vistas, of the plan as evolved in the nineteenth century;
  b) the character and quality of the sandstone structures in any repair, adaptation and new construction;
• identify elements which adversely affect the place and which are in need of modification or removal;
• guide the future treatment of landscape features, plantings and structures outside the walls;
• draw attention to the need for a decision making process in future development which includes continued conservation advice.

The recommended policies are set out in italics. They are preceded by the information on which the policies are based and, where helpful, followed by examples of treatment or options which arise from the policies. Policies should only be read in conjunction with the associated text as this will make the context clear and aid interpretation.

The first section covers policies with a general application. The sequence of the policies dealing with the walled complex is arranged to correspond to a walk through the place, starting at the O'Connell Street gate and ending at the Dunlop Street gate. This permits the precincts and their buildings to be presented in a rough approximation of chronological order. The last two sections cover the O'Connell Street properties and the lands beside the Parramatta River.

Because uses and names of most buildings have changed several times over the years, most structures of high significance have been given their original or longest lasting name. Others take the name in current use. The Department of Corrective Services facility number of the 1992 asset list has been added where it is known.

Because of the extensive scope of this conservation plan, the assessments of significance of the numerous individual elements have been included as a part of the preamble to the policies for that element. This makes the information about a particular element of the place more compact and accessible. Reference to the particular elements (buildings, structures, spaces and plantings) will be found in the index.

While the statement of significance on page 46 explains why the Parramatta Correctional Centre is of exceptional significance, the individual assessments in this policy section set out the levels of significance. An understanding of these levels is an important factor to be considered in developing individual policies.
The levels used are those set out on page 13 of the third edition of *The Conservation Plan* (National Trust, 1990).

- **A** — items of exceptional significance
- **B** — items of considerable significance
- **C** — items of some significance
- **D** — items of little significance

A four-rung ladder is a convenient way of setting out the assessment in context.

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<th>Threshold for listing</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Exceptional</th>
<th>B</th>
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<td>e.g. Commonwealth Bank, cnr Pitt St &amp; Martin Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Governor's house (1902) O'Connell St, P'rmatta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goat Island powder magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goat Island powder magazine</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Commonwealth Bank, cnr Pitt St &amp; Martin Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reception &amp; admin (1993) P'rmatta Cor.Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, 4, 5 &amp; 6 wings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, early precinct</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Commonwealth Bank, cnr Pitt St &amp; Martin Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>Air raid shelter, river land west of Centre</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, early precinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, 4, 5 &amp; 6 wings</td>
<td></td>
<td>e.g. Commonwealth Bank, cnr Pitt St &amp; Martin Place</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, early precinct</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, early precinct</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, 4, 5 &amp; 6 wings</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parramatta Correctional Centre, early precinct</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third rung (some significance) contains the threshold for entry on to any national or state register of buildings of significance. All items on the rungs above would warrant inclusion.

In addition, items which are visually intrusive and damage the character and spatial quality of the place may have "Int" added to the assessment. While the preferred treatment of such items would be removal or modification, some may be necessary to the function of the place and action may be deferred until changes of use or new developments make them redundant.

The following definitions taken from the *Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance* (Burra Charter) have been used.

**Fabric** means all the physical material of the place.

**Conservation** means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance. It includes maintenance and may according to circumstance include preservation, restoration, reconstruction and adaptation and will be commonly a combination of more than one of these.

**Maintenance** means the continuous protective care of the fabric, contents and setting of a place, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction and it should be treated accordingly.

**Preservation** means maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

**Restoration** means returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

**Reconstruction** means returning a place as nearly as possible to a known earlier state and is distinguished by the introduction of materials (new or old) into the fabric. This is not to be confused with either re-creation or conjectural reconstruction which are outside the scope of this Charter.
Adaptation means modifying a place to suit proposed compatible uses.

Compatible use means a use which involves no change to the culturally significant fabric, changes which are substantially reversible, or changes which require a minimal impact.

Bases of approach

The Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter) is a useful general guide to the conservation of institutions such as the Parramatta Correctional Centre. It is in use by the NSW Heritage Council, the Australian Heritage Commission and National Trusts and provides a philosophical framework that is reasonably flexible and recognises the need for continued development. Adoption of policies 1.1 to 1.3 will help achieve consistency and continuity of approach to the treatment of the Parramatta Correctional Centre.

Policy 1.1 The future conservation and development of the place should be guided by the principles of the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance (Burra Charter) as revised in 1988.

Policy 1.2 The statement of cultural significance on page 46 and the assessments of individual items contained in more detail in the policy section should be accepted as one of the bases for future planning and work.

Policy 1.3 The policies recommended and options discussed throughout this document should be endorsed as a guide to future planning and work.

Relationship between assessed level of significance and policy

In general, the greater the level of significance of a part of the place, the more care is needed in planning its future treatment. The intention is to retain and, where appropriate, reinforce its significance—including character, quality and ability to reveal its past history.

Policy 2.1 The more significant a fabric, relationship, space or vista, the more care should be exercised in planning work which may affect it; so that the work will not reduce, and may reinforce, its significance.

Policy 2.2 Where some reduction of significance is necessary to achieve overall conservation objectives, alternatives should be tested to reveal the least damaging approach.

Use

The Parramatta Correctional Centre was designed as a gaol in the 1830s and is the oldest gaol in original use in Australia. It is also the most intact of the pre-1850 penal fabrics in the country. With the exception of the 1918-22 interregnum, it has been in continuous use as a penal establishment for 153 years. During that time it has been extended and infilled, and adjacent property both acquired and relinquished.

Its consistent history of penal use is an important contributor to its significance and a continuation of that use must remain the preferred option. Evolving (recurring!) concepts of penal accommodation and facilities will require further adaptation of existing structures as well as
new construction. As the establishment already has a long history of adaptation, together with occasional demolition and new construction, a continuation of the process is acceptable in principle. How the objectives are achieved in practice is important, however, and these policies are framed to guide that process. They are also framed in a sufficiently general way to guide the conservation of the place should other uses be combined with the existing one.

A complete conversion to other uses is possible but undesirable because it is not likely to be commercially viable and or would ultimately damage the place. The walled complex as a state funded destination for cultural tourism could be planned to do a minimum of injury to the place, but neither in the present climate nor the foreseeable future would the excess of upkeep over receipts be likely to be acceptable to government.

Experience suggests that privatisation for the same purpose or for a range of uses, whether piecemeal or in toto, would lead to a decline in maintenance and repair standards. The size of the complex and the cumulative cost of upkeep would result in the government facing a rescue operation at some time in the future. It would also put heavy pressure on any heritage authority to agree to changes of use which required drastic alterations.

During the 1980s the Departments of Corrective Services and Public Works evolved schemes for the development and adaptation of the walled complex in conjunction with the associated lands, particularly those on the river side to the west. With the exception of the nineteenth century former Health Department laundry complex, buildings in this area are ad hoc erections of small significance which conformed to no discoverable overall plan. Provided the landscape relationships with the river and the Health Department lands to the south are respected, the general concept of extension remains valid.

Two decisions in the 1980s affect the easy use of the place: the major one, the alienation of the Linen Service precinct, removed the major contiguous facility and introduced an alien peninsula into a compact plan; the minor decision, not to purchase the redundant Telecom property opposite what was to become the Dunlop Street gate, prevented the use of the site for associated facilities and convenient staff parking.

While conversion to other uses is undesirable, the compartmental nature of the walled complex can make possible a combination of corrective and tourist use. The early precinct and its structures are the most significant, the most difficult to adapt to current standards of accommodation and are potentially the most valuable for cultural tourism. At certain times the central and northern parts of this area are already opened to interested visiting groups. The policies on pages 58 to 68 are formulated to cover the further development of this use.

Policy 3.1 The Parramatta Correctional Centre property should continue to be used for correctional purposes.

Policy 3.2 The centre may continue to be adapted and developed provided the work is the result of careful long-term planning which takes into account the policies set out in this conservation plan.

Policy 3.3 Other uses may be introduced which are compatible with the use of the place as a correctional establishment and with the retention of its significance.
Need for a single responsible entity

Whatever decisions on the future of the place are made, a co-ordinated approach to future development, conservation, management and access to funds is necessary. Problems in these areas are compounded when responsibility is split between several entities.

Policy 4.1 The Parramatta Correctional Centre should remain under the overall control of a single entity.

Retention of pre-1918 fabric in the walled complex

Because of the character and quality of the pre-1918 structures, the status of the place as the oldest gaol in original use in Australia and the degree of intactness and ability to demonstrate of its early fabric (page 46), it is important that surviving pre-1918 fabric be retained.

Policy 5.1 Unless otherwise stated in these policies, fabric constructed prior to 1918 is either of exceptional or considerable significance and should be retained.

Character and quality of complex

and continuity of conservation advice

One of the contributing reasons for the exceptional significance of Parramatta Correctional Centre is “its physical and spatial quality as an enclosed complex: in particular the character established by its coherent architectural form and predominant sandstone and slate materials” (page 46). Ad hoc alterations and additions since re-establishment in 1922, and particularly from the 1940s to the 1970s, have eroded that character and quality (e.g. figs 44 & 57). Had informed conservation advice been made available, alternative approaches to meeting the functional needs of the complex could have been considered. While this conservation plan provides a guide to the future care and development of the place, it will be much more effective if interpreted and implemented with the advice of persons with relevant conservation expertise.

Policy 6.1 The character and quality established before 1918 by the form of the structures, their designed relationships and their sandstone, slate, timber and iron materials should be retained or complemented in any future work.

Policy 6.2 Continuity of relevant and experienced conservation advice should be provided to (or within) the mechanisms by which proposals for work on the place are developed.

Adaptation and removal of significant fabric

Proposed adaptation and further development of structures may require additions to, or removal of, some pre-1918 and other significant fabric. The reconfiguration of cells, alterations to access, ventilation and sight lines, and addition of facilities, are examples. Until the last decade, such work has been carried out as expedient with little regard to the consequences for the significance and character of the place. Fabric removed has been dumped or left on open ground where it may be appropriated by unauthorised persons. The spiral iron staircase from the circle, once a part of a structure of exceptional significance, is at present lying with other fabric in the field west of the complex.
Policy 7.1 Major adaptations, alterations and additions should be confined to fabric of lesser significance wherever possible.

Policy 7.2 Proposals to alter, add to or remove fabric of exceptional or considerable significance should be assessed with the help of experienced conservation advice (policy 6.2) to see if there is an appropriate alternative and, if not, to determine the way in which the work may be executed to minimise loss of significance and character.

Policy 7.3 Where fabric of exceptional or considerable significance is removed, it should first be recorded in situ and catalogued. Those items which are not capable of easy and economic replication, or which have significant associations, should be stored safely for future re-use.

Policy 7.4 Where existing pre-1918 and other fittings of exceptional or considerable significance are inadequate for proposed needs (locks, fasteners, ventilators, etc.) they may be supplemented but should not be replaced.

Removal of intrusive elements

A number of elements have been identified as intrusive in this policy section. Examples include the additions to the former female hospital (figs 39 & 57), upper verandah additions to the 1901 governor's and deputy governor's houses and the brick shed added to the original gaoler's house (fig.44).

Policy 8.1 Elements identified as intrusive in this conservation plan should be removed or modified.

Where the element is necessary to the function of the establishment, action may be deferred until new developments or change of use make the element redundant or suitable for modification. Occasionally, intrusive elements are also significant. The steel mesh suspended between the galleries of the cell wings reduces injury to persons pushed over the balustrades. The mesh is both functionally significant and intrusive as it affects the original spatial quality of the wing. While a wing is in penal use retention is necessary—but preferably with the mesh replaced by the more traditional visually open (and fire-resistant) slung net. Should a change of use remove the likelihood of such incidents, the mesh or net should be removed—except for a sample which would serve as a reminder of a passing phase.

Recording prior to demolition or major alteration

Policy 9.1 Structures should be recorded before demolition or substantial alteration (the latter, for example, would include the conversion of a cell wing to a unit management system).

Such recording would require:

- the correction of existing plans to ensure they accurately represent and detail the structure and its materials before work commences;
- the completion of an exterior and interior photographic record on durable stock (a single example of a replicated feature is sufficient);
- a brief account of the way the structure was used, supplemented where appropriate by oral history recording;
- the retention of a sample of any material in a fabric of considerable significance if there is no other surviving example in the complex.
The extent and balance of the recording should be related to the significance and level of interest of the structure. For example, the conversion of 4 wing would require careful treatment but minimal work would suffice for the removal of the recreation hall in O'Connell Street.

Policy 9.2 The director, capital works, should be responsible for the continued maintenance and accessibility of such records.

Excavation

The area occupied by the Department of Corrective Services has a history of European activity dating back to the late eighteenth century. There is no documented evidence of prior Aboriginal occupation. Despite disturbance, it is still possible that the river land contiguous to the walled complex contains evidence of human activity prior to European settlement.

Policy 10.1 Work involving excavation or investigation of subsurface objects should be planned and executed in accordance with the advice of the Heritage Council of NSW.

Maintenance, repair and remedial work

Like other penal establishments, Parramatta has suffered from periods of inadequate maintenance and repair. Budget cuts have been due to economic depression, war, diversion of expenditure to other works, occasional ineffective ministers and planning blight when the future of the place was in doubt. All have had their effect. In 1992 the Department of Corrective Services' Building Inventory and Condition Survey/Asset Management Plan estimated a "maintenance backlog" of work to the value of $9,736,400—of which $2,973,555 was regarded as "essential". The major items in descending order of cost were as set out below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Maintenance backlog</th>
<th>Essential maintenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 wing</td>
<td>$1,812,000</td>
<td>$543,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 wing</td>
<td>$1,508,000</td>
<td>$452,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 wing</td>
<td>$1,056,000</td>
<td>$316,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 wing</td>
<td>$926,000</td>
<td>$277,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaoler's house</td>
<td>$754,400</td>
<td>$220,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 wing</td>
<td>$702,400</td>
<td>$210,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 wing</td>
<td>$620,400</td>
<td>$186,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>external walls</td>
<td>$456,800</td>
<td>$137,040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gate house</td>
<td>$366,400</td>
<td>$109,920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the long term the alternation of neglect and remedial activity is the most expensive way of caring for such buildings. It is only the sturdy nature of their initial construction that has enabled the structures to withstand the erratic treatment they have received over the past century or so. Given alert and intelligent maintenance and some remedial work, they will continue to stand for the foreseeable future. The exclusion of water from the structures and the removal of trapped water from their feet is still the most important part of the program for the complex.

The sandstone walls of the complex are a case in point. They were built of a handsome and durable local stone and are generally in good condition. Since 1940, however, localised damage has been caused by incompetently designed additions and concrete pours, ignorant repair practices and the negligent installation and removal of services.
The northern wall of 1 wing is an example. It has suffered accelerated decay due to the treatment it has received. Adjacent additions have trapped water against its feet both above and below pavement level. The water has been drawn up the wall to the zone at which it dries, crystallising the natural salts in the stone and destroying its binding qualities. The fretting in fig.46 is the result.

An ignorant practitioner responsible for repair has then covered the disfigured zone with a hard render, thus driving the water further up the wall and repeating the cycle of damage. The general level of decay will have been further exacerbated by filling the voids between the footings of the building with poured concrete, ensuring that moisture which found its way under the building was trapped there. The concrete pour was a too hasty response to a perceived security problem after Tony Lannigan attempted to use the void (fig.47) as part of a tunnel to freedom.

Policy 11.1 The buildings should be cared for by a planned maintenance and repair program based on a complete knowledge of the buildings and their materials, regular inspection and prompt preventative maintenance and repair.

Policy 11.2 Particular attention should be paid to ensuring that water is conducted safely from building fabric and that drains or falls which conduct ground water from the feet of buildings are maintained or, where necessary, reinstated.

Policy 11.3 Additions should be removed or adapted and practices discontinued if they result in physical deterioration of adjacent fabric. The progressive raising of yard levels and the filling of sub-floor voids with concrete are examples of the latter.

Policy 11.4 Only persons qualified and experienced in treating the relevant material (stone, brick, slate, copper, etc.) should be employed and supervision should be consistent.

Supervision of minor work

The quality of repair, alteration and minor new work has always been variable at NSW penal establishments. Although budget resources are important, the most significant factor has been the presence of a local officer or leading hand with the relevant training, experience and initiative to supervise and teach—with, of course, the support of the superintendent or governor. Such a person is the department's primary instrument in the economical long term care of its building stock.

Policy 12.1 The Department of Corrective Services should ensure that persons with relevant training, experience and initiative are assigned within the service to supervise locally undertaken work. Also that they are provided with continuing training in the care of historic fabric as well as the resources (including time) for effective local supervision.

In addition to the support of the governor, direct informal liaison with Capital Works will be an important element in avoiding the muddle which sometimes beset such ventures.

Review of policies

These policies will need adjustment to meet unforeseen circumstances and to clarify intentions.

Policy 13.1 The policies should be reviewed as the need arises but not later than July 2000.
CONSERVATION POLICY: WALLED COMPLEX

Perimeter walls and the dance of the towers

With the exception of the walls demolished after 1918 and rebuilt in brick after 1922, the walls which surround and separate the compartments of the complex are executed in ashlar sandstone. All walls built as perimeter walls are of traditional design with pilaster-shaped buttresses on the outside and a smooth face to hinder climbers on the inside. Walls built as partitions between compartments (for example, between the southern, sports and Linen Service precincts) are smooth on both sides.

The early perimeter walls completed in 1837 and extended in 1863 were topped with a snug-fitting round coping into which the pilasters merged (fig.48). Coping stones on the 1880s southern extension were broader with rounded corners which oversailed the wall below (fig.48); those of the walls which enclosed "the farm" (now Linen Service) in 1898 were similar to the 1937 profile.

As the stones of the original wall completed in 1837 were cut under a piece work system which rewarded the masons with time off (or money) for productivity, each stone was roughly carved with the individual mark of the mason responsible. See, for example, the inner face of the perimeter wall north of the gate house. These masons' marks are becoming fainter due to attrition over time but they still provide evocative and potentially useful evidence of the identities of the men who built the wall.

All sandstone perimeter and precinct walling A
All brick perimeter and precinct walling B

Policy 14.1  **Walls should be maintained and repaired using traditional techniques appropriate to the sandstone and brick materials involved.**

Policy 14.2  **The characteristics of the walls of each period, including surface tooling and pointing, should be retained in any reconstruction or adaptation.**

As at Darlinghurst Gaol, the original perimeter walls had no watch towers. Instead sentry posts were established in the sterile zone to monitor any movement inside the walls (fig.18). When the first perimeter wall extension was completed in August 1863, William Coles proposed building

48. Parramatta Gaol from the corner of the Windsor Road and Dunlop Street in 1887. The 1837 walling is on the right and later extensions on the left. Private collection. Originally from a negative in the Sharkey collection no.1715.
“watch towers at each angle of the yard” (A/NSW, 2/618B, memo signed WC, 3.8.1865). The tower superstructure was octagonal in plan on a rectangular base. By June 1864 the towers had been completed with a flagged floor, ashlar walls and a corrugated iron “coolie hat” roof (ibid).

Building work on the walls and towers illustrated an endemic problem. The overseers who supervised the work were tradesmen with a split allegiance; although nominated by the colonial architect they were regarded and (mostly) paid as an officer of the gaol. As such they were expected to acquiesce to the “government stroke”, perfected by prisoners and hired tradesmen over generations, and to certain staff peccadillos. Stirrers were not welcome. They were, however, also responsible to a strong minded colonial architect’s deputy for pushing forward work with expedition. It was an awkward situation which resulted in friction and the promulgation and progressive amendment of Rules for the Guidance of Working Overseers... to superintend the Government work being carried out on H.M. Gaol at Parramatta (A/NSW 2/618A).

A major bone of contention was the colonial architect’s unilateral dismissal of unsatisfactory but amiable tradesmen employed by the gaol. In response to a complaint from the gaoler, Coles reported that Michael Murray and William Flooke were employed in setting the stone of the new gaol wall but they did not give me satisfaction in the quantity of work they did—They were however kept in employment until the wall was finished when they were dismissed...

(A/NSW, 2/618B, memo signed WC, 7.1.1864.)

Coles refused to re-employ them.

The gaoler was similarly displeased at the summary dismissal of Christopher McAuley, a stone setter, working on the watch towers. He turned up for work early in April 1864 “the worse for liquor” and the overseer of masons, William McLaren, refused to allow him to work (ibid, WC, 25.4.1864).

Two aspects of the new watch towers also displeased the gaoler. The privy used by his family was immediately under the north tower and could not be visited with “any degree of privacy” (fig.18). Instead a privy was fitted into the basement of the gaoler’s house (ibid, WC, 7.5.1864). The second alteration involved security: the entries at the bases of the towers were moved from their out-of-date locations inside the gaol to the outside and the former doorways were blocked up (ibid., WC, 25.8.1865).

The towers had a small railed platform overlooking the gaol. While it allowed the warden to stand outside, it did not permit much lateral movement. In 1870 the gaoler (Henry Hussey) began pressing for catwalks on the walls to extend the area of surveillance. The following year he had Maclean’s support for the urgent erection of a walk to enable the warden in the south tower to oversee the labour yard (A/NSW, 4/6480, memo signed HM, February 1871). It is probable that the walk was completed the same year but it would have been partly demolished during later extensions of the gaol. Over subsequent years all towers were equipped with catwalks.

The southern extension of the early 1880s resulted in two more corner towers and walls although the more westerly of the pair was demolished...
in 1896 following the enlargement of the southern extension to the west in 1890. The outline left when its masonry was cut from the perimeter wall can still be seen from the sterile zone east of the new reception block. A further pair of towers and walks were placed on the corners above the 1890s extension and yet another on the return angle beside the dead house (fig.49). All the corner towers constructed after 1865 were superimposed on a quadrantal plan substructure in contradistinction to the early rectangular form.

Tower bases were provided in the northern and western corners of the farm extension of 1898 but the towers were not completed until much later. By 1910, however, a sentry tower had been erected on the ground. It was “raised 7 feet on piers and enclosed with iron grills as a protection to the armed sentry” (AR, Prisons, 1910).

It is not clear when catwalk canopies were first introduced. They do not appear in photographs of 1898 but are present in modest form in 1940 (fig.50). During the period from 1965 to 1971 the towers were sewered and the superstructure was rebuilt in the present more commodious octagonal form (AR, Prisons, 1965-66 & DCS, 1969-71). Since then the catwalk canopies have been rebuilt in an extended form including major extensions which provide access from the western perimeter wall to the two towers located on what is now an internal wall (fig.49, @ & ®).

Most towers are manned when prisoners are out of their cell wings, that is, during daylight hours. Unusual security arrangements occasionally require round-the-clock manning: the transfer of some prisoners from Katingal on its closure in 1978 was an example.

Policy 14.3 Watch towers or equivalent features (whether manned or not) should be retained as significant elements in the evolution of security and the picturesque skyline of the complex.

Policy 14.4 Watch towers and associated facilities may continue to evolve or be rebuilt to meet the requirements of security, but forms and materials should be chosen to complement the character and quality of the sandstone context.

Sterile and buffer zones

Traditional gaol security requires a sterile zone immediately inside the perimeter wall to be kept free of features which may provide cover for prisoners. These zones make visual surveillance practicable—whether by officers in towers or TV monitors. Parramatta Gaol has been more successful than most security institutions in retaining unencumbered sterile zones. Brief periods of ad hoc additions near the wall have been followed by the rigorous clearance policies of succeeding officers. The removal of encroachments in the 1860s is an example—compare figs 18 and 19.
Policy 15.1 Irrespective of the method of surveillance, encroachments should not be permitted in the sterile zones of Parramatta Correctional Centre precincts.

A similar sterile, or buffer, zone is usually maintained outside the perimeter wall as it is necessary for warders on tower duty also to monitor activity outside, and adjacent to, the complex. Dunlop Street to the south, an access lane to the west and the space inside the Linen Service to the north fulfil this requirement on three sides. The fourth, O'Connell Street, is more problematical.

In the 1920s, the gaol side of O'Connell Street was planted with a row of Camphor Laurels (fig.50). They became a pleasant and desirable element in the street but they also obscured street-side activity from the watchers above. It is a modest conservation dilemma best resolved by accepting the existing situation.

Policy 15.2 The convention of an encroachment free buffer zone outside the perimeter walls should be observed.

Policy 15.3 The O'Connell Street Camphor Laurels (Cinnamomum camphora) are a mature and substantial element in the streetscape and should be retained and cared for as long as they are healthy and do not present a serious security risk to the establishment.

Policy 15.4 Care should be taken, if necessary by trenching, to see that the roots do not disrupt the perimeter wall.

Gatehouse range

The gatehouse was built at the peak of the 1840s depression and consisted of four rooms flanking the gate arch for the gatekeeper (or porter) and resident turnkeys. The plans (fig.51) were drawn up and built by James Houison under the supervision of the colonial architect. The sandstone walls terminated in parapets which concealed a slated hip roof. During construction, twelve vertical slots (embrasures) were inserted in the façade. These provided both useful cross-ventilation and firing stations in the event of an external insurrection. The wedge shape of the openings confirms that the latter use was intended. Although recycled many times over the years, the interiors retain their original stone fireplaces and cantilever stone stairs as well as some early joinery.

The structure was extended to the north (PC 407/95 of 16.3.1943) and to the south (PC 407/104 of 14.9.1953). The former provided two-level storage space and the latter WC and locker facilities for both males and females. The
extensions were to be surfaced with "cement render to match stonework". It was the government architect's standard response in the 1940s and '50s to infill work in a sandstone precinct and was to disfigure government institutions throughout the State.

Finally in December 1974 an extension of the gatehouse range south towards the chapel was completed (AR, DCS, 1973-74). Stylistically it was a mini version of the contemporary brick recreation hall (fig.40). The two levels are separate: the upper, originally for non contact visits, is accessible only from the gatehouse and the lower, a workshop, is entered from the forecourt. Since the creation of the Dunlop Street entry the gatehouse range is virtually unused.

Hand-dressed ashlar stonework of original gatehouse, including:
- parapeted walls, archways, doorways, window and embrasure openings; stairways; fireplaces and chimney stacks A
- Presumed original roof structure (not seen) B
- Slate roof cladding B
- Inner and outer metal grille gates and arch infill above B
- Surviving bluestone paving C
- Sheet metal cladding to outer gate D
- Rendered additions to north and south of about 1943 and 1953 D
- Brick addition to south of 1970s D
- Interiors of the additions D
- Cladding of interior of original gatehouse Int

Policy 16.1 The fabric of the gatehouse assessed as being of considerable significance (B) or above (A) should be retained and conserved.

Policy 16.2 The four internal spaces and the space under the archway of the original building should remain undivided.

Policy 16.3 The later extensions may be retained as long as they are useful and the interiors may be recycled to accommodate uses which would be incompatible in the original structure and which may help to make the precinct viable.

Retaining the concept

No Australian gaol better illustrates the primacy of temporal power and authority in its plan and fabric than Parramatta does. Symbolically the design was perfect, the fact that its practical role was somewhat defective was not a problem for the early colonial administrators.

As a cultural monument of our colonial past whose exceptional significance resides (at least in part) in its continued use as a functional prison, the place presents late twentieth century administrators with a neat conservation problem—how to reconcile the extant physical expression of an outmoded nineteenth century concept with uses that are appropriate and viable in the twenty-first century?

The solution is to retain intact the outward symbols and relationships experienced by visitors who come to see the gaol. Persons who pass through the gatehouse arch (the only entry point in the original precinct) should continue to be confronted by the centre of authority and control—the gaoler's house. The house is set on the gaol axis in a broad and open forecourt comprising nearly a quarter of the space originally contained in the 250-ft square precinct.
The only architectural embellishments of the precinct are concentrated on the façade of the gaoler’s house. Although of three storeys, the façade has been given a grander scale of two storeys—the windows of the middle storey being hidden behind a fake balustrade. It was all part of a contemporary process of emphasising the might, majesty and dominion of the law.

From the gaoler’s house radiate the cell wings where the prisoners spent their nights and, between them, the yards where they spent their days. This was the prisoners’ zone, accessible from a communication crescent between the gaoler’s house and the wings, and circumscribed by the sterile zone, perimeter wall and, in front, by the forecourt or official zone. Except for reception, discharge and visits (and gardening and maintenance) the forecourt was off limits to prisoners. It presented a “reassuring” face of social order to prisoners, staff and visitors alike. It should still continue to present that face to visitors who come to see the gaol. Prisoners, staff and visitors to prisoners now use the Dunlop Street entry in the southern extension. The complex becomes, literally, a twofaced establishment.

Plan concept of original precinct

Policy 17.1  In developing plans for the future use of the original precinct, the external fabric, space and relationships of the original concept should be retained.

The approach to the treatment of interior fabric and spaces will be more complex. In principle, unreplicated elements of high significance (A&B) will be retained intact, replicated elements (of similar significance) will be retained in sample. The relevant policies are set out in the subsequent sections.

Paving

Although provision was made in the 1837 specifications for 6-inch chiselled flagging to be laid in mortar (page 10) it is unlikely that any had been put down in the yards when the gaol was opened prematurely in 1842. It is probable, however, that the heavily used crescent-shaped space between the gaoler’s house and the noses of the wings was flagged—as by 1864 it was being repaired (A/NSW, 2/618B, return of work, May 1864). An 1898 photograph shows the flags gently sloping to a shallow central dish drain and part probably survives today under the present bitumen.

In 1864 the yards between the wings were being flagged (ibid, June 1864) although the yard then used for stone cutting and carving was probably left unpaved to protect the arrises of the finished stone from accidental damage.

No 1860s documentary evidence for the surfacing of the forecourt and sterile zones is available. The areas in question declined to the west and by the mid ’60s the precinct was well provided with surface drains and sub-surface pipes. The latter conducted rainwater from roofs to underground storage tanks. Fine gravel was a likely surface.

Later in the century asphalt and tar became a common solution at NSW gaols and Parramatta was no exception. The 1898 photographs show all except the crescent, and possibly the yards between wings 1, 2 and 3 to be so treated. Stone edging protected the lawns and gardens and shallow masonry dish drains discharged the water.
In 1901 roadways which bore heavy vehicles were taken up and given a solid foundation before reasphalting (Art, Prisons, 1901). In 1913 those areas which had to withstand heavy standing and turning vehicles were given foundations of cube or hexagonal hardwood blocks (ibid., 1913). Hot mix paving remained the dominant surface for the larger areas throughout the twentieth century and can now be regarded as the traditional, appropriate (and economical) finish for such areas. Concrete pours and gaol fabricated pre-moulded slabs have been used for smaller areas.

The 1995 laying down of slabs of coloured and patterned crazy paving in the zone north of the former workshops is a quaint but tolerable aberration (see page 78). It does, however, present problems for the future neat removal and insertion of services.

Concept of sandstone flagging (and any surviving examples) in the crescent between the former gaoler’s house and 1, 2 and 3 wings and in the yards between the wings A
Concept of heavy wearing bluestone blocks (and any surviving examples) on the floor and apron of the gatehouse B
Concept of hot mix paving to forecourt, sterile zone and the large open areas of the complex C
Mixed concrete and bitumen yards between 1, 2 and 3 wings D
Patterned crazy paving north of former workshops D

Policy 18.1 Any approach to the choice of surface treatments for the various open spaces should be related to the original or longest lasting surfaces.

Policy 18.2 The early sandstone flagging and central shallow dish drain of the crescent should be reconstructed using photographic source materials and specifications as soon as an opportunity presents itself.

Policy 18.3 The yards between the cell wings should use a traditional surface treatment appropriate to the intended use—acceptable surfaces include sandstone flagging (for the yards between cell wings 1, 2 and 3), hot mix and concrete. Ornamental, highly textured or patterned treatments are inappropriate.

Policy 18.4 The sterile zone and large open spaces should continue to be surfaced by hot mix treatments which resemble asphalt.

The repeated installation and removal of underground services continues to disfigure paved surfaces.

Policy 18.5 Consideration should be given to designing an approach to the continuing removal and installation of underground services which will result in the minimum visual disruption.

(Flexible excavation may reveal information on a range of matters including earlier paving types and should be executed in accordance with policy 10.1 on excavation.)

Fences

When Parramatta Gaol was occupied in 1842, little walling and fencing had been carried out. What was done over the next decade or so was generally makeshift, expedient and tended to restrict vision. By the late 1850s, however, permanent palisade fencing was being erected (ANWW, 2/618A, work in progress, 1859). Palisade fencing consisted of an open iron pike and rail superstructure on a coped dwarf stone wall (fig.61). It was an elegant and transparent solution to the twin needs of demarcation and surveillance.
54. The forecourt at the height of its arboreal excesses under Governor Barnett about 1898. Security requirements were to result in a drastic reduction of vegetation in the new century. The palisade fencing was standard in NSW gaols at the time and gave an elegant open feel to the precinct—in contradistinction to the present cumbersome structure. The numbers inscribed on the roofs denote: (2) warden’s post, (3) workshop, (4) governor’s (former gaoler’s) house, (5) hospital, (6) visitors’ non-contact cubicles. DCS photograph.

Palisade fencing round the yards between 1, 2 and 3 wings was completed in 1859 or ’60 (fig.18), although in 1865 or ’66 it was realigned to avoid encroaching on the western sterile zone. It was also used in the forecourt (fig.54) and subsequently round the yards associated with 4 and 5 wings. In 1866 open work iron fences and gates were installed to control movement from the crescent to the yards between the cookhouse and 1, 2 and 3 wings (fig.21). A third type of iron fencing flanked the approach axis between the gatehouse and gaoler’s house (fig.54). The forecourt fencing was probably removed between 1918 and 1922. In 1940 the government architect designed and supervised the erection of the present ungainly structures flanking the approach to the gaoler’s house (fig.37).

The remaining fence type in the complex is that erected in 1993 behind the new Dunlop Street entry. Although five metres high, its expanded mesh admits sunlight and air and has a “see through” capability.

- All surviving palisade and open iron work fencing and gates B
- Modern expanded mesh fencing D
- Fencing flanking the gaoler’s house approach Int

Policy 19.1 Pre-1918 fencing and gates should be retained and conserved.

Policy 19.2 New fencing should be designed to complement the surroundings in which it is placed.

Plantings, gardens and grass plots

At different times according to fashion and the interests of the governor, the gaol complex has been embellished by horticultural activities (e.g. page 26–27). There is no objection to such work provided it conforms to traditional security requirements and does not lead to the physical deterioration of adjacent structures.

- Existing plantings, gardens and grass plots C-D

Policy 20.1 Plantings and gardens, if developed, should neither impede traditional requirements for surveillance nor diminish the spatial effect of...
the forecourt, crescent and sterile zones, and should utilise plants and layout conventions in institutional use during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Policy 20.2 Plants should be located in such a way that watering does not result in the wetting of adjacent walls or footings (see pages 53–54 and policy 11.2).

Gaoler's (later governor's) house

The gaoler's house was occupied by Allen in 1842 although still internally unfinished. The plastering was finally completed in 1866. The upper floors on the west side were amalgamated to create a tall space intended to become the chapel. It was never fitted out or used for that purpose and the entire building became Allen's administrative offices and home for his large family.

The gaoler's house was the only structure to be fitted out internally with the decorative conventions of the day. Joinery, and some plaster, survives and the early colourings are suggested by orders placed for repair work after the frequent rainwater damage of the early 1850s. Allen obtained whiting in large quantities, together with small amounts of yellow ochre and Turkey umber. Iron work appears to have been painted with lamp black. Later in the 1850s Brunswick green was added to gaol orders and in 1865 lemon chrome arrived in small quantities (A/NSW 2/618A&B). In 1854 the "front windows lighting the gaoler's apartments into which the sun shines" were fitted with green venetians: 2 pair, 7' x 5'2" and 2 pair, 5'2" x 4'9" (ibid., 2/618A).

No provision was made in the design of the gaoler's house for connections to the cell wings or for surveillance of the yards, but in the early 1860s a bridge was built to connect the stair landing of 2 wing to a schoolroom in the space originally intended for a chapel. The evidence for the bridge can still be read in the masonry. Then, in 1865, 20 cwt (one ton) of "cantilever castings" for a "balcony round the gaoler's house for overlooking the yards" were ordered (A/NSW, 2/618B & 2/886). There is no physical evidence that the balcony was ever installed and the following year the solid walls between the wing noses, which separated the crescent from the yards, were replaced by open work iron. This permitted adequate surveillance from the crescent. It is unclear when the bridge was demolished—certainly by 1922.

Probably during Barnett's governorship (1887–98) a number of improvements were made: a front porch was built; a lattice balcony was hung on the south (cool side) wall at first floor level and a door opened through a window for access; a conservatory for orchids was added below the balcony and above the area; and a booth (warder's post?) with 16-pane windows was placed in the crescent. All were carefully and elegantly detailed (fig.56) and all except the porch were removed by the 1920s. Crude textured brick lean-tos now replace the conservatory and booth on the south and west walls (fig.44).

Hand-dressed ashlar stonework and carving including all pre-1918 openings, interior partitions, stairways, fireplaces and chimney stacks A-B
Original hardwood roof structure A-B
Slate cladding to roof B
Ironwork including stair rails and weather vane B
Original and replica cedar joinery including doors, door cases, architraves and sash windows B

56. Barnett's balcony and conservatory on the south side of the gaoler's house. DCS photograph of about 1898.
**Policy 21.1** The fabric of the gaoler's house assessed as being of considerable significance (B) or above (A) should be retained and conserved.

**Policy 21.2** Fabric assessed as intrusive should be removed and the early spatial and decorative treatments recovered.

This would involve the removal of modern partitions, room linings and false ceilings, sleazy or inappropriate decorative treatments, alloy and hopper windows and existing light fittings.

**Policy 21.3** Details of pre-1918 design which can be revealed by physical intervention should be used to reconstruct those missing elements which contributed to the character of the interiors. Cornices and the treatment of surfaces are examples.

**Policy 21.4** A co-ordinated and rational system of mechanical and electrical services should be introduced both within and without the building. The rooftops in particular should be cleared of its forest of metal ventilators and antennae.

**Former female hospital**

The first stage of this once-handsome sandstone structure was built on the north flank of the gaoler's house by 1859. It was enlarged and an upper floor and verandas added during the next decade (fig.38). Since 1940 it has been denatured by ad hoc accretions to both the front (fig.39) and rear (fig.57). The latter additions filled the former female yard with a jumble of concrete slab boxes associated with the use of the place as a bakery. In the process load-bearing sandstone partitions on the ground floor have been demolished and the upper floor partially burned, abandoned and filled with a truss to help support the roof. No early building of the complex has been more barbarously treated but, despite this, it retains a potential for again contributing to the character and vitality of the precinct. Its later uses included storage, bakery and workshop.

| Hand-dressed ashlar stonework including all pre-1918 | B |
| openings and chimney stack | B |
| Roof structure (not seen—probably damaged 1860s work) | B |
| Slate cladding | B |
| Boarded ceiling of upper floor (scorched) | C |
| Truss to upper floor | Int |
| Additions to front and rear of building | Int |

**Policy 22.1** The fabric of the former female hospital assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

**Policy 22.2** The additions to the façade should be removed and the pre-1918 form of the building, including verandas, reconstructed (fig.38).

In reconstructing the front doorway, adaptations which may be appropriate to the future use of the place may be incorporated.
Policy 22.3 The interior may continue to be recycled to provide whatever uses will best supplement the less flexible spaces of the gaoler’s house and cell wings.

Policy 22.4 Consideration should be given to the reinstatement of the upper floor and the repair or reconstruction of its boarded and beaded ceiling.

Policy 22.5 The former females’ exercise yard should be cleared of existing intrusive structures (fig. 57).

Policy 22.6 Depending on the use to which the building is to be put, a flexible approach may be taken to the re-building of the rear sandstone wall and its relationship to the former females’ exercise yard.

Cell wings 1, 2 and 3 (facilities 6, 7 and 8)

The three original cell wings are a major factor in the attribution of exceptional significance to the Parramatta Correctional Centre complex. They remain “the oldest in original use in Australia” and the “most intact” of the early structures of their type (page 46). The wings (particularly 1 wing) are also exceptional in the way in which their fabrics reflect the shifts of fashion in penal accommodation (pages 11, 22–23, 30, 37 & 40).

For example, 1 wing still exhibits the evidence of its 1820s SIPD heritage. All three wings are now of the type introduced to Australia in 1838 and which were constructed more or less simultaneously at the Parramatta Female factory (demolished) and at Darlinghurst (interiors demolished and recycled). With its extension in the 1860s, 3 wing became the longest although the interior of the addition was subsequently recycled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cell wings</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Original hand dressed ashlar stonework including original openings and floor slabs (the ground floor slabs are now covered by trowelled cement)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original sandstone cantilever stairs in apses</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exterior form including apsidal noses and hip roofs</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence of 1820s, SIPD type, wing configuration including twin doors and stairs in apse and axed soffits of first floor galleries</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal spatial configuration (as recommended by the English inspectors of prisons in 1837) and in particular: * the longitudinal space between cell galleries open from ground floor to roof (fig. 60)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* apsidal stair well space in 2 and 3 wings</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original hardwood roof structure and boarding open to interior space (fig. 59)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slate cladding to roof</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironwork, including grille doors to crescent and yards, window bars and gallery railings</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cell fittings where existing: * iron hammock rings and hooks</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* iron pins on which inner grille doors were hung</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* inner grille doors—none in original locations</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* circular floor level ventilators</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* standard steel doors (2000 x 700 x 10mm)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* steel doors with observation trap (2020 x 920mm)</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masonry stair and concrete floor inserted in the nose of 1 wing after 1922</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel stairway inserted in 1 wing after 1922</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone addition to rear of 1 wing for ablutions</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal steel mesh slung between galleries (see “intrusive elements”, page 52)</td>
<td>C &amp; C &amp; C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
58. Floor plans and sections of 1 wing (top left), 2 wing (top right) and 3 wing (bottom left). Drawings prepared by J.S. Kerr in 1985 based on work by John Graham for part V of his Parramatta Gaol Study, April 1985.

Key to fabric:
- 1837-1842
- Between 1865 and 1869
- Ditto, but removed 1901
- 1898
- After 1901
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cell wings</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vertical steel mesh screens and gates</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makeshift cubicles fitted into noses of wings</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blockage of doorways to yards</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick lean-to against rear wall</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The policies are designed to accommodate a possible partial opening to visitors as well as a continuation of penal use.

Policy 23.1  *Except as qualified below, the fabric and spaces of cell wings 1, 2 and 3 assessed as being of considerable significance (B) and above (A) should be retained and conserved.*

Policy 23.2  *Alterations should only be planned on a considered and long-term basis and should not be executed to meet short-term needs.*

Policy 23.3  *The internal spatial configuration and character of 1 and 2 wings should be retained as the former presents the most complete evidence of nineteenth century cell wing development and the latter is the most intact surviving example of the system advocated by the English inspectors of prisons in 1837 (fig.60).*

Policy 23.4  *Should long-term planning for continued penal use require it, consideration may be given to the conversion of the interior of 3 wing for different forms of management, provided:*

- the cantilever stair and stair well space in the nose is retained;
- sufficient original internal space remains open from ground floor to roof structure to retain some sense of the original character of the space;
- new fabric is designed to be complementary to, but distinguishable from, pre-1918 adjacent fabric and is able to be removed with minimal damage to that fabric;
- only the minimum necessary additional exterior openings are considered. Such openings should retain the rhythms and details of existing openings;
- the work is done in accord with policies 6.1 and 6.2 (conservation advice), 7.1 to 7.4 (adaptation and removal), and 9.1 and 9.2 (prior recording).

Policy 23.5  *In refurbishing cells in 1 and 2 wings, surviving pre-1918 iron fitments should be retained, and any adaptation should not make more difficult the future presentation of sample groups of single and double cells in early and late nineteenth century fitouts.*

Policy 23.6  *Sample layers of paintwork to cell and common area fabrics in 1 and 2 wings should be retained and used as one basis for future paint schemes.*

The sandstone walls of 1, 2 and 3 wings continue to be damaged by damp. Roofing, spouting, downpipes, pavement fall levels, and interrupted surface and sub-surface drains can all be involved.

Policy 23.7  *The effectiveness of systems shedding and conducting water from the building should be reviewed and where necessary reinstated or supplemented.*

**Yards of cell wings 1, 2 and 3**

The yard spaces between 1, 2 and 3 wings are unencumbered and retain their 1860s palisade fencing and the remains of an improved version of Coles' "open to inspection" type of privy introduced in the 1860s (fig.61).
The open lean-to shelter sheds which were erected in the mid nineteenth century have been replaced by similar sheds with steel posts and corrugated roofs. The yard north of 1 wing, originally used by the females, is now largely filled with intrusive 1940s concrete structures (fig.57).

Policy 24.1 The yards between 1, 2 and 3 wings should remain substantially in their pre-1918 state including an open type WC, shelter shed and fencing.

Policy 24.2 The yard north of 1 wing should be cleared of intrusions and treated in accord with policies 22.5 and 22.6 (female hospital).

Policy 24.3 The spatial concept of the yard between 2 and 3 wing should be retained but, if required for the continued penal use of the precinct, a more flexible approach may be taken to its facilities.

Cookhouse (facility 9)

During the first dozen years of the gaol’s occupation, cookhouse facilities for prisoners and resident warders were makeshift and ephemeral. Only the gaoler had a permanent kitchen and it was situated in the basement of his house. A new prisoners’ cookhouse was completed in 1854 and extended and slated in 1860 (A/NSW, 2/618A, Forbes to CA, 8.11.1854 and work performed 1859-60). It was butted against the nose of 3 wing. Also in 1859-60 a small cookhouse was built and slated in the females’ yard (ibid., work in progress, November 1859). Both are shown on an 1861 plan (fig.18).

As the male prisoners’ new cookhouse was “small and inconvenient and... in the way of a proposed new range of cells" it was proposed to replace it by a building set back on a radial alignment (ibid., 2/886, CA to USPW, 27.5.1865). The present cookhouse is the result. It was probably built shortly after 1865 (fig.62) and was extended to the south about 1896, wrapping round a tall brick chimney. The chimney was later demolished. Both parts of the elongated and windowless building were surmounted by a lantern range for the admission of light and the removal of steam and heat. It was, and still is, a fine sandstone structure which reinforces the precinct plan and character.

The yard between the cookhouse and 3 wing contained a sub-surface brick-lined reservoir for the storage of rainwater (fig.18). It was probably abandoned when the 1860s stage of the cookhouse was built. Only excavation will determine its present state and contents. From the 1860s, the area east of the cookhouse was devoted to eight individual exercise yards. It is now filled by nondescriptive additions to the cookhouse.

Hand dressed ashlar stonework including pre-1918 openings B
Open timber roof structure together with lantern ranges fitted with windows, shutters and barge boarding B
Wedge-shaped plan at crescent end B
Yard between cookhouse and 3 wing including curved iron fence and gate at crescent end and palisade fencing at south end B
Interior spatial character with open roof B
Interior fitout D
Post-1918 additions to west and south walls of cookhouse D
Post-1918 additions to east wall of cookhouse Int

Policy 25.1 The external form of the cookhouse should be retained and the fabric assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be conserved.

Policy 25.2 Provided the internal spatial character (including open timber roof) is retained, the interior may continue to be recycled to meet changing requirements.

Policy 25.3 The spatial concept of the yard between the cookhouse and 3 wing should be retained.

Assembly hall or auditorium (facility 11)

Apart from the 1908 chapel which was reserved for ecclesiastical activities, the gaol had never had a covered place of assembly. Following the 1964 fire which destroyed the furniture (earlier mat) shop, plans were prepared to build an assembly hall on the site with a new kitchen complex underneath (NSWPW plan PC 407/496 of 23.12.1964). By the time the project finally got underway, McGeechan had been appointed comptroller general and greater emphasis was placed on industries: the ground floor use was changed from kitchen to a linen workshop. Revised plans were prepared in 1970 (ibid., PC 407/213-6 of 27.4.1970) and the new auditorium (as it was called) was completed in 1975. About a year later the use of the ground floor as a linen or tailoring workshop was abandoned and the level was re-planned as professional interview rooms (AR, DCS, 1976-77). It is at present used for recreation.

Since construction, the auditorium has been the venue for a range of useful cultural activities which would not otherwise have been practicable within the walls of the complex. This, together with its radial alignment and acceptable bulk, make necessary some toleration of its intrusive form and texture.

Auditorium building D

Policy 26.1 The auditorium building may be retained as long as it remains a useful element in the precinct.

Policy 26.2 It may be adapted or recycled but no addition should be made to its height or footprint.

Policy 26.3 Any redevelopment of the site should result in a building designed to complement the character and concept of the original precinct.

Demountable office and its site

This temporary demountable office squatted on the site between the auditorium and the former gaoler's house about 1980. The previous occupant was a gabled non-contact visiting facility but that structure was demolished and its function transferred to the gatehouse range extension. It is now time for the interloper to squat somewhere away from the correctional centre complex.

Demountable office Int

Policy 27.1 The demountable office south of the gaoler's house should be removed.
Policy 27.2  The site should:
• be retained as an open-fenced space related to the crescent and flanking cookhouse, 3-wing and gaoler's house; or
• become the location of a new structure not exceeding two storeys in height which will relate to the crescent and the character of its flanking structures, present an appropriate façade to the forecourt and in doing so provide a feature on the left flank of the gaoler's house to balance the former female hospital and, finally, to reduce the visual impact of the auditorium on the original precinct.

Chapel (facility 12)
The chapel is a handsome sandstone and slate "Early English" Gothic structure filling the southern end of the forecourt (fig.32). Following the completion of its complex open timber roof in 1908, the interior was fitted out with stained glass, an organ, fine joinery and polychrome symbols and inscriptions on the liturgical east wall. The door surrounds were elaborate and, with their pedimented and dentilled superstructure, provided a somewhat anomalous allusion to Classical architecture.

Hand-dressed ashlar stonework including porch and all pre-1918 openings B
Original interior space including open timber roof with boarding above rafters B
Slate cladding B
Stained glass B
All original joinery and furniture B
Interior plasterwork and polychrome designs and inscriptions B
Plaque to the memory of a chaplain, Captain R. Turnbull, of the Salvation Army C

Policy 28.1  The fabric of the chapel assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

Former workshop range (facility 14) and domed tank
The two-storey sandstone range of workshops was completed in 1866. Except for the stonies in their yard, the workshops then housed all the industrial activities of the prisoners and this permitted the demolition of most of the makeshift sheds in the cell wing yards. In the 1977 rebuild following the 1975 fire, the interior was recycled for a variety of uses but the original stone walls were retained and exterior elements were reconstructed as before.

Two features are of particular interest in the south wall: the slots beside the chimneys and, farther to the west, a relieving arch. One chimney served the forge on the ground floor and the adjacent slots helped ventilate the blacksmith's shop. Martin Carney's 1994 investigation of the relieving arch confirmed the presence of a domed "beehive" tank underneath (Carney, 18).

As there is no documentary or physical evidence of a two-stage construction of the workshop range and, as no-one in their right mind would choose to build a two-storey load-bearing masonry wall over a domed silo or tank, it is probable that the masons were unaware of the location of the underground feature when they set the building out. On discovering it they simply inserted the arch to spread the load to either side. The nearby perimeter wall had already been completed (August 1865) and a new set-out and excavation for the building was neither desirable nor necessary.
The most likely explanation lies in the earlier use of the site for a stockade (fig.14). The first requirement for a comparatively durable public works stockade is a convenient water supply. During the 1830s, underground bottle-shaped grain silos and domed water tanks or wells became fashionable. In the late 1830s the stockade would have been under the control of an officer of the 28th Regiment and he would have been responsible for the siting of the tank. It is highly unlikely that the colonial architect was ever given a plan of its location and, even if he had, it would probably have vanished in the muddle into which his office fell in the late 1840s. Twenty-three years is adequate time to lose track of redundant sub-surface features and it can be reasonably assumed that its presence came as a surprise to the overseer of stone masons, William McLaren.

- Hand-dressed ashlar stonework including all pre-1918 openings and chimney stacks B
- Domed water tank B
- Original iron work of balcony, stairs and openings B
- Ogee curved form of balcony roof and form of main roof B
- Roof cladding D
- Interior reft D

Policy 29.1 The fabric assessed as being of considerable significance (B) ad the external form of the building should be retained.

Policy 29.2 When changes in use make it feasible, the mesh and razor wire which at present enclose the balcony should be removed.

Policy 29.3 The interior may continue to be reconfigured as necessary but original unpainted stone walls should remain unpainted and retain the evidence of past uses.

Dead house

This was the facility so earnestly desired by Gaoler Allen and his visiting surgeon, Greenup, in 1860. Its construction had to wait for the completion of the extension in 1863 and the following year it was built as far as possible from the accommodation areas. The dead were placed in it awaiting their removal for burial. It was also the location for occasional post-mortem examinations. Semi-speluncar in construction and with a slated pyramid roof terminating in a louvred ventilator lantern (fig.71), it was rendered as cool as possible without mechanical aids. The floor was provided with drainage so that it could be sluiced out after use. In recent years it has had a range of uses including the storage of sports gear for the adjacent "oval". It is at present empty and neglected.

- Hand-dressed ashlar sandstone including original openings B
- Original timber roof and ventilator B
- Slate cladding B
- Wet floor system, if extant B
- Clumsy treatment of hip ridges Int
- External piping on roof Int

Policy 30.1 The fabric of the dead house assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

Policy 30.2 A use should be found which does not further obliterate the evidence of its original use or, at least, does not make difficult the future revelation of that evidence and atmosphere.

Policy 30.3 Repair of the roof and lantern and recovery of the original character of the roof should not be delayed.
Muster ground

The positioning of new yards and buildings in the 1860s extension was designed to leave a substantial space in front of the workshop range. Apart from the forecourt, which was an official preserve, it was the only large common space for prisoner industrial activity in the precinct. As the century progressed it was to host a variety of uses, including a large carpenters' shed, yards for debtors at the east and stables (later store) at the west end. In the 1890s Governor Barnett removed the carpenters' shed and set two large garden beds on the east-west axis (fig.64).

When the chapel was being completed in 1907, the "square in front of the workshops" was again cleared and an "extensive parade and muster ground" created or, rather, reclaimed (AR, Prisons, 1907). The space remains valuable today as a relatively open and unoppressive element—quite unlike those spaces which are so tightly circumscribed by the somewhat forbidding if handsome three-storey masonry of cell wings 1 to 3 and 4 to 5. The muster ground's flanking architecture consists of a small brick and tile office, a neo-Gothic chapel, a "car yard" auditorium, a lantern range cookhouse and an attenuated and balconied workshop range. Its visual surroundings are therefore generally modest in bulk, varied in style and less penal in character.

At the time of writing this, the space was undergoing yet another of its cyclical transformations with the introduction of consistent if somewhat idiosyncratic paving, grass plots and brick planter boxes with palms.

Muster yard space with its open character and varied surrounding structures  
1995 landscaping and paving

Policy 31.1 The muster ground should remain an open space.

Policy 31.2 If further development is required, consideration may be given to a building on the site of the early sandstone store-backing on to the sterile zone at the western end of the ground.

Dental surgery (now night senior's office)

In the early 1970s a small single-storey brick and Marseilles tile building was erected at the east end of the muster ground (fig.66). It progressively accommodated the dentist, barber and senior assistant superintendent. It is now occupied by the night senior.

Former dental surgery building

Policy 32.1 The small senior assistant superintendent's office building sits easily in its location at the head of the muster ground and may be retained as long as it is useful.

Policy 32.2 Any future replacement should be equally modest and not obscure the church entry.
Segregation yards (facility 15)

The demolition of the circle in 1985 made necessary the construction of new yards for the segregation of prisoners who posed a threat to “the safety or prison officers, the security of the prison [or] the preservation of good order and discipline...” Earlier media scrutiny of the use of similar yards at Goulburn and Long Bay as well as ministerial changes rendered departmental policy on such yards erratic and resulted in stop/go activities (DCS file JOS-2169 & PW file B/7199/2). The yards were finally commenced following the return of the Liberal Country coalition in 1988.

The Department of Corrective Services’ stated aim was to provide an area where prisoners could be isolated both from the prison community and from each other (ibid.). Such a location was difficult to achieve within the walled complex at Parramatta. The site chosen faced the sterile zone under 2 tower and was separated from the community by a 6.5 metre wall between 4 wing and the former workshops. While the yards were under the gaze of the tower officer, the high wall interrupted the end-to-end view to the west (fig.67). The arrangement does not, however, preclude messages or injurious substances descending on the inmates. The yards themselves are of traditional design with washing and WC facilities at the back.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4 daytime segregation yards</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interruption of tower surveillance and increase in sense of confinement in formerly open east-west zone</td>
<td>Int</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Policy 33.1  The segregation yards may be retained for as long as necessary but should finally be removed to reinstate previous spatial relationships and conventional surveillance vistas.

Cell wings 4, 5 and 6 (facilities 16, 17 and 18)

These wings are dealt with in some detail in Graham’s Parramatta Gaol: a detailed study of the southern extension of the gaol, February 1984 and Kerr’s Parramatta Gaol southern extension: assessment of cultural significance and recommended heritage requirements, April 1984. Both reports are held by Public Works and the Department of Corrective Services.

Wings 5, 4 and 6 were constructed in that sequence in the 1880s and 1890s—largely by prison labour. Their configuration is still substantially unchanged today.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wing</th>
<th>Completed</th>
<th>Configuration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>73 single cells, 10' x 7'6&quot;, 3 storeys on basement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>62 single cells, 10' x 8'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 double cells, 10' x 14' } 3 storeys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>80 single cells, 13'6&quot; x 7', 3 storeys on basement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(not including special cells fitted into basement)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All three wings are of the type most commonly built in the nineteenth century (central longitudinal space flanked by tiers of cells) and all were designed to have mid-range entries, control points and adjacent masonry stairs within the cell alignments (fig.68). By the time the masonry of 6 wing was completed, that location had been abandoned in favour of an iron stair in the central space as in the new wings at Goulburn and Bathurst.
Original hand-dressed ashlar stonework including all original openings, stairs in 4 and 5 wings, basement arcades in 5 and 6 wings and the early conversion of some 6 wing arcade compartments to special cells. Exterior form of wings with angular parapeted gables and similarly detailed projecting end bays. Internal spatial configuration of tiers of cells flanking an open central space. Original hardwood roof structures open to central space in 6 wing and concealed in 4 and 5 wings (the latter not seen). Slate cladding to roof. Corrugated metal barrel vaults to central space of 4 and 5 wings.

Ironwork including:
- gallery railings, grilles to windows and, where extant, grille doors
- galleries and stairs of 6 wing (NSW PW plan PC407/57 of 11.1.1899)
- Thick cast glass louvres fixed to large end windows
- Cell fittings, where surviving, including
  - iron hammock rings and hooks
  - iron pins for inner grille doors
  - inner grille doors
  - ventilators
  - steel doors

Policy 34.1 Except as qualified below, the sandstone, timber, slate, iron and glass fabric, and internal spaces assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

Policy 34.2 Alterations should only be planned on a considered long-term basis and should not be executed to meet short-term needs.

Policy 34.3 Should long-term planning for continued penal use require it, consideration may be given to the conversion of wing interiors for different forms of management, provided:
- the work is done in accord with policies 6.1 to 6.2 (conservation advice), 7.1 to 7.4 (adaptation and removal), and 9.1 to 9.2 (prior recording);
- sufficient original internal space remains open from ground floor to vault or roof structure to retain a sense of the original character of the space;
- new fabric is designed to be complementary to, but distinguishable from, original adjacent fabric and is able to be removed with minimal damage to original fabric.

Policy 34.4 Only the minimum necessary alteration to the exterior should be considered. Where new windows are introduced they should retain the symmetrical rhythms of the wall in question and re-work the detailing from the three or four types of windows already in the fabric.

It is not practicable to set arbitrary limits to new fenestration in a policy. Appropriate solutions should be evolved in conjunction with informed conservation advice when functional requirements are known.

Policy 34.5 Whatever internal work is carried out, a sample of at least one of each type of cell in each wing should be retained with its space and surviving early fittings intact.

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The cells should be chosen from among those with the most intact early fittings and should include:

- **Single cells**: 4 wing, approx. 10' x 8'
- **5 wing**, approx. 10' x 7'
- **6 wing**, approx. 13' x 7'
- **Double cells**: 4 wing north end, 10' x 13' (observation)
- **Punishment cells**: 6 wing basement, various dimensions

(See Graham, drawings 2 to 5 for details.)

**5 wing annex, now store** (facility 19)

A two-storey sandstone and slate structure was added to the west end of 5 wing in 1910–11 (NSW PW plan PC407/69 of 31.8.1908). Like the three adjacent wings it was substantially built by the prisoners. The upper floor was connected to the ground floor of 5 wing and was used as a workroom for the "larrikin" class. The basement contained the bath house (fig.33). After many changes of use through the twentieth century the building is now used for storage associated with reception procedures.

Common materials (stone and slate) and architectural vocabulary (round arched windows with ornamental surrounds) make the building a fine and well-mannered example of infill at the junction of 5 and 6 wings (fig.69). The gambrel (hip and gablet) roof was chosen to spare as much light and air to the tall west window of 5 wing as possible. The external iron stair to the upper floor has been demolished.

| Original hand-dressed ashlar stone work including rusticated and ornamentally tooled surrounds to openings | B |
| Structure and slate cladding of gambrel roof | B |
| Original ironwork | B |
| Upper level door on west front | D |
| Recycled interior | D |

**Policy 35.1** Form and fabric assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

**Spaces enclosed by, and adjacent to, 4, 5 and 6 wings**

During the construction of wings 4 and 5 and the early stages of 6, the space flanked by those wings contained a large and busy stonemasons' shed. In 1901 it was occupied by the famous circle (fig.24). Following the demolition of the circle in 1985, various schemes for using and landscaping the space were proposed but finally it was simply given a level hot mix paving and left. The original palisade fence still encloses the open north side of the space.

When 4 wing was completed in 1888, the plot at its south end bounded by the sterile zone and 5 wing was surrounded by palisade fencing and divided diagonally by a solid wall against which shelter sheds were built (fig.23). The two yards were subsequently consolidated by the removal of the dividing wall and the larger yard remains in place today (fig.42).

On the completion of 6 wing, stone stairs were built between 5 and 6 wings to permit prisoners to take their night tubs to a small lower level "sanitary yard". The yard was removed when the annex was constructed in 1910–11 and a second arm of the stair added (fig.70). The wear of the treads of both stair arms shows where, for the next 65 years, prisoners had made their pilgrimage to the slop-out trough under 8 tower. The stairs are now little used and the adjacent walling is painted white to throw into immediate relief any unauthorised night presence.
Space enclosed by 4, 5 and 6 wings  
Palisade fence, gate and steps closing the above space to the north  
Palisade fencing, gates and steps in the yard between the ends of 4 and 5 wings  
Bifurcated sandstone stairs and iron railings descending between 5 and 6 wings

Policy 36.1 Any treatment or development of the former circle space flanked by 4, 5 and 6 wings should be designed to complement and reinforce the character of the space and its flanking sandstone structures.

Policy 36.2 Pre-1918 palisade fencing, gates and steps in the vicinity of 4, 5 and 6 wings assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

Masons’ and carpenters’ shop (now education)

When the south-west extension of the gaol was completed in the early 1890s the new area became a workyard for the construction of 6 wing. By 1896 a two-storey building had been erected in its north-east corner. The carpenters occupied the upper floor and the stonemasons had their bankers on the unpaved and open arcaded ground floor. The rough cut stone was stacked in front of the building under the sweep of a three-leg hand crane (fig.71). In form the building was similar to the 1866 workshop with a narrow upper level balcony. Access was via an iron stair of the north wall. Sandstone materials and parapeted gables made it a building in complete harmony with the character of the precinct.

Over the next century uses came and went. The ground floor was cemented and the arcading infilled and windows inserted. In the early 1990s the interior was recycled for its current educational use and an internal stair added.

Hand-dressed ashlar stonework including parapeted gables, kneelers and all original openings  
Early external ironwork including window grilles and stair  
Infill of ground floor arcades  
Interior fitout

Policy 37.1 Form and fabric assessed as being of considerable significance (B) should be retained and conserved.

Policy 37.2 In any future work the visual effect of the ground floor arcades should be emphasised by the way in which any infill is treated or by the removal of infill.

Policy 37.3 The interiors may continue to be recycled to meet changing requirements but the ground floor should be retained as a single space.

New buildings, Dunlop Street

The development of a program for the new buildings surrounding the entry off Dunlop Street was a protracted affair. Final plans were completed in 1991 under the supervision of the government architect and the work was completed in 1993. The new buildings consisted of a two-storey gatehouse, a visiting facility and holding yards for prisoners. The gatehouse contained a large vehicle lock flanked on the east by a prisoner reception and discharge facility. A detached and covered holding yard for
prisoners awaiting distribution was adjacent to the facility. On the south flank of the lock a control centre monitored all entry and exit from the complex. Visitors to prisoners passed through to the west and entered a single-storey building. The upper floor of the gatehouse held administrative offices.

The buildings are, however, largely obscured from the outside by the perimeter wall, and partially on the precinct side by the 5-metre high expanded mesh security fencing. This means that the four-storey side of 6 wing and to some extent the arcaded education building remain dominant elements in the precinct space.

Form and materials of reception and administration building, holding yards and visiting facility C 5-metre high expanded mesh fencing D Netting and barbed wire fencing D

Policy 38.1 The new buildings near the Dunlop Street gate may be adapted as needed to meet future requirements but the design approach to infill in the precinct should be retained.

Character of spaces in the walled complex
(Or a way of looking at the place)

The walled complex has evolved as a series of spatial entities. The boundaries of the entities are determined by the visual watersheds formed by surrounding buildings—like a valley surrounded by mountains. The entities correspond roughly to the precincts developed as the gaol expanded. While the character of the whole complex has a considerable degree of homogeneity, each of these entities have distinctive characteristics and it is important that these characteristic should be taken into account in the design of any new work. The spatial entities (or visual catchments) are indicated in fig. 74.

The first, and most complex, is the entity centred on the related spaces of the original precinct: the forecourt, the crescent and the squeezed links to the cell yards. Topographically, it is like a volcano crater with lateral lava ports and a central core more or less intact. The character of the surrounding, or watershed, buildings is determined by plain parapeted and hipped structures, the dominant materials are sandstone and slate, and the core feature is the pedimented and hipped gaoler’s house. The only major intrusion is the auditorium.

The second entity is the space of the “muster ground”. Its visual watershed is provided by the 1866 workshops to the south, the walls to the east and west and a variety of buildings, mostly set back, to the north (page 72). It is the least formal (and formidable) space in the complex and deserves to retain its open and relatively sunny character. Even the current (1995) “beautification” program with its fake crazy paving and planter beds is an acceptable (if optional) furnishing of the space. There has to be some room in a correctional complex for personal idiosyncrasy as a relief from the sterner aspects of stone, iron and concrete.

The third entity is the space enclosed by 4, 5 and 6 wings and the rear of the 1866 workshop range. Quadrangular in plan, and tightly circumscribed by ranges homogeneous in form, style and materials, it remains an uncompromisingly institutional space. The architectural vocabulary of the flanking wings is characterised by rectilinear plans, parapeted gables supported by kneelers, sharp arisses and ornamental surrounds to major windows. The quadrangle was probably always intended to receive a
radial exercise yard and, when the "circle" was demolished in 1985, various schemes were developed for a treatment of the space which incorporated visual allusions to its former use.

The fourth entity is the space surrounded by 6 wing, the 5 wing annexe (in part), the new Dunlop Street entry buildings, the education or programs building and the flanking wall to the north. The new buildings are executed in a brick complementary to the sandstone of the precinct and with roof forms taken from the 5 wing annexe. Unlike the space contained by 4, 5 and 6 wings in which outside use areas are demarked by open palisade fencing, the space of the fourth entity is visually dominated by the 5-metre expanded mesh security fencing and will continue to be so affected as long as the use of the area requires such treatment.

The fifth entity is the open space of the sports "oval" bounded by its brick and stone walls and with a metal clad industrial building at one end.

Complex spatial entity of original precinct  A  
Spatial entity flanked by 4, 5 and 6 wings  B  
Spatial entity of muster ground  C  
Spatial entity of new entry precinct  C  
Spatial entity of sports oval  D  

Policy 39.1 Any work affecting the first spatial entity should reinforce both the architectural character and complex spatial relationships established by the design of the original precinct.

Policy 39.2 The second entity ("muster ground") should be permitted to retain its open and relatively informal character.

Policy 39.3 Whatever development takes place within the space of the third entity, 4, 5 and 6 cell wings should remain the dominant elements and should continue to enclose and define the quadrangular space.

Policy 39.4 In the long term, any opportunity presented by security rearrangements or technological advance should be taken which will permit the further reduction of the impact of the 5-metre fences on the space of the fourth entity.

Policy 39.5 Provided surrounding walls are retained and new developments remain invisible from outside, no restriction need be placed on new work within the sports "oval" precinct.

Policy 39.6 Any new developments ordinarily visible above the surrounding walls of the "oval" precinct should remain subservient to the existing sandstone cell wings to the east and south-east and should terminate in roofs designed to complement the general character of the roofs of the complex.

Early sub-surface water storage remains

The cesspools were located outside the original western wall within the area of the present oval precinct. They were a constant source of trouble in the first twenty years and, apart from the "noxious effluvium" emitted, they overflowed in heavy rain, carrying their burden into the Parramatta water supply dam (page 18). Their precise whereabouts is unknown.

Early on, an ashlar lined well was constructed in the sterile zone at the back of 2 wing. It collected water from the surrounding water table and as that water may have been contaminated from the cesspools, it was probably a source for the occasional typhoid outbreaks. A long-serving
senior turnkey, Allan McInnes, reported that about 1858–59 the visiting magistrate stopped the cooks' practice of dumping waste hominy down the well (sc, Allen, 1863, 7). It is likely that use of the well as a source of potable water had already ceased. The top of the well has been damaged and is temporarily covered by iron plates. Its structural condition is unknown.

By the late 1850s the main source of water for the precinct was a large rectangular tank sunk east of 3 wing (fig.18). It was a receptacle for rainwater. As the gaol was extended, further brick lined tanks were built within the new yards—usually near the bottom of the slope to the west. Again, precise locations are unknown.

There is a further domed tank under the south wall of the 1866 workshop range (pages 70–71).

- Ashlar lined circular well in sterile zone behind 2 wing
- Domed tank under south wall of 1866 workshops
- Possible remains of other brick-lined water tanks
- Possible remains of cesspools
- Contents of the above receptacles

Policy 40.1 *Any disturbance or investigation of sub-surface features should be carried out in accord with policy 10.1 (excavation).*

Policy 40.2 *The well in the sterile zone should be professionally investigated to determine its structural condition and, if necessary, made safe. It should also be fitted with a secure detachable lid seated in such a way that it will take the weight of any likely traffic without threatening the walls of the well.*

**CONSERVATION POLICIES: the O'Connell Street properties**

**Governor’s (005) and deputy governor’s (007) houses, O'Connell Street**

Both residences were unoccupied at the time of inspection in March 1995. The governor's house was most recently used as a male periodic detention centre and had suffered some vandalism. The deputy governor's place had been used as an officers' mess and an appropriately detailed single-storey pavilion had been added to the rear. Both houses were completed in 1902 (figs 29 & 30) and, given their rougher than usual handling, are reasonably intact. They have, however, been disfigured by ad hoc accretions and alterations—all of which could be remedied.

The property and, later, its two residences have a long association with the gaol (pages 32–35) and the preferred option is that the houses be retained. They are typical and average (rather than remarkable) examples of their period and class and fit neatly near the top of the "some significance" (C) category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>Three-zone treatment of external walls: brick base, rough cast upper level, and shingles and shutters under gables (including two-storey additions so treated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>All rough cast chimney stacks and terracotta pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All moulded brick details to string courses and window sills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marseilles tile cladding to roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Original ground floor open verandahs and timber work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75. Structures on property in O'Connell Street opposite the gaol. JSK 1995.
Features on property in O'Connell Street opposite linen service. JSK 1995.

Original tiled floors of verandahs and porch
All iron ventilator plates with crown motif
Original spaces of principal rooms, stair hall, drawing room, dining room and major bedrooms—the latter identified by having fireplaces (see NSW PW plans PC407/75&76)
Marble fireplaces to drawing room and dining room
Timber fireplaces to bedrooms
Timber fireplaces to drawing room and dining room
All original joinery including doors, door cases, architraves, skirtings, 6- and 9-pane sash windows and window cases, stairs, fireplaces and picture rails
All original plasterwork including cornice, frieze and staff and string mouldings
Single storey brick and tile addition to the rear of deputy governor's house
Addition of enclosed upper level verandahs
All other attached additions including those to the rear of the governor's house
Cement tile cladding to roof of governor's house

Policy 41.1 Unless the redevelopment of the property and its houses becomes an important element in the future planning of the Parramatta Correctional Centre, the houses should be retained and the schedule above used as a basis for conservation.

Policy 41.2 Infill development between and behind the houses is acceptable provided the houses retain pre-eminent positions in the O'Connell Street landscape and continue to be set off by appropriate plantings.

Policy 41.3 Should the redevelopment of the houses become an important in the long term development of the correctional centre, consideration may be given to the removal of one or both houses provided policies 6.2 (conservation advice), and 9.1 and 9.2 (recording prior to demolition) are observed.

Policy 41.4 The houses should not be removed except as the physical commencement of an approved and funded redevelopment scheme for the whole property.

There are a number of other structures on the property: toilet block (002); garage (003); tennis court (004); recreation hall (006); fenced car park (008); and store shed (009). None are of sufficient significance to require retention in any scheme of development.

Northern property, O'Connell Street

The present buildings on the property occupying most of the block between Board and Barney Streets date from the 1970s. They consist of two ordinary brick veneer and tile cottages and detached garages. The northern cottage is now joined by a demountable office and a detached WC, and is used by the "Life after Prison" group. In March 1995 the southern cottage was empty. All of the buildings on the property are of little significance.

The northernmost section beside Board Street is fenced and is used by an adjacent firm for car parking. Following the removal of the correctional centre gate from O'Connell Street to Dunlop Street, the correctional car parking facility in the central section was abandoned by staff as being
too far away. The northern part of the property is, however, convenient to the gate of the Health Department's linen service and as its employees currently park along the river bank and as policy 44.1 recommends restoration of the river bank, the future use of the car park by the Health Department is an appropriate subject for negotiation.

Two brick veneer cottages and detached garages D
Demountable office and detached WC D
Car parking areas on low-lying land D
Retaining wall dividing upper and lower areas of property D

As a result of the above assessment, no constraints other than normal council requirements are necessary but a policy on partial use is appropriate.

Policy 42.1 As both Corrective Services and the Health Department would wish to help repair past damage to the river bank, both departments should consider ways in which parking could be relocated from the river bank to the northern section of the property.

CONSERVATION POLICY: the river lands

Landscape and plantings

Identification and assessment of plantings in this section have been carried out by Chris Pratten, B.Sc., M.A., following an inspection with the author in March 1995. Pratten obtained confirmation of doubtful items from officers of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney.

The Parramatta River from Lennox Bridge (1836–39) to the Windsor Road Bridge is flanked by a chain of institutional and private buildings of major significance to the European settlement of Australia. They include: the former King's School (1836); Government House (commenced about 1799); the former Roman Catholic Orphan School (1841–43) now the Norma Parker Centre; the former Female Factory (1819–43) now the Norma Parker Centre; the former Female Factory (1819–22), subsequently the Lunatic Asylum, Hospital for the Insane, Mental Hospital, Psychiatric Centre and now Cumberland Hospital; and, finally, the Parramatta Gaol (1836–42) now the Correctional Centre. With the exception of the rendered brick Government House, all are constructed of local sandstone.

What sets these establishments apart from groups with similar pretensions is the link provided by the river and its flanking public or publicly owned park lands. Despite some encroachments permitted by state and local governments in designated park lands, this series of linked landscapes and buildings remains of exceptional significance in a national context.

The northern part of the tract between the river and the walled gaol complex has been transferred from the Department of Health to Corrective Services. While its few extant buildings are generally of modest significance, its landscape treatment is a part of an overall scheme developed for the Parramatta Hospital for the Insane under the supervision of Frederick Norton Manning.

77. Sketch map of Parramatta River between Lennox Bridge and the Windsor Road Bridge. The broken line encloses civic and institutional open landscapes flanking the river. JSK 1995.
After Manning became inspector general of the insane in 1876 he set out to create a pleasant outdoor environment for all patients. The same year he engaged the curator of the Botanic Gardens, Charles Moore, to landscape the grounds at Callan Park (Kerr, Out of sight..., 125). It is probable Manning gave similar attention to the landscape and plantings which were to set off the new female wards at Parramatta (fig.25). After their completion in 1883, Manning noted that the grounds were “improved by levelling and planting, etc.” and that the buildings were then among the most cheerful, homely and serviceable in the department (AR, IG of I, 1884).

The wards were demolished in 1971-72 and it is still evident in 1995 how the mature plantings had been located to complement the buildings (fig.78). No attempt has been made to guess the date of the trees but it is probable that a number of specimens at least date from the 1880s or '90s. Some have, therefore, significance as historical evidence as well as obvious aesthetic qualities and some scientific value.

Pratten has provided three provisional assessments as well as an identification of extant plantings: the circled numbers on fig.78 indicate both the location and condition of the planting; the second last column on the schedule (page 83) shows the level of significance and the last column contains an opinion on how important it is to retain and care for the item in any future development.
Schedule of plantings on the Corrective Services river lands, 2.3.1995. See fig.78 opposite.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Scientific Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Planting</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Nature of Significance</th>
<th>Need for Retention &amp; Conservation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>Araucaria bidwillii</td>
<td>Bunya Pine</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abin</td>
<td>Acacia binnervata</td>
<td>Myall</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Preferred</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ac</td>
<td>Archontophoenix cunninghamiana</td>
<td>Bangalow Palm</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Desirable</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ah</td>
<td>Araucaria heterophylla</td>
<td>Norfolk Island Pine</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unnecessary</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ar</td>
<td>Arecastrum romanzoffianum</td>
<td>Queen or Cocos Palm</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be</td>
<td>Butia capitata</td>
<td>Butia or Jelly Palm</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>BxB</td>
<td>Bashania x Bakeana</td>
<td>Orchid Tree</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Ce</td>
<td>Cinnamomum camphora</td>
<td>Camphor Laurel</td>
<td>H,A</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cs</td>
<td>Celtis sinensis</td>
<td>Celtis</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>Chamaecyparis sp.</td>
<td>Book Cypress</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Csp</td>
<td>Casuarina sp.</td>
<td>Casuarina</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Ec</td>
<td>Eucalyptus citriodora</td>
<td>Lemon-scented Gum</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Em</td>
<td>Eucalyptus microtheca</td>
<td>Tallow-wood</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Eucalyptus saligna</td>
<td>Sydney Blue Gum</td>
<td>A,S</td>
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<td>Fr</td>
<td>Ficus rubiginosa</td>
<td>Port Jackson Fig</td>
<td>H,A</td>
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<td>Gr</td>
<td>Grevillea robusta</td>
<td>Silky Oak</td>
<td>H</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hc</td>
<td>Harpephyllum caffrum</td>
<td>Kaffir Plum</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hs</td>
<td>Hakea salicifolia (pool hedge)</td>
<td>Willow-leaved Hakea</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Ja</td>
<td>Jacaranda acutifolia</td>
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<td>Livistona australis</td>
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<td>Lophostemon confertus</td>
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<td>Liquidambar styraciflua</td>
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<td>Pe</td>
<td>Phoenix canariensis</td>
<td>Canary Island Date Palm</td>
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<td>Pr</td>
<td>Phoenix reclinata</td>
<td>African Wild Date Palm</td>
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<td>Psp</td>
<td>Plantanus sp.</td>
<td>Plane tree</td>
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<td>Qc</td>
<td>Quercus contorta</td>
<td>Mirbeck’s Oak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Syzygium australe</td>
<td>Magenta Lilly-pilly</td>
<td>A,H</td>
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<td>Sj</td>
<td>Syzygium jambos</td>
<td>Rose Apple</td>
<td>A,H,S</td>
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<td>Tt</td>
<td>Trachycarpus fortunei</td>
<td>Chusan Palm</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Up</td>
<td>Ulmus parvifolia</td>
<td>Chinese Elm</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Wx</td>
<td>Washingtonia robusta</td>
<td>Mexican Fan Palm</td>
<td>H,A,S</td>
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</table>

**KEY TO LEVELS AND RANKING AND NEED FOR RETENTION AND CONSERVATION**

1. High (H) of associational value
2. Moderate (M) and value as evidence
3. Some (A) of aesthetic value
4. Little (S) of scientific value

The ranking of significance is based on an assessment of the river land site alone. It is not comparable to the levels used for the assessment of buildings in this report, nor to assessments of plantings made in other contexts. It is simply a factor, together with condition and potential for future life, on which an opinion on the need for conservation can be based.

Rarity increases the significance of a planting and has led, for example, to a high significance ranking for Mirbeck’s Oak, the Rose Apple and the Chilean Wine Palms. The former pair have not been seen by Pratten before and is therefore likely to be rare in the Sydney context. Tony Rodd of Mt Tomah Botanic Gardens has a specialist knowledge of palms and advises that specimens of the Chilean Wine Palm are only known at a few locations in the vicinity of Sydney. Doug Benson and Laurie...
Johnson of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney, consider the Sydney Blue Gum specimen a rare survivor of a former population along Toongabbie Creek and the nearby Parramatta River, so it too has been given a high ranking.

Individual specimens are, however, only a part of planting significance. The way groupings provide mutual reinforcement is equally important. For example, the palms are a feature of the female ward site: there are nine types, seven of which have been given a maximum individual ranking, but their grouping in groves further enhances the effect.

Policy 43.1 The lands under the control of the Departments of Corrective Services and Health, east of the Parramatta River, should only be developed under co-ordinated guidelines designed to retain open landscape characteristics, which:

- minimise the potentially alienating effect of development by separate entities on either side of the present arbitrary boundaries;
- reinforce, rather than change, the turn of the century choice of plantings (see schedule page 83).

Policy 43.2 Any development of the Corrective Services river land should take into account the "significance" and "need for retention" rankings set out in the table on page 83.

Policy 43.3 Palms were (and are) an important element in the landscape. Where removal is unavoidable they should be transplanted or, if this is impractical, a planting program of the same specimens carried out. Long term results should not be sacrificed for quick effects.

Policy 43.4 The existing practice of casually dumping building fabric and fittings in the open, east of the State Emergency Services compound (the former drying ground), should be discontinued.

Policy 43.5 A compact area partially screened by plantings should be set aside as part of an overall plan for the stacking of valuable building fabric and fittings that are not subject to rapid deterioration in the open air. Useful but vulnerable materials and equipment should be stored in the underutilised covered spaces in the area.

Policy 43.6 Introduced fencing should be as unobtrusive as possible and security fencing, where necessary, should exhibit the maximum practicable transparency.

The river and its banks

The river in the vicinity of the Health Department's Linen Service and the Corrective Services lands has been mistreated in recent decades. Spoil, building rubble and garbage have been dumped or bulldozed over its banks partly obliterating its contours and native vegetation, and facilitating an invasion of weeds including Castor Oil Plant, Ipomea, Tree of Heaven, Broad and Narrow-leafed Privet, Lantana and Bamboo.

There are still areas of remnant native vegetation including wattles (Acacia decurrens and Acacia falcata) and Australia Boxthorn (Bursaria spinosa) as well as ground dwelling species. The Sydney Blue Gum is located above the bank and is included in the schedule on page 83. In the river grow Bullrushes (Typha) and Water Milfoil (Myriophyllum), and on the lower banks, Sydney Golden Wattle (Acacia longifolia), Bottlebrush (Callistemon sp.), Water Gum (Tristaniopsis laurina) and Rough-barked Apple (Angophora intermedia).
In the 1850s parties of prisoners under overseers worked at road making and gardening in the grounds of the asylum. Other programs of external work were carried out at erratic intervals over the next century. Since the last World War the river banks in the vicinity have been restored and alien botanical invaders removed by prisoners but in each case no provision was made for continued maintenance and there was a rapid relapse.

With its striated rock bars (fig.79) deep pools and restorable native vegetation the river and its banks in the vicinity remain a picturesque asset of considerable potential for both the adjacent landowners and the City of Parramatta.

Policy 44.1 The river and its banks should be gradually restored to an approximation of its natural condition by the removal of debris and invading exotics to permit the regeneration of native species. A continuing program of maintenance of regenerating areas should be implemented.

Policy 44.2 Consideration should be given to employing the adjacently housed periodic detainees, persons discharging community service orders or, if necessary, low security prisoners in this regeneration work. All work should be under experienced supervision.

The National Trust of Australia (NSW) has in the past provide guidance for bush regeneration projects using Corrective Services detainees.

Policy 44.3 The work should be co-ordinated with the Parramatta City Council and where relevant with the Health Department and adjacent riverside landowners.

River land buildings

The existing buildings are confined to the northern half of the land and, with the exception of the former laundry and to some extent the air raid shelters, are of little significance. This need not discourage rationalisation and new developments in the area.

Policy 45.1 Provided the policies relating to landscape character and plantings (43.1–43.6) are accepted as a basis of planning, building developments to a co-ordinated overall plan are acceptable.

Policy 45.2 Any future developments should be limited to two storeys in height in a configuration which maintains an open landscape environment.

State Emergency Services compound

The fenced State Emergency Service enclosure is on the site of the Mental Hospital rose garden. The garden occupied a levelled terrace above the bend of the river and because of its secluded and pleasant location it became a favoured resort for convalescent inmates. Camphor Laurels flanked the river side and a row of Brush Boxes enclosed the east.

The triangular space is at present flanked by “temporary” corrugated iron and cliplock sheds in poor condition and a brick WC block (fig.81).
These were erected when the site was used as a public works depot. It is now used by the State Emergency Services as a parking lot for their vehicles. Some sheds still contain materials, equipment and tools removed from the gaol over the years. The implements from the blacksmith's shop are an example.

Policy 46.1  Any long term plan should include the removal of the fence and buildings of the State Emergency Services compound and the development of a more open use of the site in keeping with its landscape potential and associated vistas.

Policy 46.2  Artifacts which help illustrate the history of the gaol should be recovered, catalogued and given safe storage against the possibility of use in the early precinct of the gaol as a demonstration for visitors of past activities.

Stores and maintenance buildings

The large double gabled, single storey "stores and maintenance" building was built as a laundry complex to employ the females from the adjacent women's wards completed in 1883. The earliest extant plans relate to alterations and additions in 1901 and show a pair of sturdy parallel ranges in rendered brick (fig. 82) with impressive open roof trusses. The 32-feet roof trusses were beefed up and made complex by the need to support water tanks and a lantern range (for steam dissipation) over the wash house.

Despite a long history of alteration in the twentieth century the basic walls and roof structures are intact and must be assessed at the top of
the "some significance" range—that is, worthy of inclusion on national
and state registers. The structures are also worthy of incorporation in
any development of the area.

As the twentieth century progressed the building grew northward to
provide an engine room, boiler house and chimney stack, fitter's shop
and coal shed (PW plan MH9/90 of 5.2.1930). Further post-war work included
staff facilities, store, garage and a lean-to addition to the north wall of
the wash house (PW plan MH9/194 of 24.12.1952). When to this visual and
functional muddle is added removal of machinery and long stretches of
maintenance neglect, the fabric must be regarded as of little significance
and intrusive in character (fig.83).

Policy 47.1 That part of the former laundry complex of the Department
of Health designated as being of some significance should be maintained
and consideration given to how it may fit into future plans for the area.
Any treatment of the interior should permit the spatial volume, roof
trusses and effect of the lantern range to be appreciated.

Policy 47.2 That part of the complex assessed as being of little signifi­
cance and intrusive should be dealt with in accordance with policy 8.1
and its qualifying note.

Demountables

Two demountable offices are positioned in the area: one north west of
the store and maintenance complex and one to the east. They are of
little significance and should not remain a part of long-term planning.

Air raid shelters

After Japan’s entry into the war, the Health Department built air raid
shelters to give adjacent staff and inmates some measure of protection.
Three are now under Corrective Services' control. Compared to those at
more strategic targets, they were comparatively flimsy with brick side
walls and a relatively thin slab roof. They are used for occasional storage
and are fairly described by the Department as "rarely" used and "unsatisfactory". They are, however, of minor significance as a reminder of the war and of some government agencies' half-hearted or uninformed attempts at protection. Until the Japanese midget submarines stirred the city, Sydney was still a long way from the theatre of war. The shelters are at the lower end of the "some significance" scale.

Policy 48.1 One example of an air raid shelter should be retained.

Stores buildings

Two purpose-built stores buildings are located on the river lands. The smaller, a low-gabled single-storey brick building was constructed about 1962. It now houses files and is known as the stores annex.

In 1991-92 a large brick and color-bond structure was built to the north-east. It is known as the "Stores Building" or "New Store". Neither structure is of particular significance.

Policy 49.1 The two stores buildings may be retained as long as they are useful or until the site is required as part of a long-term co-ordinated development of the river lands.

Merinda Periodic Detention Centre

The Merinda Periodic Detention Centre for Women is an unfenced and unpretentious single-storey Hardi-plank structure built in the 1970s. It replaced a weatherboard hut used by the Health Department for women's occupational therapy. Its U-shaped plan consists of two ranges with a spinal passage flanked by single room accommodation. The remaining range contains the necessary common facilities. In March 1995 the building was unoccupied.

Policy 50.1 The Merinda Centre building may be retained for as long as it is useful or until the site is required as part of a long-term co-ordinated development of the river lands.
APPENDIX 1—ABBREVIATIONS

ADB Australian Dictionary of Biography
A/NSW Archives Office of NSW
AR Annual Report
Argus Cumberland Argus
BT Bonwick Transcript
CA Colonial Architect
CO Colonial Office (UK)
CS Colonial Secretary
CSC Corrective Services Commission
DCS Department of Corrective Services
GA Government Architect
GG Government Gazette
HRA Historical Records of Australia
HIRNSW Historic Records of New South Wales
IG of I Inspector General of the Insane
LA Legislative Assembly
LC Legislative Council
ML Mitchell Library
PRO Public Record Office, Kew, UK
PUS Principal Under Secretary
PW Public Works
SC Select Committee
SG Sydney Gazette
SIPD Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline...
T&CJ Town and Country Journal
USPW Under Secretary for Public Works
WO War Office (UK)

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