

## Chapter Seven: The Convict Workers of the Western Road

The previous chapter considered the Western Road property offenders within the victim-rogue dichotomy in the historiography of transportation. This chapter builds on the last and is divided into two distinct sections. The first half, continuing the investigation of the character of the convicts, focuses on the entire convict sample population and the literacy and occupational skills they brought to the Western Road. The latter half investigates their employment and experiences as workers on the road. Some of these men may have contributed to Robson's statistics and they make up 2% of the *Convict Workers* sample of 19,711, but are here examined in a particular context. Their numbers are not likely to have been a strong force in either Robson's or the *Convict Workers* studies. A discussion of the methodological issues, raised by this and preceding studies, surrounding the analysis of skill levels using limited occupational and literacy data is initially presented. The Western Road convicts' skill levels are then subject to detailed analysis within specific industry groups. The latter part of the chapter examines the experience of these convicts as workers on the road.

### Methodology

The particular focus of the *Convict Workers*<sup>1</sup> project, as the name implies, was on the convicts as workers and the calibre of the work force they comprised. In the course of that study Nicholas and Shergold developed a new model of skill classification based on a methodology developed by W.A. Armstrong in the 1970s.<sup>2</sup> The Armstrong Classification employs the following five skill categories:

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1 Stephen Nicholas (ed.), *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, Cambridge University Press, Sydney, 1988.

2 W. A. Armstrong, 'The use of information about occupation', E.A. Wrigley (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Societal Data*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1972, pp.191-310.

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- 1 Professional: includes such occupations as accountant, physician, surveyor, officer, landed proprietor and lawyer.
- 2 Middling: includes such occupations as artist, iron monger, veterinary surgeon, shopkeeper, teacher and farmer.
- 3 Skilled: includes such occupations as baker, wheelwright, sailor, waiter, draper, clerk, weaver, cotton spinner and sweep, and musician
- 4 Semi-skilled: includes bargeman, brickmaker, marine, carrier, farm labourer, butler and dyer.
- 5 Unskilled: includes such occupations as factory labourer, messenger, porter and labourer<sup>3</sup>

Nicholas and Shergold argued that a new model was necessary because Armstrong's classification underestimated the skill level of the convict population. In support, they cite Armstrong's decision to place factory labourers in 'Category 5 - Unskilled', while farm labourers were classed as semi-skilled. Such a classification could skew a statistical analysis of convicts to indicate a higher level of unskilled urban workers compared with rural. With a dominance of urban workers in the convict population, this would skew the overall findings to a lower skill level.<sup>4</sup>

Nicholas and Shergold sought to distinguish between rural and urban skills, to separate construction workers from manufacturing and transport workers, and to identify professionals, dealers and military and domestic servants. The Nicholas-Shergold Skill classification as defined in the appendix Table A18 of *Convict Workers* lists the following categories:

- 1 Urban unskilled: includes occupations such as factory labourer, sweep and labourer.
- 2 Rural unskilled: includes occupations such as farm labourer and dairy-hand.

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<sup>3</sup> Nicholas, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen Nicholas and Peter R. Shergold, 'Convicts as Workers' in Nicholas, *op. cit.*, p.71

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- 3 Construction includes occupations such as bricklayer, brickmaker, skilled or semi-skilled: carpenter, mason and glazier.
- 4 Manufacturing includes occupations such as messenger, jeweller, map or transport, maker, bargeman, butcher, wool carder and nautical skilled or semi-skilled: instrument maker.<sup>5</sup>

The remainder are untitled, but appear from their constituency to be:

- 5 Rural skilled: includes occupations such as landed proprietor, fisherman, ploughman, gardener and drover
- 6 Dealers and shop keepers: includes occupations such as book seller, clothier, pawn broker, poulterer, tallow chandler, publican and shopkeeper
- 7 Military: including sailors and seaman from the merchant navy as well as the R.N.
- 8 Professionals: includes occupations such as accountant, law clerk, medical student, musician and teacher.
- 9 Domestic servants: includes occupations such as kitchen hand, butler, groom and waiter.<sup>6</sup>

Nicholas and Shergold's classification, with the exception of rural skilled and rural unskilled and professionals, do not distinguish the level of skill involved. The classification of occupations into industry categories in which skill levels are merged does not solve the problem they set out to address. They fail to refine Armstrong's model to reflect more accurately skill levels across rural and urban environments. For example, in category four 'manufacturing or transport, skilled or semi-skilled' a map maker is placed in the same category as a carrier. Such a categorization blurs the distinction between skill levels within the industry sector. The categories imposed by both the Armstrong and Nicholas-Shergold classification methods often appear to lead to an over statement of skill levels.

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.223-224.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

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In another anomalous decision, the occupations of farm servant and farm labourer have been classed as 'rural unskilled', while specific skills such as reaper and drover are in the category 'rural skilled'. In the indents the term 'farm labourer' is often supplemented with specifics such as: 'reaps and sows', 'milks', 'shears' etc. But this is not always the case, yet if a farm labourer does not do these things, what does he do? The distinctions in the indents between whether someone is a farm labourer or undertaking a specific farm activity could well be due to the idiosyncrasies of the recorder of the information and how it was delivered by the convict, some summarising it under a general term and others being more specific. There may not be a real difference in the level of skills of individuals described in either fashion.

Employing the Nicholas-Shergold model to assess skill levels proved to be unsatisfactory due to the mixing of skill levels within industry categories. In their own application of the model this tendency for the meaning of the categorization to slide is apparent in their comparison of the English and convict workforces. For example, Table 5.5 in *Convict Workers* refers the reader to the details in the appendices which have been outlined above. But Table 5.5 lists the occupational categories using different terminology to that detailed in the appendices. Those employed in Table 5.5 are: 1. Unskilled urban; 2. Unskilled rural; 3. Skilled building; 4. Skilled urban; 5. Skilled rural; 6. Dealers; 7. Public service; 8. Professional; 9. Domestic service; and 10. Those occupations not elsewhere classified.<sup>7</sup> In category three titled 'construction: skilled or semi skilled', the term 'semi-skilled' has been subsumed within 'Skilled building'. Category four, 'Manufacturing or transport, skilled or semi-skilled' has become 'Skilled urban'. The inclusion of semi-skilled workers with the skilled in the manufacturing and the construction categories has the effect of skewing a result toward the impression of a higher skill level than would be achieved under Armstrong's model. This effect is compounded by the dropping of the word 'semi-skilled' from the table and subsequent discussion. Further, the inclusion of the numerous messengers and errand boys within 'manufacturing or

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<sup>7</sup> Nicholas and Shergold, *op. cit.*, p.72.

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transport, skilled or semi-skilled', rather than as 'unskilled urban', as Armstrong classes them, also skews the result to a higher skill level. Rather than solve the skill classification problem, the Nicholas-Shergold model compounds it.

Other inconsistencies include some classifications at variance with their thesis, for example, porters who were found to have a higher rate of education than messengers are classed as 'Unskilled urban', rather than as 'Skilled' as were messengers, despite their argument that the educational level of both porters and messengers warranted a 'Skilled' classification.<sup>8</sup>

Neither the Armstrong nor the Nicholas-Shergold categorizations address the problem of the lesser skill levels of apprentices or of those workers described as boys or who are assistants to a master. These levels include occupations such as bricklayer's man or carpenter's boy. Under both models such workers are given the same classification as the master. Apprentices, depending on their experience, may have developed some level of skill, and boys and labourers linked to a particular occupation would clearly bring some specific knowledge of that occupation with them to the Western Road, but their skill level would not be that of a master. It cannot be assumed that those described as 'boys' and '\*s man' and '\*s labourer' were apprentices. Their career path always may have been to work as an assistant, rather than to become a master.

### The Classification Method

To address some of the shortcomings of the Armstrong and the Nicholas-Shergold models in dealing with convict indent data for the purpose of skill analysis, the Armstrong model has been adapted to produce the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model to undertake the analysis required for this thesis. However, essential skill classifications on an occupation by occupation basis could not be altered without destroying the opportunity to compare 'like with like' data sets. In this adaptation

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

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the status of apprentices, the “\*’s man or labourer”, has been assessed at one level below that occupation described in an unqualified fashion in the indent. For example, a plasterer’s labourer is classed as semi-skilled, rather than as skilled, as a plasterer is classified. Very occasionally, the extreme youth of an individual has also resulted in a lesser qualification than a master, on the basis that the indent’s description was likely to have been in error.

Secondly, to enable the data to be considered on an industry basis, occupations have been grouped into industries with the masters and assistants enumerated. Where a person had a number of occupations/skills they have been categorized under all their skills but in any overall assessment have been classed at the highest skill level. The one exception is that if a farm labourer has specific skills ascribed to him he was recorded under those skills and not under the general term ‘farm labourer’. Only those solely identified as a ‘labourer’ with no qualification to that term have been listed as such.<sup>9</sup> [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

Apart from occupation, literacy levels are the only other data set potentially indicative of education or training provided in the convict indents. Nicholas and Shergold have used literacy and occupation to comment on the human capital of the convicts; however, it must be kept in mind that, while these factors were employed to allocate convicts to situations on their arrival in New South Wales, they were not the sole determinate of placement. For those under sentence on the Western Road they were irrelevant. It is also recognized that the use of literacy skills as a specific occupational skill barometer is flawed in that a person could be literate and unskilled in a particular area or illiterate and skilled in the area. In this discussion, literacy levels are taken as an indicator of the overall development of the convicts in terms of their human capital, rather than being considered as specifically relevant to their ability to wield a pick and shovel while encumbered with nine pound leg irons. The

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<sup>9</sup> Hamish Maxwell-Stewart encountered similar problems and resolved them in a similar manner in his 1990 thesis, ‘The Bushrangers and the Convict System of Van Dieman’s Land, 1803-1846’, University of Edinburgh, pp.32-33; 36.

levels of literacy provide an additional factor from which to test the validity of the models employed.

There were approximately 180 different occupations or skills listed for the Western Road recidivists, with many offenders having multiple skills, a similar finding to that of Nicholas and Shergold. In the following discussion the focus is on the quality of the human capital and is based on the assessment of each individual within the particular industry grouping. In some instances multi-skilled individuals have a skill classed at a higher level outside the industry sector under discussion. For example, a person who was a tailor (level 3, “skilled”, under Armstrong) but also had experience as a carter (Armstrong level 4, “semi skilled”) would be counted as a skilled worker. This decision has been made on the basis that a person’s overall skill level, work experience and degree of responsibility associated with higher level work encompasses skills that are transferable to different situations that are not particularly task specific. Further, on the Western Road specialist ancillary roles such as a cook, bullock driver, medical attendant or clerk were privileged positions and were allocated as a reward for good behaviour. They were not strictly allocated on the basis of skill. The overall requirement on the Western Road was strength and stamina but these were not a consideration in the recruitment process. The men had been sentenced to work on the road because they committed offences in the colony, not because they were suited for the work. [Table 7.1]

### **The Skills of the Western Road Worker**

*Agricultural Workers (subset size = 205 representing 21% of the skill sample)<sup>10</sup>*

About a fifth of the Western Road convicts were agricultural workers and they make up the largest industry grouping on the road. Proportionally they are roughly equivalent to the agricultural proportion of Robson’s sample for the general male

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<sup>10</sup> The percentage totals exceeds 100 because of the effect of some workers being members of more than one industry sector. See Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

convict population,<sup>11</sup> but form a greater proportion than that found in the *Convict Workers* project.<sup>12</sup> The group, with an average age of 25, is also older than the general Western Road population, but closer to the average of 26 found by Robson.<sup>13</sup> There was not a great deal of difference in the numbers of Irish and English, with the English making up 51% of the sample. While 65% were classed as rural, 29% were assessed as being urban in character due either to residing in towns, or through migration and the accumulation of additional and urban skills. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

The agricultural sector is the only industry sector for which the Nicholas-Shergold model can be used to comment on skill levels because the model distinguishes between the rural skilled and rural unskilled. With no semi skilled classification available, the Nicholas-Shergold model produced a majority (62%) with a 'rural skilled' classification with a sizeable minority classed as 'rural unskilled'. In contrast to the Nicholas-Shergold model, under the Armstrong Classification, aside from the 'farmer' category which receives a 'middling' classification, all occupations in the agricultural sector are classed as 'semi-skilled'. In an industry sector where many tasks did not require literacy or even experience the proportion classed as skilled workers using the Nicholas-Shergold model is surprisingly high. On the other hand, in the context of an industry sector where literacy is not necessarily a prerequisite for competence or skill, Armstrong's model, with 99% classed only as 'semi skilled', produced an extraordinarily homogenous and low skill classification. Neither model is able to represent the situation likely to be found in reality. Armstrong also fails to distinguish degrees of the experience, competence and skill of rural workers by not providing a means to recognize multi-skilling within the sector.<sup>14</sup> [Table 7.1]

The agricultural workers' literacy levels are well below the 50% who could read and write for the overall male population found in the *Convict Workers* study and lower

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11 Lloyd Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1965, Table 4(f), p.181.

12 Nicholas, *op. cit.*, Table A16, p.220-221.

13 Robson, *op. cit.*, p.9.

14 Calculation excludes those with a higher classification outside the industry



than that found in the Tasmanian bush ranger study by Hamish Maxwell-Stewart.<sup>15</sup> The rate of literacy does not support the findings produced using the Nicholas-Shergold model that the majority of the agricultural workforce was skilled. The result is similar when literacy is examined from the point of view of their rural or urban backgrounds or their nationality.

Table 7.2 classifies the skill level according to the highest skill regardless of the industry sector to which the higher skill was related. Those classed as skilled from the agricultural sector in fact were multi-skilled with the higher skill in a different industry. Using the Armstrong model 86% were semi-skilled with 12% classed as skilled and no workers were classed as unskilled. This result is not supported by the low level of literacy of the group. Applying the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model to take into account 'boys', the number of semi skilled falls to 75% with 12% skilled and 12% unskilled. Thus, a greater spread of skill levels is obtained, an outcome that is likely to be more reflective of reality and which is supported by the levels of literacy.

The assessment, however, remains unsatisfactory as there is no tool in the models or the indent data to allow a satisfactory identification of skilled agricultural workers because:

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<sup>15</sup> Nicholas, *op. cit.*, Table A8, p.211; Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *op. cit.*, p.40.

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*Textile Workers and Apparel Manufacturers (subset size = 145 representing 15% of the skill sample)*

The next most populous group were, at 15% of the Western Road workforce, the textile workers and apparel manufacturers, with about double the representation found by Robson and at an average age of 23, were some 3 years younger than Robson's sample.<sup>16</sup> They were urban in character and only a quarter was Irish. Under the Armstrong Skill Classification model a large majority (89%) were classed as skilled. Applying the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model the proportion of semi and unskilled rises to 23%. The effect of the adjusted model is to break down the homogeneity that arises using the Armstrong Model to reflect the level of experience of the workforce. The literacy level of the overall group at 42% lends support to this adjusted figure but the minority Irish, with 51% who could both read and write, was more literate than the English at only 37%. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Transport and Communications (subset size = 143 representing 15% of the skill sample)*

A similar group in size and with a strong urban representation and similar literacy levels to the above group are the transport and communication workers who are distinguishable from the former groups by their youth. With an average age of 19, they are the youngest group in the workforce and only 16% are classed as skilled. The largest group is unskilled, with 30% classed as semi skilled. This is the least skilled group except for those classed as miscellaneous and labourers. Under the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model the unskilled rises from 52% to 68% with the proportion of semi skilled falling substantially. The large numbers of errand boys in this group contributes to the high number of unskilled and semi skilled. The literacy levels at 42%, although below the average found by Nicholas and Shergold, are high enough not to be considered supportive of the Armstrong or the Adjusted Armstrong (Rosen) classification as largely semi and unskilled. However, with the high number of young, albeit literate, errand boys in the sample it would be difficult to justify an

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<sup>16</sup> Robson, *op. cit.*, Table 5(e), p.190.

amendment of the generally low assessment in terms of overall work skills. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Domestic Service (subset size = 109 representing 11% of the skill sample)*

Domestic servants are another largely urban group of which half can read and write. They have been classed under the Armstrong model as largely semi-skilled with nearly a quarter as skilled because they had a skill outside the sector. Many were also soldiers and employed as officer's servants and as such achieved a skilled classification. Application of the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model produces a similar result. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Construction (subset size = 108 representing 11% of the skill sample)*

The construction workers are a skilled group under both the Armstrong and Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) models, with the adjusted model providing around a quarter at a semi skilled level compared to only 13% under the Armstrong model. Eighty-six per cent are classed as skilled workers under the Armstrong model compared to 67% under the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) classification. There is little distinction between the two nationalities in terms of proportional levels of skills, but the English outnumber the Irish 2:1. It is also an urban workforce. The construction workers approach the literacy levels of the general convict population with the Irish more literate than the English, 56% compared to 43% that could both read and write. The relatively high literacy levels provide some corroboration for the strong skilled and semi-skilled assessment. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Defence (subset size = 91 representing 9% of the skill sample)*

With Armstrong classifying all soldiers as skilled there was little opportunity for fine tuning in the defence category using the adjusted model. The group is not as literate as other workers with a skilled rating and a more appropriate classification might be semi skilled. The group as a whole is older than the Western Road average, at 26 matching the overall average found by Robson. Forty-two per cent of the Irish

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military were able to read and write compared to only 33% of the English, suggesting that the Irish recruits who made up 36% of the sample were of a marginally higher calibre than their English colleagues. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Primary Processing, Retail, Wholesale, Dealer (subset size = 87 representing 9% of the skill sample)*

This is another largely urban group with an average age of 23. The Irish members of this group have an average age of 25 and the rural members an average age of 27. The literacy levels are low. Only 40% could read and write and for those from a rural background the figure drops to 29%. Despite this, aside from the artisans and professionals, this is the most highly skilled group on the Western Road. Aside from the butchers and horse dealers their skills had little application in the circumstances. Using the Armstrong Classification 9% were classed as middling, 62% as skilled, 18% semi-skilled and 10% as unskilled. The Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) classification produced 7% middling, 51% skilled, 30% semi-skilled and 13% unskilled. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Miscellaneous and Labouring (subset size = 70 representing 7% of the skill sample)*

The miscellaneous and labouring group, although occupationally largely unskilled, had a literacy rate of about one third, with the urban component achieving a rate of 41%. None of the models present a means of factoring in literacy in this sample. The group is predominantly English and urban with an average age of 21. Their youth, stamina and experience of labouring made them potentially useful recruits to the Western Road. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

*Metal Trades, Extractive Industry and Other Manufacturing (subset size = 64 representing 6% of the skill sample)*

This is a group with skills likely to be of use on the Western Road. The majority are skilled with about a fifth semi or unskilled. About 45 % of the group could read and write, but more than a quarter were illiterate. Eighty-six per cent were of urban

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backgrounds and two thirds were English. Under the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) classification there was only a marginal downgrading of skill levels. [Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

### *Artisans and Professionals (subset size = 87 representing 6% of the skill sample)*

This is the smallest but most highly skilled group on the road and it had an overall literacy rate of 66%. They were overwhelmingly urban (93%) and 70% were English. Despite the high skill classification they, like the entire population sample, were still youthful, with an average age of 23. Ninety-eight per cent are classified as skilled or above. Members of this group including the vet, surgeons, druggist, attorney's clerks and the road surveyor had skills employable on the Western Road in administrative and support roles.[Tables 7.1 and 7.2]

### *Summary*

To reiterate, occupation and skill levels had nothing to do with the recruitment of convicts to the Western Road. Many of the workers, particularly the large urban textile sector (15%) and domestic servants (11%) were, except for their youth, ill equipped for the experience. Transport and communication skills (15%) also had a limited application on the road. Artisans and professionals (6%) had the potential to be useful on the Western Road as clerks, overseers and medical attendants. Construction workers (11%) and metal trades and extractive industry workers (7%) brought particularly useful skills to the road for quarrying, building and the maintenance of equipment. Agricultural workers who made up 21% of the sample and labourers (7%) brought strength and stamina to the enterprise and were accustomed to outdoor work. On the whole it is the overall youthfulness of the sample which was the most useful attribute brought to the road as to a large extent it was muscle and stamina that were the essential requirements. Under the Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) model 40% were skilled; 35% were semi skilled and 23% were unskilled. They were young (23 years old), English (55%), urban (72%) and less literate than the general convict population (41%). About 50% had work experience

that had some application for the tasks required. On the road, positions that employed higher level skills were privileged. These positions were earned through good behaviour rather than the possession of appropriate skills. As Thomas Cook found out, an attorney's clerk could be worked in irons with a pick and shovel if his behaviour was thought to warrant it.<sup>17</sup>

## Working Life

### Conditions of Employment

Ignatieff's observation that '... the historian's role is to recover the history of eighteenth century punishment from the version of it given us by the men and women who led the attack upon it...'<sup>18</sup> has strong parallels in the study of the system of convict transportation to Australia. There are too few direct first hand accounts by convicts for historians to draw on and it is often difficult to place the accounts within the context of an author's particular experience. To find the convicts' voices, a great variety of sources need to be interrogated and interpreted.

To avoid the problem referred to by Ignatieff many of the sources utilized in this study are those created with a purpose other than to provide a commentary on the penal system, i.e., those created in the course of administering the system on the roads and in the courts. In these the voices and actions of managers, administrators and convicts can be discerned, in word and in deed, within the context of the functioning system. One source is the official correspondence between the assistant surveyors and the Surveyor General. Another is the voice of convicts themselves which can be extracted from court records. But, as Ian Duffield observed of these official documents, sometimes '...convicts' actions, and still more their thoughts, remained veiled...' with official comprehension of their meaning correspondingly impaired.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Thomas Cook, *The Exile's Lamentations*, The Library of Australian History, North Sydney, 1978, pp.26-27.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, The Macmillan Press, London, 1978, p.24.

<sup>19</sup> Ian Duffield, "Stated This Offence": high-density convict micro-narratives', *Chain letters narrating convict lives*, Lucy Frost and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart (eds.), Melbourne University Press, 2001, p.119.

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When, in 1833, the 21 year old former law clerk, Thomas Cook, failed to take his hat off to Mr Slade, the superintendent of Hyde Park Barracks, he was charged with insubordinate conduct and sentenced for a term in a road party. Cook had received a 14 year sentence of transportation in 1831 for writing a threatening letter and, despite an appeal for clemency and a previously good reputation, he arrived in NSW in November 1831. Cook, who had been assigned as a clerk in the office of the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, was literate. Although the sentence marked the beginning of a long period of misery, it resulted in an account of life on the road from a convict's perspective. Further, *The Exile's Lamentations*<sup>20</sup> was written without Cook receiving any material advantage from its creation. It was composed on Norfolk Island and given to Commandant Alexander Maconochie, who was known for his humane reforms on the island, prior to Cook's release. Although he has a tendency to leave out encounters with the system that show him or his friends in a less than saintly light, for example, his convictions for drunkenness, Cook's narrative is remarkably precise in his naming of people and the identification of events. It has not been possible to ascribe a motivation for the narrative, which is written in a tone of high moral condemnation, other than a desire for his own expiation, or his own stated explicit desire to expose the evils of the system and, implicitly, to expose particular individuals in it. It was created when plans for his escape from the colony and his successful disappearance from the system were well in hand. It was not published until 1978. As part of this thesis, Cook's accounts of events on the road have been correlated with other sources from the period and have been verified. A great deal of confidence is able to be placed in the evidence, thus ameliorating some of the concerns referred to by Duffield.<sup>21</sup>

Road gangers' experiences have received some attention in the broader convict historiography. Robert Hughes, for example, in *The Fatal Shore* focussed on the punishment aspect of the road gangs, calling them 'miserably unproductive'.<sup>22</sup> On

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20 Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. v-x, 19.

21 Duffield, *op. cit.*, p.119.

22 Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, London, Collins Harvill, 1987, pp.431-432.

the other hand, Nicholas and Shergold contend that convict labour was relatively efficient, that convicts were fit and productive and better educated than the formally free British working class. They claim that the lash was used 'judiciously' in Australia and that convicts generally worked fewer hours than most 'free' British workers.<sup>23</sup> Nicholas has put forward the view that 'historians have failed to integrate incentives in the government sector with the way public work was organized' and have emphasised punishment. He cites Clark, Hughes and Connell and Irving as having depicted the convict experience 'in terms of terror and brute force'.<sup>24</sup> In rejecting this notion, Nicholas wrote:

When the lash was used to extract work from gangs it was because pain was a cheap and efficient instrument for stimulating effort. The stereotype of road gangs as inefficient and non-productive, driven by cruel and inhumane treatment, is at odds with the dramatic physical record - the roads, bridges and buildings - of the skill and perseverance of the convict workers.<sup>25</sup>

Nicholas cites Grace Karskens as providing evidence 'of the skill and perseverance of the convict workers'.<sup>26</sup> Karskens in her study of the road gangs on the Great North Road argued that the roads and associated structure are evidence that with good overseers monumental engineering achievements were possible.<sup>27</sup> Karskens, however, was not referring to the majority of convict workers, but rather to skilled overseers and specialist gangs. Karskens also put forward that not all overseers were as lax and brutal as those described by Hirst who relied on damning evidence supplied to the Molesworth Committee to claim:

In the road gangs and at the penal settlements convicts were managed by men who had no personal interest in their work ... The road gangs

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23 Stephen Nicholas and Peter R. Shergold, 'Unshackling the Past' in Nicholas *op. cit.*, pp.7-21.

24 Stephen Nicholas, 'The Organisation of Public Work' in Nicholas *op. cit.*, pp.153-154.

25 *Ibid.*, p.154.

26 *Ibid.*

27 Grace Karskens, "*The Grandest Improvement in the Country*": An Historical and Archaeological Study of the Great North Road, NSW 1825-1836, MA Hist. Arch Thesis, University of Sydney, 1985, pp.71-75.



were notorious for their laxity; little work was done and men were often free to wander and rob.<sup>28</sup>

However, Karskens' study also found evidence of convict overseers and officials complaining of the slowness of the work and the necessity of the lash as a punishment for refusal to work. Cook's evidence on the Western Road overseers lends further support to Hirst's claims. While there were individuals who were an exception to the rule, Cook paints the overseers as brutal and corrupt.<sup>29</sup> Assistant Surveyor Govett writing in the early 1830s also lends support to Hirst. Govett described the prisoners on the Western Road as 'an idle, lazy set' only working earnestly when the overseer was present, although there were a few 'who at times work well, as if they took an interest in the undertaking, or in expectation of receiving an advantage'. Some, however, would refuse to work at all, choosing 'to stand a flogging every other day, until both magistrate and flogger are tired of them'.<sup>30</sup>

Nicholas concludes that the 'organisation of public labour was an efficient way of structuring work'. He argues that the increasing bureaucratisation of the colony in the 1820s and 1830s 'created a sophisticated, flexible and efficient structure for arranging production'. This process was aided by the development of regulations to enable more efficient division of labour, including 'detailed record-keeping which allowed the capabilities and work performance of each convict to be assessed' with concomitant incentives or supervision.<sup>31</sup> However, such an interpretation does not allow for the inter-departmental conflict that marred construction of the Western Road. Although references to task work were found, no evidence of this detailed record keeping on the work performance of individual convicts was encountered in the plethora of records examined in this study. While there were numerous

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28 J. B. Hirst, *Convict Society and its enemies*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1983, p.77.

29 Cook, *op. cit.*, pp.19-23.

30 William Romaine Govett, *Sketches of New South Wales: Written and Illustrated for the Saturday Magazine 1836-37*, Melbourne: Gaston Renard, 1977, pp.49-50.

31 Nicholas, *op. cit.*, p.164.

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organizational changes aimed at achieving control and productivity, it was a system plagued by internal contradictions.

Referring to claims made by contemporary opponents of transportation who condemned it as akin to slavery, Hirst has argued that labour conditions in the United Kingdom were almost as tough as slavery for the underpaid and overworked servants and labourers who made up the bulk of the population. In Australia flogging, for example, could only be ordered by a court and was institutionalised and controlled. Standardised instruments of flogging, known as ‘cats’,<sup>32</sup> were issued from 1830 and there was, for example, the 1833 experiment with the scientific application of cats which was referred to in Chapter Two. There were not the opportunities, according to Hirst, to engage in sadism as there was in the American slave colonies, the exception being penal settlements and, one could extrapolate from this, isolated road gangs. On the Western Road isolation and corrupt overseers tempered the system so that it never met the ideal intended by the administration.<sup>33</sup>

Convict reactions to “incentives”, such as flogging and promotion and demotion, also offer only a wavering and equivocal support for the notion that the works on the Western Road were the product of a sophisticated and efficient system of construction and labour management. Although road building “know how” was in operation, and rational organisation of men and resources was understood, it was constantly undermined by an often reluctant and occasionally insane, criminal workforce and by the punishment milieu and the security provisions associated with it. Power and responsibility conflicts between government departments responsible for aspects of the gang system also played a significant role in determining the effectiveness of the road gang system as a provider of public infrastructure. As William Robbins<sup>34</sup> has shown and as was demonstrated by the author in *Government*

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32 Short for cat-o'-nine-tails, defined as: a whip usually having nine knotted lines or cords fastened to a handle, usually to flog offenders in the *The Macquarie Dictionary*, Macquarie University, 1981.

33 Hirst, *op. cit.*, p.61.

34 William Robbins, ‘The Management of Convict Labour Employed by New South Wales Government, 1788-1830’, PHD Thesis, University of NSW, 2001, p.147ff.

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*House, Parramatta 1788-2000: A History Of The Governors, Their Home And Its Domain, Parramatta Park*,<sup>35</sup> the organization of public labour in Sydney and Parramatta was a sophisticated undertaking, particularly under Governor Macquarie's administration. The distinction between the artisan/mechanics based at these facilities and the recidivists under punishment on the road ten years later was enormous. These differences, for reasons that have been outlined throughout this thesis, ultimately translated to a polarity in standards of efficiency with new road construction beyond the Cumberland Plain at the lower extreme.

Hamish Maxwell-Stewart has questioned the 'popular notion notion that the high levels of bushranging associated with the transportation era are correlated with the poor quality of Australia's convict immigrants' on the basis that their skills compared favourably with other immigrants.<sup>36</sup> As the benefits of convict labour could only be realised if they were firstly effectively employed and secondly, the transportees co-operated with the system, Maxwell-Stewart argued that the bushrangers' colonial careers suggested that one or both of those conditions had not been met. This view ignores the effect of the penal status of the convict on their attitudes to enforced and degraded labour. It implies that convicts would co-operate with their debasement in servitude, if only they were managed effectively. A set of penal market forces, unique to the situation, would come into play and facilitate the smooth running of the system.

In addition to the two conditions referred to by Maxwell-Stewart, important other conditions need consideration. These include the degraded civil status of the convict, their attitude to their sentence and their experience of transportation and forced labour in which there was little, if any, personal satisfaction. It is not a matter of contention that the convicts were forced immigrants and largely members of Britain's working class whose labour was important to the colonial economy. Eastern

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35 Sue Rosen, *Government House, Parramatta, 1788 - 2000: A History of the Governors, Their Home And Its Domain Parramatta Park*, Caroline Simpson, Sydney, 2003, pp. 58ff.

36 Maxwell-Stuart, op. cit., p.54.

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Australia, however, was a penal colony and convicts were subject to penal laws and regulations that free people were not. They were also at times subject to individuals capable of abusing their power over them. The nature of their civil status, their status as convicts, was in itself a degradation. As David Neal has argued, convict transportation and slavery shared the following crucial feature:

... both supplied legally degraded, coerced labour to systems heavily dependant on their output. The dynamics of extracting that labour from bonded work forces which were already supplied with the basic necessities of life (food, clothes, shelter) sharply differentiates convicts and slaves from the free workers of England.<sup>37</sup>

Eastern Australia was not a neutral, value free, dispassionate operation of labour market forces with a unique set of motivators that can be assessed in only economic terms. Maxwell-Stewart's thesis in this regard loses sight of the humanity of the subjects of the study, as does that of Nicholas and Shergold. Flogging was not merely an effective motivator for a reluctant workforce. It also caused resentment and hardened the subject. From many accounts the degradation of the experience forever changed the victim. For example, in one of a number of such cases encountered in this thesis, Thomas Ribbands, who was severely flogged by the military at Cox's River and otherwise ill-treated, was so embittered by his experience that he absconded and was ultimately hung for his continued criminal activities.<sup>38</sup> Flogging was not efficient, as claimed by Nicholas, unless it was efficiently brutalising.

As part of the policy of deterrence, punishments were implemented in the public arena, staged in a way to remind convicts of the degradations that awaited them should they transgress. Just as the crimes of the convicts were often opportunistic, so their experiences were subject to opportunistic elements including their allocation to

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37 David Neal, 'Free Society, Penal Colony, Slave Society, Prison?', *Historical Studies*, Vol.22, No. 89, October 1987, pp.507-508.

38 Cook, *op. cit.*, pp.32-34.

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particular gangs, the character of their overseers and fellow convicts, as well as their own individual reactions to events and circumstances. While flogging was not the experience of all convicts or even of all convicts on the Western Road, all convicts were aware of their vulnerability to the lash and other means of punishment and degradation.

### Work on the Road

In the 1830s official attitudes towards convicts became increasingly rigid and punitive. The harsh nature of the work, the convicts' isolation and vulnerability to the whim of convict overseers meant that the road gang system was often counter productive. From early in 1830 the problem of motivating the gang workers had been a concern, with various means proposed to measure and reward work put forward by the Road Department only to be rejected by the Governor because of the cost of additional superintendence.<sup>39</sup> Work proceeded slowly and elements of the stockade system, the convict accommodation and work sites on the western side of the mountains remained in use probably until at least 1839, far longer than anticipated in 1830 by Mitchell. Convict resistance included sabotaging the stockade, absconding and the application of the 'government stroke', i.e., the least amount of work necessary to avoid punishment such as lifting a pick and merely letting it fall.<sup>40</sup>

For the convicts, road work entailed clearing trees and rocks, quarrying and blasting, constructing culverts and general pick and shovel work in closely packed gangs.

Under Act 3 William IV No.3 of 1832 work hours in summer were from 6.00 am to 11.00 am and from 1.00 pm to 6.00 pm. From 1 April to 1 September the hours were from 7.00 am to 12 noon and from 1.00 pm to sunset, including travel time.<sup>41</sup>

According to Assistant Surveyor Romaine Govett the prisoners marched out from No. 2 Stockade each morning guarded by two sentries and a constable. They

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39 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson, 2 Jan 1830 - 25 Jul 1831, 2/1561.2, pp.66-72. R. 3080; Col. Sec., Copies of Letters Sent to Surv. Gen., 1 Jan 1830 - 21 May 1830, 4/3907, p.259. R.3015.

40 Govett, *op. cit.*, p.49.

41 SRNSW: Col. Sec., Special Bundles, Convicts, SZ 79. COD 182

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received at the gate the shovels, pickaxes, iron bars and hatchets needed for their work which were handed in on their return in the evening. Men could be marched up to three miles to work each day and they would frequently sing on the way.

However, magistrate and assistant surveyor Nicholson had forbidden the practice.

These songs, one suspects, were loaded with political and subversive meaning directed at their immediate superiors. On one occasion, as the gangs passed out from the stockade on their way to work, after passing Nicholson's tent, a loud defiant song rang out. Nicholson immediately halted the gang, found the man who instigated the chorus and, forgoing the formality of a trial, had him flogged on the spot.<sup>42</sup>

From mid 1835 when command of the stockade was given over entirely to the military an even harsher regime was ushered in. The Officer in Command, Captain Faunce:

... enforced a system of Running us to our Work at the point of the Bayonet, at the rate of Five miles in the hour. This continued for some 14 or 15 days when the men (finding themselves so far advanced in debility, and their legs so much injured by the friction of the Irons that they could no longer bear against it) offered a determined resistance to its continuance, which led to a deal of traffic in human flesh and blood, by the Soldiers with their Bayonets, and the Scourgers with their Cats.<sup>43</sup>

The gangs and road parties were spaced along the road in such a way that road parties could be isolated from the workforce as a whole. For example, in June 1833 No.9 Road Party was at the eastern extremity of works at Mt Victoria, No.10 Road Party was between No. 2 Stockade, where four ironed gangs were located, the Bridge Party was at the western extremity at Diamond Swamp and No.11 Road Party was at Hassan's Walls to the east of the stockade.<sup>44</sup>

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42 Govett, *op. cit.* p.49.

43 Cook, *op. cit.*, pp.31-32.

44 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson, 2 Jan 1830 - 25 July 1831, 2/1561.2, p.330. R.3080.

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For two years from mid 1833 Thomas Cook had the experience of working in most of these gangs as well as in the administration. He worked in the No.10 Road Party at Honeysuckle Flat, the No.9 Road Party at Mt Victoria, the Bridge Party at Diamond Swamp, an ironed gang based at No. 2 Stockade, in Surveyor Nicholson's office at Mt Clarence, and as a clerk to George Morley, Principal Overseer of Convicts at No. 2 Stockade. According to Cook, his experience in the No.10 Road Party at Honeysuckle Flat, which at the time was not on an open line of road, was more onerous because of its isolation than that in the No.9 Road Party at Mt Victoria. [Figure 5.16] Referring to the isolation, Cook recalled that the only access that convicts had to authorities to make a complaint about their treatment was to the Sub-Inspector of Roads who 'far from checking, encouraged and supported' the overseers in 'all their acts of cruelty and oppression' and that the inevitable result of lodging a complaint was a trumped up charge of 'neglect of work, insolence, threatening language or the like' which resulted in the complainant being brought before the court and a flogging awarded. This usually would have been from 25 to 50 lashes.<sup>45</sup>

Support for Cook's claims can be found in court records related to abscondings. As recapture was highly likely with flogging a certainty, accounts of abscondings often have the hall marks of desperation about them.<sup>46</sup> In July 1836, for example, Mathew Masefield, a prisoner from the Mt Victoria building party under Assistant Overseer Barnes asked Sub-Inspector Binning to remove him to another gang, stating that he would 'take to the bush' if he was not moved. Binning countered that he mustered prisoners once a week so that they could make any complaints and implied Masefield's fears were unfounded. In a mockery of the process, the complaint was construed as the use of threatening language and Masefield was sentenced to seven days solitary confinement. The tone of the proceedings suggested that Masefield was desperate.<sup>47</sup> In another incident involving Binning and Barnes at Mt Victoria,

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<sup>45</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, p.18.

<sup>46</sup> SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, of Clwydd Bench, Feb 16, 1836 - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, pp.99-101. R.669.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64; 66-67.

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Thomas Gates was charged with disorderly conduct and abusive language because William Jones, who was about to be transferred to Binning's service, absconded after being warned by Gates that Binning could not be satisfied and would work him to death. Binning's was "too bad a place for any man to go to". As a result Jones was sentenced to 12 months in irons, it being his second offence for absconding, while Gates received a show of mercy and was merely admonished.<sup>48</sup> The trial of offences on work sites was, according to Cook, a judicial charade, with the magistrate/surveyor not even dismounting to investigate the charges. Flogging of groups of men or the entire gang, with 50 or 100 lashes ordered, occurred without hearing evidence under oath. The men plotted to escape and to murder their tormentors. Some maimed themselves to gain respite in the hospital.<sup>49</sup>

The No.10 Road Party, where Cook was stationed in mid 1833, was under Principal Overseer James Pumphrey with assistants William Barnes and Joseph Calvert. A surveyor by profession, Pumphrey was originally convicted of machine breaking and was, therefore, a protester. Protesters have generally been viewed as less criminal than the thieves comprising the bulk of the convict population. Pumphrey had been a supporter of the 'Radical and Musical Society' which was involved in the disturbances of the villages of central Hampshire. The society attracted craftsmen, small farmers and labourers dedicated to the radical reform of parliament. They organised one of the largest protests in southern England.<sup>50</sup> According to Kent and Townsend, Pumphrey was convicted on the basis that he was observed to be part of a crowd, exercised leadership, demanded or received money and was active as a negotiator. He was convicted on 4 December 1830 and the death sentence was passed.<sup>51</sup> His father petitioned for clemency and his letter of petition was forwarded to the Home Office by Sir Thomas Baring, a Justice of the Peace at Winchester, who had been asked to support it with a favourable recommendation. But Baring found

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48 Ibid., pp.102-103, 112-113.

49 Cook, *op. cit.*, p.32.

50 Rudé, *op. cit.*, p.247.

51 David Kent and Norma Townsend, *The Convicts of the Eleanor: Protest in Rural England new Lives in Australia*, The Merlin Press, Pluto Press, Australia, 2002, pp.167; 124-125; 261; PRO: HO6/16; HO11/8; HO 130/1. Offence 230.



this impossible to do as he was ‘... well acquainted with his former bad life and conduct and my belief is that unless he is sent out of the Country he will commit some great offence.’

Baring had tried ‘every expedient of severity and kindness to reclaim him’ but to no effect, including obtaining a position as a road surveyor with McAdam. A situation he held for ‘not more than a month ... before he not only misconducted himself in the most gross manner but corrupted the men working under him’ and was sacked. Unfortunately for Pumphrey, Baring’s Estate was one of the targets of protest demanding increased wages and the destruction of machines. From all accounts it was a well behaved crowd. The charges levelled were harsh and exaggerated. Amongst his crimes was the organisation of a mob to rescue a prisoner under sentence of execution.<sup>52</sup> As a result of the petition, in January 1831, the sentence was commuted to transportation for life. On arrival in New South Wales, the 29 year old Pumphrey was reserved for government service on the roads because he was a surveyor.<sup>53</sup>

George Rudé’s *Protest and Punishment: The Story of the Social and Political Protesters Transported to Australia, 1788-1868* (1978), the statistical analysis of which has been discredited due to methodological failures, can still be credited with raising awareness of the possibility that some convicts were social or political protestors.<sup>54</sup> If crimes of protest, potentially including wilful destruction, combination, unlawful oaths and threatening letters, are collated they amount to a possible maximum of 1.3% of those with identified crimes found in this study. Their appearance as recidivists on the Western Road in the 1830s are too small to be meaningfully compared with Rudé’s data.

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52 PRO: HO 17/54 Part 1, Ip41.

53 Kent and Townsend, *op. cit.*, pp.167; 124-125; 261.

54 George Rudé, *Protest & Punishment*, Oxford University Press, 1978 pp.242-247.

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The No.10 Road Party under Pumphrey, the former political activist, was a restive party, refusing to work, breaking out of the lock-up, committing thefts and absconding. Some 56 of its members came before the Court in 1833.<sup>55</sup> In the six months from July 1833, some 39 charges were made for absconding from No.10 Road Party, five for absence and five for robbery. Approximately 11 charges were for either refusing to work, neglect of work, insolence, or insulting Pumphrey and one was for making a false complaint against the overseer. Thomas Cook had also been charged as part of the protest movement, signing the threatening letter for which he was transported as 'Captain Swing'. Cook's claim of cruel behaviour is lent some credence by the court records for this particular group and tarnishes the reputation of both protesters and skilled convicts as persons of humanity equipped with a finely tuned social conscience. By all accounts, Pumphrey had been an activist in England but from Cook's account and the court records, Pumphrey was a changed man. Presumably due to his conformity with the system and his contribution to the Western Road, in 1837 he received a conditional pardon after a relatively short period under penal restraint for a person originally under a life term.<sup>56</sup>

James Thorp had worked as an overseer since at least mid 1833 and succeeded Pumphrey as overseer of No.10 Road Party. An indication of Thorp's character is provided by a notation on his indent record which records that he had received 6 lashes for ill treatment of his fellow prisoners on the voyage out in 1825.<sup>57</sup> In further corroboration of the corruption of the overseers, he was dismissed in August 1835 for making a false report to the Assistant Police Magistrate and for conniving at the malpractices of his gang, a large number of whom had recently been indicted on charges of robbery with violence and rape at the inn of Lydia Barnes where they had spent an afternoon drinking.<sup>58</sup> Because of the shortage of skilled men, Thorp's

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55 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Return of Convict Trials before Benches of Magistrates, 1832 - 1836, Bathurst to Goulburn, 4/7022.1.

56 PRO: CO 205/6, p.378. Despatch No.19.

57 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, Aug 1823 - Dec 1825, 4/4009A, pp.128; 390. R.2662.

58 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Copies of Letters Sent to Col. Sec., 21 Feb 1835 - 31 Dec 1835, 4/5401, p. 268. R.2840; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, 1824 - 1836, CGS 880, T162; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and Other Papers 1824 - 1947, CGS

dismissal was, like that of Christopher McDonald referred to in Chapter Three, only a very temporary career set back. The records show that he was re-employed as an overseer by February 1836 and he remained an overseer until at least March 1839.

### **Assertion of Prisoners' Rights**

It is evident from the correspondence that prisoners on the roads were aware of their rights and had the ability to assert them. For example, in April 1830 Benjamin Solomon of the Botany Road Party had refused to go on watch. When brought before the Sydney magistrates, Solomon, said in his defence that as he had been working all day he could not do a six hour watch. The magistrates 'considered the man's reason was feasible and accordingly dismissed the charge' to the chagrin of the Botany Road overseer and Nicholson, who at that time was in charge of the Department of Roads and Bridges.<sup>59</sup> The situation on the Western Road was different to the extent that isolation inhibited such an exercise of rights. But the convicts, from their experience elsewhere in the system, were aware of the existence of rights that they were often powerless to exercise. This understanding was the source of a sense of injustice for many prisoners.

After a display of courage and leadership potential, eleven year old John Flinn, the youngest prisoner encountered on the road, was awarded 50 lashes for not only refusing to work but for attempting to raise a "spirit of resistance" by calling on other workers to throw down their tools and cease work before the day's end. In another instance, John Moody was sentenced to 25 lashes for refusing a direction of his overseer, laughing at him and informing him that, as a carpenter, he was not supposed to work at any other trade than his own.<sup>60</sup>

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13477, T 30, No.18; T 42, No. 20.

59 SRNSW: Col. Sec., Copies of Letters Sent to Surv. Gen., 1 Jan 1830 - 21 May 1830, 4/3907, pp.453-454. R.3015.

60 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Books, Feb 16, 1836 - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, pp. 3, 65-70; 118-119. R.669.

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On occasion, in full public view where the judicial outcome was certain, prisoners strongly resisted coercion. For example, in December 1832 when Assistant Overseer John Hamilton of No.6 Iron Gang identified William Coffee, Robert Tudor, William Smith, Nicholas Collins, Humphrey Marks and Henry Lee as idlers who had refused to work, he was struck down by Lee in the presence of some 200 to 300 men including members of the military. Later in the day Hamilton was attacked a second time by Lee, Coffee and Collins, who kicked, abused and threatened to kill him. If the witnesses are to be believed, in a show of persistence they again refused to work the following day, keeping up the attack on Hamilton and throwing stones at him.<sup>61</sup>

Within a month, in another example involving Robert Tudor, iron gang overseer William Bruton, backed up by sentry William Grant, complained that the refractory Tudor wouldn't work. He had shown a determination from the commencement of the day to idle away his time, standing upright, defiantly resting his foot on the spade and ignoring directions. When Bruton remonstrated with him on his obstinacy and neglect, the 18 year old Tudor exploded with frustration, saying (according to Bruton) "Oh you bloody dog ...!!!!", he aimed a blow at Bruton's head with the spade. In evidence it was (dubiously) reported that Tudor had stated his intention to kill Bruton and that he was sorry he was unsuccessful. To compound matters, while under escort he had attempted to 'draw off' a bayonet from one of the soldiers. Not surprisingly, despite the manufactured tone of some of the evidence, with the number of witnesses arraigned against him, Tudor was found guilty of assault with intent to murder or do grievous bodily harm and sentenced to be transported for two years to Moreton Bay.<sup>62</sup>

As a postscript to Tudor's attack on Brunton, when Constable Cosgrove was escorting Tudor back to the stockade, Cosgrove was struck on the head by Walter

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61 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions; CGS 2772, Bathurst, Bench Books, 28 Dec 1832 - 19 Mar 1833, 2/8324, pp.38-40; 97-99. R. 663.

62 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions; CGS 2772, Bathurst, Bench Books, 28 Dec 1832 - 19 Mar 1833, 2/8324, pp.147-150. R. 663; Clerk of the Peace, Quarter Sessions, Depositions and Other Papers, CGS 845, Bathurst, 4/8369, pp.47-59. R.2395

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Burke as they passed him on the road. Burke was a 28 year old former soldier who had only arrived in the colony three months previously on a life sentence for mutiny. According to Cosgrove, after the assault, Burke said words to the effect:

You are not the man I took you for, I thought it had been Mr Shapley, the Superintendent and I would have murdered him, but as it is I am sorry I did not do so to you as I am determined to kill someone or other.<sup>63</sup>

The phrasing and tone of this attribution is so artificial and stilted one's credulity is again stretched to accept it, particularly since a threat against the head of the local convict administration was certain to attract a harsh penalty. Patrick McDonald, the sentry who witnessed this attack testified that when another prisoner reproved Burke stating that Cosgrove was not disliked, Burke replied that "... he did not care who it was he struck or killed". To fix his reputation as "a desperate and depraved character" when McDonald cocked and levelled his piece at him, Burke pulled another man before him and begged for mercy. Like Tudor, he was sentenced to two years in a penal colony and a week later they both were sentenced to 50 lashes after they broke out of their cells in Bathurst gaol.<sup>64</sup>

The much younger Tudor had arrived in the colony in February 1828 at the age of 14 with a seven year sentence for housebreaking. When convicted he had three former convictions and went on to have an extensive colonial criminal career and he was still in an iron gang in 1842. Other charges included theft, repeated absconding and assaulting a constable at Parramatta.<sup>65</sup>

Sometimes, the nagging of overseers was too much to bear. Peter McGee struck assistant overseer John Malone on the head saying, "Take that you bugger", as

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63 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions; CGS 2772, Bathurst, Bench Books, 28 Dec 1832 - 19 Mar 1833, 2/8324, pp.151-153. R. 663; Clerk of the Peace, Quarter Sessions, Depositions and Other Papers, CGS 845, Bathurst, 4/8369, pp.47-59; 63-67. R.2395.

64 Ibid.

65 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, 1827- 1828, 4/4013, p.52 and insert on p.106. R.398.

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Malone instructed prisoners in the work. McGee immediately owned as the perpetrator of the crime, confessing that it was Malone's haggling and reporting of him for neglect of work that induced him to do it.<sup>66</sup> Neglect of duty could include sleeping on watch, being late back from messages, losing documents and money, getting drunk, going slow and straight refusal. For example, Christopher Cooke reputedly told his overseer that he would neither run for him nor for the captain. In another example, Cornelius Dwyer and John Downie were supposed to be gathering thatch and mixing mortar at Mt Victoria and achieved very little in the time allocated and were charged with neglect by Overseer Thorp. Downie compounded the charge by insisting on a pass to the hospital, in what was considered a blatant avoidance of work.<sup>67</sup> In May 1833 Dennis Shea of the Bridge Party was sentenced to seven days solitary confinement for refusing to work and insolence to his overseer.<sup>68</sup> Shea who had arrived as a 17 year old in 1827 with a seven year sentence for stealing cloth eventually received a 14 year sentence to Norfolk Island.<sup>69</sup>

### Other Forms of Resistance

Direct confrontation with the system led, with a degree of predictability that the prison reformers in Great Britain would have found pleasing, to a sentence entailing greater adversity. Resistance could take many forms including avoiding appointments considered unattractive. Assistant Surveyor Nicholson, for example, complained that some prisoners were 'useless' and '... in the habit of stating themselves incapable, when sent to places, or disconnected from their associates, contrary to their wishes ...'.<sup>70</sup> Convict mechanics were known to conceal their trade so as to avoid unfavourable employment.<sup>71</sup> Feigning sickness was another ruse. Cook reported that:

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66 SRNSW: Clerk of the Peace, Quarter Sessions, Depositions and Other Papers, CGS 845, Bathurst, 4/8382, pp. 271-282. R.2398

67 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Books, 16 Feb 1836 - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, pp.1-4; 209. R.669.

68 SR: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Returns of Convict Trials Before Bench of Magistrates, 1832-1836, Bathurst to Goulburn, 4/7022.1p.4

69 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, 1827, 4/4012, p.90. R.397.

70 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson, 2 Jan 1830 - 25 July 1831 2/1561.2, pp.130-131. R. 3080.

71 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson, 14 Feb 1832 - 22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, pp.155-158. R. 3080.

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Various were the schemes resorted to by some of the men to gain shelter within the Walls of the Hospital from this dreadful state of endurance; inter alia, by purposely maiming themselves with their Tools at labour, such as driving a pick into the foot.<sup>72</sup>

Other means of subverting the work was the loss or breaking of tools, punishment for which could include flogging, as in the case of James Siddons and Richard Galloway. Both received 35 lashes in March 1833 for refusing to work and losing a pick axe.<sup>73</sup>

John McGregor and George Walker of the Bathurst Bridge party in 1836 were charged with neglect of duty and disobeying orders when they refused to assist the overseer restrain a drunken prisoner who was escaping. McGregor, who was sentenced to 75 lashes, said he 'was not going to run after the man to get his back scratched'.<sup>74</sup>

Hamlet Winkle, a miner, who on arrival in NSW in November 1828 had been assigned to the Mineral Surveyor, found himself ten years later under sentence on the Western Road. Initially placed at the Bowen's Hollow Lumber Yard, he was moved to the house of Alexander Binning, the Sub-Inspector of Roads, where he had the privilege of sleeping in the kitchen. Unfortunately it was in Binning's kitchen that Hamlet became aware of locals butchering the odd beast belonging to Binning for their own consumption. On 10 May 1838 Hamlet was in court giving evidence to this effect. Several days later, on May 14, he had a change of heart, and probably under duress, ceased to co-operate. As a consequence, he was sentenced to 50 lashes for 'gross prevarication and refusing to answer the questions put to him by the bench'.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Cook, *op. cit.*, pp.31-32.

<sup>73</sup> SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Returns of Convict Trials Before Bench of Magistrates, 1832-1836, Bathurst to Goulburn, 4/7022.1 p.2.

<sup>74</sup> SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Bathurst Bench Books 1825-1936, CGS 2772, 2/8325, pp.129-130. R. 1259.

<sup>75</sup> SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Books, 16 Feb - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, p.272. R.669.

### Private Enterprise

Until at least mid 1833, members of road parties were allowed passes to work for themselves. To attain the privilege they had to bring a written request from a respectable settler. A pass was issued for travel to the settler's property and confirmation was required from the employer that the work had been performed.<sup>76</sup>

Some also worked, or were forced to work, on behalf of their overseers who were making a profit from the proceeds. In one such instance, George Waddington and Edward Peters were charged by Overseer William Barnes with making a false complaint against him, i.e., of receiving payment for a box they had made and for claiming that he had ordered them to manufacture it. Waddington was a joiner by trade and Peters, a white-smith. Barnes denied the charges and produced the supposed clients who were Moore of the Mounted Police and Rowell, a former overseer, to verify his assertions. Both Waddington and Peters received 50 lashes for making false statements. At the same hearing William Lee was charged by Barnes with sawing and selling timber on his own behalf on Saturdays and Sundays. Lee acknowledged this at that trial but the issue of concern was Lee's use of a government saw to do the work. Lee testified that the timber was sawn and delivered to the client under Barnes' instructions. In another testament to the power of the overseers, Lee was also convicted and received 50 lashes.<sup>77</sup> James Thompson, a sawyer from the Bowen's Hollow Lumber Yard was caught making a stable door at the home of John and Jadie Cox one Saturday afternoon. The Coxes were fined £5 and Thompson received 25 lashes.<sup>78</sup> In the evidence cited above, the voice of the accuser and witnesses are heard clearly in that they are directly transcribed, but the voice of the accused is usually not given a hearing or is spoken by someone else on their behalf. The fact that some incidences came to the attention of the courts

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76 SRNSW: Surv. Gen., Letters Received from Surveyors, Nicholson, 14 Feb 1832 - 22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, p.250. R. 3080.

77 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Books, 16 Feb - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, pp.66-70. R.669.

78 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Book, 16 Feb - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, p.87. R.669.



suggests that there could well have been other undetected episodes of private work or work for the benefit of the overseer.

### Occupational Health and Safety

Injuries in the course of the works or inflicted by fellow prisoners were a part of life on the road and, although no log book recording injuries or hospitalisations has survived, a number of references in the records provide some insight into the issue. Stephen Maypole, for example, seemed to have a particularly short and chequered career coupled with a fraught working life. He had arrived in the colony in August 1832 with a 14 year sentence for theft.<sup>79</sup> The first reference to Maypole is in May 1834 when he was stabbed several times by Thomas Myers, a fellow prisoner, in two attacks on the one day.<sup>80</sup> By August 1835 he was a constable and was stabbed by John Nowland as he prepared to scourge him.<sup>81</sup> The following year he was convicted of larceny and in consequence lost his position as constable and received a sentence of 12 months in irons on the road. While at work on the road, a fellow prisoner hit him over the head with a shovel knocking him senseless and with the intent of doing more serious damage but he was fortuitously rescued by the military.<sup>82</sup> In August 1837 he was charged with bushranging and robbery. After an appearance in the New South Wales Supreme Court he received another sentence to the roads<sup>83</sup> and he died at the Hassan's Walls stockade hospital in August 1839 at the age of 28.<sup>84</sup>

The real impact of flogging is indicated by the particularly hazardous life of the stockade scourgers who were in a much more perilous position than those that were simply constables or police. William Robinson, the scourger at No. 2 Stockade

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79 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, 1832-1833, 4/4017, p.72. R.905; X634, p.93. R.907.

80 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Information and Other Papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T38 No.18.

81 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, 1824 - 1836, CGS 880, T163; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and Other Papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T. 42, No.18.

82 SRNSW: Courts of Petty Sessions, Vale of Clwydd Bench Book, 16 Feb - 2 Jun 1839, CGS 3064, 4/5673, pp.41-49; 99-101. R.669.

83 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, Sydney and on Circuit, 1824 -1946, CGS 880, 9/6307, No. 27.

84 SRNSW: Principal Superintendent of Convicts, Convict Indents, 1832 - 1833, 4/4017, p.72. R.905; X634, p.93. R.907.

## Chapter Seven: The Convict Workers of the Western Road

suffered at least two serious attempts on his life by fellow prisoners. In the first attack, in March 1833, John Wright a member of the No. D Iron Gang at Cox's River was mustered by Robinson with other prisoners on a Saturday morning to be brought before the magistrate for refusing to work. While Robinson was checking the leg irons, Wright stabbed him in the neck and shoulder twice (penetrating to the hilt of the knife handle) with Robinson managing to parry a third lunge. Wright was reputed to have said that he had not intended to stab Robinson but that it was meant for "the bloody hangman of a superintendent." The matter was referred to the Supreme Court.<sup>85</sup> In the second attack, in September 1835, in full view of soldiers, Jacob Gibbons, in irons at No. 2 Stockade, almost killed Robinson, who was again inspecting the irons of the men before they were turned out to work. Gibbons struck him on the head with a bludgeon made from the leg of a stool. He was well prepared and was also armed with a pair of scissors hidden in his shoe, the handle wrapped with cloth, and a pointed piece of sheet iron. Gibbons was sentenced to death in the Supreme Court.<sup>86</sup> In the attack on Stephen Maypole mentioned earlier, Maypole was preparing to scourge John Nowland when he saw Nowland searching his pockets and thought he was getting some tobacco to chew during the flogging. Instead, Nowland drew out a knife made from an old hoop and ran at Maypole trying to stab him in the chest. Maypole was saved when Robinson and one of the military intervened. Undeterred Nowland made another attempt later in the day. He too received a death sentence in the Supreme Court.<sup>87</sup>

Timothy Mahoney was 38 years old and had been in the colony only 16 months when he was murdered by Daniel Maloney while at work in an ironed quarry gang at Hassan's Walls in 1838. From the accounts of witnesses he was killed by a blow to the head with a pick in an act of unprovoked aggression. It was reported by a fellow

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85 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, 1824-1836, CGS 880, T. 157.

86 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, 1824-1836, CGS 880, T162; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and Other Papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T 42, No. 28.

87 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and Depositions, 1824-1836, CGS 880, T163; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and Other Papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T. 42, No.18.

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prisoner that Mahoney had said that it was not one he wished to have killed but half a dozen. Mahoney was originally an indoor servant convicted of receiving stolen goods and was serving a 14 year sentence; nothing more is known of Maloney. Unlike Maypole or Robinson, Mahoney was not in a position of authority over Maloney which could have given cause for particular resentment. The situation may have arisen simply because of the exigencies of life in an iron gang and that in committing the murder he was assured of his own release from the system, via execution. In a similar way, in August 1838 Thomas Phillips used a pick to attack John Murphy while they worked side by side in a Hassan's Walls iron gang. Murphy survived the attack for which he had no explanation and other witnesses to the event reported no words between them immediately prior to the event. Murphy was saved by the intervention of his fellow prisoners. Again, evidence was given by James Ryan who belonged to the same box [accommodation] as Phillips, that he had confided the evening before the attack, that he would murder somebody, and after the event, that Murphy had not been the intended victim. Phillips was a 29 year old highway robber, who had arrived in the colony on a 14 year sentence in 1834. Murphy was a 23 year old, also on a 14 year sentence for house breaking, who had been in the colony since 1832. Murphy's stint in the iron gang appears to be the result of a conviction for the sexual assault of an 11 year old boy, the son of a fellow assigned servant.

Given the relative 'innocence' and youth of the Western Road convict population, the number of publicly attempted and successful murders raises the question of the impact of the situation on men's sanity. Some crimes, committed in full view of numerous witnesses, had the almost inevitable outcome of execution for the perpetrator. For example, George Thompson of No.C Iron Gang struck fellow gang member George Harding on the head with a pick. While it appeared unprovoked at the time, Harding was known to have informed authorities of a planned escape. At the time Thompson declared that Harding had got what he deserved.<sup>88</sup>

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88 SRNSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and depositions, 1824-1836, CGS 880, T160.

## Conclusion

As indicated in the earlier portion of this chapter and in the tables following the convict workers on the Western Road were possessed of a range of skills indicative of working class origins. About 46% brought skills or experience to the road from the construction, extractive, and agricultural sectors, together with labourers, these occupations may have equipped them for the experience of labouring on the road. But the most important factor for pick and shovel work on the roads was stamina associated with their youthfulness. Such qualities were tempered by the likelihood that the extremely young would not have reached physical maturity and may have been less compliant, than more mature workers.

The heavy reliance on court records used in this chapter may not do justice to the majority of convict workers on the Western Road. It is clear that a certain number belonged to Perry's better behaved 1<sup>st</sup> class and 2<sup>nd</sup> class description of men referred to in Chapter Two, but, except for those who were promoted to overseers' position, they remain invisible. On the balance of probabilities it could be argued that the majority 'got on with the work'; or they didn't get caught; or they fell through the gaps in the records.

But notwithstanding the bias of the evidence, it nevertheless is evidence that workers on the road were subject to a degree of uncertainty due to their vulnerability to the extremes of the system. Factors such as the isolation, the corruption of the overseers, the pressures on the managers of the road works and of security, as explained in earlier chapters, combined to ensure that the experience was brutal and dehumanising.

This was not the intent of authorities locally, or those in Sydney or the United Kingdom, who were removed from the 'on ground' reality. But it must be conceded that local authorities on the road had some awareness of the situation, and perhaps

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chose to ignore it, because solving the problems generated by the contradictions in the situation was impossible given the funding situation.

	A	B	C	D	E
1	<b>Table 7.1 Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Skill Classification</b>				
2	<b>Skill/Occupation x Industry</b>	<b>No. with skill</b>	<b>Boy, Apprentice, *s Man or *s Labourer</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Classification</b>
3	<b>Agriculture and Fishing</b>				
4	Ploughman/ploughs	74	1	75	Semi Skilled
5	Farmer	2	69	71	Middling/ semi-skilled
6	Reaper/reaps	59		59	Semi Skilled
7	Milks	32		32	Semi Skilled
8	Sows	17		17	Semi Skilled
9	Shepherd	16	1	17	Semi Skilled
10	Farm Servant	13		13	Semi Skilled
11	Drover/Herdsman	8		8	Semi Skilled
12	Fisherman	5	1	6	Semi Skilled
13	Shears	4		4	Semi Skilled
14	Spadesman	4		4	Semi Skilled
15	Dairyman	2		2	Semi Skilled
16	Fencer	2		2	Semi Skilled
17	Thresher	2		2	Semi Skilled
18	Market Gardener	1		1	Semi Skilled
19	Mows	1		1	Semi Skilled
20	Digs ditches	1		1	Semi Skilled
21		<b>243</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>315</b>	
22	<b>Textile Industry</b>				
23	Weaver/Clothier	46	1	47	Skilled
24	Cotton Spinner	10		10	Skilled
25	Cotton Factory Man	4		4	Skilled
26	Dyer	4		4	Semi Skilled
27	Bleacher	3		3	Semi Skilled
28	Calico Glazier/ Calico Printer	2		2	Skilled
29	Cloth dresser	1		1	Skilled
30	Cotton Carder	1		1	Skilled
31	Frame work knitter	1		1	Skilled
32	Fustian Cutter	1		1	Skilled
33	Hemp & flaxdresser	2		2	Skilled
34	Oil cloth printer	1		1	Skilled
35	Woolcomber	1		1	Skilled
36	Woollen manufacturer	1		1	Skilled
37		<b>78</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>79</b>	
38	<b>Apparel Manufacture</b>				
39	Tailor	24	7	31	Skilled
40	Boot closer/shoe maker/leather dresser/currie	28	4	32	Skilled
41	Buckle finisher	1		1	Skilled
42	Gimblett & belt maker	1		1	Skilled
43	Glover	1		1	Skilled
44		<b>55</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>66</b>	
45	<b>Transport and Communications</b>				
46	Messenger/Errand Boy	3	64	67	Unskilled
47	Stable Man - Ostler	11	20	31	Semi Skilled
48	Carter/waggoner	22	1	23	Semi Skilled
49	Bargeman/Lighterman/ Waterman/Boatman	18	3	21	Semi Skilled
50	Porter	14		14	Unskilled
51	Coachman	4		4	Semi Skilled
52	Cabin Boy	1	2	3	Semi Skilled
53	Post boy	3		3	Unskilled
54	Navigator	1		1	Skilled
55	Postillion	1		1	Semi Skilled
56		<b>78</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>168</b>	
57	<b>Domestic Service</b>				
58	Servant: In and Outdoor and gentleman's	57	1	58	Semi Skilled
59	Groom	42		42	Semi Skilled
60	Gardener	11	3	14	Semi Skilled
61	Footman	6		6	Semi Skilled
62	Cook	5		5	Skilled
63	Butler	3		3	Semi Skilled
64	Kitchen Boy		1	1	Unskilled
65	Pantry boy	1		1	Unskilled
66	Slave	1		1	Unskilled
67		<b>126</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>131</b>	

	A	B	C	D	E
1	<b>Table 7.1 Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Skill Classification</b>				
2	<b>Skill/Occupation x Industry</b>	<b>No. with skill</b>	<b>Boy, Apprentice, *s Man or *s Labourer</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Classification</b>
68	<b>Construction</b>				
69	Carpenter	15	4	19	Skilled
70	Bricklayer	11	6	17	Skilled
71	Plasterer	8	7	15	Skilled
72	Sawyer	13		13	Skilled
73	Brickmaker	4	4	8	Skilled
74	Joiner	8		8	Skilled
75	Glazier	7		7	Skilled
76	Mason	6	1	7	Skilled
77	Cabinet Maker	5	1	6	Skilled
78	House Painter	9	2	11	Skilled
79	Slater	3		3	Skilled
80	Stone Cutter	3		3	Skilled
81	Thatcher	2		2	Skilled
82	Grainer	1		1	Skilled
83	Paviour's Labourer		1	1	Skilled
84	Stone and marble polisher	1		1	Skilled
85		<b>96</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>122</b>	
86	<b>Military - Naval</b>				
87	Soldier	63		63	Skilled
88	Sailor/Seaman/Mariner	30	1	31	Skilled
89	Officer's Servant	10		10	Skilled
90	Drummer	1		1	Skilled
91	Lieut. in the German Legion returning from N.	1		1	Professional
92	Reg.t Clerk in 73rd Reg.t	1		1	Skilled
93		<b>106</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>107</b>	
94	<b>Primary processing</b>				
95	Makes butter	9		9	Semi Skilled
96	Miller	1	1	2	Skilled
97	Brewer	1		1	Semi Skilled
98	Cider maker	1		1	Semi Skilled
99	Makes cheese	1		1	Semi Skilled
100	Malster	1		1	Semi Skilled
101	Tobacco manufacturer	1		1	Skilled
102		<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>16</b>	
103	<b>Retail/Wholesale/Dealer</b>				
104	Clerk	8		8	Skilled
105	Pedlar	7		7	Unskilled
106	Shop Man/Boy	3	2	5	Skilled
107	Collier/Coal Monger	2	1	3	Skilled/Middling
108	Horse Dealer	3		3	Skilled
109	Chimney Sweep	2		2	Skilled
110	Hawker	2		2	Skilled
111	Warehouse man	2		2	Skilled
112	Corn Chandler	1		1	Skilled/Middling
113	Salesman	1		1	Skilled
114	Stationer	1		1	Skilled
115	Tallow chandler	1		1	Skilled
116	Tobacconist's boy		1	1	Skilled
117		<b>33</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>37</b>	
118	<b>Food - Retail</b>				
119	Butcher	14	4	18	Skilled
120	Baker	8	1	9	Skilled
121	Pot boy/tap boy	1	4	5	Skilled
122	Milkman	4		4	Skilled
123	Publican/innkeeper	2		2	Middling
124	Waiter	2		2	Skilled
125	Poulterer	1		1	Middling
126		<b>32</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>41</b>	
127	<b>Miscellaneous</b>				
128	Lamplighter	1		1	Semi Skilled
129	Scale board cutter	1		1	?
130	Showboy		1	1	?
131		<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	
132	<b>Labouring/Low Skill</b>				
133	Labourer	57		57	Unskilled
134	Factory boy		7	7	Unskilled
135	Sweep	4		4	Skilled
136	Canal digger	1		1	Unskilled
137		<b>62</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>69</b>	

	A	B	C	D	E
1	<b>Table 7.1 Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Skill Classification</b>				
2	<b>Skill/Occupation x Industry</b>	<b>No. with skill</b>	<b>Boy, Apprentice, *s Man or *s Labourer</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Armstrong Adjusted (Rosen) Classification</b>
138	<b>Metal Trades</b>				
139	Blacksmith	8	4	12	Skilled
140	Brass Castor/Founder/Brazier	5	2	7	Skilled/Semi skilled
141	Knife Grinder	1	4	5	Skilled
142	Iron forger/founder/roller/turner	4		4	Skilled
143	Tinman	3		3	Skilled
144	Cutler	2		2	Skilled
145	File Cutter	2		2	Skilled
146	Nailer	2		2	Skilled
147	Farrier	1		1	Skilled
148	Filer	1		1	Skilled
149	Grinder	1		1	Skilled
150		<b>30</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>40</b>	
151	<b>Extractive Industry</b>				
152	Miner	11	1	12	Skilled
153	Coal miner	3	1		Skilled
154	Quarryman	2		2	Skilled
155		<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>	
156	<b>Other manufacturing</b>				
157	Paint manufacturer	1		1	Skilled
158	Paper maker	1		1	Skilled
159	Pipe maker	1		1	Skilled
160	Reed maker	1		1	Skilled
161	Rope maker	1		1	Skilled
162	Coach smith/joiner	2		2	Skilled
163	Sail Maker	2		2	Skilled
164	Wheelwright	2		2	Skilled
165	Coach harness plater	1		1	Skilled
166	Shipwright	1		1	Skilled
167		<b>13</b>		<b>13</b>	
168	<b>Artisan</b>				
169	Gunsmith/gun filer/ gun polisher	8		8	Skilled
170	Cooper	5		5	Skilled
171	Hair Dresser	5		5	Skilled
172	Frame maker/Frame smith	2		2	Skilled
173	Locksmith	2		2	Skilled
174	Machine Maker	2		2	Skilled
175	Watchmaker	2		2	Skilled
176	Whitesmith	2		2	Skilled
177	Bellows maker	1		1	Skilled
178	Bookbinder	1		1	Skilled
179	China painter	1		1	Skilled
180	Comb Maker	1		1	Skilled
181	Compositor	1		1	Skilled
182	Copper-plate Printer	1		1	Skilled
183	Furniture polisher	1		1	Skilled
184	Glass grinder & polisher	1		1	Skilled
185	Letter-press Printer	1		1	Skilled
186	Potter's apprentice		1	1	Skilled
187	Sign painter	1		1	Skilled
188	Umbrella maker	1		1	Skilled
189	Upholsterer	1		1	Skilled
190		<b>40</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>41</b>	
191	<b>Health Professional</b>				
192	Surgeon/Medical Student	3	1	4	Professional
193	Chemist & Druggist	2		2	Middling/Skilled
194	Vet surgeon	1		1	Middling
195		<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	
196	<b>Arts</b>				
197	Musician	4		4	Skilled
198	Cork Cutter	1		1	Skilled
199	Poet	1		1	Skilled
200		<b>6</b>		<b>6</b>	
201	<b>The Law</b>				
202	Attorney's clerk	2		2	Middling
203	Scrivener	1		1	Middling
204	Sherriff/bailiff	1		1	Skilled
205		<b>4</b>		<b>4</b>	
206	<b>Misc. Professional</b>				
207	Road maker	1		1	Skilled
208	Road surveyor	1		1	Professional
209	Teacher of Deaf and Dumb	1		1	Middling
210		<b>3</b>		<b>3</b>	









**Figure 7.1**

*Convicts Building the Road to Bathurst, 1833.* Charles Rodius. While this painting depicts convicts on the eastern ascent of the Blue Mountains it nevertheless captures conditions similar to those experienced on the western descent. [National Library of Australia]