
CENTRAL HOBART

A THEMATIC HISTORY

Lindy Scripps



1991
(reprinted 1996)

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This report was originally published as Appendix 1 of the Central Area Strategy Plan (CASP) Heritage Topic Report.

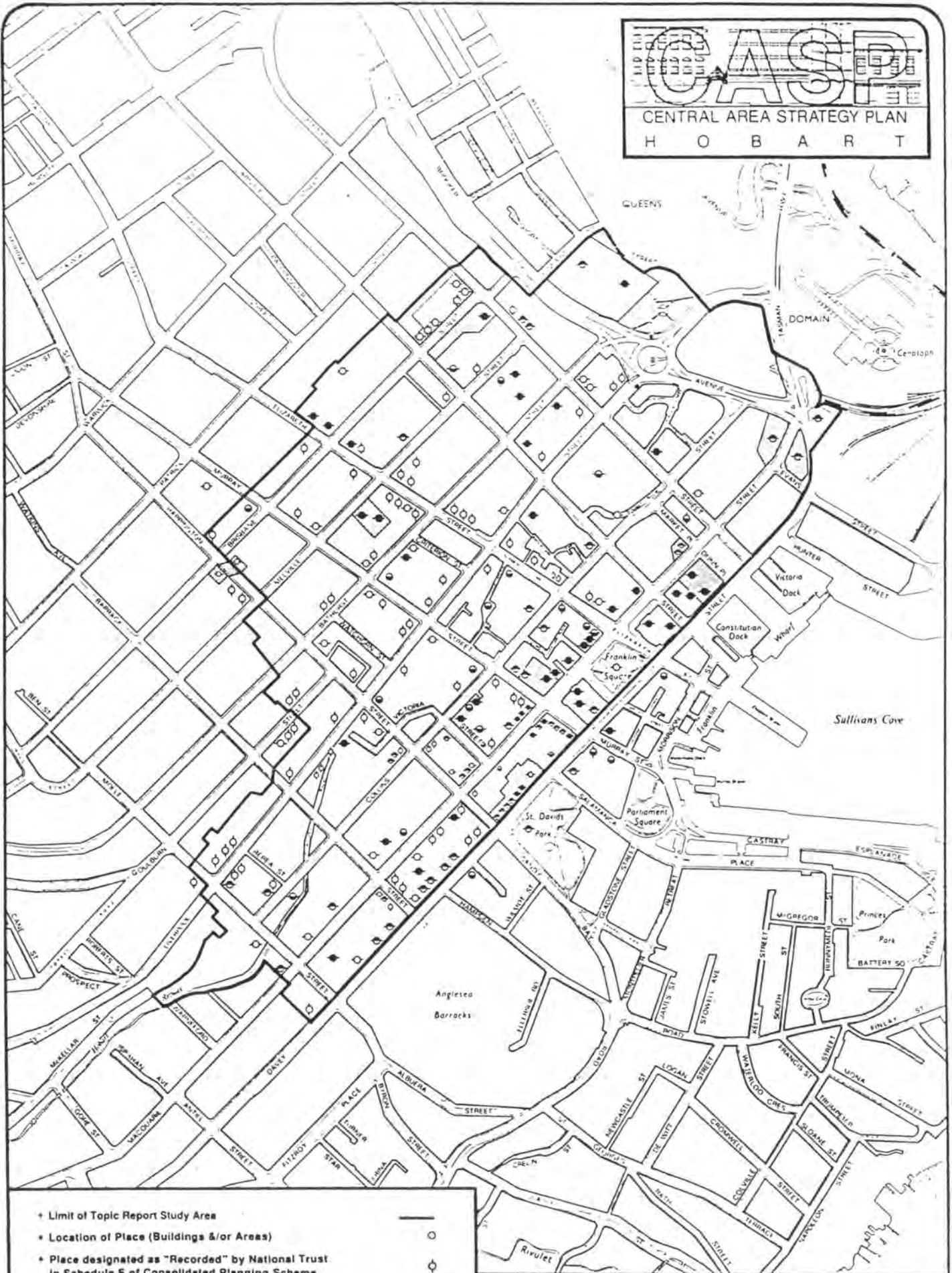
TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	THE SHAPE OF THE CITY	1
	The "Camp"	1
	Macquarie's visit and Meehans Survey	1
	The New Cut	4
	The disasters of 1854 and their aftermath	6
	Slum clearance and urban renewal	8
	New building technologies	9
	The Central Business District	9
2.	THE RESIDENTIAL POPULATION	12
3.	GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	16
	Early Administrations	16
	A Separate colony	18
	Local Government	19
	Self Government	20
	Law and Order	21
4.	THE PROVISION OF SERVICES	26
	Water Supply	26
	Sewerage	28
	Lighting	31
	Power Supply	32
	The Hobart Gas Company	32
	Electricity	33
	Hospitals	33
5.	TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	37
	The Mail	37
	The Press	39
	The Electronic Media	41
	Transport	41
	Buses	43
	The Railway	43
	The Trams	45
	The Motor Car	46
6.	INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	48
	The Commissariat	48
	Early Manufacturing	48
	Restrictions on Trade	49
	Shops	51
	A Fragile Economy	52
	Manufacturing	54
	The 1890's Depression	56
	Department Stores	56
	Industrialisation	58
	The Cat and Fiddle Arcade	60
	The Workforce	61

7. EDUCATION AND CULTURE	64
Schools	64
Cultural Pursuits	68
Theatre and Cinema	68
Other Recreational Pursuits	71
Sports	71
Clubs and Pubs	72
Literary pursuits	73
8. RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY	75

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX: Comparative chronology of Themes



- + Limit of Topic Report Study Area
- Location of Place (Buildings &/or Areas)
- Place designated as "Recorded" by National Trust in Schedule F of Consolidated Planning Scheme
- Place designated as "Classified" by National Trust in Schedule F of Consolidated Planning Scheme
- Group of Places designated as "Classified" by National Trust in Schedule F of Consolidated Planning Scheme
- Place included on the Register of the National Estate
- Place included in the Royal Australian Institute of Architects Architecture Guide

**HERITAGE PLACES
WITHIN STUDY AREA
— IDENTIFIED PRIOR TO CASP**



FIGURE

1. THE SHAPE OF THE CITY

The "Camp"

When Collins' party moved from Risdon Cove to the new site on the other bank of the river, Sullivans Cove was rimmed by a narrow sandy beach below a steep heavily wooded ridge. Beyond the ridge the undulating land ascended more gently until it reached the foothills of Mount Wellington. Several streams flowed into the Cove ; the major watercourse, the Hobart Rivulet, was one of the principal reasons for the selection of the site. Its potential as a constant supply of fresh water was a decided advantage over the abandoned settlement at Risdon. Where the streams entered the Cove, the land was marshy, covered in reeds and the home of water-birds.

The site chosen for the camp was covered in tall gum trees and thick undergrowth, which was quickly cleared away by the convicts who made up the majority of the party of 433. As the land was cleared tents were replaced by small wattle and daub huts.

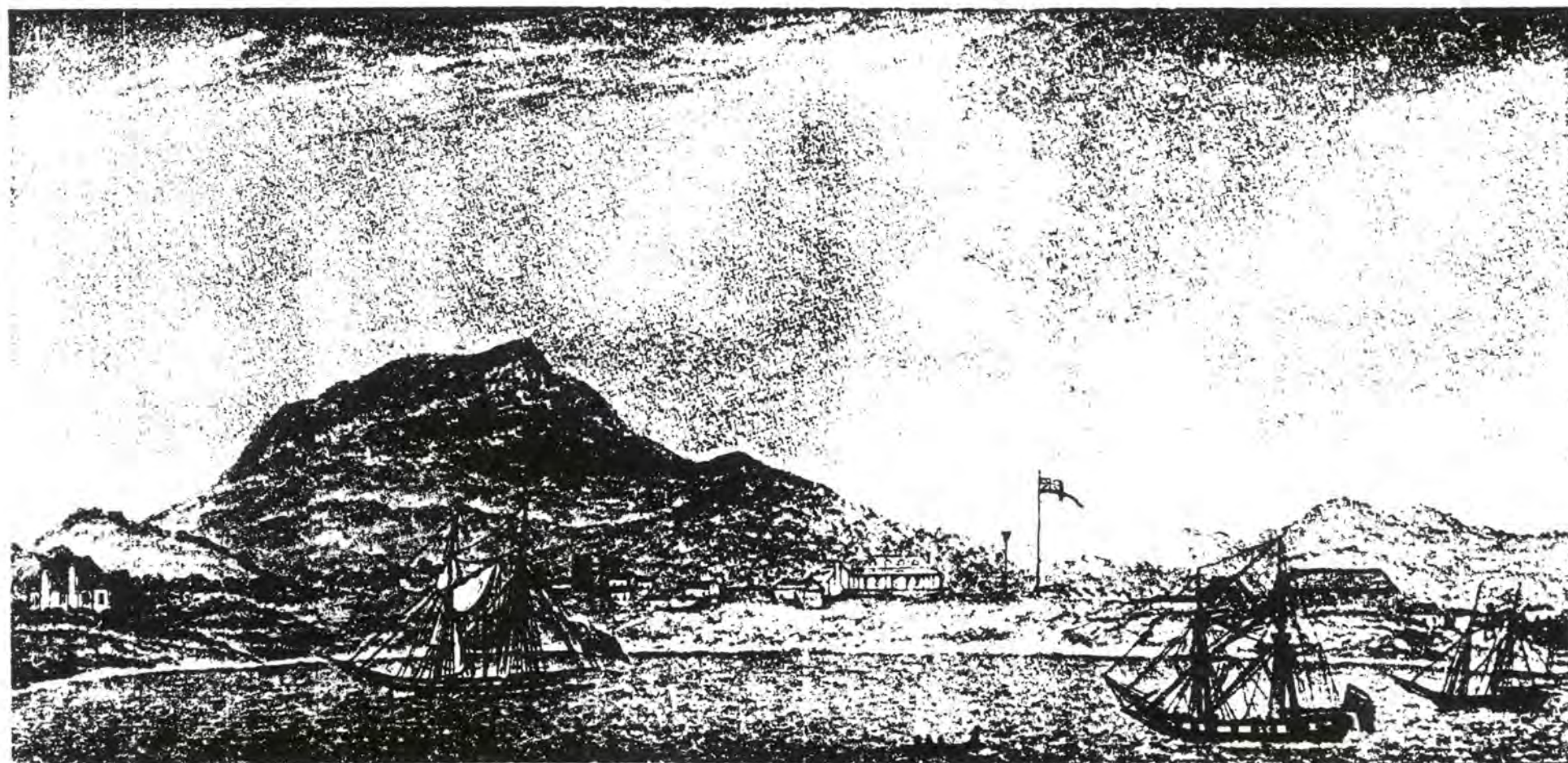
The huts of Collins, the various Government officials and the Chaplain, Robert Knopwood, occupied the ridge, whilst between the ridge and the Rivulet the prisoners and military were housed. By October 1804, eight months after the landing, Collins could report that all the prisoners were "huttet" and that the military were in temporary barracks. By this time, too, some individual officers had built themselves private houses - the first private house in the colony is said to have been that built for Edward Lord close to the present site of Macquarie House. The sites of these houses appear to have been chosen at random; rough tracks connected them with each other, with the rivulet and with what passed for public buildings. The few free settlers were establishing farms in the area of what is now New Town - communication with the "Camp" was by boat.

At this period, Hunter Island was a focal point of the settlement - it was the official landing place, not only for boats from New Town but also for the desperately needed supply vessels from England. For the first few years the Commissariat operated from temporary storehouses erected on the island before the new stores, still standing in Macquarie Street, were constructed in 1808 - 1810.

Although it is not clear from early illustrative material, a number of huts were apparently erected along the rivulet, for when it flooded in May 1809 "much distress and loss was sustained by the Inhabitants on the Stream" [HTG, 13 July 1816 quoted in Hudspeth and Scripps Sullivans Cove P.200]

Macquarie's Visit and Meehan's Survey

By 1810, Hobart was a town of 1000 inhabitants who were housed in some 150 primitive dwellings [HRA II 2 p.322]. When Governor Macquarie visited the town on a tour of inspection the following year, he was impressed with neither the state of the town, the quality of the buildings, nor the sanitary arrangements.



William Harrison Craig

*This Sketch of the Table Mountain, and part of the Harbour and TOWN of Hobart in Van Diemens' Land, is humbly dedicated to
His Honor Lieut Governor DAVEY, AND THE OFFICERS and Gentlemen of that Settlement, by
their Most Obedient and devoted Servant W.H. CRAIG.*

The ridge of Macquarie Street stands out in this 1815 watercolour of the settlement. Several buildings can be identified including Birch's house, the Private Secretary's cottage and the Commissariat Store, all of which survive. (Original in the Mitchell Library)

He was, moreover, alarmed to find that the various buildings had been "erected in a very irregular manner and without any plan whatsoever" [quoted Hudspeth p.202] He foresaw that, unless he took steps, the town would soon face many of the same problems that had beset Sydney. He therefore instructed the surveyor James Meehan to mark out a regular plan. Meehan could not just impose an arbitrary grid system on the settlement - he had to take into account the topography as well as the implications for existing property owners. Almost any grid would inconvenience some settlers, perhaps resulting in the demolition of houses and gardens and affecting property values elsewhere. After consultation with local officials he established the current Macquarie Street as his baseline: This of course was in the best interests of those officials and merchants who had already established themselves along the ridge. It was apparently also thought desirable that the planned main road or "Great Route to the North", (Elizabeth Street) should start from the steps of Government House. Access also had to be maintained to a mill in Liverpool Street, the Commissariat and the Government Paddock on the Domain. Within these constraints Meehan drew up the grid which is the basis for our present street plan. His notes were interpreted by Frank Bolt, himself a surveyor, in 1981 and used as the basis for a new map of the town as it was in 1811. Meehan's notes also contain a lot of incidental information of great historical interest. Bolt has established from them the various cadastral boundaries that still survive from the Collins period:

There are a number of cadastral boundaries in central Hobart which either definitely or almost certainly date back to the Collins period. They include the SW boundary line of the Risby Brothers property in Collins Street (the old Government Garden), the rear boundary lines of the OBM bookshop and adjacent properties in Collins Street (an early Street), the Elizabeth Street end of the Cat and Fiddle Lane (a track along the 'Town Creek'), a rectangular parcel of land behind the Commonwealth Bank in Elizabeth Street (small paddock facing an early lane), and certain cadastral lines in the area behind the Theatre Royal which, in all probability relate to early grants or leases to Matthew Bowden and others in that area. Several property boundary lines between the AMP building and the City Hall in all probability originate from the bush track that was formed when Collins and his soldiers, convicts and settlers forced their way from the landing place behind the present GPO building and Hadley's Hotel. Soon this track became a path-way, then a lane and by 1811 it started to take on the appearance of a street lined with little cottages surrounded by paling fences. [Bolt, p.9]

The rationale behind the lines of Macquarie Street and Elizabeth Street has already been mentioned. The line of Harrington Street was probably chosen because it was very conveniently at right angles to the baseline street and coincided with the back fence of Birch's property (later the site of Macquarie House). The orientation of Murray Street was suggested by the line of 'Capt. Murray's fence' - probably the fence around the military compound on the site of the current Hadley's Hotel: Capt. Murray was the Commandant of Hobart Town at this time.

The position of Liverpool Street was more or less dictated by the site of a mill on the rivulet owned by Lord and William Collins and now the site of Ellison Hawkers bookshop. The remaining streets established by Meehan, either on this survey or on the 1813 survey, were simply drawn parallel to the base-streets. Molle Street was the most westerly street planned by Meehan whilst Warwick Street, one of the 1813 survey, was the most northerly.

Inherent in the street plan was St. George's Square (roughly the site of the current Franklin Square) intended by Macquarie to be the focal point of the town. He envisaged a square, bounded by a Church, a Court House or Town Hall, a main guard, and the site of a weekly market.

Apart from the street plan of the town, another legacy of Macquarie's 1811 visit was the establishment of regulations governing the erection of new buildings. Streets were to be sixty feet wide and buildings set back twenty feet from the street. This latter regulation accounts for the garden at the front of Ingle Hall, the car park, formerly the garden, of Temple House, and the numerous additions and facades that were added for shops when this regulation was later relaxed [Bolt, *passim*]. Town allotments were made available to persons who were 'able and willing' to erect a suitably sized house upon it. Those who had the means to erect a two storey house 40 feet long and 16 feet wide were entitled to an allotment 100 feet wide and 132 feet long on a 21 year lease. Those who could only afford to erect a single storey house 36 feet wide and 14 wide were entitled to an allotment 60 feet wide and 132 deep. Houses could be built of brick, timber or stone and could be either shingled or tiled but they had to be "properly glazed".

One of the results of the new street plan and building regulations was the demolition of a number of buildings which either obstructed the new lines of streets or prevented new buildings conforming. Although many of the offending structures were valued in 1813 they were not demolished until 1818. A return completed in 1820 shows that a number of these compulsory purchases concerned "skillings" or "huts" valued at as little as 2 pounds 10 shillings. There were, however, a number of more substantial dwellings, especially in Collins Street, which each cost the government 20 pounds or more. [HRA III, 2, p. 571-2].

The new street plan also created a number of valuable corner allotments. On opposite corners of the Argyle/Macquarie Street junction, for example, Lord (Ingle Hall) and James Mitchell (part of the present Maloneys Hobart Hotel) built similar buildings c. 1814.

As the standard of private buildings gradually improved, so public works also advanced. Following Macquarie's visit the barracks (later Anglesea Barracks) and gaol were commenced and a few years later, the church. Permanent bridges were also built across the rivulet. Hitherto, it seems that the bridges were rough timber structures. Some may only have been foot-bridges. As late as 1819, for example, the bridge across the rivulet at Murray Street was only a timber footbridge. In the flood of September, 1819 one of the banks was undermined and one end of this bridge collapsed. The same flood swept away the new Argyle Street bridge then in progress.

The work was reconstructed and in November this "new brick and stone bridge" was opened for the use of carriages and passengers, "contributing equally to the appearance and convenience of the town" [HTG 6 November, 1819]. There was already a substantial bridge in Elizabeth Street, built of brick and named the Wellington Bridge "after our victorious countryman" [HTG 23 November 1816].

The New Cut

Despite the improvements, Hobart Town, still looked like an outpost:

The town then wore an exceedingly primitive appearance: there being in reality but fifteen or twenty buildings worthy of the designation of dwelling houses. The remainder, in number about 250, could only be described as huts, being constructed of various materials, such as split palings, wicker-work bedaubed with clay, and log and turf cabins of all orders of low architecture [Lloyd p.8].

At about the time of which Lloyd was writing - c. 1820 - the Lt. Governor, William Sorell, had directed the construction of a stone causeway to connect Hunter Island with the mainland so "insuring the communication at all times of the tide" [HRA III.6.p.24]. Expansion in this part of town was limited, however, by the vagaries of the Hobart Town Rivulet and the Domain Rivulet nearby. Some moves had already been made to lessen the effects of flooding. Local property owners had built stone retaining walls along the rivulet - this had the effect of preventing erosion of the banks during flooding but also, as walls were raised level with the frontages and allotments levelled, the area of usable land was increased. However, the land around the mouths of the rivulets was still swamp and to facilitate land reclamation in this rapidly expanding part of town, the Hobart Rivulet was diverted. Originally, the course of the Rivulet ran through the block now occupied by the City Hall before flowing into the Derwent behind Hunter Island. In 1825 the rivulet was diverted into the 'New Cut' which took it straight down Collins Street until it met up with the Domain Rivulet. Before the new channel had been fully blocked off the water rose and forced its way into the old course, leading a local newspaper to condemn it as the "vilest and worse ditch with any inhabited place was ever annoyed". As late as 1844, it appears that the work remained incomplete as the local property owners were forced to petition the government to reconstruct the walls of the New Cut. The new course of the rivulet cut across Campbell Street and a brick bridge, named the Palladio bridge had to be constructed. The area now reclaimed at the end of Campbell Street was set aside for a market place [Down Wapping p.23-6].

At the other end of town, a bridge was built in 1828 near the north end of Liverpool Street from stone quarried "in the paddock" [H.T. Courier 19 July, 1828]. Six months later, the same newspaper referred to bridgeworks then in progress at the same spot to replace the one washed away the previous year - it was being built by subscription and was to be called the "Navarino Bridge".



The extent of the town in 1830: the aqueduct supplying water to the mill in Liverpool Street can clearly be seen where it crosses Murray Street. (Crowther Library)

It was however only part of a larger work designed to improve the slope of Harrington Street [?]: "The deep hollow near the Government Mill is to be filled up to form a gradual descent from Liverpool to Macquarie Street" [H.T.Courier 17 January, 1829]. There is evidence of such cut and fill projects, undertaken to form level streets and building sites across the originally undulating land, throughout the City.

In 1826 Lieutenant Governor Arthur directed the three Land Commissioners to conduct a survey of the island. Amongst their duties was the compilation of a report on the state of Hobart, to include recommendations for the siting of public buildings and where necessary the setting aside of reserves for future public use. Apart from confirming the suitability of the sites already chosen by Governor Macquarie, the Land Commissioners made several important suggestions for the future development of the port, most of which were eventually carried out. As far as the central area is concerned fewer of their recommendations were carried out - generally because they were overtaken by other events. However, the removal of Government House to a site on the Domain rather than to the site chosen at Macquarie Point by Governor Macquarie, was one of their recommendations although not acted upon for another thirty years. The original site of the Hutchins School at the corner of Barrack and Macquarie Streets was recommended as a school reserve by the 1826 report.

The Land Commissioners' report also recommended that no further land grants be given on the existing boundaries of the town except in allotments for houses and gardens to allow for future extension of the town. [Craig, *passim*]

By the late 1820s building density had increased in the study area:

as the ground becomes more valuable the spaces between are filling up: rows are even starting up here and there: and two storeyed houses, though still a novelty, are becoming less uncommon [Prinsep p.60].

This trend had already been noted with some concern by the local press:

We think some attention ought also to be paid to the many unfinished and deserted hovels, as well as the little alleys forming in some of the least respectable parts of the town, all of which afford frequent opportunities for the escape of thieves. [HTG 29, July 1826]

House-numbering and street lighting were recommended to assist the exertions of the police. Until the 1820s houses were known by the name of the occupier, not by street and number. [HRA III 3, p.486]

Amongst those few two-storey houses that Mrs. Prinsep noticed were Ingle Hall and its twin on opposite corners of Macquarie Street, Macquarie House and London House also in Macquarie Street, and Temple House, built by the Jewish Merchants Judah and Joseph Solomon in the mid 1820s. All of these houses remain although several have been substantially altered and none of them is currently used as a dwelling house.

The disasters of 1854 and their aftermath

One of the more notorious of the alleys mentioned above, named the Cat and Fiddle Alley after a local tavern, was destroyed several times by fires and floods. 1854 was a particularly eventful year with major fires and floods within weeks of each other. The first fire struck on the night of 20th January:

Originally commencing in a stable on the southern bank of the Creek, the devouring element had worked its way as far as London House, occupied by Messrs. R. & J. Franklin in Liverpool Street; and the back of Mr. MacGregor, the tinman, Mr. de la Hunt's apothecaries store, the rear of the Albion Inn were also on fire at one period. To the rear of these again a number of small tenements, forming the place called Cat and Fiddle Alley, were totally destroyed and the occupants burnt out [H.T. Courier 21 January 1854].

Whole sections of Elizabeth and Liverpool Streets were in flames and it was only with difficulty that the fire was prevented from spreading to the remaining frontages of the block. The fire was assisted by the explosion of gunpowder stored at Mr. MacGregors and the coroner recommended that new regulations be drawn up for the storage of gunpowder [H.T. Courier 17 February 1854]. The newspaper's editorial of the same day also suggested that non-combustible roofing materials be incorporated into the rebuilding programme and that permission to erect buildings across the creek be withdrawn.

The use of new building materials appears to have been taken up - corrugated iron was now available - it was cheap, durable and safe: with a lining of felt it would also 'neutralise heat' [loc. cit.] Prinsep had noted in 1829 that the houses of Hobart Town were "uniformly roofed with wooden shingles" which were a great fire hazard [Prinsep p.61] Following the events of January 1854, only the most serious of a string of fires in the city, it was reported that:

It is worthy of notice, not only as a novel feature in building in this city, but as an example worthy of general imitation, that corrugated iron is used in the place of shingles at the new buildings now erecting on the site of the late disastrous fire [H.T. Courier 20 March 1854].

It is curious to note that, although the Legislative Council had passed an "Act for regulating buildings and for preventing mischiefs by fire in the Town of Launceston" the previous year [17th Vict. 30], Hobart was not covered by any such ordinances until the Act was extended to include it on 29 April 1854. The main provisions of the Act had the effect of prohibiting the use of timber for the external walls of any building "hereafter ... erected or rebuilt".

Timber buildings had also created a hazard in the floods which followed soon after the fire. Several were swept away by the flood of February 26th, joining debris from the fire in choking the Rivulet at the bridges. Several of the bridges were also swept away [H.T. Courier 27 February 1854]. Just a month later, another "awful inundation" afflicted the city destroying some of the attempts to rebuild after the previous disasters.

Portions of every house in line with the rivulet from Wellington Bridge alongside Elizabeth Street have been carried away by the current [H.T. Courier 23 March 1854]

It is hardly surprising that to Butler Stoney visiting Hobart later that year "the city has the appearance of being rebuilt". Although he found that "for a city of but fifty years growth none ever equalled Hobart in beauty" he added the qualification "on first view" [Stoney p.11]. He found a "lack of order and cleanliness" in the streets, attributing this in part to the street-plan which resulted in a steepness that was a great drawback to speedy traffic and led to great discrepancies in land value. He also noted the continuance of a trend described by Prinsep - the disappearance of gardens attached to houses in the town because of the increasing value of town land although "some few houses still have rich gardens attached to them" [p.17]

In March 1851, just over a quarter of the towns 4052 houses were of weatherboard construction. [Statistical Returns] Very few timber buildings can now be found close to the city centre, a fact partially explained by subsequent redevelopment, partially by the disasters described above and partially by subsequent ordinances and regulations. The 1854 Act already mentioned of course prevented the construction of new timber buildings. It also empowered the Hobart City Council to order the demolition of any buildings not complying with the Act and deemed a 'nuisance'. Existing substandard dwellings could also be deemed a nuisance and demolished by order of the Council.

Although the percentage of weatherboard dwellings condemned does not seem to be disproportionately high, the timber building stock was gradually whittled away. Other early buildings were demolished to make way for various improvements - for example in 1859 a number of 'old' buildings were pulled down to allow improvements to be made to Elizabeth Street [H.T. Courier 28 March 1859]. This was one of a number of such works necessary to correct the types of situations noted twenty years earlier by John Dixon:

Dwellings having been erected long before the streets were made, and the town being upon a very irregular surface, some of the buildings in consequence now occupy very awkward situations. On one side of a street they are often elevated much above the level: while on the other, they are sunk considerably beneath it ... not restrained by the Government to a settled line, they are planted too often in zig-zag positions [Dixon p.50].

Such has been the vulnerability of timber buildings in the City that this researcher is aware of only a handful that survive in the Study Area. Probably all these buildings predate 1854 although that at 225 Collins Street is "generally regarded as being the oldest remaining timber structure in Hobart". [Bolt p.193] It is thought to date from the 1820's making it contemporary with Temple House in Argyle Street and London House in Macquarie Street.

However, the significance of this humble working mans cottage, representative of a type of building once very much more common in the City, is at yet not widely appreciated. Other early timber buildings survive behind 15-17 Elizabeth Street, at 171 Elizabeth Street on the corner of Murray and Bathurst Streets and at 112 Harrington Street. The latter is an important surviving example of a house-shop unit and is probably the largest timber building remaining in the central area.

Further and more detailed building regulations were introduced by Acts of Parliament in 1884 and 1887. The Hobart Building Acts confirmed the prohibition on the use of timber and also set strict guidelines for the thicknesses of brick and stone walls in buildings of various heights, and distances of constructions from boundaries. Defaulters were allowed 48 hours to comply before the offending structure was pulled down. The Building Surveyors letter books for this period are full of notices ordering compliance with the Acts [MCC 16/58].

In the 1840s and 1850s major land reclamation took place on the western shore of Sullivans Cove as part of ongoing improvements to harbour facilities. When the new Government House on the Domain was completed and the original Governor's residence vacated, Elizabeth and Argyle Streets were extended to the New Franklin Wharf and Davey Street constructed as far as Hunter Street. Two of the new blocks thus created were used for the Town Hall and Franklin Square, both completed in 1866.

Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal

A major project which completely altered the face of the north eastern corner of the city was the diversion of the Hobart Rivulet completed between 1913 and 1923. Various improvements had been made to the Rivulet over the years, the bed had been lined and a deep channel cut in the centre to improve the flow and, near the mouth, annual dredging helped to keep the watercourse clear of silt and other obstructions. However flooding and pollution continued to be perennial problems.

As early as the 1880s there had been a push to cover over the Rivulet below Campbell Street, principally to allow the widening of the street and to improve access to the railway station and the wharves but it was not until 1910 that the Council ordered a report into the matter. However, the City Engineer favoured widening Collins street by demolishing the houses along one side rather than by covering over the Rivulet. In the event this proposal was superseded by a plan altogether more ambitious - the diversion of the Rivulet. This plan could achieve several objectives - improve access to the new railway station and to the projected land reclamation off Macquarie Point, obviate the need for annual dredging and provide an excuse to clear the notorious slum of Wapping. The project was a joint venture of the State Government, the Marine Board of Hobart and the City Council. It involved the construction of twin brick-lined culverts along Lower Collins Street and a tunnel driven through solid rock under the railway yards and the Domain to an outfall beyond Macquarie Point.

The final stage of the project was the construction of a new roadway in Lower Collins Street. Although the work was begun in 1913 problems of labour and supplies associated with war shortages slowed down the work - the tunnel was completed in 1918 and the culverts in 1921: the roadway in Lower Collins Street was not completed for another three years.

The Council had purchased a large number of properties in the area to facilitate the works. It was expected that the new railway station and wharves in that part of town would lead to a demand for property and that the old slum would become a sought after commercial district. Consequently the Council had expected to be able to resell the properties at a profit once the works were finished. However the predicted demand did not eventuate and when several lots of land in the area were auctioned in 1921, not one reached the reserve price. Unable to sell or lease the land, the Council used it for storage and transport purposes [Hudspeth and Scripps pp. 305-8]

New building technologies

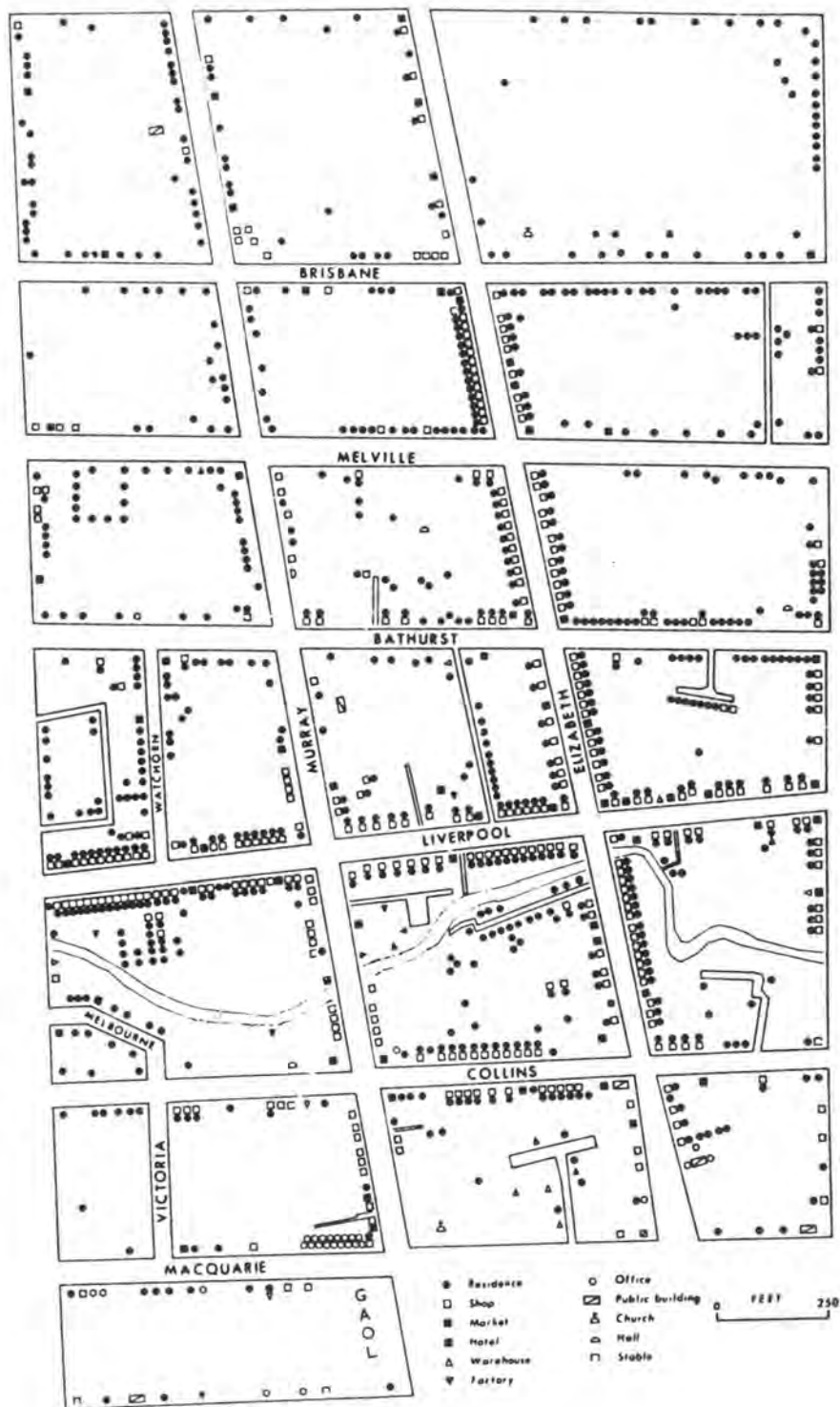
Until the 1930s the tallest buildings in Hobart were of three or four storeys although appropriate technology had been developed and automatic lifts had been available for several decades, having already been installed in some buildings (e.g. Peacock's jam factory in c. 1896 and the National Mutual Life Association's building in Macquarie Street in 1906). New building materials and technologies created a freedom from the restraints of brick and stone. In 1911 Henry Jones built a reinforced concrete warehouse in Hunter Street - the oldest example of its type surviving, although faults in its construction necessitated the later addition of timber joists. Although steel framing was widely used overseas well before the turn of the century it does not seem to have been used to any great advantage in Hobart until quite late. However, a number of early multi-storey office blocks built using this technique survive in the Central Area. Examples include Victoria House (1915), the T & G building, the MBF building, the HEC building and the CML building all built in 1938. The latter building also incorporates the use of an early form of imitation stone [R.A.I.A. Guide]

These buildings were all seven storeys or less and it was not until the 1960s and '70s that high rise development really took off and

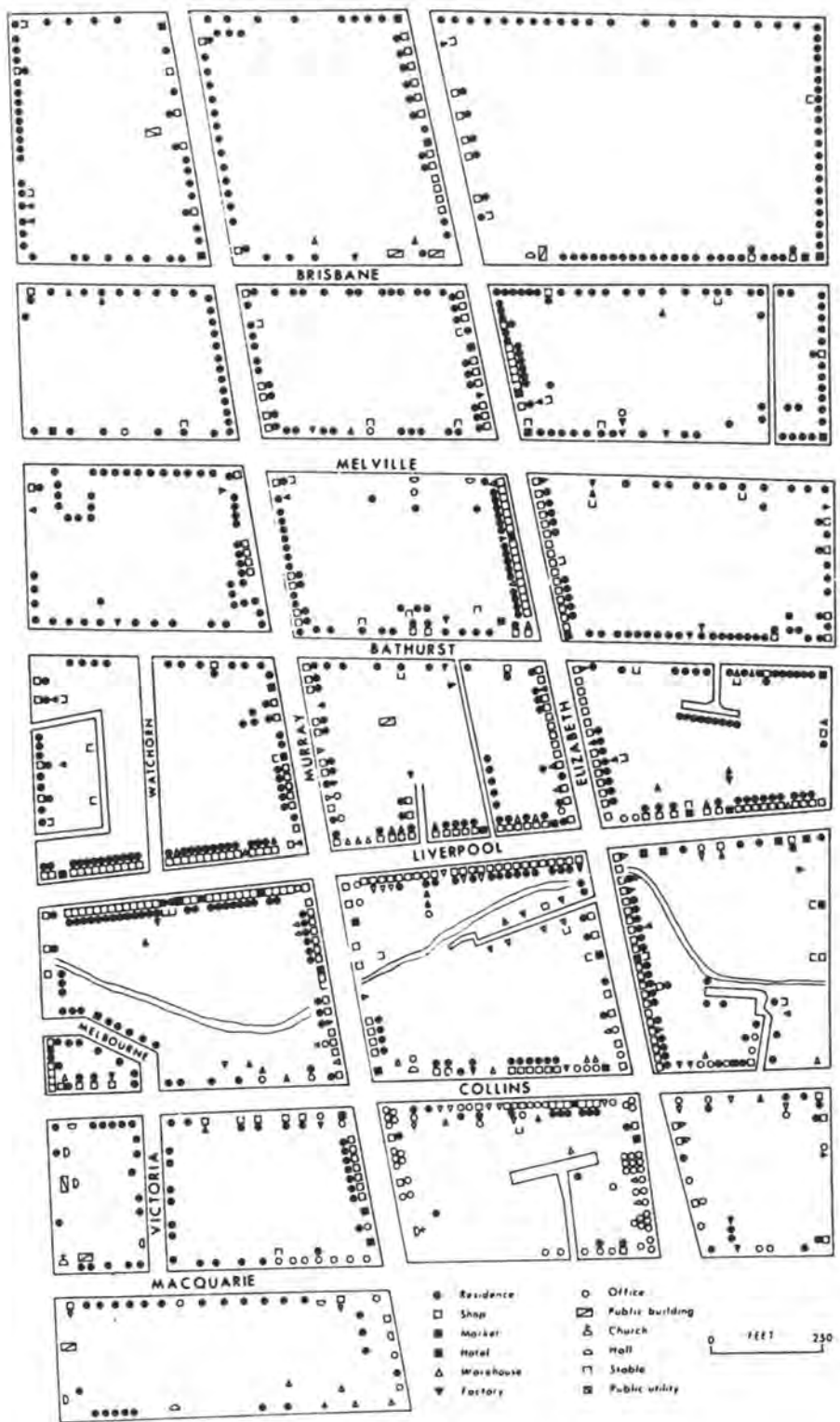
the city's skyline was transformed from one which was still very much that of the Victoria/Edwardian eras to one dominated by anonymous office blocks. [op. cit. p. [2]].

The Central Business District

For the first couple of decades of settlement, Hobart Town did not have anything approaching a central business district, the half dozen shops being scattered about the town and visitors considered Macquarie Street to be the 'main street'. Here were the government offices, the church, the only respectable hotel and, later in the 1820s, the court house. [H.T. Courier 5 July 1828 and Savery passim.] The merchants and shipping agents were establishing themselves on the new (now the Old) Wharf and there was little of the proliferation of offices found today.



Analysis of functional units in the inner city in 1847.
(Solomon, Urbanisation, p. 160)



Analysis of functional units in the inner city in 1901.
(Solomon, Urbanisation, p. 292)



Analysis of functional units in the inner city in 1954.
(Solomon, Urbanisation, p. 214)

By the late 1830s a definite pattern had developed. John Dixon noted that:

shops are scattered all over Hobart Town but the business thoroughfare is confined to two streets. Retail spirit stores are numerous and seen in every direction; stand at the corner of any street and from 15 to 20 are in sight [p.50].

The two streets he refers to are Elizabeth and Liverpool Streets.

Peter Scott (1955) and R.J. Solomon (1972) have both looked at the composition of Hobart's Central Business District, the former looking largely at the contemporary city whilst the latter analysed records for 1847, 1901 and 1954. In defining the CBD Solomon looked at city blocks where more than 50% of property value was devoted to commercial purposes.

'Commercial' purposes included shops, banks, hotels and warehouses and in 1847 accounted for seven inner city blocks bounded by Collins, Harrington, Bathurst and Argyle Streets. A further block bounded by Collins, Harrington, Macquarie and Murray Streets could be added to the CBD if office functions were included. [p.160, 301]. A dominant feature of the central area at this time was the very large number of house/shop units - this residential function remained in 1901 but had almost completely disappeared by 1954. In 1901 the CBD consisted of six blocks devoted to commercial purposes and three to office functions whilst in 1954 there were eight commercial city blocks and six devoted to offices. [p.301].

Peter Scott concluded from his 1954 survey that Hobart's functional structure was 'immature' because of the relative lack of clearly defined zones and the extent of privately owned open spaces. As a result he found the CBD

scarcely more extensive or more clearly defined than that of a large rural town. [Scott p.23]

Fred Cook had also criticised this characteristic of the city in his 1945 plan for the City of Hobart in which he recommended, among other things, the establishment of zoning.

Scott suggested that apart from the continuation of the linear extension of the shopping district along Elizabeth Street, there would be little expansion to the area of the CBD because of a rigid boundary created by the 'L shaped zone of public buildings' to the east [p. 31, 23]. He did however foresee the imminent increase in the number of government offices:

of late the volume of government employment has expanded so rapidly that most, if not all, government offices are grossly overcrowded [p. 24].

A Study commissioned by the Division of Municipal Planning in 1978 suggested that the rate of construction of office space between 1968 and 1978 was double that of the previous two decades: Most of this construction was undertaken by government instrumentalities. The Study found that between 1968 and 1978 the area of office space occupied by the State Government had increased by 86%, and that by the Commonwealth Government by 57%. As well as new purpose-built office blocks, a number of existing buildings were renovated for use as offices. The old Highfield Hotel at the corner of Bathurst and Murray Streets (converted in 1969) and 15 Victoria Street (converted from a warehouse in 1970) were two examples fitting into the latter category [Office Space Study Hobart 1968-1978 passim].

Presumably because of the limitations outlined by Scott, and the desire to centralise office functions in the capital city, recent expansion has been upwards rather than outwards.

2. THE RESIDENTIAL POPULATION

In July 1804, a return of the population of the settlement on the Derwent, accounted for 433 persons. 358 of these were men of whom 279 were prisoners: only 2 of the 39 women were prisoners. There were 13 free settlers, seven of whom had brought their wives and children with them. And a handful of the military and convicts were also accompanied by their families [Walker p.82].

The free settlers were generally living on farms at Stainforths Cove (now New Town Bay). Whilst the bulk of the prisoners and military were housed in huts located in the study area [see map], thirty four prisoners were employed in various capacities on the Government Farm [now the site of the Cornelian Bay cemetery] - most of them were engaged in agricultural pursuits or tending stock and presumably lived on site [Solomon p.54].

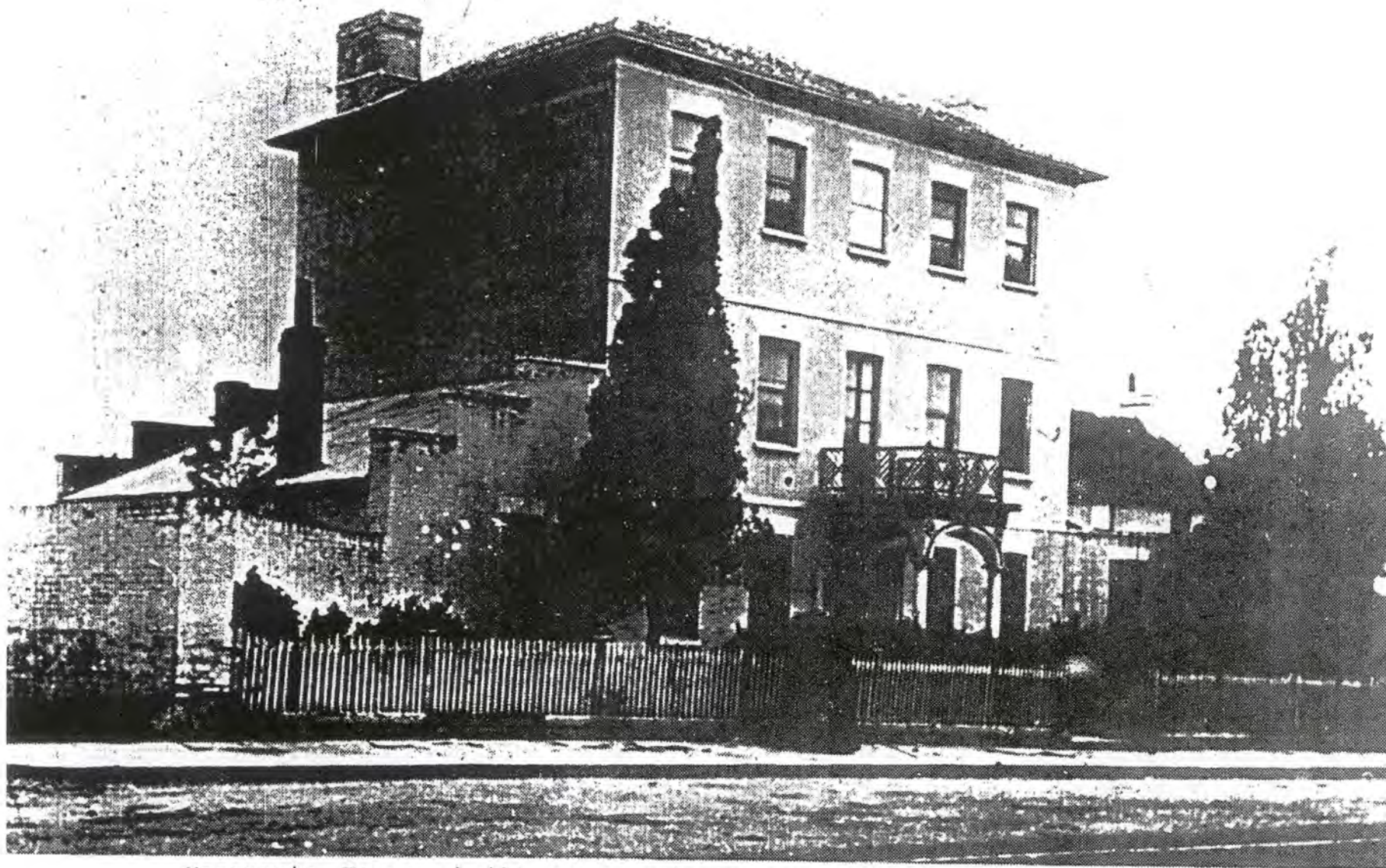
By the time of Macquarie's visit the population had risen to over 1,000, most of the increase being accounted for by the arrival of 554 Norfolk Islanders in 1807-8. This sudden influx of settlers had stretched already scarce resources to the limit and the colony looked starvation in the face. By 1820 the population of Hobart Town is estimated to have been about 3,500 who lived in 594 houses. There was still a massive imbalance in the sexes although not as great in Hobart as in the rural areas.

By the early 1820s guidebooks to the colony were being published together with "important hints to emigrants". G.W. Evans, whose book appeared in 1822, painted a glowing picture of Hobart and its environs. Referring to Macquarie's report of his second visit to the town in 1821, Evans noted that the "wretched huts" of 1811 had been replaced by substantial buildings "not deficient in architectural taste" and that the inhabitants exhibited "industry and spirit of enterprise" [Evans p.61-2]. Such reports must have had the desired effect for free settler arrivals remained strong throughout the 1820s and 1830s. By this time only about a third of the population of VDL was living in Hobart town as settlement was spreading through the midlands and up the river valleys.

Writing a few years later than Evans, Widowson found the town less impressive but felt he was presenting a more honest picture for prospective migrants. He found prices high, particularly where shopkeepers enjoyed a monopoly, and rents "exorbitant":

a small cottage with only four rooms, and those of very contracted dimensions, and a kitchen at the back, will let for sixty to eighty pounds per annum; larger houses, adapted for stores, obtain from 200 Pounds to 300 Pounds per annum, in proportion to the eligibility of their situation [p.28-9]

It is interesting that he refers to houses "adapted" for stores, implying that the residential function may have been the primary one. Throughout the 19th Century it was usual for a shopkeeper or his staff to live above or behind his premises. Although there were no doubt shops built with living quarters attached, there were possibly many more in which the front rooms of houses were turned to commercial purposes, particularly as the shopping district extended into what were historically residential areas.



Macquarie House, built as a private residence for Thomas Birch in about 1815 - later it lost its parapet and functioned as a hotel, a boarding house and the Metropolitan Business College before being hidden behind its current facade in 1933. (AOT photo)
Number 151 Macquarie Street and 3 Victoria Street

Despite the apparent disadvantages to be found in the colony. Widowson commended the population on its respectability which was considered all the more remarkable given the high number of convicts still being sent out.

In the early 1830s the population, both convict and free, rose dramatically. During 1832 for example more than 2,000 emigrants arrived, drawn by published reports of the opportunities to be had in the colony and the availability of land grants. The following year nearly 3,000 convicts arrived in the colony. Although most of these new arrivals dispersed throughout the island, the population of Hobart had increased to more than 12,000 by the end of 1833; just over 30% were convicts and about 3,790 of the whole population were women [Solomon p.59-61]

During the 1830s the area covered by the town doubled from 500 to 1,000 acres with most of the growth being in the north and west, while the suburbs of New Town and Battery Point were beginning to develop [Solomon, p.46-9]. However settlement on the outskirts was sparse and even in the 1850s when the population of the city was 24,000:

Three quarters of the city's population lived in the central area between the harbour, Molle Street, Warwick Street and the Domain [Bolger p.56]

The living conditions of the inhabitants varied widely from the "small tenements" of Cat and Fiddle Alley to the villas of Macquarie Street, Davey Street and Battery Point. It was during the 1840s and 1850s that row development really took off as property owners sought to increase their income by developing rows, terraces and "yards" behind their street frontages. Areas such as Wapping, Moodie's Row off Liverpool Street and Bell's Yard off Argyle Street were later to become notorious [see below].

During the 1850s, the structure of Hobarts population changed markedly as a large proportion of the male inhabitants joined the rush to the goldfields in Victoria. Women and children left behind in the city were joined by families from the country whose menfolk had moved them to Hobart for security whilst they themselves were away. For the first time there was a balance between the sexes in the city's population. The goldrush also resulted in a polarisation of society since many of those who left to seek their fortune were of the "middle" rank - clerks, shopkeepers and tradesmen. Although many of these people eventually returned, the emancipists who left the colony at this time "saw little reason to return to the island of their shame" [Bolger p.69-74].

During the 1860s, a time of economic depression, there was concern that Hobart could become a ghost town. Young men seemed to be deserting the town in a "neverending stream" and there were 860 empty houses in the town. Maxwell Miller, proprietor of the Daily News addressed the Mechanics Institute on this very topic in 1862 but Peter Bolger has given an alternative explanation for the large number of empty houses.



"Generally regarded as being the oldest timber structure in Hobart", this weatherboard house at 225 Collins Street is possibly the sole survivor of its type in the study area (Bolt, p. 192)

Prior to this time there had been a high proportion of childless adults, ex-convicts living alone or in pairs, whilst from the 1850s a higher proportion of households consisted of family groups. Therefore there was a higher number of people living in fewer houses [Bolger p.129-133]

Many of those elderly emancipists who had previously lived alone had died but others may have been accommodated in "common lodging houses". Transients including sailors and migratory workers were also accommodated in such places. In 1860-1 lodging houses were licensed by the Hobart City Council and were subject to inspection. Most of them appear to have been on the perimeter of the CBD - there were several in Argyle and Harrington Streets for example. Accommodation must have been extremely basic for some premises contained up to 12 bedsteads per room [MCC 16/48]. The more respectable or moneyed traveller had few options. In the early 1850s Butler Stoney despaired of the inns "not worthy of notice" and could only bring himself to recommend Broadland House in Collins Street [p.34]. Twenty years later a local real estate agent was trying to establish a "Boarding House Registry ... in consequence of the difficulty visitors experience in obtaining suitable residencies" [Mercury 23 January 1872 p.1]

Although the population of the Colony as a whole increased by nearly 20% between 1857 and 1870, population growth in Hobart was virtually stagnant at around 25,000. Transportation had ceased by this time, of course, so there was no longer a regular increase in the convict population [Solomon p.267]:

Hobartians no longer held illusions that their city was to be a great and thriving metropolis but become content with a slow pace of provincial living [Bolger p.164]

Population increased again in the 1880s which was a time of great prosperity as the benefits of the mineral boom in the west reached the wider community.

For many years the extent of overcrowding and substandard housing in Hobart was known to few beyond the unfortunate occupants, visitors from charitable organisations, and health inspectors. However from the 1880s public health became a wider concern particularly during epidemics of disease. In addition to the epidemics mentioned elsewhere in this document which created agitation for improved sewerage, an outbreak of bubonic plague was feared in the early years of the century and in 1919, Hobart shared the worldwide influenza epidemic. A Vigilance Committee established in 1919 to identify threats to public health exposed the existence of "disgraceful housing conditions ... in darkest Hobart". Houses in Argyle Street were found to be rat-infested and bug-ridden. The Mercury published a series of articles identifying the worst cases but although it published addresses, they did not name the rapacious landlords, many of whom were "public men". Although poor housing conditions had been exposed before - incidentally during reports of floods or fires - nothing had been done. Previously it had been widely thought that the occupants had only themselves to blame but in this instance an alderman who alleged "they get a dirty class of people in those houses" was roundly condemned during the House of Assembly debate on the issue. It was admitted that there was an acute housing shortage in Hobart and the State Government was urged to take the initiative by providing housing.

There was already legislation in force to provide Hobart with 275 new houses under the War Homes Act. However Acts passed in 1919 only allowed for the advance of loans for buildings approved by the Agricultural Bank: it was not until the 1940s that the State Government really entered the field of public housing and the central area did not benefit from this [Mercury 19, 23, 24 September 1919, Wettenhall p.172-3]

Solomon has noted that the number of residential units within the colonial town boundary increased by nearly 4,700 between 1847 and 1954, with a third of that increase being after 1901. However in the study area there was actually a decline after 1901 as house-shop units in the CBD became the exception rather than the rule [Solomon p.317]. Some of the loss of residential units in the CBD can be attributed to deliberate improvement of commercial property such as the redevelopment of Collins Street which took place in 1912: Many of the properties built in first few decades of the century "comprised shops at street level with office chambers above" [Jacob, Allom and Wade p.55] The 1988 Inner City Housing Study noted that

Commercial forces also contributed to the disuse of upper floor accommodation. As land values and trading turnover rose, recognition of the importance of the ground floor space led to expansion and intensification of its use, this often involving the removal of internal stairs or side passages which previously gave access to the upper storeys. The Consultants have encountered a number of such instances in Hobart. [op. cit. p.54]

Those people who had traditionally lived in the central business district - the shopkeepers who lived on their premises - moved out of the city and into the suburbs as they bettered their financial position and as transport improved. As more people moved out of the city the residential amenity deteriorated - there is for example only one small supermarket in the Central Area.

The 1988 Study found that the upper storeys of many business premises were under-used and identified a number of areas that would be compatible with residential use. However the study attracted little interest from property owners. The population of the central area continues to decline with a 9.6% fall being recorded between the census of 1981 and that of 1986. The Hobart collection district accounted for 1510 persons in the 1986 census - the population of the southern metropolitan area was recorded as 149, 574.

3. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Early Administrations

For the first twenty years of its existence, Van Diemens Land was officially part of New South Wales, the local Lieutenant-Governor receiving his instructions from the Governor-in-Chief in Sydney. For the first eight years of that decade, the island was divided into two administrative units, Cornwall in the north and Buckingham in the south, each with its own Lieutenant-Governor. Nonetheless, given the fact that Sydney was two weeks away by ship and the need for tight control over what was after all a prison settlement, David Collins in Hobart Town had a certain amount of autonomy. He was responsible for the day to day administration of the "camp" and exercised control over most aspects of the lives not only of the prisoners in his charge but of the handful of free settlers and military as well.

Collins conducted the administration of the settlement from Government House, at first a primitive hut of only two or three rooms but by 1807 a brick 3-roomed house near the present intersection of Macquarie and Elizabeth Streets. Government House was both the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor and the office from which his "General Orders" were issued. He was assisted by a small group of officials, drawn mainly from the military and naval officers although there were a few civilian officials. In July 1804 the "Civil Establishment", the forerunner of the public service, consisted of the Chaplain, the Rev. Robert Knopwood, the surgeon and two assistant surgeons, the Deputy Commissary, the Deputy Surveyor, the Mineralogist, A.W.H. Humphreys who later became the Police Magistrate, the Harbour Master, five Superintendents and two Overseers [Walker, Early Tasmania p.83]. Many of these officials also conducted their business from their residences which were generally situated in Macquarie Street.

Amongst the earliest public buildings to be erected were the general hospital, the temporary storehouse and the magazine, which replaced the tents originally set aside for these purposes. The hospital was on part of the site currently occupied by the Royal Hobart Hospital and the magazine was erected close the shoreline near the current HEC building [HRA III, i, p.287 and Meehan map]. The storehouse, a thatched timber building was erected on Hunter Island and from it, the Assistant Deputy Commissary issued rations of food and clothing to both the free and convict inhabitants. Supplies were often short during the early years and strict regulations were enforced to guard the storehouse against unauthorised use and theft. In 1808 a new Commissariat Issuing Store was erected at the end of Macquarie Street. Completed in 1810 this stone building is the oldest surviving building in Tasmania. As the colony developed a more regular economy, the role of the Commissariat changed as its functions were assumed by the Supply and Tender, Registrar Generals and Treasury Departments. ["Statement of Cultural Significance: Commissariat Issuing Store": see also Chapter 6 of this document "The Economy"]

During the administrations of Collins and Davey, the Commissariat Officials also conducted the regular musters by which track was kept of all the inhabitants of the Colony. Both free settlers and prisoners, male and female, had to attend the Commissary's office to be counted. Women had to provide in addition the names and ages of their children, whilst landholders had to

give an Account of their Land in Cultivation together with their stock and Grain in their Possession."

Failure to comply with the order to muster could result in the forfeiture of all the "indulgences" that the offender had hitherto received from the Crown. [HTG 2 November 1816] The Lieutenant-Governor personally inspected the muster in each of the various districts. These tours of inspection also allowed him to see for himself "all points connected with the Welfare and Advancement of the Colony" [HTG 20 November 1818] From 1817 the musters were carried out by the Police Department and the inhabitants had to gather in St. Georges Square [now Franklin Square]. By this time too the Hobart Town muster was carried out over several days and segregated so that free men, free women, male prisoners and female prisoners attended on different days [HTG 2 October, 1819]

Soon after his arrival in 1813, Lieutenant-Government Davey had appointed Ensign T.A. Lascelles as his Secretary. The Governors Secretary took over some of the routine administration that had previously been attended to by the Governor himself. He was required to

sign all tickets-of-leave and ships' clearances, muster crews and passengers of ships cleared, attest Government and General Orders and colonial appointments, and so on. The original government printing and postal services were also included within the Secretary's establishment [Wettenhall p.39]

From 1825, this establishment was known as the Colonial Secretary's Office, the forerunner of the Chief Secretary's Department and later, the Premiers Department. The Governor then had a separate Private Secretary. The Governors Private Secretary resided in a cottage built c.1813 next to Government House - this building survives as part of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery complex.

During his term of office, Lieutenant-Governor Davey began an extensive public building programme under instruction from Governor Macquarie. On his visit in 1811, Macquarie had been struck by the lack of public buildings: he saw the erection of a military barracks and hospital as the immediate priority, selecting Barrack-hill as a suitable site. A general Hospital and Gaol were next on the agenda and, when these were completed, a new Government House [HRA III, i, p.458-460]. However it was during Sorells time that most of these buildings were completed. None of the buildings survive from this period except for part of Anglesea Barracks and the Signalmans Cottage on Battery Point.

A Separate Colony

Major changes in the administration of the colony took place during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur [i.e. 1824-1836]. Foremost amongst these was the separation of Van Diemens Land from New South Wales which took effect in December 1825 - all those powers formerly vested in the Governor-in-chief now formed part of the Lieutenant-Governors Commission. "The Lieutenant-Governor now had unrivalled authority within the colony at the apex of the government pyramid". This period also saw the establishment of several important government institutions:

- (i) the Executive Council, which initially included the Lieutenant-Governor himself, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary and two others who, though mentioned by name rather than office in Darling's proclamation, were Chief Police Magistrate and Colonial Treasurer respectively. From the beginning, therefore, the principle was established that the Chief Departmental Heads should hold office as Executive Councillors.
- (ii) the nominated Legislative Council, forerunner of the fully elective bicameral parliament established in 1856.
- (iii) a separate judiciary headed by the Supreme Court of Van Diemens Land, which had already created under the provisions of the Imperial Australian Colonies Constitution Act 1823.
- (iv) a civil establishment, forerunner of the modern administrative services, comprising several civil service departments which had been evolving ever since the original settlement. [Wettenhall p. 27-8].

It was during this period that the present Parliament House was erected, although not initially intended for that purpose. It was originally built as the Customs House but as well as accommodating Customs Officials, it also contained the rooms of other public officials such as the Surveyor-General until 1856 when the "Parliament of Tasmania" was constituted. Until this time the Legislative Council occupied rooms added on to Government House [Cyclopedia of Tasmania p. 68].

The Legislative Council was "initially designed to impede as little as possible the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor"; only the Lieutenant Governor had the power to initiate bills and he required only the assent of one member of the Council to make a law. The only check to this power lay with the Chief Justice who could refuse to certify the proposed act on the grounds that it was repugnant to the law of England [Robson p. 140]. Over the next thirty years the Lieutenant-Governor's powers were diminished by increases in the numbers of Councillors and by the necessity for Bills to be passed by a majority. In 1851, as a first step towards self-government elections were held for a new extended Legislative Council to consist of sixteen elected members and eight members appointed by the Governor.

The electoral rolls were open only to those men who satisfied the property qualifications. A major issue at this election was transportation, there being a strong anti-transportation movement in the colony. As it turned out, all the members elected were opposed to the continuance of transportation [Robson p.515].

Local Government

One of the first acts of the new Legislative Council was to establish local councils in Hobart Town and Launceston. Hobart had been a city since 1842 and since 1845 moves had been made towards Local Government but many of the inhabitants distrusted the idea, fearing it would lead to greater taxation. The first step towards the establishment of a Municipal Council was the creation of a court of Commissioners by an Act of the Legislative Council in 1846. The Court was made up of fifteen Commissioners, three elected in each of the five wards into which the city was divided.

The franchise was restricted to those who qualified for jury duty and the Commissioners themselves had to own property worth 500 pounds or 50 pounds per annum to qualify. The election was the first seen in Tasmania, the poll being held at Mezger's store in Argyle Street. John Walker, elected from Fitzroy Ward, was nominated Chief Commissioner by his colleagues. The Court took over the collection of dog, market and water fees and took control of the waterworks. The most controversial function of the Court was the collection of rates. The rates were established following the assessment of properties in the five wards by the respective Commissioners. The assessment rolls listing owners, occupiers and value of 2,850 properties in Hobart, were published in the Gazette early in 1847. The assessment gave ammunition to the anti-taxation group and appeals were lodged not only against individual assessments but also against the whole procedure. The position of the Court became untenable and it dissolved in 1847.

A new Act, passed in 1852 established a non-incorporated Council of seven Aldermen, set property qualifications for voters at 10 pounds per annum and allowed plural voting. The new City Council was given much the same role as the former Court of Commissioners with additional revenues being allowed from cabs and from wine and spirit licences. Public works and police remained with the executive until 1857 when Hobart became a Corporation [Roe, passim].

From 1854 the Council met in a room at the New market, originally a pet project of the Lieutenant-Governor, William Denison, but administered by the municipal body. The municipal offices were temporarily housed in the old weatherboard ballroom that was all that remained of the old Government House [Somerville plate XVIII]. The Governor had moved to his new residence on the Domain in 1858 and part of the old Government House had been demolished soon afterwards to allow the extension of Elizabeth Street to the new Franklin wharf. In 1864 work commenced on the erection of a town hall on the new block created by the extension of Argyle and Elizabeth Streets beyond Macquarie Street and Davey Street beyond Murray Street.

The Town Hall, constructed to Henry Hunters design was representative of a style new to Hobart, its more ornate Italianate features contrasting with the traditional spare lines of the Georgian buildings which characterized colonial Hobart. The building was formally opened on 25 September, 1866 with a grand ball and supper attended by 1,130 guests. The exterior of the building was illuminated by gas jets in coloured shades fixed around the parapet with a centrepiece in the form of a star in lights over the portico [Mercury 27 September, 1866].

The Council had responsibility for areas such as water supply and drainage, street lighting and refuse disposal. However, the vested interests of the property owners who made up the Council militated against reforms in this area and even at the turn of the century Hobart had the reputation of being an exceptionally dirty and smelly city. A Royal Commission held in 1901 was strongly critical of the Corporation's performance in all its areas of responsibility [see chapter 4: The Provision of Services].

Self-government

In the meantime the transportation of convicts had ceased, the last convict ship arriving in Van Diemens Land in 1853, and in 1856 Tasmania became a self-governing colony. Although plans were made for a new Parliament House in Barrack Square, the temporary accommodation at the Customs House became permanent.

Although there was no new Parliament House following self-government, a number of offices were built in the 1860's and 1880's behind the old courthouse and Treasury buildings and facing the new Franklin Square. The new Supreme Court was erected next to the old Court House, then in a state of decay and not suitable for the capital of a new self-governing colony.

The first Parliament had fifteen members in the upper house, the Legislative Council, and thirty members in the House of Assembly: A bicameral Parliament had been established with an upper house designed to be "a conservative brake upon hasty legislation". The franchise of the upper house was granted to men who met the necessary property and professional qualifications. The franchise of the lower house was slightly more open in that it included also salary earners of 100 pounds per annum. Property qualifications were gradually reduced until in 1900 manhood suffrage was adopted for the lower house, just in time for Federation. The suffrage for the House of Assembly was not extended to women until 1903. Full adult franchise was not adopted by the Legislative Council until 1968.

With Federation, responsibilities for areas such as defence, customs and postal services were taken over by the central government. The new G.P.O. opened in 1905 and the new Customs House opened in 1902 at the corner of Davey and Dunn Streets, were the first public buildings to be built following Federation although they had both been designed before the turn of the century.

During the 20th century both State and Federal Governments assumed new responsibilities notably in the areas of welfare and housing, public transport and the provisions of services. The nature of administration has also changed.

As Townsley noted in 1976:

Once government took the form of a few ministerial departments, a small number of statutory boards and local government authorities. Now the departments and boards have increased in number and to them have been added commissions, corporations and a variety of regulatory bodies. Most of this growth has been haphazard; the result of pressures of time and circumstances or interest groups [Townsley p.114]

Commissions such as the H.E.C. and the Transport Commission (which includes the M.T.T.) account for a large percentage of State Government employment.

As the bureaucracy has increased in size so has the demand for office accommodation in the city although there has been some decentralisation of government departments to Launceston and the North West Coast.

Law and Order

In the camp at Sullivans Cove law and order was maintained by the military with the assistance of constables selected from amongst the more reliable convicts. In 1810 Macquarie established the Police Fund, the first local revenue fund. The revenue was collected from customs duties [HTG 27 September, 1817], from fines imposed for illicit traffic in wines and spirits [HTG 18 October, 1817] and from various licence fees. Settlers had to attend the Police Office if they wanted to obtain a slaughter licence or if they wanted to report that an assigned servant had absconded.

The first police office was a wooden building in Liverpool Street, opposite Walch's. It had a frontage in Liverpool Street only. Connolly bought it, and added a front on Elizabeth Street, making it a corner house [on the Commonwealth Bank corner?]. Mr. Robert Mather afterwards took it. After that the Police Office was moved to Liverpool Street, to Paddy Martins, a tall house about opposite "the Emporium" [i.e. opposite the present A.B.C. Odeon]. Then to Harrington Street, nearly opposite the old Baptist Chapel [Walker Prelude to Federation p. 28-9].

On his arrival in 1824, Arthur set about reorganising the police force. At the head of the new department was the Chief Police Magistrate whose jurisdiction extended over the several police districts into which the colony had been recently divided. A police magistrate represented the central government in each district and there was a field force of convict constables. A number of police officers was also sent out from England and Widowson visiting the town in the late 1820's had great hopes of their influence on the local force:

it is ...to be hoped that a change in police matters will now take place for the better. The constabulary, with the exception of the principal, and one or two others, are, or have been, convicts; the plan of "setting a thief to catch and thief," has not been found quite so effective as generally supposed; indeed there is little doubt that many culprits who have been able to raise the means of bribery, have been suffered to escape.

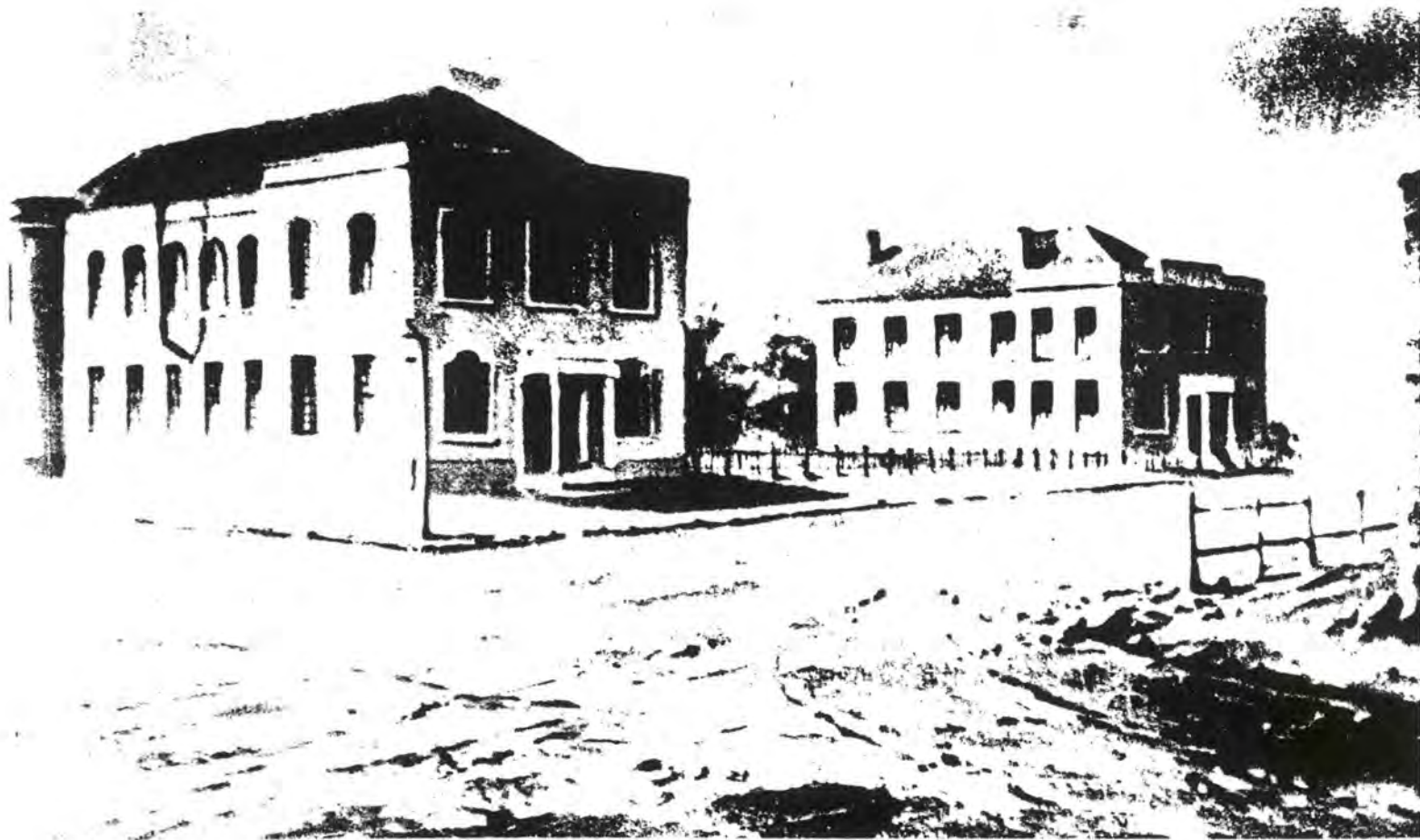
It is also notorious that the sly grog-shops (as they are termed) are the very bane of the country, being the principal repositories for stolen goods, and the occupiers having a constant intercourse with, as well as giving regular pay to, a number of the worthless constabulary, so that a conviction rarely ensues even when they are found out. Since the arrival of the officers from England, however, several of these compromisers of justice have been fined, and where the party has been a ticket-of-leave man, his ticket has been taken from him, and himself incarcerated in the Penitentiary. This persevering vigilance, if continued, cannot fail to strike a death-blow to the iniquitous practices that have so long existed, and in the end ensure to the colony the most beneficial results. [Widowson p.27].

He also described the Police Office in Harrington Street as being "a filthy, disgraceful place, and totally unfit for it's purpose" and noted that a house had been taken in Elizabeth Street for a new office. It was in the yard of this office near the Bathurst street corner that the local citizenry gathered before setting off on the expedition later known as the Black War in 1829 [Emmett AOT/NS 1216]. Widowson also mentioned briefly the new Court House.

During the first twenty years of settlement justice was administered by a local bench of magistrates who had limited powers, serious cases having to be heard in Sydney. By the Act of 1823 (see above) a Supreme Court was established and a court house was subsequently built at the corner of Murray and Macquarie Streets. It is not clear where the early Magistrates Courts were held - possibly the magistrates heard cases at their own offices: in the early years the magistrates also held some other government post. In 1818 and 1819 the Gazette refers to a Court House in Liverpool Street but its exact location is not clear.

If the writer of "The Lament" published in the Courier in 1828 is to be believed crime was rife and justice a haphazard affair before the reforms of the mid 1820's:

at night you may go to bed without annoyance except a gruff fellow of a watchman bawling out the hour, just like your Charlies of London. But when I first came to the colony things were very different. When a man got up in the morning then he had something to interest him, some news to hear or communicate. If his own house had not been robbed during the night, those of two or three of his neighbour's were sure to have been so. You may pretend to disbelieve me, but it is no less true. This colony at the time and long after was



The Court House (1826) and the Police Office (1837) in Murray Street were linked by the Treasury buildings in 1841 (From Solomon, p. 68)

dependant on New South Wales. If a man owed you 50 pounds you must take a voyage to Sydney, that would cost you double that sum in order to ask him for it, though he might be living next door to you in Hobart Town all the time.

...If my man misbehaved did I not pin him in a corner and lecture him myself? Now there is a magistrate, and a constable and a pound, (but no shillings) in all reasonable distances, and every little division of the country is called a district, because they are so strict in it, which was formerly free to all men, cattle, sheep, and what not, to roam at large.

For my part I like to be my own master and the master of my servants who are (ipso facto) by the very act of emigrating of an enterprising, bold, intelligent and sensible spirit, it is very hard if we have not sense and judgment enough to manage our prisoners without troubling justices of the peace, expect in cases of emergency. [H.T. Courier 5 July, 1828].

In the late 1820's, the Court House was described as

a very substantial building, somewhat in the Gothic style, of red sandstone,- the present only forming part of what the complete one will be; the plan having been made on a large scale, and the other parts will be added as the wants and means of the colony call for and permit [Curr, quoted Stone and Tyson p. 90].

Subsequently, the Police Offices - almost a twin of the Court House, were built near the Davey Street corner in 1837 and in 1841 a third building, housing the Colonial Secretary and Treasurer, was erected to link the two earlier wings. These buildings still survive although somewhat altered. The Court House was originally graced by two circular towers at the rear but these appear to have been removed when the building was substantially re-built to accommodate the Post Office in 1862. [Hudspeth and Scripps p.243 and Chapter 5 below].

Widowson also noted a number of other buildings devoted to the maintenance of law and order. Opposite Government House on the corner of Elizabeth and Macquarie Streets was the main guard house "a poor low building" [p.22]. The site of the guard house had been chosen by Macquarie in 1811 to mark one of the corners of "St. Georges Square" although the building was not completed until 1819. [HRA III, ii, p.559]. In Campbell Street,

in some very extensive brick-making fields, is the prisoner's barracks, alias the Penitentiary, alias "The Trench," by which latter name it is most frequently called by its inmates: here, every evening, the men in government employ are called over and locked up for the night; the chain gang who are employed all day in mending the roads and streets, are also lodged here, after the labour of the day. [Widowson p. 24].

Over the years extensive alterations and additions were made to the penitentiary originally built in 1820 and from 1856 it was used as the gaol, only ceasing operation in the 1960's when it was replaced by the Risdon Prison. Almost the entire complex was demolished in 1964-5 with only the Penitentiary Chapel (built 1834) and the old criminal court (built 1850) remaining. Until 1856 the gaol was in Murray Street on the site now partially occupied by the S.B.T. Bank. The gaol was reserved for "felons" convicted locally and debtors: it also served as the female factory until the institution at the Cascades was established. This gaol had been built in 1818, but according to Mrs. Gee, interviewed by J.B. Walker in 1885, the original gaol was a wooden building, close to the present G.P.O., with an entry off Collins Street [Walker, Prelude to Federation p. 27].

While the assignment system was still in force much police time was taken up with convict duties but the introduction of probation relieved them of much of this.

Consequently in 1843 a separate Convict Department was formed and the police could devote themselves to

activities such as the preparation of jury lists, the licensing of timber cutting, the collection of agricultural and stock statistics and so on. In Hobart, police protective services were based on the London Metropolitan 'beat' system with two thirds of the Constables on night duty [Wettenhall p.252].

There were also Mounted Police who operated out of stables at the corner of Davey Street and Salamanca Place until the site was sold in the 1840's and the new St. Marys Hospital erected on the spot [CSO 22/80/2430].

With the introduction of municipal government in 1856, the respective councils of Hobart Town and Launceston assumed control of their own police services. In 1865 the rural municipalities also took responsibility for policing and as a result there were 21 separate police forces supervised by an Inspector of Police appointed by the Central government. The Inspector also had charge of the eight forces of Territorial Police which covered the electoral districts not proclaimed as municipalities. The current system of a centralised police force was not established until the Police Regulation Act of 1898.

By the 1880's Hobart's crime rate was less than that in any Australian city including those that had no direct transportation. The gaol population was a fifth of what it had been twenty years earlier and convictions for drunkenness fell by 50% over the same period. The principle reason for this decline was the death of the emancipist class who were responsible for most of the crime in the city. An outbreak of burglaries in Hobart in 1890 was so unexpected that the local people laid the blame at the door of "Suspicious men - supposed to have come over on cheap trips" on the steamships from Melbourne to plunder respectable Hobart [Bolger p.139]

As with other branches of the public service, the police department has grown to keep pace both with the increase in population and with changes in areas of responsibility and technology. In 1905, for example, the Detective branch was created - later it became the Criminal Investigation Branch. The police have also been given power and responsibilities under acts such as the Police Offences Act of 1935 and the Firearms Act of 1932. Special sections have also been created more recently to deal with particular social problems - the Drug Bureau and the Gaming Section for example. The Search and Rescue Section is also a relatively recent addition.

There has also been some centralisation of police services. As well as the central police station there were watch-houses around the city until well into this century. Proeschel's map published circa 1860 shows the Bathurst Street watch-house on the site now occupied by Telecom's Bathurst Centre at 133 Bathurst Street. More recently, there were small branch police stations in West Hobart, North Hobart, "East Hobart" and Battery Point: The last of these closed in the 1960's.

As the Police Department has increased its responsibilities and centralised its services it has expanded its premises at its original Liverpool Street site and is currently in the middle of an extensive building program.

4. THE PROVISION OF SERVICES

Water Supply

During the first years of the Camp at Sullivans Cove all goods and services were either obtained directly from the land or supplied by the "Civil establishment".

Water was obtained from the Hobart Rivulet, then a "Run of clear fresh water" and a deciding factor in the location of the settlement. [HRA III, i, p.223]. Only weeks after the camp was established, however, Collins had to warn "the people against polluting the stream by any means whatsoever", forbidding them from "going into or destroying the underwood adjacent to the river" [op. cit. p.219]. In September he again had to take measure to preserve the purity of the water supply:

The Lt. Governor prohibits the falling of timber in the Neighbourhood of the Stream, which supplies the settlement with water, without his express permission [op. cit. p.525]

When Macquarie arrived in 1811, Hobart was little more than a shanty town with poor standards of hygiene that encouraged rats and vermin. Partly to improve the sanitary conditions, the depth of town allotments was set at 132 feet to allow the disposal of night soil within the boundaries of each property [Bolt p.15]

Pollution of the rivulet continued to be a major problem although it was the only source of fresh water for most people. For those whose property was in the vicinity of the mill race, this represented an alternative - although this water too come from the rivulet it was drawn from a dam near the Harrington-Liverpool Street junction, at a point above most of the camp. Property advertisements appearing in the Hobart Town Gazette frequently listed proximity to the mill-race as an asset:

To be sold by private contract, a house with three capacious rooms in Liverpool Street ... there is an excellent garden, and a constant supply of good water from the Trunks of a water mill across the Garden, which is to the premises particularly valuable [HTG 1 February 1817]

In the early 1820s G.W. Evans described the rivulet as a "beautiful stream of water" and

such is its abundant flow, that, if the population were of twenty times its present magnitude, the inhabitants would find, from this rivulet, an ample supply of water for all the purposes of comfort and convenience [Evans p.63]

Evans was painting a rosy picture to attract emigrants to the colony - certainly his description of the rivulet would hardly have been recognised by the local inhabitants. In May 1826 the Colonial Times attributed to the filth in the rivulet the epidemic that had caused so many deaths in the town the previous summer [Colonial Times 19 May 1826]. Those who had the money to do so could sink wells, install filters or purchase water from the water-carts - it was the poor who suffered particularly from the polluted water supply.

A survey of the rivulet carried out by the Town Sheriff in 1828 found that not only domestic waste but also effluent from numerous mills, tanneries, distilleries, and pig yards all found its way into the stream.

From the Government Mill to the Market Place it would be impossible to point out every individual nuisance the whole being a receptacle of all the filth and impurities in the town [CSO 1/130/5605]

Various measures were undertaken to improve the flow of the rivulet - the course of the rivulet itself was deepened and plans were made to augment the supply by collecting the water from smaller streams entering the rivulet far above the town. The Hobart Town Courier, in announcing this scheme added that it was understood that a similar project was begun a couple of years previously and a "considerable length of Canal" was dug before the work was abandoned [H.T. Courier 23 February 1828]

Despite repeated complaints from the inhabitants and reports from the Colonial Surgeon about the health risks presented by the Rivulet, plans to pipe water into Hobart proceeded slowly. In June 1831 an official committee met at the behest of Governor Arthur to advise on the problem. Following their recommendations, an aqueduct was constructed to bring water from the Cascades to a large tank or cistern at the Barracks, for the use of the military, and to several pumps situated about the city for the use of the inhabitants [CSO 1/130/5605 p.39-40] Dr. Ross in his almanac for 1834 stated that

The town ... is chiefly watered by means of pipes, that have been laid underground, and which convey water to the houses of many of the inhabitants, as well as to several public pumps to various parts of the streets [Ross p.5]

In fact, very few houses had piped water at this stage. None of the pumps installed at the time or later survive although their former whereabouts is known and several appear in contemporary drawings and photographs [see, for example, Southern Outpost p.40 and Crawford The History of the early water supply of Hobart].

Although it is known that wells were used as a source of water, particularly by the wealthy, there is very little documentation about them. An article appearing in the Mercury in 1872 refers to a well in the basement of Wood and Spencers brewery in Liverpool Street [Mercury 10 October 1872] while in 1933 a well was discovered during the construction of the new Commonwealth Bank [Mercury 2 April 1933]. There are no doubt many more and should any wells be uncovered during future construction they may be of great archaeological interest.

In 1834, water was diverted from the channel constructed in 1831, to feed Peter Degraives mill at the Cascades. This led to constant disruptions to the town's water supply and in 1847 2,000 residents of the town petitioned Governor Denison to redress the situation. They alleged that Degraives deliberately interfered with the water supply to "prevent competition on the part of individuals engaged in similar manufacturing pursuits" further downstream ["The right of the inhabitants of Hobart Town to an Independent Supply of Pure Water" quoted in Solomon p.50-51]

Although improvements were made to the water supply, as late as 1858 only 1800 households out of 4,500 had piped water. In the poorer districts the inhabitants collected rain water in butts or purchased water from the Corporation water-cart. Water was a luxury which could be used only sparingly - a practice "most inimicable to comfort, cleanliness and health" [Hall p.9]

The water supply was one of the major responsibilities taken over by local government with the formation of the Hobart City Council. In fact, a new water supply scheme was one of the first projects undertaken following its incorporation in 1858.

Over the next sixty years water was collected from several streams on Mount Wellington, and diverted through pipes and troughing to the distributing reservoir in Hill Street in West Hobart. Surplus water was fed into storage reservoirs constructed in the valley of the Sandy Bay Rivulet in 1861-2 and 1886-8 and at Ridgeway in 1906-1918. In progressive stages increasingly more distant streams were incorporated into the system until the North West Bay River was reached in 1901.

The almost continuous extensions to the water supply were unable to keep up with demand however. In the early days of the scheme there was no 24-hour a day supply. The distributing reservoir was closed at night and the water was turned off to minimise waste: Turncocks were employed to turn the water on in case of emergencies such as house fires. In addition, water connections were not automatically made to every household - householders could make individual application or combine with their neighbours to petition the Council for water to be piped to their street or premises. More than twenty years after the construction of the first, or lower, reservoir, the chairman of the Council's Waterworks Committee declared that it was

without doubt, a disgrace to the Council that in this nineteenth century they were unable to supply water sufficient even for the domestic requirements of their citizens [Mercury 29 April 1884 p.3]

Consumption at this time was running at an average rate of 50 gallons per head per day, 20 gallons more than the system could deliver at a time of drought. To deal with the water shortage in 1884 supply was restricted to only a few hours each day. [Scripps The Pipeline Track, passim]

Sewerage

It should be noted that at this time there was no sewerage to speak of in the city - such drains and sewers that did exist seem to have added to the health problems of the inhabitants:

The streets I found, almost without exception, wanted good scavenging; the gutters in numbers were obstructed by grass and weeds growing, as well as from rubbish of all kinds blown or thrown therein, and in many instances, abounding in stagnant green coated offensive mud. Many of the gully-holes I found absolutely, others partially, choked with rubbish of various kinds, - iron hoops, old tins, rags, broken mugs, stones, etc., etc.

The drainage channels wherever exposed to view were similarly obstructed, so as to prevent the proper flow of the sewage and drainage. In fact the drains and sewers of the city as a whole are merely elongated cesspools, incessantly giving off noxious gases to the vitiation of the public health, and the incubation of disease. [Mercury 30 November 1875]

Refuse was removed by "scavengers" in the days before regular household garbage collections and although the streets were regularly watered and a "sweeping machine" was already in operation at this period, it seems to have made little impact on the streets which struck local residents and visitors alike as dirty. The above extract is from a report made to the Council by its Health Officer, Dr. Edward Swarbeck Hall. Hall was damning in his criticism of the city's standards of hygiene and warned of an outbreak of a disease such as scarlet fever which had caused so many deaths in the epidemic of 1853 - he had already isolated cases of the disease in Wapping. He recommended the introduction of dry earth closets, enforcement of sections of the Police Act which dealt with nuisances that affected public health, a prohibition of the keeping of pigs in residential areas and a thorough cleansing of the streets by the Corporation. Dr. Hall received no support however, Alderman Walch expressing the opinion that "there was no necessity to take any action on the report".

Following on epidemic of zymotic diseases [e.g. typhoid and diphtheria] in 1883 a number of Public Health Acts were passed. Cesspits were identified as a major factor in the spread of disease and by the Public Health Act of 1884 no new cesspits were to be constructed and all existing ones were to be filled in by 1st January 1887.

The pan system which replaced the cesspits was also defective and was associated with an outbreak of typhoid in 1887. To counteract the defects, a duplicate pan system was introduced whereby the Council's sanitary contractors took away the used pan for cleaning as well as emptying. Unfortunately this also had its problems for the Sanitary Depot was next to the Gas Works and the contents of the pans often ended up in either the Rivulet or the Derwent. There were a few water closets in the town at this stage but they discharged directly into the Rivulet. It took yet another typhoid epidemic in 1891 to bring about agitation for an underground drainage system which resulted in the Metropolitan Drainage Act of 1891.

The Metropolitan Drainage Board opted for an outfall at Macquarie Point that would discharge untreated sewage directly into the Derwent River. This created some public debate led by The Mercury who feared that such a system would pollute the beaches and affect the fishing industry [Petrov p.312]. A large part of the report of the Royal Commission into Local Government held in 1901 is devoted to the questions of water supply and drainage.

Although understanding the problems facing the Corporation in the matter of water supply, the Royal Commissioner was strongly critical of the Corporations record on drainage and waste disposal. It recommended a comprehensive approach to the problem:

We have been led to the conclusion that it is of the highest importance that the control and management of water supply and underground drainage should be in the hands of one administrative body, as is the case elsewhere.

We are of opinion that the Government should regard this question of the water-supply and sanitation of a Greater Hobart as a subject of national importance, and that it should be prepared to assist any Trust that may be formed to carry out the very important and onerous duties committed to its charge.

[Report of the Royal Commission p.17-18]

The Cyclopedia of Tasmania published at about the same time concurred with the urgency of the problem and pointed out the shortcomings of drainage works that had been carried out in the past.

At the present day a number of the old barrel drains are found in the principal streets at various depths from the surface. Some of these old drains vary in size from nine inches up to two feet in diameter, and in many cases consist of single brick rims, and in other of double brick rims. These sewers have given a great deal of trouble, as, being built on the old principle of great capacity, there is not sufficient water to flush them. The inside surfaces also become irregular, and cause many blockages, besides which there is no system of ventilation in connection therewith. Many houses in the centre of the city are connected to these drains which discharge their contents into the Hobart Rivulet and around the wharves, thereby causing a considerable nuisance during the hot seasons, especially at low tide. [Cyclopedia p.187]

In 1902 the MBD's engineer recommended Macquarie Point for the site of a sewage treatment works and outfall. By 1907 three septic tanks had been constructed to purify the sewage, treating waste from 728 separate premises which accounted for 824 water closets. However by 1910 these tanks had been abandoned, the disposal of sludge having become a problem as more water closets were added to the system. To deal with the problem the MBD took the outfall pipe 300 feet further into deep water and raw sewage was discharged directly into the river. [Petrov p.312-7]

The disposal of refuse remained a problem although it was no longer left to the scavengers:

It seems that as far as "the centre of the city" is concerned - that is the premises in a few of the streets in the business part - the household refuse is put into boxes which at night are left on the footpaths for removal by the Corporation carts in the morning.

These carts take the refuse to the tip at the back of the abattoirs, and to that at Fitzroy Crescent, where it is used for filling up purposes. No question is raised as to the efficiency of the service so far; but it is indisputable that the great bulk of the ratepayers have to dispose of their household refuse as best they may. It seems that there is a regulation to the effect that, if notice be given in writing to the town clerk of the desire of a householder to have his refuse removed regularly, the carts will call; but a moderate estimate puts the number of persons who are aware of this at not 10 per cent of the burgesses, outside of those already served, and still less those who make any attempt to take advantage of it. [Cyclopedia p.188]

It is interesting that garbage collection, like water connection, was supplied on request rather than automatically to every household as in the present case.

During the twentieth century sewerage and piped water were extended to every property in the Hobart area. Increasing demand for water led to a search for a source other than the Mount Wellington catchment. Early suggestions to bring water from the headwaters of the Derwent were put into effect and in 1939 the Lake Fenton supply was brought on line. In 1962 water supply became the responsibility of the Metropolitan Water Board which was succeeded in 1984 by the Hobart Regional Water Board. The Board supplies water to the Cities of Hobart, Glenorchy and Clarence and to the Municipalities of Kingborough, Sorell, Brighton, Richmond, New Norfolk and Green Ponds [Hobart Regional Water Board p.1].

In 1948 a deputation to the Hobart City Council, then still responsible for water supply, requested the addition of fluorine to the water "in an endeavour to combat dental caries" [Lord Mayors report 1948-50]. The Council acceded to the request although the fluoridation debate is still occasionally brought to public notice.

Lighting

As early as 1826 street lighting was introduced to Hobart. Up to this time the only illumination in the streets was from regulation lamps that publicans had to burn outside their doors - a measure that "has saved many from being robbed". In July 1826 the Hobart Town Gazette was able to report a line of lamp posts erected in Macquarie Street. The editor thought that a "regular line of oil gas lights" throughout the city would assist the exertions of the police and "might easily be effected" [HTG 29 July 1826].

In the 1850s lighting became the responsibility of the Hobart City Council. By this time the streets, described by Hugh Munro Hull as "well-lit" [Hull p.76], were lit by gas lamps - the gas being supplied via underground pipes by the Hobart Gas Company. Gas continued to be the source of power for street lighting although by the turn of the century the Gas Company was supplying electricity to some business houses.

In 1900, the annual cost of operating the 364 lamps in the city was 2200 pounds. In 1902 electricity for some lighting purposes was made available by the Tramway Company. The waterfront was one of the first areas to be lit by electricity, the lamps being converted in 1902 [Errey p.11]

Power Supply

The Hobart Gas Company

The Hobart Gas Company was formed in 1854 making it one of Australia's earliest gas works - Sydney's had been established in 1841 and Newcastle's in 1848. The Hobart gasworks was established on a site near the mouth of the Domain Rivulet on land originally granted to Mrs. Collins, the widow of Hobart's first harbourmaster William Collins.

At first the coal used for the manufacture of gas in Hobart was imported from England but from 1857, 6,500 tons a year was obtained from Newcastle, N.S.W. The production of gas had disadvantages as well as benefits:

It is worth noting the enormous social significance of gas-lighting. The introduction of an efficient light source had a profound effect on the working, social and domestic lives of those communities that obtained it. Another effect was the enormous pollution generated by the plant, and suffered most particularly by the Wapping community [McGowan p.24]

Until late in the century lighting continued to be the major use for town gas but with competition from electricity the emphasis changed towards heating and cooking. The Gas Company itself also installed a small electric plant driven by a gas engine which lit up many of the "larger business establishments" by means of an overhead cable laid along "a few of the principal streets". However at the turn of the century electricity was still very much in its infancy as far as the city fathers were concerned.

Up to the present the public buildings have not availed themselves much of this new light. Experiments have been made with lighting the main hall of the Town Hall buildings with the electric light with very good results, but nothing definite at the time of writing has been settled as to its permanent installation. From general observation the light does not give quite as good results generated from the gas engine as it does from water power, as demonstrated in the Launceston installation [Cyclopedia p.187]

In 1914 the Gas Company's electric plant was taken over by the Hydro Electric Commission. In the meantime, new developments in gas technology continued to be incorporated into the Hobart gas works with gas holders being used for the storage of purified gas from 1884 and a vertical retort house being constructed in 1924. The site of the gasworks was also extended to an area of reclaimed land near the mouth of the rivulet. The Hobart Gas Company ceased operation in 1978 and although some of the buildings still remain, they are unoccupied at the time of writing.

Electricity

In addition to the Hobart Gas Company plant mentioned above, the Hobart Tramway Company also had its own electricity supply powered by a steam generator at its depot in lower Macquarie Street. In 1902 the Company was enabled by an Act of Parliament to supply light and power and this was made available to a number of consumers along the tram routes. In 1913 the Hobart City Council acquired the tramways including the electric power station. However in 1916 "in order to assist the State Hydro-Electricity Scheme" the Council agreed to purchase all its electricity from the Hydro Electric Commission. Then in 1917 the Hydro Electric Commission moved the steam driven electric plant from the Gas Company to the Tramway Depot and this, combined with the tramways own plant, became the stand-by emergency power supply for Hobart [Hobart Tramways Jubilee p.11]

A Victorian company called Complex Ores Ltd. had been granted the franchise to generate electricity from the waters of the Central Highlands area in 1909. The Company ran into financial difficulties however and was purchased by the State Government in 1914. Electric generators were installed at Waddamanna in 1916 to provide power for Hobart and in 1921 the Great Lake power scheme came into operation. Although originally the Hydro-Electric Department, the responsible body became a Commission in 1929. Wettenhall has described the H.E.C. as the "classic illustration of the autonomous public corporation" - a situation that has led to public debate about the H.E.C.'s accountability, particularly in recent years [Wettenhall p.61-2].

Successive state governments promoted the concept of hydro-industrialisation as a way to modernise the state and maintain employment by offering cheap power to industries that located here. Following the establishment of the Commission the business of generating electric power grew "spectacularly".

In 1930 there was only one power station with a capacity of 49,000 kilo-watts. By 1968 there were 12 major power stations and 21 sub-stations with a total capacity of over 849,000 kilo-watts. [Wettenhall p.61]

In 1938 the H.E.C. built its headquarters at the corner of Elizabeth and Macquarie Streets and recent extensions to its office accommodation involved the erection of another multi-storey building next door in Elizabeth Street. There is also a small substation dating from 1940 on the corner of Davey and Murray Streets next to the old Police Office.

Hospitals

The health of the inhabitants of the camp at Sullivans Cove soon became a matter of concern to Collins. As well as the usual ailments there was a serious outbreak of scurvy due to the failure of the vegetable crop. Kangaroo meat was widely prescribed as a remedy for the disease:

The number of Scorbutic Patients increasing daily, the Commissary is directed to receive Kangaroo at 56d. per lb. from any person, who may deliver such at the Public Stores. And, in order to check the progress of this disorder by the only means at present in our power, the Lieut. Governor has caused two Boilers to be set up at the General Hospital, whereat, under the inspection of the Surgeon, Soup boiled with rice will be issued at 12 o'clock each day to all Persons, who may be afflicted with the above disease or who may be of a weakly Habit of Body. [HRA III, i, p.524]

Two months later Collins was reporting to Lord Hobart that 60 persons had been treated in this manner [HRA III, i, p.286] Although the extract above refers to a "general Hospital" it was probably no more than a hut erected on part of the site of the current Royal Hobart Hospital.

Governor Macquarie in his instructions for the improvement of Hobart Town issued in 1812 listed a military hospital and a general hospital amongst the priorities;

It is also highly necessary that a General Hospital for the reception of the Sick convicts, and other Persons in the Settlement who cannot otherwise procure Medical aid, Should be erected at Hobart Town as soon as Government can conveniently Command the Means of doing so. [op. cit. p.458]

Free settlers could presumably "procure Medical aid" for there were already surgeons practising privately in the settlement. The new hospital was not completed until 1819 but from the dimensions given in the reports of the Acting Engineer and the Assistant Surgeon, it must have been small and rather crowded. It was estimated that the various wards of the hospital could together accommodate 96 bedsteads each 2.1/2 feet wide and placed 3 feet apart. As well as the usual offices there were separate wards for men and women as well as separate "dead rooms" or mortuaries. [HRA III, ii, p.561-2]

When Butler Stoney visited the colony in the early 1850s the original hospital building described above was the Female Hospital, new buildings having recently been erected for the Male Hospital and the Infirmary. Stoney had little to say about the accommodation for female patients - perhaps he did not after all, venture inside. However he waxed lyrical about the Male Hospital:

- a handsome, cut-stone building, two stories high, presenting one of the finest architectural ornaments of the town, in the centre of an ornamental shrubbery. It has eight large well-ventilated wards, holding twenty beds each, with a good operating room and some smaller wards; and at the rear are two covered balconies running the whole length of the building, and commanding a beautiful view of the town, harbour, and adjacent country. Here, on wet days the convalescent patients have ample room for exercise: on fine days they can extend their rambles amongst the flower-beds and shrubs. [Stoney p.130]

The hospital was also a training institution: "the resident medical officer takes pupils on the same plan as the large Dublin hospitals" but there seems to have been no evidence of the reforms in nursing as such [op. cit. p.131]. The hospital was said to receive "patients of all classes", although the "Colonial Hospital" did not enjoy a particularly good reputation.

In 1840 Dr. William Bedford had left the Colonial Hospital after a sometimes stormy career and established a small private hospital in Campbell Street a couple of doors up from the Theatre Royal. St. Mary's Hospital was set up for "private patients of the better class and for the industrious poor". It was funded by subscriptions which amounted to threepence a week for single persons or to sixpence a week for families - this covered medicine, food and attendance for outpatients - in-patients paid two shillings a day. Private rooms were also available at a small extra charge. "Honorary members" who paid one guinea a year could sponsor up to three persons a year who could not otherwise afford medical treatment.

The Colonial Times found the private institution to be far superior to the Colonial Hospital praising the former's "order" and "cleanliness". Dr. Bedford approached the Government in 1844 for assistance to build a new hospital and in 1849 he was able to move to new premises on the corner of Davey Street and Salamanca Place. His financial problems continued however and in 1860 he was forced to close [Down Wapping p.42-4]

Although the new St. Mary's Hospital was purpose-built, most other private hospitals in Hobart were established in former residences. St. Anne's Rest Home occupies the house built originally for G.T.W.B. Boyes in Davey Street in 1835: St. John's Hospital in South Hobart, established as the Homeopathic Hospital in 1899, occupies the former Wellington Grange. The building now occupied by the Catholic Bookshop was in the early years of this century the Trevine Private Hospital. Before that it appears to have been a boarding house. Further up Macquarie Street, on the other side of the road "Alstonia", originally built by William Strutt, the Government Printer, was a private hospital during the 1920s and 1930s. St. Helen's Hospital, established c.1930 occupies the house built for Dr. Wolfhagen on the site of the "Royal Oak" Inn and Stables. ["The Captain" p.107-9]

The bad reputation of the Colonial Hospital can in part be attributed to its association with convicts - as late as the 1860s, 60% of all patients treated at the general hospital were convicts or ex-convicts [Bolger p.93-4]. Until 1859 when the hospital was transferred to the newly responsible local government, it was still regarded as an "imperial establishment". A Board of Management was set up to administer the "Hobart General Hospital" and by an Act of Parliament passed in 1878 a degree of autonomy was conferred.

Conditions at the General Hospital were also extremely poor. When the Board of Management took over its running, they found the building in a bad state of repair and greatly overcrowded. The Female Hospital was in a particularly bad state, being crowded, ill-ventilated and "positively revolting to the stranger".

Fifteen years later trained nurses were brought from Sydney in an attempt to improve the standard of patient care. These women were not prepared to tolerate the dirt and disorder accepted by the existing medical staff and their threat to resign en masse resulted in a Royal Commission in 1877 which vindicated their stand [Brown p.115-6].

According to the Cyclopedia of Tasmania there was only one hospital building in the late 1870s. Presumably the earliest structures on the site had been demolished by this time, the remaining building being the former Male Hospital then

capable of accommodating about eighty patients, with practically the most primitive arrangements outside the necessities of the institution. [Cyclopedia p.211]

By 1900 a "new hospital" had been erected behind the old building as well as a dispensary on the Argyle Street frontage and a mortuary. The present building was erected in 1938 and replaced most of the existing structures. Over the years a number of annexes were set up around the city including the Gore Street Maternity Hospital, the Vaucluse Burns Unit in Macquarie Street and the Queen Alexandra Maternity Hospital in Hampden Road. By and large the functions of these institutions have been centralised at the Royal Hobart Hospital and an extensive building programme has taken place over the last twenty years.

5. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

It is hard today to comprehend the degree to which the early settlement at Sullivans Cove was an isolated outpost of the empire. Van Diemens Land was fifteen days by boat from Sydney and several months from England - even fifty years later the trip 'home' took five months. In the early years the sense of isolation must have been exacerbated by the non-arrival of supply ships when the settlement was reduced to the brink of starvation.

The Mail

With ships so few and far between, correspondence both domestic and official was intermittent. News of family tragedies, the state of European affairs or overseas markets could be months or even years old. When a ship arrived in the Cove it was not unusual for the local people to stampede on board to collect their mail. Outgoing mail could be left at the Governor's office during Collins' administration to await the next departure and conveyed to England in a single bag. However, individuals also made their own arrangements, entrusting letters to ships' captains or travellers. If the ship was not sailing directly to England, it was quite possible for the mail to change hands several times before it reached its destination. As can be imagined this service was not reliable and was lengthy at best. This state of affairs was hardly improved over the following fifty years, however.

Meanwhile some improvements were made at the Van Diemens Land end of the connection. In 1812, John Beamont was appointed to take charge of the mail but he having hopes of a better position, and receiving no emolument but the postal fees, left the position after a year.

In 1813 James Mitchell became the Postmaster and operated from his house on the corner of Argyle and Macquarie Street between 1814 and 1818. The house is said to have been a mirror image of Ingle Hall on the opposite corner and is thought to survive as part of the current Maloneys Hobart Hotel [Bolt p.14]. Early in 1818 Mitchell moved to "the House formerly occupied by Mr. Robley in Collins Street; where he requests all persons may in future send and call for their letters & c" [HTG 31 January, 1818 p.1]. The new premises were near the creek so were probably close to the Campbell Street corner. Notices were published in the Hobart Town Gazette informing the populace of the arrival of mail, whether from Britain or Port Dalrymple. Mail from the latter might be delivered by "Special Messenger" who travelled overland [HTG 21 August, 1819]. The Gazette also published information about forthcoming sailings, allowing members of the public several weeks to ensure that their correspondence caught the boat.

In 1822, John Thomas Collicott added the business of postmaster to that of general storekeeper and auctioneer. He operated out of premises in Murray Street later the site of the Arcadia Hotel, now occupied by Centrepont. He established a scale of fees which appear to have been somewhat exorbitant, charging one shilling to deliver a letter to Launceston, although mail services to the interior became more regular and reliable. In 1825 however a Commission of Inquiry into the Post Office found

the service to be inefficient and the fees too high and recommended that it become a government department. The new system, was established in 1828 with Collicott being appointed the first official Postmaster. Until 1832, he took the mail by horse to Green Ponds from where a relay of convict carriers carried it on foot to Launceston. In that year the service was let out to tender and a horse drawn mail cart travelled the road to Launceston twice a week.

In 1835 household deliveries began with three deliveries every day and, every evening except Sunday:

The letter carriers perambulate their beat...from five to six o'clock, ringing bells, in order to collect such letters and newspapers as the inhabitants of Hobart Town and its suburbs may be desirous of sending per post whether inland or ship letters [quoted in A History of the Post Office in Tasmania p.18].

The following year the Post Office moved from its "miserable premises" in Murray Street to a "commodious house" at the corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets (now a branch of Westpac Bank).

By the mid 1830's also the Main Road to Launceston was greatly improved, the Bridgewater causeway was opened and the mail cart became a mail coach that could also carry passengers. The Royal Mail Coach left the Ship Inn opposite the Post Office twice a week for Launceston, the guards and coachmen creating a splash of colour in their "scarlet coats, white beaver hats, boots and breeches" [op.cit. p.23]. The Royal Mail Coach was operated by J.E. Cox and then his widow until Sam Page took over the business in 1849.

It was about this time that some organisation was applied to the overseas mail as shipping merchants took on regular contracts.

Between 1862 and 1905 the Post Office occupied the old Court House at the corner of Murray and Macquarie Streets which had been substantially rebuilt for the purpose. During this period the functions of the Post office were extended to cover telegraph and telephone services. The original "Electric Telegraph" line had been erected in 1856, connecting George Town and Mount Lewis via Launceston and Hobart. The Hobart office was originally in the old Water Police building on Franklin Wharf. Later it occupied the old guardhouse on the corner of Elizabeth and Macquarie Streets before being incorporated into the new G.P.O.

The first official telephone service opened in 1880 between the Hobart Telegraph office and Mount Nelson and, following the establishment of the telephone exchange at the post office in 1883, the number of subscribers expanded rapidly - from ten in August, 1883 to one hundred and eighty four at the end of 1884. When the new telephone exchange opened at the recently constructed G.P.O. in 1907, it was the first central battery exchange in Australia. When the exchange was automated in 1929 it was moved to the current building in Harrington Street (History of the Post Office in Tasmania).

The site of the present G.P.O. had been in the hands of the Lord family since 1818 when James Lord was granted an allotment of "2 roods and 4 rods" at the corner of Elizabeth and Macquarie Streets. In 1892 "Lords Corner" was acquired by the Government, the original house being demolished by 1901 when the foundation stone was laid by the then Duke and Duchess of York during a visit to the colonies.

A competition had been held for the design of the G.P.O., local architect, Alan Walker's being the winning entry from a field of nine. The Post Office was one of the first public buildings opened after Federation although the Federal Government nearly put a stop to the project: Following the completion of the building and a request for funds to purchase the fixtures and fittings, the Federal Postmaster queried the necessity for a new Post Office. As it was the Federal Government had refused to fund clock towers on any post office buildings in order to cut costs and the present G.P.O. clock tower was erected by public subscription. The G.P.O. was opened on 2nd September, 1905 although the clock and chimes were not installed until the following year.

Several clocks in and around the city of Hobart are synchronised with the G.P.O. clock by means of electrical impulses transmitted over lines to the various points. [M.L.D. Walker p.31].

The Press

The medium of print was an important means of communication from the earliest days of settlement: Collins had brought a printing press with him and found it of "very great utility" for producing copies of his General Orders which he issued to inform the settlers and convicts of their rights and obligations. These Orders were presumably posted up at various points around the town and outlying settlements. [HRA III, vol. i, p.233].

These notices were the forerunner of the Hobart Town Gazette and the Tasmanian Government Gazette. The Gazette at first was published by a private individual, like its short-lived predecessors the Derwent Star and Van Diemens Land Intelligencer (1810-12) and the Van Diemens Land Gazette and General Advertiser (1814). Andrew Bent published the Hobart Town Gazette weekly from 1 June, 1816: it usually comprised both sides of a single sheet and in addition to Government notices, local news and advertisements, it occasionally included "Extracts from the latest London papers", notwithstanding the news being several months old due to the delays in shipping.

Although the Gazette was under the control and patronage of the government, Bent owned most of the plant, having repaid government loans made to assist in the purchase of a new font.

When Lieutenant-Governor Arthur arrived in 1824 Bent "determined to throw off official supervision, and claimed a property in the title of the Gazette" [West p.87]. Governor Brisbane in Sydney upheld Bent's claims and Arthur began a rival, official Government Gazette following a series of critical articles in Bent's newspaper. At first the official Gazette published both news and government notices under the editorship of Dr. Ross. In 1827, however, the paper was split into the Gazette for official

notices and the Courier became the 'news' paper. In the meantime Bent had yielded to the pressure and changed the title of his newspaper to the Colonial Times - the Colonial Times premises were in Elizabeth Street while the Government printing office was in Collins Street [1826 Almanac]. Bent had several disputes with Arthur which resulted in convictions for libel and terms of imprisonment. Arthur was determined to "put down the liberty of the press" alleging that controls were necessary in a penal colony. However, his attempt to introduce a license for publishers, subject to his own approval, was disallowed [West p.89].

Throughout the 19th century there was a large number of newspapers serving the people of Hobart. Some, such as the Daily News, were established to promote particular causes - in this instance it was the anti-transportation movement, but these newspapers tended not to survive.

The Mercury was begun by John Davies in 1854 at the Macquarie Street premises previously occupied by John Moore, publisher of the Guardian newspaper. Within a few years Davies had taken over most of his competitors - the Colonial Times in 1857, the Tasmanian Daily News in 1858, the Daily Courier in 1859, and other newspapers later. Between 1877 and 1935 the Mercury also published a weekly journal the Tasmanian Mail which was an illustrated paper after 1896. [Cyclopedia p.292]

The Mercury was published daily after 1858, appearing in the morning. Between 1883 and 1911 there was also a daily evening paper the Tasmanian News whose offices were in Collins Street, near the Elizabeth Street corner now occupied by the AMP building. From 1893 to 1909 another weekly journal was published and claimed in 1900 to have the "largest circulation in Tasmania" [P.O. Directory 1900]. Its office was next to the corner of Macquarie and Elizabeth Streets (now the G.P.O. corner) before moving to 147 Liverpool Street (now the site of the Odeon).

The Clipper was "through its advocacy of social democracy...looked upon as the labor organ of Tasmania". It was

a recognised mining authority and early in its career the "peoples paper" was forced to protect the industry from unscrupulous mining promoters, who threatened to seriously interfere with the influx of capital and legitimate exploration of the West Coast mineral fields. [Cyclopedia p.293].

- the newspaper was instrumental in the exposure of the "Mount Huxley bubble" in 1894.

The Daily Post published between 1908 and 1918 had a similar outlook whilst the Critic, a weekly published between 1907 and 1924 was basically a showbusiness and gossip paper. For more than seventy years The Mercury has been the only daily newspaper published in Hobart. Although it has always operated from approximately the same site in Macquarie Street its premises have expanded over the years. The present building was erected in 1936, at which time its present despatch department in Argyle Street was a car showroom.

The Electronic Media

Although shortwave enthusiasts may have been able to pick up signals broadcast from elsewhere prior to 1924, it was not until December of that year that the first public radio broadcast took place in Hobart. 7ZL broadcast its first program - a live concert performed by children from the Lansdowne Crescent School - on 17 December 1924. The Station was set up in a "tiny felt-lined" room in the Mercury building and on the successful transmission become Australia's 5th radio station [Mercury 18 December 1924]. Later the station moved to 22 Elizabeth Street, built in 1926 and known as ABC Broadcast House until ABC Radio moved to new premises on the site of the Hobart Railway Station in 1989.

Until the recent innovations of public broadcasting and FM radio, there were only two commercial radio stations in Hobart - 7HO established in 1930 and 7HT established in 1937 [Mckay p.208-210].

Television reached Tasmania in 1960, four years after it began on the mainland. Both the national broadcaster and the commercial station moved into new purpose-built premises - the ABC to studios in Harrington Street and TVT6 to New Town Road [Examiner 4 June 1960; Mercury 11 May 1960].

Transport

There were few transport options for the early settlers at Sullivans and Stainforths Coves. Transport between the two was by boat; the 'Main Road' to New Town was not a properly made road until 1818 [HTG 12 September, 1818]. There were no horses at the original settlement and a shortage of draught animals meant that most people got about on foot and much of the haulage work was performed by convicts.

Small boats were used even for relatively short trips such as that to Knopwood's property, Cottage Green, on Battery Point.

Before the roads were "macadamised" in the 1820's, even walking about the settlement was hazardous:

I walked all along Macquarie, Elizabeth and Liverpool Streets...my feet sticking in the mud at every step, and tripping against the huge stumps of trees standing right in the path. [H.T. Courier 5 July, 1828].

Bullocks were the favoured draught animal and a carter with a good team could command high prices. By 1819 the increasing number of carts in Hobart Town was creating problems and it was considered necessary that they should be registered and licensed, and subject to a set of regulations. The owners name, address and licence number had to be painted on the side of each cart. Drivers were cautioned against leaving their carts unattended, driving on the footpath, being found asleep on their carts, hindering the passage of other vehicles or persons, and, by wilful negligence or misbehaviour causing 'hurt or damage to any person or carriage'. Penalties included fines or a months imprisonment [HTG 20 February, 1819].

Ten years later, however, the situation was changing as cart horses were rapidly taking the place of bullocks. In the early 1820's a man with a cart and a team of oxen could earn up to 60 shillings a day - by 1828 he would be lucky to get 10 shillings a day [H.T. Courier 24 May, 1828].

By this time also, a greater variety of traffic was to be seen on the streets which were "enlivened ... by the rapid passing and re-passing of gigs, carts and other wheel vehicles" [Savery p.51]. Most of these vehicles were imported although by 1834 there were at least two coachbuilders operating in Hobart - Mr. Frazer of Elizabeth Street and Mr. Tuckwell of Market place. There was also a number of establishments dedicated to associated trades - coachpainters, wheelwrights, farriers, smiths, saddlers and harness-makers, as well as veterinary surgeons [1826 Almanac and 1834 V.D.L. Annual]. Inns also had to provide suitable facilities for the animals belonging to their guests. The Turks Head Inn on the corner of Murray and Bathurst Streets, for example, advertised as a "first rate inn" and offered

a four-stall stable, cow house, yard for stock and every convenience for settlers coming from the country [H.T. Courier 11 July, 1829].

There appear to have been few options for those who did not have their own transport although a G. Marsden kept a livery stable in Elizabeth Street in the 1830's [V.D.L. Annual 1834] and there had been a regular coach service to New Norfolk as early as 1829 and to Launceston from 1834 [Stancombe p.28-9]. There does not appear to have been any form of public transport in Hobart until 1841 when a "Hackney coach" began operating from its stand near the Ship Inn at the corner of Elizabeth and Collins Street [Cornwall Chronicle 29 May, 1841]. The number of cabs appears to have grown rapidly for in 1843 it was necessary to establish a set of regulations under the Cab Act.

The Act set down standard fares and authorised the sites of a number of cab stands around the town. The new cab stand in Collins Street was not allowed to remain for long however:

Cab stand: We are happy to state that the stand for these vehicles has, by order of the magistrates, been moved from Collins Street to the Old Market Place. The conduct of the men connected with this stand had lately become so outrageous, that the shops in Collins Street depreciated in value full 30 per cent. It was impossible for ladies to pass down Murray Street by the intersection of Collins Street without being extremely annoyed if not insulted by the cadging, touting and flash behaviour of the puny whipsters attached to the stand [H.T. Courier 25 March 1846].

The problem of "unruly cabbies" may not have been an isolated one - thirty years later, The Mercury reported that the cabmen on the rank in Murray Street, between Macquarie and Davey Streets, had "sadly disturbed the Sabbath" with their coarse language and violent squabbling and larking". The Mercury attributed the problem to too many cabs being allowed to use the stand [Mercury 6 November, 1876].

In 1848 a new Cab Act was passed which gave passengers the choice between paying by time or distance. The cabmen took objection to this and took collective action by staging a one day strike, without effect [H.T. Courier 4 November, 1848]. The fares, established by this act, started at one shilling for distances not exceeding a mile or one shilling and sixpence for the first half-hour. In contrast to current practice, cab fares were halved between the hours of 10.00 p.m. and 6.00 a.m. [Woods Almanac 1850].

Buses

In 1855 "omnibuses" were introduced to the city by Francis Johnson of New Town. He imported the two vehicles from Sydney, naming them "The City of Hobart" and "The Ben Bolt". "The City of Hobart" ran from the "Horse and Jockey Inn" at New Town to the "Cascade Inn" at the top of Macquarie Street via the "Rock Inn" in Elizabeth Street, completing the return trip every hour between 8.00 a.m. and 6.00 p.m. daily, except Sunday. "The Ben Bolt" ran a similar service, starting from the "Maypole Inn" at New Town and beginning at 9.30 a.m. There was an additional evening service "for the convenience of residents of New Town" who wished to attend the theatre or other public amusements in the City. The fare from New Town to the "Cascade Inn" was one shilling - it cost sixpence for the trip to or from the "Rock Inn". On Sundays, one of the omnibuses completed the run every two hours during the afternoon while the other 'bus did a single trip from the "Rock Inn" to Bridgewater for a fare of three shillings. Reductions in fares were offered to those "entering into monthly or quarterly contracts". [Mercury 10 and 18 September, 1855].

The Railway

The next major step in the development of transport was the introduction of the railways in 1876. When the Main Line railway connecting Hobart and Launceston was first proposed in 1870, the idea was greeted with "unbounded enthusiasm" as the public anticipated

that one day we would be able to leave Hobart Town in the morning, transact business in Launceston, and return the same evening [Mercury 3 November, 1876].

However, by the time that the line opened, in November, 1876, this enthusiasm had waned and the event was not recorded in The Mercury except in a "Letter to the Editor". In the intervening years the railway proposal had received an increasingly critical press and acquired a bad reputation with the public. The cause of many of the railway's early problems lay with the uncertainties contained in the agreement entered into by the Government of the day and the Main Line Railway Company. The Company was a private concern based in London and agreed to construct the line for 650,000 pounds, the Government guaranteeing the interest at 5%. From the start, however, the Company "was continually asking concessions" of the Government" and the business was "badly conducted from first to last". The number of concessions granted to the company was a source of public discontent: 25 acres of the Domain were alienated to save the Company the cost of a tunnel under Park Street and all

railway materials were able to enter the colony free of duty. In addition the Company changed the route of the railway from a line which was to have gone through the "existing centres of population" to one which was taken through "a comparatively poor and very sparsely populated country", and later tried to avoid completion of the line between Evandale and Launceston. The Company was also alleged to have manipulated the accounts and the project ended up costing more than a million pounds, the Government being forced to raise loans to cover the increase. Eventually, after a series of offers and counter-offers the railway was purchased by the Government in 1890 [J.P.P. vol, XVII].

The location of the railway station and workshops beyond Park Street not only had the effect of increasing traffic in the Wapping area but added to its image as an industrial area. It was not until the turn of the century, however, that the "city fathers" decided to do something about improving this "gateway" to the city: but rather than merely regulate the various trades and improve sanitary conditions, they removed almost the whole of Wapping during the rivulet diversion carried out between 1913 and 1923 (see Chapter 1).

The coming of the railways had a number of effects, both negative and positive:

The Main Line Railway of three foot and six inch gauge connecting the northern and southern coast brought capital, machinery, and labouring workers in through the city but it also led business away to Launceston and other ports.

Navvies, the skilled, itinerant and troublesome construction labourers who followed the world's railroads, were imported from abroad and many local labourers followed the camps to the end of the line. Such enterprises acted as catalysts to regions outside the capital. In the city the Benevolent Society suffered a renewal of activity as men followed the tracks and left their wives behind abandoned in the city [Bolger p.45].

Some businesses in the City did manage to benefit from the proximity of the railway: Heathorn's Hotel, for example, in lower Liverpool Street was for many years regarded as "the" railway hotel and advertised itself as such.

Over the years several additions and improvements were made to the facilities at the Railway Station. In the 1880's a corrugated iron Way and Works shed was built as well as a Station Masters Residence. Although these buildings survived until the 1980's, several others were demolished in the 1950's to make way for three new concrete platforms [McGowan pp.11-15].

In spite of the improvements made in the 1950's, however, the railway continued to lose money on its passenger trains, particularly on the suburban services. Both the 1964 Hobart Area Transportation Study and the 1973 Royal Commission on Tasmanian Urban Public Passenger Transport recommended against the continuation of the services and in 1975, the passenger trains, by then under the control of Australian National Railways, ceased operation. Since then the main Railway Station building has

become the A.B.C.'s headquarters and the platforms filled in with bitumen to create a car park: the Station Masters residence has also been demolished. In 1985 work began on the extension of Davey Street through the old railway yards, the new road being opened in 1987.

The Trams

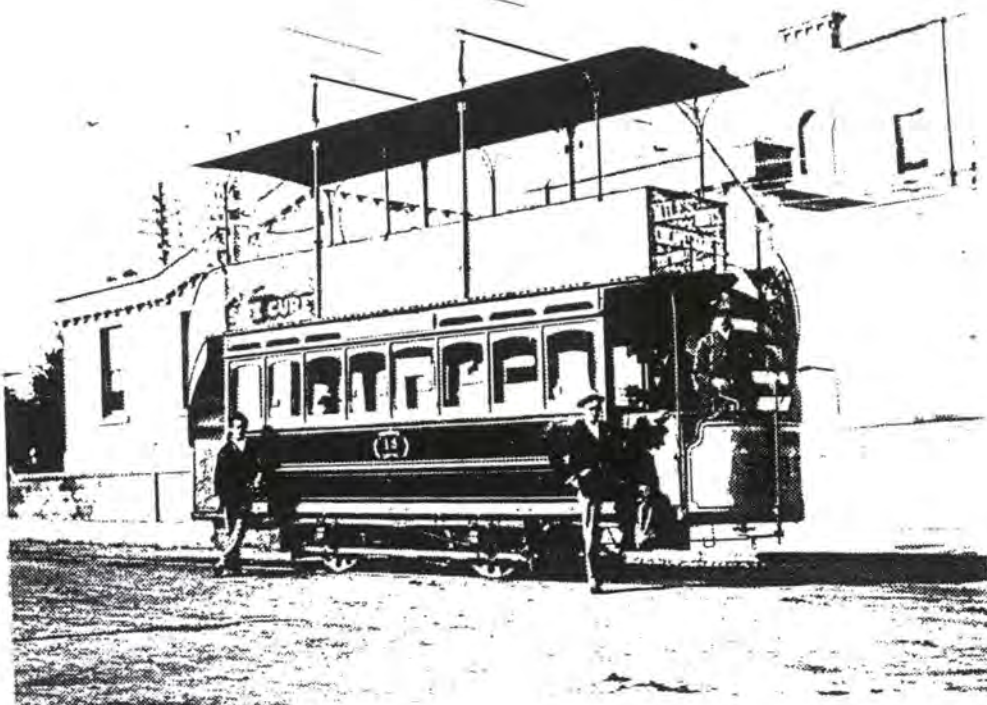
Another form of transport to have its day in Hobart is the tram. Although the Tramways Act have "empowering a private company to construct and operate tramways in the City and suburbs" was passed in 1884, construction was not begun until 1892. At first it was planned that the trams be drawn by horses or cables but in the event a system of electric trams was adopted. Siemen Brothers of London constructed the tramways for the Hobart Electric Tramways Company, laying nine miles of track along routes to the Cascades, Sandy Bay (as far as Heathorn Avenue) and Moonah (as far as Albert Road). The original rails were actually railway rails laid on hardwood sleepers but were later replaced by the proper grooved tramway rails. Early trials created "serious disturbances on the telephone circuits" but these were overcome before the trams began regular services on 21 September, 1893. There were twenty double-decker tram cars each capable of seating forty eight passengers.

J.B. Walker thought the trams a great convenience but

It is hard, however, to forgive the trams and the telephones for the network of wires and forests of posts, which now disfigure the main streets of the town. Our picturesque little city is covered with a sort of ugly spiderweb. [Prelude to Federation p.105].

Within months, the trams had become a part of everyday life but not without exacting a price:

The electric trams are a great success, and are very extensively used. It is said the takings are 40 pounds per day, and the working expenses about 20 pounds per day, or at most 1,000 pounds per month. They are a wonderful convenience, running every quarter of an hour, and people wonder how they managed to do without them so long. Everything, however, has its drawbacks. Most of the buses have had to succumb, although both the New Town buses (Cooley's) and those to Sandy Bay (Hogan's) still keep going on a reduced scale, while Webster's Davey Street bus - a very good and convenient service for this part - is hardly affected. The cabmen suffer most. Not only from the rivalry of the trams, formidable as that is, but from the fact that people, (especially ladies), rather dread cab drives on account of the horses' restiveness when meeting the ponderous tram cars. It is said that nearly 200 horses have been thrown out of work. This, with the drivers, is a serious item. Many of the bus drivers (especially Cooley's men) have been taken on as tram drivers [Op.cit. p.114].



One of Hobart's earliest trams, 1893.
Photo: Tas. Museum and Art Gallery, Q7215.

In 1905, two motor buses were briefly introduced to provide a feeder service between the Moonah Terminus and the Glenorchy Post Office but were soon discontinued. Following the purchase of the tramways by the Hobart City Council in 1913, services were extended to West Hobart, Beach Road and North East Hobart with further extensions to Lenah Valley, Proctors Road and Glenorchy in the 1920's. By the 1920's however, the trams, in common with other forms of transport were suffering from the effects of an increasing number of private cars and in 1925 the Council commenced motor bus services to Battery Point, New Town Station and Cornelian Bay. The services continued to expand until in 1943 the Council had seventy three tram cars, fifteen trolley buses and five motor buses. The tramway depot and power station were situated on a site in lower Macquarie Street next to the Red Lion Hotel and now the property of the M.T.T. [Hobart Tramways Jubilee 1893-1943, passim].

The Metropolitan Transport Trust was created by an Act of State Parliament in 1954, taking over the responsibility for public transport from the Hobart City Council. Its operations were initially restricted to an area within seven miles of the Hobart G.P.O. but over the years its charter has been extended to include the new residential subdivisions on the Eastern Shore. With increasing traffic congestion in the city, the trams were phased out by 1965 as the M.T.T. concentrated on providing a bus service.

The buses created their own problems however, with the large number of bus stops around the main city block, and several transport studies in the 1960's and 1970's suggested a central bus terminal - possibly in Elizabeth Street near the G.P.O. The Derwent Region Transport Study in 1979 also looked at the public transport system, looking at ways in which its use could be promoted. It found that most people who used public transport did so either because they had no car or because they were unable to drive. 20% of those who did own a car used public transport to get into the City to obviate problems with parking. In 1979 the M.T.T. had two hundred and seventeen buses of which one hundred and eighty four would be on the road in peak hours [D.R.T.S. p.83].

The Motor Car

The first private car appeared in Hobart in 1898 [Stancombe p.55] and after the turn of the century numbers rapidly increased although the last horse-drawn cab did not cease operation until 1946 [Mercury 22 December, 1984 p.12] and there were still a dozen stables in the inner-city in 1954 [Solomon p.222]. A number of businesses founded in the days of horse transport managed to adapt to the motor car - Cramps carriage-building works survive as a bodyworks for example. As horse-transport required a variety of ancillary services, so the car requires petrol stations, car parks &c. One of the oldest petrol stations in the city is still in existence in Victoria Street and dates from 1928 although the "kiosk" was not built until 1939 [R.A.I.A. Guide p.24]. A number of other service stations occupy the classic corner situations favoured by petrol companies. This has led to the demolition of some older buildings as have improvements to the road system. Most of the private houses remaining in Park Street - a remnant of Wapping - were demolished



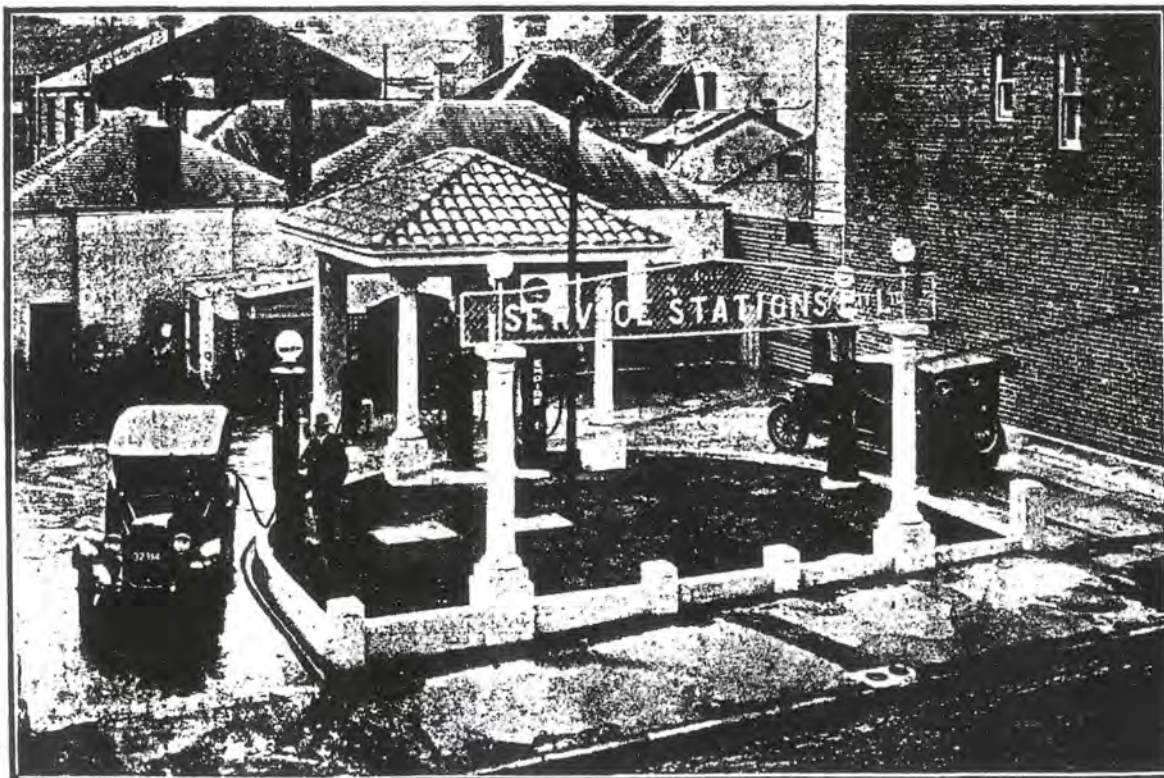
TASMANIAN MOTOR *and* SPORT — REVIEW —

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Vol. 4; No. 4

HOBART, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1928

Price 6d.



An up-to-date and convenient Service Station in Victoria Street

to make way for the Railway Roundabout and associated roadworks in 1960. In the intervening years however, the Railway Roundabout itself became a bottleneck and the new Davey Street extension along the old "slip road" has allowed traffic to and from the Eastern Shore to by-pass it.

Perhaps surprisingly, it was not until 1960 that Hobart got its "first off-street parking station": This was in part of the Metro Motors building in Argyle Street [Mercury 11 May 1960]. The trend today is towards multi-storey car parks of which there are several in the city some owned by the HCC and others by private enterprise.

6. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The Commissariat

For the first few years following settlement, Hobart Town enjoyed at best a subsistence economy. The basis of economic activity was the Commissariat -

the central market and supplier of goods for government and citizens alike; its importance in those foundation years would be difficult to overemphasise [Wettenhall p.96]

When the "camp" was established 90% of the population depended on the Commissariat Store for food and clothing [Rimmer p.327] The stores, in the first instance, had been carried on the supply ship Lady Nelson accompanying the Ocean on the voyage from Port Phillip to the Derwent. As it turned out the stores were deficient and of very bad quality but there was of course no immediate means of remedying the situation and new supplies were slow to arrive. In these early days the Commissariat operated out of a tent and then a hut on Hunter Island but in 1810 a permanent building was completed in Macquarie Street and survives as part of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery Complex.

As the settlement developed the Commissariat was able to draw on local sources of supply - the Government Farm and workshops, civil and military officers and private individuals - although there was still a dependence on imports for manufactured goods. Men such as Edward Lord and Anthony Fenn Kemp were able to make fortunes by supplying the commissariat with meat and wheat. During the early years convicts and new settlers were automatically victualled from the store. As settlers established themselves and became self sufficient they were taken off the store. In 1814 60% of the Colony's 1898 inhabitants were "on the store and by 1820 this had reduced further to 40%. This group consisted principally of convicts and ticket of leave men although some were new free settlers. There was also a sizeable group of charitable cases - these included the aged, the infirm and the incapacitated. This welfare role of the Commissariat store continued until 1844 when charity rations ceased to be issued. ["Commissariat Issuing Store ..." and Rimmer p.327]

Early Manufacturing

Manufacturing developed only slowly in Hobart Town and the first industries were related to meeting the day to day needs of the settlement. In November, 1804, for example, Collins was able to report to Lord Hobart that

no where can better or more durable bricks be found than what are made from the Clay of this country. I have just had a kiln containing about 30,000 burnt off, in which I had some Tiles placed as an experiment, and find them turn out as well as the Bricks [HRA III, i, p.287]

By late the following year shoes were also being produced in the settlement, no doubt to replace the original consignment which had arrived on the Lady Nelson and proved not only to be of poor quality but all of the same size. Kangaroo skins were tanned, using the bark of blue gum and wattle trees, to provide the uppers but there was a shortage of suitable material for sole leather [HRA III, i, p.344].

In a requisition sent in December 1805 Collins included an order for equipment and materials for a watermill so that the colony could grind its own flour. The mill did not arrive until 1810 however so in the meantime the grain had either to be milled by hand or sent to Sydney [HRA III, i, p.344 and Linge p.44]. A mill had been constructed by 1811 since it was recorded in Meehan's survey - this mill, operated by Edward Lord and William Collins, was situated on the Hobart Rivulet at the rear of the site currently occupied by Ellison Hawker's bookshop [Bolt p.14]. Early in 1818 when Arnold Fisk moved to his new mill "built at enormous expense" near the Wellington Bridge, reference was made to the "old mill" at the upper end of Liverpool Street [HTG 3 January 1818]. Fisk's was the only mill operating at this time and he was able to name his price until the Government Mill was set up in competition "near the Bridge at the end of the Government Gardens" [HTG 30 May 1818]; the Government Gardens were near the current Commonwealth Government Centre and stone walls surviving in Collins Street may date from the earliest years of settlement [Pers. Comm. Brendan Lennard].

By this time there was a number of other manufacturing and processing enterprises in the town. In April 1819 a pottery was offered for sale - the property included two houses and "the remains of the last kiln of earthenware": it was situated on Potters Hill near the New Town Road (now Elizabeth Street). In October, 1819, W. Butcher moved from his long-established bakery in Collins Street to new premises adjoining Mrs. Kearney's in Argyle Street - here he would continue to supply bread, biscuits and hot rolls for breakfast and bake dinners "during the usual hours on Sundays" [HTG 19 December, 1818 and 23 October 1819]. Mrs. Kearney was also something of an institution by this time - she had the only farm actually within the township. Part of her farm site is now occupied by the University of Tasmania's clinical school in Collins Street. Mrs. Kearney supplied meat to the Commissariat Store [HTG 31 January 1818] as well as selling milk and butter directly from her premises [HTG 7 November 1818].

John Simons, whose premises were near the Government Mill in Liverpool Street, was a silversmith who undertook all kinds of jewellery, including "fashionable shoe buckles" [HTG 15 August, 1818]. His business however seems to have been quite atypical at this time - most of the other manufacturing enterprises were concerned with producing the necessities of life.

Restrictions on Trade

Brewing and distilling got off to a late start in the Colony. In part this was due to government regulation - in the early years scarce resources could not be devoted to such activities and brewing was prohibited.

By 1819 Mr. Austin at Glenorchy was producing porter and Mr. Gatehouse was building a brewery at New Town for the production of malt liquor. [HTG 20 November 1819]. There were, however a number of hotels retailing imported liquor - in 1819 there were thirteen licensed houses. One of these inns the "New Inn" at Veranda House in Collins Street advertised also

an extensive Assortment of useful Goods at his READY MONEY STORE in the above House; consisting of Teas, Sugar, Tobacco, Soap, Piece Goods, and all Articles of general Demand [HTG 16 October 1819].

Since trade restrictions had been eased in 1813 and 1819 new opportunities had opened up for such merchants. The above advertisement illustrates however a perennial drawback to trade in the first couple of decades - the shortage of currency. Allwright retailed his stock of spirits in exchange for money or wheat but apparently required hard cash for other transactions. Barter was not unusual even for high-value items. For example, when Dennis McCarty advertised the sale of his house in Liverpool Street he expected that "Wheat or Meat at Store price will be taken in payment" [HTG 1 February 1817]. Promissory notes and a variety of coinage were also used as currency:

Until the establishment of the bank in Macquarrie-street, in January, 1824, the currency of the country was in a most disordered state; of specie there was scarcely any, every thing being managed by notes of hand of the tradesmen, payable on demand; this crazy description of circulating medium pervaded the whole country, beginning at the low rate of two-pence, and gradually ascending by numerous intermediate amounts, up to the payment of several pounds. As soon, however, as the bank was put into operation, the paper currency gradually withdrew [Widowson p.43]

To encourage intercolonial and international trade and to reduce the Colony's financial dependence on Britain, the fixed price of grain into the commissariat was abolished: As long as the Government was paying an artificially high price for wheat, colonists would not look for markets elsewhere [HRA III, iv, p.134 ff]

By the early 1820's the colony had established regular markets for its primary products, and exports through Hobart Town included whale-oil, stock, wattlebark, seal skins and spars [Evans p.24]. The characteristics of the import-export trade established in the early years of settlement continue up to the present with exports mainly unprocessed primary products and imports principally manufactured goods. Until the late 1820s flour was milled only in sufficient quantities to meet local demand but from 1827 the commodity was shipped to the mainland colonies [Linge p.127-9]

By the mid 1820s, despite a temporary depression brought about by the loss of the fixed grain price, there was a greater diversity in business than had been apparent a few years earlier in Hobart Town. The 1826 Almanac listed the following trades and industries:

General dealers and merchants	41
Publicans	30
Food retailing and processing	15
Timber and furniture businesses	10
Building trades	10
Clothing	8
Legal	8
Metal trades including blacksmiths	6
Maritime trades	6
Medical	5
Brewers	4
Harness and saddlemakers	3
Auctioneers	3
Soap and candle manufacturers	2
Newspapers	2
Watchmakers	2
Tanneries	1
Carters	1
Portrait Painter	1
Mangler	1

Shops

As one would have expected, most of those who were described as general dealers had their premises in Liverpool or Elizabeth Streets, although other businesses seem to have been scattered through the town. In the late 1820's some development took place near the newly reclaimed land at the mouth of the Rivulet where a market was established. This was then the "improving part of town" according to an advertisement for the sale of a tannery and slaughterhouse at the corner of Argyle and Collins Street [HTG 6 October 1827] The style of retailing at this time varied from

the primitive wooden shed, with its outside counter, to the smart London harberdasher's shop, with its glass windows and stone facings, and "Swan" in gold letters over the door [Prinsep p.60]

John Swan's shop was in Elizabeth Street on the site currently occupied by a branch of the Westpac bank and Paddy Pallins Outdoor shop. As competition developed shops had to be more conscious of their public image:

Some of the shops are showy and respectable, even tasteful and elegant, displaying an appearance equal to that of many in London. Owing to the competition which has taken place during the last few years among them, the same sort of efforts are made to catch the eye and entice customers that are made in the cities of Europe. [Dixon p.50]



This early shop and residence in Harrington Street is one of only a handful of timber buildings surviving in the study area. The old shopfront has been removed to allow car parking in the front room but the rest of the building is still used for residential purposes. (C. Turnbull, The charm of Hobart)

Writing in the late 1830s, Dixon also remarked on the large number of "retail spirit stores" in Hobart

stand at the corner of any street and from 15 to 20 are in sight. It is not because the selling of spirits is so profitable but because few channels are open for the investment of little capitals. One or two tanneries, a few breweries and candle manufactories are all the manufacturing establishments in the colony [loc.cit.]

A Fragile Economy

From 1841 to 1845 the Colony was in the grip of a severe depression and many local businesses collapsed. Exports of wheat to the other Australian colonies declined as the latter became more self-sufficient: prices for wool and whale oil as well as for wheat fell and imported luxuries could not be paid for. To the editor of Murrays Review the solution lay in a reduction of imports:

Silks, satins and French milliners, Saxony cloths and Bond Street tailors - Champagne, Burgundy and Windsor ale, iced-creams and Parisian confectionary - blood horses and barouches. All must disappear like the baseless fabric of an insane vision - replaced by food and raiment as far as possible of colonial growth and manufacture [quoted in Hartwell p.236]

By the late 1840s however the economy was recovering, helped considerably by the opening of new markets in California where gold had been recently discovered. The discovery of gold in Victoria a few years later also provided a similar boost to the Tasmanian economy.

The restriction on imports during the 1840s had encouraged local enterprise as manufacturing expanded to meet community needs. Typically the factories were small "owner-operator" businesses. In the 1847 assessment rolls 32 factories were listed in Hobart Town - these included breweries, mills, slaughterhouses, tanneries, foundries, shipyards, soapworks and a limekiln. There would also have been a large number of small-scale manufacturers whose businesses were of the "producer-retailer" kind and whose premises would have appeared in the assessment rolls as shops [Solomon p.166-7]

Remarkably, some of the small producer-retailer businesses established in the 1840s survived in one form or another until relatively recently. In 1841 Hugh Campbell set himself up in business as a saddler, harness and collar maker in Elizabeth Street. Later he entered into partnership with John Minchin and the business moved to the corner of Elizabeth and Bathurst Streets. With the passing of horse transport, saddlery became a less important part of the business. However Campbell and Minchin continued as leathersgoods manufacturers and retailers until the 1980s. [Cyclopedia of Tasmania 1900]. Their building is currently occupied by the "Southern Music" shop.

The business founded by Charles Davis in 1847 became one of Tasmania's greatest success stories. Together with a friend John Semple, Davis established a workshop in Bathurst Street near the site now occupied by the New Sydney Hotel. As tinsmiths and coppersmiths they were able to carve a niche in the local market:

They did all their own work and tried their hands at everything that came their way. Tinware was in great demand. Farm equipment and household utensils could not be imported in sufficient quantities [Mercury 28 July 1956 p.22]

In 1862 Charles Davis bought out his partner and moved to new premises at the corner of Elizabeth Street and Elizabeth Lane. In 1911 the business became a Limited Company. In the meantime the nature of the business had changed with retailing taking over the primary role from production. Properties were bought on both sides of Elizabeth Lane and the Rivulet from Elizabeth Street right through to Murray Street [Cyclopedia of Tasmania 1931]. It was from this property that the Cat and Fiddle shopping arcade was created in the early 1960s [see below]

A number of early timber merchants including Joseph Risby (later Risby Brothers) and George Crisp (later Crisp and Gunn) were also survivors of the boom and bust cycles that have beset Tasmania's economy throughout its history. The 1850s was a time of great prosperity for people like timber merchants, ironmongers and suppliers of foodstuffs who could take advantage of the rapidly increasing markets in Victoria following the discovery of gold there. However by the late 1850s a depression had begun which was to last until Tasmania's own mineral boom of the 1870s.

The depression of the 1860s was caused by a number of external factors. Firstly, there was the withdrawal of "imperial" money from the colony as first the commissariat was wound down and then the troops were recalled in 1870. Secondly, following the goldrushes, mainland cities such as Melbourne became self-sufficient and no longer regarded Tasmania as their major supplier. At this time too there was no free trade between the then separate colonies and protective tariffs were introduced on the mainland to protect its infant industries. Nor could the products of Hobart's small-scale manufacturers compete with the "mass products of factories in Britain [that] appeared more regularly and more cheaply upon Hobart retailers shelves" [Bolger p.128]

The 1870s and 1880s were times of prosperity again. Mineral discoveries on the West Coast particularly created a new wave of optimism and opened up new opportunities for investment. It was during this period too that the waterfront and Wapping became established as the industrial area - up to this time the Rivulet had remained the traditional site for a range of industries that relied on water or waterpower.

The 1870s mineral boom also led to the establishment of the Hobart Stock Exchange as dozens of new companies were floated. The exchange was founded in 1882 but did not have its own premises until it purchased Drysdale House in 1892. However unfavourable conditions created by the 1890's depression forced the Exchange to sell the property to George Adams although they continued to rent part of the building for another 40 years.

More recently, as the Australian Stock Exchange (Hobart), it erected a new building in Macquarie Street on the site of the former Hoyts Prince Cinema [Tasmania Year Book 1990]

Manufacturing

In 1872-3 the Mercury published a series of articles headed "Tasmanian Industries". Although they may have been to some extent what are today called "advertising features", they do give some indication of what were considered to be the important industries of the time. Because these articles use statistics extensively, they also convey some idea of the scale of these enterprises. The major industries dealt with were breweries. The premises of several of these breweries are extant although only the Cascade Brewery is still used for its original purpose. Walkers Brewery on the bank of the Rivulet near the Barrack/Collins Street corner has been used recently by a softdrink manufacturer but, except for a small part that has been converted to an architects offices, it is unoccupied at present. The Jolly Hatters Brewery and Aerated Water and Cordial Manufactory in Melville Street began operations in the 1830s when it was owned by William Champion, a hatter as well as a licensed victualler [VDL Annual 1834]. In 1988 the building was threatened with demolition but an appreciation of its colourful history saved it from redevelopment. H.J. James' Tasmanian Pale Ale Brewery also survives on the corner of Elizabeth and Warwick Streets. Described in 1872 as one of the oldest in Hobart Town the brewery consisted of a "long range of brick and wooden buildings" but the malthouse of stone was described as a "new" building. Wood and Spencers brewery in Liverpool Street was a four storey stone building distinguished by a well, seventy feet deep in its basement - the water was raised by a pump. [Mercury 10 October 1872]

Cordials had been manufactured in Hobart from the 1820s. As in the case of the Jolly Hatters above such production was often a sideline of breweries and distilleries. In 1829, The Courier congratulated the "eminent distiller" Mr. Hackett of Macquarie Street for his success in producing cordials based on cloves, cinnamon, and peppermint - it appears that these may have been produced for medicinal purposes [H.T. Courier 11 July 1829]. In 1872 there were aerated water, ginger beer and cordial factories in Liverpool Street "behind the Criterion Hotel" and in Collins Street [Mercury 14 October, 1872]

Jam manufacture was the next major industry dealt with by the Mercury reporter. Already Peacock's Jam Factory of Old Wharf was established - it was later the basis of the IXL-Jones industrial empire. Within the study area were C.E. Knight's factory in Campbell Street, Mr. Peak's Jam Manufactory in Davey Street and W. Wilson's in Liverpool Street "near the Brunswick Hotel" [Mercury 13, 17 January 1873] The largest of these factories, Mr. Peaks, employed fifty people at the height of the fruit season.

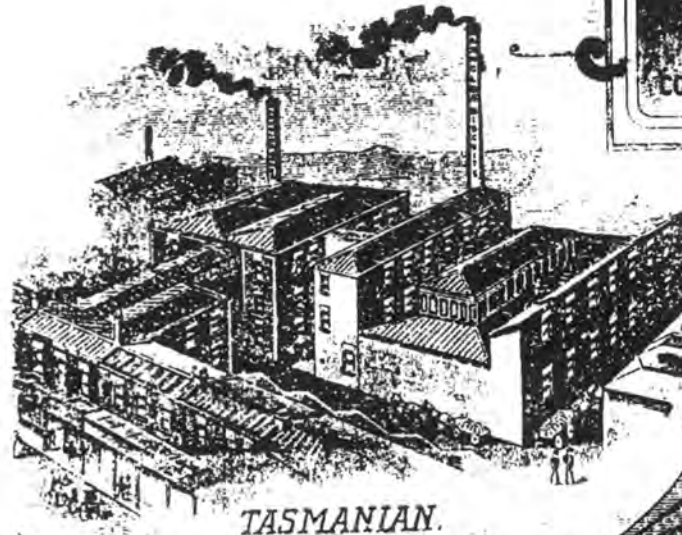
For some curious reason, hat-making was seen to be a growth industry and there were expectations that Mr. Bidendope's hat manufactory would "give employment to a large number of men and women", although only employing 8 or 9 hands at the time that the Mercury series was written. The hat factory was on the corner of Hampden and Sandy Bay Roads but Bidendopes retail outlet was in Murray Street. Although the building and many of its fittings remain, it is now the "Bidendope Centre". There were other hatters operating in Hobart at this time and the trade had been pursued since the 1820s but only on an owner-operator basis - the Bidendopes factory represented a change in scale and style in the industry [Mercury 20, 25 January 1873]

The most interesting industry described in the Mercury series was "Mr. George Edwards' Machine Shop" in Goulburn Street. Edwards manufactured sewing machines and may have been the first to do so in Australia - the journalist thought that such an enterprise had not been "attempted elsewhere in Australia". Edwards produced machines for the bootmaking and tailoring trades. All the parts were manufactured locally - the brass mouldings by Mr. Burgess and the castings by John Swain while the pattern-making and woodwork was completed by John Gellie [Mercury 28 May 1873]

Although not described by the Mercury series, the bootmaking firm of John Blundstone and Sons had been established in Campbell Street in 1872. Boot and shoemaking had been pursued, of necessity, from the earliest days of the settlement (see above). It was still very much a handcraft for most of the 19th Century but firms such as Blundstones were able to take advantage of the new "wonderfully ingenious machinery" to mass produce boots and shoes. Blundstones found a ready market for their workboots in the new mining areas of the West Coast and indeed, the term Blundstones is virtually synonymous with workboots in Tasmania even today. In 1932 Blundstones became the manufacturing arm of Cuthbertsons. In the late 1980s Blundstones transferred their factory to the Gormanston Road industrial area at Moonah although their building remains in Campbell Street [Industrial Tasmania p.29-32]

By the 1880s the area then known as Wapping was increasingly an area for the siting of noxious trades. There were already tanneries, fellmongeries and soapworks in the area as well as slaughteryards. Those who could afford to, lived in areas such as Davey Street or West Hobart where the air was sweeter. Those who lived in Wapping complained repeatedly about the "unbearable effluvia" exuded by some of the local factories - in 1884 for example a petition was taken up to try to force the closure of Holmes Tannery at the corner of Collins and Park Streets. So many of the local residents worked in the offending factories, however, that most felt it was not in their best interest to complain. Despite the passing of the Public Health Act of 1885, the situation in Wapping did not improve for many years [Down Wapping p.71-2, 75-6]

One of the largest industries to establish in Wapping in the 1880s was Aikens woollen mills which built a new factory in Lower Macquarie Street in 1886. It produced flannels, serges, blankets, rugs and shirting although not on such a large scale as similar factories in Launceston. Many of its employees came from the immediate area and it was not unusual for several members of



BAKERS UNRIVALLED IN QUALITY
 TO BE HAD OF ALL
 COUNTRY STOREKEEPERS & ALL MERCHANTS.

Newman Arnold

ESTD 1854

High-Class Baker
 AND Confectioner

MANUFACTURER OF ALL KINDS OF
 MACHINE, FANCY & DESSERT BISCUITS.

TASMANIAN
 STEAM BISCUIT WORKS.

Self Raising Flour

PHONE 163

BRIDE & BIRTHDAY CAKES.
 BLOCK CAKE.
 MALT BREAD.

110, LIVERPOOL STREET, HOBART

The traditional location of manufacturing beside the rivulet continued until well in to the 20th century. For some 50 years Newman Arnold's steam biscuit works occupied an extensive site within the main city block. Their shop in Liverpool Street, rebuilt in 1924, is currently occupied by Fletcher Jones whilst some of the old factory buildings form part of the current Myer site. (Billhead from the Tasmaniana Library)



Inside Arnold's Biscuit Factory, 1905.
Photo: Tas. Museum and Art Gallery, Q6515

the one family to work there. Peak production came during the First World War when Aikins won a contract for making material for soldiers uniforms but by 1939 the factory had closed [Down Wapping p.60, 203]

The 1890's Depression

In the 1890s there was an Australia-wide depression worse than anything yet experienced in the Colonies. In 1891 the Bank of Van Diemens Land formed in 1824 crashed, taking with it the fortunes of many local investors [the building is now the Queen Mary Club in Macquarie Street]. The collapse, the first of many in Australia during this period, was in large part due to risky lending and business ventures as well as outright duplicity. The depression, of which the bank collapse was only a symptom, created unprecedented unemployment and despite the advancement of public works all over the Colony, there was a huge increase in the number of families requiring charitable assistance [Robson p.65-70] Although the mining industry was in a relatively healthy state, industry in general suffered. A visitor to Hobart in 1894 had his own ideas about the nature of problems facing retailers.

The methods of business in Hobart are peculiar. Prices keep up to quite fictitious amounts even in the dullest times. Growers are cut down to the lowest possible rate and yet seem to make no effort to reach the consumer direct by hawking produce or by other means. Credit business is the curse of Hobart trade. Credit is apparently unlimited with the older shops. The rule has been for shopkeepers to be bolstered up by over-drafts from the banks while they gave unlimited credit to their customers. The collapse of the V.D.L. bank gave a rude check to this system and trade has been very poor since. Yet that collapse seems the very natural outcome of such false methods. [Stammer, p.3]

Stammer also noted that although Liverpool Street was the principal street it "always bears an untidy appearance" - he attributed this to the "untidy methods of window dressing and crazy architecture of the buildings they inhabit" [op. city. p.2] As Solomon makes clear in his analysis of the assessment rolls in 1901, most of the shops in the central shopping area were still very small and there was a very high residential component even on the main city block [see map and Solomon p.216-7]. However, by the turn of the century, Hobart had several large department stores.

Department Stores

G.P. Fitzgerald had opened his first store in Collins Street on the site of Coogans present furniture Store in 1882. At first the business was wholesale only but in 1892 it switched over to a solely retail trade.

During the 1890s branches were opened at Queenstown and Zeehan and in 1900 a new store was built in Collins Street right next door to the original. This store was of "French Renaissance" design but still had traditional small shop windows until 1909 when more modern plate glass display windows were installed, only the second such shop frontage in Australia.

Unfortunately this building was gutted by fire only two years later. A completely new store was built on the site: this

was modern by the standards of the day. It had lots of space so that customers could walk and look unhindered [Mercury 28 July 1958 p.22]

Fitzgeralds was not the only large department store at the time. Brownells in Liverpool Street could trace its origins back to David Moses' London Mart built in 1836 as a drapery and general store. Following a period under the partnership of White and Brownells the firm became Brownell Brothers in 1888. The business premises extended along Liverpool Street until it had the 140 foot frontage currently occupied by Myer. In the 1950's it was the largest department store in the State [Cyclopedia of Tasmania 1900, Mercury 28 July 1958 and 31 July 1962]

By 1900, too, Charles Davis had extended to the Murray Street frontage of the main shopping block. In that year he purchased Cleburne House, built in 1840 for Richard Cleburne. Shortly before the First World War this building was damaged by fire and when it was remodelled a 6 foot wide arcade was incorporated on what is now the left hand side of the Murray Street end of the Cat and Fiddle Arcade as far as Beattie's Studio. Apparently, even at this date it was planned to eventually complete an arcade right through the block. In the 1930 Cyclopedia of Tasmania Charles Davis was described as having 26 departments catering for the retail and wholesale building trade but by this time all its operations were concentrated in the new store in Elizabeth Street built in 1920 (and now the Venture Store). Cleburne House was vacated although remaining Charles Davis property.

Charles Davis was not the only firm expanding during this period for the early years of the 20th Century were a time of general prosperity for the state after the severe depression of the 1890s. Between the turn of the century and the First World War, extensive redevelopment took place in and around the main city block. The Mercury reported in 1908 that:

we are approaching the time more rapidly every year when old Hobart will have been entirely rebuilt [NS 544/1/1]

In particular, the "old, squat" structures representative of a smaller scale of business were fast disappearing.

As well as a handful of public buildings "recently" completed, the Mercury noted that nowhere in the city was the transformation more complete than in that section of Liverpool Street between Argyle and Elizabeth Streets. Here were A.G. Websters new premises, covering over an acre of ground and said to be the "most up-to-date" premises of the kind in Australia".

Further up Liverpool Street, Brownell's department store had been extended and the facade remodelled in the "modern Renaissance style" with decorative plasterwork and "silverised ornamentations". At the same time, electric lifts were installed in this building as in several others including the old A.M.P. building which was also being renovated. The National Mutual building on the corner of Macquarie Street and Trafalgar Place

had been completed and work had begun on Macfarlane Bros. new premises next door - this was to be in Italian Renaissance style to provide a deliberate contrast to its "Gothic" neighbour. The Macfarlane building, itself on the site of an earlier building, was demolished a few years ago to make way for the new Reserve Bank building. [Mercury August 1908 in NS 544/1/1]

Again, in 1912 the Mercury reported that a large number of new buildings were being erected in the central city and many more were projected.

G.P. Fitzgeralds "handsome new premises" had been completed and new buildings were soon to be erected on either side: "the business part of Collins Street will soon be wholly transformed". A new multi-storey building being erected on the corner of Argyle and Collins Street was one of the largest in the city whilst the Finance Company's new chambers [surviving next to the AMP] was remarkable for its style:

The Tasmanian lyrebird, waratah and other figures form portion of the facade, which is in the Renaissance style.

Also in Collins Street, a new printing office was being erected for Cox and Sons - later Cox Kays. A number of "ramshackle" structures and the old "Tasmanian News" office near the Imperial Coffee Palace were also demolished at this time. Several buildings in Elizabeth Street were being remodelled, so enhancing the value of property in the street that up to 300 pounds per foot was being asked for property in the centre of what is now the Mall. [Mercury 15 April 1912 p.6]

Industrialization

During the 19th Century town planning in Hobart was virtually nonexistent and industries had been able to establish where they would. From the mid-1880s attempts had been made to set aside areas for noxious trades - Wapping had become such an area more by accident than design even though it was primarily a residential area. From 1900 there was some interest in reports of town planning schemes overseas but it was C.R. Reade's visit in 1915 that caught the local imagination. Reade prepared a report for the government proposing a garden suburb and industrial area between New Town Bay and Prince of Wales Bay [JPP 1916 No. 19]: this area became the site of the Electrolytic Zinc Company's Works and the housing estate of Lutana. This was the first of number of industries attracted to the state by the availability of hydro-electric power. It also established the northern suburbs as a new industrial area, although some manufacturing continued in the central city.

The 1930 Cyclopedia of Tasmania listed a number of factories in or near the central area. At 216-8 Murray Street for example was the Elco Hosiery factory: When it was established in 1898 it was one of only three in Australia. Then at 44 Melville Street was Haywoods Pty. Ltd., the largest biscuit factory in Tasmania. It had been established in 1875 and produced "biscuits, cakes, self raising flour and rich plum puddings". However a number of factories appearing in the 1900 Cyclopedia had disappeared including Rays Excelsior Factory which made boots and shoes at

53A Liverpool Street near the Brunswick Hotel: Dudleys wood bending works had gone from 9 Campbell Street, Richard Foreman no longer make Boilers at the corner of Harrington and Melville Streets, and the Tasmanian Steam Confectionary Works had disappeared from 36 Liverpool Street, two doors from the Carlton Club. Some businesses managed to adapt to the changing times: Cramp Brothers, in 1900 coach and carriage builders, remain in business in Harrington Street as a bodyworks.

In 1930s was another period of depression although Tasmania had experienced hard times throughout the 1920s. Unemployment reached a peak of 27.4% in Tasmania during 1931 [Batt p.47]. State and Federal governments funded public works to provide relief for at least some of the unemployed - others had to rely on sustenance payments (or "susso") or handouts from charitable organisations. The turnover of many retail businesses slowed as people made do or handed-down. Some shops sought to encourage consumer spending by advertising hire purchase schemes. Risbys was forced to reduce prices on timber supplies in a bid to clear stock; the firm, whose premises were in Collins Street by this time, prided itself on keeping all its staff on and maintaining production throughout the depression. However the business nearly went broke in the process, experiencing a loss of nearly 3000 pounds in 1930. It was not until 1936 that the company began to recover and was able to record its first profit in several years. Suppliers such as Risby's, and the construction industry generally, received a boost in the late 1930s with the erection of a number of multi-storey office blocks for both government (e.g. the HEC building in Elizabeth Street) and private enterprise (the CML, T & G Building etc.) [Brownlow passim].

By mid-century the central city had adopted many of the characteristics so familiar today. Solomon's comparative analysis of the assessment rolls in 1901 and 1954 highlight the changes that had taken place. There were, mid-century very many fewer house-shop units on the main city block than formerly - this trend had been noticeable also in the 1912 building boom noted above: Shops were now fewer and much more valuable. But

quite the most striking functional development revealed in the 1954 structure was the real advent of business offices ... their twenty-fold increase [over the 1847 analysis] in number indicates the arrival of personal, professional and business administrative services on the functional scene quite foreign to mid-nineteenth century populations at large [Solomon p.219]

At this stage however the individual premises were relatively small with only a few multiple-office units. The greatest concentration of offices was in the block bounded by Elizabeth, Collins, Murray and Macquarie Streets, with medical rooms and legal offices being prominent. Retailing was concentrated in the block bounded by Elizabeth, Liverpool, Murray and Collins Streets and since 1954 the dominant position of this block has increased due to three major developments:

1. The Liverpool Street store of Brownells was amalgamated with Johnston and Miller's Murray Street store, the whole becoming part of Myers, Australia's largest retailer.

2. The leading Tasmanian retailer, Fitzgeralds of Collins Street, absorbed the Elizabeth Street store of Goodwills.
3. The once congested lane of Cat and Fiddle Alley was completely redeveloped as an arcade by the hardware wholesaler and retailer Charles Davis [Solomon p.217]

The Cat and Fiddle Arcade

In 1956 a "thruway" was opened up to connect Charles Davis, Fitzgeralds and Brownells, allowing customers to escape the "icy blast" in Hobarts streets and giving the effect of the shops being all under the one roof. 1962 saw the completion of the arcade envisaged by Charles Davis at the turn of the century. The Cat and Fiddle Arcade was designed by Hobart architects Philp, Lighton, Floyd and Beattie. The work was completed in stages to cause the least disruption to trading although it involved the demolition of a number of buildings. Amongst the old buildings demolished was that in Murray Street used by the Hobart Town Club between 1837 and 1877 (see Chapter 7 Education and Culture) and the Albion Hotel dating from 1820s which was pulled down to make way for the new Coles building. Cleburne House was retained however despite structural problems created by the removal of a stone wall on the ground floor - the two top storeys are now supported by a system of beams and columns. On completion the arcade contained 38 shops as well as giving access to the large department stores on the main street frontages [Mercury 31 July 1962]

In 1967-8, the City Engineers Department conducted a land use survey of the CBD which confirmed many of the trends becoming apparent in the early 1950s - residential function was diminishing in the core area and, to the north

residences are being overtaken by the peripheral activities of the Central Business District - generally, wholesaling, light manufacturing and used car sales lots [p.15].

The report used 1961-2 figures for its analysis of factories in the city area. Of the 119 factories listed, 25 were described as "industrial metals", 22 vehicle repairs, 17 clothing, 12 paper and 11 food and drink. A wide range of other activities were also carried out in the city although mostly on the fringes of the CBD and small in scale [Table 10]

A number of these concerns have either closed or, like Blundstones, moved to the northern suburbs, since these figures were compiled.

The intervening years have also seen changes in ownership on the main city block. In 1981 Fitzgeralds were taken over by Charles Davis. Charles Davis as such were no longer in their Elizabeth Street premises which were by this time the site of the Venture store: Charles Davis had concentrated their hardware business in the Campbell Street premises and during the 1980s changed their name to Harrys before becoming part of the BBC Hardware chain. G.P. Fitzgeralds retains its name and has a chain of several stores around the State while there are numerous shops in the CBD which are part of nationwide chains.

The Workforce

Convicts comprised the early work force of the colony. As well as the expected problems of discipline and administration, the nature of the convicts posed serious problems for Collins. As early as March 1804 he was pressing Lord Hobart to ensure that greater care be taken in the selection of prisoners to be sent to V.D.L.:

I did not expect to find them free from vice, but I never could imagine that among those, who were intended to form a New Settlement, there would be found a collection of old, worn out useless Men, or Children equally as useless [HRA III, i, p.230]

The shortage of "Artificers or stout and Labouring Men" was keenly felt. Such skilled tradesmen that did exist were in great demand and in their "free" time outside of normal working hours, could command high wages. In June 1804 Collins sought to put a stop to the situation by fixing a price for "every kind of labour". After consultation with the settlers a schedule was drawn up - reaping an acre of wheat was worth ten shillings whilst grubbing and burning an acre of ground was worth four pounds. Payment was actually made in food with a pound of salt pork or flour being deemed as equivalent to one shilling, for example [HRA III, i, p.270-1]

The prisoners were at first accommodated in huts but as the number of free settlers increased, the penitentiary or prisoners barracks was built. Prisoners continued to carry out all the construction work and many were assigned as servants to settlers and officials. Amongst the increasing numbers of free settlers however came tradesmen hoping to practise their craft in the new colony. These tradesmen had to compete with cheap convict labor, wages were low and they could expect to experience bouts of unemployment but it was only in the towns of Hobart and Launceston that "free mechanics congregated in sufficient numbers to form trade specific associations" [Quinlan, p.9]. Collective action generally took the form of petitions to the Lieutenant-Governor. For example in 1834, 32 journeymen tailors presented a petition asking that a portion of assigned servants be withdrawn from master tailors to encourage the latter to employ free tradesmen. Employers feared that any action would lead to a rise in wages that would flow on to other sections of the workforce.

Such petitions did not necessarily indicate the existence of a formal combination or union although it is known that in 1833 there was a society of journeymen tailors that met at the Joiners Arms in Elizabeth Street. When, late in 1836 the Board of Assignment decided to stop further assignment of convict tradesmen, employers petitioned for a reversal of the decision. The employers won by pleading a shortage of qualified tradesmen and claiming they would be ruined by having to pay 'exorbitant' wages to free men. The situation was not finally resolved until the whole system of assignment was abolished in the 1840's.

A number of trade societies were established in the 1830s and for most of them the provision of sickness, funeral and unemployment benefits was a major goal. Houses of Call were established to assist members to find employment. The Houses of Call acted as meeting places for members as well as employment exchanges, and were often hotels. Those that are known in Hobart include the Jolly Hatters in Melville Street which was the House of Call for the Carpenters and Joiners Benefit Society, and the Lamb Inn in Brisbane Street used by the Journeymen Tailors Society established in 1846. [Quinlan, passim]

When news of the gold discoveries in Victoria reached Hobart, many men abandoned their jobs and families to join the rush. There was soon a shortage of labour, more especially in the rural area but in the city as well. Prices rose correspondingly and

stay-at-home workers improved their economic positions considerably, even to the point of buying land or houses and developing a strongly independent carelessness towards work [Bolger p.140].

Although the labour market and wages were affected by the depression of the 1860s and 1870s, rates of pay for skilled mechanics rose by 40% between 1857 and 1890 - prices rose by 25% over the same period [loc. cit].

Improvements in working conditions were slower to come although from the 1880s as part of a general spirit of social reform, there were demands for an eight hour day. In 1885 an Act of Parliament regulated the hours of work of women and children despite strong opposition from major employers like the jam factories and woollen mills. Women could no longer be employed for more than ten hours a day or children for eight, except for saleswomen employed in shops that opened on Saturday evenings. Children employed in jam factories during the fruit season were allowed to work for nine hours. "The eight hour day came to prevail by consent except for agricultural labourers and adult males employed in shops" [Robson p.64]

Workers suffered greatly during the 1890s depression. The first reaction of governments was to cut back public works and retrench workers. Even when public works were resumed wages were low. In 1893, for example the Hobart City Council engaged a contractor to cut a track to Snake Plains on Mount Wellington at a rate of 12 shillings and sixpence a chain. Alderman Waterhorn stated he

was sorry to see that men had to work for such low wages as the price meant.

Attempts to improve the lot of labourers employed by the Council by setting a minimum wage were not successful despite Alderman Benjamin's claim that "no one could live on less" than five shillings and sixpence a day [Mercury 2 February 1897]. It was during the hard times of the 1890's depression that many trade unions were formed.

Despite an improving economic situation generally in the early years of this century the Royal Commission into Wages of 1907 found much to be desired when it visited factories in Hobart. Wages were frequently inadequate, sanitary facilities and ventilation poor, and sick and holiday pay virtually nonexistent. Following the Commissions report, the first Wages Board Act was passed in 1910. This act set up a number of craft-based wages boards with the responsibility of fixing minimum rates of pay and maximum working hours, and establishing job classifications [Wettenhall p.201-4].

The structure of employment in Hobart has changed in line with developments outlined elsewhere in this document. Employment in manufacturing has continued to fall steadily after reaching a peak in 1921, while at the same time employment in the "public administration and professional" sector has continued to rise. With the virtual disappearance of the residential function in the inner city most of those who work in the shops and offices have to commute although only about 25% of them use public transport.

7. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Schools

Education seems not to have been a high priority of the early administration of the colony, the first schools being private initiatives. The very first school appears to have been opened by Jane Noel in Lower Collins Street in 1807 but did not last long. Another school was opened the same year by Thomas Fitzgerald, an ex-convict, in his home in Davey Street [Down Wapping p.40]. This school was a "long, low wooden building" on the site of the current Commonwealth Courts; it catered for "all the children large and small, rich and poor". Fitzgerald taught the boys and his wife the girls [Walker, Prelude p. 27]. Although essentially a private school relying on fees paid by parents, Fitzgerald's institution did receive government assistance after 1812 [Down Wapping p.40]. In 1819 Fitzgerald announced the commencement of evening classes for young men [HTG 17 April, 1819]. Around this time the Gazette carried several other advertisements for tutors offering young men classes in classics or arithmetic.

In 1826 Archdeacon Scott found that only one in five children of school age was receiving an education [Phillips p.11]. By this time there was a public school on Macquarie Point described in a report of 1824 as "by no means a good situation for a school" [CSO 1/2597]. There was also a number of private schools in the town: The directory of 1826 listed Mrs. Clarks Boarding School in Murray Street and the Hobart Town Academy kept by James Thomson in Melville Street: a location to James Thomson is shown on a map c.1828 to be near the current Brisbane Lane.

The following year saw the establishment of the Mechanics Institution. This organisation met in the Committee Room of the Court House and sought to "promote useful and scientific knowledge by the voluntary association of mechanics and others". [H.T. Courier 24th November, 1824]. Although initially the Institution enjoyed "indifferent success" it was "brilliantly reorganised" in 1857 and briefly flourished. Earlier, lectures had been presented at the Theatre Royal but from 1857 the Institute had its own hall in Melville Street next to the Wesley Chapel. [Bolger p. 121-2].

It was during Arthur's administration (1824-1836) that the basis of an education system began to be laid. The primary concern was to offer a moral influence to counteract that of dissolute parents. By 1834 "the colony had the rudiments of a primary system and some prospects of a secondary system" [Phillips p.12].

By 1834 Hobart Town had an elementary school funded by the government, an infant school funded by the Infant School Society, a Church of England day school in Campbell Street (between Liverpool and Bathurst Streets) and a Roman Catholic School. These schools were principally for the children of the poor. For the children of merchants and professional men there was an increasing number of "seminaries".

The Hobart Town Academy still flourished in Melville Street although Mrs. Clark was now running her school at Ellinthorpe Hall near Ross. Macquarie Street seems to have been a popular location for private schools. The 1834 V.D.L. Annual Lists no less than four in the street [V.D.L. Annual 1834 p.235, 241; Phillips p. 11; Down Wapping p.40]. There were also specialist dancing and music masters and in 1835 Captain James Flett was operating an "academy for teaching navigation and nautical astronomy" at 25 Brisbane Street [V.D.L. Annual p.150].

During John Franklin's period as Lieutenant-Governor two attempts were made to establish institutions of higher education. However both the Queens School in Macquarie Street and Christ's College at New Norfolk failed. The latter scheme hardly got beyond the drawing board before it was abandoned and although the idea of an Anglican college was finally given substance in 1846 at Bishopsbourne it too folded after only a few years. It was in 1846 that the Hutchins School was founded - originally holding classes at Ingle Hall until the building on the corner of Macquarie and Barrack Streets, now the premises of the Masonic Club, was completed in 1849. Hutchins being seen as a primarily Anglican Institution, the Nonconformists established the Hobart Town High School on the Domain at about the same time. The Presbyterians opened a further college of higher education in 1888 - this was Officer College originally holding classes in the Ebenezer Chapel at 220 Murray Street but later moving to the Glebe. Following the beginning of preparatory classes, the College boasted that it provided "a complete course of instruction from the kindergarten to the university or counting house" [Cyclopedia of Tasmania 1900 p.225].

Franklin was more successful in the field of primary education. In 1838 he established the Board of Education which introduced a non-denominational form of instruction.

One of the schools formed under the original Board of Education was the Central School built at the corner of Bathurst and Murray Street in the 1840's, now the site of the State Library. Up to this time such schools as existed were almost entirely Anglican in doctrine, thereby excluding large sections of the community. Although the new Board of Education was welcomed by Roman Catholics and Dissenters alike, it was condemned by the Anglicans. The debate continued and in 1848 funding to denominational schools was resumed on the basis of a penny per pupil per day. This had the effect of permitting the denominational schools to grow at the expense of the general schools operating on the British and Foreign School Society system. By 1850 fifty-nine of the seventy-one schools in the colony were penny-a-day Anglican schools.

In 1854 the Hobart Town Ragged School Association was formed, establishing schools in Watchorn Street and, in 1856, Wapping. The schools, funded by public subscription, provided free education for those children who parents were either unwilling or unable to pay for them to attend elsewhere. Later, such children were also given lunch at school in the form of bread and soup provided by the Hobart Benevolent Society.

In 1860 Proeschel's "Map and Select Directory" showed the locations of a number of private schools in addition to the Hutchins School and the High School. There was by this time a Catholic Ladies School as well as a Catholic seminary. There was still a Hobart Town Academy although this was not at 28 Brisbane Street. James Thomson's former premises now appear to have been the site of one of the three "Commercial Academies" in the town. Besides the Catholic Ladies School there was only one other private school for girls - Mrs. Searle's Broughton Hall in Macquarie Street.

A Royal Commission in 1860 found that less than half of the school aged children in the colony were enrolled in a school. One of the recommendations of the Commission was the introduction of compulsory attendance. The press attacked this idea, alleging that it would interfere with individual rights and that taxation would be increased. Tasmania was the first colony to introduce compulsory education but the Act of 1868 allowed many exemptions and there was no penalty for non-compliance.

With the introduction of "compulsory" education the number of children on the free list in the public schools increased to 29% on a Statewide basis. In 1872 a free school was opened in Murray Street to remove the allegedly disruptive influence of these children from the city's schools.

With the 1868 Act, education came under the control of Local School Boards created in an attempt to foster local interest in education. However a lack of co-ordination between the central board and the local boards of education created problems and in 1882 a select committee recommended unified control of education. Subsequently the Education Department was created in 1885. Under the 1885 Education Act all 191 schools maintained by the previous Board of Education became State Schools. In 1908 fees were abolished at all state primary schools. The Act of 1885 also required private Church schools to submit annual reports to the Minister.

State control over these schools was further extended in 1906 by the establishment of the Teachers and Schools Registration Board. Up to this time secondary schools and colleges were in the hands of private enterprise but in 1913 the first state high schools were opened in Hobart and Launceston. The Hobart High School was situated in Elizabeth Street, the site now occupied by Elizabeth College.

Up to the 1880s the Mechanics Institution was the only source of technical education. Although a topic of discussion while the 1885 Education Act was debated, education in any particular trade was specifically excluded from the Act. Hence when technical schools were established in 1888, they could offer only general subjects such as Drawing or Inorganic Chemistry. It was not until 1917 that courses of a more vocational nature were offered.

In 1889 legislation was passed to enable the establishment of the University of Tasmania. Prior to this candidates for matriculation were examined by the Tasmanian Council of Education and were eligible for scholarships, at first to British universities only but after 1887 to Australian universities also. The University of Tasmania was the fourth to be founded in Australia although lectures did not begin until 1893. The university at first occupied the old High School building on the Domain - this institution had closed in 1885. Originally only Arts, Science and Law were offered but by 1922 Commerce and Engineering faculties had been added. The authorities were not convinced of the need for a university, however, and as late as 1924 there were moves in Parliament to abolish it. After the Second World War however, the university expanded rapidly and in the 1940s a site at Sandy Bay was selected for a new campus. By 1965 all the departments of the university had moved to Sandy Bay [Wettenhall p.332-3].

Throughout the 19th century there was a number of short-lived private schools for girls in Hobart. One of the more successful was the Girls High School which was established in 1892 by Sarah Walker, the daughter of George Washington Walker, and Poppy Clarke, also the doyen of the St. David's Night School in Wapping. The Girls High School's premises were originally rooms rented from a Mrs. Meredith but as the school expanded and more accommodation was required, the move was made to Barrack Square. Following Federation the new Department of Defence required the barracks buildings and the school moved to "Westella" in Elizabeth Street for a few years before moving to "Roydon" in Patrick Street. By 1911 there were 140 pupils at the school which achieved a high standard of academic achievement, winning several awards at the Senior Public Exams. After Poppy Clarke retired in 1916, the school gradually went downhill, finally closing in 1932 [Alexander, passim].

The Girls High School was one of the very few truly private schools that lasted any length of time. The longest surviving schools have all been associated with one or other of the churches. St. Michael's Collegiate is a good illustration of this.

It was founded in 1893 when

the Dean imported some Melbourne Sisters, who have opened, a superior, high grade school, at prices one third less than the ordinary schools. [Walker p.93]

J.B. Walker did not approve of undercutting the other schools:

I told Woollnough that it was degrading to the church, and a scandal to religion. That, if Wesleyans, Congregationalists, or Salvation Army adopted such expedients, the Church people would say, it was only what might be expected of Dissenters, without the feeling of gentlemen; but, in fact, the Church, with its aristocratic pretensions, did things that the Wesleyans would be ashamed of. [loc.cit]

In 1895 the school moved to Stephenville at 218 Macquarie Street, built in the 1830s by the then Solicitor-General, Alfred Stephens. Since then the school has expanded considerably, incorporating "Jerusalem" in Davey Street and erecting a number of new buildings on their Macquarie Street property. Their preparatory school moved to Anglesea House, another early 19th century building in South Hobart in the late 1970s and, more recently, they have moved across Molle Street to a building formerly occupied by the Australian Army.

By the 1930s there were few schools within the study area - the Central School had closed in 1925 although the buildings were still used for domestic science classes by pupils from schools throughout the city. The new school in Campbell Street took the children who would previously have gone to the Central School. Most of the other schools in the city were outside of the Central Area - Goulburn Street, Trinity Hill, Lansdowne Crescent Primary Schools, Elizabeth and Hobart High Schools and the Catholic Schools, St. Mary's School and St. Virgil's College, for example. However, St. Joseph's School, attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral and beginning life in 1879 as St. Joseph's Industrial School and Orphanage, did not close until the 1950s. It continues in part as St. Joseph's Child Care Centre at Tarooma.

St. Michael's Collegiate is the only school remaining in the study area besides the Barclay Kindergarten in Bathurst Street. In part this reflects the move of the population out of the central city and into the suburbs. Although there are still small primary schools in the inner suburbs, secondary education up to Grade 10 is even more decentralised with children from, for example, suburbs such as Battery Point and South Hobart having to travel to Tarooma for their secondary schooling. The buildings of the former Hobart High School remain but since becoming a senior secondary college, Hobart College has moved to the premises on Mt. Nelson originally built for the T.C.A.E. Elizabeth College remains on the site of the former Elizabeth Street School. [The above summary of education in Tasmania is drawn from Phillips and Down Wapping unless otherwise indicated.]

Cultural Pursuits

Theatre and Cinema

It would appear that for the first couple of decades after settlement the inhabitants of Hobart Town had to amuse themselves, there being little in the way of public entertainment. From Knopwood's diaries we know that he was part of a clique which frequently dined in each others homes. Henry Widowson on his visit in the late 1820s confirmed both the existence of cliques and the dearth of entertainment:

There is much visiting going on in Hobart Town amongst the merchants' families; but I regret to say, there is not so amicable an understanding between them and the military and civil officers, as there ought to be. A stranger arriving but with letters of introduction to a few of the first merchants, soon gets introduced to the rest, and in a very short time is acquainted with all the respectable inhabitants

in the place. Balls, except at private houses, are not often given; two or three concerts, held at the court-house under the immediate patronage of his Excellency and Mrs. Arthur, have been very well attended. [Widowson p.30-1].

The court house still survives at the corner of Murray and Macquarie Streets and was the scene of the first musical concert held in Hobart on 28th September, 1826. J.P. Deane presented the concert on this occasion and from 1830 gave twice weekly musical soirees at his rooms in Elizabeth Street. Performances were given by his "many musical sons and daughters", local amateurs and occasionally, visiting artists. In 1834 he moved to new premises in Argyle Street - here he operated a circulating library and was in business as a music seller and general storekeeper. He staged both musical and theatrical performances in the "Theatre Royal" on the first floor of his "Argyle Rooms" (now the Carlton Restaurant building).

The previous year the Freemasons Tavern theatre had opened with a tear-jerker called The Stranger. Tickets were sold in the bar and cost six shillings for adult admission. The company consisted of an orchestra and six male and three female actors under the direction of Samson Cameron. Theatricals were also staged at the Calcutta Hotel and Roxborough House (on the corner of Elizabeth and Brisbane Streets) by members of Deane's company but these premises were soon found to be too small.

Theatre in Hobart Town appears not to have been a lucrative enterprise for both Deane and Cameron were imprisoned for debts incurred by the expense of running their theatres. The Argyle Rooms changed hands in 1835 being briefly known as "Meredith's Theatre Royal" but closed altogether in 1837. It later re-opened as "Peck's Colonial Gallery of Arts" [Oppenheimer passim]. The Argyle Rooms could not survive the competition from the Theatre Royal recently completed in Campbell Street.

Planning for a new purpose-built theatre began shortly after the first performances at the Freemasons theatre: "saloon theatres" were not considered to be respectable and anyway the Freemasons could only accommodate 150.

The Theatre Royal was built for a company of 100 subscribers by Peter Degraives who also designed the building. Degraives later became the owner of the theatre after many of the shareholders defaulted. The original Theatre Royal was quite different both internally and externally from the theatre we know today. When the theatre was remodelled in 1857 for the new owner John Davies, he described the original simple Georgian front as fitting for a factory or store. Most of the audience were seated on unpadded benches and the pit was a crowded, noisy, smoky place [Winter, passim] The theatre enjoyed an unsavoury reputation - R.E. Malone writing in 1850 alleged that:

The two theatres are both most disreputable and merely houses licensed for theatrical purposes [Malone quoted in Clark p.423].

The other theatre referred to is presumably the "Amphitheatre" in Murray Street - this was established in the 1840's behind the site now occupied by Tattersalls Hotel. For a period it was the home of Australia's first homegrown circus. Radford's Circus had been established by a Launceston publican in 1847 but a year later it moved to Hobart where it played to enthusiastic audiences. The performances consisted largely of equestrian acts, some of them presented in the course of short dramas. Clowns were also an important part of this early circus [St. Leon and H.T. Courier 13 September 1848]. Later, travelling circuses or "menageries" usually performed on the Domain.

The Amphitheatre was considerably larger than the Theatre Royal, being able to accommodate up to 1500. It was used for straight theatrical performances and public meetings as was the Theatre Royal. By the early 1860's the Amphitheatre had ceased to exist as a place of entertainment. Perhaps it could no longer compete with the remodelled Theatre Royal or Del Satre's Assembly Rooms opening in 1860 at the corner of Harrington and Davey Streets (this latter building is currently used as a showroom and offices). A rather confused reminiscence of the Amphitheatre appearing in The Critic many years later refers to a "number of buildings" on the spot some of which become the stabling accommodation of the Bath Arms and later still, a livery stable. There are still some old buildings behind Tattersalls Hotel but it is not known if any of them are associated with the Amphitheatre [The Critic 12 September 1914].

During the 1840's and 1850's the Theatre Royal, despite its reputation, was the principal venue for public meetings. Here hundreds of people gathered to hear arguments in favour of a more representative Legislative Council or against the continuation of transportation. Mechanics Institute lectures were also held regularly at the Theatre.

From 1852 the new market building formerly on the site of the City Hall was the venue for exhibitions by the horticultural society and similar groups. The Town Hall, completed in 1866 was also used for a variety of entertainments, including balls, concerts and public meetings. By the turn of the century Walchs Almanac could list a number of venues suitable for concerts, public gatherings etc., some of which no longer exist. However the Temperance Hall in Melville Street later became the Avalon Cinema and currently serves as Danny Burkes electrical store.

St. Peters Hall, then beside the Rivulet in Collins Street was later pulled down and rebuilt at the corner of Brisbane and Harrington Streets while the City Hall was built in 1909 to replace the New Market which had burnt down.

By the 1920's cinema was an important source of public entertainment - lantern slide shows of events like the Boer War and very early films had been shown at existing venues like the Theatre Royal - but following the First World War a number of cinemas were built or other buildings adapted for the purpose. By 1930 Hobart had the Prince of Wales Theatre in Macquarie Street (recently demolished to make way for the Stock Exchange), His Majesty's Theatre in Liverpool Street (now Glasser and Parkers), the Bijou Theatre in Melville Street (now Danny Burke's

and the Strand Theatre in Liverpool Street (later the Odeon Cinema and now the A.B.C. Concert Hall) [Walch's Almanac 1930]. By this time the King's Theatre, formerly "the modern cinematograph theatre of Hobart", had become a warehouse - originally built in 1909 as a skating rink, it opened as a cinema in 1910 but ceased operating as such within only a few years. The Kings Theatre has recently attracted some publicity as the Phantom youth venue has been established in the old building at 133 Bathurst Street [Mercury 15th January 1991].

The 1950's and 1960's saw the number of cinemas peak - in addition to the venues mentioned above, there were a couple of cinemas in former basements - the Tatler in Murray Street, now a bingo hall, and the Variety Theatre, beneath the current Domino Restaurant. By this time the Hobart Repertory Society was established at the Playhouse in Bathurst Street, in a building originally constructed as a chapel [Walch's Almanac 1960]

The introduction of television in the 1960s affected attendances at both the live theatre and the cinema and one by one all the old cinemas closed during the 1970s and 1980s. At one time only the West End Twin Cinema remained open in the city and this has recently followed the overseas trend by building a multi-cinema complex capable of screening several films at once.

Other Recreational pursuits

Sports

Sporting events seem to have been originally somewhat informal events - the result of challenges or bets. Thus the early issues of the Hobart Town Gazette record horse races, footraces and boxing matches.

Horse racing had been held from about 1810 at New Town on a course near the Government Farm. Boxing, being somewhat frowned upon was usually held outside the town and there was no formal course for footraces. By the 1820s Macquarie Point was the regular venue for "cricket and other outdoor amusements" [Ross p.30], although a proper cricket ground was not laid out until 1832 [Page p.16] - this ground near the present Cenotaph was later known as the Railway Ground or, when the present TCA site was laid out, as the Lower Cricket Ground.

Even as late as the 1880s this area was described as

the recreation-ground of the city. Here were played all cricket and football matches for many years, and it is still used largely for practice and for matches of secondary importance in both those games; but in the early part of 1883 a new and well-appointed cricket-ground was opened on a plateau some way up the Domain. [Cassell p.114]

A carriage drive around the lower Domain allowed a more sedate form of recreation. The writer of the above failed to mention that here also was the regatta ground. In 1838 the first Hobart Regatta was held, an event that attracted 12000 spectators of all classes to witness the aquatic events. It has been held annually ever since, originally in December to commemorate Tasman's discovery of the island but later moved to February to ensure good weather.

It wasn't until the 1880s that organised sports became more established - Bolger attributes this to the greater security of the working classes. By 1885 there were

five football clubs, four cycling clubs, two clubs for rowing and others for lawn tennis, royal tennis, shooting, sailing, racing and swimming [Bolger p.183]

Matches and races attracted large crowds, although some sports were more elite than others - the Royal Tennis Courts were for a very select group. The tennis court had been built in 1874 on the back of a building originally part of Stewart's Brewery, and is the oldest such structure in Australia. Most other sports were practised, of necessity, outside the city, although in 1885 for example, a cycle race between a local team and one from Melbourne followed a course through the city streets [Bolger p.183] In the early years of this century there was a craze for "pedestrianism" and every weekend crowds of people took to the streets for organised walks to New Town or Sandy Bay [Tasmanian Mail]

Clubs and Pubs

There was of course little scope for outdoor sports generally in the city but there was a number of games and sports played in the towns taverns and clubs. The former catered for the "lower classes" and were venues for such activities as cockfighting and skittles. Many public houses also had rooms for dancing, an activity fraught with danger if the contemporary press is to be believed. In 1830 the Courier wrote at some length about the dissipation attending tap-room dances; the lower orders were apt to lose control when exposed to the "exhilarating effect" of the violin. [H.T. Courier 16 July 1830] In 1854 the Colonial Times alleged that 64 hotels, nearly half of those in Hobart, derived their principal revenue "from the encouragement of vices at which [humanity] must shudder". Sweepstakes, lotteries and other forms of gambling were common. As well as cockfights, dog fights and "pugilistic encounters between bestial humans" were also features of these pubs. It is hard to say how accurate this picture was since it was being used as propaganda by the temperance movement [Down Wapping p.512-5]

Alcoholism was long associated with convictism and perceived as leading to crime, poverty, violence, poor health and sexual immorality. By the mid 19th century there were a number of temperance societies in Hobart, recommending sobriety and total abstinence as a way to salvation. In 1856 these earlier societies combined to form the Tasmanian Temperance Alliance which had its headquarters in Macquarie Street. The activities of the temperance movement varied from raising a petition in favour of prohibition to inducing young children to join the "Band of Hope" by signing the pledge. The movement also saw a need to provide alternatives to pubs in the form of coffee palaces and reading rooms. At least two former coffee palaces survive - the Federal Coffee Palace is now Roche's Restaurant and the Hobart Coffee Palace is now known as the Imperial building. The Hobart Working Mens Club (see below) provided a billiards room and library for the sober working class. The same year that the Hobart Coffee Palace was built - in 1889 - the Temperance Alliance built a meeting hall in Melville Street. This also survives - as an electrical warehouse.



The Brunswick Hotel in Liverpool dates from the 1830s. This photo was taken in the early 1920s - after a fire which destroyed the attached livery stables but before a new facade was added in 1927 (AOT photo).

The clubs were for "gentlemen". One of the earliest of these clubs was the Hobart Town Club founded in 1837 to cater for "respectable gentlemen in town and country". Amenities included a billiards room, reading room, dining room and a social room where "music, mirth and jollity were strongly in evidence", with a skittles alley at the rear of the Murray Street premises. In 1877 the Club moved to Broadlands House in Collins Street and its original premises were adapted for commercial purposes. The building was demolished in 1961-2 as part of the Cat and Fiddle Arcade development [Mercury 31 July 1962]. Members of the Hobart Town Club were elected by ballot as was the case with the other two major clubs, the Tasmanian Club and the Athenaeum. The Tasmanian Club was founded in 1861, initially holding its meetings in Murray Street. The Club moved to its current premises in 1878 [Bolt p.114]: this building had originally been built in 1846 as the Derwent Bank but, the bank closing after only a few years, it later housed the Chamber of Commerce and the Public Library. The Athenaeum's premises were on the corner of Macquarie and Harrington Streets until 1903 when it moved to its present purpose-built premises.

The Working Men's Club was founded in 1864 aimed at a clientele very different from the clubs mentioned above. Its aim was to provide working men with an alternative to the "vicious amusements and pleasures" of licensed houses of entertainment, an innocent place of recreation where they could meet

to talk to discuss, to recreate themselves in a rational and innocent manner [Bolger p.174]

Billy Guesdon, then the richest man in the city, paid for the erection of a hall for the Club in Liverpool Street. As with the Mechanics Institute, the W.M.C. was seen as a means of "improving" the labouring classes. Philanthropists on the committees of both clubs ensured that tone was maintained and that nothing "lowering" intruded. To encourage thrift, a "Penny Bank" was also established. The Clubrooms included a library and billiard room and members could either pay by entrance fee or subscription. [Bolger p.150, 172-7] The Working Mens club survives at 213 Liverpool Street.

Literary Pursuits

There were no clubs for women - the Queen Mary Club in Macquarie Street is a 20th Century institution. However there were societies such as the Hamilton Literary Society which was basically a book circle and discussion group and a large number of philanthropic organisations in which women took a leading part [see Chapter 8].

Increasingly towards the end of the nineteenth century there were amateur theatricals and glee clubs which were open to both sexes. Prior to this women with spare time indulged in a wide variety of hobbies and pastimes at their own homes or at the homes of friends. Louisa Ann Meredith in her writings records a number of fads that swept the colony -

I found that the prevalent fashionable epidemic, instead of betraying symptoms of the ancient Berlin-wool influenza or the knitting disorder, had taken an entirely new turn, and that landscape-sketching and water-colour fever was raging with extraordinary vehemence [Meredith p.194]

Shops in the city devoted columns of advertising space in the local newspapers to the great variety of threads, canvases, tools, paints and other paraphernalia necessary for these hobbies.

Books were of course enjoyed by both sexes and the arrival of new volumes of works by Dickens for example was eagerly awaited. There had been libraries in the town since the 1820s - J.P. Deane had established a "circulating library" in 1826 and by 1834 could boast of 2,700 volumes. Clubs such as the Mechanics Institute and the Royal Society had their own libraries and the Town Hall also originally housed a public library and reading room. In 1907 a new public library opened at the corner of Davey and Argyle Streets. Andrew Carnegie, the American millionaire and philanthropist, donated 7,500 pounds for the establishment of this library, one of several he founded throughout the world. Since the new State Library opened in 1960, the old Carnegie Library building has been used by the Hobart City Council for storage, office and exhibition purposes.

As well as a library, the Royal Society was also responsible for the Museum. Theirs was not the first museum in Hobart: The Franklins had tried to establish a natural history museum at Ancanthe in Lenah Valley, and various individuals had collections to which they occasionally allowed visitors. The Royal Society grew out of the Tasmanian Society for the Study of Natural Science which had been founded by Sir John Franklin while Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. The Society had no counterpart in the other Australian colonies and papers delivered at its meetings were often based on original discoveries [Bolger p.27]. Such was the flourishing of scientific curiosity and culture at this time that it was predicted that Hobart would soon become an "Athens of the South". The 1850s were the "busiest ... and the most prosperous years" of the Royal Society's existence. It held monthly meetings, publishing its proceedings annually while the government subsidised the Museum Curator's salary [Bolger p.85]

The Museum was originally in Harrington Street but in 1863 new premises, designed by Henry Hunter, were erected on the corner of Argyle and Macquarie Streets.

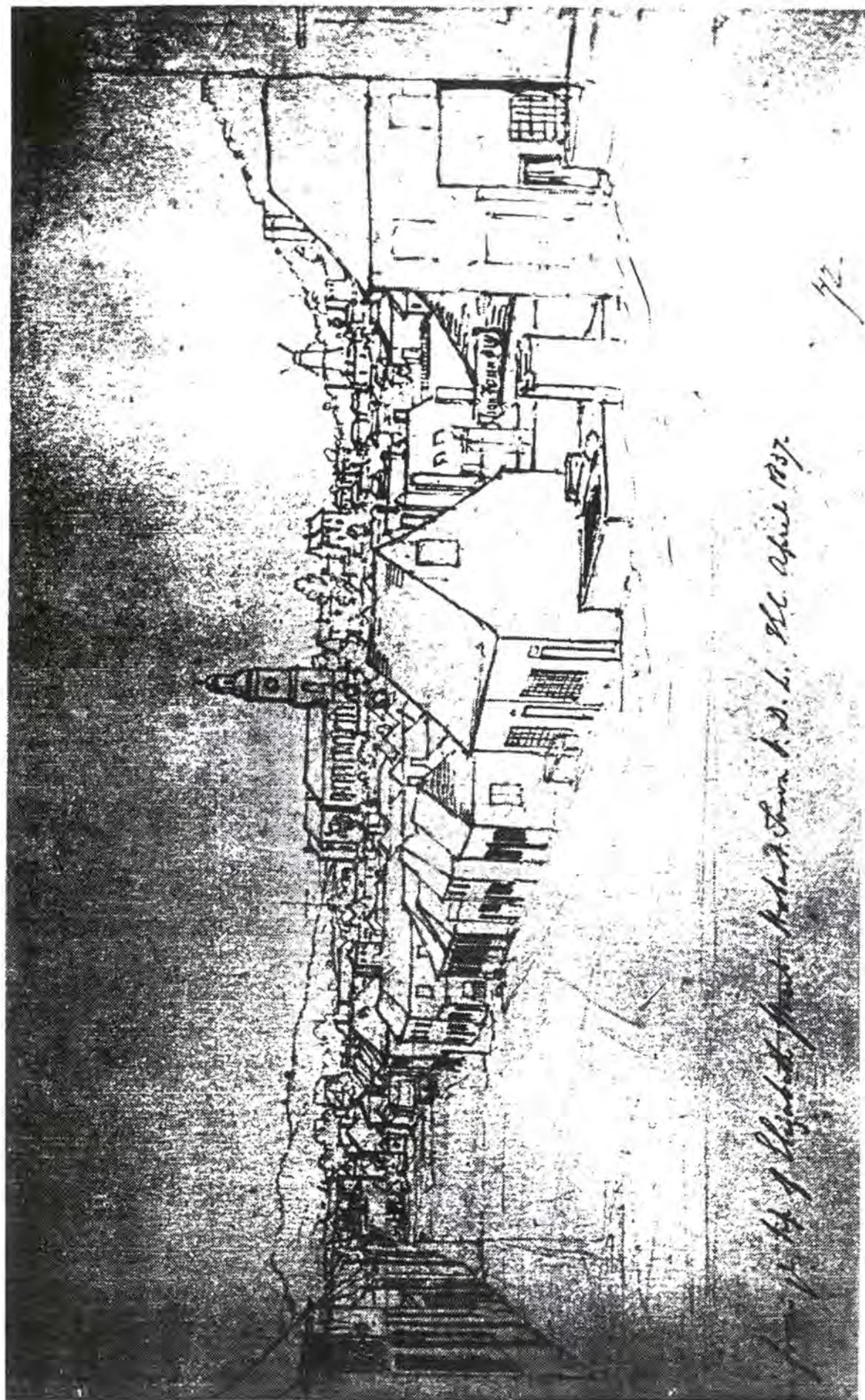
8. RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY

The civil establishment at Sullivans Cove included the Rev. Robert Knopwood, an Anglican clergyman who had accompanied Collins. For the first fourteen years after settlement Knopwood had no Church in which to conduct Divine Service. Services had to be conducted in the open air in the grounds of Government House with one side of the verandah open for the accommodation of "Public Officers and the Principal Inhabitants" [HTG 12 April 1817]. There had been, briefly, a small church within the boundaries of the burial ground, erected to the memory of Lt. Governor Collins in 1810. However, this church measuring only 15.3 metres x 6.2 metres [Bolt: Meehan Survey, p.11], was a timber structure and poorly built - within eighteen months it had blown down in a storm [Mercury 20 September 1925]. The foundation stone for a new church was not laid until February 1817. St. Davids Church was a simple brick building erected on the site of the current Cathedral - Frank Bolt believes some of the foundation of the church may be extant in the lawn next to the Cathedral Tower [Bolt p.40].

Until the early 1820s, there were no clergymen in the colony able to attend to the spiritual needs of members of other than the Church of England. The first Roman Catholic Priest, Fr. Philip Conolly, did not reach Hobart Town until 1821. He was granted a block of land in Harrington Street between Brisbane and Patrick Streets. In the early years he held services in his own house but in 1824 he built St. Virgil's Chapel next door. When the Vicar-General of Australia the Rev. Dr. Ullathorne visited the chapel in the 1830s, he was shocked by its dilapidated state but St. Joseph's Church in Macquarie Street was not completed until December 1841. There was some dispute over the ownership of the land in Harrington Street, Fr. Conolly claiming that the grant had been a personal one to himself, not to the Church. This led to considerable ill-feeling and the matter was resolved only when Fr. Conolly's heir renounced any claims to the site [SVC Archives]. In 1843 an appeal was launched to raise funds for a Cathedral in Harrington Street.

1821 also saw the arrival of Methodism in Tasmania. At first services were held in a private house in Collins Street, and later in a carpenters shop in Argyle Street. Between 1822 and 1826 a chapel was built in Melville Street - this is the oldest extant Methodist Chapel in Australia. Wesley Church, next door, was built in 1837 to accommodate an increasing congregation, opening its doors in 1840 [Bolt p.49].

The Presbyterians had also arrived in the 1820s, and in 1824 a 'little stone kirk' was built in Brisbane Street near the Gaol - this building also survives and is the oldest Presbyterian Church building in Australia. With the arrival of increasing numbers of Scottish immigrants particularly in the late 1820s, a larger building was soon required and in 1836 St. Andrew's Church in Bathurst Street was completed [Bolt p.46].



In 1837 old St. David's Church was a prominent feature of the townscape. (Crowther Collection)

Increasing congregations were also causing problems at St. Davids and in 1831-4 Trinity Church was built on the corner of Campbell and Brisbane Streets - this later become "Old Trinity" when the New Trinity Church was erected ten years later in Warwick Street.

The 1840s also saw the completion of St. Joseph's Church and St. John's Presbyterian Church, Macquarie Street in 1841 and the Synagogue in Argyle Street in 1843. Prior to the erection of the Synagogue, the oldest in Australia, the Jewish Congregation met in an upper room of Temple House. This was the private home of Judah Solomon who donated an area at the rear of his garden for the Synagogue as well as contributing financially to its construction.

The Census of 1841-2 showed that nearly three quarters of the population professed to be members of the Church of England:

Church of England	32,560
Church of Scotland	3,619
Wesleyans	1,944
Other Protestant Denominations	1,650
Church of Rome	3,931
Jews	259
Mohammedans and Pagans	60

TOTAL 44,023

The dominance of the established Church created problems particularly in the field of education - schools subsidised by the Government were overwhelmingly Anglican, causing great resentment amongst Non-conformists and Roman Catholics alike, until the introduction of the non-denominational British Foreign School Society System in 1838. However, as shown in the previous chapter the Anglican hierarchy managed to reassert its dominance of the education system in the following decade. The High School on the Domain was established in the late 1840s by a group of Non-conformists to counteract the Anglican bias of the Hutchins School [Bolger p.30].

The Non-conformists were a minority in the City but played an important role in public life particularly in the philanthropic organisations of the latter half of the 19th Century:

It was the evangelical churchmen who initiated the pace of reform and maintained its momentum. Many Congregational, Wesleyans and other Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Quaker men and women spent increasing amounts of their time in work to construct a decent, wholesome community. These were the people who saw their own personal salvation lying in the same direction as the improvement of their community and so they were doubly blessed in working to save the convict survivors. [Bolger p.105]

Although many of the subjects of assistance were elderly and infirm ex-convicts, there were a number of other groups that required assistance - the urban poor, widows and orphans. The Government did provide some care for these groups. According to Surveyor Meehan's notebooks the Government had purchased a building near the barracks for an "orphan school" in 1810 - whether the building was ever used as such is unclear for by 1820 the building was reputed to have been "suffered to go into ruins" and demolished [HRA III, ii, p.571]. The King's Orphan Schools were not established until 1828, moving to New Town in 1833.

Many of the children sent to these institutions were not orphans in the strictest meaning of the word - many were taken from their mothers at the Cascade Factory after weaning. Conditions at the Factory were so bad that many babies died and in 1838 a house was hired in Liverpool Street for use as a nursery. It was a "small ill-ventilated old house" in which in 1842 "57 women and 96 children are crowded together" [quoted in Brown p.64]. In that year the women and children were transferred to Dynnyrne House.

The bulk of welfare work was, however, undertaken by private philanthropic organisations, the mainstay of which was a small group of families and individuals [Brown p.85-6] - the Mathers (Quakers), the Crouches (Wesleyans) and the Saliers were all prominent. Members of each of these families were on the executive of the Hobart Benevolent Society founded in 1860. This Society "came to be the sole arbiter of alms-giving and relief provision in Hobart" [Bolger p.114] until the 1880s after which its influence waned. The Society's premises were in Watchorn Street although not on the same site as the present offices. The Benevolent Society helped the destitute by supplying rations and rental assistance, and by putting them into contact with other agencies such as the Maternal and Dorcas Society which lent layettes, etc., for newborn babies. However, there was a work test and a differentiation was clearly made between the deserving and undeserving poor [see for example Down Wapping p.77-91].

The 1860s saw another flurry of church-building in Hobart. St. Mary's Cathedral was begun in 1860 but was partially demolished when the structure was found to be unsafe. The original plans were altered and the Church rebuilt, finally being completed in 1881 [Bolt p.55]. The Union Chapel in Bathurst Street was built in 1864 but is now the Playhouse Theatre: The Ebenezer Chapel at 220 Murray Street was another used only briefly for its original purpose - it now serves as a lighting warehouse [Bolt p. 130-1]. In 1861 the Primitive Methodists had moved to the church formerly known as the Knox Free Church in Collins Street. The Primitive Methodist Connexion had been founded in Tasmania only in 1860 but in 1902 it became part of the Methodist Union and the church closed. The sect went in for open-air evangelism and held revival meetings on the Domain and in the Streets of Wapping and North Hobart [Barns, passim]. The Church remains although hardly recognisable as such, hidden as it is by a more modern and unsympathetic facade.



The Knox Free Church, taken over by the Primitive Methodist Connexion in 1861, can just be seen behind the facade of Lawrence & Hanson's electrical store in Lower Collins Street. The church closed in 1902 and the following year St. Peter's mission hall was removed from its site on the righthand side of this photograph to be re-built at the corner of Brisbane and Harrington Streets (TMAQ photo).

1868 saw the beginning of work on a new Cathedral on the site of the old St. David's Church. It was erected in stages with the tower added later, finally being completed in 1936. An offshoot of the Cathedral was the St. David's Mission Church erected in 1884-5 in lower Campbell Street, here

the parish clergy held simple mission services for the poor and neglected people of the Wapping district [quoted in Down Wapping p.106].

This church was also the site of community events such as fairs and socials, and temperance meetings. It was handed over to the Mission for Seamen in 1915 and more recently has been the lost property office for the Metropolitan Transport Trust.

The Roman Catholic Church also had a mission in Wapping - St. Peter's Hall was built in 1855 on the bank of the Rivulet near the hospital but was moved to the corner of Harrington and Brisbane Streets in 1903. [Down Wapping p.106]. The City Mission was another organisation concerned with the moral welfare of the poor. Founded in 1853, the City Mission was an interdenominational Protestant institution - it remains in operation in Barrack Street as a private welfare organisation.

Although the population is still decreasing in the inner city and many churches have closed to be recycled for other purposes, there is still a large number of churches in the Central Area. Of the 1510 inhabitants of the inner city counted in the 1986 Census, 508 or about 35% professed to be Anglicans and 296, or about 20% professed to be Roman Catholics. Interestingly 19% stated that they followed no religion. Compared with the Greater Hobart area the inner city population has fewer members of the principal churches and a significantly higher number of atheists [Census 86 p. 13, p.2]. Doubtless many of the congregations of the City's Churches are made up of people from outside the inner city, perhaps attending these churches for special events such as weddings and memorial services.

APPENDIX

Comparative chronology of themes
and
guide to contents

YEAR	1. SHAPE OF THE CITY	2. THE RESIDENTIAL POPULATION	3. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	4. PROVISION OF SERVICES	5. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	6. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	7. EDUCATION AND CULTURE	8. RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY	YEAR
1804	"The Camp" p.1 Floods p.1	Population 433 p.12 Arrival of settlers from Norfolk Is. p.12	The civil establishment under Collins p.12	The rivulet p.26	Isolation p.37 Publication of gov't notices p.39	The Commissariat p.48 Convict workforce p.61 Early manufacturing (e.g. Rivulet Govt. Mill) p.48	The first schools p.64	Rev. Robert Knopwood p.75	1804
1810	Macquarie's visit p.1 1st Meehan survey p.2 2nd Meehan Survey p.3 Ingle Hall built p.3 Wellington Bridge p.4	Population 1000 p.12	Police Fund est'd p.21 <u>Commissariat Store completed</u> p.16 Arrival of Davey p.17 <u>Barracks commenced</u> Private Secretary appointed & his <u>cottage built</u> p.17 Arrival of Sorell	<u>General Hospital</u> p.34	First newspaper p.39 <u>Early post office</u> p.37 Hobart Town Gazette begun p.39 Main Road to New Town p.41 Roads macadamised p.41 Bullocks replaced by carthorses p.42	Flourmilling p.49 Trade restrictions eased p.49 Prevalence of barter p.50 <u>Gov't Mill built</u> p.49 Early industries p.50 Hobart an open port p.50 Export trade begins p.50	Horseracing at New Town p.71 Gov't assistance to schools p.64 St. David's Church p.75	The first church p.75	1810
1820	Causeway p.4 Maquarie Street the "main street" p.9 The New Cut p.4 Land Commissioners p.5 Rows and lanes p.5	Population 3500 - Spread of settlement p.13	<u>Gaol completed</u> p.17 <u>Supreme Court</u> est'd p.18 Arrival of Arthur p.18 A separate colony p.18 <u>Court House</u> built p.23	Epidemic p.26 <u>1st Street lighting</u> p.31 <u>Rivulet "a common sewer"</u> p.27	Freedom of the press Colonial Times est'd p.40 Post Office a gov't department p.38 Regular coach service to New Norfolk p.42 Coach service to Launceston	First bank [Lower Macqu St] p.50 Diversity of trades p.51 Collective action by free tradesmen p.61 Retailing p.51	Gov't school on <u>Macquarie Point</u> p.64 1 in 5 children at school p.64 Private schools p.64-5 <u>Mechanics Institute</u> p.64 1st Concert p.69 <u>Macquarie Pt. a recreation area</u> p.71 <u>Taprooms</u> p.72 1st dramatic performance p.69 Circulating library p.74 Elementary schools p.64 <u>Theatre Royal</u> p.69 1st Hobart Regatta p.71 Gentlemen's Clubs p.73 Board of Education p.65	Establishment of non-Anglican churches p.75 Kings Orphan School est'd p.77	1820
1830	Elizabeth and Liverpool Streets the main thoroughfare p.10	Population 12,000 Suburbs developing p.13	Arrival of Franklin <u>Police Office</u> built p.23	<u>Water supply via pipes & pumps</u> p.27					1830

YEAR	1. SHAPE OF THE CITY	2. THE RESIDENTIAL POPULATION	3. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	4. PROVISION OF SERVICES	5. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	6. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	7. EDUCATION AND CULTURE	8. RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY	YEAR
1840			Treasury built p.23 Hobart a city p.19	St. Mary's Hospital p.35	Hackney coaches p.42	Campbell & Minchin est'd p.52 1841-5 depression p.52 "Houses of Call" p.62	The Royal Society p.74 Central School p.65	St. Josephs Church p.76 1842 Census Synagogue built p.76 Sectarianism p.76	1840
1850	CBD = 7 city blocks p.10 4052 houses Completion of land reclamation at Franklin Wharf Fires and floods p.6	Increasing developm't of rows and terraces p.13 Effects of gold rush p.13 Population 24,000 p.14 860 empty houses - change in population structure p.13-14	Court of Commissioners est'd p.19 1st elections held p.19 1st rate assessment p.19 1st Legislative p.20 Council elections HCC est'd p.19 Transportation ceases p.20 Self-government p.20 Hobart incorporated p.19 New Gov't House built p.19	General Hospital p.36 Scarlet fever epidemic p.29 Gas Company est'd p.32 Water piped to 1 in 3 households p.28	Mercury founded p.40 Buses introduced p.43 "Electric Telegraph" p.38 Court House rebuilt for Post Office p.38	Charles Davis est'd Economy recovering p.52 Boom due to gold-fields trade p.53 Depression p.53	Hutchins founded p.65 Radford's Circus p.70 Hobart High School p.65 Ragged School Association founded p.65 Wapping Ragged School p.65 Temperance Alliance p.72	Inner city missions p.78 Philanthropy p.77 Foundation of Hobart Benevolent Society p.77 Boom in church-building p.77	1850
1860	New city blocks p.8 created by public works Franklin Square p.8		Town Hall opened p.20	New water supply system p.28 Public health issues p.29			Royal Commission into Education p.66 Hobart Working Mens Club founded p.72-3 Compulsory Education p.66 Free School founded p.66 Royal Tennis Club p.72		1860
1870					Main Line Railway p.43	Mineral boom in west p.53 Tasmanian industries p.54	St. Josephs School and orphanage p.68		1870

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1880	Hobart Building Acts p.8		Lowest crime rate in Australian colonies p.24	Epidemics of typhoid and diptheria p.29 Public Health Act p.29 Cesspits outlawed p.29 <u>Upper reservoir</u> p.28 completed	1st telephone service p.38 Telephone exchange p.38	Wapping becomes industrial area p.55 G.P. Fitzgerald est'd Stock exchange p.53 Industrial pollution p.55 Working hours regulated p.62 Aikens Woollen Mills p.55	p.56 Education Department created p.66 <u>1st technical school</u> p.66 Organised sports p.72 <u>Coffee palaces</u> p.72		1880
1890				Typhoid epidemic p.29 Metropolitan Drainage Act p.29	Railway bought by gov't p.44 Trams p.45	1890s depression p.56 Crash of VDL Bank p.56	<u>Girls High School</u> p.67 Uni. of Tasmania established p.67 <u>Collegiate</u> founded p.67 Literary societies p.73		1890
1900	CBD = 9 city blocks p.10		Centralised police force p.25 Manhood suffrage Federation p.20 Royal Commission into Local Government p.20 New Customs House p.20 Women vote in House of Assembly elections p.20	<u>Private hospitals</u> p.35 Extension of water supply p.28 Electric street lighting p.32 Sewage treatment at Macquarie Point p.29-30	1st motor car in Hobart p.46 G.P.O. opened p.39	Expansion of Charles Davis p.57 <u>Department Stores</u> p.56 Royal Commission on Wages p.63 <u>Renewal of CBD</u> p.57	Teachers and Schools Registration Board <u>Carnegie Library</u> p.74 Fees abolished at State primary schools p.66	Methodist Union p.77	1900
1910	New building technologies developing p.9 Diversion of rivulet - slum clearance p.8			Hydro-Electric Dept. created p.33 <u>Ridgeway Reservoir</u> p.28	HCC buy tramways p.46	Wages Boards est'd p.63 Redevelopment in CBD p.58	<u>1st State high school</u> p.66		1910
	<u>Domain tunnel completed</u> p.9	"In darkest Hobart" p.14 War Homes Act p.15				Establishment of EZ and Lutana p.58			

YEAR	1. SHAPE OF THE CITY	2. THE RESIDENTIAL POPULATION	3. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	4. PROVISION OF SERVICES	5. TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION	6. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE	7. EDUCATION AND CULTURE	8. RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY	YEAR
1920	Rivulet diversion completed p.9			Hydro-Electric Dept. becomes a commission p.33	1st radio broadcast p.41 Telephone exchange automated p.38	Peak employment in manufacturing p.63	Cinema p.70 Central School closed p.68		1920
1930						Great Depression p.59	<u>Schools in inner city</u> p.68		1930
	6-7 storey office blocks p.9			New hospital Lake Fenton Water Supply on line p.31		<u>Government-led boost for building industry</u> p.59			
1940	Cook plan p.10				Last horse-drawn cab p.46				1940
1950				Water fluoridated p.31					1950
	CBD = 14 city blocks p.10				MTT created p.46	Disappearance of house/shop units p.59	Peak in number of cinemas p.71		
1960	Railway Roundabout New Government Offices <u>10 Murray Street</u>		Demolition of Campbell Street Gaol p.24 Full adult franchise in Legislative Council elections p.20	Metropolitan Water Board p.31	T.V. begins in state p.41 1st Carpark p.47 Trams phased out p.46	<u>Cat & Fiddle Arcade</u> p.60 Decrease in Manufacturing and increase in offices p.60	State Library opens p.74 University completes move to Sandy Bay p.67		1960
1970				End town gas p.32	Passenger trains end p.44		Closure of cinemas p.71 Decentralisation of schools p.68		1970

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