

Lynton: convicts, landscape and colonisation strategies in midwest Western Australia

MARTIN GIBBS

Archaeological investigations of the convict systems that operated in Australia between 1788 and 1868 have invited a variety of interpretations ranging from exploration of ideologies of punishment and reform through to consideration of convictism as a colonisation strategy. The regional convict hiring system which operated in Western Australia from 1850 until c.1857 coincided with the initial expansion of European settlement into the midwest region. The fossilized landscape of the failed 1853 Lynton town site inclusive of the convict hiring depot, pensioner guard village and model farm allows us to explore some of the possible social and economic relationships intended to underpin both the introduction of unfree labour and the second stage of colonisation. It is suggested on the basis of the archaeological evidence that the Lynton landscape exhibits another manifestation of the ‘yeoman ideal’, with the convicts cast as agricultural/manual labour force and the pensioners as smallholders and tenant farmers servicing the pastoral elite.

INTRODUCTION

Historical and archaeological studies of Australian convictism have embraced a variety of themes and directions, from exploration of the ideologies and mechanisms of punishment and reform (e.g. Kerr 1984, 1988), to investigations of convicts as part of broader colonizing strategies and a means of creating industrial workforces (e.g. Blair and Claoué-Long 1993). It is increasingly apparent that there were multiple ‘convict systems’ within Australia, manifesting in different forms over time and in different places as a result of changing imperial ideologies, colonial needs, and perceptions of how unfree labour either contributed to or compromised the economic, social and moral fabric of the British colonies and the empire as a whole. Consequently, convictism was multi-layered and at any one time embraced a range of practices, trajectories and meanings, suggesting that our archaeological investigations also need to follow diverse threads.

The purpose of this current paper is to add another element to our understanding of the archaeology of convictism during its later phases, examining the Lynton convict hiring depot (1853–56) and its associated landscape in midwest Western Australia. The depot and the pensioner guard village attached to it were created as part of the regional convict hiring scheme, in advance of the establishment of the new town of Lynton near Port Gregory (Fig. 1). For a variety of reasons the town never developed and the convict infrastructure was sold and incorporated into the adjacent and contemporary Lynton Station, preserving these sites. Despite the involvement of the Royal Engineers and other government instruments in their design and construction, most Western Australian convict sites were poorly documented. This paper provides the first historical and archaeological record of a regional hiring depot, with a particular focus on the reasons behind its failure. Similarly, the archaeological survey of the wider Lynton landscape presents us with an opportunity to consider the role of convicts and their guards within the second (post-1850) phase of European settlement and colonisation in Western Australia, including the expansion into the midwest region.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Convict System in Eastern Australia

As noted above, the treatment and employment of the imperial (British) convicts transported to the Australian colonies varied over time in response to shifting ideologies and practices associated with criminal punishment and reform (Hughes 1987). The system also varied between colonies depending upon local administrative regimes and the changing perceptions of the relationship between convicts and broader settlement processes. Kerr’s graphic characterisation of the basic principles behind the New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land systems from the 1820s to 1840s is most relevant here, depicting convictism as a series of steps (Kerr 1984:61). Good behaviour (indicating reform) in government service was rewarded by progression upwards and increasing

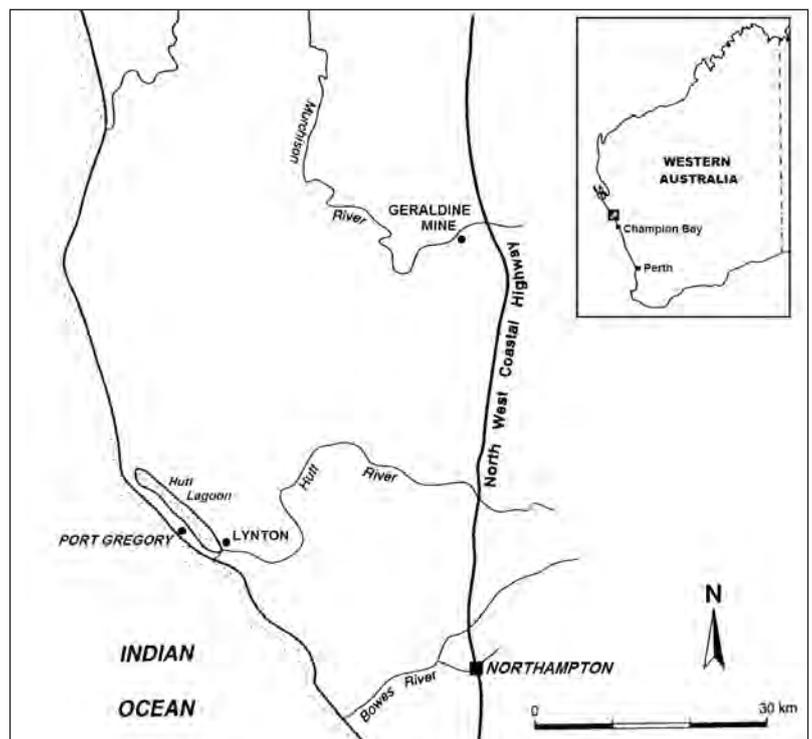


Fig. 1: Location plan. M. Gibbs

leniency, leading to 'assignment' to private settlers, eventual reward of a 'ticket-of-leave' allowing independent employment, and finally a full pardon and freedom. Misconduct resulted in increasing restrictions and supervision, punishments through hard (including chain or 'iron' gang) labour, penal servitude, solitary confinement and at the extreme with death. The different stages in convict progression upwards or downwards also had material correlates in the forms of the different establishments and workplaces, manifesting the changing philosophies behind the system (Kerr 1984, 1988).

The period from 1822 onwards saw significant changes to the convict system(s) resulting from both the Commission of Inquiry (the Bigge Reports) and the Molesworthy Committee report (Kerr 1984:61, 130). A consequence of these inquiries was the end of assignment to individual settlers in favour of systems such as 'probation' which retained convicts in government service while they passed through stages of reform, until the point where they received their ticket-of-leave. Many of the convict establishments of the 1840s, especially in Tasmania, included elaborate symmetries in layout and different forms of accommodation which reflected the advance of convicts through these stages (Kerr 1984: 130–144). Such stations could also include a chapel, hospital, internal work areas, equipment stores for external work, and offices and accommodation for administrators and overseers. However, the relationships between these convict establishments and the surrounding free settlements and broader colonisation processes are still somewhat ambiguous and require further investigation (c.f. Gojak 2001; Brand 1990).

By the 1830s the convict system had played its part in the establishment and consolidation of the eastern Australian settlements. By the 1840s a growing Abolition movement and a desire to shift to 'free' colony status had forced transportation to NSW and Tasmania towards a close (Hughes 1987:485–496). The convict authorities required a replacement destination for transportation, despite growing pressure within Britain itself to retain criminals in English prisons and employed on local works. Faced with this widespread rejection of transportation, the 1849 petition from Western Australia to convert their free settlement into a convict colony came as a surprise.

The Convict System in Western Australia

The original 1827 proposal for a new British settlement on the western Australian coast had been for a convict colony in the same mould as those already on the eastern seaboard (Appleyard and Manford 1979:110). It was only when this was rejected that the emphasis changed towards a 'free' agricultural settlement with generous land grants in return for private capital investment (Cameron 1981:37–40). The settlement was established at the Swan River in 1829, but almost immediately the combination of poor soil fertility and other environmental difficulties, the limited skills of the middle-class colonists and problems with the land grant system on which the colony was based saw a rapid decline in fortunes. For the first 20 years the colony teetered on the brink of failure, unable to realise its agricultural ambitions but eventually achieving some stability through belatedly developing a pastoral industry (Statham 1981a). With only limited resources available to develop the colony the government restricted the settlement area to the southwest corner.

One of the key difficulties for the Swan River colonists in these early years was obtaining an adequate labour force, especially as the uncertain fate of the settlement had seen an exodus of labourers to other Australian colonies. The high wages demanded by the remaining workers and the lack of

development of critical infrastructure, especially roads, pushed a progressive shift in attitude towards the desire to introduce convict workers (Statham 1981b, 1981c). The threefold reasoning was that the introduction of convicts would:

- a. Make cheap labour available to the settlers, overcoming the shortage and expense of free workers.
- b. Attract imperial funding required to run the system, which would then flow to the free settlers through the supply and service contracts with the convict establishment, in effect creating a domestic market for produce.
- c. Achieve the completion of critical infrastructure, especially roads, bridges and wharfs.

Given the British Government's need to find a replacement convict colony, there was some opportunity for the Western Australian administration to dictate terms regarding the nature of the convict system they wished to develop. The majority of the convicts sent were to be young and primarily from rural backgrounds, while there were to be no female convicts at all. The men were to have completed the majority of the penal phase of their sentence back in England or en route aboard ship (Appleyard 1981:211–215). After a short period of induction and observation while employed on public works at the main population centres in Perth and Fremantle, roughly equivalent to the probation phase of earlier systems, the majority of convicts were granted ticket-of-leave status and assigned to a particular district. In effect the whole lower end of the convict hierarchy (Kerr 1984:61) was bypassed and the colony received men close to the point where they could be made available for private employment or used with minimal supervision, although there was provision for recidivists to be punished such as by hard labour and solitary confinement with the Fremantle establishment (Trinca 2006:32).

In an attempt to ensure that public works were undertaken across the wider settlement area and convict workers were readily available to most colonists, a regional 'hiring depot' scheme was developed. New ticket-of-leave men would be sent to one of the regional depots, where they would live and perform public works under the direction of an overseer, sapper or Royal Engineer, either within the depot or the town or as part of a gang based at a work camp elsewhere in the district, until hired by a local settler. If the settler no longer required the convict or if the convict misbehaved or fell ill, the man could then be returned to the depot.

The depots themselves were generally located within or very close to the edge of the towns. Each included a barracks fitted with hammocks for between 60 and 120 men, as well as a cookhouse, hospital and a small lockup for punishing minor infractions. Men working close by were under limited supervision during the day and free to work or roam away from the site until the depot bell summoned them back for meals or the evening curfew. The depots also served as a base for the local convict administration, with offices for the commandant or superintendent, the Royal Engineer and works supervisor, a commissariat store with supplies and equipment for the public works, a smithy, as well as quarters for the officers, guards and sappers (Gibbs 2001:63–64).

A previous historical and archaeological overview of the Western Australian convict system undertaken by the author revealed there are few detailed contemporary plans of either the complete layout of the various depot sites or the design and construction of individual buildings (Gibbs 2001). Because many of these sites were within the towns, after the closure of the depots some structures passed into use by the

colonial government and were preserved, while others were destroyed over the years with varying levels of archaeological potential for future investigation (Gibbs 2006:95). Often this piecemeal survival has made the original nature and relationships of the different elements of the depots difficult to discern. However, based on the evidence available it would seem that while each depot had a similar array of buildings in a functional sense, construction and layout varied depending upon local materials, the spaces available and the design interests of the young engineers in charge.

The regional hiring system was intended to not only address the original requirements of the settlers, but also act as a security measure to ensure the potentially dangerous convict population was dispersed (Trinca 1997:29). As an added precaution and as an additional means of furthering the expansion of the settlement, the scheme was combined with the Enrolled Pensioner system. Military pensioners were employed for six months, most of which consisted of acting as guards aboard the convict transport ships, and then for a period after reaching Fremantle. In return they received free passage for themselves and their family, a small grant of 10 acres or more with assistance from convicts to clear the land, and a cottage or funds to build one. If the men stayed in the Enrolled Pensioner force for seven years, attending musters and exercises and remaining available for service in the defence of the colony, they would receive freehold title to their land (Broomhall 1989:2). There was also the possibility of continuing military employment as guards at the depots. The land grants were usually clustered into adjacent lots situated on the edges of the towns, and were frequently referred in contemporary documents as 'pensioner villages' (Broomhall 1989).

By the mid-1850s the regional hiring scheme was in decline, in part because the diminishing enthusiasm in Britain for transportation had seen a much lower flow of convicts into the colony than expected. Fewer men than anticipated were sent out to the country stations, while there was also tension between the need to retain sufficient men at each depot to complete public works against the demands of the free settlers for labourers. After 1856 the depots were either closed and sold or redeveloped for different uses such as 'Branch Establishments' and regional headquarters for a reformulated convict system (Gibbs 2001:64–65). Changes also emerged as the Western Australian system increasingly came under the control of officers from the former Tasmanian convict establishments, especially following the 1861 appointment of John Hampton, former Comptroller General of Convicts for Van Diemen Land, as Governor of Western Australia (Boyce 1979:45). Through Hampton's direct intervention the Western Australian convict system shifted towards more rigorous ideologies and processes, including a significant increase in floggings, hard labour in chain gangs and the introduction of separate confinement (de Garis 1981:302). Transportation to Western Australia finally ceased in 1868.

The European Settlement of the Midwest Region

The arrival of convicts in Western Australia in 1850 coincided with other significant changes in the colony, especially the expansion of the settled areas beyond the original southwest core into a new frontier of the midwest region. During the 1840s several expeditions had identified coal, lead and copper ore outcrops as well as pasture and agricultural lands in the area several hundred kilometres north of Perth (Grey 1841). Many colonists saw the minerals as a means of generating exportable products that would finally secure the viability of the colony, while pastoralists eager to expand their herds began to push illegally northwards beyond the recognised

settlement area (Bain 1975:50).

In 1849 a government party was sent to open a mine at the site where lead ore had been discovered on the banks of the Murchison River, while permission was finally given for the pastoral settlement of the new midwest region (Bain 1996:11, 86). The introduction of ticket-of-leave men as labourers at the Geraldine Mine began almost immediately and by the time of Governor Fitzgerald's visit in April 1852 there were already 25 convicts employed there, as well as others throughout the district (Henderson 1852:182). In his report to the Colonial Office, Fitzgerald proposed that the opening of the district would be well served by establishing a depot for 50 ticket-of-leave men at either of the potential harbors for the new district at Port Gregory or Champion Bay, although the projected expense of establishing the station in this poorly supplied frontier area was very high (Henderson 1852:182–186). The Colonial Office's response was that while there was no objection to allowing any number of men to be employed in the district they were not prepared to approve the construction of a depot (Packington 1852:259).

Lynton Convict Hiring Depot

After several further exchanges of correspondence and despite resistance from some members of the local convict administration (Bain 1996:18) permission was finally obtained for a new depot at Port Gregory, 450 km north of Fremantle, on the basis that it would assist with the development of the mines in the region (Fig. 1). An inspection of the area in April 1853 by A. C. Gregory determined that rather than place the depot in the sandy area adjacent to the port, it would be better to situate it inland, at the southern end of the lagoon, closer to construction materials and more convenient for conducting works and obtaining supplies from local properties (CSR 257/25, 6/4/1853). By May a detachment had been sent northwards, consisting of the superintendent, one sergeant, five privates (pensioner guard), three sappers and, depending upon which report you follow, between 30 and 60 ticket-of-leave men (*Perth Gazette* 6/5/1853; Bain 1975:121). For the first several months they concentrated on quarrying stone and constructing the buildings of the depot, while remaining in tent accommodation with a wooden temporary lockup (*Inquirer* 23/11/1853, 1/3/1854). However, increasingly the men were drawn away to other tasks, especially to assist in construction of a road between Port Gregory and the Geraldine Mine, located 50 km northwards over a harsh sand plain.

In November 1853 Gregory formally surveyed the depot site and the future town of Lynton of which it would be a part. The survey plan reveals that the depot was situated in the heart of the town, with roads, town lots and a church reserve marked out adjacent to the convict establishment in anticipation of future development (Fig. 2). The town itself was gazetted in March of 1854 and the building lots made available for purchase at that time (Bain 1975:120). The pensioner guards who were to work at the site were each allotted four acres of their land grant at the edge of Hutt Lagoon, several kilometres to the northwest, with the intention that this be the location of their cottages and the pensioner village (Broomhall 1989:93; Bain 1996:20). Captain Henry Sanford, brother of the Colonial Secretary and assistant superintendent (in charge of the depot), had also selected land within the town site and 'Lynton' was in fact the name of his parent's village in Surrey (Bain 1996:19).

By April 1854 several permanent buildings, including two pensioner guard cottages, the superintendent's and sapper's quarters and the commissariat had been completed (Crossman 1854:220). A limekiln had also been constructed and two

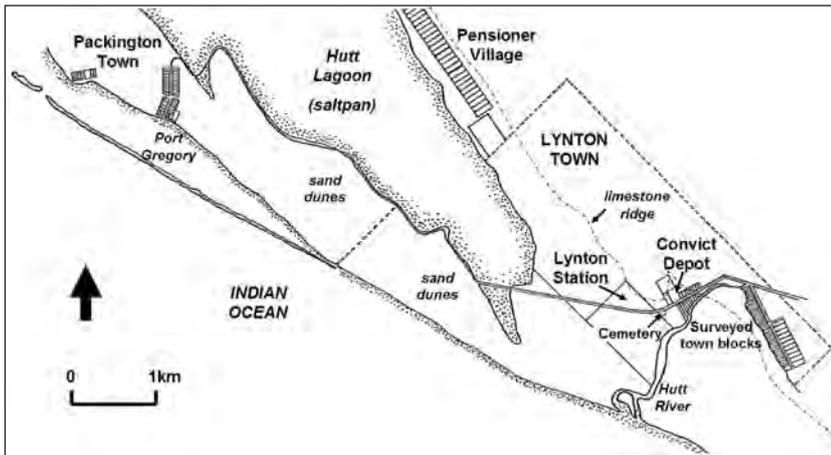


Fig. 2: The Lynton landscape. Based on A. C. Gregory 1853, *Lands & Surveys Department, Western Australia*

wells (both proved to be brackish) had been sunk. However, progress on the buildings was slow for several reasons. First was the expense and delays in transporting all of the structural timbers from Perth. Second was the continued loss of skilled convict labourers to private employers. Those men who remained available to the depot were often the least skilled, while the conditions in the depot themselves were harsh. Finally, Lieutenant William Crossman, a visiting Royal Engineer, also reported that a large number of men were suffering scurvy and housed within the depot hospital, still only a tent (Crossman 1854). Besides recommending that a garden be established to grow vegetables for the station, he suggested that for sanitary and disciplinary purposes the completion of the depot buildings was of paramount importance and that no other works, including the roads to the Geraldine Mine and the port, should be carried out until the depot was finished.

Despite Crossman's recommendations there was little progress at the depot until an inspection by the Comptroller General of Convicts in November of 1854 finally brought about major changes, including the removal of most of the

administration (CSR 297/41, 9/12/1854). Captain Sanford also resigned his position as assistant superintendent amidst allegations that government stores and convict labour from the depot had been used in the construction of his nearby homestead (Bain 1996:22). Improvements in the operations of the depot were almost immediate with convict masons sent to commence work on the rest of the buildings (CSR 297/104, 13/12/1854). However, there were continuing delays in obtaining timber, so that while the lockup walls were finished by the end of March in 1855 (CSR 297/104, 13/12/1854; CSR 321/198, 31/3/1855), the building could not be roofed until sometime after October (CSR 325/109, 13/10/1855). It is probable that the main buildings and outbuildings of the depot were finished early in 1856. Table 1 provides the 1856 'Return of Buildings' for the depot,

immediately prior to the closure and sale of the site (CSR 358/35, 20/9/1856).

The historical sources provide very few insights into the daily life of the Lynton depot, other than the official routine applied at all of the regional hiring establishments. No 'daily occurrence book' has yet been found, nor have any personal diaries or correspondence from persons, either free or bond, residing there. Reports of activity within the depot mostly concerns quarrying, lime burning and other labour associated with the construction of the depot itself, with no evidence for any other sort of production on the site. A single contemporary drawing of 1856 (Fig. 3) shows people, presumably convicts, moving about the site with one pushing a wheelbarrow towards the lockup, although whether the scene is real or fanciful is unknown. The only other information tends to be stray incidents reported by the assistant superintendent and the colonial press, including accusations of violence towards local Aboriginal people (CSR 296/135, 11/11/1854), and accounts of brawls between prisoners, pensioners and visiting sailors when liquor was illegally introduced to the camp (*Inquirer* 29/11/1854, 10/1/1855).

Table 1: Buildings at the Lynton hiring depot in September 1856. Based on 'Return of Buildings in Charge of the Barrack Dept at Port Gregory'. Colonial Secretary's Office (WA) Letters Received, 358/35, 20 September 1856.

Occupied as	Walls	Roof	No. rooms	Dimensions (feet)	Fireplaces
Depot Store	stone	thatched	1	24' x 13'6"	
Carpenter's shop	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	17'6" x 13'6"	
Engineer tool store	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	12'6" x 13'6"	
Depot Office	stone	thatched	1	17'6" x 13'6"	1
Senior Asst Super's Quarters	stone	thatched	1	15' x 12'	1
		concreted (lean-to)	1	17' x 13'6"	1
Instructing Warder's Quarters	stone	thatched	1	15' x 12'	1
	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	17' x 13'6"	
Cook House	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	16' x 14'	3
Bake House	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	14'6" x 14'	1
[Oven]	stone	concreted (lean-to)	1	8' x 7'	1
Commissariat Magazine	stone	weather-boarded shingled	1	28' x 12'4"	
Commissariat Office	stone	thatched	1		1
Lockup	stone	weather-boarded shingled	1 assoc. ward 1 native ward 6 cells	19'9" x 11'7" 10'3" x 7'7" 7' x 4'	
Hospital	stone	weather-boarded shingled	1	19' x 15'2"	1
Surgery	stone	weather-boarded shingled	1	11' x 15'	1
Visiting Magistrate's Office	stone	concreted	1	15' x 12'	1
Men's Division	stone	shingled	1	53'2" x 26'3"	
Depot Closet	stone	concreted		12'7" x 4'9"	
Officers' Closet	stone	thatched		4' x 3'	
Wells			1 salt 1 brackish		

Despite the barracks capacity for 80 ticket-of-leave men (Wray 1857:5), from available reports it seems that throughout its life the occupation levels of the depot remained low. Table 2 provides the number of men in-depot as recorded in the quarterly reports from the Comptroller General of Convicts (WA). Where a month is mentioned twice in a year, this records two different reports.

Table 2: Ticket-of-leave population at Lynton hiring depot. Taken from the quarterly reports of the Comptroller General of Convicts (WA). *British Parliamentary Papers – Convict Discipline and Transportation Series.*

Year	Month	No. of Men
1853	May	30-60
	December	24
1854	January	26
	June	17
	November	5
1855	February	40+
	March	24
	March	35
	June	40
	July	34
	December	5
	December	14
	December	15
1856	June	15
	October	9
	December	5
	December	9

During 1855 the depot appears to have maintained a relatively high occupation rate. In February of this year it was reported that there were between 40 and 50 men in the depot (CSR 320/180, 26/2/1855), although this is from a secondary source and may well be an overstatement. At the end of March (CSR 322/117, 30/3/1855) there were still 35 men, with a partial breakdown of their employment as follows:

- 1 commissariat labourer
- 1 baker
- 1 cook
- 1 hospital orderly
- 1 water carrier
- 1 constable
- 1 night constable
- 3 masons
- 1 master mason

It can be presumed that the other 24 ticket-of-leave men had no specific function in the depot and were probably used as labourers either for construction or on the road gangs. This is supported by a report of July 1855 (CSR 320/189, 24/7/1855), that 20 of the 34 men at the depot were working on the road towards the Geraldine Mine.

The administrative positions at the depot included (Bain 1975:121; CSR 358/18, 6/12/1856):

- Assistant Superintendent
- Depot Clerk
- Medical Attendant
- Overseer
- Instructing Warders (or discipline warders)
- Guards (pensioner guard)

At other times there may well have been other positions which are not referred to in this list. It is also probable that some of the administrative roles may have been fulfilled at times by literate ticket-of-leave men. The visiting magistrate for the district was also provided with quarters adjacent to the depot for use during his tour to the northern end of the Champion Bay District (Bain 1975:121).

The current study did not extend to an investigation on convict labour beyond the depot. However, ticket-of-leave men were employed on the mines, and on various properties throughout the area assisting with construction, agricultural and pastoral activities, including at Sanford's Lynton Station (Bain 1975:122). Although it was illegal for convicts to work at shore-whaling establishments, it is possible that some may have assisted at the Port Gregory station owned by Sanford (Bain 1975:114). Some men also worked in isolation as stockkeepers and shepherds, living in huts in the bush and in many cases cohabiting with Aboriginal women (Bain 1975:117, 124; CSR 321/200, 31/3/1855). Often the men complained of the low wages and hard conditions at these remote outposts, making life at the depot preferable. Consequently it was necessary to increase the workloads and discipline at the depot to force ticket-of-leave holders out and into private employment (Bain 1975:123). However, apart from the first shipload of men sent to Lynton in 1853 (CSR 295/25, 6/4/1853), the Geraldine Mining Company and many farmers chose to hire direct from Fremantle where they could obtain skilled men, rather than wait for whoever was sent northwards to the depot (Dixon 1857:40).

Lynton Pensioner Guard Village

The Lynton (Port Gregory) pensioner village was located several kilometres northwest of the depot on the western edge of the town site, on a thin strip of land between the Hutt Lagoon and a limestone ridge (Fig. 2). The nine men in the detachment were each granted three or four acre lots and as with the rest of the depot personnel were housed in what were meant to be 'temporary' tents and wooden buildings while waiting for their stone cottages to be built (Bain 1975:218; Broomhall 1989:94). Despite the general plan that pensioners would work their own smallholdings and sell surplus produce to other settlers, for the Lynton pensioners there was concern that such a market for their goods did not exist (Bain 1996:20).

By Crossman's April 1854 inspection two cottages, each with two rooms of 12 feet (3.5 m) square, had been completed and handed over to the sergeant (Crossman 1854:220). However, it was also noted that whereas the £15 allowed for pensioner cottage construction may have been suitable for other areas, at Lynton these houses could not be built for less than £24 or £25 as a consequence of transport costs for timber (Crossman 1854:220), seriously slowing proceedings. By September there is confirmation that the two cottages were occupied (Fitzgerald 1854:164) but with two families sharing the two-room cottages (Bain 1996:21). Another inspection later in the year declared the land to be 'objectionable', subjected to strong winds off the salt lake and unable to produce crops; a situation that would have been disastrous for the pensioners once their enrolled pay was withdrawn (CSR 297/41, 9/12/1854; Bain 1975:122). In addition, the pensioners were too far from the depot to be of use if there was trouble, as well as out of the line of ordinary communication. The recommendation was made that the pensioner village should be moved to the banks of the Hutt, about half a mile upstream from the convict depot (CSR 297/41, 9/12/1854).

Despite these reports, by the middle of the following year no further cottages had been constructed and the pensioners were still for the most part living in tents without adequate provisions (CSR 320/189, 24/7/1855). Unable to properly farm the land, the pensioners even attempted to make the best of their situation by mining salt from the adjacent lagoon (Bain 1975:122). One year later there was still no improvement, with the Colonial Secretary reporting during his September 1856 inspection that he:

... very much regretted to see our soldiers exposed to so much hardship and privation—they appear to have

come to Lynton under distinct promises of good land and houses and if such be the case, the promises have not been faithfully kept. Some of them are living in tents in a most miserable manner, and even those best off have no more than one room in which the pensioner and his whole family reside. The land on which they are located is useless for cultivation, the exhalations from the salt lagoon destroying all vegetation. (CSR 358/18, 6/10/1856)

This description of the poor conditions continues, with the Colonial Secretary also recommending that the pensioners be removed to a new location nearer the Hutt River, and some extension or adjustment made to their pay to compensate for their hardships.

Although little is known of the wives and families of the pensioners during this period, there were eventually 18 children listed as being 'on the strength' of the detachment (Broomhall 1983:94). Permission to commence a school was requested and by mid-1854 this was established adjacent to the pensioner village (PG 5/5/1854). Several years later, the Colonial Secretary reported that while there were only 15 scholars, he was pleased with the manner in which the school was conducted (CSR 358/18, 6/10/1856). However, in these miserable conditions and with a lack of food and medical attention several of the pensioners died, as did their women and children, often during childbirth, and were buried in the small cemetery near the depot (Bain 1996:22, 25; Erikson 1992:46).

Lynton Station

Sanford's intention was to develop an agricultural and pastoral venture which would supply the convict depot and the Geraldine Mine with produce (Erikson 1992:45). By 1855 he was harvesting wheat, grinding flour and running cattle, had secured the contract to cart goods to the Geraldine Mine (Bain 1996:21), and formed a shore whaling party (Gibbs 1996:373). Sanford initially lived in a small cottage (Lynton Cottage) while construction proceeded on a larger house, barn and other farm buildings. Although the accusations of Sanford misappropriating depot resources had been proven false or at least were discretely dismissed, he did employ convicts on these works and in his various enterprises. However, it is not known whether these men were housed on the property or simply sent back to the depot each evening.

Female Immigrant Depot

After the completion of his main house, Sanford offered his original cottage for use as a female immigrant depot, receiving women from the so-called 'bride-ships' that arrived in Western Australia between 1849 and 1889 (Erikson 1992). From the outset of the convict era it was recognised that the refusal to accept convict women would result in a gender imbalance in the colony. As part of the agreement to accept convict men it was requested that the Imperial Government send an equal number of 'free' immigrants, especially young single women (*Perth Gazette* 29/9/1850). It was hoped that these women would be available as domestic servants and ultimately marriage partners, while providing a moral and socialising influence on the colony (Anderson 1983:91). These female immigrant depots were placed in the same towns as the hiring depots (Erikson 1992:45–57).

In 1855 at least five young women arrived at the Lynton female immigrant depot, one to join her ticket-of-leave husband and another three marrying ticket-of-leave men soon afterwards, although in one case it emerged that the man already had a wife in England (Erikson 1992:46–47).

Because of the demise of Lynton town no further women were sent to the depot. Some years later the cottage was turned into way-side inn for travellers coming from the port (Bain 1996:129).

Lynton Town

As shown in Figure 2 the town allotments were surveyed in anticipation of Lynton's development as a regional centre. The WA archives include the plans for a school, police station and other buildings to house the intended expansion of colonial administrative services (Bodycoat 1982:92–95). However, apart from Sanford's homestead there was little or no development at the town site, although several lots were sold to other settlers. On one of these Francis Pearson, formerly the manager of the smelting works at the Geraldine Mine, set up a store, blacksmiths shop and boarding house and also supplied liquor (CSR 296/24, 7/10/1854; King 1980). There are hints of other buildings, with one ticket-of-leave man named Coote permitted to work on his own account as a shoemaker in a hut 'opposite' the depot (CSR 297/109, 13/12/1854). Jonathon Coe is also meant to have established a smithy at Lynton, although this may have been part of Pearson's operation (Bain 1996:221). A trickle of people continued to pass through en route to the mines or developed properties in the area but the failure of the area to develop as a centre made remaining in the town an unattractive prospect.

Closure and Abandonment of the Lynton Hiring Depot and Pensioner Village

In early 1856 the Colonial Secretary inspected the Lynton depot and pensioner village, providing the last lengthy description of the establishment (CSR 358/18, 6/10/1856). All of the buildings of the depot (but not the village) had been completed and reports of this period suggest that the station was running smoothly, although there were only nine ticket-of-leave men remaining and there had been no more than 17 since the start of 1856, leaving little for the depot officers to do. With the opening of agricultural areas along the Greenough Flats settlement now focused southwards, with Champion Bay destined to develop as the harbour for the region. Rumours of the possible closure were circulating as early as July 1856 (*Inquirer* 30/7/1856) and the station was officially closed at the end of December (Henderson 1857:30), with the report that it had 'altogether ... failed in the object for which it was originally established, and [has been] ... a source of considerable and useless expense' (Kennedy 1857:2). In late 1856 it became clear that most of the other regional hiring depots were also to close, to be replaced by a different scheme of convict labour distribution.

While discussing the closure of the Lynton depot, Governor Kennedy also suggested that if use of the site for any convict purposes was to be continued, considerable expense would be necessary to provide permanent housing for the pensioners, as required to meet the terms of their contract (Kennedy 1857:2). It had now been established that there was no land within the immediate area of the station on which the men and their families would be able to make their subsistence after their military pay was withdrawn. It was therefore impractical, if not impossible, to establish a new and viable pensioner village nearby. In closing his letter, the governor outlined that the only expense that he intended to incur in abolishing the depot would be the cost of removing the pensioners to Champion Bay and providing them with housing (Kennedy 1857). This last resolution was particularly affirmed by the Colonial Office dispatch approving the closure of the depot (Labouchere 1857:83).

The withdrawal from Lynton proceeded swiftly, assisted by the small number of ticket-of-leave residents at the depot. The final report of work performed at the depot suggests that repairs and maintenance were undertaken prior to closure (Manning 1857:69). Some of the convicts were transferred to Champion Bay and others were sent to the 'Wanerenooka' road party (Dixon 1857:38–40). This camp, numbering about 40 men, was charged with construction of a road between the copper mines near what is now Northampton and Champion Bay (Manning 1857:69). Following the departure of the convicts and administration, the pensioner guard and their families were allowed to move into the vacated depot buildings (Bain 1975). Preparations were being made for their removal to the newly surveyed pensioner village allotments along the Greenough Flats, 15 km south of Champion Bay (Geraldton) (Broomhall 1989:95). However, it was not until January of 1858 that the last residents of the depot were finally shipped out (Bain 1975:226).

In May 1861 the hiring depot was offered for sale by the Government Commissariat (*WA Government Gazette* 14/5/1861). On 12 July of the same year, H. A. Sanford purchased the several lots over which the depot was spread and incorporated them into the Lynton Station property. Several of the depot buildings were used for farm purposes, although photographic evidence from the early twentieth century onwards shows progressive decline of the structures, including some demolition and recycling of stone. In the 1960s the present owners (Ron and Sandra Simkin) purchased the property and tried to slow the deterioration of the buildings.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF LYNTON

The first archaeological survey was carried out in 1993 by the author in conjunction with Dr Ian Lilley and a team of University of Western Australia (UWA) students, undertaking basic recording and limited test pitting as part of proposed site management (Lilley & Gibbs 1993; Bodycoat 1983; Considine and Griffiths 1996). In 1999 further recording of the depot, the pensioner village and sections of the associated Lynton Station was carried out as part of the Midwest Archaeological Survey with the Archaeological Society of Western Australia (Gibbs 1999).

Environment

The site of Lynton town, including the hiring depot, is located at the southeast end of the Hutt Lagoon saltpan on a flat area of arable land between the high coastal sand dunes and a limestone ridge (Fig. 2). The brackish Hutt River cuts through the ridge and runs along what would have been the eastern boundary of the town. The naturally salty and windswept flats, together with the long history of land clearance and farming, have left the area with limited vegetation, excepting the sparse low woodlands along the ridges and adjacent to the Hutt River. The major archaeological features of the convict hiring depot and Lynton Station are located along the edges of the limestone ridge.

The location for Lynton town and the depot seems to have been a strikingly poor choice. While the original rationale of easy access to building materials seems reasonable, the overall positioning of an essentially agricultural settlement at the edge of a salt lake, with limited fresh water, and exposed to wind and extreme temperatures seems foolish. An interesting perspective comes from visiting Magistrate William Burges whose critical report of the area proposed by surveyor A. C. Gregory for a new pensioner village near Champion Bay

includes the comment that 'I think it would appear to be a repetition of Port Gregory, where the site was chosen because it was so picturesque' (CSR 386, 11/12/1857). Although this was clearly meant to be disparaging, it is suggestive that despite a generation of experience with the Western Australian environment, surveyors and decision makers were still susceptible to misguided aesthetic judgments.

Depot

The Lynton hiring depot is situated in a narrow gully between two limestone spurs, 100 m from the Hutt River. While the site would have been convenient for accessing building materials, it is clear that some of the 'difficulties' noted in the original reports relate to the exposed rock surfaces in the gully radiating heat, with temperatures frequently soaring into the high 40 degrees centigrade during summer. The gully itself is almost completely bare of vegetation and suffers from erosion.

The soft Tamala limestone quarried from the western edge of the site was used for all of the buildings. The mortar was produced from burning limestone in the cylindrical shaft-type limekiln on the east side of the site. Construction techniques appear to have varied over time, with random rubble walls for the earlier structures such as the quarters and commissariat, versus squared limestone blocks for the lockup, barracks, hospital and bakery. This change would appear to correspond with the introduction of a team of masons to the site in early 1855 (CSR 322/160, 14/5/1855). The foundations of almost all of the former depot buildings are legible, with some sections of walls of the lockup, mens division, magistrate's quarters and hospital still standing. The archaeological survey was able to record the internal layout of all of the structures, none of which was previously available in the historical documents (Fig. 3). Individual structures recorded during the archaeological survey were identified through comparison with the 1856 inventory of the site (Table 1), as well as an 1855 plan (Public Works Dept. Western Australia Plan 122, reproduced in Trinca 1997:29). However, several minor convict-era structures and features not listed in the 1856 inventory were also recorded.

The informal layout of the depot is particularly interesting, especially the lack of a surrounding wall or any formal structure for policing the settlement. The yards behind the lockup and the hospital have what would appear to have been 2.5 to 3 m high walls, while the rear yards of the superintendent's and sapper's quarters appear to have walls about 2 m high. Front yards, the rear of the depot offices and commissariat only have evidence for low walls. This limited security and surveillance is consistent with contemporary descriptions from colonists, reporting surprise at how open and uncontrolled these establishments were (e.g. Millett 1872:67). The 1856 drawing of the Lynton depot (Fig. 4), which it should be noted did not become available until after the survey, provides a similar perspective of an open and relatively informal establishment.

One interesting note is that the 1856 inventory (Table 1) indicates several smaller structures having 'concrete' rooves. The nature of this concrete, still visible on the extant lockup closet, remains to be investigated, although it could be a form of Portland cement (c.f. Cowan 1999:81). Several small samples recovered during the 1993 testing in the superintendent's quarters showed impressions of twigs and small branches and suggested the concrete had been applied in a similar manner to wattle and daub. Similarly, while the floor of the earlier Commissariat building is of stone flags, the later buildings at the depot have concreted surfaces, including an apron area in front.

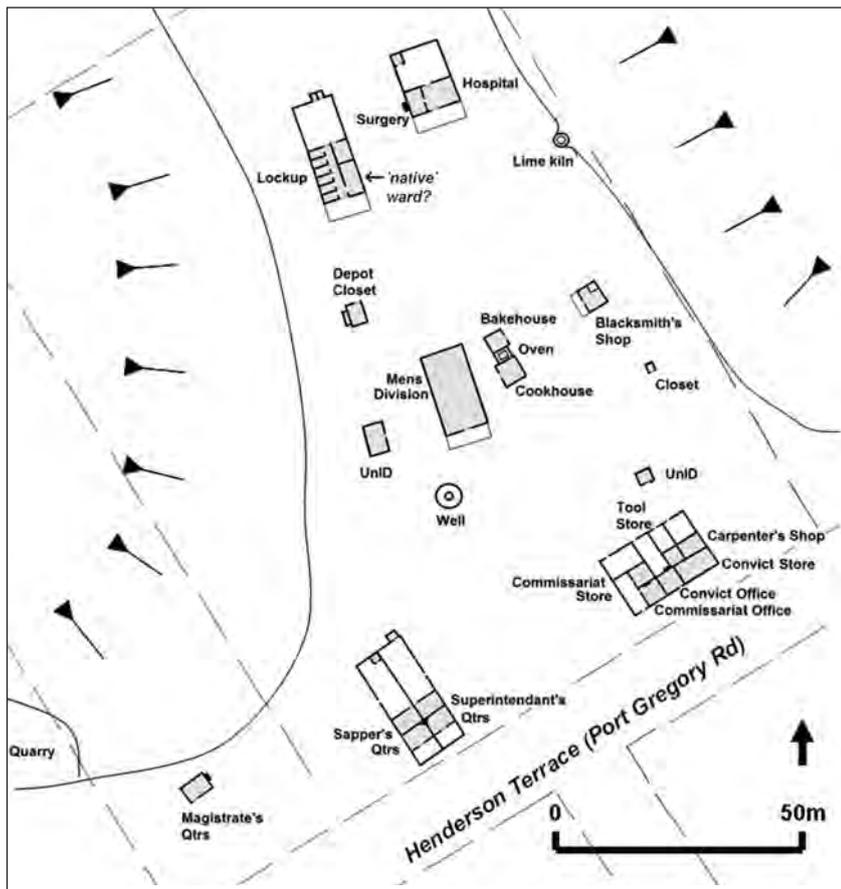


Fig. 3: Archaeological survey plan of the Lynton convict hiring depot. M. Gibbs

The majority of the buildings are not especially notable, apart from the lockup and the barracks (mens division). The Lynton lockup was meant for short-term incarceration only, with hardened offenders or recidivists to be returned to Fremantle for punishment. The Colonial Secretary's inspection of September 1856 describes the building as being in a 'very creditable state', with the cells 'fitted up in the same manner as at Fremantle' (CSR 358/18, 6/10/1856). Each of the six cells is 2.23 m deep by 1.2 m wide (the 7 feet x 4 feet recorded in Table 1), matching the standard solitary cell size common elsewhere in Australia (Kerr 1988:153). The archaeological evidence of the surviving walls shows two holes of 2.2 cm diameter, set 1.06 m above the floor and 0.46 cm apart, indicating hammock pegs or hooks, presumably with a shelf for daytime storage of bedding as seen in other convict cells. The windows are approximately 33 cm high by 31 cm wide, placed 2.63 m above the concrete floor level with two square 3.3 cm (1-inch) iron bars set into the wooden frame. The ceiling would have been 2.85 m high.

One interesting note in the 1856 inventory is the presence of a 'native ward' within the depot lockup (see Table 1), in general colonial (European or Aboriginal) prisoners were kept separately from imperial convicts. Aboriginal prisoners from the Swan River area had been sent to work at the Geraldine Mine in the early 1850s (Birman 1979:56), and it is possible that while these men were not part of the imperial system, some agreement may have been reached to allow them to move via the depot system. Alternatively there may have been anticipation that a prison facility for Aboriginal offenders would be needed due to the depot's location on the frontier.

The mens division or barracks appears to have been a single room of about 17 m x 9 m, although later reuse and re-concreting of the floor surface has hidden much of the detail of internal fixtures. If the building could cope with the

reported depot capacity of 80 men, then it was presumably fitted out with a double tier of hammocks. The simple open barracks design is interesting as it lacks any of the signs of physical division which might have been expected following the 1840s reforms in NSW and Tasmania (c.f. Kerr 1984). However, given the ticket-of-leave status at the advanced end of the convict spectrum it may have been felt that these measures were not required.

The 1856 image (Fig. 4), drawn from the ridge on the northeastern side of the site just above the lime kiln (visible smoking in the foreground) appears to be an accurate rendering of the site. It is also possibly the only contemporary image of an occupied Western Australian convict hiring depot.

Convict Works outside of the Depot

Although the modern road to Port Gregory now skirts further south around the less flood-prone western edge of the Hutt Lagoon, the original convict road which passed in front of the depot and Lynton homestead and then across the southern edge of the saltpan is still legible, with sections continuing in use as farm tracks. Evidence of filling and stonework, possibly the 'small causeway made across part of the lagoon on the road to the port' described by Crossman (1854:220) was noted approximately 2 km west of Lynton Station, but was not recorded in detail.

During the 1993 season the owner of Gregory Park Station also showed the survey several features located approximately 3 km northeast of the depot which he believed to be associated with the convict-period occupation. This included a northward-heading road formation through the limestone hills thought to be part of the original road to the Geraldine Mine, with natural and dressed stone used to mark and retain the sides of the track. Nearby was a stone-lined well, 2 m in diameter and 15 m deep, consistent with the style seen at the depot, and several shallow depressions about 5 m in diameter which were believed to be associated with a convict-era coal mine. Geological concerns aside, there is a report from 1856 that the Lynton men were engaged in boring for coal in an unspecified location 3 miles (3.8 km) from the depot (CSR 358/18, 6/12/1856). The shaft was reported to be 6.5 feet (2 m) square with a depth of 34 feet (10 m). The miners had proceeded through pipe clay, red sandy clay and yellow stone, and at the time of the report were blasting through 3 feet of sandstone (Manning 1857:69). While the historical descriptions do not match the sites observed, it is interesting that there is a local association between convicts and coal mining. Other sites of convict labour along the Geraldine and Port Gregory roads, adjacent to the depot and at Port Gregory are likely.

Pensioner Guard Village

Several foundations and other features associated with the pensioner village were located approximately 3.5 km northwest of the depot, on a 300 m wide strip of arable land between the shores of the Hutt Lagoon saltpan and the same limestone ridge in which the convict establishment sits. As suggested by the historical documents the site is exposed to wind and salt and not well suited to farming.



Fig. 4: Lynton convict hiring depot, Anon. c.1856. Battye Library 7293B

Three groups of limestone random rubble foundations were recorded, with two measuring approximately 9 m by 4.5 m. One of these has evidence for a smaller structure immediately adjacent. Both correspond to the normal ‘workers cottage’ seen throughout Britain and colonial Australia. The third set of foundations has different proportions, with a building 8.5 m x 5 m, consisting of a larger (5 m x 5 m) and smaller (3.5 m x 5 m) room, with a separate 2 m x 2 m structure located 7.5 m away. It is possible that this was a room for the school mentioned in the Colonial Secretary’s report (CSR 358/18, 6/10/1856), with accommodation attached for the teacher.

Artefact scatters were also located in the area close to the foundations and up to 100 m north, probably indicating the location of the pensioners’ tents. It has not been possible to match the locations of these sites with the allotment boundaries on the survey plans. At the foot of the limestone ridge immediately behind the cottage foundations another shaft limekiln almost identical in form to that at the depot was located.

Lynton Station

Despite its continued use, many of the 1850s elements of the Lynton Station complex have survived in good condition and detailed survey is still required (Fig. 5). The main homestead building (Sanford’s house) is situated in an imposing position high on the slope overlooking the station buildings, farmlands, Hutt Lagoon and the ocean, although the hiring depot is not visible from there (Fig. 6). This grand, symmetrical, two-storey stone structure was partially dug into the hillside, with several rooms and wide verandahs on each level connected by external staircases. The immediate impression is that the homestead was situated to catch the cooling breezes denied to the convict depot in its narrow gully. However, it might also be argued that this location overlooking the farmstead afforded the opportunity for surveillance of the farm’s convict workforce.

On the flat below the house, adjacent to the Port Gregory Road, is a large symmetrical stone barn with remnant footings

of various stone walls and fences which appear to relate to early stables and yards. On the slope between the house and barn is a cylindrical tapered stone structure which has been described in various reports as a ‘granary’ (e.g. Considine and Griffiths 1996:129), although inspection during the archaeological survey suggests that this is almost certainly the base of a post mill (Cossons 1993:38; Crossley 1990:115). If so, then this is the only example of a post mill in Western Australia, and one of only a handful of surviving archaeological examples in Australia (c.f. Birmingham et al. 1983:34). Fifty metres east of the Lynton barn is the foundation of a cottage with several rooms which is believed to be the original dwelling constructed by Sanford in 1853 and later (briefly) used as the female immigrant depot.

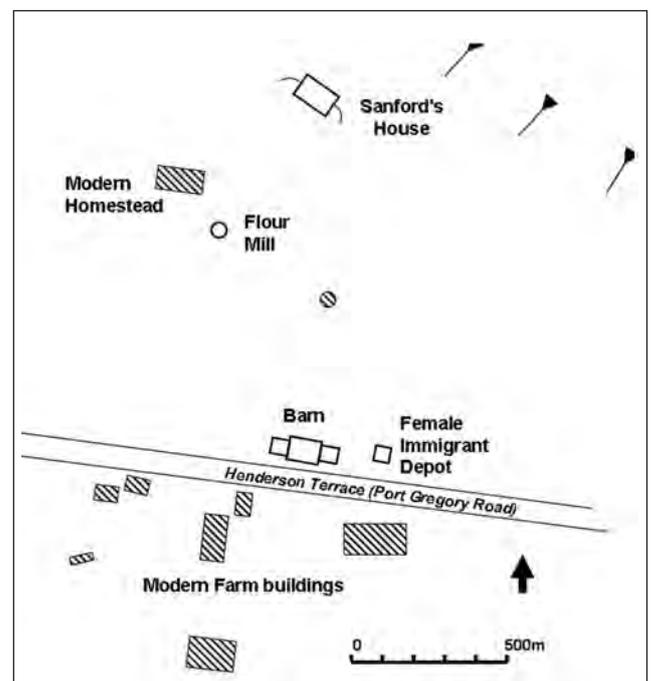


Fig. 5: Lynton Station plan. M. Gibbs



Fig. 6: Lynton Station, base of post mill (foreground) and Sanford's homestead with verandahs missing. M. Gibbs

Lynton Town

Despite the limited development of Lynton town and a long history of ploughing through the area, a light scatter of nineteenth-century glass and ceramic fragments is visible in the paddocks immediately south of the depot on the other side of Port Gregory Road (Lilley and Gibbs 1993:86). Stone footings were also located 150 m southwest of the depot on the ridge above the Hutt River. Although the owners of Lynton Station believed these to be associated with Pearson's Inn and blacksmith's shop, further investigation is required. Despite the church not being constructed, there is historical evidence for at least 12 burials between 1854 and 1861 (Considine and Griffiths 1996:43). One adult and two children's graves marked by headstones and grave covers were recorded during the survey, located approximately 250 m southwest of the depot in what would appear to be the southern portion of the property designated for the Lynton church (Fig. 2).

DISCUSSION

The archaeological evidence of the Lynton landscape provides us with an insight into how the Western Australian colonists envisaged the social and economic relationships associated with the introduction of convicts and the second phase of colonisation, including expansion into the midwest. In particular it appears to have been yet another attempt to manifest the yeoman ideal, 'a set of ideas that promoted small-scale agricultural production as morally virtuous and conducive to a stable democratic society' (Waterhouse 2005:24). The notion of an earlier, Arcadian rural age had emerged in English romantic writing during the early nineteenth century, presumably as a reaction to the industrialisation of Britain and the massive social, demographic and economic transformations it incurred. The colonists heading for Australia carried these nostalgic concepts with them. There were repeated attempts to bring versions of the yeoman ideal into practice in the new settlements, often accommodating convicts into their conceptions (Waterhouse 2004:440-443). For instance, John Glover's iconic 1835 painting *My Harvest Home*, set near Patterdale in Tasmania, shows the convicts working on his property visually transformed into an agricultural labouring class (TMAG 2006).

It is possible that a form of the yeoman ideal had been at the heart of the agrarian settlement originally envisaged for the Swan River Colony. Achieving this ideal proved impossible during the first two decades of settlement, with the difficult environment, limited capital and labour shortages forcing the middle-class settlers somewhat closer to the hands-on 'yeoman' status than they might have wanted (c.f. Cameron 1981:203). However, with the late decision to introduce convicts came the potential for re-casting the structure of the colony. Cameron's analysis of the pre-1850 economy of the Swan River settlement indicates that by the 1840s the Western Australian settlers felt that:

there should be two sets of land regulations in the colony, one to accommodate small-scale agriculture, the other to foster pastoral activities, which should be differentiated as much on social as economic grounds. (Cameron 1981:202)

Discussion in the colonial press stressed the need for the colony to accommodate small tenant farmers, yeoman settlers and pastoralists (Cameron 1981:203). Parallel with this was the push, primarily by the wealthy pastoralist clique, to introduce convicts as cheap labour and therefore break the high wages demanded by the free (and aspirational) labour force. Connected to these dialogues was a clear sentiment that these changes would also restore the 'correct' sense of social order, returning the master versus servant relationship to the balance anticipated by the wealthier colonists (Cameron 1981:202). Expansion of settlement both within the existing southwest area and into the midwest region, aided by this new and compliant workforce, would create significant new opportunities.

When the regional hiring depot system was established in 1850 the majority of the convict depots and pensioner villages developed as additions to existing settlements, being forced to fit around established land ownership and use patterns. In contrast, at Lynton the *tabula rasa* allowed the government and individual settlers to structure the town from scratch. Consequently, the relationships between the elements presumably represent much more directly their thinking on how this new order should operate.

At the bottom of the social and economic system were the ticket-of-leave men, which the regional convict hiring system intended should provide a steady stream of agricultural and

pastoral labourers to drive the expansion of settlement. The centrality of their role is evident through the Lynton depot's position in the middle of the town, in close proximity to the intended sites for the church, school, police station and other core administrative structures, rather than on the margins or even some distance away from the populace. The Lynton buildings appear to have been quite modest in design but are otherwise robust and well made, indicating an intended degree of permanence within the structure and operation of the settlement. The ticket-of-leave men assigned to the regional hiring depots were well advanced within the scheme of convict redemption, sufficient that they were available to work among the 'free' populace or even to establish their own enterprises. As a consequence the reformatory, punishment and security elements of the NSW and Tasmanian convict establishments were completely absent (c.f. Kerr 1984:120, 136). Such close proximity to the heart of the town may even have been perceived as a part of the reintegration process within the community, prior to receiving a full pardon.

It would seem that any pardoned or time-expired men were expected to eventually become 'free' labourers, take up a trade, or purchase a small area of land and farm in a manner similar to the pensioner guard. The issue of integration of the convict workers into the community is also underscored by the presence of the female immigrant depot within Lynton, with the intention that the reformed men would be further socialised through marriage with free and presumably respectable (if working class) women. In the case of Lynton this appears to have been a success, if only on the modest scale possible with the handful of women sent there. Despite this there is also good evidence to suggest that the majority of free settlers in Western Australia, while happy to employ convict labourers, were less pleased about their continuing presence in the colony after receiving a pardon (Reece 2006:104).

The pensioner guard formed a second social tier, with the granting of small blocks at the edges of the towns, including at Lynton, suggesting that they were cast in the role of yeoman smallholders and tenant farmers. The colonial authorities explicitly intended that the pensioners would work only several days each week clearing and cultivating their own allotments, after which they would be available to work for other landowners, take up other trades or engage in occupations such as timber cutting (Broomhall 1983:19). However, in the case of Lynton the poor soil, strong winds and limited fresh water prevented success with their own farming ventures, while the failure of the township meant there were no other settlers for whom they could work.

Presumably this middle tier in the social structure was to be complemented by the other free settlers (including pardoned convicts) who would progressively be drawn to the town, with some working in the agricultural, pastoral and mining activities in the hinterland and others establishing themselves as tradesmen and storekeepers. However, the several free settlers and their families who did arrive at Lynton and established small businesses soon drifted away once it was apparent that the depot would close and the town would fail.

At the top end of the social spectrum, Sanford embodied the large-scale agriculturalist or pastoralist class who would draw upon the labour of the other convict and lower order free groups; a role to which many of the Western Australian free colonists aspired. Writing of the agrarian opening of Victoria in the 1860s, Waterhouse discusses this concept of a 'yeoman grazier' as a pragmatic compromise within the romantic view of the yeoman ideal, accommodating the realities of the larger-scale agricultural activities emerging in Australia and contextualising the role of pastoralism in utilising and civilizing larger non-agricultural areas (2004:447).

Sanford made the calculated gamble common to other middle-class colonists, arriving early in a new settlement, acquiring prime land and attempting to establish himself as local gentry. The prominent house on the slopes above the proposed town and the impressive barn and flour mill, constructed by taking advantage of the available convict labour force, would have stood him in good stead for dominating aspects of the local economy. With few 'free' labourers likely to head into marginal frontier areas without the promise of good payment, a convict labour force was the only means to realise his ambitions. Unfortunately the rapid and almost simultaneous failure of the Lynton settlement and hiring depot halted his ambitions.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological study of the relationships between the convict system and broader settlement patterns requires us to move beyond the larger institutional structures and consider a wider range of sites, including smaller depots, work camps, industrial sites, and the landscapes and contexts in which they were set. The archaeological survey of Lynton depot comprises the first detailed study of a regional Western Australian convict establishment and its associated landscape. Further research on other depots and sites will hopefully provide the opportunity for comparative study (Gibbs 2001).

The archaeological landscape of Lynton is significant at several levels. Seen from a national perspective, the structure and layout of the Lynton depot and its position within the town provides an insight into the trajectories and intentions of the late phase of the convict system in Australia, as well as its changing relationship to broader colonisation processes. NSW and Tasmania had been established as convict colonies, and from the 1820s onwards there were clearly tensions between accommodating the ideologies and processes of punishment and reform with the need to expand the colonies and evolve them into free settlements. The convict populations in both colonies were large and diverse and from the outset were progressively morphing into the free population. By the 1840s they were able to reject further convict transportation, with the following decades used to bring the convict system to a close.

In contrast Western Australia was an established free settlement which was able to clearly define the roles and trajectories it wanted from the convict system before it was introduced. The physical structure of the hiring depots such as Lynton demonstrates that the prime purpose of the convicts was to provide labour towards agricultural and pastoral expansion. The pensioner guards and their families were similarly cast into a framework of regional dispersion and agricultural labouring which would further this second phase colonisation process and advance the social and economic prosperity of the free settler and especially pastoral elite.

In the broader historical context the arrival of convicts in Western Australia largely achieved the tripartite aims of providing cheap labour, providing public works, and encouraging imperial funding, as well as the general expansion of settlement. The fossilised form of the Lynton landscape demonstrates that the presence of convicts and pensioners was clearly structured into concepts of how this development might proceed. The fact that the environment around Lynton was almost completely unsuited to small-scale agriculture seems to have been almost irrelevant to the town structure being mapped on to it, hinting at a broader mindset about how settlements under the new regime should look or function, rather than a specific response to the social, economic and natural circumstances of the midwest region. Even in the more fertile southwest these small agricultural lots proved insufficient to support the pensioners in the ways

proposed and in many cases were simply sold and combined into larger farms. While most of the 2500 pensioners and their wives and children stayed and found their place in the settlements, of the 9700 convicts who arrived over the 18 years of transportation until 1868 the fate of the majority is uncertain. Many are believed to have left as soon as possible to start new lives (possibly with new identities) in other colonies or make their fortune in the gold rushes.

Finally, the landscape of Lynton is significant as an early example of a particular mindset in Western Australian agricultural policy and practice. Although the structure of small-scale farming evidenced by Lynton and the other convict and pensioner settlements clearly failed, the Western Australian government continued to introduce similar schemes through to the twentieth century. Tonts has documented this re-emergence of yeoman ideal within the 'group settlement' schemes for English migrants, as well as the 'soldier settlements' for returned servicemen (Tonts 2002). As with earlier system these efforts to extend the agricultural frontier failed and resulted in amalgamation into larger farms, leaving their own as-yet unexplored archaeological signatures on the Western Australian landscape.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the late Mr Ron Simkin and Mrs Sandra Simkin for their generous access to Lynton Station and their knowledge of its landscape, and for their unstinting care of the historic sites under their ownership. Thanks also to Annette Sellars of Willow Gully (Northampton) for acting as the link between archaeologists, Northampton Council and local community throughout the 15 years of the Midwest Archaeological Survey. As usual, my gratitude to Ian Lilley, Shane Burke, Rodney Harrison and Katherine Przywolnik and the many, many University of Western Australia/Archaeological Society of Western Australia students who participated in these and the other midwest surveys. Finally, thanks to Mary Casey and an anonymous referee who both managed to wade through my hastily written manuscript and still make sense of it.

ABBREVIATIONS

CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office (Western Australia) – Letters Outward, Battye Library, Perth, cited by Accession No./Folio, date.
CSR	Colonial Secretary's Office (Western Australia)—Letters Received, Battye Library, Perth, cited by Accession No./Folio, date.
GG	Western Australian Government Gazette, Government Printer, Perth.
<i>Inquirer</i>	<i>Inquirer</i> Newspaper, Battye Library, Perth.
<i>Perth Gazette</i>	<i>Perth Gazette</i> Newspaper, Battye Library, Perth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDERSON, M. 1983. 'Women and the convict years in Western Australia', in R. Erikson (ed.) *The brand on his coat*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

APPLEYARD, R.T. and T. MANFORD 1979. *The beginning: European discovery and early settlement of Swan River Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

APPLEYARD, R.T. 1981. 'Western Australia: economic and demographic growth 1850–1914', in C.T. Stannage (ed.) *A new history of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 211–293.

BAIN, M.A. 1975. *Ancient landmarks—a social and economic history of the Victoria district*, WA, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

BIRMAN, W. 1979. *Gregory of Rainworth, a man of his time*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

BIRMINGHAM, J., JACK, I. and JEANS, D. (eds) 1983. *Industrial archaeology in Australia: rural industry*, Heinemann, Victoria.

BLAIR, S. and A. CLAOUE-LONG 1993. 'A landscape of captive labour: evidence of the convict era at Lanyon, ACT', *Public History Review* 2:81–98.

BODYCOAT, R. 1982. Lynton: a study of the convict hiring depot at Northampton, Western Australia, unpublished report to the Shire of Northampton, Western Australia.

BOYCE, P. J. 1979. 'J.S. Hampton: the Governor', in L. Hunt (ed.) *Westralian portraits*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 45–52.

BRAND, I. 1990. *The convict probation system: Van Diemen's Land 1839–1854*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart.

BROOMHALL, J. 1983. *The veterans: a study of the enrolled pensioner force in Western Australia 1850–1880*, Hesperian Press, Perth.

CAMERON, J.M.R. 1981. *Ambition's fire; the agricultural colonization of pre-convict Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

CONSIDINE AND GRIFFITHS 1996. Lynton heritage conservation plan, unpublished report for the Northampton Historical Society Inc. Property Management Committee.

COSSONS, N. 1993. *The BP book of industrial archaeology*, David and Charles, Devon.

CROSSMAN, W. 1854. 'Report on works executed at Port Gregory—Lt. W. Crossman to Hon. Comptroller General, 28/4/1854', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 13*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 220.

COWAN, H.J. 1999. *From wattle & daub to concrete & steel: the engineering heritage of Australia's buildings*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

CROSSLEY, D. 1990. Post-medieval archaeology in Britain, Leicester University Press, London.

DE GARIS, B. 1981. 'Political Tutelage 1829–1890', In C.T. Stannage (Ed) *A New History of Western Australia*. University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 297–325.

DIXON, T. 1857. 'Half-yearly report relative to the condition of the Convict Establishment, Western Australia, from 1st July to 31st December 1856'. Despatch from Thomas Dixon, Superintendent, to Gov. A. Kennedy 10/1/1857', *British Parliamentary Papers—Convict Discipline and Transportation Vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, pp. 29–45.

ERIKSON, R. 1992. *The bride ships: experiences of immigrants arriving in Western Australia 1849–1889*, Carlisle, Hesperian Press.

FITZGERALD, C. 1854. 'Report of the Comptroller General of Convicts (WA). Gov. C. Fitzgerald to Hon. Sir G. Grey, 11/9/1854', *British Parliamentary Papers—Convict Discipline and Transportation Vol. 13*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 164.

GIBBS, M. 1996. The historical archaeology of shore-based

- whaling in Western Australia 1836–1879, PhD thesis (Archaeology), Centre for Archaeology, University of Western Australia.
- GIBBS M. 1999. *An archaeological survey of the Lynton pensioner guard cottages and Sanford's Mill, Lynton Station, Gregory, Western Australia—Midwest Archaeological Survey 1998/99*, Northampton Shire Council, Northampton, Western Australia.
- GIBBS, M. 2001. 'The archaeology of the convict system in Western Australia', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 19:60–72.
- GIBBS, M. 2006. 'Convict places in Western Australia', in J. Sherriff and A. Brake (eds) *Building a colony: the convict legacy. Studies in Western Australian history No. 24*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 71–97.
- GOJAK, D. 2001. 'Convict archaeology in New South Wales: an overview of the investigation, analysis and conservation of convict heritage sites', *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 19:73–83.
- GREY, G. 1841. *Journals of expeditions of discovery in north-west and Western Australia during the years 1837, 38 and 39...*, T & W Boone, London.
- HALLEY, E. and H. WILSON 1945. *Roundabout Geraldton and the Victoria district*, Geraldton Newspapers, Geraldton.
- HENDERSON, E.Y. 1852. 'Report of Comptroller of Convict (W.A.)—E.Y. Henderson to Governor Fitzgerald 1/5/1852', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 12*, Irish University Press, Shannon, pp. 182–86.
- HENDERSON, E.Y. 1857. 'Report of Comptroller of Convict (W.A.), 30/6/1857', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 30.
- HENVILLE, A.C. 1968. *Shire of Northampton, Western Australia 1968*, Northampton Shire Council.
- HONNIBALL, J.H. 1971. 'The country tours of a Colonial Secretary', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society* 7(3):83–115.
- HUGHES, R. 1987. *The fatal shore: history of the transportation of convicts to Australia 1788–1868*, Collins, Sydney.
- KELLY, G.J. 1962. 'The History of mining in the Geraldton District', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society* 8(1):78–96.
- KENNEDY, A. 1857. 'Gov. A. Kennedy to Hon. H. Labouchere, 3/1/1857', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 2.
- KERR, J.S. 1984. *Design for convicts: an account of design for convict establishments in the Australian colonies during the transportation era*, Library of Australian History, Sydney.
- KERR, J.S. 1988. *Out of sight, out of mind: Australia's places of confinement 1788–1988*, National Trust of Australia, Sydney.
- KING, N. 1980. *The Waldeck story*, Community Publishing Project, Perth.
- LABOUCHERE, H. 1857. 'Hon H. Labouchere to Gov. A. Kennedy, 9/4/1857', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 83.
- LILLEY, I. and M. GIBBS 1993. An archaeological study of the Lynton convict depot, unpublished report to the Australian Heritage Commission for the National Trust of Australia (WA).
- MANNING, J. 1857. 'Half-yearly report on Public Works I July to 31 December 1856. J. Manning, Royal Engineers Office to Acting Comptroller General of Convicts (WA), 27/1/1857', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, pp. 63–70.
- MILLETT, E.J. 1872. *An Aust parsonage*, E. Stanford, London. Facsimile edition UWA Press, Nedlands, 1980.
- PACKINGTON, J.S. 1852. 'Despatch from Hon. J.S. Packington, to Gov. C. Fitzgerald 21/9/1852', *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 12*, Irish University Press, Shannon, p. 259.
- REECE, B. 2006. 'Writing about convicts in Western Australian history', in J. Sherriff and A. Brake (eds) *Building a colony: the convict legacy. Studies in Western Australian History No. 24*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 99–113.
- STATHAM, P. 1981a. 'Swan River Colony 1829–1850', in C.T. Stannage (ed.) *A new history of Western Australia*. University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 181–210.
- STATHAM, P. 1981b. 'Why convicts I: an economic analysis of colonial attitudes to the introduction of convicts', *Studies in Western Australian History* 4:1–10.
- STATHAM, P. 1981c. 'Why convicts II: the decision to introduce convicts to Swan River', *Studies in Western Australian History* 4:11–18.
- TMAG 2006. 'John Glover exhibition notes', <Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery, <http://www.tmag.tas.gov.au/Glover2003/preview.htm>>. Accessed 10/12/2007.
- TONTS, M. 2002. 'State policy and the yeoman ideal: agricultural development in Western Australia, 1890–1914', *Landscape Research* 27(1):103–115.
- TRINCA, M. 1997. 'The control and coercion of convicts' in J. Sherriff and A. Brake (eds) *Building a colony: the convict legacy. Studies in Western Australian History No. 24*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 26–36.
- TRINCA, M. 2006. 'Controlling places: a history of spatial intent in Western Australian convictism', *Studies in Western Australian History* 17:13–34.
- WATERHOUSE, R. 2004. 'The yeoman ideal and Australian experience, 1860–1960', in K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, K. Lindsey and S. McIntyre (eds) *Exploring the British world: identity, cultural production, institutions*, RMIT Publishing, Melbourne, pp. 440–459.
- WATERHOUSE, R. 2005. *The vision splendid: a social and cultural history of rural Australia*, Curtin University Books, Fremantle.
- WRAY, H. 1857. 'Return of the number of prisoners and ticket-of-leave holders in the colony, and of the amount of available Prison Accommodation on the 31 December 1856'. *British Parliamentary Papers—convict discipline and transportation vol. 14*, Irish University Press, Shannon, pp. 5–6.