



Australian Heritage Database

Places for Decision

Class : Historic

Item: 1

Identification

List: National Heritage List
Name of Place: Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North
Other Names:
Place ID: 106060
File No: 6/01/004/0038

Nomination Date: 11/03/2008
Principal Group: Law and Enforcement

Status

Legal Status: 11/03/2008 - Nominated place
Admin Status: 04/03/2009 - Assessment by AHC completed

Assessment

Recommendation: Place meets one or more NHL criteria
Assessor's Comments:
Other Assessments: :

Location

Nearest Town: South Hobart
Distance from town (km):
Direction from town:
Area (ha):
Address: Symes St, South Hobart, TAS, 7004
LGA: Hobart City TAS

Location/Boundaries:

Symes Street, corner Degraeves Street, South Hobart, comprising Yard 4 North, being Land Parcels 1/230803 and 1/142201.

Assessor's Summary of Significance:

Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North is significant for its association with the lives of convict women. Built c 1850 to house pregnant women and their infants, Yard 4 North is associated with changing philosophies of punishment and reform for convict women. Pregnancy was regarded as evidence of unauthorised behaviour and convict

women were confined and punished for the crime.

Yard 4 North formed part of the Cascades Female Factory (1828-1856), the primary site for the reception and incarceration of most of the women convicts sent to Van Diemen's Land. Despite being a small proportion, convict women made an important contribution to the development of the colonies in terms of their labour and their role in fostering social cohesion. They became street sellers, dressmakers, washerwomen. They brewed, baked, ran public houses, engaged in trade and provided domestic services to private masters and government officials.

Colonial authorities both depended on convict women for the establishment of family units and social cohesion and yet regarded them as a moral threat. These conflicting views lead to a unique management response, one that reflects both moral and penal philosophies. In order to isolate the influence of convict women and in turn train them to be more 'responsible' workers, wives and mothers, the authorities established female factories. The factories operated as places of work, places of punishment, hiring depots and places of shelter for convict women between assignments and those who were sick, infirm or pregnant. As colonial authorities became more systematic in their development of new free and penal settlements, female factories became regarded as necessary infrastructure. The effective control and management of convict women became important for the overall success of the settlement.

Cascades Female Factory was situated on damp ground and with overcrowding, poor sanitation and inadequate food and clothes, there was a high rate of disease and mortality among its inmates. The death rate for the children in the nursery was considerably higher than the general population. The appalling living conditions and very high infant mortality marks Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North as a place of great suffering.

Isolation from fellow inmates was at this time regarded as critical to penitence and reform. The high wall which separates Yard 4 from Yard 3 and footings of the outside wall of the Yard 4 demonstrate how convict women were isolated from negative influences and in turn the walls protected society from their corrupting influence. The extensive below ground archaeological remains of the nursery building have outstanding potential to provide further information about and understanding of the living and working conditions of convict women imprisoned in Yard 4 North.

Draft Values:

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Values</i>	<i>Rating</i>
A Events, Processes	Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North, constructed in c1850 is associated with the lives of convict women. It is associated with changing philosophies of punishment and reform as they relate to women and as a place of tremendous suffering and inhumane treatment.	AT
	Convict women made a significant contribution to the development of the colonies. They supplied their labour, their	

presence was regarded as contributing to social cohesion and stability and they gave birth to the following generations.

Yard 4 North formed part of the Cascades Female Factory. Factories were a unique colonial response to the management of convict women, one that reflects both moral and penal philosophies. The factories were multifunctional but were intended largely for reform. Yard 4 North is associated with the purpose-built nursery which operated as a place for pregnant convict women to give birth and to rear infants. Pregnancy was regarded as evidence of unauthorised behaviour and convict women were confined and punished for the crime.

The extant high exterior wall which separated Yard 3 from Yard 4 and remnant footings of the exterior wall of Yard 4 illustrate moral and penal philosophies to the management of convict women. They demonstrate the need to isolate convict women from negative influences and in turn protect society from their corrupting influence.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North containing below ground archaeological remains is associated with great suffering. The appalling living conditions and excessively high infant mortality were the subject of numerous inquests and inquiries. Although the causes of suffering and the management regimes were very different, it can be considered along with Norfolk Island to have been a place of harshness and inhumanity.

C Research	Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North has outstanding research potential for building and occupational deposits to provide further information about the institutional treatment of convict women and their children and increase knowledge and understanding of their living conditions.	AT
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Historic Themes:

Nominator's Summary of Significance:

Nominated by Australian Heritage Council.

Description:

Yard 4 North is located within the suburban district of south Hobart, approximately three kilometres south west of the Hobart GPO. Topographically this area is part of the Hobart rivulet catchment which drains the eastern slopes of Mount Wellington.

Yard 4 North formed the northern part of the fourth yard of the Cascades Female Factory and includes a former easement which ran parallel to the western boundary of Yard 4 South. Yard 4 North is bounded by Syme Street to the north, Yard 4 South on the southern side with an easement which extended to Degrares Street, Degrares Lane to the east and the former Yard 3 of Cascade Female Factory to the west.

Above ground structures dating from the occupation of the site in the nineteenth century have been demolished. Originally, a 160 by 26 feet (48.77 by 7.92m) purpose built nursery constructed of stone, brick and timber was located adjacent to the western wall dividing Yard 3 from Yard 4. The yard also included a large open shed, later converted to a two storey building for accommodation, privies and laundry. The yard was surrounded by a stone perimeter wall. Footings of the stone wall remain *in situ* along the eastern boundary, parallel to Degrares Lane.

Post 1930 features in Yard 4 North include a paling fence along Degrares Lane and Syme Street, and a range of brick and galvanised iron sheds, possibly using recycled bricks from the former Female Factory.

Excavations undertaken in Yard 4 South and the Yard 4 North easement exposed robust sandstone footings and sub floor cavities relating to the nursery building, the sub-matron's cottage, covered walkway and kitchen/laundry. These features survive at depth in an excellent state of preservation beneath various layers of post demolition fill. Kostoglou (2006) suggests that the integrity of these deposits extends northwards throughout the remainder of Yard 4, despite its separate ownership and light industrial additions throughout the 20th century.

Archaeological remains may also occur outside the eastern wall on the street which relate to the construction and use of Yard 4 (Tasmanian Heritage Council 2008, p.17).

Analysis:

Criterion (a) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history;

The Cascades Female Factory is entered in the National Heritage List (AHDB No: 105932) for its historic values, identified as:

'It is highly significant because of its association with the lives of convict women, its demonstration of the changing philosophies of punishment and reform as they relate to women and as a place of tremendous suffering and inhumane treatment.

Convict women made a significant contribution to the development of the colonies. They contributed their labour and their presence was regarded as contributing to social cohesion and stability and they populated the colonies.

Over half of the 25 000 convict women sent to Australia were sent to Van Diemen's Land, the majority spending some time at Cascades Female Factory as it was the primary site for the reception and incarceration of women convicts. It was one of the

colony's longest running penal institutions operating from 1828 to 1856.

Female factories were a unique colonial response to the management of convict women, one that reflects both moral and penal philosophies. The factories were multifunctional but were intended largely for reform. They operated as places of work, places of punishment, hiring depots and places of shelter for women between assignments and those who were sick, infirm or pregnant.

The high exterior walls surrounding Yards 1, 3 and 4 South remaining at Cascades Female Factory demonstrate the need to isolate convict women from negative influences and in turn protect society from their corrupting influence. The matron's cottage at Yard 4 South demonstrates its function both as the residence of the administrator and a model for civil society.

Cascades Female Factory had a range of infrastructure associated with its different functions, most of which is now archaeological remains. Yard 1 which was initially the full extent of the factory is thought to contain subsurface evidence of convict dormitories, twelve solitary cells, chapel, staff quarters, and separate courtyards and buildings for the nursery, hospital, kitchen and punishment, crime and hiring classes.

The changing approaches to punishment and reform are demonstrated in the move from convict dormitories in Yard 1 to the solitary apartments in Yard 3 built in 1845 which survive as sandstone footings and subfloor cavities. Isolation from fellow convicts was considered in the time of the probation system to be conducive to repentance and reform.

Cascade Female Factory is highly significant as a site of great suffering. Its appalling living conditions and excessively high infant mortality were the subject of numerous inquests and inquiries. Although the causes of suffering and the management regimes are very different, it can be considered along with Norfolk Island as a place of harshness and inhumanity'.

Yard 4 North, built c1850 to house a nursery and associated buildings formed part of the evolution of the Cascades Female Factory. Initially purchased in 1827, the Cascade Female Factory opened in Yard 1 in 1828 and Yard 2 in 1832. In 1838, following a high number of infant deaths the nursery was moved from Yard 1 to a small house in Liverpool Street, Hobart and in 1842 it was moved to Dynnyrne House, closer to the factory. In 1845 Yard 3 was opened. In 1850 Yard 4 was opened and the nursery transferred back to Cascades. In 1852 the nursery was transferred to New Town and the Brickfields hiring depot, in 1854 it returned again to Yard 4 and in 1855 it was transferred to Brickfields. In 1877 Cascades Gaol was closed and the female prisoners and children transferred to Campbell Street Gaol (Lovell Chen 2007, pp. 34-35).

Associations with convict women

Analysis of Cascades Female Factory found that, while the place was a significant part of a major historic migration movement, its significance to the nation was due to its special and tangible association with convict women. Convict women made up only 15 per cent of the total convict population and are regarded by some commentators as marginal to the convict story. However, convict women did make a

significant economic and social contribution. They 'became market women, dealers, street sellers, worked as dressmakers, seamstresses, milliners, laundresses, washerwomen, pastry cooks and confectioners' ... and as ticket of leave holders could 'apply for government licenses to brew, to distil, to bake, to own or lease a public house, to engage in trade and to sell to the Commissariat' (Robinson 1993, p. 6). They provided domestic services to private masters and to government officials.

Throughout the period of transportation convict women were considered by the colonial authorities as necessary for social cohesion. In the years immediately prior to the construction of Yard 4 North the British government was unsuccessful in attracting free emigrants to Tasmania to 'counteract' the influence of the convicts. 'Apart from the convicts' families, only 773 arrived in the three years from 1848, against nine times as many convicts' (Shaw 1998, p. 344). In the four years from 1850, the year when Yard 4 North opened through to 1853, of the 9,611 convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) 2,665 or nearly 28 per cent were females and 6,946, or 72 per cent, were males (Shaw 1998, p. 337).

Punishment and Reform

Female transportation and incarceration and its management formed an important part of a broader punishment, probationary and emancipation themes associated with the initial settlement of both the Australian mainland and the island of Tasmania. Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North, constructed c1850 as a nursery/dayroom to house female convicts and their new born infants, is associated with the changing approaches to punishment and reform implemented at Cascade Female Factory.

Convict women presented the colonial authorities with a problem. Considered necessary for social cohesion they were also viewed as a moral threat to society. Convict women needed protection from the harmful influences of society but reformation was to be based on work. They were deemed ineligible for the labour required for public infrastructure and were unable to adequately contribute to work if they became pregnant or were nursing infants.

To manage these conflicting requirements of morality, reform and punishment, colonial authorities devised the unique system of female factories. Initially conceived as government supervised work places, the factories quickly became multifunctional serving as institutions for all matters related to women. They were places of work, punishment, hiring depots and provided shelter for women between assignments, or were sick, infirm, or pregnant. As colonial authorities became more systematic in their development of new free and penal settlements, female factories became regarded as necessary infrastructure. The control and management of convict women became important for the overall success of the settlement.

The system of female factories provided the structure in which the different penal philosophies of assignment and probation were implemented. The assignment of women to private masters and their care between assignments was undertaken at female factories. Punishment and secondary punishment took place at the factories and when the probation system was introduced women's confinement in solitary cells also commenced. Female factories were the first places to introduce a classification system for convicts. Similarly, the concept of, and infrastructure for, isolation from corrupting influences was introduced in the penal control of women before that of

men (Rayner, 2004).

Cascades Female Factory, operating from 1828-1856, demonstrates several changes in the evolution of the convict system, including the two major philosophies of convict management in Australia, assignment and probation, which reflect changing social attitudes during the convict period. Yard 4 North is associated with the construction of a purpose-built nursery to address the controversial and continuing issue of high mortality, especially children, for which the Female Factory had become notorious.

Overcrowding and mismanagement at Cascades Female Factory resulted in sickness and disease. Pregnancy outside of marriage was deemed to be the result of the immorality of women and hence treated as a punishable crime. Once the child was born, convict women were seen to be a corrupting influence on them and separation of mother and child was a moral imperative. Official policies which separated convict mothers from their children during the weaning process certainly added to distress and suffering and may have made a contribution to death rates (Maxwell-Stewart, 2007). Children born within Cascades Female Factory were much more likely to die in infancy. The high mortality rate and the appalling conditions were the subject of numerous coronial inquests and inquiries during the operation of the factory. A series of medical officers brought the worst aspects to the attention of the colonial authorities, however, the mismanagement continued to occur.

There was no compulsory registration of vital statistics in Tasmania before 1838 so it is difficult to calculate infant mortality rates for the Cascade Female Factory in the 1820s and 30s. Only a proportion of infant deaths were reported to the coroner. The terrible conditions in the nursery at Cascades were sometimes brought to public attention through inquests held on deaths occurring there. In 1838 the *True Colonist* strongly criticised the convict authorities, reporting that there was a death rate of 208 out of 794 infants, or 26% since the factory had opened (Kippen 2005, p. 6). However it is not clear how reliable these figures are (Maxwell-Stewart in Lovell Chen 2007, p. 27). In 1838 the convict nursery was moved from Cascades Female Factory to a small house in Hobart which by 1842 was so overcrowded and dilapidated that the nursery was moved again to Dynnyrne House. Death rates at Dynnyrne House remained high, around 35-40 per cent. By 1846 the issue of overcrowding was reported again. In 1847 it was again recommended that a nursery be built to house women and children.

In c1849 the convict authorities planned a new yard, Yard 4, located adjacent to Yard 3. A purpose-built double storey building was to accommodate 80 women and 120 children. An inner wall divided the yard, separating cottages built for the Matron and Sub-matron of the nursery in the southern outer part of the yard. Unlike most other buildings in the Cascades Female Factory the nursery had large windows to ventilate the rooms and let sunlight in. It was also unusual in having four fireplaces to keep it warm in winter. Upstairs there were four dormitories each containing 20 berths for mothers and unweaned children, arranged in two double storey tiers. On the ground floor there was a separate mess room and quarters for weaned toddlers (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 31). The large open shed constructed on the western side of Yard 4 North was converted into a two storey dormitory (Rayner 2004, p. 171).

The Cascades nursery was occupied on 2 August 1850 and the nursery at Dynnyrne

House closed. The regulations for the Dynnyrne nursery were enforced in the new nursery, though from 1 October 1851 they were modified to allow the women to participate in the task work system. A pregnant woman sentenced to hard labour by a magistrate still had to serve the first half of her sentence in separate confinement, with any unexpired portion completed subsequent to the weaning of her infant. She was moved to the nursery when the baby was due and cared for the child for the first three months. Then she was given responsibility for an older infant, for which service she could obtain task work credits towards the reduction of her latter half of her sentence. When her own child was six months old, she was given an additional child and the three children remained with her until her own child was weaned at the age of nine months, at which time she was returned to another yard in the factory. This system did not continue and on 17 November 1852 children and their mothers were removed to the nursery at the Brickfields. The regulations were changed again to make the offence of bearing an illegitimate child punishable by 15 months probation from the date of confinement (Heath 1978, pp.240-241).

After the cessation of convict transportation to Tasmania in 1853, Cascades continued to be used as a prison. According to evidence given by Dr Hall to an 1856 enquiry, the inmates of the nursery were removed from Yard 4 from July 1854 and taken to the infirmary in Hobart (Kippen 2005, p. 8). In June 1856 Cascades Female Factory was proclaimed a Gaol and House of Correction for Females, allowing the admission of 'free' women convicted locally or on remand.

Place of suffering

Locating Cascades Female Factory in a valley which was known to be cold and damp in the winter and often fetid in summer was controversial at the time of its construction in 1828. Contemporary medical knowledge thought that sickness was spread by 'pestiferous 'miasmas' ie bad air, identifiable by bad smells. The proposal for an elevated and well-aired location by the Superintendent of the Hobart Factory which Cascades was planned to replace had been ignored (Maxwell-Stewart in Lovell Chen 2007, p. 27). The location provided a site with access to water necessary for the laundry work intended to provide an economic benefit.

The following time line, adapted from the Cascades Female Factory Research Group (2008), demonstrates the continuing failure of the nursery accommodation to address the issue of very high infant mortality for female convicts in the Hobart area:

Nursery	Dates
Cascades Female Factory	1828 - June 1838
House in Liverpool St, Hobart	June 1838 - 1842
Dynnyrne Nursery	1842 - 1851
Brickfields Hiring Depot	1849 - 1851
Cascades Female Factory	1851 - March 1852
New Town	March 1852 - September 1852
Brickfields Nursery	September 1852 - 1854
Cascades Female Factory	1854 - 1855
Brickfields Nursery	1855 - c1859

While the architecture of the nursery building in Yard 4 North with larger windows for ventilation and sunlight may have improved, the living conditions and overcrowding continued to result in extremely high mortality rates. In the half-yearly report at the end of 1852 the new superintendent, J M May stated that during the six months only three adults had died in the combined establishments of Cascades and the Brickfields hiring depot, but 57 babies had died.

'During the half year 51 children were admitted with their mothers, 41 had been born in the institution and 94 children remained: a total of 207. Twenty-two children had been sent to the Orphan Schools, 34 had been discharged with their mothers. More children were leaving the Nursery through death than by reaching the age of three or being taken out by their mothers. More than two babies a week were dying' (Rayner 2004, p. 172).

In March 1852 the nursery was transferred from Yard 4 North to New Town in Hobart. Superintendent May reported that, due to the tight employment market Brickfields was closed as the principal hiring depot on 17 November 1852, proclaimed a House of Correction. The Nursery had been transferred there in September 1852. It was hoped that:

'...its open situation and salubrious air, together with spacious airing and exercise grounds, is much better adapted for the purposes of a nursery' (Rayner 2004, p. 172).

The nursery was transferred back to Yard 4 North by the time Dr Edward Hall, employed briefly as medical officer at Cascades, arrived in June 1854. On his arrival he found 60 women and 110 children housed in four damp and cold rooms of 20 ft (6.1m) square. Repeatedly frustrated by the convict authorities in attempts to improve conditions for the children, the following month, July 1854 Dr Hall arranged for the transfer of the mothers and children to the Infirmary in Hobart where they were under the care of the Medical Department rather than the Convict Department. Only ten deaths occurred in the second half of 1854, four of them in July, opposed to 68 deaths in the first half of the year (2005, p. 8).

In an inquiry into the Convict Department in 1855, Dr Hall gave evidence that death rates in the new nursery between 1851 and 1853 were around four times higher than the mortality of children of similar age in the general Hobart district. Death rates for infants under the age of three were around 40 per cent higher than the surrounding population. Rayner cites historian Bryan Gandevis who compared some of Hall's figures and concluded that

'The annual age-specific mortality rates (0-3 years) were approximately 10 % for Hobart district and 30% for the nursery children' (Rayner 2004, p.157).

Dr Hall argued publicly in the *Tasmanian Daily News* in November 1855 that

'With the unlimited means at the command of the convict authorities as regards lodging, ventilation, cleanliness, food, clothing, artificial warmth, nursing, medical attendance, in many of which a great part of the population at large is so ill-provided I can not see any valid grounds on which the mortality in the convict nurseries should

not be greatly below, instead of so much above that of the district.....It will be patent to all, that at least 269 out of the 371 children that perished in the convict nursery for the three years and a half ending 30th June 1854, might and ought to have been alive, and were sacrificed to mismanagement alone' (Kippen 2005, p. 8).

The Legislative Committee found that the 'sickly state of the children' and 'excessive mortality' in the convict nurseries was caused by
'general mismanagement, exposure to cold, insufficient food and clothing, badly arranged dormitories....and an insufficient allowance of nourishment to mothers who were nursing' (Kippen 2005, pp. 8-9).

Rayner (2004, p. 157) has written that, of the 366 children that died in the Factory nurseries, 51 per cent died of dysentery, diarrhoea or enteritis, compared to 13 per cent of the general population. In the Cascades Female Factory influenza, bronchitis or pneumonia accounted for 13 per cent of child deaths compared to less than 5 per cent in the general population. These are diseases of infection or environment. It is

'reasonable to ascribe a large part of the difference between the town and the nursery death rates to overcrowding and poor facilities for isolating those children who were already suffering from illness' (Rayner 2004, p.158).

In contrast premature births and convulsions which were not due to environmental conditions comprised 29 per cent of the general population whereas in the Factory they made up 11 per cent of Nursery deaths. Rayner concluded that

'These figures suggest very strongly that the excessive death rate in the Factory Nursery was two to four times higher than that of the general population and was directly caused by the environment, probably by overcrowding, possibly contributed to by the reduced quality of food, water and care' (Rayner 2004, p. 158).

In seeking causes for infant deaths in government institutions Maxwell Stewart has identified the high number caused by diarrhoeal disease – 41 per cent compared with 12 per cent for infant mortality generally (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 28). He considers that the institutional character of the nurseries, the overcrowding and cramped conditions at Dynnyrne House and Yard 4 North created conditions for infection. Lack of clean nappies and washing facilities would have contributed to the spreading of bacterial infection. However Maxwell Stewart makes the point that

'As the agents responsible for spreading common forms of diarrhoeal infection were not identified until the mid-nineteenth century, it is difficult to be overly critical of the Convict Department for not implementing effective measures to combat infection rates' (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 28).

Convict mothers were separated early from their infants in order to return women to the labour market and cut the parental link between mother and child, as poor parenting was considered to contribute to working class crime rates. The early separation of convict mother and child 'almost certainly contributed to the institutional death rate' (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 28). The system of handling convict women and especially infants in the Factory was designed to ensure the institutional standards were consistent with those of a punishment station. The system was also

open to abuse by officials.

‘.... (T)here was a reluctance to improve the quality of the rations provided to pregnant women and mothers, or to heat the rooms, or provide additional comforts – all measures likely to have improved mortality rates’ (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 28).

The suffering of the women and children at Yard 4 North was due to mismanagement, neglect and moral prejudice. Overarching the considerations of treatment of women was the belief that expenditure on convict women and children was an enormous drain on the British and colonial governments’ funds. Kippen found that economic motivations were part of the explanation for the high mortality rates in convict nurseries (2005, p. 10). Strategies that reduced outgoings were favoured and meagre clothing, food allowances and limited access to medical attention was often a result.

Kippen claims that the effects of deprivation on the early lives of Tasmanian women impacted through generations:

‘a study of 9,030 infants born 1857-1883 in Melbourne, Victoria, has found that Tasmanian-born women – likely the daughters or granddaughters of convicts- had babies of significantly lower birth weight than did women born anywhere else’ (Kippen 2005, p. 9).

The suffering of the women and children at Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North differs from that in other penal institutions such as Norfolk Island and the Coal Mines where it resulted from harsh physical punishment. The suffering inflicted at such places was the result of deliberate actions and strategies to subdue and break recalcitrant behaviour and often involved physical abuse such as flogging, solitary incarceration and withdrawal of food allowances. At Yard 4 North, like elsewhere in the Cascades Female Factory, the suffering mainly resulted from neglect and prejudice and fell disproportionately on the weak and vulnerable. It nevertheless demonstrates the callous treatment of convicts just as Coal Mines and Norfolk Island do.

The extant high exterior wall which separated Yard 4 from Yard 3 demonstrates the need to isolate convict women from negative influences and in turn protect society from their corrupting influence. The loss of above ground remains in Yard 4 North mirrors the story of the Female Factory that was designed to house and hide the inmates.

Later uses of Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North

The nursery was removed from the Female Factory in 1855 (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 31). After the cessation of convict transportation to Tasmania in 1853, Cascades continued to be used as a prison. Over the next few years the numbers of female convicts declined rapidly as the pass-holder system wound down (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 32). In June 1856 the Colonial authorities proclaimed the site as a Gaol and House of Correction for Females, allowing the admission of 'free' women convicted locally or on remand. By August 1864 there were only 116 women and 29 children in the establishment (Rayner 2004, p. 177)

In 1869 the Colonial Government established an official pauper establishment on the site. The Fourth Yard and one section of the Third Yard became a male invalid depot. There were 272 residents in the entire establishment. By the end of 1869, the 14 ex-convict 'Imperial' residents of the establishment who were supported from Imperial funds were far outnumbered by the 'Colonials'. In 1877 Port Arthur was closed and 'imperial lunatics' were transferred from there to a Hospital for the Insane established in the Fourth Yard.

A reporter who visited the Cascades Female Factory in 1874 reported that the Nursery was situated in the First Yard, to the right of the main entrance (Rayner 2004, p. 181).

In 1890, the Hospital for the Insane in the Fourth Yard was closed down and the Contagious Diseases Hospital, which had been established in parts of the First and Second Yards in 1879, was moved to the Fourth Yard, and remained there until its closure in 1900. The passing of the *Contagious Diseases Act 1879* and the establishment of the Hospital followed a public outcry in Hobart over the infection of Royal Navy sailors with syphilis and the feared curtailment of future naval visits. The police had power to seek out and report suspected cases of women with contagious diseases to the Superintendent of Police, who could then order a medical examination and the imprisonment and treatment of the woman for up to 12 weeks.

In 1904 the State Government determined to sell the Cascades Female Factory 15-16 acre (6.1- 6.5ha) site. Yard 4 was auctioned as a single lot in 1905 (GHD 2007, p. 68). In the 1930's Yard 4 was subdivided and sold as four allotments, the greater part of Yard 4 South forming one of these portions and the remainder comprising Yard 4 North. During the twentieth century Yard 4 North was utilised by various owners for light industrial purposes. In 2007 the place was purchased by the Tasmanian State Government to form part of the Cascade Female Factory Site.

Conclusion

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North is associated with the lives of convict women, and the evolution of changing philosophies of punishment and reform as they related to women. It is associated with a place of tremendous suffering and inhumane treatment for convict women and children. The appalling living conditions and excessively high infant mortality were the subject of numerous inquests and inquiries.

Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North might have National Heritage values against criterion (a).

Criterion (b) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history;

Cascades Female Factory is entered in the National Heritage List for its rarity value. The National Heritage value is identified as:

Cascades Female Factory is rare as the only remaining female factory with substantial extant visible fabric. The remaining walls in particular evoke a sense of the isolation, control and harshness experienced by women convicts and their

children.

Cascades Female Factory as represented by Yards 1, 3 and 4 South is also uncommon in its extensive sub-surface occupational deposits which reflect the evolution of the Female Factory, and the later phases of its use.

The Cascade Female Factory operated from 1828-1856. Constructed in c1850 Yard 4 North was a further stage in the evolution of the institution.

Female factories were built and operated exclusively for the management of convict women in Australia. Depending on how female factories are classified, numbers vary as to the number in Australia. According to the World Heritage nomination, a system of nine female factories operated in NSW and Van Diemen's Land between 1804 and 1854 to manage, punish and reform female convicts (Australian Government 2008, p. 48). Rayner identified six major institutions in NSW for the reception and punishment of female convicts between 1801 and the late 1840s and eight in Tasmania for the reception of female convicts starting in the early 1820s (Rayner 2004, p. 97). The table in the Cascade Female Factory report derived from Maxwell-Stewart (2006) identified eleven female factories (DEWHA AHDB No:105932):

Old Parramatta Female Factory, NSW	c.1800-20
New Parramatta Female Factory, NSW	1821-48
Newcastle Female Factory, NSW	c.1818-48
Old Hobart Female Factory, VDL	1822-28
George Town Female Factory, VDL	1824-35
Cascades Female Factory, VDL	1828-56
Moreton Bay Female Factory, NSW (Qld)	1829-48
Port Macquarie Female Factory, NSW	c.1831-42
Bathurst Female Factory, NSW	c. 1832-46
Launceston Female Factory, VDL	1834-46
Eagle Farm Female Factory, NSW, (Qld)	1836-1839
Ross Female Factory, VDL	1848-54

Female convicts were also interned (en route to assignments and as a punishment for misbehaviour) at Richmond Gaol, which survives intact (Department of Tourism Arts and the Environment 2006a). There were also other female convict sites such as the *HMS Anson* (c.1844-50) which served as a probation station, mostly moored in the vicinity of Prince of Wales Bay on the River Derwent (near Hobart), the convict nursery at Dynnyrne (a neighbourhood immediately south-west of Hobart) and various hiring depots around Tasmania including Launceston and 'Brickfields' in Hobart (Casella 2002, p. 28). Rayner (2004) suggested these cannot be strictly classed as female factories and they were not included in the comparative analysis undertaken for the Cascade Female Factory because they did not operate as female factories (DEWHA AHDB No:105932).

Maxwell-Stewart considered that the new Parramatta Female Factory and Cascades Female Factory are the only sites which retain any relevant visible fabric (Maxwell-Stewart 2006). Remnants of the original perimeter wall, and two outbuildings of the new Parramatta Female Factory survive within the modern Cumberland Hospital (Kerr quoted in Casella 2002, p. 27).

The Parramatta, Eagle Farm and Port Macquarie sites are all known to have remaining archaeological evidence dating from the female factory periods (Department of Tourism Arts and the Environment, 2006a). The sites at Cascades and Ross both have considerable extant archaeological resources. Recent archaeological work at the Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 South and in the former easement of Yard 4 North, has revealed that subsurface remains are far more extensive than previously thought (Kostoglou 2006). At Ross, the archaeological remains have been undisturbed by any further development since the convict period (Department of Tourism Arts and the Environment 2006a).

The Cascades Female Factory operated from 1828-1856. More fabric is visible than at other female factory sites, with substantial parts of the walls of Yards 1, 3 and 4 still extant. Analysis found that these walls best demonstrate the living conditions of convict women. The matron's cottage (c.1850) in Yard 4 south also remains substantially intact. The substantial extant visible factory remains, together with its extensive archaeological and documentary evidence, makes Cascades Female Factory the pre-eminent place which tells the female convict story, and the story of their children.

The importance of Cascades Female Factory is underscored by the number of convict women (and their children) who experienced confinement within its walls. More than half of the 25,000 female convicts who landed in Australia came to Van Diemen's Land. Most of these women would have experienced Cascades Female Factory at one time or another either as a place of reception from ships, a place of punishment, or a hiring depot (Frost cited in Department of Tourism Arts and Environment, 2006a).

Yard 4 North operated as a purpose-built nursery for convict women and children from c1850 to its closure as a nursery in 1855. The structures relating to the Female Factory and its subsequent use have been demolished. There is insufficient intact fabric to meet the threshold for criterion (b).

Cascades Female Factory Yard 4 North is unlikely to meet threshold for National Heritage values to the nation against Criterion (b).

Criterion (c) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history;

The nomination for the Cascade Female Factory to the National Heritage List claimed that the

'...integrity of existing resources across all the Yards at the Cascade Female Factory and within associated nearby places offers a unique opportunity for material culture research to provide an eloquent insight into the convict experience. In combination, the oral tradition, documentary evidence, collections, structures and archaeological features at the Cascade Female Factory have highly significant potential for community education' (Kostoglou, P and Knaggs, M 2006).

Archaeological evidence

An excavation of archaeological features, undertaken in 2006 in Yard 4 South and the former easement in Yard 4 North, revealed previously unknown information: footings of the Sub Matron's cottage; a walkway between this cottage and the yard's cookhouse; the footings and internal features of the cookhouse situated immediately north of the walkway where all meals were prepared for the yard's inmates; the footings to the large nursery/dayroom building that historically flanked the western side of Yard 4; an internal security wall and its gated entrance; and other external surfaces indicating a verandah and driveway associated with the cottage; and four different drains representing a drainage network relating to a series of building phases (Kostoglou 2006).

The excavation also suggested that a form of infrastructure existed on the site prior to the construction of Yard 4 in c1850. It appears that the Yard 4 precinct contained some type of drain network that serviced the adjacent Yard 3 complex built in 1842. There is less likelihood that there was an earlier structure on the site (Kostoglou 2006, p. 18).

The building identified as the nursery/dayroom is mostly located in Yard 4 North. For this reason the excavation only revealed a very small percentage of the structure. Kostoglou found these remains

'appear to be the best preserved archaeological entity within Yard 4. Not only do both the external and internal sleeper walls remain intact in addition to the lowest courses of above ground brick work, but the resident stratigraphy also appears less disturbed. For example, the demolition rubble consisting of large amounts of roof slate which caps intact artefact deposits occurs in this building only. Likewise the artefact deposits consisting of intact bottle caches in room corners were the only in situ deposits found during the course of the entire excavation' (Kostoglou 2006, p. 11).

The external footings of the Nursery building comprised hewn dressed sandstone blocks 2 ft (0.61m) thick which supported double brick walls. Lime mortared block sandstone formed two parallel internal wall footings. As these sleeper walls were not marked on plans, it has been interpreted that the flooring was probably timber. The roof was timber framed and would have been roofed with slate. The brickwork on both walls indicated that they were originally keyed in to brick work on the Cookhouse north wall. A brick and slate sub surface drain was interpreted as having been built to drain storm water from the roof corner of the Cookhouse/day room (Kostoglou 2006, pp. 28-33, 55).

The 2006 excavation demonstrated that the buildings constructed in c1850 follow almost precisely the plan drawn c1849 prior to construction (Kostoglou 2006, p. 52).

'This excavation has proven that well preserved remains of the convict period Yard 4 facility survive at the south end of the site. This should also prove the case throughout the adjoining private block given that there have not been any known development related activities undertaken there since the demolition of the yard buildings in the early 20th century. Based on the results of this excavation, the Nursery/Dayroom building footings abutting the western boundary of Yard 4 may contain well preserved

archaeological deposits which have so far not been found in other buildings excavated to date' (Kostoglou 2006, p. 13).

In 1869 Yard 4 and the easternmost half of the adjacent Yard 3 were utilised as the new Male Invalid Depot. New works were undertaken in c1877 which included lining the open sided timber shelter shed and converted it into a mess room. An adjoining glass walled structure was used as a day room. Garden beds were laid out between the expanded Mess/Day room and the Matron's Cottage (Kostoglou 2006, p. 21). An additional building in the north eastern side of the yard can be seen in photos assumed to post date 1876, although no building is marked on plans drafted between initial construction in 1849 and the proposed alterations in 1876 (Kostoglou 2006, p. 22).

Excavation of a very small part of the nursery building produced 464 artefacts or nearly 58 per cent of the assemblage recovered. The excavation revealed that the demolition did not disturb the archaeological remains at depth. This contrasted with the extensive demolition of the sub matron's/cookhouse precinct which reduced the usefulness of the assemblage in researching the way people lived at the site, or the date range. The artefacts from the nursery building provide far greater opportunity to explain activities and behaviours, and to date the artefacts. 192 came from the nursery verandah drain. Of these more than half (107) were bone, 28 ferrous (associated with building), 24 glass and 24 ceramic, 4 other metal and 5 miscellaneous. These 192 artefacts were associated with domestic activity (145), architectural (30), personal (8), tools (3), recreational (2) and miscellaneous (4). Of the 272 artefacts from the nursery dayroom 104 were ferrous, 48 ceramic, 45 glass, 41 other metal, 30 bone, and 4 miscellaneous. Of these 272, most were associated with architectural activity (139), domestic activity (124), personal (3), and 2 each were tools, recreational use or miscellaneous. Most dateable materials from the nursery building date from c1850-1911 (Kostoglou 2006, pp. 65-66).

The artefacts recovered from the 2006 excavation, together with those recovered from other excavations at Cascade Female Factory, form an assemblage which is becoming a highly significant collection dating at least partially from the colonial convict period (Kostoglou 2006, p. 13).

Research potential

The 2006 archaeological excavations informed consultants who 'assumed that this high degree of integrity will occur consistently throughout the remainder of the yard' and found the archaeological potential of Yard 4 to be high (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 73).

From this evidence Environmental Resources Management (ERM) (2007) 'assumed ...that all archaeological deposits associated with the Female Factory, with medium (moderate) or high archaeological potential, have an 'outstanding' level of scientific and historical significance' (ERM 2007, p. 14). They noted that much of the archaeological understanding of the former Female Factory is based upon historical plans and figures associated with the place, rather than proven test excavations (ERM 2007, p. 40).

The evidence of the excavation, based on 20% of the floor space comprising the southern day room of the Nursery building in Yard 4 South and the former easement

in Yard 4 North, demonstrated that the buildings constructed in c1850 follow the plan drawn c1849 prior to construction (Kostoglou 2006, p. 52). Kostoglou suggested that the surviving floor plan should consist of two large day rooms at either end of the nursery building; two small stairwells, and two medium conjoined cot rooms in the centre of the building. A comparison of the floor plans with later photographs indicated that the building which was constructed was more austere than the original design. For example, the stairwells did not have separate gabled exterior windows which therefore left the lower roof line unbroken (Kostoglou 2006, p. 60).

An image of the Female Factory c 1900 facing south west shows the buildings in Yard 4 North, their relationship to the Matron's cottage in Yard 4 South, with the buildings in Yards 1, 2 and 3 in the background. An image taken in 1926 shows most of the final configuration of the Female Factory and the condition of buildings in Yard 4 North before their demolition (ERM 2007, pp. 16-17).

In 1905 Yard 4 was sold with the existing buildings intact. At some time in the early 1900s the Yard 4 perimeter wall was demolished. Following closure of the Female Factory in 1900 the site appears to have been left in its final configuration for around 20-30 years. In the 1930's Yard 4 was subdivided into four allotments, Yard 4 North comprising two allotments, the greater part of the third with an easement along the western side of Yard 4 South to provide access to the central allotment. A period of rapid demolition saw the removal of all standing internal structures within Yard 4 North. A series of owners used the site for light industry, constructing brick and galvanised iron sheds, possibly using recycled bricks from the former Female Factory.

The demolition of the former buildings and the construction of sheds during the twentieth century do not appear to have impacted on the integrity of the sub-surface remains. Lovell Chen has identified potential surviving footings from the nursery/dayroom building, northwest toilets block, shelter shed, shelter shed garden beds, northeast apartments building and yard space (2007, pp. 61-62).

Environmental Resources Management undertook a site inspection (3 September 2007) and assessed for Yard 4 that:

'Construction of one building located on the eastern side of the yard will probably have impacted (the upper layers of) the archaeological deposits beneath it. The other small structures all 'sit' on the surface of the yard and will not have impacted the archaeological deposit' (ERM 2007, p. 31).

The location of the post 1900 building adjacent to the western yard wall identified as probably having impacted the upper layers of the archaeological deposit, shown as Figure 2.11 (ERM 2007, p. 34), covers approximately 40% of the length of the original structure. A significant area of the archaeological resource appears to be undisturbed and is identified as being of high archaeological potential (Figure 2.12).

Comparative analysis:

Cascades Female Factory is entered in the National Heritage List under criterion (c). The National Heritage values are identified as:

‘Yards 1, 3 and 4 South are largely unexcavated and have considerable archaeological and research potential. There are also extensive documentary and pictorial collections associated with the site. The archaeological potential along with the documentary and pictorial collections can significantly add to the knowledge and understanding of convict women and their children which is an emerging area of study and scholarship’.

The only excavation to have taken place in Yard 4 North was in the former easement. The small percentage of the nursery building excavated in 2006 demonstrated outstanding research potential of building and occupational deposits to provide further information about the institutional treatment of convict women and their children and increase knowledge and understanding of their living conditions. The research has the potential to enhance the National Heritage values of the oral tradition, documentary evidence, collections, structures and archaeological features identified at the Cascades Female Factory site as significant for community education.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North might have National Heritage values against criterion (c).

Criterion (d) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place’s importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of:

- (i) a class of Australia’s natural or cultural places; or*
- (ii) a class of Australia’s natural or cultural environments;*

Cascade Female Factory did not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (d). There is insufficient fabric at Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North to demonstrate the principal characteristics of a class of cultural places.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North will not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (d).

Criterion (e) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place’s importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;

Cascade Female Factory did not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (e). There is no evidence to demonstrate that there are particular aesthetic characteristics at Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North which are valued by a community or cultural group.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North will not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (e).

Criterion (f) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place’s importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;

Cascade Female Factory did not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (f). There is no evidence that the sub-surface archaeological resource at Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North which may exist would demonstrate a high

degree of creative or technical achievement.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North will not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (f).

Criterion (g) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;

Cascades Female Factory is entered in the National Heritage List for its social value. The National Heritage value is identified as:

Cascades Female Factory is highly valued by community groups and historians as a place that reflects the significant story of convict women. The absence of intact historic sites and fabric associated with convict women makes what remains at Cascade Female Factory of national value.

The place has become an important catalyst for academic and community interest in the important role convict women played in the development of the colonies. Cascades Female Factory site is also valued as an important part of the wider story of women in Australia.

Throughout the twentieth century Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North was subdivided into several portions of land and the historic connection with the Cascades Female Factory site was severed. Purchase of the land by the Tasmanian state government has reunited the place with the Cascade Female Factory. Yard 4 North is likely to become highly valued by community groups and historians as a place that reflects the significant story of convict women and an important part of the wider story of women in Australia. There is however insufficient evidence to demonstrate Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North currently has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for its association with the significant story of convict women.

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North is unlikely to reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (g).

Criterion (h) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history;

Cascade Female Factory did not reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (h).

Mary Hutchinson (née Oakes) was matron of the Cascade Female Factory from 1832 to 1851. She is not included in the Australian Dictionary of Biography. The analysis for the Cascade Female Factory found that 'her life story is one which demonstrates the social history of women in early Australian colonial society including a childhood spent as daughter of the Superintendent at the Parramatta Female Factory; experience as a Methodist Missionary on Tonga in 1826–28, the loss of six of her children during infancy....(following her long and controversial stint at Cascades Female

Factory) she was appointed as matron in charge of the Launceston Female Factory until 1854 when she retired (transportation to Van Diemen's Land having ceased in 1853). While the contribution of Mary Hutchinson could be considered to be of state significance, it is not regarded as being of outstanding national significance' (DEWHA AHDB No:105932).

Associations between Cascade Female Factory and noted personages in Tasmanian and Australian history were noted, including Lieutenant Governor Sir John Franklin, Lady Jane Franklin, Sir John Eardley Eardley-Wilmot and Captain William Denison. While Denison (Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land 1846-1855, Governor-General of the colonies 1855-1861) presided over Cascades Female Factory during the construction of Yard 4 North, there is no strong evidence to suggest that this role was anything but administrative, nor that they took a particular interest in its operations (Roe 2006; Currey 2006).

Cascade Female Factory Yard 4 North is unlikely to reach threshold for National Heritage values against criterion (h).

Criterion (i) - The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.

There is no evidence to indicate that the place would have National Heritage values against criterion (i).

History:

For an overview of the history and function of female factories in Australia and more detailed information on the history of the Cascades Female Factory refer to the History section in the Cascade Female Factory National Heritage List place report (DEWHA AHDB No:105932).

In 1826 an investigation into the state of the Hobart Town Female Factory found conditions to be most unsatisfactory. The governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) Lt Governor Arthur purchased the Cascade distillery and altered it for the reception and confinement of women convicts. In late December 1828 and early January 1829 approximately 100 women were transferred to the Cascade Female Factory. It was located relatively remote from Hobart Town with a view to removing the convicts from the negative influences and temptations of the town and in turn to prevent the women from corrupting the morals of the town's men. However, its location in an area of damp swamp land contributed greatly to the sickness and sufferings of its inhabitants.

The emphasis was on the reform of the female convict through work and constant supervision, ideas which had been articulated by Elizabeth Fry when she wrote to the Under Secretary of the Colonies in 1823 requesting a separate institution for female convicts in Hobart Town, under the control and guidance of a respectable matron with part of the building set aside for schooling (Daniels 1980, p. 110). The possibility of reformation meant that women could respectably rejoin society and this was important because in Van Diemen's Land in the 1820s men outnumbered women by ten to one. This situation was felt by colonial authorities to require remedying.

At first Cascades Female Factory consisted of one large yard containing staff quarters, convict dormitories, the chapel, 12 solitary cells, nursery, hospital, kitchen, and separate areas for punishment class, crime class and hiring class. Later, it was incrementally expanded until it became five yards, with increasing specialisation between the yards.

Yard 4 is representative of the tragic tale of convict women and their children. Local newspapers in 1838 carried heart wrenching stories on the conditions and fate awaiting children in Yard 1. As a result of the press coverage the Nursery was moved from Cascade Female Factory into a rented house in Liverpool Street, Hobart and then moved to another house in nearby Dynnyrne.

As part of a policy to better centralise the distribution of female convicts throughout the colony of Van Diemen's Land and to alleviate overcrowding of the Female Factory a decision was taken to build a Fourth Yard at the Cascades Facility in c1848. Plans had been finalised by June 1849 for a new nursery capable of accommodating 88 women. The new yard was erected directly east of Yard 3 with a perimeter wall measuring 200 x 106 ft (60.96 x 32.31m). The main building was a 160 x 26 ft wide (48.77 x 7.92m) Nursery building built parallel to the Yard 3 western wall. A large open-sided shelter shed, later converted into a two storey accommodation building, was located centrally within the secure courtyard and laundry, washrooms and privies at the northern end of the nursery building. At the southern end of the Yard and built at the same time, but separated by a wall, was a single storeyed Matron's house, Sub Matron's cottage and cookhouse, which formed part of the Yard 4 complex. The former Matron's house and archaeological remains of the Sub Matron's cottage and cookhouse now form part of the National Heritage listing for the Cascade Female Factory Site.

Built of stone, brick and timber the Nursery formed the Fourth Yard and historically accommodated 88 women and 150 children. The new main Nursery building was designed with large airy rooms and a veranda designed to catch the maximum sunlight (Rayner 2004, p. 156). Upstairs there were four dormitories each containing 20 berths for mothers and unweaned children, arranged in two double storey tiers. On the ground floor there was a separate mess room and quarters for weaned toddlers. (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 31). In comparison to the other yards at Cascades, Yard 4 was considered by far the best designed.

While the architecture of the new nursery had changed the rules controlling its use hardly changed. Each female convict confined with an illegitimate child remained in the nursery for between three and nine months after giving birth. However at three and six months after the birth each mother had to take charge of an additional infant. At nine months her infant was considered weaned and the woman was removed to complete her punishment elsewhere in the factory. This included a sentence of six months in the Crime Class for having become pregnant. Her child was passed to the temporary care of another more recent arrival. A high infant mortality resulted from the enforced early weaning and the unhygienic conditions at the Factory. Children who survived to two or three years of age were sent to the orphan schools in New Town on the other side of Hobart until claimed by their reformed mothers or were able to support themselves.

Visiting the newly completed Nursery on 1st January 1851 one witness described the

new facility:

‘In the large exercise yard, with an open shed in the centre to afford shelter from the sun, we found sixty women, with as many babies from two years to as many as days old – women and children all silent! One would have thought them all deaf and dumb... Some of the females, I found were the hired nurses of the establishment – not the mothers of the children... many of the wretched little ones, in the hands of the nurses, will never know either parent. The public consoles itself with the dry fact, that they will all come into the labour market. A large ward was allotted to the mid-day sleep of the poor little babes... There was a score or so of wooden cribs, in each of which lay two, three or four innocents, stowed away head to tail, like sardines... while others were curled about like a litter of kittens in a basket of straw’ (Rayner 2004, p. 155).

Unfortunately the infant mortality rate remained as high as before. Issues of overcrowding, sub-standard diet and short weaning times had not been addressed. Just over 100 babies died during the two years 1851 and 1852 compelling officials to transfer the nursery facility back to the government facility at New Town in March 1852 and then to the Brickfields in September that same year. The nursery was transferred back to Yard 4 North in 1854 and finally transferred back to the Brickfields in 1855 (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 31).

Yard 4 was not successful in lowering the rate of infant deaths - the system of handling convict women and especially infants in the Factory was open to abuse by officials and the entire Factory was sited and designed conducive to damp conditions including little access to sunlight. In 1851-1855 the annual age-specific mortality rates of children aged 0 to 3 years were 10 per cent for the Hobart district, and 30 per cent for the Female Factory children (Rayner 2004, p. 157).

In an inquiry into the Convict Department in 1855, Dr Hall, who worked briefly as a medical officer at Cascades Female Factory, gave evidence that death rates in the new nursery between 1851 and 1853 were around four times higher than the mortality of children of similar age in the general Hobart district. Death rates for infants under the age of three were around 40 per cent higher than the surrounding population. Dr Hall was published in the *Tasmanian Daily News* in November 1855 stating that

‘With the unlimited means at the command of the convict authorities as regards lodging, ventilation, cleanliness, food, clothing, artificial warmth, nursing, medical attendance, in many of which a great part of the population at large is so ill-provided I can not see any valid grounds on which the mortality in the convict nurseries should not be greatly below, instead of so much above that of the district.....It will be patent to all, that at least 269 out of the 371 children that perished in the convict nursery for the three years and a half ending 30th June 1854, might and ought to have been alive, and were sacrificed to mismanagement alone’ (Kippen 2005, p. 8).

After convict transportation to Tasmania ceased in 1853, Cascades continued to be used as a prison. The end to transportation saw a rapid decline in female convict numbers and by June 1856 the Colonial authorities proclaimed the Cascades Female Factory as a Gaol and Female House of Correction allowing the admission of ‘free’ women convicted locally or on remand.

Other Uses of Yard 4 North

In 1869 the Colonial Government established an official pauper establishment on the site. The newly established Male Invalid Depot consisted of the entire complex of Yard 4 and the easternmost block of solitary cells in adjacent Yard 3. A description by a visitor to the facility in 1873:

'The men when admitted first of all go into the reception room, and are conducted to the lavatory, where there are a number of good sized troughs used as baths. They have a good sized yard to themselves, and from here is entered all the different buildings connected with this part of the establishment. There is a large kitchen in which cooking for the men is done by some of the inmates themselves, and further on a dining room, a structure with glass sides. There is also what is called a day room for the old men, in which they are allowed to sit and smoke when they have nothing else to do.... A good many of the inmates are blind, and consequently they require a good deal of attention. The poor old fellows have very little to amuse them...' (Kostoglou 2006, p.15)

Another visitor in November 1873 further highlighted the melancholy nature of the facility:

'...the male invalids at the Cascades are confined all the year round in a small yard surrounded by high buildings and a high wall, shutting out the sun and fresh air with the single privilege of going out in turn once a month. The most able bodies amongst them are employed on week days on the farm or about the premises. The rest sit or saunter about the yard all day long as if in a prison and sick and infirm have still less space, air or sun for recreation and all alike are shut in on Sundays' (Kostoglou 2006, p.16).

A boy's reformatory was established in the remainder of the Third Yard and a female invalid depot in the Fifth Yard. Together with the invalid men in Yard 4 there were 272 residents in total. By the end of 1869, the 14 ex-convict 'Imperial' residents of the establishment who were supported from Imperial funds were far outnumbered by the 'Colonials'.

The physically able male paupers were employed in manual labour. Their numbers were few, however, and the prison gang and the Reformatory boys did the bulk of the effective work. A few male paupers instructed the children of female paupers and prisoners. The women inmates repaired clothing and made bedding for themselves and the males did the washing.

In 1874 work began on the conversion of Yards 3 and 4 into a combined facility for 'Old Convicts' from Port Arthur. Construction was halted almost immediately due to the waterlogged nature of the ground. The Sub Matron's cottage in Yard 4 had been demolished as it had been intended to construct the proposed kitchen complex in that location. New uses were found for the site and on 17th April 1877 the new Hospital for the Insane was gazetted and Yard 4 staff accordingly commenced receiving and treating all 'Imperial Lunatics' dispatched from Port Arthur. Over the next thirteen years, the Yard 4 facility drew increasingly harsh criticism over the deteriorating

mental health of its charges. By August 1890, these patients had been transferred to other institutions and the Hospital for the Insane was closed down.

The next tenant was the Contagious Diseases Hospital, which sought to forcibly isolate women known to be suffering from various venereal diseases. Known as 'The Lock', the hospital was originally established in 1879 within Yard 2 at the request of the Royal Navy after a visit by one of its warships in May 1877 allegedly culminated in the infection of several of its crew. The establishment of a Contagious Diseases Hospital at Cascades in 1879 represents the efforts of nineteenth century governments to penalise rather than reform the poorer classes of women, particularly prostitutes who were blamed for the spread of venereal disease. Based on similar legislation in England, the Act was essentially penal in character with the initial institution being officially referred to as the 'Prison Lock Hospital'. In 1891 the Contagious Diseases Hospital was moved into the Fourth Yard of the Cascades Female Factory site. The police had power to seek out and report suspected cases of women with contagious diseases to the Superintendent of Police, who could then order a medical examination and the imprisonment and treatment of the woman for up to 12 weeks.

In 1890, the Home of Mercy (an Anglican charity) which had adjacent premises immediately outside the walls of Yard 4, took over the management of the 'The Lock' from 1890. A year later, the Hospital was moved from Yard 2 to Yard 4. In 1895, what was by then known as the Home of Mercy, was relocated outside the walls of the Cascades Female Factory to a house in Degraeve Lane (Lovell Chen 2007, p. 34).

In 1904 the State Government determined to sell the Cascades Female Factory site. Yard 4 was auctioned as a single lot in 1905 (GHD 2007, p. 68) and a succession of owners occupied the former matron's Cottage and undertook a variety of small businesses in Yard 4. At some time in the early 1900s the wall around the outside of Yard 4 was demolished. In the 1930's Yard 4 was subdivided and sold as four allotments, the greater part of Yard 4 South forming one of these portions and the remainder comprising Yard 4 North. During the twentieth century Yard 4 North was utilised by various owners for light industrial purposes. In 2003 the southern most allotment containing the only intact building remaining from the Female Factory era, the matron's cottage and garden, was purchased by the Female Factory Historic Site Ltd through a grant from the State Government and substantial corporate sponsorship from various sources.

In 2007 Yard 4 North was purchased by the Tasmanian State Government to form part of the Cascade Female Factory Site.

Condition:

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