

Maitland and District Historical Society Inc.

Bulletin of Maitland and District Historical Society Inc.

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Museum and Galleries Hunter Chapter



A Fashionable Wedding Group

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*The Aims of the Society are to
Discover, Record, Preserve, Advise on and Teach the History of Maitland and the
District*

Maitland and District Historical Society Inc.

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Lecture meetings are held on the first Tuesday of each month from 5:30-7.00pm as a forum for lectures, talks and presentations.

Committee meetings are held on the third Tuesday of even months from 5:30-7.00pm.

General meetings are held on the third Tuesday of odd months from 5:30-7.00pm.
Members are invited to attend all monthly meetings.

Meetings are held at the Society's rooms, 3 Cathedral Street Maitland.

Membership fees : \$25 (single) and \$35 (double / family)

The rooms are open between 11 and 3 on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Patron: Dr AC Archer AM

Current Office Bearers :

President : Kevin Short OAM **Vice President :** Janece Mcdonald

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Bulletin contributions are being sought. Please contact the Society via email
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Editor's Notes: Have you ever wondered what constitutes an archive? In this Bulletin we feature an illuminating article by Gionni Di Gravio OAM, who wears many hats but is perhaps best known as the archivist of the University of Newcastle. Gionni will also be familiar to many members of the Maitland and District Historical Society as he spoke to the Society in 2017 on the occasion of our 40th anniversary. For the current Bulletin Gionni has addressed several issues relating to archives in general. He has also highlighted several collections held in the Newcastle archives which may be of particular interest to Maitlanders.

In the August Bulletin we presented the first of two articles by James Waddell on Stockade Hill. In this Bulletin we present the second of his articles, this time focusing on Stockade Hill's military connections.

Jennifer Buffier has compiled a list of all the Society publications which are on sale. This list, along with purchase details, is at the end of this Bulletin.

The Archives of the University of Newcastle & Its Regions Held in Special Collections, Auchmuty Library

By Gionni Di Gravio OAM

What is an Archive?

An "archive" can be defined as a contextual set of records created in any format that provide an authentic body of evidence proving something happened in the past, and deemed of sufficient significance and importance to individuals, families, and communities to be safeguarded in perpetuity. An "archive" can also signify the actual building or repository that "archives" are kept in.

What are Archivists?

Archivists are professionally educated and trained people whose job it is to look after archives, to ensure that they are properly safeguarded, conserved, described, accessioned, rehoused, and made accessible to researchers either physically, digitally, or both.

What Differentiates an "Archive" from a "Museum" or a "Library"?

Archives are kept in an archive, while books are kept by libraries, and museum objects and artworks generally reside in Museums and Galleries. All these kind of repositories, known as "GLAM" (standing for Galleries, Libraries, Archives, Museums) have a mix of archival, book, object or artwork in them.

What differentiates an archive from a library or a museum, and where the material ends up is the quantity and type of the “stuff” you wish stored and what restrictions there are in making them accessible.

One could argue that historical societies, such as Maitland, are “GLAM” organisations all rolled in one, as they hold all kinds of things in the one repository. Libraries generally look after books, and other types of media. They hold things that anyone can access, they are open to the world, and the books can be read or borrowed. Museums look after material objects, generally. There are some restrictions on how the objects can be interacted with, and the museum may hold also other kinds of things related to the objects, such as letters, diaries, manuscripts, and inventories that somehow inform you about the contents and provenance of the objects.

Art galleries look after art works. In general, an art gallery collection could consist of individual artworks by various artists, or a number brought together by a collector (*i.e.* a “Collection”). If they held a body of works by the same artist then we would call it an “archive”.

So, what’s the difference between a “Collection” and an “Archive”?

The Collector did not create the paintings, they simply collected the work of several artists. The painter’s archive would consist of the original paintings as well as accompanying records that relate to the production of the artworks such as sketchbooks, diaries, workbooks *etc.*

These things could reside in an art gallery because the institution itself would be equipped with the best and proper storage conditions and professional curatorial and conservation staff to look after the artworks.

Archives are a little more complicated. There is a creator or provenance, *i.e.* an individual or organisational body that creates the records over time. These records are then divided into “series” level, which are types of records such as *e.g.* Ledgers, Minute Books, Photo Albums, News clippings *etc.*, followed by an Item level which documents what is there and the date range *e.g.* Minute Book 1920-1923. Archives can sometimes also contain museum objects, artworks or even libraries, denoted as a series of such things. There are also access conditions that archivists need manage with regards to records themselves that involve legislative, confidentiality or privacy issues of the materials and wishes of the donors. Sensitivities diminish over time, and archives can be closed for certain periods, but it is the role of the archivist to manage when they can become accessible and open.

Maitland and District Historical Society Inc.

Archives are unique primary source materials such as ledgers, photo albums, diaries, glass plate negatives, audio tapes, VHS or 16mm film reels or papers. These could also be seen as “objects” that can be held by other institutions such as galleries, libraries or museums. The difference is the context.

How have things changed over the years?

The University Archives was established in the Auchmuty Library in 1975. Up until the 1990s, many of the accessions were done by hand, into “monastic” accession registers. Some databases were introduced, but largely access was *via* finding aids on a variety of subjects. Digital Scanning Technology and Web communications have really revolutionised the way we are able to share things, but the principles of how we look after it remains unchanged. For instance, once upon a time if someone needed a copy of a glass negative, we would need to hire a photographer to come in, pick up the neg, photograph it, print it, and \$30 later, send it to the researcher. Now we can share 1000s of photographs for free, to researchers around the world instantly. AI will be the next horizon of tech that will bring along opportunities and also new challenges with regards to guaranteeing authenticity of the digital objects.

What is in the University’s Archives?

A whole host of primary source materials relating to the formation of the University of Newcastle and its operations, schools, hospitals and regional archives from the Hunter Region and Central Coast. Our NSW State Archives holdings ensure we are a recognised Museums of History NSW Regional Archives Centre.

What Might Interest Maitland Historical Society Members?

Pender Archive Architectural Drawings and Plans (1860s-1980s)

The Pender Archive consists of 2,562 individual architectural projects and includes many original water colour drawings of private and public buildings across northern NSW. The collection comprises the achievements of three generations of the Pender family as architects in Maitland, spanning 125 years from the 1860s to the 1980s. This is one of the largest and most comprehensive architectural archives in the country.

The extant drawings of the Pender Archive are listed here:

<https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/81424>

Over 450 digitised plans of the estimated 2,500+ projects are available here on our Living Histories @ UON

Platform: <https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/73958>

The Athel D’Ombrain Photographic Archive

The Athel D’Ombrain Archive was donated to the University of Newcastle Archives in 1982. He left an incredible and varied legacy in the wider Regional community. These photographic negatives are an outstanding document of his life’s work and contribution to the natural world, history, architecture, science and art. They document many historical buildings throughout the Maitland and the Hunter Region, prior to restoration. They also document buildings and structures no longer extant.

See: <https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/61>

Search our Living Histories Digital Platform for “Maitland” and see what we have so far shared in digital form:

[https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/search?keywords=maitland&type](https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/search?keywords=maitland&type=)
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STOCKADE HILL – PART II The stockade and soldiers’ barracks

By James Waddell (2024)

At the upper end of William Street, East Maitland, on the hill diagonally opposite St Peter’s Church, once stood a complex of fences and huts, many of them bark-roofed, forming a convict stockade. In this spot, from about 1838 to 1846, convict work parties under military guard were quartered while repairing roads and building the gaol on the hill at the opposite end of William Street.

The name of Stockade Hill appeared as early as 1848,ⁱ and today provides the only reminder of its extraordinary history. A near-contemporary observer called it “a hill of many bitter memories”;ⁱⁱ while a later one remarked that the old Stockade Hill, “if endowed with speech, could tell many a tale of the old convict days.”ⁱⁱⁱ

In a sketch plan of 19 December 1837, Lieutenant Lugard of the Royal Engineers proposed a new site for the stockade “if alter’d from near Police Bar^k”.^{iv} Lugard was stationed at Newcastle as a local representative of the Colonial Engineer. While the correspondence which must have accompanied and explained the sketch plan has not been located, Lugard indicated an area in East Maitland of roughly one square acre between the School House and William Street, astride the spur traversed by the modern line of Brisbane Street. While no official response to Lugard’s proposal has been discovered, it must have been implemented at least in substance, because Lady Jane Franklin in May 1839 noted that the School House was “near the stockade”.^v Moreover,

after leaving the stockade she proceeded to the Police Magistrate's home (in Wallis Street) "over high ground which gave us a fine view of the green & cultivated valley & wood & chain of pretty tho' not very lofty hills", one of which was Broken Back.^{vi}

The location of the stockade is also evident from several other sources.^{vii} For example, in 1853 two allotments of land fronting William Street "opposite the old Stockade"^{viii} were advertised for sale (properties now numbered 57 and 59 William Street).^{ix} In 1858 an observer looking from the gaol hill in a south-westerly direction along William Street noted the ruinous tenements on Stockade Hill (an allusion to the old stockade),^x and 20 years later another observer looking from the same spot noted that William Street ended "at the old Stockade Hill", with its memories of the convict days.^{xi} Later still, an old colonist recalled that the detachment of soldiers which had guarded the iron gang was located on the Stockade Hill at East Maitland.^{xii} Well documented was the conversion in 1855 of the old stockade into an immigration depot,^{xiii} of whose location on Stockade Hill there is also ample evidence. For example, an immigrant who had landed from a steamship at Morpeth remembered "living first on Stockade Hill, just opposite St. Peter's Church of England."^{xiv}

Stockades provided temporary accommodation for the iron gangs and were typically enclosed by a continuous series of vertical posts about 10 feet high, buried about 3 feet deep.^{xv} Inside these walls convicts were confined in moveable wooden boxes, roofed with shingles, with 18 to 24 men in each box,^{xvi} "in which the whole number can neither stand upright nor sit down at the same time".^{xvii} Lady Franklin on her visit to East Maitland wrote:

The stockade is as usual, a square area surmounted by huts, one of which is an open shed with tables & benches for dining, the other side 4 wooden boxes holding 24 men each, sleeping on ground & on upper boards – a passage across the box between the two opposite doors each of which has a barred open space over it – I believe there are 90 chain gang men here. They have 1 blanket each – no bedding.^{xviii}

The square of which Lady Franklin wrote may denote the square acre marked on the plan by Lieutenant Lugard in 1837, and it is significant that the only huts she noted within the square were occupied by convicts. In other words, the square she described was probably only the secure area or compound within the stockade. It is likely that the soldiers' barracks, commandant's cottage, medical post, storerooms, stables, paddocks and other facilities of the stockade occupied a more extensive area, which is consistent with later evidence concerning the location of "the old stockade" and immigrants' barracks in William Street. Moreover, when parents were invited to present their children to be vaccinated by the medical attendant at East Maitland stockade in 1845 it is unlikely that they would have needed to enter its secure compound.^{xix}

In earlier times, convicts sentenced in New South Wales to secondary punishment had been banished to Norfolk Island or Moreton Bay, but from 1832 most were sentenced to labour in irons on the roads of New South Wales. From 1832 military guards were placed over the iron gangs, and road surveyors were empowered to adjudicate in any case of a convict for refusing or neglecting to work, drunkenness, disobedience of orders, or other disorderly or dishonest conduct. Upon conviction, the surveyor could order the offender to be punished by whipping not exceeding 50 lashes.^{xx} While the punishment seems harsh by modern standards, it was not inflicted arbitrarily; it followed the due process of a summary trial, and was administered by a convict appointed as a scourger.

To improve their efficiency, the superintendence of the iron gangs was from 1837 taken away from the Surveyor General and vested in the Colonial Engineer, Major Barney. From that time, the military officer commanding the guard of each iron gang was himself appointed superintendent of the gang and Assistant Engineer, and was given the powers of adjudication and punishment previously vested in the surveyor.^{xxi} The task of building and repairing roads and bridges, as well as maintaining the discipline of the iron gangs, therefore became the direct responsibility of the military forces.^{xxii}

The troops guarding the iron gangs were provided by detachments from British regiments sent to New South Wales for garrison duty, which were rotated every few years. From 1835 a detachment of soldiers from the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot, under Lieutenant John Keating Campbell, provided the guard for the iron gang at Maitland.^{xxiii} The gang would have been confined in the stockade referred to by Lieutenant Lugard in 1837 near the Police Barrack overlooking Wallis Creek, near the junction of present Wallis and Banks Streets, East Maitland. The Rev. G.K. Rusden, Government Chaplain, reported in 1835 that he performed divine service every Saturday at Maitland for the iron gang of 80 men.^{xxiv}

The 28th Regiment detachment must have been the first to occupy the stockade adjacent to William Street, East Maitland; but they were relieved in June 1839 by a detachment of the 80th Regiment of Foot (Staffordshire Volunteers) under Captain Samuel Lettsome with two sergeants and 25 Rank and file.^{xxv} Lettsome was replaced in 1840 by Lieutenant Rinaldo Sheberras, also of the 80th,^{xxvi} whose soldiers wore a uniform comprising a red jacket, white trousers and a foraging cap bearing the figure "80".^{xxvii} Finally, the 80th Regiment was relieved at East Maitland from November 1842 by a detachment from the 99th (Lanarkshire) Regiment of Foot under Captain Henry James Day (not to be confused with Edward Denny Day) with two sergeants and 44 Rank and file.^{xxviii} These commandants lived in a slab cottage at the stockade,^{xxix} at least two of them with their families.^{xxx} The 99th Regiment detachment remained in East Maitland until the closure of the stockade in 1846.

The son of a Maltese nobleman, Sheberras had entered the army on 16 March 1826.^{xxxi} While stationed at East Maitland he married Jane Platt, the orphaned daughter of an early Hunter River landholder, who had been living at Morpeth with her siblings under the guardianship of E.C. Close.^{xxxii} The 80th Regiment

embarked in 1844 for India, where Sheberras was killed in action in the first Sikh War in 1845. One of those promoted in India to help replace British losses was a gallant young sergeant called Kirkland “who was for a considerable time residing in Maitland with a detachment of his regiment, the 80th, as a private and corporal, and in the capacity of clerk at the East Maitland Stockade, under the brave and lamented Captain Scheberras, who fell at the Battle of the Sutlej.”^{xxxiii} Sheberras was commemorated locally by a marble tablet erected inside St James’ Church, Morpeth.

The Colonial Engineer’s Establishment at Maitland in 1843 comprised an Assistant Engineer, a constable, a principal overseer, three assistant overseers, a clerk, and a scourger.^{xxxiv} Each of the military officers Lettsome, Sheberras and Day was appointed Assistant Engineer, and as superintendent of the ironed gang had judicial duties in relation to its discipline. Each of them also served the community as a magistrate, taking his place on the Bench from time to time. A surgeon was attached to the stockade,^{xxxv} and religious instruction for the convicts was provided by the Rev. G.K. Rusden who visited each Sunday to conduct a church service.^{xxxvi}

Convicts from East Maitland stockade were frequently to be seen repairing roads or patching rotten timbers in the Wallis Creek bridge.^{xxxvii} An old colonist recalled his surprise as a first-time traveller along Morpeth Road in 1838 on seeing a long row of hand-carts, drawn by men in chains and guarded by soldiers.^{xxxviii} On 30 January 1839 Major Barney informed the Colonial Secretary that expediting the formation of a road through Maitland was a work of considerable importance, for which he sought to augment the iron gang to 100 men.^{xxxix} In May 1839 the road gang of 50 or 60 men had been employed for the previous six months in constructing a new or better road in East Maitland to turn the corner from Melbourne Street into Newcastle Road, and it was expected that they would continue their work towards the bridge.^{xl} They were still “employed in making the Road thro’ the Township” in May 1841.^{xli} But in 1843 the department of the Colonial Engineer was abolished; and responsibility for maintaining roads and bridges passed, at least on paper, from the iron gangs to District Councils. By this time arrangements had been made to re-deploy the iron gang at East Maitland, numbering 103, on the construction of the new gaol on the hill at the opposite end of William Street from the stockade.^{xlii}

In November 1842 an existing stockade at West Maitland was closed and its prisoner’s boxes or huts were re-located to the enclosure for the new gaol at East Maitland.^{xliii} West Maitland stockade had been established in 1839 to lodge convicts employed in forming streets in West Maitland;^{xliiv} but from 1842 its convict gang was made available to excavate the foundations for the gaol or to prepare stone.^{xliv} Major Barney recommended on 12 November 1842, and Governor Gipps agreed, that the Military Party should be removed to the gaol site and housed within the walls, except for “the Officer’s Box” (commandant’s cottage) which should remain in the old location;^{xlvi} but as late as 31 August 1843 this had not been accomplished, as the stockade commandant Captain Day remained “most anxious to get his detachment and the whole of the gang lodged within the gaol enclosure, and exerts himself jealously to expedite the levelling of the ground for

that purpose.”^{xlvii} In October 1843 two convicted murderers, Harry and Melville, were brought to Maitland where they were “lodged in one of the empty boxes in the new gaol yard” while awaiting execution.^{xlviii}

On the contrary, it appears that during the period in which the gaol was being constructed using convict labour, convict work parties were quartered in two separate and distinct locations in East Maitland. Some lived in wooden boxes within the gaol yard, while others whose labours did not require them to be continuously at the worksite lived at the stockade on high ground at the opposite end of William Street.

On 29 September 1844 Captain Day sought an additional consignment of convicts including sawyers or carpenters to go into the bush to cut timber, split slabs, and strip bark, for the erection of huts for the convicts “out of irons” within the gaol enclosure, for a mess shed for the ironed gang employed at Morpeth quarry, and for repairs to the stockade huts at East Maitland, many of which were becoming much dilapidated.^{xlix} Evidently the previous stockade continued to be a going concern, because otherwise there would have been no imperative to repair the stockade huts. The itinerary for a vice-regal visit to East Maitland in October 1844 by the Governor, Sir George Gipps, also indicates that a separate stockade establishment remained at some remove from the new gaol. On the Saturday of his visit, Gipps visited the gaol, every part of which he examined, before proceeding to the punt at Pitnacree. He then visited the new Court House which had been built in Day Street. “From thence His Excellency went to the stockades and soldiers’ barracks, where he examined everything, and inspected the huts of the married people, displaying the greatest anxiety for the comfort of all.”^l It therefore appears that the stockade included married quarters for soldiers, as well as barracks for unmarried soldiers.

Moreover, in writing of the East Maitland stockade site on 19 August 1850, Mortimer Lewis junior explained that when the Military Establishment was broken up the cottage in which he resided “with the out offices and detached huts formerly occupied by the Military and the prisoners were handed over to me”.^{li}

Convicts in a stockade comprised not only the iron gang, but also convict servants.^{lii} At East Maitland stockade they included men labouring in irons, and a few who laboured “out of irons”. Some were released on obtaining Tickets of Leave,^{liii} and the gang was augmented periodically by forwarding further convicts in irons from Woolloomooloo stockade or Hyde Park Barracks. They were conveyed from Sydney, under military guard, on vessels of the Hunter River Steam Navigation Company as far as Morpeth.^{liv} One of the few documents which has survived from East Maitland stockade is a quarterly return of leg irons, hand cuffs and marching chains as at 30 September 1844.^{lv} Stores for the use of the stockade, and materials for the iron gang such as blasting powder, were regularly landed at Morpeth.^{lvi} The convicts included men employed as quarrymen, stonemasons, blacksmiths, bullock drivers, stockmen, messengers, cooks and wardsmen.^{lvii}

Initially, stone for the new gaol was quarried in East Maitland; but its inferior quality led to the opening of a quarry near Morpeth on the property of E.C. Close in 1844, about four miles from the site of the gaol. Rather than divide the gang and quarter some of them at the quarry, the iron gang and its military guard set out from East Maitland each morning for the quarry towards the farther end of Morpeth Road, from where they carted the stone back to East Maitland in heavy dray-loads,^{lviii} cutting up the road in the process and making it nearly impassable.^{lix}

In May 1844 the stone was being drawn by four horses.^{lx} Attached to the stockade a few months later were six serviceable oxen, daily required for supplying the stockade with water; as well as two unserviceable oxen.^{lxi} In November 1844 tenders were called for three strong draught horses and twelve head of sound, well-trained working oxen, to be delivered at the Maitland stockade for the public service.^{lxii}

Military officers resented the use of soldiers for guarding the convict road gangs and their stockades. Exposure to hardened criminals was morally degrading for the soldiers,^{lxiii} and their duties were wearisome. The red-coated soldier's day began by taking out the convicts at six o'clock in the morning and remaining on guard throughout the day under a burning sun, "with eye necessarily ever restless – his hand grasping the only weapon that protects him from the prisoners around".^{lxiv} The soldiers mustered the convicts and locked them in their boxes at sunset,^{lxv} but then had to keep guard at night while the convicts slept. They were under strict orders:

No Soldier to hold any communication whatever with the Prisoners under his charge, he will keep them constantly and hard at work, and when the carts are moving along the road, the Prisoners will be made to move at a quick pace, and no talking whatever to be allowed, this Order also to be observed when Proceeding to and from the Works, and any convict neglecting his work, or guilty of any disorderly or improper conduct, must be brought up for trial.^{lxvi}

Furthermore, soldiers were ordered to strictly prevent any communication whatever, on any pretence, between prisoners and civilians; and to prevent prisoners from receiving any article whatever from a civilian.^{lxvii}

In St Peter's old burial ground, East Maitland, is a headstone erected by the comrades of "Geo. Lyndop Private 80 Regt. Who accidentally met his death by the bursting of a gun June 6 1841 Aged 34 Years".^{lxviii} Another soldier of the 80th Regiment, William Thompson, was tried for the murder of a woman by throwing her into Wallis Creek and drowning her; but was acquitted.^{lxix} In January 1843 Private John Heeley of the 99th Regiment deserted from East Maitland stockade, but was captured at Lamb's Valley a few days later.^{lxx} In 1845 two privates of the 99th Regiment, Morris and Eastburn, were convicted of stealing a bottle of rum in East Maitland and were each sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in Newcastle gaol.^{lxxi}

With no time for recreation or opportunity for mischief the convicts experienced "great privation and unhappiness".^{lxxii} According to the *Sydney Herald* on 26 March 1842, there appeared to be great facilities for escape from East Maitland stockade. Two absconders from Maitland apprehended in Sydney were sentenced to be worked in irons, one for two years and the other for one year, with a recommendation that both should be sent to Cockatoo Island.^{lxxiii} Another runaway from East Maitland stockade, at large for two years before being captured on the Peel River, was sentenced to be worked in irons for a year. He claimed "he ran away because he could get no indulgence allowed him."^{lxxiv} Indulgences comprising tea, sugar and tobacco, which was very much prized,^{lxxv} were used as inducements to working harder. When these "indulgences" were offered to 20 of the most deserving convicts engaged in cutting and preparing stone for the gaol at East Maitland, it had a beneficial effect on the progress of the work.^{lxxvi}

But the entire complex was closed on 2 January 1846 when the stockade gang at East Maitland, about 80 in number, was moved to Newcastle to assist in cutting down Nobby's Island.^{lxxvii} From East Maitland the 99th Regiment detachment was ordered to Sydney.^{lxxviii} "A good and kindly feeling has always existed between the soldiers and the townspeople, and wherever their ultimate destination may be they will carry with them the good wishes of the people of Maitland."^{lxxix}

The former stockade complex was taken over on behalf of the Colonial Architect's department by Mortimer Lewis, junior (1820-1899), who as Clerk of Works had been supervising the construction of the new gaol designed by his father and namesake, Mortimer Lewis (1796-1879).^{lxxx} The gaol, only part-built, was now to be completed by contractors; and it had been expected that the contracted workforce would be quartered in the former stockade. When this did not occur the commanding Royal Engineer, Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, ordered "such of the huts at the late Maitland Stockade as are not required for the use of the Colonial Architect's Department at that Station",^{lxxxi} which was most of the detached huts, to be sold by public auction. The younger Lewis continued to superintend the building of the gaol and other miscellaneous works, and lived for several years in the slab cottage previously occupied by the military commandant.^{lxxxii} On a notable occasion in 1847 as Governor Fitzroy and his entourage rode into East Maitland from Morpeth Road, a salute was fired from the residence of Mr Lewis, whose elevated position on the hill would have made it suitable for a public display of loyalty.^{lxxxiii}

In 1846 five draught horses and 11 working bullocks lately employed at the new gaol were offered for sale by public auction at the stockade, East Maitland.^{lxxxiv} In 1847 the whole of the slab building and other materials formerly occupied as the stockade, East Maitland, were offered for sale by public auction.^{lxxxv}

What remained of the old stockade was converted to an immigration depot on the application of Major Crummer, Police Magistrate at Maitland in 1854.^{lxxxvi} The matron in charge lived in the slab cottage formerly occupied by Mortimer Lewis and the military commandants, and repairs were carried out on huts

occupied by immigrants.^{lxxxvii} On 29 August 1855, for example, there remained at the depot ready for engagement 18 families, consisting of 39 adults, 13 single women and 31 children,^{lxxxviii} all of whom had landed in Sydney and been on-shipped to Morpeth by the Immigration authorities. It had closed by 1865 when several of the buildings in the old stockade were sold for their materials by East Maitland Municipal Council,^{lxxxix} which divided much of Stockade Hill into two large paddocks which it let on grazing leases for many years.^{xc}

Since then, Stockade Hill has provided a valuable public amenity. From time to time it was used for drills and parades of the volunteer military forces.^{xcⁱ} Its elevation made it suitable for bonfires and fireworks to celebrate national occasions, such as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897.^{xcⁱⁱ} In 1935 the East Maitland Municipal Council began the work of levelling the recreation area at Stockade Hill to form a sports ground, using emergency workers supported by the Unemployment Relief Council.^{xcⁱⁱⁱ}

The convict and military history of Stockade Hill deserves to be better known. Its name always ensured that Stockade Hill would be a subject of fable and romance, but the stories did not always withstand historical enquiry and forensic scrutiny. As always, the facts are more interesting than the myths.

In addition to the stockades at East and West Maitland, iron gangs were also stockaded at Green Hills (Morpeth), and Harper's Hill near Lochinvar, at different times. An iron gang was established on the road from Green Hills to Maitland in 1833,^{xc^{iv}} and Charles Boydeell who inspected it at Green Hills in 1834 noted that the gang, engaged in the construction of Morpeth road, was lodged in moveable wooden boxes each night.^{xc^v} Lieutenant Ronald MacDonnell of the 28th Regiment was appointed Assistant Engineer and superintendent of the ironed gang at the Green-hills in July 1837,^{xc^{vi}} where he was the Officer in Charge of the stockade;^{xc^{vii}} but MacDonnell's predecessor, Ensign Gwynne, and his successor Captain Adams,^{xc^{viii}} were both stationed at East Maitland, indicating that the pre-eminence of Morpeth as the military station was short-lived. While there was still a road gang at Morpeth in 1842,^{xc^{ix}} it must have been an outpost from the East Maitland gang as no separate arrangements for its governance have been discovered. It had evidently been withdrawn by 1844 when the Colonial Architect was denied permission to divide the East Maitland gang between there and Morpeth.^c The old stockade was located near the Morpeth road.^{ci}

At Harper's Hill there was a separate military station and iron gang as early as 1836 under Lieutenant Smith of the 28th Regiment, but no separate military station after June 1840.^{cⁱⁱ} In a dramatised account of the experience of a settler in this period, its author claimed that there were on Harper's Hill "two hundred men who are required to work with their legs chained together",^{cⁱⁱⁱ} engaged in "the laborious work of cutting the road over the mountain."^{c^{iv}} On the other hand, official returns show somewhat smaller numbers, with a total of 138 convicts at Harper's Hill in 1837 and 123 in 1838.^{c^v} Lieutenant Robert Baumgartner of the 28th Regiment had been appointed on 19 February 1839 as Assistant Engineer and superintendent of ironed gangs at Harper's Hill,^{c^{vi}} succeeded by Lieutenant

Sheberras of the 80th Regiment from 1839 to 1840;^{cvii} but the gang had been earmarked in 1839 to be re-located to West Maitland to work on improving the streets.^{cviii}

West Maitland was never a separate military station, and its iron gang evidently came under the superintendence of Sheberras at Harper's Hill, and of the same officer after he took post at East Maitland. In 1841, for example, Sheberras forwarded to the Colonial Secretary an account for medical attendance on a dying convict at West Maitland stockade, who had been blown up by gunpowder while blasting stone.^{cx} In May 1839 the site of the stockade in West Maitland had been marked out, and its huts were about to be built.^{cx} But evidence concerning its location seems contradictory. In January 1840 the iron gang from East Maitland was said to be "employed in assisting the road party men to build a stockade at the extremity of West Maitland"; and had to travel daily a distance of nearly three miles from East Maitland to their work, and return again in the afternoon to their quarters, leaving about three hours to work in the day.^{cx} On the other hand, by December 1843 "a portion of land near the old stockade" had been presented by government to the Catholics of Maitland as the site for St John's Church,^{cxii} commenced in 1844 on its present site in Cathedral Street (then Charles Street) which was hardly the extremity of West Maitland.

ⁱ See, e.g., *Maitland Mercury* 15 January 1848, p.2 ("A supposed lunatic").

ⁱⁱ *Northern Times*, 28 July 1858, p.2 ("Grand Railway Demonstration").

ⁱⁱⁱ *Evening News*, 25 September 1878, p.8 ("A Fortunate Postponement").

^{iv} Sketch of part of East Maitland dated 19 December 1837 in State Library of NSW, Z/Ce 83/19, 74VvDXIpgjpZ, being part of the William Dixon manuscript collection.

^v Penny Russell (ed.), *This errant lady: Jane Franklin's overland journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p.131.

^{vi} Penny Russell (ed.), *This errant lady: Jane Franklin's overland journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p.131.

^{vii} See, e.g., *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 3 December 1908, p.6 ("St. Peter's Church"): "The convict stockade was located on Stockade Hill, now known as Cook Park."

^{viii} *Maitland Mercury* 31 August 1853, p.3 (advertisement).

^{ix} The allotments were sold by Robert How. As the original grantee of Allotment 5, Section 33, How conveyed it to Plunkett on 31 December 1853 (Book 35, No.778). In his capacity as attorney for the original grantee of Allotment 6, Houston Mitchell, How conveyed that allotment to William Wilton on 17 March 1854 (Book 37, No.309).

^x *Northern Times*, 28 July 1858, p.2 ("Grand Railway Demonstration").

^{xi} *Evening News*, 25 September 1878, p.8 ("A Fortunate Postponement").

^{xii} *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 20 May 1898, p.2 ("Sixty Years Ago! And Now!").

^{xiii} NSW State Archives NRS-5247 [4/4643], p.180, Reel 3116, letter of 3 May 1854 from the Agent for Immigration to the Police Magistrate at Maitland; and NSW State Archives 4332 [2/602], series Colonial Architect 1837-1970, file on Immigration Depots, especially a letter of 14 April 1855 from Major Crummer, PM, to the Agent for Immigration.

^{xiv} *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 19 March 1934, p.4, ("93rd Birthday"). See also, e.g., *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 29 December 1923, p.6 ("Over the century").

^{xv} *Sydney Gazette*, 4 September 1838, p.2 ("Original Correspondence. Stockade Discipline.- (No.I)").

^{xvi} HRA, Series I, Vol.19, pp.483-84, Sir George Gipps to Lord Glenelg, 14 July 1838.

^{xvii} *Sydney Gazette*, 16 February 1839, p.2 ("The Transportation Committee").

- ^{xviii} Penny Russell (ed.), *This errant lady: Jane Franklin's overland journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p.131.
- ^{xix} *Maitland Mercury*, 16 August 1845, p.3 ("Original correspondence").
- ^{xx} Offenders Punishment and Justices Summary Jurisdiction Act 1832 of NSW, 3 William IV No.3, Section 28.
- ^{xxi} NSW Act 8 William IV No.1, Section V, published in Government Gazette No.284, 12 July 1837, pp.485-86.
- ^{xxii} HRA, Series I, Vol.22, p.682, Macleay to Mitchell, 29 December 1836.
- ^{xxiii} Government Gazette No.180, 12 August 1835, p.551; and monthly returns from 1835 showing Distribution of Troops serving in N.S. Wales and V.D. Land in Records of other administrative departments of the War Office, Public Records Office, London, Series WO17, Monthly Returns 1790-1865, Subseries (Pieces 2294-2337) New South Wales 1791-1853, copied for the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia (hereinafter referred to as the War Office monthly returns).
- ^{xxiv} James Waddell, *A History of St. Peter's Church, East Maitland N.S.W.*, published by its author in 1996, p.31.
- ^{xxv} Government Gazette No.431, 10 July 1839, p.745; and entry for 26 June 1839 in Digest of the 80th Regiment, Volume 2, Records of the South Staffordshire Regiment (80th Regiment) relating to Australia and New Zealand, [M815], 1793-1905, copied from the original in the records of the War Office, Public Records Office, London, by the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia.
- ^{xxvi} Distribution of Troops serving in N.S. Wales and V.D. Land for 1st August 1840, in War Office monthly returns.
- ^{xxvii} *Maitland Mercury*, 18 March 1843, p.2 ("Maitland Assizes").
- ^{xxviii} Order of 16 November 1842 in "Copies or Extracts of General Orders affecting Military Expenditure issued at Head Quarters, Sydney, New South Wales, during the Month ending 30th November 1842", in War Office records copied from the originals in the Public Records Office, London, by the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia (Records of the Armed Forces from commands, headquarters, regiments and corps 1841 – December 1949, Series WO28 Headquarters Records 1841-55, Subseries General Orders 1841-55, New South Wales 1841-48).
- ^{xxix} Letter 19 August 1850 from Mortimer Wm Lewis Jr, Clerk of Works at Maitland, to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records NRS-4332-15-[2/602]-3 Colonial (Government) Architect 1837-1970 file on Immigration Depots.
- ^{xxx} The *Maitland Mercury*, 2 November 1844, p.3, announced the birth at Maitland Stockade of a daughter to the lady of Captain Day, of the 99th Regiment, JP. His predecessor, Lieutenant Sheberras, had been married on 1 January 1842 while commanding the troops at the stockade.
- ^{xxxi} *Sydney Herald*, 25 May 1841, p.2 ("Services of the Military Officers now on duty in New South Wales").
- ^{xxxii} A.P. Elkin, *Morpeth and I*, Australasian Medical Publishing Company Limited, Sydney, 1937, pp.187-90.
- ^{xxxiii} *Maitland Mercury*, 4 April 1846, p.2 ("Ensign Kirkland"). Whenever he signed his own name, Sheberras spelled it in that way, which is also how it appears on the marble tablet in St James' Church, Morpeth. In some official records at the time, however, it is often spelled "Scheberras".
- ^{xxxiv} "Colonial Engineer's Establishment at Maitland", 16 August 1843 (related to letter 14 August 1843 from Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary) in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2]. See also letter 23 January 1839 from Major Barney to the Commissioner of Assignment requesting that a scourger be attached to Maitland Stockade to replace a prisoner returned to barracks, in NSW State Archives NRS-895-1- [4/457] Colonial Engineer, copies of letters and circulars sent 1836-42.
- ^{xxxv} *Port Phillip Gazette*, 30 November 1842, p.2 ("Colonial Intelligence. Sydney.")
- ^{xxxvi} *Sydney Free Press*, 5 August 1841, p.2 ("Domestic Intelligence. Legislative Council.")
- ^{xxxvii} *Morning Chronicle* (Sydney), 6 December 1843, p.2 ("The unemployed operatives").
- ^{xxxviii} *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 20 May 1898, p.2 ("Sixty Years Ago! And Now!").
- ^{xxxix} Letter of 30 January 1839 from Major Barney to Colonial Secretary soliciting a new prisoner's box at Maitland stockade, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1839, NRS-905-1-[4/2451]-4/2451.1.
- ^{xl} *The Colonist*, 1 June 1839, p.3 ("Maitland, May 29, 1839").

- ^{xli} Return shewing the works in progress in the Colonial Engineer Department in New South Wales, etc., 15 May 1841, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1841, NRS-906-1-[4/2529]-4/2529.4.
- ^{xlii} Report of 31 August 1843 for His Excellency Sir George Gipps on construction of the new gaol at Maitland, prepared by Edward Denny Day, Police Magistrate, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2].
- ^{xliii} Letter 7 November 1842 from Lieutenant Colonel George Barney, Colonial Engineer, to Colonial Secretary; and Report of 31 August 1843 for His Excellency Sir George Gipps on construction of the new gaol at Maitland, prepared by Edward Denny Day, Police Magistrate; in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2]. See also *Australasian Chronicle*, 29 October 1842, p.3 ("Maitland, October 25").
- ^{xliiv} *The Australian*, 4 June 1839, p.3 ("Maitland").
- ^{xlv} Letter 7 November 1842 from Lieutenant Colonel George Barney, Colonial Engineer, to Colonial Secretary, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2].
- ^{xlvi} Marginal responses of 12 November 1842 by Lieutenant Colonel Barney and Governor Gipps to letter of 10 November 1842 from Lieutenant Sheberras to Barney, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1842, [4/2571]-4/2571.2.
- ^{xlvii} Confidential report of 31 August 1843 for His Excellency Sir George Gipps by E.D. Day, Police Magistrate, Maitland, on the work in progress at the new gaol, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2].
- ^{xlviii} *Maitland Mercury*, 21 October 1843, p.2 ("Execution").
- ^{xlix} Letter 29 September 1844 from Captain H.J. Day to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ⁱ *Maitland Mercury*, 2 November 1844, p.4 ("His Excellency the Governor's visit to the Hunter").
- ⁱⁱ Letter of 19 August 1850 from Mortimer Wm. Lewis Jr, Clerk of Works at Maitland, to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records 4332 [2/602], Colonial Architect 1837-1970 file on Immigration Depots.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Sydney Gazette*, 4 September 1838, p.2 ("Original Correspondence").
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Letter 29 September 1844 from Captain H.J. Day to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ^{lv} See, e.g., Orders of 4 November 1844 and 12 February 1845 in "Copies or Extracts of General Orders affecting Military Expenditure issued at Head Quarters, Sydney, N.S. Wales, during the Month of Novr. 1844", and the same for the Month of February 1845, in War Office records copied from the originals in the Public Records Office, London, by the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia (Records of the Armed Forces from commands, headquarters, regiments and corps 1841 – December 1949, Series WO28 Headquarters Records 1841-55, Subseries General Orders 1841-55, New South Wales 1841-48).
- ^{lv} Quarterly return of Leg Irons, Hand Cuffs and Marching Chains at Maitland Stockade, 30 September 1844, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1845, NRS-905-1-[4/2678]-[4/2678.1].
- ^{lvi} Letter 20 November 1843 Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2]; and letter 29 September 1844 from Captain H.J. Day to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ^{lvii} "Return of Convicts "Out of Irons" required at Maitland Stockade signed by Captain H.J. Day, 29 September 1844 in Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1]; letter 7 January 1845 from Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary in Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1845, NRS-905-1-[4/2678]-[4/2678.1]; and letter 30 August 1843 from Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary in Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1843, INX-45-3509 [4/2600.2], in NSW State Archives and Records.

- ^{lviii} Letter of 14 May 1844 from Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary, and the Governor's handwritten response of 14 November 1844 noted thereon, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1]; and *Maitland Mercury*, 22 June 1844, p.2 ("The Roads").
- ^{lix} *Maitland Mercury*, 1 February 1845, p.3 ("Maitland and Morpeth Road").
- ^{lx} Letter of 14 May 1844 from Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ^{lxi} Letter 29 September 1844 from Captain H.J. Day to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ^{lxii} *Maitland Mercury*, 9 November 1844, p.4 ("Government Gazette").
- ^{lxiii} *Sydney Herald*, 26 August 1839, p.1 ("Legislative Council").
- ^{lxiv} *Sydney Gazette*, 4 September 1838, p.2 ("Original Correspondence").
- ^{lxv} *Sydney Gazette*, 18 December 1841, p.3 ("Original Correspondence").
- ^{lxvi} Extracts from the Orders for the Guard over the Gangs at Labour, certified as true copies by Captain H.J. Day, Capt., 99th Regt., Ast.Eng., Maitland Stockade, 4 Feby. 1843, for the purpose of charges preferred against Private Thomas McLoughlin, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1843, 4/2609.1.
- ^{lxvii} *Ibid.*
- ^{lxviii} James Waddell, *St. Peter's Old Burial Ground, East Maitland*, 2nd ed., Maitland Family History Circle Inc., 2004, p.14.
- ^{lix} *Maitland Mercury*, 18 March 1843, p.2 ("Maitland Assizes").
- ^{lxx} *The Colonial Observer*, 8 February 1843, p.806 ("Capture of a deserter").
- ^{lxxi} *Maitland Mercury*, 18 January 1845, p.4 ("Maitland Quarter Sessions").
- ^{lxxii} *Sydney Gazette*, 16 February 1839, p.2 ("The Transportation Committee").
- ^{lxxiii} *Sydney Herald*, 26 March 1842, p.2 ("East Maitland").
- ^{lxxiv} *Maitland Mercury*, 28 September 1844, p.2 ("Capture of a runaway").
- ^{lxxv} *Sydney Herald*, 26 August 1839, p.1 ("Legislative Council").
- ^{lxxvi} Letter 23 September 1845 Colonial Architect to Colonial Secretary, in Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1845, NRS-905-1-[4/2678]-[4/2678.1].
- ^{lxxvii} *Maitland Mercury*, 7 January 1846, p.2 ("Maitland Gaol").
- ^{lxxviii} Order of 5 January 1846 in "Copies or Extracts of General Orders and Memoranda affecting Military Expenditure issued in New South Wales during the Month of January 1846", in in War Office records copied from the originals in the Public Records Office, London, by the Australian Joint Copying Project, National Library of Australia (Records of the Armed Forces from commands, headquarters, regiments and corps 1841 – December 1949, Series WO28 Headquarters Records 1841-55, Subseries General Orders 1841-55, New South Wales 1841-48).
- ^{lxxix} *Maitland Mercury*, 10 January 1846, p.2 ("Detachment of the 99th Regiment").
- ^{lxxx} The original design for the gaol was by the Colonial Architect, Mortimer Lewis (1799-1879); and its construction was supervised by his son, Mortimer Lewis (1820-1899) who was stationed at East Maitland, and later at Newcastle.
- ^{lxxxii} Letter of 20 November 1847 from Lieutenant Colonel Gordon to the Colonial Secretary, in NSW State Archives, [4/2757.2], Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received 1826-1982, letters received from Colonial Architect 1847.
- ^{lxxxii} Letter of 19 August 1850 from Mortimer Wm. Lewis Jr, Clerk of Works at Maitland, to Colonial Architect, in NSW State Archives and Records 4332 [2/602], Colonial Architect 1837-1970 file on Immigration Depots.
- ^{lxxxiii} *Maitland Mercury*, 6 February 1847, p.4 ("The Governor's visit to the Hunter").
- ^{lxxxiv} *Maitland Mercury*, 20 May 1846, p.3 (advertisement).
- ^{lxxxv} *Maitland Mercury*, 25 December 1847, p.3 (advertisement).
- ^{lxxxvi} Letter 3 May 1854 from the Agent for Immigration, Sydney, to the Police Magistrate, Maitland, concerning the PM's proposal that the old stockade at East Maitland should be used as an immigration depot, in NSW State Archives and Records 4332 [2/602], Colonial Architect 1837-1970 file on Immigration Depots.
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- ^{lxxxvii} Correspondence on the erection and repair of buildings at the old stockade, East Maitland, in the period 1855-56, and its use as an immigration depot, in NSW State Archives and Records 4332 [2/602], Colonial Architect 1837-1970 file on Immigration Depots.
- ^{lxxxviii} *Maitland Mercury*, 29 August 1855, p.2 (“Immigrants”).
- ^{lxxxix} *Maitland Mercury*, 13 May 1865, p.6 (advertisement).
- ^{xc} *Maitland Mercury*, 3 March 1866, p.2 (“East Maitland Municipal Council”); and 22 November 1866, p.3 (advertisement).
- ^{xc1} See, e.g., *Maitland Mercury*, 6 May 1876, p.4 (“Volunteer Parade”).
- ^{xcii} *Maitland Weekly Mercury*, 26 June 1897, p.2 (“East Maitland”).
- ^{xciii} *Maitland Daily Mercury*, 9 May 1935, p.7 (“Started To-day”).
- ^{xciv} *The Sydney Monitor*, 9 October 1833, p.3.
- ^{xcv} Journal of Charles Boydell (1830-35), entry for 19 May 1834 (State Library of New South Wales).
- ^{xcvi} Government Gazette No.286, 26 July 1837, p.526.
- ^{xcvii} Government Gazette No.288, 9 August 1837, p.548 (advertisement).
- ^{xcviii} Government Gazette No.322, 28 February 1838, p.164, notifying the appointment of Captain Adams to be an Assistant Engineer and Superintendent of Ironed Gangs, but without nominating his intended station. However, it is clear that Adams was sent immediately to Maitland: see monthly return for 1st March 1838 showing Distribution of Troops serving in N.S. Wales and V.D. Land, 1st March 1838, in the War Office monthly returns.
- ^{xcix} *Hunter River Gazette*, 5 February 1842, p.3 (“Police”); and 12 February 1842, p.3 (“Police”).
- ^c Governor Gipps’ reply of 16 November 1844 to letter of Mortimer William Lewis of 14 May 1844, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Architect 1844, INX-45-4632 [4/2639.1].
- ^{ci} *Maitland Mercury*, 5 August 1846, p.2 (“Maitland District Council”).
- ^{cii} Distribution of Troops serving in N.S. Wales and V.D. Land, 1st May 1836 (Lieutenant Smith), in War Office monthly returns. Harper’s Hill is not mentioned as a separate military station after the monthly return for 1st June 1840.
- ^{ciii} *The Examiner* (Sydney), 18 October 1845, p.84 (“The Settler. Chapter X”).
- ^{civ} *The Examiner* (Sydney), 25 October 1845, p.92 (“The Settler. Chapter XI”).
- ^{cv} List showing the Number of Prisoners employed in Stockades and Road and Bridge Parties in and out of Irons on 1st January 1837, and equivalent list dated 1st August 1838, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1838 Part 2, 4/2400.1.
- ^{cvi} Government Gazette No.392, 20 February 1839, p.232.
- ^{cvi} Distribution of Troops serving in N.S. Wales and V.D. Land for 1839-40, in War Office monthly returns.
- ^{cvi} *Sydney Herald*, 10 May 1839, p.2 (“Domestic Intelligence”).
- ^{cix} Letter 31 October 1841 from Lieutenant Sheberras to Colonial Secretary forwarding doctor’s account for medical attendance on George Smith, in NSW State Archives and Records - Colonial Secretary Main series of letters received from Colonial Engineer, 1841, NRS-906-1-[4/2529]-4/2529.4.
- ^{cx} *The Australian*, 4 June 1839, p.3 (“Maitland”).
- ^{cx1} *The Australian*, 21 January 1840, p.3 (“Country News”).
- ^{cxii} *Maitland Mercury*, 9 December 1843, p.3 (“St. John’s Church”).

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