CHAPTER 12

Institutional and social change

To speak of beneficial progress in institutional management, tarred as it is with whiggish overtones, is to transgress against post-modernist revisionist history. Yet, it is simply a fallacy to suggest that advances in medicine, science and social theory did not result in improvements in the quality of life of invalids in charitable institutions. The motive behind the implementation of new concepts is all important, but we need to accept that, in some instances at least, that motive came from humanitarian concerns which, in turn had flowed from reformist thinking as to what were acceptable living standards. There were repercussions from a new sense of civil security and changing middle class values, particularly in relation to obligations of care and comfort towards institutional inmates. These benefited the aged poor because the conditions in which they had been housed were no longer tolerated by the wider community. From the mid 1870s onwards, inmate comfort became a significant issue with those members of the middle classes who took an interest in charitable institutions.

This chapter examines the repercussions of efforts to reform the administration and management of the aged poor in colonial Tasmania brought about by improved administrative structures and procedures, the medicalisation of management regimes and increased professionalisation in the systems of invalid management. This latter topic is specifically addressed through a discussion of changing ration scales and the bureaucratic moves to implement uniform regulations. The following discussion focuses upon the shift in viewing the institutionalisation of the aged poor as a social control issue to one which viewed it as a health management issue. This change in thinking was to see ever increasing emphasis placed upon the comfort, safety and well-being of inmates, and eventually led to institutionalisation being replaced by old age pensions. These issues are also addressed in this chapter.
Crossing the undeserving/deserving demarcation

There were a number of changes in the conditions inmates of charitable institutions faced which benefited them during the 1880s. These changes are indicative of a process by which invalids crossed the undeserving/deserving demarcation. Using terminology devised by Erving Goffman, this transformation can be seen as a process whereby the institutions housing invalids change from being 'organized to protect the community against what [we]re felt to be intentional dangers to it' to 'institutions established to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless'.¹ This transition can also be viewed as a perceived moral transformation in which pauper invalids increasingly were seen as sinned against, not as sinning, and as such empowered reform elements within society to push for, and achieve improvements to the conditions in which they were housed.² This change is also evident in the print media of the time. While the convict system was still blamed as the genesis of the invalid problem, it was not perceived of in the same venomous manner as had been the case 30 years earlier. When, in 1878, The Tasmanian Mail noted the invalid burden that the state laboured under because of the convict system, it added that this was an encumbrance 'borne as cheerfully as possible.'³ A considerably more mellow position than the contagion which evoked such fears of immorality in the late 1850s. As attitudes cautiously changed, custodial supervision was replaced by responsible care. An aspect of this is reflected in the more careful understanding and consideration given to the needs of inmates and the display of a more lenient attitude to what had previously been seen as luxuries.

¹ E. Goffman, Asylum: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Harmondsworth, 1971), p. 16.
² This expression 'as sinned against, not as sinning' was originally used by Archdeacon Davies, in a letter dated 19.12.1860 to the executive committee of the HBS, in relation to neglected children. It is nevertheless just as relevant in the context to which I have applied it. (ML 361/B, First Annual Report of the Benevolent Society of Hobart Town, for the year ended 31st December, 1860, (Hobart, 1861), p. 14.)
³ The Tasmanian Mail, 2.2.1878, p. 13 c. 1.
The early years of the 1870s witnessed the beginnings of a softening in attitudes towards pauper invalids, away from fear to that of sympathy. Society had previously shunned these men and women a mere decade earlier and this marked an important shift in social perceptions as inmates came increasingly to be seen as aged and infirm rather than old lags. In 1863, 80 percent of the inmates of the Brickfields were emancipists, men who had served out their convict sentences.\(^4\) By 1875 (the last year for which we have these figures), the percentage of inmates who had been imperial convicts that were accommodated at the Brickfields had increased to 90 percent (see Table 12.1). Therefore, at the same instance that there appears to have been a softening in middle class attitudes towards the inmates of the Brickfields, the change witnessed in the demographics of the institution was towards increasing, as opposed to decreasing, numbers of emancipists.\(^5\) Given this scenario, it is reasonable to deduce that it was not rising numbers of free persons entering charitable institutions which resulted in the middle class modifying their disposition towards pauper invalids.

As the reformist position ascended in popularity, there was an assuagement in attitudes towards invalids. The changes that this introduced to the charitable system did not go uncontested by conservative sectors of the middle class. Reform was a contested. In particular, members of benevolent societies, senior government bureaucrats and parliamentarians maintained their enmity towards invalids. This they demonstrated, for example, by re-opening Port Arthur in 1876 for emancipist invalids, and approving a far harsher regime of rules to regulate the bodies of invalids.\(^4\) This conservative backlash did not go unchallenged. For example, *The Mercury* was critical of the re-opening of the Port Arthur depot for colonial invalids.\(^7\) It accused the

\(^4\) TLCP, 10, 1864, Paper 24, p. 4.

\(^5\) The increasing percentage of emancipists in the depot is almost certainly reflective of the development of outdoor relief in the early 1860s. This was a system of relief which tended to favour the destitute colonist, and as such artificially inflated the percentage of emancipists within institutions.

\(^6\) The re-opening the Port Arthur invalid depot more accurately refers to this institution again accepting colonial invalids within in its precinct. Port Arthur at this time was still operating as an imperial invalid depot.

\(^7\) *The Mercury*, 28.7.1876, p. 2 c. 2-3.
government of sending invalids to accommodation which had not been properly prepared for their reception, which lacked the means to sufficiently attend the sick and for which proper oversight was not easily conducted from Hobart Town.

As time moved on, problems associated with overcrowding in charitable institutions combined with escalating costs related to pauper relief, and this forced major changes upon the colonial government as to the manner in which it addressed invalids. The continuing poor performance of the Tasmanian economy limited funds available for charitable relief and stifled innovation. These conditions permitted conservative elements within both the government bureaucracy and private philanthropic organisations to hold sway, and facilitated a penurious approach to managing the poor which diminished the advances made in improving the lot of invalids confined to government institutions. This was particularly the situation in the latter part of the 1870s and early 1880s, and again in the 1890s, when the government introduced a number of initiatives to reduce expenditure. The emphasis on fiscal constraint had a number of ramifications for paupers and invalids, such as a concerted effort to cut the costs related to their support.

**TABLE 12.1:** Average daily numbers and percentages of emancipist/free inmates at the Brickfields Invalid Depot, 1866-74.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Emancipists</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>87.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>87.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>89.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>90.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>89.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference: TLCP, 13, 1867, Paper 9, p. 99. TLCP, 14, 1868, Paper 1, p. 109. TLCP, 15, 1869, Paper 1, p. 120. TLCP, 16, 1870, Paper 1, p. 117. TLCP, 17, 1871, Paper 1, p. 122. TLCP, 18, 1872, Paper 2, p. 117. TLCP, 19, 1873, Paper 1, p. 120. TLCP, 20, 1874, Paper 1, p. 120. TLCP, 21, 1875, Paper 2, p. 123.
From the mid 1880s onwards, economy became the watchword amongst politicians and bureaucrats in relation to the institutional management of invalids. It was in this ideological climate that the 1888 Royal Commissioners felt ‘compelled to refrain from suggesting any vital changes in the system such as might do much towards improving the lot of the inmates.’ Their decision was likely to have been further influenced by a belief that the numbers of people requiring institution care would significantly decline as the emancipist population of Tasmania died out. While the Commissioners recognised the many faults of the existing charitable institutional system, they were not prepared to recommend changes which ‘would entail very considerable expense to the colony.’ The Government Statistician was one conservative who regularly applauded the decline in pauper emancipist numbers and consistently stated this was beneficial for the moral improvement of the colony. He was part of a section of the middle class who retained a belief that pauper emancipists represented a moral contagion. However, this was a contagion — it was believed — which was in decline, one which was being vanquished by the moral superiority of the free settler whose ascendancy could no longer be curbed by the remnants of the convict population. In his report for 1885, he wrote, of the decline in invalid numbers:

What better proof could be given of the fact that pauperism and crime are simply noxious foreign plants, which find no congenial soil in Tasmania for their propagation! Tasmania’s advance in material progress is not half so cheering as this indication of her power to eliminate from her social system the noxious poisons of pauperism and crime.\(^9\)

\(^8\) TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. xxi. There was good reason to believe that as emancipists died the population of charitable institutions would decline. Table 12.2 demonstrates that this belief was based upon a realistic interpretation of the available statistics on institutionalised paupers. In both absolute and relative figures the inmate population was in decline. In 1873 there had been 1113 paupers accommodated in government institutions. By 1887, this figure had fallen to 810. In relative terms, this represented a drop from 107.46 paupers per 10,000 of population to 57.92, between the years 1873 and 1887. Conservative elements of the middle class perceived this decline in pauper numbers, which was also matched by a comparable decline in the number of prisoners (down from 644, or 62.17 per 10,000 in 1873 to 230, and 16.45 per 10,000 in 1887), in moral terms. (TPP, 14, 1888-9, Paper 2, p. bxxviii.)

\(^9\) TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. xxi.

\(^10\) TPP, 8, 1886, Paper 1, p. liii.
There was a feeling amongst conservative elements, expressed in the sentiments of the Statistician, that the vigour of the colony was at last winning out over 'old and feeble' elements which had been retarding the advancement of the State.\(^{11}\)

The 1890s also saw a 'changing of the guard', so to speak, with the retirement of administrators whose roots lay either in the convict administrative system, or its immediate successor. The early 1890s saw a new generation of institutional administrators take charge who were not imbued with a loathing of the remnant pauper emancipist population.\(^{12}\) Part of the rationale behind the beliefs of the new administrators was a growing realisation that the invalid population, particularly its emancipist constituency, was each and every year growing a little older, becoming more and more infirm, and diminishing. As the public was exposed to the increased state of invalid infirmity, so too was community apprehension and revulsion of the invalids replaced by compassion and concern for their wellbeing. This was facilitated by the activities of reformers who were successful in reducing community anxiety in relation to emancipist paupers. They led the social change by portraying invalids in a human light, as men and women, not to be vilified but to be cared for, and by urging that this care could be administered in a de-institutionalised setting in the form of outdoor relief.

The new administrators introduced a more liberal and reformist approach to pauper management. For example, Henry Quodling believed in reform of charitable institutions and he put his beliefs into practice soon after replacing Alfred Jones as superintendent of the LID, in September 1890. In implementing reform he had the support of much of the Launceston community, as is evidenced in a series of newspaper articles which appeared in the latter half of 1891. In September 1891, \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, while highly

\(^{11}\) \textit{TPP}, 4, 1885, Paper 1, p. viii.
critical of previous management of the LID,lavished much favour and credit
upon Quodling and his staff, noting that:

ey have effected a splendid reform in the management of the Depot, and
where filth and disorder held undisputed sway they have substituted
cleanliness so far as the situation will permit, and a well-defined system.¹³

**TABLE 12.2:** Relative number of paupers accommodated in charitable
institutions per 10,000 of population. (Based upon information contained in *TPP*, 14,
1888-9, Paper 2, p. lxxxviii.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>No. of Paupers</th>
<th>Per 10,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1081</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>1084</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1046</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This was a position echoed by the *Launceston Examiner* two months later.¹⁴
Both papers were critical of the penny-pinching attitude of the government
and previous management with regard to the welfare of the inmates,
especially in respect to diet. *The Daily Telegraph*, in particular, believed that
the community would ‘not object to the unfortunate old creatures having
their last days on earth made slightly happier by a little more generous
treatment in the way of food.”¹⁵ They believed the perpetual attempts to cut

¹³ *The Daily Telegraph*, 19.9.1891, p. 4 c. 5-6.
¹⁴ *Launceston Examiner*, 10.11.1891, p. 4 c. 3-4.
¹⁵ *The Daily Telegraph*, 19.9.1891, p. 4 c. 5-6.
costs in relation to the operation of the depot to be a pernicious false economy. They described this as the ‘keep-them-as-cheaply-as-possible-and-the-sooner-they-die-the-better’ system, and lauded Quodling that it appeared that a new way based upon a more humane principle was fast being introduced. While congratulating the new management of the depot, the paper recognised that those changes made were but a first step in the reformation of the institution and that undoubtedly further reforms were needed.

They were derisive of conservative bureaucratic elements within the government who were opposed to, and critical of, the reforms being introduced. Also censured were those ‘who for years gave silent acquiescence to the mismanagement’. This, in part, referred to the outward appearance of the institution whose public face was adorned with immaculate gardens and grounds, while its interior, private spaces, reserved for the inmates, were deplorable. Effectively The Daily Telegraph was denouncing the practice of window-dressing the establishment. It stated the matter thus:

In the past there was a most noticeable tendency to keep the grounds in admirable condition, whilst the unfortunate inmates were neglected to an extent which was a disgrace to all concerned. This was particularly noticeable in the Invalid Hospital, the unfortunate old fellows being crowded together in a dirty apartment, reeking with filth and swarming with vermin. Now all this has been changed, and the present condition of the hospital is a credit to those responsible for the reform.

As the importance of inmate comfort came to dominate middle class concerns with charitable institutions, the issue of the difference in standards between the veneer of the institution and its interior spaces was addressed. It was reported for 1899 that: ‘The buildings have been made much more comfortable and improved in appearance, especially the interior.’

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16 ibid.
17 ibid.
18 ibid.
19 (TPP, 45, 1900, Paper 4, p. 4.)
Another factor which helped facilitate the transition from undeserving to deserving was that society itself was, by the end of the nineteenth-century, more orderly than it had been at its midpoint. According to Petrow, both Hobart and Launceston had experienced a decline in lawlessness and disorder in the late nineteenth-century. This he attributed primarily to the reform of the municipal police resulting in a more effective and honest force. Coupled with the influence of Christian philanthropy, moral reform groups, the declining proportion of emancipists in society and the more widespread acceptance of middle class virtues, this gave an impetus to the reform movement and a dynamism for progressive change. By the 1890s, reform had gained the upper hand and rapidly drew upon a multitude of social and bureaucratic changes in order to consummate a new social agenda. In many ways the changes that Petrow detailed in the Hobart municipal police are mirrored in the charitable institutions and are reflective therefore of a far more fundamental shift in both social and bureaucratic thought and practice. In particular, Petrow stressed the substantive improvement in professionalism exhibited by the force following restructuring in the late 1870s. Influential in this, just as was the case in the charitable institutions, was a significant improvement in the calibre of staff employed and in their related working conditions. Such changes within the invalid depots were, as observed for the municipal police and the community it served, likely to have engendered an attitudinal and behavioural change on the part of both institutional staff and inmates. A reinforcing and accelerating pattern of positive behavioural change inevitably led to a hastening in changing social attitudes to the aged poor in the last decade of the nineteenth-century.

The combination of a belief that the deterrent facet of institutional life could be relaxed and that more faith could be put in the integrity of pauper

classification justified both milder treatment and more focussed harshness. For those adjudged not requiring the severe regime of the earlier charitable institutions because of their incapacity — the sick, the aged and the very young — their treatment was to become ever more tolerable. By contrast, for those who continued to be damned as undeserving — the idle, able-bodied vagrant, the drunkard, the malingerer — the system remained relatively unchanged. William Moore, the Colonial Secretary in the late 1870s and early 1880s, was ardently opposed to imposition, but he was also prepared to treat more compassionately those inmates deemed to be cases fit for an invalid depot. This can be observed in changing attitudes towards inmate labour. Inmates of invalid depots were required to perform labour commensurate with their physical (and mental) condition. At the end of the 1870s, via a labour test, Moore made 'work capacity testing' of invalids compulsory, in order to weed out any malingerers who might have been imposing upon the charitable institutional system. The introduction of work tests resulted in some men leaving the institution, but more importantly it led to the classification of a separate element within the general invalid population. It led to the identification of 'malingerers', who were infused with the worst of the negative notions of invalids, while at the same time they were distinguished from those geriatric inmates who were not forced out of the institutions.

The capacity for Moore to introduce a more rigorous labour test was based upon an initiative his predecessor, Thomas Reibey, had instituted earlier in 1879. In March of that year, Reibey wrote to both Edward Giblin and R. W. Murphy who respectively were the medical officers attending the invalid depots in the south and the north. Reibey had requested that they conduct an inspection of each inmate and return 'a full report of every man, who, in his opinion, is able to work, giving age, and every particular connected with each

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22 Moore's contempt of imposers was evident in his strong support for the introduction of more rigorous medical inspections for determining invalid work capacity.
case reported upon. This investigation represented the beginnings of case management and laid the foundation for far greater surveillance of individual invalids. By delegating the task of determining invalid work capacity to doctors, Reibey effectively empowered the role of the medical profession in the management of charitable institutions. As doctors continued to improve and refine their record keeping procedures, this was a power which could only grow as increased knowledge was obtained about both individual invalids and the entire invalid population. This needs to be viewed in light of the development of a medical profession and the need to acquire the means to retain and enhance power, and thus authority, through the acquisition of specialised knowledge. It is interesting to note that this was taking place at the same time as a growing professionalism within the public service. Both these developments, these acts of empowerment, based upon improved record keeping, increasingly segregated geriatric invalids out of the general pauper population and effectively identified their specialised requirements.

A further example of Moore's rather enlightened and certainly more lenient approach towards the newly classified 'deserving inmate' can be seen in an exchange which took place between himself and Robert Andrew Mather, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the HBS, in early 1880. At this time Mather complained of a large discharge of paupers from the New Town depot. These men had ostensibly left the institution in order to take

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24 AOT: CSD 10/70/1720, Reibey to Giblin, 24.3.1879.
25 Case management initially developed as a further tool in preventing imposition. It was a technique actively espoused by private philanthropic organisations and given vocal advocacy, in both Britain and the Australian colonies, particularly Victoria, by the Charity Organisation Society. For a discussion of this body's involvement in case management and the role it played in advancing casework to a position of primacy in the British social welfare system, see J. Fido, 'The Charity Organisation Society and social casework in London 1869-1900' in A.P. Donajgrodzki (ed.), Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain (London, 1977), pp. 207-30.
26 Ronald Mendelsohn has stressed, particularly from the beginnings of the twentieth-century (but equally applicable to the last decades of the nineteenth) that an important contribution to aged care came through 'the application of increasing knowledge and practice to their special problems through what has become known as geriatric treatment — a term invented in the USA in 1909.' (R. Mendelsohn, The Condition of the People: Social Welfare in Australia, 1900-1975 (Sydney, 1979), p. 187.)
27 AOT: CSD 10/18/265, Moore to Mather, 13.3.1880.
advantage of temporary seasonal labour — hop picking at New Norfolk. Mather believed many of these men were not capable of such labour and recommended that they should have to undergo a medical inspection 'to ascertain whether they were fit for work or not.'²⁸ If they failed the inspection Mather argued that they should not be permitted to leave, or if they persisted, that they not be entitled to re-admission. Moore did not agree with this proposition. He rhetorically asked Mather what was to be done with these men 'should they apply for re-admission as being destitute of food and shelter[?]²⁹ They could be apprehended as vagrants and incarcerated in a gaol for a month or they could be left to starve. Neither of these alternatives held any appeal to Moore, who viewed these paupers as 'worn out decrepit old men'.³⁰ Although inmates were still initially being detained for three months upon admission to an invalid depot, Moore believed that this was where the resemblance to penal incarceration should end. He maintained that if inmates were to be detained against their will, then this would 'render the Institution too Gaol like in its Character' and would result in inmates 'remaining as though they were Prisoners'.³¹ Thomas Szasz has argued, in relation to the English workhouse, that as it 'was unmasked as a de facto prison, it gradually fell into disrepute.'³² The same is true for the Tasmanian invalid depot. Moore held that a better approach was to have the Superintendent talk to those inmates unable 'to contribute to their own maintenance by their labor' and for him to 'urge upon them the folly of their leaving the Institution.'³³ Moore favoured coercion and persuasion as opposed to detention and incarceration. On a more practical note he indicated that Mather might be overreacting to the situation, given that the onset of winter would in all likelihood see a reversal in men desiring to leave the institution.

²⁸ ibid.
²⁹ ibid.
³⁰ ibid.
³¹ ibid.
³³ AOT: CSD 10/18/265, Moore to Mather, 13.3.1880.
Class and classification played a significant role as to who out of the general pauper population ended up in invalid depots and how they were treated. Due to its transportation history, Tasmania in the latter quarter of the nineteenth-century had more ex-convicts, per capita, than any other Australian colony. While not the only factor influencing the make up of charitable institutions and their systems of management, it was nevertheless a significant issue which cannot be ignored. By the late 1880s there was still a large component of the Tasmanian population who were ageing emancipists, which skewed population age demographics upwards. This higher proportion of the population, who were old, infirm and indigent meant that, compared to other colonies, Tasmania had a disproportionately higher percentage of its people in charitable institutions. When the background of inmates is examined (see Appendix One) it is not surprising to find that a majority were ex-convicts or what were referred to as 'relics of the convict days of the colony'. Even as late as 1898, the Clipper described charitable institutions as 'the feathering [sic] legacies of Lagdom'.

Given the make up of the inmate population, comments like Lavington Thompson's, the Surgeon Superintendent of the LGH and Visiting Medical Officer to the LID, that '[t]he accommodation is very rough, but fairly good, coniidering [sic] the class of inmates' is understandable. But the times and attitudes were changing. The 1888 Royal Commissioners, themselves, exhibited this shift in their report. They stated that:

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34 Relative to other nearby colonies Tasmania had a greater proportion of its population aged 65 years or more. Indeed, at 4.60 percent this represented the highest proportion of population in this age bracket of any Australasian colony. The figures being in descending order: Tasmania, 4.60; Victoria, 3.45; South Australia, 3.32; Western Australia, 2.95; Australasia, 2.81; New South Wales, 2.52; New Zealand, 2.30; and, Queensland, 1.52. (TPP, 28, 1892, Paper 67, p. xxxv.)

35 Victoria and New South Wales each had 19 people per 1000 in Benevolent Asylums compared to 58 for Tasmania (TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. 114). Also see H. Reynolds, ‘that hated stain’: the aftermath of transportation in Tasmania' Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand 14, no. 53 (October 1969), pp. 19-31.


37 The Clipper, 29.10.1898, p. 2 c. 3.

38 TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. 64.
The majority of the inmates of this institution [NTCI] consists of the remnants of a rapidly decreasing class of persons sent to this colony in bygone days, and then treated in such a manner as to unfit them, when given their freedom, to provide for their declining years, and so to throw them upon the charity of the colony. This class is year by year becoming smaller, and at no very distant date will become extinct.39

Two points emerge from this comment. Firstly, that the inmates might not have been responsible for the circumstances in which they found themselves. The blame for their condition moved from the individual to the penal transportation system. Thus in part the Commissioners were acknowledging the role that environment played in pauperism. This was a new idea which was well expressed by W. D. Morrison, who maintained:

As a rule a man is shaped by the surroundings in which he has been born and is obliged to live. If those surroundings are all calculated to injure him and to degrade him he will sooner or later degenerate, and become a drunkard, a pauper, a lunatic, or a criminal, or, as not infrequently happens, a combination of all.40

While this in itself did not make invalids deserving it certainly placed them in a position where a more progressive reformist constituency viewed them as not undeserving. The second point was the belief that the emancipist population was dying out and once it was gone there would be significantly less need for charitable institutions and economically less impost on the finances of the state.

Knowledge through improved administrative structures and procedures

From the mid 1870s onwards there was an increased emphasis placed upon the keeping of records. This is well exemplified by the 1872 redraft of the Rules and Regulations of the Launceston General Hospital.41 The house surgeon and apothecary were, for example, to ‘keep an historic register of all cases admitted’ and ‘in a book kept for that purpose a nominal list of all patients, stating date of admission and discharge, or death, in each case, the nature of

39 ibid., p. xxi.
41 For a comparison between the old and new regulations see CSD 7/43/80 for a copy of the Rules and Regulations of the Launceston General Hospital dated 5 March, 1864 and a copy dated 1872.
the disease, and its termination or issue. On the one hand this can be see as part of the Victorian obsession with the statistics and their tabulation and, on the other, with the development of bureaucratic measures, particularly as they relate to the standardisation of record keeping as a means of further controlling and manipulating societal classification. This is what Foucault has referred to as 'a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation.' He has argued that:

_The examination, surrounded by all its documentary techniques, makes each individual a 'case': a case which at one and the same time constitutes an object for a branch of knowledge and a hold for a branch of power. The case is no longer, as in casuistry or jurisprudence, a set of circumstances defining an act and capable of modifying the application of a rule: it is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded, etc._

The introduction and expansion of such bureaucratic systems within the medico-charitable-penal sphere could only have led to further differentiation between the various inmate populations, enhanced specialisation in their management and enhanced visibility.

The improvement in record keeping, commencing in the early 1870s, was part of a fixation with the collation and presentation of statistical information from the middle of the nineteenth-century onwards, as demonstrated by the explosion in this material in the parliamentary papers of the colony from the mid 1850s onwards. Writing in respect of poverty, paupers and labour, in the early 1860s, Henry Mayhew observed:

One of the most remarkable and distinctive features of the present age is the universal desire for analytical investigations. Almost every branch of social economy is treated with a precision, and pursued with an accuracy, that pertains to an exact science. Demonstration has been reduced to a mathematical certainty; figures and statistics everywhere abound, and supply data for further research.

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42 CSD 7/43/801, Rules and Regulations of the Launceston General Hospital, 1872.
44 Foucault, Discipline and Punish, p. 191. (Emphasis in original.)
Mayhew lamented that too often, while throwing light upon a social and moral issue, this amassing of knowledge was not used to resolve the condition but rather was an end unto itself. However, it is argued that the accumulation of this information provided the means by which bureaucrats and philanthropists came to identify the various elements which were seen as making up a previously perceived amorphous pauper class and allowed them to make individual assessments of these parts based upon a far greater understanding of their condition. This was an essential in facilitating the transition that the aged pauper invalid underwent from undeserving moral contagion to deserving, unfortunate, social flotsam. In this, Mayhew was to make a contribution. His works were both available and known in the colony. In particular, *London Labour and the London Poor*, went some way in preparing colonial minds to recognize that there were those in their midst who were unable to work and that they should be distinguished from those able but unwilling to labour; those who deserved assistance as opposed to those warranting nothing but disdain. Mayhew meticulously laid out a multitude of categories and sub-categories which made up the various elements of his social model of labour. In this model, Mayhew classified those suffering 'from some *physical* defect, as in the case of the old and the young, the super-annuated and the sub-annuated, the cripple and the maimed' (the pauper invalid) as well as those afflicted 'from some *intellectual* defect, as in the case of lunatics and idiots' in the category of those who cannot work. They were contrasted with the category of those that will not work, which was made up of 'moral defects, as in the case of the indolent, the vagrant, the professional mendicant, and the criminal.' Such a classification, given its intellectual respectability, assisted middle class reformists in nullifying prior beliefs of a moral threat presented by aged pauper invalids.

Classification, specialisation and centralisation were processes which placed paupers under the 'enlightenment magnifying glass'. They were agencies

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66 *Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor*, p. 3. (Emphasis in original.)
crucial for the marked change in society's disposition towards the aged poor. Effectively they separated invalids out from a mid-century amorphous pauper mass. In the last decade of the nineteenth-century, with the introduction of more rigid inmate classification, based upon differential physical location between invalids and criminals, the aged and invalidated poor were afforded the definition of deserving. By 1901 the charitable system was able to recognise that even the aged poor were not a homogeneous population but one which could be finely categorised into differing degrees of deserving based upon physical status, medical exigency, treatment regimes and differing social backgrounds.

Medicalisation of management regimes
By the commencement of the 1890s, invalids had made considerable progress down the deserving road. They had placed space and time between themselves and the criminal, and increasingly were perceived as a medical, as opposed to a moral, problem. Divisions in management strategies were bridged, as both public and private charity developed increasingly more professional administrative structures and procedures. Professionalism in relation to invalids was further evidenced in medicalisation of the management regime. There was increased awareness that invalids suffered specific age related conditions and this needed to be reflected in their care, management and treatment. Administratively, this development was graphically demonstrated by the introduction in 1894 of bed-head cards (see Figure 12.1) at both the NTCI and LID. These reflected the increasing administrative professionalism through the use of case management, the medicalisation of charitable institutions, and the reinforcement of the status of the patient as the subject of bureaucratic knowledge.

49 TPP, 31, 1894, Paper 6, p. 4.
49 They also retained an element of convictism in the recording of 'ship'. This piece of information was part of the convict bureaucratic record and refers to the convict transportation which originally brought an emancipist to Van Diemen's Land. It was used by convict administrators to identify individual prisoners. In a sense the retention of this piece of information in the context of the early 1890s was a memento from the past and a clear marker that one's convict past could not be forgotten. Its inclusion linked the pauper to the convict and may have kindled some negative feelings by persons observing these cards.
The medicalisation of charitable institutions was most noticeable in a new debate between administrators, staff, bureaucracy and the 'benevolent community' over the most appropriate form of nursing that inmates should receive. The 1888 Royal Commission considered whether or not trained female nurses should be employed to attend male invalids. This issue brought a range of opinions to the surface and these reflected the division and debate which was taking place amongst the middle class as to whether invalids were undeserving or deserving. It further reflected the growing power of the medical fraternity in their pursuit of authority in respect to the management of charitable institutions. The polarised tendencies of this debate can be seen by contrasting the attitudes of Withrington, Jones, Louis Hurst (NTCI Matron), Robert Venus (Resident Overseer at the LID), and Thompson on the one hand, who opposed the introduction of trained nurses into the institutions, with on the other hand the views of Frederick Seager (Assistant Superintendent NTCI) and Dr C. E. Barnard (Medical Officer to the NTCI), who were supportive of such a development.
Withrington stated that he opposed the introduction of trained female nurses into the depots because the men were of 'very dirty habits' and he would not be able to induce respectable women to attend to them. Withrington was also averse to the employment of trained male nurses. While he framed his opposition to the engagement of nurses in financial terms, estimating that the employment of between 20 and 30 nurses would cost between £4000 and £5000 for the first year, and about £2000 a year thereafter, his fundamental opposition appears to have stemmed from a fear that the supervision nurses would exercise over inmates would erode his capacity to maintain control over New Town. This belief, that the employment of nurses would to some extent see an erosion of the existing staff's authority, was also felt by Hurst who argued that 'it would be introducing an uncontrollable element into the establishment, and they would jar with existing arrangements.'

Venus was also opposed to the employment of nurses on the grounds that 'the habits of the men are so dirty that no woman would remain there' and that the men were 'very filthy sometimes in their actions.' Thompson agreed with Withrington and Venus on this point and went further to state that the use of invalids acting as wardsmen was an arrangement which sufficiently met the nursing requirements of sick inmates. However, statements in the annual reports of the NTCI negate assertions that invalids were able to meet their nursing requirements from among their own ranks. Indeed, Withrington's anti-nurse position is radically at odds with his own words. In 1884 he wrote:

Latterly the stamp of people who have received orders for admission are totally unfitted from age and their infirmities to fill the position of attendants, consequently during the year I have experienced the greatest difficulty in

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50 TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. 34. While categorical on this point, Withrington did not completely close the door on trained nurses. He did acknowledge that there might be a role for such staff in the future but only after the institutionalised emancipist population had died out. (TPP, 6, 1885, Paper 154, p. 21.)
51 TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. 35.
52 ibid., p. 36.
53 ibid., p. 59.
54 ibid., p. 64.
finding inmates (males and females) fitted to take charge of the hospital wards, which contain many sick and bedridden cases. There are a great number of chronic complaints where kind nursing is indispensable, particularly in cases of those who are in themselves perfectly helpless and require lifting and assistance on all occasions when a change of position is necessary. Eventually it will be found that a better class of attendants will be an advantage.55

This was a theme repeated in successive annual reports and with an increasingly desperate tone as the inmates became more and more decrepit. Thus there was a significant contradiction in the position that Withrington took regarding the employment of nurses which ultimately related to his personal inability to delegate power.

Likewise, Jones contradicted both himself and Thompson on the capacity of wardsmen to act as nurses, stating that he often had difficulty finding suitable candidates from amongst the inmates. Jones had first noted, a decade earlier, the difficulty of procuring from amongst the inmates wardsmen who were capable of performing the necessary duties.56 This was due to many of the inmates becoming very infirm and 'consequently entailing extra care and attention on the part of the wardsmen.'57 Thus while he recognised the need for additional care for his charges, and the inability to procure such from amongst the men themselves, he was not prepared to support the logical solution to this dilemma, the employment of professional nurses.58

Seager agreed with Jones that it was difficult to secure the services of competent wardsmen and that the existing invalid staff had its limitations but he firmly disagreed with the view that because of the men's habits it would not be possible to secure the services of nurses. He had in fact already approached the nursing staff of the HGH on the subject and been informed that 'there would be no difficulty in procuring nurses to wait upon them

55 TPP, 1, 1884, Paper 9, p. 3.
56 TLCP, 28, 1879-80, Paper 10, p. 3.
57 TLCP, 29, 1880, Paper 12, p. 3.
58 It is not that Jones did not recognise that there was a need for nurses, he did. For example, he stated in 1885, that 'I fear the day is not far distant when paid nurses will have to be employed'. (TPP, 5, 1885, Paper 10, p. 4.) The exposure of the emotion of fear in this statement is very revealing. Reformist improvements, such as the employment of nurses
[male invalids]. He also challenged Withrington’s estimate of the cost associated with the introduction of trained nursing staff. By his reckoning, the additional cost of employing twenty nurses would amount to no more than about £1000 per annum. Barnard was more blunt than Seager and viewed good nursing as integral to modern medical management of the aged. He saw nothing objectionable in female nurses attending to sick men, after all ‘they are lying in bed all the time.’ He summed up the pro-nurse faction stating that:

there is no doubt that the old people who attend to the sick, — though they manage well, — are not so capable of performing these duties as they would be if they were younger. The majority of them are old and decrepit, and, as one very important part of the treatment of the aged is good nursing, I would recommend the appointment of two good nurses for the day-time for each hospital ward.

Barnard was not advocating that the then existing scheme of using inmate attendants should be scrapped but rather that it should be augmented with professionally trained staff. Further, in clearly hitching his flag to the ‘deserving’ school of thought, he stated that it was his belief that ‘the sick there [at the NTCI] should receive as much comfort as if they were men of more refined habits’. Despite Seager’s and Barnard’s lobbying, the Commissioners determined to oppose the employment of trained female nurses. Ostensibly they justified this decision on the belief that it would not be possible to induce respectable, middle class, women to undertake the various invalid nursing duties and that, as the inmates were suffering from essentially incurable ailments, ‘no amount of skilled nursing would be of avail to restore them to health’. However, these were mere excuses to ease the conscience. The real reason was financial. As they put it:

with its shift in philosophy away from carceral institution to medical institution was an agenda not acceptable to one so steeped in the old penal system.

60 ibid., p. 39.
61 ibid., p. 32.
62 ibid.
63 ibid., p. 33.
64 ibid., p. 32.
There would be additional buildings required for their [the nurses] accommodation, and the additional cost for wages, rations, clothing, etc. would not, in our opinion, be justified.\textsuperscript{66}

Not all in parliament were convinced. In mid 1888, Philip Fysh, the Chief Secretary, wrote to Withrington requesting additional information in regard to the nursing of female invalids at the NTCI. He believed it desirable to provide better nursing for the invalid women and it would appear from the communication that he had raised the issue with Withrington on previous occasions. It also appears that the matter had been reported to the CSO as early as 1885.\textsuperscript{67} In October 1889, the subject was revisited. According to Fysh, a Member of the House of Assembly was going to raise the matter before the House in regard to the NTCI. This member was most probably L. M. Dooley who, along with A. Young, wrote in the NTCI’s Visitors Book that:

\begin{quote}
The Ward attendants seem very kind and attentive but the employment of two skilled nurses to guide and superintend would be a great improvement.\textsuperscript{68}
\end{quote}

As the repercussions of any parliamentary deliberation would no doubt affect nursing arrangements at the LID, Fysh re-sought Jones’ opinion on whether he considered ‘female nursing in the male wards of Invalid Depots desirable and practicable.’ Jones reiterated his former position, categorically expressing that such a nursing system was ‘undesirable and impracticable.’\textsuperscript{69} When the issue of providing both male and female invalid wards at the NTCI with trained nurses was debated in parliament, there was a split in the ranks of the elite. A motion calling for £500 to be provided for employing nurses in the hospital wards, four for the male inmates and two for the female, was lost nine votes to 14.\textsuperscript{70} This appears to have killed off moves to introduce female nurses to invalid depots at this time. However, the number of female nurses

\textsuperscript{65} ibid., p. xxii.
\textsuperscript{66} ibid.
\textsuperscript{67} AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Fysh to Superintendent LID, 1.6.1888.
\textsuperscript{68} AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Extract NTCl Visitors Book, Young and Dooley, 5.10.1889.
\textsuperscript{69} AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Fysh to Jones, 12.10.1889.
\textsuperscript{70} AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Jones to Chief Secretary, 14.10.1889.
\textsuperscript{71} TPP, 14, 1889, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 55, 17.10.1889.
attendants at the NTCI was increased in 1891 from 23 to 30. Further, new regulations were introduced in respect of wardsmen at the NTCI. These regulations are of interest in terms of the specific guidance they give regarding the behaviour and the performance of duties by invalid wardsmen. These men were:

- to obey the orders of the Officers of the Institution, and to render the strictest attention to the various duties assigned to them. For being intoxicated, for striking, ill-using, or neglecting patients, or for any act of insubordination or misconduct, they will render themselves liable to instant dismissal.

The introduction of such regulations are in themselves proof that such practices were part of life within an invalid depot. They are reflective that such behaviour was taking place and that the new order was no longer going to tolerate such conduct. In addition to the requirement to abandon such practices there was also a directive for the wardsmen to take up the customs of their middle class superiors. Thus they were to:

- keep themselves neat and clean in their dress, avoid the use of vulgar language, treat each other with civility, and accustom themselves to speak respectfully at all times of the Offices of the Establishment.

Reflecting both a greater understanding of aged care and of changing middle class attitudes towards inmate comfort, wardsmen were also directed to pay particular attention to inmate welfare. For example, they were to see that patients of dirty habits were ‘carefully washed in warm water as often as may be necessary’ and that ‘every possible precaution is taken to prevent their catching cold’.

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73 These new regulations were published in The Hobart Gazette, 27.1.1891, p. 335 c. 2.
75 ibid., Rule 2.
76 ibid., Rule 6.
In 1891, George Richardson, in his capacity as Administrator of Charitable Grants, recommended ‘the employment of an able-bodied attendant.’ While not endorsing nurses, this proposal recognised the fact that inmates were increasingly incapable of maintaining themselves and that this situation necessitated able-bodied staff to properly conduct the day-to-day operation of the depot. Richardson’s recommendation represented a transitionary position between the old school, who believed that inmate wardsmen were singularly capable of managing wards, to those advocating the introduction of professionally trained nurses. This was a shift from viewing the institutionalisation of invalids as a social control issue to one which perceived it as a health management issue. As the Launceston Examiner declaimed, ‘poverty is their misfortune, not their crime.’ The paper was very critical of the lack of staff to care for the inmates, noting that:

Not a single able-bodied man is employed as wardsman, even in the infirmary, to look after the wants of these poor old men, many of them afflicted with chronic disease, the only assistance provided being that obtainable from a few of the more active paupers, who receive the magnificent remuneration of fourpence per day.

Professionalism in invalid management: rations and uniform regulations

An integral component of the intensification and expansion of a reformist agenda was increased professionalism in pauper management. The continuing poor performance of the economy was a powerful factor in driving the development of improved bureaucratic processes; and as such, the last two decades of the nineteenth-century are distinguished by a marked increase in documentation relating to all matters financial. Of particular note are concerns related to staffing issues. The 1888 Royal Commission, for example, made a number of recommendations in relation to improving professionalism in the management of invalids and paupers. It advocated improved staff training and better definitions of the roles and functions of various positions. The Commissioners also recommended independent

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77 AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Richardson to Chief Secretary, 17.8.1891.
78 Launceston Examiner, 4.9.1891.
79 ibid.
80 TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, pp. xviii and xxvi.
inspection of the management of charitable institutions. Institutional administrators were ardently opposed to this suggestion. Seager stated that he did not see the necessity for official visitors and Jones believed such a system to be non-essential as '[a]buses could not exist' and when such a board had been present in the past the government had abolished it because it 'never had anything to do.' Nevertheless, Jones did suggest a viable alternative in the appointment of a single inspector for the whole of the government institutions. This suggestion reflected a growing sense amongst government officers of the need to centralise bureaucratic power within the hands of public officers, itself a product of a developing identity and professionalism amongst the public service and of a desire to maintain control of their institutions. If there was to be supervision of their activities then it should be performed internally by government officers and not externally by appointed members of the public.

In 1885, the superintendents of charitable institutions were given the power to vary the monotonous diet to which inmates were subjected provided they remained within their budgetary constraints. Also, at this time, approval was granted for the issuing of dietary extras on important days such as the Queen’s Birthday and Christmas Day. In an 1891 review of the LID, Richardson found nothing to complain of in terms of quality or quantity of the diet, except that inmates were faced with an unvarying menu. He stated that ‘the meal is the same everyday’. This tedium, he suggested, could ‘be improved upon occasionally, by having baked or roasted meats or Irish stew’, as was the case at New Town. In terms of diet there had been a steady improvement in both the quality and variety of the rations supplied to inmates over the latter half of the nineteenth-century. In 1897, the Chief

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81 *ibid.*, p. xxii.
82 *ibid.*, pp. 38 and 58.
83 *ibid.*, p. 58.
84 AOT: CSD 13/10/86, Douglas to Superintendent LID, 12.1.1885.
85 AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Richardson to Chief Secretary, 17.8.1891.
86 *ibid.*
87 The annual reports of both the NTCI and the LID (and its successor the LBA) detail a greater attention to dietary issues, particularly in relation to improvement resultant upon a better understanding of the dietary needs of the aged. For example, a mincer was
Secretary asked Richardson for his views on whether ‘jam should be supplied to the Inmates of the Hospital of the Charitable Institution as an addition to dry bread now served out’. In response to this Richardson was able to state that all female inmates of the Institution then currently received butter as did most of the males in the hospital wards. We also learn that inmates were in receipt of other extras; these being recommended by the medical officer. According to Richardson, there were no complaints about food from the inmates. The standard fare was ample, good, and the cooking mode varied each day, with the inmates being served baked, boiled and stewed meals. Indeed, Richardson prided himself on the ‘liberal allowance & the satisfactory manner in which the food [wa]s cooked.’ As regards to jam, Richardson said that ‘if a sick man asks for, or fancies, jam or any other luxury it is given.’ The attitude was quite different from that expressed in earlier times when inmates were expected to be grateful for whatever they received and their meals were a prosaic repetition, day in and day out, with only the possibility of a pudding on Christmas Day and the Queen’s Birthday to break the monotony. Clearly, by advocating the inclusion of such items in their diet, inmates were merely attempting to replicate food items they would have been familiar with prior to their institutionalisation. As an example of how inmate fare slowly but continuously improved Seager was able to inform the Chief Secretary in August 1900, that:

at the New Town Depot all inmates of Hospital Wards and all female inmates are supplied three days a week with 1 ounce of butter each, and four days a

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88 AOT: CSD 22/3/43, Steward to Richardson, 8.7.1897.
89 AOT: CSD 22/3/43, Note, Richardson to Chief Secretary, 9.7.1897, appended to Steward to Richardson, 8.7.1897.
90 ibid.
91 ibid.
In late 1890, increasing bureaucratic specialisation and professionalism in invalid management saw Richardson write to the Chief Secretary on the subject of dietary scales. He recommended that a board be appointed to consider the question of establishing a uniform scale of diet between the NTCI and the LID. Richardson’s communication revealed the desire for uniformity, a growing awareness of the management practiced within inter-colonial institutions and an increased communication with those bodies. Richardson requested that a board be appointed to investigate the dietary scales of the northern and southern charitable institutions. No doubt, he would have believed that a new proposed dietary scale would meet with the approval of the government because it represented a considerable cost saving when compared to the existing standard. Further, the issue of reining in costs through cuts to institutional diets was familiar to the government, with the Board of the HGH ‘curtail[ing] unnecessary expenditure’, in late October 1890, by forbidding the addition of extras to their no. 2 diet. Richardson estimated a cost saving for the New Town budget of £333 per annum and, while also predicting a saving for the LID, he admitted that it would likely not be as great. When asked to comment on the proposed new diet, Quodling was scathing of the cuts that were propounded. He believed that they represented cost cutting to the detriment of the inmates. Quodling’s memorandum to Richardson on the subject indicated that he was not opposed to making savings in the dietary component of the budget, but he was not prepared to agree to these changes at the expense of the welfare of his charges. He stated that:

Under the proposed scale, all that the breakfast and tea would consist of with the exception of the two days on which oatmeal would be issued, would be 3/8

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92 AOT: CSD 22/38/201, Seager to Chief Secretary, 15.8.1900.
93 AOT: CSD 16/44/97, Richardson to Chief Secretary, 12.12.1890.
94 AOT: CSD 16/44/97, O’Boyle, Barnard, Richardson and Jones to Chief Secretary, 31.12.1890.
95 AOT: CSD 16/27/356, Smart to Chief Secretary, 29.10.1890.
96 AOT: CSD 16/44/97, Richardson to Chief Secretary, 31.12.1890.
lbs bread, and, 1 pint of tea without milk, which I certainly think would be an unsatisfactory meal.  

As with Richardson’s push for consistency between the northern and southern institutions in terms of their ration issues, Edward Daniels, Quodling’s replacement after his sudden death in August 1893, sought uniformity between the LID and the NTCI in other areas of invalid management. An incident which was to strengthen Daniels’ resolve was the death of Mark Burn, a 75-year-old inmate, who died in the grounds of the depot on the night of 12 February 1894. The medical evidence was inconclusive that the cause of death was a heart attack. In his report to the Chief Secretary, Daniels admitted that his neglect and poor communications with Venus played a significant role in Burn’s absence from his ward not being detected. Though he subsequently referred to these circumstances as ‘a slight misunderstanding’.  

It was nevertheless a misunderstanding which cost a man his life, for had Burn’s absence been detected earlier, then the possibility existed for him to have been found before expiring. Daniels further admitted that there had been other cases in the past when inmates had absented themselves at night and, being unable to re-enter the institutional buildings, were forced to sleep rough in the depot’s grounds. Daniels pointed out ambiguities in the LID’s regulations as being contributory to Burn’s death. He suggested that the regulations be amended in order to rectify these issues and, at the same time, make improvements in a number of areas. What he proposed was to amend the regulations ‘as far as possible to assimilate them with those of [the] New Town Charitable Institution’, and went so far as to produce a draft document.

The production of uniform regulations between the NTCI and LID reflected a further refinement in the bureaucratic management structures of Tasmania’s charitable institutions. The two establishments had been moving in this

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97 AOT: CSD 16/44/97, Note, Quodling to Richardson, 16.1.1891, appended to, Richardson to Quodling, 13.1.1891.
98 AOT: CSD 19/3/9, Daniels to Chief Secretary, 15.2.1894.
99 ibid., 18.5.1894.
100 ibid., 15.2.1894; and, ibid., 23.2.1894.
direction for quite some time, as demonstrated by the development of uniform dietary scales, so Daniels probably encountered little difficulty in drafting a set of standard regulations. One of the few obstacles in this bid for uniformity was the issue of dress. The NTCI issued its inmates a stock standard uniform while the LID, as a means of keeping costs minimal, had permitted its inmates to wear their own private clothing providing it had been cleaned (fumigated and washed in a solution of carbonic acid) and was tidy. Daniels stated that by permitting inmates the privilege of wearing their own items of clothing the government had been saved many hundreds of pounds. While he conceded that the issuing of a uniform to inmates was 'desirable from a disciplinary point of view' he was afraid, that the adoption of such at Launceston would entail a 20 percent increase in the amount voted by parliament for clothing LID inmates.

Over the next few months the CSO considered the proposed changes submitted by Daniels. By May 1894, its concerns had centered on discipline. Having regard to the matter of discipline, B. Travers Solly, now the Under Secretary, wrote to Daniels suggesting that:

> If an Inmate is ordered to close confinement on account of insubordination or any gross misconduct, it would be well that power should be given to the Superintendent to place the man on bread and water as well as to deprive him of his tobacco — Twenty four hours on that diet would often have a good effect.

This statement indicates, that at least amongst the old guard (and Solly was certainly old guard with in excess of forty years in the CSO), the belief that the convict origins of many invalids justified their being treated as if they were criminals still resonated. The exercise of the power to control the behaviour of aged inmates through such draconian and coercive measures as 'close confinement' and a bread and water diet was out of step with the

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102 ibid., 23.2.1894.
103 ibid. The jacket issued to the male inmates at the NTCI was thick blue cloth with a red lining. (The Tasmanian News, 18.11.1895, p. 2 c. 6-8.)
104 AOT: CSD 19/3/9, Daniels to Chief Secretary, 23.2.1894.
105 AOT: CSD 19/3/9, Solly to Daniels, 8.5.1894.
direction invalid management had been heading. Possibly, the retention of such thinking in the Department was a contributing factor to 'the dread old people ha[d] of the Depot'.

Inmate comfort, safety and well-being
A major transformation in administrative and community mentalité towards the aged pauper invalid can be observed from the mid 1870s onwards. Symbolic of this change in managing the aged poor from a philosophy of penal custodial isolation and confinement to that of medical treatment and care was an ever increasing focus on the comfort, the safety and the happiness of inmates. These changes were practical evidence of the mind-shift which saw aged paupers shake off the appellation of undeserving and become part of the socially acceptable classes. Institutions gradually moved towards a more progressive welfare role in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. For example, in the 1860s, inspections of the Brickfields emphasise the importance of the trinity of institutional life: cleanliness, order and discipline. By the mid 1870s this trinity had become a quartet, and the issue of inmate comfort assumes an equal importance. All annual reports from the mid 1870s onwards stress the 'comfort which [wa]s so thoroughly manifest throughout all the Wards' and the contented appearance of the inmates which was also very gratifying to the Board. The rise in the importance placed upon inmate comfort is not only observable at the Brickfields but at all other charitable institutions. A good example of the increased focus on this aspect of institutional life can be seen in measures taken to prevent flies from tormenting them. Flies must have been a source of misery for patients for many years. A suffering that had not warranted so much as a single comment in the official record. In the first half of 1884, 50 beds (30 for the NTCI and 20 for the LID) designed to stop flies from disturbing inmates were imported.

105 AOT: CSD 19/20/412, Simmons to Chief Secretary, 11.7.1894.
106 For example see AOT: CSD 4/14/122, Minutes of the Board of Management HGH, 26.9.1862.
107 TLCP; 19, 1873, Paper 7, p. 3.
from Britain. Following their arrival modifications were made to existing beds in order to effect the same result.

While Governor Charles Du Cane stressed, along with other visitors, the 'cleanliness, good order, and discipline' observable at Port Arthur upon his annual inspection in 1872, other senior government officials, such as Thomas Warner and Alfred Dobson, also commented upon the prevailing system of perfect order and comfort. Subsequent annual reports, in documenting the comments made by visitors to this and other establishments, stress order, cleanliness and discipline, but nevertheless make it clear that the issue of inmate comfort had also assumed a prominence in the eyes of those who conducted institutional inspections and tours. On 30 June 1899, Alfred Page, a Member of the Legislative Council, visited the NTCI and recorded what he observed:

Splendid meal, hot curry, all round, perfectly clean, warm and comfortable. All the patients seemed to be enjoying their meal heartily. A surprise visit and a cold wet day.

Whether what he described was indeed fact or fiction is to some extent irrelevant. The important issue is what he said, and what he did not say, particularly when compared to the comments such individuals recorded in the 1850s and 1860s. The essence of Page's comment related to the comfort of the inmates, or as he described them, patients. That they appeared to be 'comfortable', 'warm', 'clean', and 'enjoying their meal heartily' was important to Page. Such concerns were rarely expressed by visitors to charitable institutions before the fourth quarter of the nineteenth-century.

108 AOT: CSD 13/10/86, Executive Council Minute Paper, 10.3.1884; Daily Telegraph, 13.3.1884, p. 3 c. 2; and, AOT: CSD 13/10/86, Jones to Solly, 19.5.1884.
109 A report on the LID in an 1891 edition of the Launceston Examiner (10.11.1891, p. 4 c. 3-4) noted that 'mosquito-nets are provided for the poor old people who are too weak to wage incessant war with the flies.'
111 AOT: CSD 22/24/74, Under Treasurer, Victoria to Under Secretary, Tasmania, 30.6.1899.
The importance of inmate comfort to the middle classes developed significantly in the 1880s and 1890s. Whereas the 1850s and 1860s had embodied a focus on issues related to institutional cleanliness, discipline and order, the last two decades of the nineteenth-century saw the retention of cleanliness as an important issue, but the emphasis on order declined and discipline ceased to be of primary importance. As the influence of reformist ideas flowed through to the wider community the imperative shifted to inmate comfort and humane treatment, and indeed even concern for the 'pleasure of inmates'. This was clearly demonstrated in the recorded comments of visitors to charitable establishments. Even amongst conservatives the influence of this new perspective impacted upon their thinking, leading to a transitory position succinctly put by one visitor as 'ORDER and discipline give comfort to the many.'

As more and more middle class individuals involved themselves directly with invalids, the institutions came under attack from those who believed that in the manner they were conducted they were 'no better than a brothel' and that inmates 'should receive as much comfort as if they were men of more refined habits'. Such statements were often translated into direct personal interaction with inmates, in a manner which was unheard of in previous decades. For example, a scene observed in one institution was described thus:

some ladies singing and reading to the inmates. Every Sunday afternoon some private residents wend their way to the place for half-an-hour to read or sing to

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It is important to keep in mind that this might also be a stylist terminology shift. While discipline and order appear less significant, they may have become intertwined with cleanliness. Mary Douglas has pointed out that cleanliness and order are two closely inter-related concepts, if not synonymous terms. She argues that 'Where there is dirt there is system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.' M. Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (London, 1980), p. 35.

Extracts from institutional visitors books are reproduced in the annual reports (in the Tasmanian Parliamentary Papers) for the various institutions.

AOT: CSD 16/43/1161, Richardson to Matron NTCl, 14.8.1890.
TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, p. 32.
them, and they are deeply grateful to the kindly feeling thus bestowed upon them.  

This could also be observed in the entertainments given by Hobart's several amateur musical societies for the benefit of the inmates. Apparently the audience were 'keen critics, and the performers h[ad] to be up to the mark to win much praise from them.'

During the 1860s, newspapers donated by 'gentlemen' (including the Colonial Secretary) were one of the few avenues inmates had to the outside world, and one of the few entertainments. It was not until 1869, for example, that anything other than donated newspapers and books were provided for their amusement at the Brickfields. From that period it would appear that the middle class began to take a greater interest, and direct involvement, in the comfort and well-being of invalids through the provision of readings, concerts and other amusements. An early example of the presentation of a middle class amusement, for the mainly pauper/working class inmates of the Brickfields, was recorded in *The Mercury* in March 1870. This newspaper reported:

> A very amusing and diversified entertainment was given last evening ostensibly for the inmates, but also open to any of the public who might choose to attend. There were about a couple of hundred of the public and nearly all the inmates, upwards of a hundred present, who seemed to thoroughly enjoy themselves during the evening. The programme opened with a comedy entitled *Area Belle*, given by the members of the G. V. Brooke Amateur Dramatic Club, assisted by the Misses Harwood. The piece abounded in ludicrous incidents, which kept the audience in an incessant roar of laughter. The members of the club taking parts in the comedy were Messrs E. B. Boothman, A. W. Boothman, A. McLaren, Crowhurst, Hallam, and Featherstone. The band of the Working Men's Club, under the leadership of Mr. Curry, were present, and rendered during the evening a choice selection of music. The programme was brought to a termination by the screaming farce, *More Free than Welcome*, which sent the audience away in good humor.

Interaction between the middle classes and invalids had, by the mid 1880s, expanded to represent a significant inter-class relationship which gave a

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117 *The Tasmanian News*, 18.11.1895, p. 2 c. 6-8.
118 *ibid.*
119 *TLCP* 16, 1870, Paper No. 4, p. 3.
120 *The Mercury*, 24.3.1870, p. 2 c. 5.
'face' to the previous unknown pauper and humanised and facilitated the acceptance of invalids. The annual reports of both the NTCI and LID, from the mid 1880s onwards, detail an intensifying interaction between inmates and the general public which were evident in entertainments, visits, concerns over inmate well-being, donations of 'treats' and improvements in internal facilities. The action of those who visited inmates on a regular basis, and this was a growing number, demonstrated a genuine concern for both the physical and spiritual well-being of the inmates, through the provision of little comforts, such as the donation of tobacco, books, newspapers, illustrated journals, magazines, food (such as 'dainties not frequently obtained by the inmates', apples, preserved fruits and jams) and beer. All the major newspapers and religious tabloids, from the mid 1880s onwards, donated copies which were 'looked forward to with greatest possible interest' by the inmates, for who 'the desire for outside news is very marked.' The arrival of donated newspapers was eagerly anticipated because they relieved the monotony of institutional life in just the same way that musicals and other amusing entertainments helped to 'relieve the inmates of the sameness prevalent in such Institutions.' While there was a strong religious motive to those who initially commenced regular visitation to patients, increasingly as visitors engaged the inmates a social consideration emerged. As the general public began to gain an understanding of invalids, visitor numbers increased as did sympathy and a desire to improve conditions within institutions. Joan Brown has argued that regular contact with the old people in the institutions had an influence on enlightening public opinion about the needs of the aged poor. For example, the annual report for the NTCI for 1899 recorded:

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121 TPP, 5, 1885, Paper 9, p. 4.
122 TPP, 11, 1887, Paper 10, p. 3; and, TPP, 8, 1886, Paper 9, p. 3.
123 TPP, 26, 1892, Paper 15, p. 4. To facilitate public entertainments within the institutions stages were fabricated, usually using inmate labour. For example, a stage was constructed for concerts at the LID in 1884, and in 1897 a new stage was built in the concert hall at the NTCI (TPP, 5, 1885, Paper 10, p. 4, and TPP, 39, 1898, Paper 22, p. 5.) Despite regular comments in annual reports emphasising the apparent declining potential of inmates to engage in labour due to their infirmities, these same reports also document the ongoing utilisation of inmate labour in the maintenance, repair, renovation and improvement of institutional built fabric.
124 Brown, 'Poverty is not a crime, p. 125.
The spiritual wants of the inmates have been well attended to by the Ven. Archdeacon Whitington, Rev. J. Babington, Rev. Father O'Reilly, and Rev. W. Perry Hart. The Sisters of Charity, Flower Mission Ladies, Ladies Visiting Committee, Christian Endeavour Society, Salvation Army, and many other friends, take an interest in the old folks, and spend hours reading to and talking with them, which is, certainly, a very great comfort to the aged. The Institution throughout the year has been inspected by a very large number of visitors...

I have to record my very sincere thanks to numerous friends for their great assistance during the year in providing entertainments for the old folks. The following is a list of amusements: Magic lantern, by the Ven. Archdeacon Whitington; concerts, minstrel troupe H.M.S. Royal Arthur; St. Mary's Brass Band; Filibusters' Band; Hobart Choral Society; St. John's Juvenile Minstrels; Butchers' Variety Co.; Mr. T. Mitchell and friends; Mr. Shirley and friends; Miss Seager and friends; Messrs. Eltham, Lovett, and others; dramatic entertainments, New Town Comedy Co., Mr. Hudspeth and friends.

On Christmas Day and Queen's Birthday the usual treat of plum-pudding and roast beef was given by the Government, and on the former day the Cascade Brewery Company and Mr. Blake generously contributed a hogshead of beer and a barrel of beer respectively; the Hon. J. Watchorn, M.L.C., sent 5 gallons of ale and pipes and tobacco for the sick; wine from an unknown donor; the Hon. F. W. Piesse, M.L.C., £1 for extras. The Ven. Archdeacon Whitington's appeal for subscriptions to furbish tobacco for inmates was liberally responded to, and each inmate received two figs of tobacco, for which they expressed much gratitude.

In 1901, Seager, now the Superintendent of the NTCI, wrote that he could 'sincerely assert that the good feeling [was] reciprocated by the old folks, and that the numerous visits of friends [was] a source of great comfort to the old people.' Possibly this was because these visitors not only relieved the immediate boredom of institutional but were also unremitting in their endeavours to advance not only the spiritual welfare of the inmates but also their general comfort. For example, in 1887, Reibey, then Speaker of the House, commented upon the dull interiors of the NTCI and called for moderate expenditure to brighten them up with fresh paint. The subdivision of the internal space of this institution and its relatively poor maintenance was criticised by middle class visitors. For example, in an otherwise glowing review of the institution, one politician, W. H. St. Hill, commented: 'old rambling buildings, with bad staircases, and the want of all

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125 TPP, 43, 1900, Paper 22, p. 5.
126 TPP, 45, 1901, Paper 45, p. 5.
127 TPP, 1, 1884, Paper 9, p. 4.
modern improvements'. Two years later he was forcefully calling for an increase in the tobacco allowance for male invalids, the one ounce per week being insufficient in his opinion.130

Increased community visibility, coupled with ideological transformations in social theory brought about a recognition that charitable institutions were essentially old age homes for the poor and that the inhabitants of these spaces had unique medical needs and other specialised requirements. Increasingly pity was part of the gambit of emotions which were triggered when the middle class encountered or thought about the invalid. For example, one visitor to the NTCI, in 1885, described 'painful feelings awakened by the spectacle of extreme old age, of wrecked frames and minds, decaying or decayed'.131 This recognition is exposed in the language now being used to describe the occupants of the institutions. More and more often they were referred to as 'patients' and 'old people', and even 'old folks', as opposed to 'inmates' and 'invalids'.132 'Depots' were no more, being replaced by 'benevolent asylums' or the more frequently used 'old peoples' home'. These were important symbolic changes reflective of the transition from undeserving to deserving. They went beyond the mere 'semantic surgery' that Szasz refers to in relation to institutional name changes which occurred in North America at the end of the nineteenth-century, in order to 'placate the public and their consciences'.133 Indeed, it is questionable if this transformation could have taken place without re-defining the terminology, and thus the connotations, used to classify these people. Coupled with this change in nomenclature was the realisation that the principal afflictions affecting inmates were those arising from old age, with the majority of the

129 ibid.
130 TPP, 20, 1890, Paper 11, p. 9.
131 TPP, 8, 1886, Paper 9, p. 6.
132 For an example of an administrator referring to invalids as people see AOT: CSD 16/52/27, Quodling to Chief Secretary, 22.3.1893. This is the earliest instance found during research for this study of an administrator referring to them as such and is symbolic of the attitudinal change of bureaucrats towards these 'people'. It is also notable that at this time the LID also began to be referred to as the Launceston Charitable Institution in its annual reports.
133 Szasz, Cruel Compassion, p. 25.
inmates suffering 'more from old age than sickness'. According to Hurst, the cardinal ailment that the female invalids at the NTCI suffered from was senility. Recognition of this resulted in moves to implement changes in the operation of the institutions.

One area which was identified as requiring improvement was that of the internal heating of institutions. In the mid 1890s inmates may well have found the NTCI exceedingly cold. In a debate held in the House of Assembly on 29 July 1896, the management of the NTCI came under attack for not adequately warming the institution in cold weather. According to The Mercury:

some members called it, a disgrace to the Government, or whoever is responsible for the state of things prevailing. The Premier stated that the Government had never heard that there was so much discomfort, and yet, Mr. Hiddlestone could say that even in the hospital wards the fires are not lighted until 3 o'clock in the day, so as to save expense, while in another dormitory, where there were 40 beds, there was only one small stove, around which, at most, half-a-dozen men could gather to get a little warmth.

If anything, the LBA came under harsher criticism. The paper reporting:

Mr. Barrett's description of the Northern Depot was even more repulsive; the walls, he says, are damp from floor to ceiling, and, in comparison with the building at New Town, it is like contrasting a slab hut with a comfortable cottage.

It would seem that parliamentarians were fickle in their perception of invalid depots. When it suited them they were bastions of cleanliness, order and discipline in which the aged poor of the colony were well accommodated and treated. When for political reasons this did not suit, different and possibly more accurate portrayals were presented. In this instance many of the members simply did not know what to believe and expressed a

155 ibid., p. 35.
156 ibid., p. 36.
157 The Mercury, 30.7.1896, p. 2 c. 7.
158 ibid.
determination to inspect the NTCI to find out for themselves. Richardson informed the Premier that the statements made in the House were simply wrong, stating that fires were lit in the dayrooms at dawn and maintained all day during the winter and also on any cold days occurring during summer. These fires kept the dayrooms thoroughly warm as did fires and stoves in the dormitories which were ignited at 4 pm. in the afternoon. These latter fires were not lit till late in the afternoon ‘for the simple reason that the rooms are necessarily unoccupied all day’. Richardson also stated that the fires in the hospital wards were kept going all day and long into the night during winter. But he also reverted to an old tactic of re-directing fault away from the institution by pointing the finger of blame at the invalids. He asserted that any wards in which there was not a fire, resulted not from a lack of fuel being supplied, but from inefficient burning by wardsmen and inmates. However, following an inspection of the depot by some members of the parliament a difference of opinion remained between Richardson and the politicians. The members were fundamentally pleased with most facets of the management of the institution with the exception of the issue of heating and also the apparent inadequacy of warm bedding. Given each man was supplied with ‘a well filled straw palliasse, a rug and three blankets’, Richardson believed that there was no problem. But the fact that in addition to this ‘some men pile day clothes on the bed also’ points to the inadequacy of the bedding supplied to keep the men warm at night. Richardson had failed to grasp the degree to which the aged felt the cold.

Temperature, and in particular warmth, in winter were undoubtedly issues central to invalids. Sensitivity to the cold is part of the ageing process and was one of the issues which administrators of invalid institutions increasingly acknowledged as they became more familiar with the specific nature of the ‘illnesses’ faced by their charges. In Launceston, for example, Jones

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139 ibid.
140 AOT: CSD 19/1/5, Richardson to Premier, 30.7.1896.
141 ibid.
142 ibid.
143 ibid.
recognised a direct relationship between numbers of inmates, number of fires, amount of coal and season. When, in October 1889, it became necessary to accommodate an increased number of inmates he wrote to Fysh requesting an increase in the LID's allocation of coal as these extra inmates necessitated 'a corresponding increase in the number of fires'. This effectively was taking place was the very incipient stages of the development of geriatric care as a result of the identification of specific constraints directly attributable to advanced age. By mid October 1892, this had developed to the extent that questions were again being asked in parliament in relation to the provision of fires for inmates. J. Hamilton, Member of the House of Assembly, inquired as to whether during the particularly cold days of October 1892, fires had been provided in the dayrooms of the NTCI. Seager responded that during this cold weather 'fires were supplied in the Day Rooms and wards' of the NTCI. The issue was again raised in the house in September 1898. On this occasion the Premier, Sir Edward Braddon, was asked to detail what hours of the day had fires been maintained at the NTCI during a recent period of cold and inclement weather. Braddon replied that:

Fires are burned in all the wards and dormitories from 1st April to 30th September. In the hospital wards the fires are maintained day and night; in the dormitories from 4.30 P.M. till about midnight, and in the dayrooms from 6 A.M. till 5 P.M. Fires are also burned on any cold or inclement days that occur during the summer months.

Seager was more sensitive to inmate needs and he undertook measures to improve their comfort, particularly in relation to the cold. In his annual report for 1900, he wrote:

Consequently upon the advanced age of many of the inmates a warmer and more suitable description of clothing, consisting of Tasmanian woollen cloths, has been introduced. For the same reason special attention has been paid to the fires throughout the institution.

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144 AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Jones to Chief Secretary, 7.10.1889. Approval given in AOT: CSD 16/10/27, Fysh to Treasurer, 11.10.1889.
146 AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Seager to Chief Secretary, 20.10.1892.
147 TPP, 38, 1898, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 3, 5.5.1881, p. 10.
In this same year he also had the male bathroom 'fitted with a copper connected with two 400-gallon tanks' in order to ensure 'a full supply of hot or cold water at any hour night or day'. This year was not an exception. Seager consistently introduced measures aimed at improving the comfort of his charges. For example, the following year he saw to it that the women were supplied with woollen shawls, the men with the amazing luxury of soft pillows, and to combat the cold at night, 150 fine locally manufactured woollen blankets were distributed amongst the inmates. In the first year of his tenure as superintendent, he oversaw the appointment of Robert Sharp as honorary dentist to the institution. Sharp devoted much attention to his duties which must have brought considerable relief to many inmates, this area of health care being previously neglected.

On 27 July 1900, the NTCI was visited by the Venerable Archdeacon Whitington. His entry in the Visitors Book reads:

27th — 4 – 6 p.m. Went thro' all hospital wards (men & women) & was specially pleased to find on this raw day every ward thoroughly warmed by good fires. This seems to me to be of great importance in winter weather for these old people.

Yet again, indicative of the changing perceptions there was no mention of order and discipline, issues intimately linked to the management of prisoners and not the care of 'old people'. The issue that was of 'great importance' to Whitington was not that the order, discipline and regimentation of the prison were reproduced in the charitable institution, rather it was the comfort of the old people which registered as the item of most concern. By Federation it was

148 TPP, 45, 1901, Paper 9, p. 5.
149 ibid.
150 TPP, 47, 1902, Paper 18, p. 3. At this juncture 250 out of 314 inmates were aged between 70 and 90 years. Thus 79.6 percent, four-fifths of the inmate population, were likely to have been suffering the effects of extreme age.
151 TPP, 43, 1900, Paper No. 22, p. 5.
152 AOT: CSD 22/30/23, Seager to Chief Secretary, 18.7.1900.
not the outward appearance of order which counted but the internal achievement of inmate comfort.\textsuperscript{153}

Another area identified as requiring improvement was that of lighting. Institutions were illuminated by kerosene lamps and the use of gas was considered a necessary improvement.\textsuperscript{154} This recommendation was based upon both a sensitivity to the comfort of the inmates and a respect of safety concerns. One of the great fears for all institutional administrators, then and now, was a fire. Indeed 'Of all the calamities that could befall an institution ... fire would be the most appalling.'\textsuperscript{155} Concern over kerosene as a fuel reflects its potential inflammability and the risk of such an occurrence given that many of the inmates suffered some degree of senility. This concern was acted upon. For example, an area of innovation in the new 1885 rules and regulations for the NTCI, was the issue of inmate safety, especially in terms of improved procedures for dealing with fire safety issues. Rule 61 states that the Night Watchman would, in the case of fire, 'at once inform the Superintendent, and call every officer and servant of the Institution with the least possible delay.'\textsuperscript{156} The move to improve both fire prevention measures and the employment of improved methods for confronting a fire once ignited reflected a growing sense of a responsibility of care and also a desire to protect the capital asset of the institutional buildings. This is evident in the adoption of new technology for fighting fires. An Executive Council minute paper reveals that 'appliances for the extinguishing of fires' were placed on a supplementary budget estimate, for 1887, as 'a case of emergency' for New

\textsuperscript{153} Something of this can be seen in a generous donation made by a J. Bowman in July, 1900. Bowman presented '1,193 lbs of tobacco, and five gross of pipes, to the inmates of the institution, the sole condition being that the tobacco would be served out independently of the Government ration.' (AOT: CSD 22/38/201, Collins to Pearce, 25.7.1900.) A condition that Collins was willing to see duly observed. This was a generous gift and one close to the inmate's hearts. Clearly, Bowman knew what the inmates really wanted. It is ironic to think though that cancer of the tongue and lips was prevalent amongst invalids and that the most probable causal agent was pipe smoking.

\textsuperscript{154} \textit{TIP}, 15, 1888, Paper 50, pp. 33 & 38.

\textsuperscript{155} From the Report of Official Visitors to the New Norfolk Hospital of the Insane for the year 1886. Cited in \textit{The Tasmanian Mail}, 11.2.1888, p. 6 c. 3.

\textsuperscript{156} Rule 61 Regulations for the NTCI see \textit{The Hobart Gazette}, 19.8.1885, p. 1193 c. 2.
Norfolk, and this was approved by the Administrator in Council.\textsuperscript{157} Such developments in one charitable institution flowed through to all such institutions.

By 1888, New Town had acquired appliances to extinguish fire, had ensured that it had sufficient water pressure to fight fires (having its own reservoir and the means to 'throw it over the roof'), and was in the process of installing fire-plugs.\textsuperscript{158} However, rectifiable fire hazards were still present. One, which also demonstrated the continuance of a hardened attitude towards the inmates by elements of the 'old guard', was the accommodating of mobility restricted female patients in an upstairs ward. Given that these women were all bedridden, 'with the exception of two or three . . . [who were] able to go down to the yard for exercise', it is hard to imagine how the authorities would have successfully evacuated them should the building have caught fire.\textsuperscript{159} Hurst did not even believe that there was any necessity for these women to have a balcony.\textsuperscript{160}

In October 1889, the NTCI was fastidiously inspected.\textsuperscript{161} This review, while generally positive of the management, nevertheless raised a number of concerns which are reflective of the changing perception of invalids. The male dormitories were found to be crowded but sufficiently well ventilated with fresh air. However, space was poorly subdivided making supervision difficult, while the means of egress in case of fire were also deemed to be insufficient.\textsuperscript{162} This was rightly perceived to be a very serious matter particularly 'in a building full of decrepit old people, and in which oil lamps [we]re used.'\textsuperscript{163} Their interest in fire evacuation capabilities followed on from concerns expressed in preceding years. As early as August 1887, Fysh had

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item [157] AOT: CSD 13/7/47, Executive Council Minute Paper, 9.3.1887.
  \item [158] TPP, 15, 1888, Paper 50, pp. 35 and 40.
  \item [159] ibid., p. 36.
  \item [160] ibid.
  \item [161] ibid.
  \item [162] AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Extract from Visitors Book, NTCI, signed A. Young and L. M. Dooley, 5.10.1889. Forwarded 11.10.1889 by George Richardson, Superintendent NTCI to Chief Secretary.
  \item [163] ibid.
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written to Withrington raising the issue of male invalids in the upstairs
dormitories who were 'physically incapable of helping themselves in case of
Emergency'. It was a pet concern of Fysh's as he had also written to other
institutional administrators on the subject, such as the Official Visitors for the
New Norfolk Hospital for the Insane, to who he suggested the erection of
'iron or stone staircases (fire proof) for their [upper floor patients] exit should
a fire unfortunately take place.' The Official Visitors took Fysh's concern to
heart and included fire escapes in recommendations related to the
construction of an upper floor balcony to the main female block. A similar
recommendation was made by the Board of Management of the HGH when
considering measures to provide escape in the case of fire. They
recommended that:

an iron balcony be erected along the front of the main building with a staircase
at each end, and that one of the windows in each of the upper wards be
lengthened to the floor so as to facilitate escape.

The CSO approved this work six days after the recommendation had been
formerly adopted by the HGH Board. This is hardly surprising as Fysh's
concern with fire safety was based upon a legitimate risk assessment. The
buildings that inmates and patients were housed within were shingle roofed

154 AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Chief Secretary to Withrington, 19.8.1887.
155 AOT: CSD 16/16/97, Fysh to Official Visitors Hospitals for the Insane, 18.4.1887.
156 AOT: CSD 16/16/97, Smart to Chief Secretary, 3.5.1887. It would seem that the Official
Visitors had been oblivious to the need for fire safety measures and of the complete
incapacity of the institution to effectively fight a fire. In their annual report for 1887 they
addressed these issues and it is clear that they were genuinely shocked at the state of
unpreparedness. (TPP, 14, 1888-9, Paper 9, p. 4.) They were therefore supportive of new
fire escapes, and verandahs to act as such, being constructed. Despite the recognition of
both the importance and urgency of this issue, to both administrators and government,
implementation of effective measures was slow. In the case of New Norfolk, the Official
Visitors maintained a focus on fire safety issues and reported on these each year in their
annual report to government. From these it is possible to determine that construction of
recommended fire escapes was not completed until 1890, and that a new fire engine
capable of throwing water onto the roofs of the two storey buildings was not purchased
until 1891. (TPP, 23, 1891, Paper 9, p. 6; and, TPP, 26, 1892, Paper 10, p. 5.)
157 AOT: CSD 16/7/7, Pillinger to Chairman Board of Management HGH, 4.3.1891.
158 AOT: CSD 16/7/7, Andrew to Chairman Board of Management HGH, 19.3.1891. Whilst
approval may have been given relatively promptly, and while the Board continued to
regularly lobby the government for the implementation of these works, their actual
undertaking took a considerable period of time, and it was not until 1899 that the Board
was able to report that the 'balcony and fire-escape, main building, is at last completed'.
(TPP, 40, 1899, Paper 10, p. 3.)
and highly combustible. For example, there were two fires at New Norfolk in 1890 alone. In May there was a fire in the female department wash house which sustained damage to its roof; and in November a spark from a chimney ignited the roof of the Ladies Cottage. In both cases it was only staff vigilance which prevented greater damage and possible loss of life.

In contrast with earlier policy which had frequently confined inmates to the upper floors of charitable institutions for security and surveillance reasons, Withrington was now being instructed that all immobile patients 'should be removed to the ground floor and so placed as to be easily taken out of the building in case of emergency'. This directive was dutifully conformed with and it was subsequently reported that all the male invalids housed in the upper wards were capable of evacuating themselves in case of an emergency. The need for additional fire safety measures was recognised and, in October 1889, a contract was let for the erecting of an external iron staircase to the upper dormitories at the NTCI. By 1895, New Town had invested in considerable fire prevention apparatus. It had a 120,000 gallon water reservoir built by the inmates, hoses and hydrants at the ready, buckets galore and in case there were any failure of the hydrants there were 'three old 'man engines' — two in the men's quarters, and one with the women — which can be set going at a moment's notice.' In addition to this the institution was by this time in telephone communication with the local fire station.

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169 AOT: CSD 16/9/16, Macfarlane to Chairman Official Visitors New Norfolk Hospital for the Insane, 5.5.1890 and AOT: CSD 16/9/16, Macfarlane to Chairman Official Visitors New Norfolk Hospital for the Insane, 22.11.1890.
170 AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Note, Fysh to Withrington, 23.8.1887, appended to, Chief Secretary to Withrington, 19.8.1887.
171 ibid.
172 AOT: CSD 16/13/57, Note, Fysh, 12.10.1889, appended to, Extract from Visitors Book, NTCI, signed Young and Dooley, 5.10.1889, forwarded by Richardson to Chief Secretary, 11.10.1889; and, TPP, 20, 1890, Paper 11, p. 4.
173 It had, however, taken some seven years to reach this position, with Withrington reported in 1889 (for 1888) that: 'Contracts have been accepted for the laying of pipes, fire-plugs, etc., and the work when completed will afford an abundant supply of water for the use of the whole Institution, and, at the same time, render any serious damage by fire next to an impossibility.' (TPP, 17, 1889, Paper 8, p. 3.)
174 The Tasmanian News, 18.11.1895, p. 2 c. 6-8. The connection of the institution to Hobart via 'telephonic' means was made in 1888. (TPP, 17, 1889, Paper 8, p. 3.)
The coming of the old age pension

Notwithstanding its innate problems the charitable system progressed and delivered improvements to the lives of the aged poor. By Federation the institutionalised were generally treated well. Part of the reason for this was that 50 years of classification and surveillance had transposed the inmate population from a heterogeneous mix of paupers, lunatics and orphans, to one identified as suffering from the twin scourges of old age and poverty. There were still ongoing issues which needed to be addressed, however, the mood was positive that disagreeable aspects of the system were soon to be solved as part of the benefits to flow from the inauguration of a pension system for the aged. Outdoor relief for the aged poor was now an accepted practice and there was general public approval for ushering in old age pensions. Pat Thane has argued, in relation to the contemporary debate taking place in Britain in regard to old age pensions, that this discourse had, in the 1890s, 'contributed to the general discovery of the complex and various causes of poverty, and to considerable public discussion of the problem of the aged poor.'\(^{15}\) In Tasmania, even the tight-fisted Premier, Edward Braddon, publicly supported the introduction of an old age pension.\(^{16}\) Nevertheless, while favouring its introduction, the government was not prepared to pursue the issue prior to Federation because provision of such was by the Constitution Bill of 1898, 'one of the duties of the Commonwealth Parliament'.\(^{17}\) Rather it chose, as a matter of social policy, to expand outdoor relief as an alternative to institutional care. Following Federation the Tasmanian State Government introduced a State Compassionate Allowance (effectively an old age pension) for the purposes of 'assisting aged people unable to work' to maintain themselves outside of institutional space.\(^{18}\) In 1908 the Commonwealth government passed its long anticipated Invalid and

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\(^{15}\) The Examiner, 27.3.1899.


\(^{17}\) TPP, 40, 1899, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly 2, 31.5.1899, p. 7. The Constitution of Australia, Section 51 (xxiii) conferred upon the Commonwealth Parliament the power to legislate in respect to invalid and old age pensions. (Mendelsohn, *The Condition of The People*, pp. 37 and 190.)

\(^{18}\) AOT: CSD 22/46/105, Seager to Warden Oatlands, 12.10.1901.
Old Age Pension Act which came into effect on 1 July 1909. The conservative forces of the benevolent societies, churches and established elite lost out in the fight to award the aged the means to survive outside of institutional space regardless of their background. The old age pension was the physical manifestation that invalids had truly crossed the divide between the undeserving and the deserving.