

PAPER NUMBER: 20

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DATE: 26 September 1994.

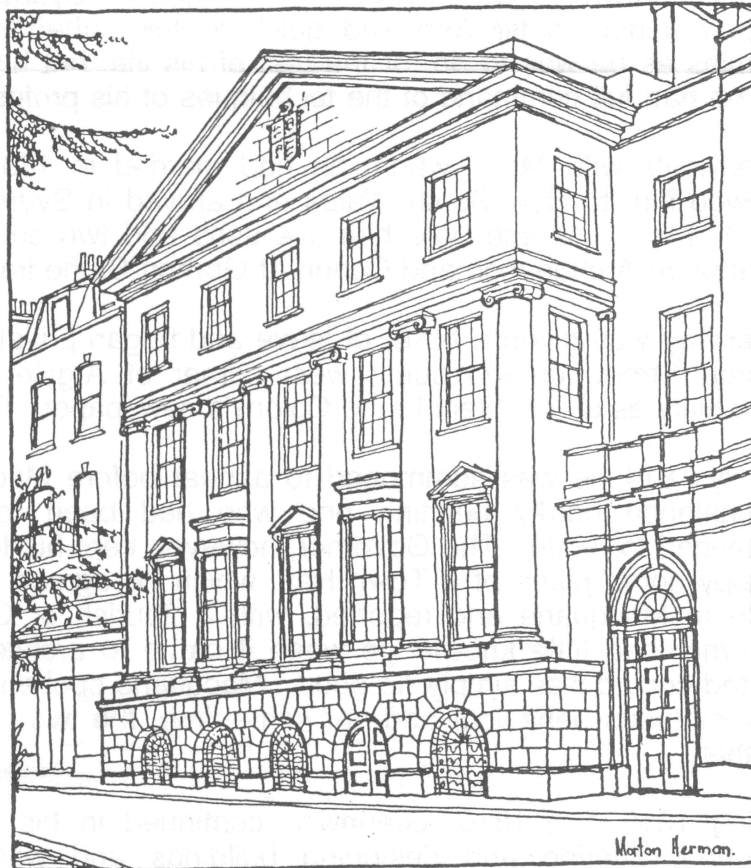
FRANCIS HOWARD GREENWAY (1777 - 1837)

Francis Howard¹Greenway was born at Aston, near Bristol, on 20 November 1777, the fourth son of Francis and Ann Greenway and he was destined to become Australia's first architect. A well known West Country family, the Greenways, for generations had been quarrymen, masons, builders and architects.

At Mangotsfield, the Parish Register records that he was christened Francis Greenway, although throughout his life he always described himself as Francis Howard Greenway. He also gave his children the name 'Howard'. His use of the name 'Howard', may indicate some connection with the Ducal Howards of Norfolk and Carlisle. Thornbury Castle is the family seat of the Howards, and the fact that Government House Stables at Sydney (now the Conservatorium of Music) was modelled on Thornbury Castle by Greenway may be significant.

Very little is known of the school days of Francis Howard Greenway. His architectural education was gained in London and Bristol and as a pupil of John Nash. In 1805 he went into business as an architect and builder with his older brother, Olive. During this period he was responsible for the Clifton Civic Centre near Bristol. Not a successful businessman, Greenway went bankrupt in 1809.

He reopened the practice in 1812 but shortly afterwards was



THE CLIFTON CLUB, Clifton, England.

arrested and charged with forging an endorsement to a contract. He pleaded guilty and, as was the harsh custom in those times, sentenced to death.

It is likely that Greenway was not unduly perturbed, after all, he and his family had many friends in high places, and he had pleaded guilty humbly enough. Surely enough, submissions were made on his behalf and the sentence was reduced to 14 years deportation to the Colony of New South Wales, not exactly a picnic but it was certainly better than death.

Greenway arrived in Sydney in the convict ship *General Hewitt* in February 1814 after a voyage said to have been an indescribable nightmare during which 34 of the convicts had died. Those who survived the voyage were nearly all sick and in a very weak condition. He carried with him an important document, a letter of recommendation from Admiral Phillip, a friend in a 'high place' and the first Governor of the Colony. This he presented to Governor Lachlan Macquarie, a man of vision and with an eye for good architecture.

The Architect was assured of a future in Sydney even without the letter from Phillip. Governor Macquarie had applied to London on many occasions for an architect to be sent out to the Colony, to no avail, so Greenway's arrival suited Macquarie's plans.

Greenway found that he was free to fend for himself. This must have come as quite a surprise. Aboard ship he would have heard the gruesome tales of chain gangs, whippings and mouldy cells, but he was not to suffer any of the hardships of forced labour and imprisonment.

Little is known of Greenway's first months in Sydney. He was self-confident, temperamental, outspoken and quick to take offence. He made a number of enemies as he was to do for the rest of his life, but his artistic abilities were great and he had full command of the techniques of his profession.

Greenway's wife Mary, whom he had married in 1804, and their three children, followed him to New South Wales and arrived in Sydney in the *Broxbornebury* in July 1814. In all she bore him five sons and two daughters. One son, Charles, became an Archdeacon and Canon at Grafton Cathedral.

Greenway was given a ticket of leave and began private practice in an office at 84 George Street, on the south west corner of Argyle Street. He advertised his availability as an architect in the Colony's newspaper, *The Sydney Gazette*.

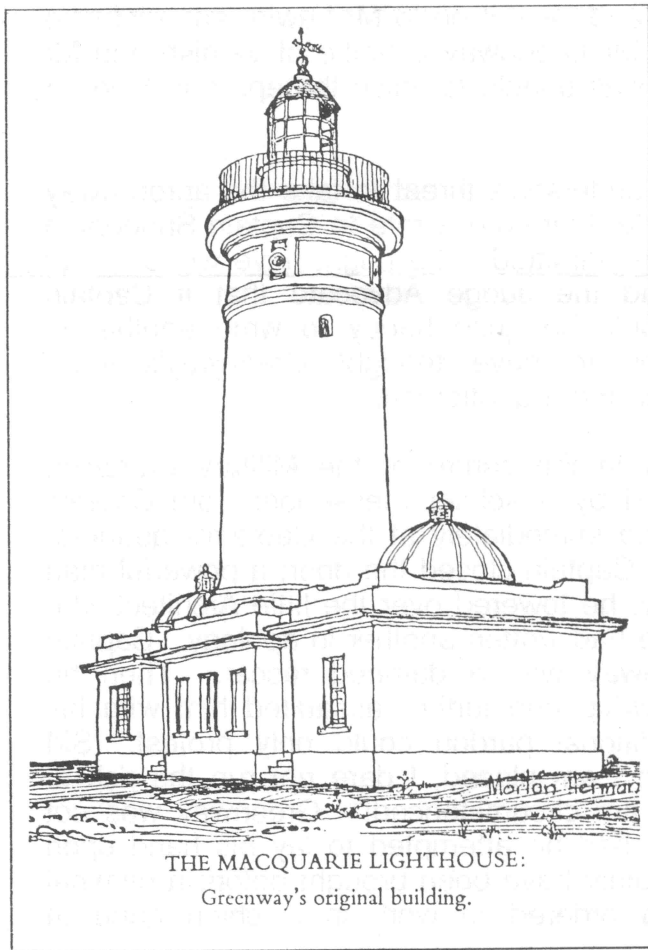
In July 1814 he was summoned to appear before Macquarie which he did with a nonchalance hardly befitting one who had been found guilty of forgery and sentenced to death. The Governor, however, kept his temper and asked Greenway to copy some plans of a Town Hall, which he agreed to do. Some days later he wrote to Macquarie and reported, with a flourish of Georgian language, that the Governor had little knowledge when it came to architecture and that the plan he wanted copied was simply no good. Macquarie spoke severely to Greenway for his presumptuous behaviour and, for some time, the two men had little to do with one another.

During 1815 and 1816, Greenway continued in his own architectural business, restoring, altering and designing buildings and was unofficial adviser to the

Government on architectural matters. He designed a geometrical staircase of stone for Dr Harris' 'Ultimo' mansion. Greenway was not one to keep his opinions to himself, he inspected The 'Rum' Hospital and other public buildings, then under construction, and gave such stinging reports that he gained the enmity of the builders. They had to make costly alterations, and Greenway added to the list of enemies who were to make his life difficult thereafter.

Macquarie felt that Greenway was a man of singular talent and that the Government could make better use of him. So it was in March, 1816, that he was appointed Civil Architect and Assistant Engineer to the Government at a salary of "3 shillings a day, quarters for himself and family, a horse and forage".

On 1 July of that year the Governor noted that Mr Nicholas Delaney's gang of labourers began clearing and levelling Macquarie Place in preparation for a dwarfstone wall and the proposed Macquarie Obelisk, the latter being designed by Francis Greenway.



Cadman's Cottage at the Rocks, erected in 1816, has been attributed to Greenway whose residence was only 50 yards away.

He began planning a large number of buildings that Macquarie had, for years, been hoping to build. His first known work was a lighthouse on the south head of Port Jackson which was to become known as Macquarie Tower. During the building of the lighthouse, Greenway found, not surprisingly, that the stonemasons assigned the work were poor craftsmen, and he promptly started classes in masonry. He was to encourage better craftsmanship and

better building practice for the rest of his life. Greenway's lighthouse, a faithful replica of which stands today at South Head, was of clean Georgian line and it so pleased Governor Macquarie that he presented Francis Greenway with his emancipation.

In 1814 the 46th Regiment arrived in the Colony and attached to the regiment was the Masonic Lodge, The Lodge of Social and Military Virtues, No.227 Irish Constitution. In December 1816 Captain John Piper invited the Worshipful Master, Captain Sanderson, and the members of the Lodge to undertake the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of his new mansion at Eliza Point, now Point Piper.

It was discovered that there was not sufficient regalia (especially aprons) to clothe the Brethren for the important occasion which was the first public Masonic ceremony to take place in the Colony. Mr Greenway was not then 'a Mason', but Captain Sanderson and members of the Lodge turned to him to have their lack supplied. Mr Greenway was very willing to help and even scouted the idea that he should be paid for his labour.

He was unable to produce the number of aprons required in time for the ceremony. The climax came when he sent Captain Sanderson his apron and a note to the effect that water colour would not stand in that hot climate; that he would do the work in varnish colours and gild it. Captain Sanderson sent his apron back to be completed.

There was further delay while Greenway attempted to secure materials. The Captain threatened to take the task away and pass it on to Mr Lewin, an artist who lived in the Rocks area. Mr Lewin gave Mr Greenway a bottle of varnish and Mr Greenway sat up all night, but even then was unable to finish the apron in time for the appointed day.

Mr Greenway was very hurt by Captain Sanderson's threat to take the apron away and send it to Mr Lewin for completion. He, therefore, wrote to Captain Sanderson a letter in which he (Greenway) afterwards admitted - "he might have wrote it with too warm a sentiment". Greenway told the Judge Advocate that if Captain Sanderson did not like his letter he would be quite happy to write another in apology. The Judge Advocate seems to have thought Greenway's letter discourteous and disrespectful to an officer and a gentleman.

On December 20, 1816, Greenway was in the centre of the Military Barracks, Wynyard Square, where he was accosted by a soldier messenger from Captain Sanderson with a command that he attend immediately at the Captain's quarters. When Mr Greenway entered the room the Captain closed the door; a powerful man in the full uniform of the officer of the day, he towered over the little Architect who admitted writing the letter, but said that he had written another in apology. Captain Sanderson merely remarked that Greenway was a damned rascal. Then he thrashed the little Architect with a horsewhip and further assaulted him with his hands. Greenway having only a conditional pardon could only protest: "Sir! Recollect! Consider the situation in which I am placed, I dare not run the risk of resisting, were I able. You know how I am circumstanced!" Greenway was not slow to remember he was still a convict; had he attempted to lay his hand upon Captain Sanderson, he would almost certainly have been brought before a criminal court with the probable result of being ordered to work in a chain gang at Newcastle or Van Diemen's Land.

He later instituted criminal proceedings against Captain Sanderson, who, after almost farcical Court proceedings, was fined five pounds, the verdict carrying a rider from the military judges, "that it was the opinion of the Court that although they were in strictness bound to find Captain Sanderson guilty, yet his conduct was that which, as an Officer and a Gentleman he was perfectly justifiable in."

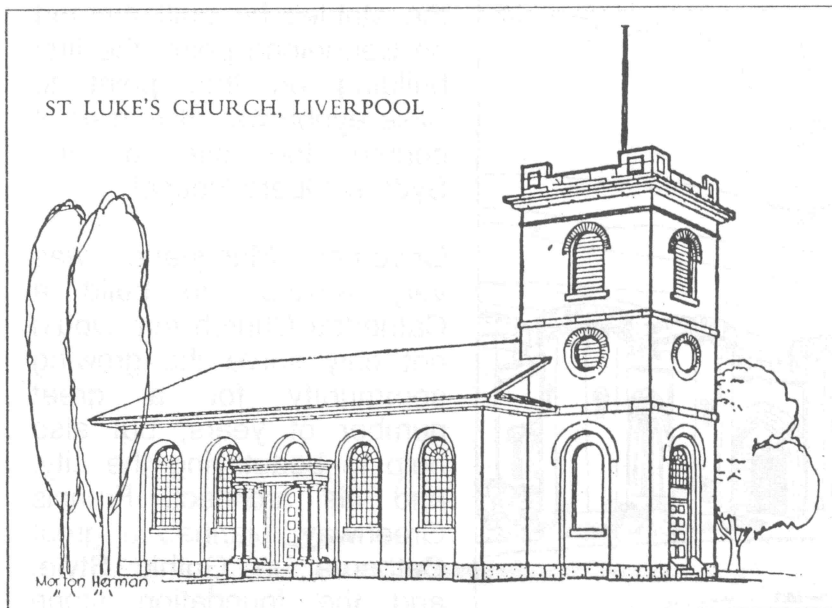
Greenway was not satisfied about the matter and applied to the Supreme Court for civil damages. The latter Court awarded him twenty pounds, which only made Sanderson more hostile to his victim.

In 1817 Greenway began his first church - St Matthews overlooking the Hawkesbury valley at Windsor, considered by some to be his masterpiece. He was commissioned to build the church following his criticism of the original design by Henry Kitchen who was to become another of Greenway's devoted enemies. Greenway frequently had to travel from Sydney to Windsor on an old hack to supervise the work, a journey made almost bearable by the pint of wine he drank prior to each trip and which he charged for on expenses!



Two more churches followed - St Lukes at Liverpool and St James in Sydney, both of which still stand today.

ST MATTHEW'S CHURCH, WINDSOR



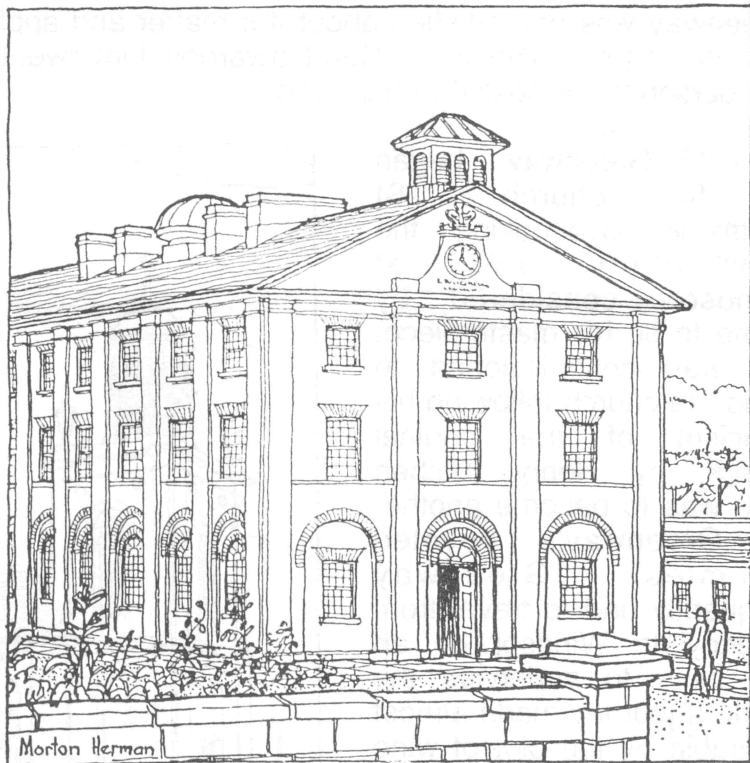
ST LUKE'S CHURCH, LIVERPOOL

When work began on St Lukes, Macquarie drove in a carriage with his family from Parramatta to lay the foundation stone. He issued the workmen with three gallons of rum and wished them good cheer. No doubt little work would have been done on that day! The church was not completed until 1824.

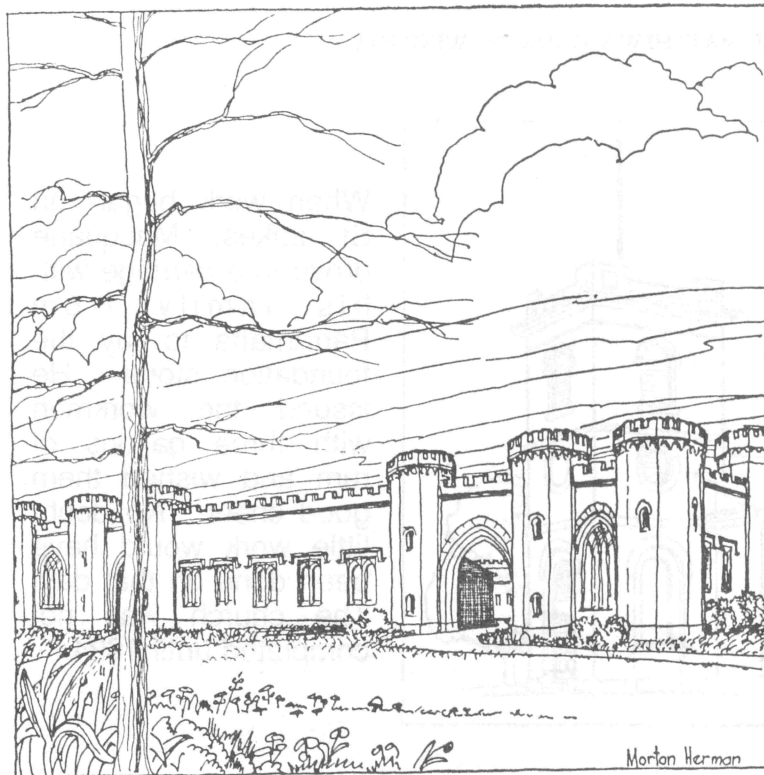
In 1817 Greenway designed the Hyde Park Convict Barracks in Macquarie Street, now restored as a museum. The large walled compound still shows traces of the qualities of design that caused Macquarie to allow Greenway full citizenship and a complete pardon when the building was completed in 1819.

It was also in 1817 that Greenway received from Macquarie a directive to build a castellated Governor's mansion, stables and a fort. Greenway busied himself with the plans. Then London heard about Macquarie's proposed mansion - nobody had any business building a mansion of such grandeur in a colony as lowly as New South Wales!

However Greenway had begun work on the stables and he finished them. The stables, now the Conservatorium of Music, are possibly the best known site in present-day Macquarie Street.



HYDE PARK BARRACKS, SYDNEY
Before alteration.

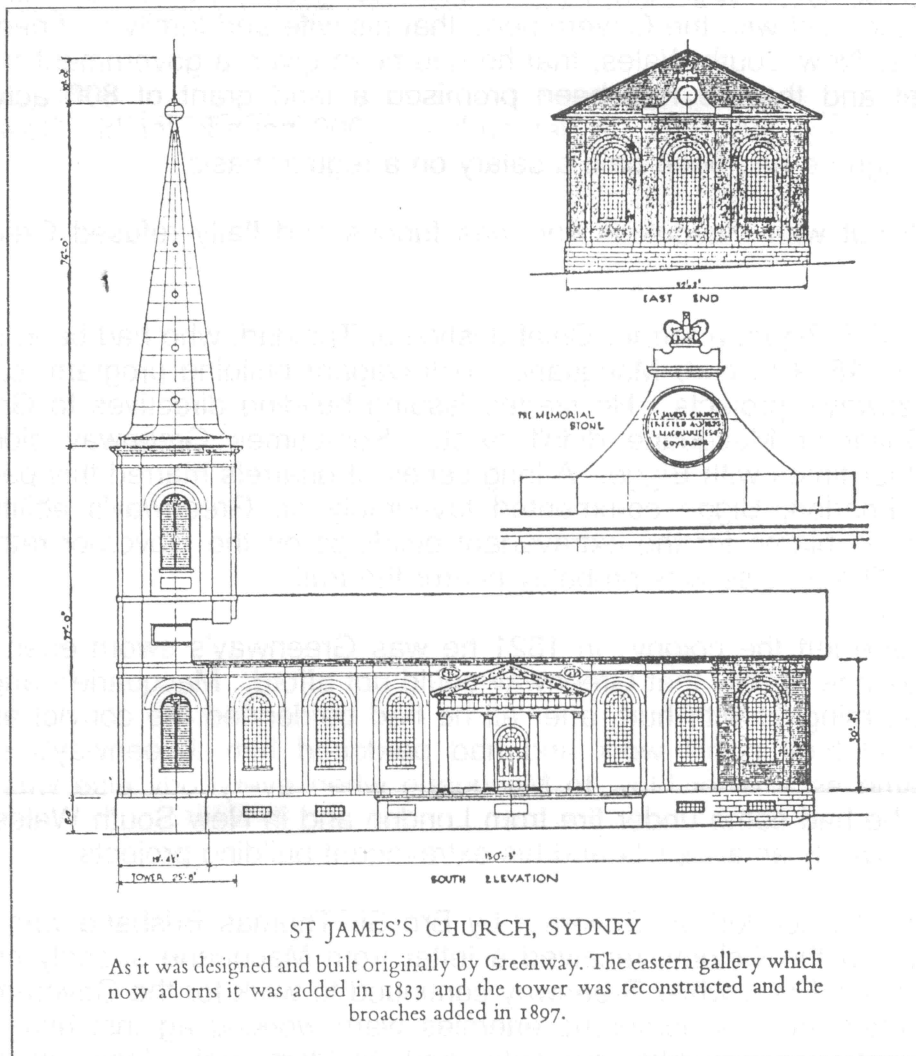


GOVERNMENT HOUSE STABLES, SYDNEY
As originally designed by Greenway.

At about the time he built the stables he built the fort on Bennelong point, the first building on that point to raise eyebrows - it is now of course the site of the Sydney Opera House!

Governor Macquarie was very anxious to build a Cathedral Church that would not only serve the growing community for a great number of years, but also help in beautifying the city; and his architect, Francis Greenway, planned a great Cathedral in Gothic Style, and the foundation stone was laid by the Governor in 1819. This plan was considered too ambitious by

Commissioner Bigge who advised Macquarie to cease the operation and utilise the foundations of the Court House then being built, and on these foundations, to construct a much smaller cathedral. Hence St James Church was built, and the building of St Andrew's Cathedral was to be postponed for many years.



The next Greenway effort was the Female Factory, or Hostel for female convicts, at Parramatta. The factory, a handsome three storey building, was not strong enough to confine the wild women of Sydney. One night there was a mass breakout and the female convicts terrorised the good citizens of Parramatta, looting and whooping it up. In 1848 the Female Factory became a lunatic asylum - perhaps the authorities thought that lunatics would be less able to break out of the place than female convicts! In 1884 the building was demolished and a new asylum built.

The last building which Macquarie and Greenway built in their old spirit of amicability was the Court House at Windsor. Though only a minor building it is beautifully restored and preserved and the nearest approach to a complete Greenway design that has survived.

Greenway's rise from penniless convict to Civil Architect was meteoric but his downfall was even quicker. 1819 marks the turning point in his career. His unfortunate personality - his vanity and his stubbornness - were largely responsible for this. His arrogance made him misjudge his authority and he had made many enemies. It was not enough that he had been completely pardoned, that he had been given a top post with the Government, that his wife and family had been given free transport to New South Wales, that he had been given a government house on George Street and that he had been promised a land grant of 800 acres - he wanted more money. In 1821 he demanded 11,000 pounds for his Government work even though he had been paid a salary on a regular basis.

Greenway fell out with Macquarie who was furious and flatly refused Greenway's demand.

Commissioner J T Bigge, a former Chief Justice of Trinidad, who had been sent out from London in 1819 to curb Macquarie's extravagant building program, cancelled many of Greenway's projects. He started issuing building directives to Greenway as though Governor Macquarie didn't exist. Sometimes Greenway sided with Macquarie, other times with Bigge. A long series of quarrels marred this period. In his report to London, Bigge commented favourably on Greenway's abilities and sought to put the blame for the extravagant buildings on the Governor rather than the Architect. The reverse was probably nearer the truth.

When Macquarie left the colony in 1821 he was Greenway's sworn enemy - and Macquarie was one enemy that Greenway could not afford. Macquarie's anger with Greenway was mingled with hurt, after all he had befriended the convict architect, had encouraged him in his work and had pardoned him. Greenway's seeming ingratitude came as a bitter blow to Macquarie when everybody else was turning against him - he had come under fire from London and in New South Wales for his liberal policy towards emancipists and his extravagant building projects.

Macquarie was succeeded as Governor by Bro Sir Thomas Brisbane who, shortly after his arrival in the Colony, received a letter from Macquarie strongly criticising Francis Greenway. For a while Greenway continued to work for the Government but Macquarie's letter and his numerous enemies were working against him. Lacking Macquarie's patronage, public servants and builders paid less attention to Greenway; they altered his plans and designs without telling him - the ultimate insult to any architect. His position became untenable.

Then came Greenway's inevitable downfall. A Major Owens had been appointed Chief Engineer of the Colony and he and Greenway quarrelled bitterly. In November 1822, Owens complained to the Governor and stated that Greenway had caused trouble and was no use to him. Greenway, who was then forty-five was sacked. He considered that he had been grossly mistreated and, in a sense, he had, given the quality of the work he had carried out in the Colony.

Continually, between 1822 and his death in 1838, Greenway complained incessantly in the media at his treatment by the Government and he continued to demand that 11,000 pounds.

On 12 August 1820 the Australian Social Lodge, No. 260, Irish Constitution, was consecrated in the Golden Lion Tavern, North George Street. It was the first Masonic Lodge to be consecrated in the Colony. Almost two years later on 3 June

1822, at the Three Tuns Tavern, Hyde Park, the then meeting place of the lodge, Francis Howard Greenway was balloted for and Initiated. At an emergency meeting one week later, he was passed to the second and then raised to the third degree. The past master and mark degrees were conferred on him on 10 February 1823. He served as Acting Secretary of the lodge on three occasions and records show that he attended only six other meetings.

Records of the lodge show that on 29 September 1823, he had not paid dues for twelve months. On 4 September 1826 Greenway was advised by letter that if he did not attend the next meeting, he could consider himself "withdrawn from the duties of the Lodge". There is no further mention in the minutes of the Lodge either of attendance, payment of dues, resignation or exclusion, however Greenway wrote to the lodge on 2 April 1833 and applied for his "Mother Lodge Certificate". He also attended the meeting held on that date.

The Australian Social Lodge No. 260, Irish Constitution, changed its name to Lodge Antiquity and is now No. 1 on the Register of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales.

Francis Greenway maintained his private architectural practice, designing buildings including a large house for Robert Campbell the younger, in Bligh St, Sydney which, in 1859, became the Union Club. His wife, Mary, opened a small school for gentlewomen. Greenway also farmed his 800 acres at Tarro near Maitland in the Hunter Valley - 800 acres of swampland. The farm was the last straw; he expected to be granted land in Sydney so that he could have continued his architectural work. To add to his problems, the Government demanded that he vacate his house in George Street but he refused, claiming that the property was his. He even produced a document - almost certainly forged - to prove this. The Government was not able to repossess the house until after Greenway's death and then only by court action in London.

In June 1827, in the midst of his anxiety and bitterness, his eldest son, George, who was second mate on a brig, died at sea during a voyage to Timor, and, five years later, in 1832, his wife, Mary, also died.

At East Maitland on 26 September 1837, at the age of sixty years, Francis Howard Greenway died. The local schoolmaster, Mr Goldingham, was requested to read the burial service in the absence of the local minister. He was buried in a small cemetery in a paddock at East Maitland. The site of his grave cannot be discovered as there is no marker or tombstone to indicate the last resting place of Francis Howard Greenway, Australia's first architect; a Freemason whose name is perpetuated by some of Sydney's most historic buildings.

During his six year term as Civil Architect (1816 - 1822), Greenway was responsible for the construction or restoration of some 44 buildings which shows his remarkable capacity for work.

Unfortunately few of his buildings remain intact today but those that do give a hint of what early Sydney was like, and also of the handsome Regency town that Sydney could have been, had not Macquarie's and Greenway's grand designs been frustrated by a penny-pinching Colonial Office in London.

Possibly the most regrettable aspect of this policy was that Greenway was not allowed to build his Cathedral in the heart of Sydney and set in a square of buildings which, he believed, would have been as handsome as any in Europe.

Francis Howard Greenway is remembered with admiration today but little has been done to honour him. He shared the ten dollar note, issued in 1966, with Henry Lawson, and two stamps, bearing pictures of Macquarie Lighthouse (5c) and St James Church (50c) were issued in 1969 and 1974 respectively. Several streets in the City and suburbs have been named after him and a multi-storey block of flats at Milsons Point bear the name 'Greenway' on its western face. This bare brick building stares blankly across the harbour at Utzon's Opera House on Bennelong Point where once stood Greenway's Gothic Fort. St James Church, with alterations, is now dwarfed by the city's skyscrapers but his Hyde Park Convict Barracks has been restored to its former splendour and stands proudly in an open area for all to appreciate. St Matthews Church, high on the hill at Windsor, and still in its original state, is possibly Francis Howard Greenway's greatest monument.

D.G.Davis 1994.

Buildings designed and built by Francis Greenway include:

St Matthew's Church, Windsor.
St Luke's Church, Liverpool.
St James Church, King Street, Sydney.
Hyde Park Convict Barracks, Macquarie St., Sydney.
Possibly Cadman's Cottage, The Rocks.
Fort Macquarie, Bennelong Point.
The Female Factory, Parramatta.
Macquarie Lighthouse, South Head.
Supreme Court, King Street, Sydney.
Liverpool Hospital.
Police Office, York Street, Sydney.
Parramatta Stores.
The Markets Building, George St., Sydney.
Government House Stables, (now the Conservatorium of Music).
Hobartville, Richmond. NSW.

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Drawing of Greenway's Sydney by James Allen, based upon a contemporary map which, while not minutely accurate, shows the relative positions of the streets and buildings.

