

THE NEW COUNTRY

**A
THEMATIC HISTORY**

OF

**THE BATHURST REGIONAL COUNCIL
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA**

**Prepared by Times Past Productions
1566 "Bandoola" Orange Road
Dunkeld via Bathurst 2795**

Chintola@bigpond.com

**Times Past Productions
*Giving the Past a Future***

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INTRODUCTION

The thirty-eight historical themes used in this review are those provided by the NSW Heritage Office. The themes are listed under nine headings or groupings known as Australian Historical Themes.

This thematic history has drawn on the findings of two previous studies undertaken by the former Evans Shire in the mid-1980s and by the former Bathurst City Council in the early 1990s, as required by the project brief. Acknowledgement, together with a personal appreciation, is extended to the excellent work of the historians engaged for these two earlier studies, Dr JW Turner (Bathurst City) and Professor Ian Jack (Evans Shire). The purpose of this study is to offer where possible further historical information as well as a fresh analysis in keeping with the expanded guidelines now provided by the NSW Heritage Office. The reader is advised to refer to both of these earlier studies for additional information as well as for a separate opinion in matters of interpretation and emphasis. The accompanying 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets for the Evans Shire Heritage Study are also recommended, particularly for mining history.

This study also relies very much on the Bathurst area's acknowledged main secondary history sources, in particular the published survey histories by Theo Barker (1985, 1992, 1998), Bernard Greaves (editor) (1976) and Charles Sloman (1994). (See bibliography.) A wide selection of published histories of villages and localities in the BRC area has also been consulted, as listed in the bibliography. Unless otherwise noted, the reader should assume specific local details are taken from the relevant locality sources. Information on individual heritage sites discussed in this study has been drawn for the most part from past and current council heritage documentation, particularly the earlier Bathurst City and Evans Shire heritage studies. Where the reference used may be obscure, advice on sources is listed within or at the conclusion of the theme entry.

This survey also draws on informal local, often oral, information as well as on insights gained from the viewing of in situ evidence relating to places of heritage interest surveyed by the project team in 2005-06. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the many residents in the BRC area who have shared their knowledge, stories and memories about events and places of heritage significance. Appreciation and thanks are also extended to Pauline Barker, Janet Bingham, Sinclair Croft, Barbara Hickson and Bill Tighe who provided valuable comments and corrections on earlier drafts of this study. The contribution of the Bathurst District Historical Society members and community volunteers who wrote the village histories for Theme 23 (Towns, suburbs and villages) is also acknowledged.

Information of relevance to this study has been taken from a web published wider regional study, *A Thematic History of the Central West* prepared by Terry Kass for the NSW Heritage Office in

2003, as well as from an earlier draft thematic history prepared within the Heritage Office. A conscious effort has been made to follow the thematic approach of these two studies so as to ensure an analysis in keeping with the current requirements of the NSW Heritage Office. Useful comments and assessments on heritage matters provided in these two studies have been directly incorporated into this study. Acknowledgement is made in particular to the many useful insights provided by Terry Kass in his study.

This review examines each of the thirty-eight historical themes in turn. The main historical focus is on developments from the establishment of a European presence in 1815 through to the mid-20th century. While attempting to include some observations on Wiradjuri culture at the time of European settlement, this report is primarily concerned with the colonial and post-colonial periods of history, that is since 1815. A separate appendix in the accompanying heritage study deals more fully with the Aboriginal component of the Bathurst Regional Council heritage study.

The individual theme histories are written as stand alone reports. This will allow for their use as supporting documents for an individual heritage item or for public information purposes. It needs to be noted, however, that no theme truly stands alone as an isolated, self-contained history. In a complex web-like fashion, individual themes connect with other themes in ways that are both predictable and sometimes surprising. The theme history texts are collectively indexed by theme numbers (1-38) to support cross-referencing. The index, prepared by Joanna McLachlan, will be found at the end of this report.

Frequent references are made to known local heritage items by way of example. Approximately two hundred identified heritage items - sites, buildings and objects - are so mentioned. These items are very often linked to more than just one individual historical theme. The Cobb & Co. coach, at present in the Bathurst Visitor Information Centre, is about 'technology' and 'transport' - and more. Miss Traill's House, an 1846 National Trust property, is discussed in three separate theme entries - 'accommodation', 'domestic life' and 'religion' - and mentioned in passing in other theme entries. A connection with multiple themes can contribute to the evaluation of the heritage significance of an item. It is with this in mind that an intentional effort has been made to link individual heritage items with more than just one theme - at the expense of some repetition of historical information.

It is not though within the capacity of this study to mention every relevant heritage item in the BRC area when exemplifying a particular thematic point. With over 1000 assessed and listed heritage items in the Bathurst Regional Council Local Government Area, this is simply impractical. Readers frequently will be able to offer other and even better examples than those provided in this study. That this might happen would be a mark of success for this thematic study, for the reader will be identifying for themselves the themes relevant to such heritage items.

Finally, it must be emphasised that a thematic history is not intended to be a comprehensive or definitive history either in its whole or in its thirty-eight thematic parts. A useful analogy might be to think of a photo album containing thirty-eight snapshots, with each snapshot showing a different scene around the Bathurst area. Such an album would provide an understanding of what one might see around the area, but not the 'full picture'. Similarly, the purpose of this study

is to provide a general understanding of the role of a particular theme in the historical development of the Bathurst Regional Council area, exemplified by references to some known - or possible - places and items of heritage significance. In doing so, the practical contribution of a thematic history is arguably more to offer suggestions and to raise questions than to provide detailed facts and definitive answers. Some of the individual themes dealt with in this study warrant book length studies; all of them call for more than the few paragraphs or pages provided.

A thematic history is by its nature sweeping in its treatment of history and inclined to be speculative at times in its analysis of that history. While reasonable care has been taken in assessing the veracity of the information used, some facts may require correction and some assertions may warrant challenge. As is the custom, the author is responsible for all errors of fact and omission, as well as for the observations and opinions provided in this study.

A more detailed discussion on the purpose of thematic histories and on the processes of heritage assessment generally has been provided as a separate document attached to this thematic review. Refer to the document entitled, *The Historical Context of Heritage Assessment*.

The title given for this study, *The New Country*, was one of the many descriptive names recorded by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in his journal during his visit to the Bathurst area in 1815. At that time, the BRC area was indeed for Australia's British settlers 'the new country' - an unexplored fertile land over the mountains, inland from the coastal beachhead settled in 1788. But it is a name that applies beyond 1815, for much has happened since in this new country. The Bathurst area was important to the early pastoral settlement of the inland, as well as in the transformation of society from convict settlement to nation of free men and women. The opening months of the Australian gold rush in 1851 and the consequent inrush of migrants from around the world are part of the area's history, as well as being developments that changed Australia. Australia has itself become a 'new country' when compared to the colony in 1815. That transformation - from the old, coastal colony to the new, continental country - can be said to have begun in Macquarie's 'New Country' and to have been part of its history since.

Robin McLachlan
Times Past Productions
22 March 2007

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I. Tracing the natural evolution of Australia

Although the environment exists apart from being only a construct of human consciousness, it is important to recognise the human factor in the natural environment and to be aware of how our understanding and appreciation of the environment has changed over time.

1. Environment - naturally evolved

How curious those Bathurst plains are when you first see them, so many miles without a single tree. (Rachel Henning, letter 17 April 1856)

The geological history of the Bathurst Regional Council area covers an area extending west of the Great Dividing Range across (westward flowing) river valleys, tablelands and slopes. The centre of the area contains the broad valleys of the Macquarie River and its tributaries, bounded on all sides with rugged and often forested hills, especially to the north and south. The impressive granite boulders (tors) of the Devil's Marbles and the world-class limestone Abercrombie Caves offer stunning evidence of the diverse geological history of the area. More broadly, the diversity of topography affects soil types and geological formations, which provide visible evidence of the geomorphological development of this ancient landscape.

The natural vegetation and associated ecosystems within the locality varies from areas of dense eucalyptus forests to dry sclerophyllous woodlands to treeless river plains. The woodland found in the area also includes what is described as grassy box woodland, an ecosystem found on the better class soils along the slopes and ranges from southern Queensland to central Victoria, although now much reduced in extent. White box, yellow box and Blakely's red gum were once dominant species of trees in the area, but are now limited to scattered remnant woodlands. These different ecosystems provide habitat for a range of native fauna including some rare items, such as the endangered Bathurst Copper Butterfly (*Paraculcia spinifera*), sometimes called the Copperwing Butterfly, in the east of the BRC area (Winburndale Nature Reserve, for example).

Traditional Wiradjuri stories of the creation and evolution of the region's landforms and ecosystems, for example Waluu (Mount Panorama*), may differ from those of geological history, but provide another cultural understanding of the BRC area's naturally evolved environment. Such stories offer an insight into the spiritual and philosophical beliefs of the Wiradjuri. (*Also known as Ball Hills from early settlement until 1934, then renamed Mount Panorama.)

The main river system in the north and central portions of the BRC area is that of the Macquarie, with the Turon River its major tributary in the extreme north of the area. The south of the area is part of the Abercrombie-Lachlan drainage system, with Grove Creek and Copperhannia Creek being two of several major tributaries.

Watercourses are an important feature of the BRC area. Creeks and rivers serve as some of the BRC's boundary lines and include:

- On the east - Isabella River, Campbells River, Sewells Creek, Fish River.
- On the north - Upper Turon River, Green Valley Creek.

- On the west - Tambaroora Creek, Lucky Swamp Creek, Peppers Creek, Graingers Creek, Rocky Bridge Creek.
- On the south - Abercrombie River.

The rivers and creeks in the BRC area, many of which are of a permanent or semi-permanent nature, have made a significant contribution to the area's historical development. Early travellers often noted strings of ponds and other wetlands along the flood plains of the area's rivers and larger streams. The Lagoon, a large periodic slough located within the settlement area of the same name, is significant in that it is one of the very few such wetlands remaining in the BRC area. The area's watercourses provided both water and food for the Wiradjuri. The considerable number and even distribution of the area's watercourses equally facilitated early pastoral settlement, while their flowing through auriferous country also in time supported the goldrush. The many watercourses have provided both a guiding hand for explorers and an impediment to road builders.

The landscape of streams, plains and hills generally has influenced the settlement and land usage patterns of both the Aboriginal people and the early European settlers. This is reflected in the various settlement patterns, such as the siting in 1815 of Bathurst on the Macquarie River and the establishment of goldrush communities on gold bearing rivers and creeks. Landscape also guided the surveying of transport routes, and place names were sometimes given to natural features, such as Rocks Hill. Other natural characteristics, as for example an abundance of fish in the Fish River, also contributed to early naming.

The landscape of the BRC area has undergone considerable change in many places owing to the demands of agriculture, mining and settlement. The introduction of sheep and cattle in particular has reduced the extent of the original woodlands. Road corridors, rural cemeteries, stock reserves, village commons (such as Peel Common and Hill End Common), and similar sites function today as reserves of remnant native vegetation and fauna. In some instances these sites, often small and isolated, may provide the only evidence of pre-settlement vegetation in the immediate area. Cemeteries in Trunkey Creek, Sally's Flat, Sofala and Rockley hold small but significant remnants of grassy box woodland, for example.

The area is fortunate in having a number of dedicated nature reserves offering some indication of the landscape prior to European settlement. These include the Winburndale, Wambool and Copperhanna reserves and Wattle Flat Heritage Lands in rural areas, together with Brooke Moore Park and Boundary Road Reserve in Bathurst City. All of these reserves hold significant remnants of native flora. Wambool, for example, offers a strong representation of flowering shrubs and terrestrial orchids, many of which are rare. Of particular significance is the Abercrombie Caves and Reserve in the south of the BRC area. As well as offering a superb example of a river cave, Abercrombie Reserve is a refuge for many species of native plants and animals, including the cave shawl web spider (*Badumna socialis*), known only in the Abercrombie and Jenolan systems.

See Theme 9 (Environment - cultural landscape) for further discussion on the impact of settlement on the natural environment.

II. Peopling Australia

2. Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures

... and the natives entertained us with a very good Karauberie at night, which lasted till 11 o'clock, at which hour we retired to bed. (Entry from journal of Governor Macquarie for 20 December 1821, on his second and last official visit to Bathurst.)

In keeping with the brief for the project, this entry is concerned mainly with developments from the time of arrival of European settlers in 1815. A more complete account of pre-contact Wiradjuri culture can be found in the survey essay by Conyers, as listed in the sources.

The Bathurst Regional Council LGA is part of the larger area occupied by the Wiradjuri, an area that coincides with the present day Central West and beyond. Wiradjuri culture was based on small clans or family groups whose movements followed seasonal food gathering and ritual patterns. Rivers and streams were natural focal points for such activities. Interestingly, the present-day use of Wiradjuri names for such natural features is arguably more prevalent in neighbouring Cabonne, where even many of the European settlements have Wiradjuri derived names as well. Natural features (such as rivers and hills) and colonial-era settlements in the BRC area more commonly have European-derived names. This may reflect important differences in the initial European settlement and subsequent interaction with Wiradjuri inhabitants when compared with settlement interaction further west.

A feature of traditional Wiradjuri culture is the dendroglyph, or carved tree, the carving of which was done for ritual purposes. An example of a carved tree, originally sited alongside the O'Connell Road, can be seen at the Bathurst District Historical Museum.

Initially, European intrusion into Wiradjuri country was restricted on the orders of Governor Macquarie. From the early 1820s with the removal of these restrictions, the Wiradjuri in the BRC area began to suffer major dislocation with the arrival of pastoral settlers and their herds in greater numbers, culminating in open conflict in 1823 and 1824. Windradyne, a Wiradjuri leader in this resistance, is one of the few Aborigines of the settlement period of whom we have any certain knowledge as an individual. His grave is located on 'Brucedale' property.

Wiradjuri population numbers declined in the 19th century, mainly because of European diseases and disruption to hunting and food gathering generally. This effect spread westward and southward as more land was taken by pastoralists as they moved beyond the original limits established by Governor Macquarie. A closer study may reveal two or three separate zones of frontier interaction in the BRC area.

Some Wiradjuri found employment as shepherds and trackers with the pastoralists. There was though little option but to find some manner of accommodation with the new order. Taking up work on properties would have been a necessary response to the difficulties in sustaining life by traditional means. While such employment may have provided some security, there was a dark

side to the story of Aboriginal shepherds and stockmen, one of dislocation from clan and tradition. This period also sees the appearance of Aborigines of part-European parentage.

It was during the pastoral period of settlement that brass plates, or gorgets, were given to those Aboriginal elders recognized by Europeans as leaders, or Kings, of their particular groups. Examples are held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum. While this arrangement had no relevance to Wiradjuri custom, the plates are nonetheless indicative of how Europeans sought to interact with Aborigines.

The role of the Wiradjuri people in the goldrush locally is a subject warranting closer attention. The interest of gold seekers in the Tambaroora and Hill End goldfields came about following the finding of gold in the area by Aborigines. One of these associated finds, the Kerr Nugget, was made by four Wiradjuri shepherds, one of them being Jemmy Irving, in the employ of Dr Kerr, a local doctor resident in Peel.

Pressure upon the Wiradjuri way of life increased with the goldrush and subsequent closer settlement. The opportunity for Wiradjuri employment offered by large pastoral properties fell away with the development of smaller, family run farms and the presence of underemployed diggers seeking work. The fuller settlement of the locality reduced the space left for traditional ways. The continuation of traditional practices became impossible, or virtually so, as crops and livestock took over more of the country. Conyers suggests a direct link between the loss of traditional food sources, the collapse of the traditional order and increased fighting between Aboriginal groups after the arrival of Europeans. It is perhaps instructive that Windradyne died from a wounding received in such a confrontation.

A contemporary document, a blanket ration register, reflecting something of government control over the lives of local Wiradjuri can be viewed in the on-line collection of the Mitchell Library. (www.atmitchell.com/journeys/social/indigenous/blanket.cfm) The register records the number of blankets provided annually from 1867 to 1875 to local Aborigines. Between 12 to 20 people received ration blankets, with the register showing them living in small, scattered groups on pastoral properties, with 'Killongbutta' and 'Saltram' among the more commonly recorded property names. (The document suffers from errors in transcription, but a number of early properties can be identified phonetically.)

From the 1890s, many surviving Wiradjuri were placed on reserves and missions outside the Bathurst area, particularly those located at Wellington and Cowra. No reserves or missions were identified within the BRC area in the research for this study. However, no matter where they might live, nearly all local Aborigines in time came under the increasing control of government regulations and bureaucracy.

The interaction of the area's Aboriginal inhabitants with European civilisation was in most ways typical of such interaction in southeastern Australia. Consequently, the BRC area's history of this theme needs to be seen as part of the wider history of Aboriginal interaction in the Central West. In that wider context it is equally a story of Wiradjuri survival and regeneration. (See Read and Kabaila.)

Aboriginal and European interaction is also a remarkable story of the Wiradjuri willingly sharing with the newcomers their ancient knowledge of the region, knowledge about the land, the plants and even the gold bearing rocks. This knowledge contributed directly to the successful settlement of the district.

Selected Sources for this theme

B Conyers, 'Aboriginal History and Anthropology' in D Goldney and I Bowie, *The National Trust of Australia (NSW) Scenic and Scientific Survey of the Central Western Region - A Report to the Australian Heritage Commission*, Vol 1 (1987)

P Kabaila, *Wiradjuri Places - The Macquarie River Basin*, Vol 3 (1998) (Vol 1& 2 in this series not relevant to BRC.)

P Read, *A Hundred Years War* (1988)

The following extract from P Kabaila, *Wiradjuri Places - The Macquarie River Basin* (vol 3) p.11, offers a useful comparative analysis.

'Wellington and Bathurst townships were settled early and Wellington in particular has had a complex sequence of local Aboriginal camps and settlements. At Bathurst the Aboriginal people were put down and a local Aboriginal population has never prospered in that town. By the 1890s there were a small number of Aboriginal households around Bathurst. Board reports of the time suggest that there were about thirty Aboriginal people employed in the district on stations and farms, others fencing, gold-digging, or kangaroo or possum hunting, none of them receiving government aid.

Since the 1970s, Bathurst, together with other identified 'growth towns' such as Orange and Wagga Wagga, became the destination of many resettled Aboriginal families seeking improved housing and employment.

Wellington township was also an early outpost of European settlement. But unlike Bathurst, Wellington became the focus of the first organised missionary settlement in the Wiradjuri region. Descendants of the local Aboriginal people still predominate in Wellington's Aboriginal community to the present day.' (By inference this may not be the case in Bathurst. Editor.)

3. Convict

There certainly is a curious state of society here. The richest man in the district, who was the chief steward of the [Bathurst Subscription] ball, and who was so good as to escort Amy [Mrs Sloman, Bathurst banker's wife] into the room met with 'misfortune' many years ago, and was transported for life for horse-stealing. That was in the palmy days of the colony, and he soon made a fortune, got first a conditional pardon, then a free one and now is a great man here! (Rachel Henning, letter 20th July 1861)

'Convict' refers to the heritage arising from the convict system or transportation to New South Wales of prisoners convicted of criminal offences in Britain and her colonies between 1787 and 1840. Although transportation to NSW ceased in 1840, it was some years before all sentences expired and the system ended.

The operation of the convict system in the Bathurst locality came with the arrival of the first European settlers and provided an essential contribution to the early development of the area, particularly in the construction of roads and buildings, both public and private.

The convict presence - and contribution - began with the construction in 1814-15 of Cox's Road from Sydney. This road, terminating at Bathurst, was for some years the only access from Sydney to the interior. This was a situation very much to the advantage of early Bathurst. As well as Cox's Road, the present-day Great Western and Mitchell highways began as convict-built roads. The Bathurst District Historical Museum holds a ship's spar used in the chaining of convict gangs working on the Great Western Road in 1830 and may have been used in connection with a convict stockade near 'Glanmire Hall'.

A number of local pastoral properties established during the convict period have extant buildings constructed by convict labour, some of which may also have been used for convict accommodation. The present-day shearing shed at 'Yarras' (Yarras Lane, Kelso) incorporates an impressive c.1825 flour (or corn) mill building, which was very likely built with convict labour using convict-made bricks. An interesting feature of the building is a detailed wooden door, quite possibly made by convict labour. A two storey barracks nearby, now demolished, provided accommodation for the mill's convict workforce. Examples of other convict built buildings, including quarters, can also be found at 'Bathampton' (Blayney Road), and at 'Charlton' and 'Rockley Farm' (both near Rockley). In Bathurst, Old Government Cottage (behind 1 George Street) may have convict associations. The early history of this building is not known for certain, but it may be the remnant of a larger building dating from 1817. (*Old Government Cottage*, pamphlet published by Bathurst District Historical Society (nd))

Most convict period buildings, however, have long since been demolished, but identified sites still exist to remind us of the BRC area's significant convict heritage. According to the 1833 *Plan for the Town of Bathurst*, the convict hospital was located near the corner of present-day Howick and Bentinck streets. The 'Prisoners Barracks' compound sat at an angle on the corner of present-day William and Keppel streets, with two of the twelve huts spilling into Keppel Street.

It is worth noting that convict-associated buildings, with some notable exceptions, become increasingly less common westward of the BRC area. The BRC area, together with other early settlement areas such as Wellington and Carcoar, hold important stocks of convict-built structures in the Central West Region.

The convict population of the Bathurst area included some female convicts, whose presence in such a remote location presented problems of discipline and immorality. As a way of keeping more difficult - and vulnerable - women under watch, the Bathurst Female Factory was established in 1833 (on the corner of present-day William and Charlotte streets) and continued in use until 1844. Although no evidence remains on the site today, we are fortunate in being able to identify with some accuracy the location of such a site with interesting social history value. A number of other convict associated sites, now demolished, can be identified in Bathurst and the surrounding area. (See T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992), Vol 1, pp121-124)

As well as a narrative of bricks and mortar, Bathurst's convict history includes a heritage of flesh and blood, of people both known and unknown. Assigned convicts not only contributed through their labour to the establishment of early pastoral properties, but many went on to settle in the area. Time-expired convicts or their children were amongst the earliest landed settlers, such as William Lee and Thomas Kite, both of whom were given land grants in 1818. 'Woolstone', a grand mansion in Kelso built by the son of Thomas Kite, is a lasting monument to his father's successful transition from convict felon to wealthy pastoralist and leading citizen. William Lee, the son of a convict woman, established a pastoral empire that lasted through his children into the 20th century. The area also provided pastoral opportunities for entrepreneurial Sydney-based ex-convicts, such as Samuel Terry. Other time-expired convicts found their future in business activities in Bathurst. Dominique Popolari*, a time-served convict originally from Naples via the British Army, was one of Bathurst's early licensed publicans. One of his pubs, established as the Elephant and Castle Inn in 1849, in Keppel Street is one of the oldest licensed hotels trading in the BRC area. (Known as the Tattersall's Hotel from 1937, the name was changed back to the Elephant and Castle Inn in 2006.) Kite and Popolari are only two of the many men and women with a convict background who settled in the area and contributed to its early development. The Heritage Wall at the lower end of William Street provides biographical information on just a few of area's convict settlers. (*Various spellings. See *100 Lives of Bathurst* (2005) for details.)

Bathurst's convict heritage includes as well one of the great dramas of convict rebellion in New South Wales history. Under the leadership of Ralf Entwistle and with a fluctuating following of perhaps eighty or more absconded convicts, the Ribbon Gang terrorised the BRC area and beyond in late 1830. Several extant sites on local properties have Ribbon Gang associations. For example, 'Littlebourne' was the home of Thomas Evernden, the magistrate who triggered the uprising, and a brick barn on 'Bathampton' is said by the present-day owners to have been used to confine that property's convicts to prevent their joining Entwistle's gang. A number of properties were either raided by the gang or provided bases for posses in pursuit. The gang sought sanctuary in the Abercrombie Ranges (notably Abercrombie Caves and Grove Creek), where running gun battles soon followed. Bushranger's Hill near Abercrombie Caves is said locally to be named after one such shoot out. The core of the gang was finally captured in mid October 1830 with military assistance sent from Sydney and, following a swift trial, the ringleaders were executed in Bathurst (in Ribbon Gang Lane, off William Street) on 2 November 1830. The

episode is sometimes called the Bathurst Rebellion and, as the name suggests, was one of Australia's largest sustained convict uprisings. (A detailed account is provided in Henry Bialowas, *Ten Dead Men* (unpublished mss, 2007).)

The Bathurst area's convict history and heritage is generally characteristic of New South Wales convict history in its final stages. There are elements, such as the Ribbon Gang, that stand out as having a significance that goes beyond the area. The wider value of the area's convict heritage perhaps lies in that the area's early settlement coincides with the transition of the colony from being a restricted penal settlement to a place of free settlement and individual opportunity. The Bathurst area played an important part in what became a social experiment of great importance to Australia's historical development.

See also Theme 17 (Pastoralism), Theme 20 (Transport) and Theme 29 (Law and order).

4. Ethnic influences

Ethnic influence can be defined as the ways in which our cultural heritage has been shaped by the beliefs and values, tastes and preferences, people have brought with them to the area. Ethnic influence can be a positive and creative force, reflected in house architecture as well as in the establishment of ethnic restaurants. It can also have a negative and destructive impact. Differences of cultural understanding arising from their different ethnic traditions ultimately determined the relationship between incoming British settlers and indigenous Wiradjuri.

Over the last two centuries, the Bathurst Regional Council area has become the home to many different cultural traditions. It is perhaps the cultural traditions and ethnicity derived from Britain that have been the most pervasive. Placenames, such as Bathurst, Kelso and Dunkeld, typify this influence, as does the self-conscious effort in the late 19th century to create an English-style urban park with Machattie Park. Within that British cultural tradition are a number of distinct sub-cultures - English, Scottish, Welsh, Cornish and Irish. The influence of these cultural groups can be found in many features of the area's cultural heritage, such as in architecture. Ethnicity may be evident in the design of 'Abercrombie House' (formerly 'Mount Pleasant'), built by its Scots descent owner in a style reminiscent of a Scottish baronial mansion. For Irish-born settlers of lesser means, the placing of a Celtic cross on a gravestone offered another way to reaffirm ancestral ethnicity. For the Patrician Brothers resident in their Bathurst monastery (now the Catholic Chancery), their ethnic reaffirmation took the form of a Celtic harp design in the iron work of their balcony. English and Scots settlers are most commonly associated with the early land settlement. This is typical of early Australian history generally, as is the local association of Irish ethnicity with convict and labour union history.

The mid-19th century goldrush brought other ethnic influences - from Europe, from the Americas and from China. Hill End had ethnic districts, such as Germantown where cottages and gardens expressing a German influence can still be found (such as the Krohmann-Ackermann cottage site). Individuals of non-British origin in Hill End, such as Bernard Holtermann, played leading roles in community and business matters. In the case of Holtermann his fame includes not only his famous nugget but also his support of what became a nationally significant photographic study of the area. Holtermann's ethnicity is well known today, as is that of his Polish contemporary at Hill End, Hugo Louis Beyers, whose cottage is an important part of the Hill End Historic Site. Beyers, beginning from when mayor of Hill End in 1877, was instrumental in the planting of the exotic trees along the avenue bearing his name. In Bathurst, James Rutherford, an American migrant, is remembered through his connection with Cobb & Co.. There is a strong public recognition today of these three individuals, a recognition that readily acknowledges their ethnicity. Most goldrush ethnic migrants by contrast have not entered our historical consciousness as distinct individuals, but exist only as communities or groups.

One ethnic group in particular, the Chinese, worked and lived as a group apart from the mainstream, ensuring - perhaps ironically - a distinctive niche today in the area's cultural heritage. Chinese came to the Bathurst area because of the goldrush. According to the census of 1861, there were 977 Chinese living in the area's towns and villages, rising to 1165 in 1891, with others in more remote rural locales. Their past presence is still evident in many old mine sites -

with characteristic round shafts and extensive water race systems - to be found throughout the area. Discouraged from settling in mining villages, the sites of their camps can sometimes be found just beyond the edge of settlement, as in the case of the 'Island of Dreams' at Sofala. Beyond their mining sites, however, little remains in the way of buildings or other structures in the landscape today to remind us of the past Chinese presence. In part, this was because of the temporary nature of goldfield construction, but it is perhaps also because knowledge of such things has passed from public memory and, until recently, also from public concern. The location of the Chinese cemeteries at Tambaroora and Sofala is a matter of some debate among present-day locals; the Chinese temple at Tambaroora had 'disappeared' before the Second World War.

The physical disappearance of this ethnic community from the area's goldfields is the outcome of various causes. The goal of most Chinese miners was to return home to China, preferably after having made their fortune on the goldfield. Not all, of course, could exercise this option and for reasons of poverty had to remain in the colony and continue to earn a meagre living by working worn out fields. Some though went on to become merchants while others became market gardeners (on Kelso river flats), ringbarkers and station cooks. But Chinese were effectively barred on racial grounds from taking up selection blocks, or indeed entering main stream society.

A significant Chinese community lived in Bathurst for a time in the late 19th century, with most residing within the block enclosed by Durham, Ranken, Howick and George streets, an area unofficially known as Chinatown. The area today is dominated by a Subaru car yard and offers no suggestion of this earlier character. A temple, or joss house, was located on the corner of Ranken and Durham streets, now a paint store. The community was also the focus of the Bathurst Chinese Mission (later the Western Chinese Mission) formed in 1889 by local Protestant churches, but abandoned for lack of interest by 1894-95. By the time of the 1901 census, the Bathurst Chinese population had dropped to 61, nearly all of whom would have been elderly men. The census reveals there were no females among the Chinese resident in Bathurst. The absence of women and children was the result of a racially restrictive immigration policy, made even more restrictive with Federation. The situation for the Chinese community was quite different from that of most other migrant communities in the area, and was one that doomed the Chinese community to effective extinction.

More recent ethnic influences have come as part of post-war migration, including that of refugees and displaced persons from Europe in the 1940s and 1950s. The story of the Bathurst Migrant Camp (Migrant Reception Centre) (1948-1952) exemplifies the multi-ethnic mixture of people that has helped shape the BRC area's identity over the past half-century. All of the area's ethnicities, past and present, have variously contributed to the collective sense of local identity, although the Anglo-Celtic ethnic identities still dominate, as they have since 1815. The history of ethnicity in the BRC area is generally typical of inland New South Wales.

5. Migration

But I am truly an exile. And Bathurst wears me down. The narrowness, the pettiness, the snobbery, the complacency of the average Australian is beyond belief - and I believe beyond hope. I see our future only in view of the fact that willynilly we shall be overrun in the next decade by people from all corners of the world, for our original impetus that gave us the Australia of the '90s [1890s] is quite spent. (Dymphna Cusack to Miles Franklin, Bathurst, 1 November 1940, as cited in M North, 'Dymphna Cusack: Beautiful Exile', *Hecate* (1999), p.148)

Migration can be defined very simply as the movement and settlement of people. Migration includes not only people coming from overseas or interstate to settle in the area, but also the temporary movement of people, as for instance in search of employment. The theme of migration in the BRC area reflects the broader movement of people in New South Wales and Australia generally since the early 19th century.

The incoming of settlers in the early 19th century led to the resistance and ultimate displacement of the Wiradjuri people. The first migrants were a mix of convicts, officials and free settlers, predominantly male and among whom only a handful intended (or were permitted) to settle permanently in the area. Within two or three decades, the mix of migrants became both more complex in variety and more likely to remain.

Generally speaking, people moved in significant numbers from, or via, the Sydney area over the mountains and into the locality from the mid-19th to the early 20th century motivated mainly by the prospects of land for agricultural development or, after 1851, of wealth from the goldfields. Some arrived in the colony under one of the many assisted migration schemes, such as the 'Bounty Scheme' introduced in the 1830s. Some 'Bounty' settlers are known to have settled in the Rockley area, together with settlers with connections to the English Calais silk weaving community who had fled the turmoil of 19th century France. The house, 'Calais Villa' on Phantom St in Rockley, built in the 1890s, was so named to commemorate this link with the family's origins. Many property names in the BRC area reflect similar connections with family origins. Assisted passage for those seeking a life on the land continued into the 20th century, for example with young Britons sent as students to the Bathurst Experiment Farm. The identity of one such migrant, AV Richardson, is provided in the graffiti of the Farm's barn. (See 'Not the Sistine Chapel' in *Celebrating 100 Harvests* (1995) for detailed discussion.)

The goldrush brought a massive influx of people into the area from 1851 onwards. They came not only from the Sydney area but also from overseas and from the other Australian colonies. Because the first Australian goldfields were nearby, the Bathurst area was for a time at the centre of Australia's first major migration inflow. Some of these arrivals remained; others moved on to other opportunities. This migration is reflected in the cyclical history of the area's goldrush communities. Most commonly these migrant goldminers were single men. Copper mining, however, was more often associated with Cornish miners, who commonly migrated with their families. (See family histories in AM Roberson, *The Rockley Manner* (1989).)

By the third quarter of the 19th century, with the arrival of the railway and the growth of Bathurst as an industrial and service centre, the earlier waves of mining and agricultural migrants were

joined by an increasing number of urban and industrial migrants. By this stage, migrants came increasingly not only from overseas or coastal New South Wales, but from the other colonies of Australia. Bathurst was a well-known regional centre, a place where someone might go for a time, or perhaps permanently, to 'try their luck'. This was made easier with the expansion of the railway system throughout the eastern colonies. Anecdotal family histories suggest there may have been an outflow, followed by a subsequent back flow, of migrants in the 1890s-early 1900s with the discovery of gold in Western Australia. Migration into the area appears to have reached a plateau by the early 1900s. The population figures for Bathurst through the first half of the 20th century suggest only limited migration into the area during this period. (For population figures from 1820s see Theme 23 (Towns, suburbs and villages) or T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), pp190-192.)

Another form of migration occurred with seasonal work in the agricultural and pastoral industries. Different tasks at different times of the year called for a temporary, seasonal, workforce. Men, and sometimes women, who followed the agricultural seasons from place to place supplied this labour. Shearing has a long history of such migrant workers, as does fruit picking from the early 20th century. The farm accommodation provided such workers is often the only extant evidence of their presence. During the Second World War, migrant workers took up employment in the area's defence industries. Approximately 100 small cottages, 'Duration Houses', were built in Bathurst for their accommodation along the then northern outskirts of the city.

In the postwar period, the locality received a significant inflow of displaced persons and other migrants from war-torn Europe, with the Bathurst Migrant Camp (also known as the Bathurst Migrant Reception Centre) serving as an initial destination. The camp received its first intake in May 1948 and was closed in 1952. Over the four years of its operation, the camp normally housed between three to four thousand people. The camp was one of many in Australia at this time, part of a national policy to increase Australia's European population. The camp received migrants, mainly war refugees, from Displaced Persons' camps in Europe, including Poles, Balts, Hungarians and Germans, as well as migrants from countries such as Holland. While some of these arrivals remained in the Bathurst area, most migrated on to other places.

Migration in the second half of the 20th century offers a complex, even contradictory, history. The area ceased to be a destination for any significant international or interstate migration, as it had been in earlier times. Internal migration saw the movement of people from nearby villages into Bathurst, together with the movement of people from the locality to Sydney and other major metropolitan areas, a reversal of the early migration flow into the area. However, this outflow has been balanced in part in the last quarter of the century by an inflow resulting from significant government policy decisions to locate government services in the area, for example the Central Mapping Authority and Charles Sturt University. Some of these decisions are linked with the failed Bathurst Orange Growth Centre plan of the 1970s, a bold if misguided attempt at demographic engineering. In more recent years, the BRC area has also seen the arrival of former Sydney residents seeking a 'tree change' in career or retirement.

The BRC area is probably representative of the experience of other country areas, and the Central West generally, where migration has been a prime factor in creating the make up and distribution of the present population.

III. Developing local, regional and national economies

6. Agriculture

He [Lt. William Lawson] has 150 acres of as fine wheat now growing as I ever beheld in any country, 15 acres of very fine looking oats, and 3 acres of very good flax now in the ground, and almost ripe for cutting belonging to Government. The Macquarie wheat thrives well here, and upwards of 50 acres of it has been sown this year. (Memorandum in the journal of Governor Lachlan Macquarie relating to his December 1821 tour of inspection to Bathurst.)

Agriculture can be defined as the cultivation, rearing and harvesting of plants and animals for economic use. Prior to European settlement, the Wiradjuri undertook a hunter-gatherer form of food production that involved a conscious utilisation of the plant and animal resources of the area.

Agriculture provided Bathurst with its initial purpose as an administrative and commercial centre. Governor Macquarie established the settlement of Bathurst in 1815 as part of his policy to extend the colony's agricultural resources beyond the Blue Mountains. In 1815, William Lawson, in consequence of his part in finding a way across the Blue Mountains, had the first cattle to cross the Great Divide grazing on 1000 acres in the area of the Fish and Campbells rivers, although this land grant was not finalised until 1823. In 1818, ten settlers were granted a 50-acre farm each, together with a two acre town allotment on the north bank of the Macquarie River, in what is now Kelso. The subsequent cultivation of homestead gardens to supply local needs might be described as the first signs of cultivated agriculture in the area.

But the cultivation of crops was regarded by most as an ancillary activity. The first settlers initially favoured cattle raising but sheep very quickly became more important. It should be noted that 'pastoralism' is an important part of the history of 'agriculture' in the BRC area. From the earliest days of agricultural settlement, pastoralists combined stock raising with other agricultural pursuits, for example grain farming, orcharding and market gardening. (Refer to Theme 17 (Pastoralism), for a more detailed discussion on the role of stock raising in the BRC area, and Theme 22 (Land tenure), for information on land acquisition.)

One of the notable Bathurst area pioneers in agriculture was George Ranken of 'Kellosiel', a property on the Macquarie River near present-day Eglinton. From the mid-1820s to the late 1850s, he attempted growing with varying success a wide range of agricultural products, including not only the more common crops such as wheat but also tobacco. His cheeses, together with those of his neighbours, among them Captain Piper of 'Alloway Bank', earned a good reputation and were amongst the area's first agricultural 'exports' to Sydney. Less successful was his attempt in the 1840s to grow grapevines and produce wine. Although his vineyard of some 20 acres flourished for a time, and wine was produced, diseases eventually brought the undertaking to an end. Vineyards and winemaking have been attempted intermittently since Ranken's endeavours, which were the first such attempts west of the mountains. Ranken went beyond being only a primary producer and strived where he could to

produce a value added agricultural product. For example, beer was brewed at his estate's steam-powered flour mill using his own malted barley and hops grown on his farm.

Wheat was an important crop locally by the mid-nineteenth century, with the BRC area arguably the most important wheat growing area in the colony at that time. But the area's wheat and other cereal crops were eclipsed by the later significance of farming on the plains further west. Beyond the fertile river plains - extensive as they are - much of the country in the BRC area is not ideal for large scale cropping. Most of the wheat produced in the area was consumed locally, ground to flour by local mills. Sending agricultural produce to markets further away was problematic until the arrival of the railway in the 1870s. However, all agricultural producers enjoyed a boost to their market locally with the goldrush activity of the 1850s and 60s. Accompanying the rush was the further development of market gardens by miners themselves, notably those from China. Chinese market gardens remained a feature on the river flats around Bathurst well into the 20th century.

Market gardening has a long association with the history of the Bathurst area. The river flat areas around Bathurst and Kelso were used for vegetable growing from the earliest years of settlement. Fruit also was grown successfully in various locations from an early period. Around 1900 orchards began to develop on a larger, commercial scale encouraged by the research and demonstration work of the Bathurst Experiment Farm (BEF), established in 1895, and by the facility of the railway to take fruit - and vegetables - to the growing Sydney market quickly and economically. Commercial orchards were in production locally before the First World War. Soldier settlement farms after the war expanded this industry. By 1933, over 1000 acres of commercial orchards in the area produced apples, pears and stone fruits. While fruit was for some decades an important agricultural product, there remain today very few commercial orchards in the area.

As well as its work in promoting fruit production, the Bathurst Experiment Farm experimented with other trial crops, one of which was tobacco. Tobacco was grown in the farm's fields on what is now Morse Park, opposite the Royal Bathurst Show Ground. Tobacco was also grown at 'Orton Park' on the Vale Road. The ruin of a brick building at the back of the residence is thought to have been used for drying tobacco. Tobacco never established itself as a commercial crop.

The Bathurst Experiment Farm represented an official approach in educating local farmers on suitable agricultural practices, part of a late 19th century Australia-wide initiative. Local farmers, orchardists and gardeners had long shown an enthusiasm for learning from one another, as reflected in the holding of the district's first agricultural show, at O'Connell in 1860. This initiative became in time the present-day annual Royal Bathurst Show, organised by the Bathurst Agricultural, Horticultural and Pastoral Association (better known as the AH&P Society). The show was held at various locations until 1878, when it began to make use of its present site. The show provided a venue for competitions in produce and skills, for example ploughing matches. It was also where farmers could compare the merits of agricultural equipment and learn of new opportunities. The Bathurst agricultural show is a successful example of the wider Australian history of such shows, but it draws as well on the tradition of similar county shows in England.

The Bathurst Experiment Farm played a role locally in the introduction of fruit canning. Of particular significance, however, to the local - and national - vegetable canning industry were the endeavours of Robert Gordon Edgell, who opened a small cannery at 'Bradwardine' in 1926. It is widely held that Edgell was the first to can vegetables commercially. Another of Edgell's innovations was to grow his asparagus in rows, rather than beds, and to apply generally an industrial approach to growing, harvesting and processing his crop. His initiatives took market gardening in the area from a 'farmers' market' ethos into a mass produced and mass marketed business. The initial focus of the Edgell operation was in the growing and canning of asparagus, but other vegetables in time were included. The acquisition of modern food processing technology from America during the Second World War, in connection with supply contracts for the American military, helped make Edgell's the largest vegetable processing company in Australia. Gordon Edgell and Sons Ltd is now part of the American Simplot Group but tinned and frozen locally grown vegetables are still produced in the Bathurst plant and sold under the Edgell's brand.

The BRC area has a long and varied agricultural history. The area has at times been in the forefront of agricultural developments in inland Australia, as for example with the endeavours of Robert Gordon Edgell and George Ranken. In their endeavours - successful or unsuccessful - one can see something of the wider experiment that has been Australian agriculture since European settlement.

See also Theme 17 (Pastoralism) and Theme 15 (Industry).

7. Commerce

*The [Bathurst] township contains the gaol, police-office, female factory, barracks, Scotch chapel, and bank, with several stores and small shops of a most heterogeneous character, where you may find iron pots, writing-paper, blonde lace, fire-arms, Dutch cheese, 'P. coats,' crockery, and various other commodities, though very rarely the one article you require. ... and the public-houses, as compared with the others [private dwellings], very numerous. (Louisa Meredith, *Notes and Sketches of New South Wales* (1844, 1973), p.84. Meredith's description is from about 1840.)*

Commerce can be defined as the buying, selling and exchange (bartering) of goods and services. The most obvious commercial activity in the BRC area has been the retailing business carried on by its hotels and stores. The history of commerce in the BRC area is largely typical of rural, inland localities and that of the Central West generally. Commerce is a rich theme both in terms of its historical variety and in its contribution to the area's inventory of heritage items.

7.1 Commercial Beginnings (1815-1850)

Commerce in some form exists in all societies. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, barter took place between Aboriginal groups with the exchange of stone tools and ochres. The first commercial transaction in the time of early colonial settlement was very likely the exchange of goods for guiding services by local Wiradjuri. The first settlers lived either in government compounds or on pastoral properties whose self-sufficiency in supplies did not encourage, initially at least, commercial development. The first stores would have been little more than the most basic of general stores.

However, the first sustained commercial business in the BRC area was most likely not a store but an inn, perhaps an unrecorded sly grog shop somewhere along Cox's Road, meeting the needs of travellers and stockmen for drink, tucker and bed. This is pure speculation, of course, but the government refusal to grant licences until well into the 1820s undoubtedly encouraged illegal responses. The first licenced inn in the area was probably the Dun Cow, on the Kelso side of the Macquarie River, around 1828. The Green Swamp Inn on the Great Western Road at Walang, now a residence, was functioning as a licensed inn from the early 1830s. It can be said generally that the inn or hotel has been an important feature in the commercial history of the BRC area, providing today some of its most significant historic commercial buildings - for example the Royal Hotel (1843) on William Street in Bathurst.

Hotels and public houses were used as places for public and official meetings, as informal labour exchanges and banks and even as places of worship on the Sabbath. In 1834, Mrs Dillon's Inn in Kelso (also known as the Dun Cow Inn) hosted a public meeting seeking the formation of Bathurst's first bank, an important milestone in the area's commercial development.

By the 1830s, following the introduction of a more liberal policy encouraging settlement, commercial activity had grown to the point that required the local presence of a bank. The

appearance of enterprises providing sources of capital and the secure holding of earnings is a measure of the growing maturity of local commerce. What came to be known as the Bathurst Bank, the first bank west of the mountains, was established on 1 January 1835, closing in 1840 on transferring its business to the Union Bank of Australia. By 1860 with the goldrush, the Bathurst branch of the Union Bank had been joined by branches of two more banks, with more branches opening at different times in the larger villages in the area. In addition to banks, stock and station agencies, such as Clements & McCarthy, established in 1873 and still trading in 2007, also provided financial services. Their services for a time included an agency for the AMP Society, a major provider of insurance. In 1881, the AMP Society established a central office in Bathurst for the Western Districts, working from its own AMP building at 126 William Street from 1885. The introduction and growth of such financial services provided a foundation for the economic boom underway in the second half of the 19th century.

7.2 Commercial Boom (1851-1900s)

The gold rush provided the catalyst for the Bathurst area's commercial boom in the second half of the 19th century. The beginning of that rush came with Edward Hargraves' public announcement on the evening of 7 May 1851 that payable gold had been discovered on Summerhill Creek. The announcement was made, not surprisingly, in a Bathurst public house, the Carrier's Arms on (88) William Street, the site of which is now occupied by Westpac.

With the discovery of payable gold, a greater range of commercial services and facilities arose to provide for the town and district's growing population and prosperity. Bakers, butchers, ironmongers and a host of other specialised small retailers and service providers now joined the pioneer general store and hotel. The *1862 Professional and Trades Directory*, the earliest such directory, listed some 352 individual businesses in Bathurst offering the public fifty-four different kinds of goods or services. As well as retailers of foodstuffs and hardware, there were skilled artisans and tradespeople making and selling specialised goods, often to order and ranging from boots to guns to coffins. It was characteristic of local commerce while into the 20th century for many consumer goods to be made on site by the seller. (See Theme 15 (Industry).) A similar list from 1909, *Country Trades Directory*, shows a comparable diversity of businesses in Bathurst, with the addition of a 'Motor Garage' and four 'Bicycle Agents'. An interesting detail in these lists is the contribution of women to commerce in Bathurst, particularly in how by 1909 there were not only more women involved in commerce but also in a greater variety of businesses.

(Theo Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, Chapter 9 offers a detailed discussion on commerce in Bathurst, drawing on the 1862 and 1909 listings. JW Turner, 'Bathurst Heritage Themes' in *City of Bathurst Heritage Study*, Vol 1 also makes useful comparisons drawing on these and other listings.)

Early trade directories reveal considerable turnover in businesses over time. Few commercial enterprises lasted more than a few years under the same proprietor or in the same line of business, suggesting an interesting economic and social history that may have implications for historic commercial buildings. By way of example, only five of the 352 businesses listed in 1862 were listed in the 1893 *Bathurst Guide*. One of the few Bathurst businesses to survive the odds

was Glasson's, a real estate agency established in 1885 and still trading under that business name. Their sign painted window remains at 89 William Street, and is perhaps Bathurst's oldest commercial sign. This high turnover in businesses is in part a reflection of the nature of the ownership of commercial businesses. With some important exceptions*, most businesses in Bathurst and the wider area were local proprietorships or partnerships, and subject to the limitations of their owners. Financial problems or personal decisions, as well as old age or death, could see a business wound up. This close relationship between the individual and his or her business raises the possibility of links to other places of related heritage interest, for example homes - and graves.

(*Hunter & Co. was one such exception, a chain boot seller that set up in Bathurst around 1860 and flooded Bathurst with lower-priced boots. This action precipitated what may have been Bathurst's first major workplace strike. See Theme 25 (Labour).)

The disparity of incomes, as well as their volatility, brought about by the goldrush led to a hierarchy of business, with higher-class establishments providing for the better-off customer, and more basic establishments providing for the less prosperous. In effect, commerce - whether hotel or store - reflected something of the social and economic structures of the time. The difference would be expressed not only in the quality and range of goods and services sold but also in the quality of shop fittings and even in the quality of the building itself.

There emerged in Bathurst a sectarian divide as well, with Catholic and Protestant businesses patronised by their respective communities. Local tradition has it that Webb's Emporium on George Street was the Protestant department store; and, nearby on Howick Street, Meagher's (established 1869, taken over by Mockler Brothers in 1919) provided for the Catholic community. These two department stores were the pre-eminent stores in the Bathurst area, attracting shoppers from beyond the city, and, as befitted their prestige, both occupied prominent positions within the central business area of the town. Located opposite Machattie Park, the E. Webb & Co. store, built c.1870, with a floor space of 1 1/4 acres, offers still an impression of a more elegant time in Bathurst's retail history, especially when compared with today's drop slab retail warehouses and identikit shopping malls. Both Edmund Webb and John Meagher extended their commercial activity beyond Bathurst into other communities in the Central West, often in competition with similar 'emporiums' from other regional centres. Both also maintained their own buyers overseas and engaged in manufacturing some of their own product lines.

The business histories of Webb and Meagher are not dissimilar to those of metropolitan-based department stores of the same era, such as David Jones and Myers. But in a similar way to the fate of some Bathurst industries, such as its flour mills and breweries, the economic niche occupied by Bathurst's large commercial retail stores would be subsumed later in the 20th century by metropolitan-based department stores. The site of the present-day K Mart store, and the Stockland shopping mall generally, on William and Howick streets, offers such a history. Beginning around 1880 as Edgley's Store, the commercial premises were bought out in the 1920s by Western Stores, a Dubbo-based rival to the Meaghers and Webbs of Bathurst and 'one of the biggest merchandising establishments in the country districts of the State.' (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.152) By the 1970s, Bathurst's Western Stores itself had become just another branch store of the Myers chain, morphing into its present form over the following

decades. With the extinction of Western Stores all of Bathurst's own pre-eminent department stores had ceased trading and their places taken by national retail chain outlets.

The Webb and Meagher stores were known as 'universal emporiums', the origin of which can be found in the 'general store'. There were at least twenty-two general stores in Bathurst by 1862 of various sizes, with nearly all located on Durham, George, William and Howick streets. This tight pattern of locations offers an interesting comparison to the present-day CBD, which has shifted only slightly from the city's original commercial centre. As Theo Barker notes, the Webb and Meagher department stores - offering everything for home and farm - developed from these early general stores. Webb was one of those general stores listed in 1862, having opened in 1851. Their origin, rise and eventual eclipse by the forerunners of today's commercial enterprises offer a window on the BRC area's retail history, as well as on changes in consumer behaviour.

Commerce was not limited to Bathurst's CBD area. Scattered throughout the residential areas of both Bathurst and Kelso were a great many neighbourhood stores, the ubiquitous 'corner store'. Some, were substantial businesses, such as D.J. Healey and Sons General Store (153A Havannah St), a Federation period building. In the case of Healey's, it was the largest in Milltown and is still in use today as a business premises. Others were more modest 'mum and pop' shops, with attached residence. The two storey shop and residence at 26 Bant Street (c.1885) traded as The Milltown Store. The Victorian-era corner shops at 84 Piper St, 140 Rankin St and 46 Seymour St also provide typical examples of this type of business. Most of these shops are now residences only. The continued presence of the buildings, however, reminds us of a different time, one when neighbourhoods were an important part of daily life, especially in working class districts such as Milltown. Corner shops - together with local pubs, schools and churches - once helped define the boundaries of personal and community identity. A different sort of neighbourhood identity, one based on race and exclusion, was found in Bathurst's Chinatown, which also had its own stores and commercial premises.

Bathurst commerce in the 19th and early 20th centuries was also carried on in market places. From about 1848, an open-air market for general produce took place in the area known today as King's Parade, operating daily except for Sundays and religious and public holidays. A Market Building was erected by the Municipal Council on this site in 1871, with rented rooms for temporary use by auctioneers and other businesses. Although a popular site for public gatherings, such as political rallies and church fetes, the building fell into both disrepair and disrepute and was finally demolished in 1909-10 to make way for King's Parade. A second open-air market took place on the corner of William and Durham streets, again from about 1848, for the sale of hay and grain. This site is still known as the Haymarket Reserve. It is interesting that both of these sites have survived, more or less intact, into the 21st century as public spaces, very likely in consequence of once having been public market places. As well as formal market places, travelling hawkers and 'blow in' merchants were part of the area's commercial activity, especially following the arrival of the railway in the 1870s. Their presence brought continued protests from Bathurst's more established retailers. Carpet sellers and other travelling merchants continue this tradition, while the monthly Farmer's Market and auction days at the Bathurst Show Grounds have similar links to the past.

There is a direct nexus between transportation and commerce. Commerce followed roads; railways encouraged commerce. The arrival of the railway in Bathurst in 1876 contributed as well to a major commercial development in Bathurst, namely the transformation of Keppel Street into a shopping precinct. Prior to the railway, the eastern end of Keppel Street was a neglected area commercially. Within a decade or so, with Keppel Street becoming the gateway to the city, an impressive range of new businesses had been established offering a variety of services for both travellers and locals. Two hotels (including the Victoria Hotel) opposite the railway station greeted the traveller immediately on arrival (or farewelled them on departure); from 1885 E Webb & Co. ran a 'cash store' nearby at no.23 to provide for last minute shopping. Further along the street, and taking just one range of business premises as an example - those from no.51 to no.77, the shopper of 1900 had the choice of over eleven different stores and businesses. These included: grocer, draper, tobacconist, dressmaker, printer, jeweller, newsagent, baker, fruit shop, chemist and ham & beef shop (takeaway). With a couple of exceptions the original late 19th century commercial buildings concerned are still largely intact and many of the businesses found there today are the 21st century equivalents of those operating in 1900. Directly across the street in 1900 were the Victoria Skating Rink and the WH Hudson & Co. ice factory, located on the site which is now the Bathurst Regional Art Gallery and Library. (*Bathurst Federal Directory*, 1900 and *Bathurst City Rates Books*, 1901)

The commercial boom of the second half of the 19th century was not confined to Bathurst and Kelso. The goldrush of the 1850s and 60s led to the rapid development of goldfield towns and accompanying commercial activity. Sofala, Hill End, Trunkey Creek, Chambers Creek, Wattle Flat and other rush communities also had their hotels, stores, banks, barber shops and similar commercial premises. Although Peel and Rockley can claim origins independent of the goldrush, their commercial development became dependent on nearby goldrush activities. O'Connell had an embryonic commercial presence a decade or so before the rush, while Sunny Corner was a late starter owing to the relatively late history of its mining development. Generally speaking, there was a common experience among most of the area's villages of rapid, even volatile, commercial development which is linked either to nearby mining or in consequence of being located on a road leading to a goldfield. The local patterns of early business ownership and turnover are comparable to those described above for Bathurst. There also emerged in the area's villages local business entrepreneurs, small-scale versions of the Webbs and Meaghers of Bathurst, who likewise built their local empire of emporia. Arthur Budden in Rockley offers an interesting example of such a man. As well as an impressive store on Budden Street, he financed or owned other Rockley ventures, including the Rockley Mill.

Often initially operating from tents and similar temporary structures, the more successful goldfields merchants soon built more permanent structures of timber or brick as - and if - the luck of the field held out. Inns and stores on the roads to the goldfields also appeared, such as the Rising Sun Inn at Limekilns. In the last decades of the 19th century, Hill End, with its isolated population of perhaps 8,000, supported a level of commercial activity that rivalled that of Bathurst. The inevitable decline of the goldfields saw most businesses close down, but their premises occasionally remain to offer witness to past commercial activities. In a few cases, as for example with the Royal Hotel in Sofala and the Royal Hotel in Hill End, the original business has continued to the present day uninterrupted by the failure of the goldfield. The 1870s restored shops and stores in Hill End, such as Northey's, Hosie's and the Great Western, offer an insight

into the former commercial bustle of the town. But in many cases, as in Hill End, commercial buildings literally disappeared over time with disrepair and neglect, or were scavenged for building materials. The family run store at 'Kurrajong' (Turondale) provides yet another example of rural shopkeeping. Operated by the Cole family from their home, a wattle and daub, ripple iron walled building, this roadside store for a time provided basic supplies for nearby selectors and diggers.

The progressive establishment of the railway through the Bathurst area in the 1870s supported some limited commercial development in those villages along the line, such as Georges Plains. Hotels were opened to meet the needs of travellers; stores now supplied by rail provided an improved service for local residents.

7.3 Commercial Doldrums and Humdrums (1900s-2007)

The first half of the 20th century can best be described as a relatively quiet period in the BRC area's commercial history. The boom days were over, and a costly war followed a decade later by economic depression did not encourage commercial developments. Population growth stagnated in Bathurst and dropped appreciably in some parts of the district. If a village straddled an important road or was able to service the closer settlement that had followed in the wake of the goldrush, an opportunity remained for limited commercial activity. However, in the case of the village of Rockley there appears to have been opportunity enough to allow for the building of several new business premises, perhaps a consequence of being the main village in the Abercrombie Shire. The most significant of these new ventures was perhaps The Rockley Store, on the corner of Church and Hill streets. Rockley though remains an exception to the general trend of decline. (Refer to the Theme 23 (Towns, suburbs and villages) for individual village histories and information on village businesses.)

In Bathurst City, the progressive introduction of mains electricity from the mid-1920s led to a new range of consumer products in the city's stores. The automobile offered some new business opportunities for sales and service, for example Tindall's Corner Motor Service Station, purpose-built on the corner of George and Durham streets. One notable building constructed in Bathurst during the first half of the century is the Knickerbocker Hotel, on the corner of Russell and William streets, built on the site of the Grand Hotel. As well as being one of the few buildings in the area incorporating a contemporary 'art deco' styling in its design, the hotel, completed in 1940, was also one of the few major commercial buildings constructed during the war years. Building material shortages brought on by war required modifications to its construction. In 1948, the Knickerbocker, then Bathurst's leading hotel, was the scene of an historic federal cabinet meeting presided over by Prime Minister Chifley. The meeting led to the army being used to replace striking coal miners. Notwithstanding such events, the first half of the century did not experience anything comparable to the commercial growth and volatility of the previous fifty years.

The post Second World War period, however, witnessed significant changes to commercial activity in the BRC area. In the case of the businesses operating in the area's village the changes brought a complete transformation. Improvements in roads accompanied by an ever-increasing ownership of motor vehicles, and a rise in disposable income, caused a nearly complete loss of

business to Bathurst. The village shop could simply not compete with the prices and variety of goods available in the larger, and now easily accessible, community. One by one village stores closed, often on the death or retirement of the proprietor. Banks, as in Rockley, closed in consequence of rationalisation decided elsewhere. Some respite was provided those businesses that could meet the needs of tourism. This, however, did not necessarily see the continuation of existing businesses but more often the creation of new businesses to provide tourist meals, accommodation and souvenirs, as can be seen today in Sofala, Hill End and Rockley. What was once Arthur Budden's store in 1878, then later a bank, on Budden Street in Rockley is now a B&B. Heritage buildings play an important role in both attracting visitors and in providing the premises for tourist-related businesses - and thus securing a commercial future for the host village. This situation also suggests different futures awaiting the area's villages.

Although Bathurst gained commercially at the expense of the area's villages, profound changes occurred in the city as well. Price competitive chain stores began to replace locally owned businesses from about the 1930s, becoming increasingly more common since the post-war period. Big W, K Mart and, more recently, Bunnings have taken on the roles once filled by Bathurst's own department stores as well as by its smaller speciality stores. National chain supermarkets have replaced the local grocer, as in the case of Woolworths, which took over the fire-destroyed Mockler Brothers site on Howick Street in 1961 and has since relocated in Stockland shopping mall. The mall itself represents a new departure in retail shopping. Satellite shopping centres to serve the new suburbs have opened from the late 1970s; the recent establishment of Bunnings Hardware on the outskirts of the city suggests the beginning of a new outer-suburb 'warehouse' phase in Bathurst's commercial development. In the last decades of the 20th century, franchised businesses emerged as a preferred option for local business people seeking to establish a new business. The reasons for these changes go beyond Bathurst and are part of a global phenomenon. But the impact is felt at the local level. The overall character of Bathurst's commerce is perhaps now largely indistinguishable from that of any other city or town in Australia - if not in America. Generally speaking, the second half of the 20th century provided a period of extensive commercial development in Bathurst, if at the expense of local identity.

The buildings arising from this development, and accompanying changes in commercial culture, cannot be said to have contributed in all instances to Bathurst's heritage inventory. Unfortunately, the impact on Bathurst's heritage commercial streetscapes has in places been disappointing, with some historic buildings replaced by modern buildings not always of a heritage sympathetic design. The replacement in the 1960s of the Exchange Building, an impressive three storey building with cupola, with the box-like National Australia Bank building provided an early example of what was to come. (See c.1925 photo in T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), pp126-127 for purpose of comparison.)

However, an interesting counter flow to this tide of change sweeping in from outside can be found in Bathurst's restaurants. Notwithstanding the rise of American style fast food outlets, many restaurants remain owner managed and operate outside franchise arrangements. In addition, many restaurants are also ethnically based in their menus, thus carrying on the earlier traditions of the Chinese restaurants and Greek cafes. As well, some restaurants are sympathetically located in the city's heritage commercial buildings, such as the Lamplighters Restaurant in the former AMP building (126-130 William Street) - an example that reflects not

only the diversity of the BRC area's commercial history but also its changing character over nearly 200 years.

8. Communication

Communication has always been an essential requirement for the smooth running of any society. In pre-settlement times, communication among the Wiradjuri would have been limited to what could be said and heard. For illiterate convicts and settlers the situation would not have been dissimilar in the first years of settlement. It would not have been much better for those who could read and write. Written communication, whether private letters or official documents, would have relied on despatched messengers or the favour of travellers. Even with speed, it could take several days for a letter despatched from Sydney to reach Bathurst and the reply to be received back in Sydney. Consequently, isolation, rather than communication, was the more likely situation for the first settlers, whether free or convict. It is from that perspective that one should appreciate how communication has improved since 1815 and consider the likely consequences of that improvement on the smooth running of society.

8.1 Postal Service

An official postal service in Australia can be dated from 1809. In 1821, the service was extended beyond Sydney. The first post office beyond the Great Divide was that of Bathurst in 1828. The service was provided from different locations until the construction of the post office building (now the Bathurst District Historical Museum) in 1877. (An identical building was built nearby for the Telegraph Office; both buildings formed wings of the Bathurst Court House, completed a few years later.) The 1877 building served as Bathurst's Post Office until 1976, with the construction of a new post office in Howick Street.

The earliest settlers in the area would have been served - if tenuously - by the Bathurst post office. Before the 1840s, communications between district settlers and the world beyond depended largely on the goodwill of others to carry messages and mail to and from the Bathurst Post Office. With the goldrush, mail services were rapidly and considerably expanded through a web of official postal routes usually serviced by mail contractors. The first post offices in the area beyond Bathurst were commonly run under contract by local storekeepers or innkeepers. In Rockley, for example, in 1851 the post office was run in conjunction with a local inn, the Star Inn, with the publican doubling as local postmaster. (A detailed history of Rockley's post office is provided in AM Roberson, *The Rockley Manner* (1989), pp27-33.) The post office was often the first official agency to be established in a community, even if little more than counter space in a store or pub. Some communities in time acquired substantial official post office buildings and an official postmaster. In the case of Rockley, an official post office incorporating a telegraph office was built in 1879, and operated until its closure in 1993.

Prior to Federation, the postal service was the concern of the colonial government. Thus the building of a post office building was a measure of that government's confidence in a community's future – as well as the outcome of community lobbying. That combination of confidence and lobbying is perhaps reflected in the Sofala Post Office building, built in 1879, relatively late in the fortunes of that gold rush community. Nonetheless it is one of the more prominent buildings in the village. The Sofala Post Office closed in 1989.

Drawing on archival sources, Geoff Smith in *100 Years of Peel and District* (1998) provides accounts of several post offices in that district. The longest lived of these was in Peel village, from 1856-1965, during which most of that period the position of postmaster was held in successive fashion by a member of a local family, the Dempseys. Eve Buscombe in *Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983) relates the connection of that village's post office, and later telephone exchange, with the Kinnaird family, village shopkeepers and bakers. Such long standing local, often familial, relationships with the postal service is a common feature in rural and village localities of the BRC area, with the post office sometimes doubling as home or business.

8.2 Telegraph

The telegraph line from Sydney reached Bathurst in 1859 and was extended in a limited way to the surrounding area over the following decades, with the service provided at the local post office, as at Rockley from 1880. By 1885 Bathurst was the centre of a telegraph system that included lines running from Bathurst to Sydney, Mudgee (via Sofala and Hill End), Orange, Grenfell and Goulburn (via Rockley). However, as the telegraph required a trained Morse code operator it was normally restricted to official post offices and thus to the larger and economically more important communities in the BRC area - Rockley, Trunkey Creek, Sofala, Hill End and Sunny Corner. (There seems to be a coincidence of mining activity with telegraph service.) Georges Plains and Brewongle acquired a telegraph service through the line that followed the railway, but not all railway villages in the BRC area were provided this service. Even with such limitations, the telegraph provided an almost real time communication link between the area's communities and beyond, not only with Sydney but - via overland and submarine cable from 1872 - with the world. The telegraph was much used by local newspapers to provide Australian and international news to Bathurst area readers.

In 1861, Bathurst's first purpose built telegraph building was located in Howick Street, approximately on the site later used for the residence of the schoolmaster. In 1877, the telegraph office was relocated to a new building on Russell Street (later incorporated as the west wing of the court house). In 1905, the postal and telegraph services were amalgamated and placed under the authority of the (Federal) Postmaster-General.

8.3 Telephone

The telephone was a major step forward in communications in the late 19th century. The public telephone service was provided by the Post Office; the railway provided its own service as part of its internal communication system. The first telephone service in Bathurst, however, appears to have been a private initiative, established in 1890, and was limited to a handful of subscribers, chiefly doctors needing to be contacted in an emergency by the district hospital. Following a petition to the colonial government, a public telephone exchange was opened in Bathurst in 1896; by 1904 there were 104 local subscribers. Until 1899 this system was limited to local calls only; in that year the Bathurst telephone system was connected to Sydney. Over the next couple of decades, a basic telephone service became available in the area beyond Bathurst, thanks to the condenser telephone and a web of telephone lines crisscrossing the countryside connecting subscribers and exchanges. By way of example, a single telephone (linked to Bathurst) was available in WH Stevens' General Store in Rockley from about 1909, and by 1914 an exchange

was operating in the village's post office providing connections to six local subscribers. When it closed in 1986 it was a 24 hour manual exchange with over 100 subscribers, still run in conjunction with the local post office. From 1948 the Bathurst telephone exchange was located in a large single storey fibro building on Howick Street (later, from 1976, the site of the post office).

The number of telephone subscribers remained small for some time and included typically local businesses, government services and the larger rural properties. However, even a sole public telephone in the local post office offered the beginnings of a communication revolution connecting communities together as well as with the world beyond.

An important social development was the employment offered to women by the local telephone exchange. This employment opportunity came to an end with the steady introduction of centralised and then automated STD telephone services in the post-war period. Party lines were replaced with individual connections and manual exchanges were closed one by one. The closure of local manual exchanges was a social loss keenly felt by many. In the case of Bathurst City, the manual exchange ceased operation in 1971 and was replaced by the automatic system that had begun in 1969. The closure of rural manual exchanges, usually run as part of the local post office, followed.

In the last decades of the 20th century, postal services too underwent similar efficiency and centralising changes. Smaller post offices were closed or reduced to agency status. Again, these were developments felt keenly at local level. But, unlike the upgrading of telephone services, which could be interpreted positively as the result of progress, the loss of the local post office was a sign that the community was not progressing. Post office closures had happened in earlier times as well, especially in connection with transient goldfield communities.

8.4 Mass media

Mass communication includes newspapers, radio and television. The first newspaper published in Bathurst was the *Bathurst Advocate* in 1848, which is a surprisingly late date for a major regional centre. A number of newspapers have appeared (and disappeared) since then, including most notably the *Bathurst Times*, commencing in 1858, (associated buildings for which remain) and in 1889 the *National Advocate* (closely associated with both James Rutherford and later, JB Chifley), the first morning daily in western NSW. At least two newspapers, including the *Tambaroora Times*, were published in Hill End for a short period during that town's mining boom. *The Sunny Corner Silver Press* was published in that town in the 1880s. Newspapers, particularly in earlier times, have played an important role in the political and cultural development of the area, not only in keeping the public informed of developments but also in actively contributing to the shaping of public opinion. This was particularly so with political debates, as with the arguments surrounding Federation in the 1890s and in the political support offered - or not offered - Ben Chifley. Bathurst newspapers through past editors and journalists can claim association with significant contributors to Australia's literary history, including Charles White, Nat Gould and William Astley (Warung).

Radio: The first radio station in the area was 2MK, owned by Mockler Brothers, which began broadcasting in 1925 relying on local musical talent for some of its content. The establishment of this radio station coincided with the introduction of mains electricity in Bathurst City. 2MK also broadcast the first radio church service 'in the west' on November 11, 1925 (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.133) The 2MK broadcasting service ceased by 1930 for commercial reasons. Special remote location broadcasts from Bathurst were made by Sydney stations as early as 1929 and included a band concert in the School of Arts Hall (demolished in the 1970s) conducted by Sam Lewins and a musical concert from Walshaw Hall. Commercial radio returned to Bathurst only in 1937 with station 2BS, broadcasting from studios in Keppel Street. This was about the time ABC was able to provide a reliable ABC service to all of the Central West through the 2CR facility located at Cumnock, and part of the National Broadcasting System. Local commercial radio in Bathurst has expanded since 1937, and was joined in 1975 by 2MCEFM, one of the first community FM stations in Australia. The 2MCEFM studios are within buildings on the CSU campus dating from the Bathurst Experiment Farm. While there has been some local initiative with radio broadcasting, both radio and television communication in the Bathurst area is largely the outcome of services (and decisions) from beyond the BRC area.

The history of communications in the Bathurst area follows patterns found generally in rural Australia. This is not to discount the local heritage importance of this history. The provision of postal services was a benchmark in the growth of local communities. The local post office, even if now closed or downgraded, holds an important place in community memories. Manual telephone exchange buildings serve to remind us of a time before computers and centralised services when telecommunications was a locally managed service. Local forms of mass media have very likely contributed to the development of a local identity for the Bathurst area.

9. Environment - cultural landscape

*The beige hills with their subtle contours against the distant Blue Mountains - the slim poplars accenting the sunburnt grass: masses of dark green trees and scattered regiments of pines crowning the slopes - all very lovely, incredibly peaceful. The quiet of it all - my lovely room upstairs in a delightful old house [Braemore, now demolished] about 60 years old - looking out on a garden and the [Machattie] park where cedars and deodars and Chinese elms and golden ash make a green exotic shade. (Dymphna Cusack to Miles Franklin, 7 February 1940, as cited in M North, 'Dymphna Cusack: Beautiful Exile', *Hecate* (1999), pp138-139)*

The cultural landscape reflects human impact on the natural landscape and thus demonstrates the interaction between people and places. The cultural landscape also illustrates the ability of the human species to change environments to suit human needs and desires. Some of these landscapes have been purposefully designed, as in the case of King's Parade and Machattie Park in Bathurst. Other landscapes have evolved as reflections of land use and management practices, as on the now abandoned goldfields of Trunkey Creek and on rural pastoral landscapes.

Initial European settlement of the largely treeless Bathurst Plains was made on a landscape that had been managed by the Wiradjuri through the use of fire over many centuries. The purpose of that management was to encourage the grazing of wildlife for hunting. This arrangement suited the early pastoralists, who were able to colonise the landscape of open grassed plains for their domestic stock. Wetlands were drained for pasture or farming. An extensive system of ponds running along the Bathurst floodplain was progressively drained, so that today only a vestige remains at the mouth of Raglan Creek. In the hills beyond the plains, the land required modification to make it appropriate to the needs of the settlers. The ringbarking and clearing of trees was thought necessary. The introduction of stock also had an effect over time on the remaining native vegetation as understorey was grazed out. As well, pastures were improved with fertiliser and introduced grasses and cleared land was ploughed up for monoculture commercial crops.

Too often as well, noxious plants and weeds were voluntarily or involuntarily introduced. Rachel Henning (letter 20th July 1861) recounts how Bathurst Burr was introduced through sheep imported from Valparaiso, while the Scotch thistle was credited to a local 'patriotic Scotch lady' and Mrs George Ranken admitted responsibility for planting sweetbriar on the Ranken properties. Many of these introduced plants have become major environmental problems, the hardy and prolific blackberry bush being a well-known example. Some introduced plants, for example the Yucca plant from south-west America and Mexico, have proven less invasive in the wild and it might even be argued that their benign presence contributes to the heritage value of the landscape. Yucca plants, as a single plant or in small clusters, can be found alongside old roads in the region, such as the road to Wattle Flat from Peel. The long, strong fibres in the leaves were used to make sturdy hats in the time of Cobb & Co. and the gold rush.

The paddock of Patterson's Curse or the cultivated field of wheat are both examples of cultural landscaping, together with pine plantations (in the Kirkconnell area, for example). Collectively introduced plants have changed the region's rural landscape to greater or lesser degrees.

Within Bathurst and in some of the area's villages, there was a conscious undertaking to alter the landscape to mould the town into something resembling a place like 'home'. In the 1890s there began the widespread planting of exotic trees along streets and boulevards. These trees, especially in the autumn months, offer today the streetscapes of the older portions of Bathurst a distinctly northern hemisphere appearance. Hill End underwent a similar transformation along Beyer's Avenue. Also noteworthy as examples of cultural landscaping are the older urban parks in Bathurst, particularly Machattie Park, established in the early 1890s. With its axial path layout and classic park furnishings, Machattie Park offers a superb, if incomplete, example of a formal urban English park from the late Victorian period. Among the area's villages, Stevens Park in Rockley is a good example of a formal village park, but one combining the bush setting of a creek with a miniature version of an English village green.

Private gardens also provide important places of cultural landscape. The garden of 'Northolme', on Trunkey Road, is but one example of an historic private garden, in this case offering a 19th century garden layout. The garden at Murray's Cottage in Hill End was designed and prepared by Donald Murray, one of the Hill End artists of the mid 20th century. Traces of a 1960s Paul Sorenson designed garden, unfortunately ravaged by bushfire, can still be seen at 'Rock Forest Station' in the arrangement of its carefully constructed stone walls. There are likely to be many such examples of landscaped gardens with heritage significance amongst the area's numerous homes and homesteads. The Bathurst area's climate with its dry hot summers and cold winters has very likely contributed a particular character to its gardens.

Cultural landscaping also occurred in consequence of mining activities. Mining, particularly for gold, has had a widespread impact. As the diggers scoured every possible creek and valley for signs of gold, ground was turned over and mullock heaps were spread across the terrain. The impact can still be seen around Wattle Flat, Sofala and Trunkey Creek, for example. Dredging and sluicing along the Turon River has left a lasting environmental impact. Timber was cut for mine props, shelters and campfires, leaving some of the area's goldfields today largely bare of old standing timber. All of the area's goldfields, together with other mining and quarrying sites, display to some extent the environmental consequences of mining activities. The effect of toxic fumes from silver smelters on vegetation can still be seen at Sunny Corner. Such consequences are not necessarily negative. The erosion archway in Golden Gully, near Hill End, is a well-known feature of that goldfield.

The need for water creates another distinctive landscape in the form of dams and catchments. Chifley Dam and Winburndale Dam have created large bodies of water where previously there were watercourse landscapes. The Macquarie River's flow has been influenced by these and other dams upstream, while flood levies prevent what was once the natural action of the river to spread from time to time across its plain. The earliest attempt to alter the natural flow of the Macquarie was in the 1830s with George Ranken's diversion channel to provide water for his mill at Kelloshiel. Still visible today, the channel is possibly the earliest attempt to redirect the course of an inland river in Australia - and ever since a recurring ambition of politicians.

The 21st century landscape of the BRC area is in many places an artefact created by the activities of settlement since 1815. In some cases the changes so wrought may have significance as items of heritage value, even if those change may not have been in the best interests of the natural environment.

See Theme 1 (Environment - naturally evolved) for further discussion on the environment prior to settlement.

10. Events

The British Union Jack was first hoisted on the new flag staff on this auspicious occasion, the Military fired 3 vollies and the whole of the people assembled (being 75 in number) gave three cheers in honor of the ceremony. (7 May 1815, journal entry of Governor Lachlan Macquarie on the occasion of the founding of Bathurst.)

All societies mark their presence with events or activities of special purpose and meaning. In traditional Wiradjuri times, ceremonies marked the coming of age of boys and girls as well as seasonal times for the harvesting of foodstuffs. Since the time of European settlement, new ceremonies for the coming of age (debutante and 'B & S' balls) or the harvesting of crops (harvest services) have appeared - and sometimes disappeared.

Events since 1815 have taken many forms and varying degrees of formality. They may be annual events and an established part of the local community calendar, such as the annual Royal Bathurst Show and the Sofala Show. Wattle Flat's Bronze Thong Gymkhana draws on a 150-year history of horse racing on the Wattle Flat racetrack. The Edgell Jog was first held in 1976 and is now firmly established as an annual community sporting event. The Bathurst 1000 motor race is another popular sporting event, and perhaps one not known for its formality of expression at times. Formality though is an integral part of the annual graduation ceremonies at Bathurst's many educational facilities. Reunions of families, war veterans and school alumni are also events and are common occurrences in a district as old as that of Bathurst.

Special ceremonial occasions emerged to recognise key events central to the public memory of shared history. The Foundation Cairn at the foot of William Street is the focus of the annual public ceremony held there to mark Governor Macquarie's establishment of Bathurst in May 1815. The statue to Surveyor Evans in King's Parade commemorated in 1913 the centenary of his exploration work from Bathurst. One wonders though whether the bicentenary of his work will attract a comparable response in 2013, reflecting perhaps a change in our perception of what is important in our history. King's Parade itself is a place where Bathurst has marked and continues to mark important commemorative events, particularly the annual Anzac commemoration.

Another anniversary of common observation is Australia Day, 26 January. It is also an event that has attracted some controversy in recent years. In the case of Bathurst, Australia Day offers an ambiguous history of commemoration. In 1888 - the centenary year of Australia's settlement - the day went almost totally unobserved, as everyone who could went to Sydney by rail to participate in the celebrations there. By contrast, in 1988 the anniversary attracted considerable interest locally, perhaps because of the Federal funding available. The Bicentennial River Park is a legacy of that greater interest - and funding. While Australia Day seems now to have established itself as a permanent fixture on our celebratory event's calendar, other days of once important public celebration have disappeared completely. Empire Day (May 24) was once as important as Anzac Day and Australia Day are today. Even the smallest village would gather to celebrate the glory of the British Empire. Tiny Walang, a settlement of less one hundred, managed on Empire Day in 1926 to provide a picnic and sports day - with 40 children present -

and a dance that night. (*Western Times* 2/6/1926) Wattle Flat appears to have had an annual 'Mines Picnic' in the early 20th century. Eve Buscombe provides an evocative photograph of such a gathering, with ladies in broad sun hats and gentlemen in coats and ties. (Eve Buscombe, *Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983), p.13) Other villages and rural locales would have had similar gatherings. The waxing and waning in importance of such events is sometimes a reflection of wider changes in Australian society.

In the 20th century, theme-focussed celebratory local events have emerged in Australian communities, often with tourism in mind. The BRC's Autumn Heritage Festival is a version of this type of celebratory event, one that draws on the history and heritage of the area. 'Back to Weeks' or similar gatherings are commonly organised by the area's educational institutions, but can also include gatherings of people who lived or worked at some time in the area, for example the Women's Land Army girls during the Second World War.

On a larger scale, communities within the BRC area have staged from time to time elaborate anniversary celebrations, one of the grandest being for Bathurst's sesquicentenary in 1965. With no less enthusiasm, the village of Hill End staged the Hill End Jubilee and Gold Centenary Celebration in October 1951, which included a re-enactment of the discovery of the 1872 Holtermann nugget. (Russell Drysdale's photographs of the celebration provide unique access today to this past event.) Equally conscious of its history, the village of Rockley has marked the 125th and 150th anniversaries of its establishment with wall plaques on the Rockley Mill. These plaques, together with its Pioneer Wall and its War Memorial, offer a public memory of events in that village's history.

There were also public events that were unique moments in the history of the Bathurst area, never to happen again. The public announcement by Edward Hargraves in May 1851 in the Carrier's Arms (on the site of the present Westpac Bank in William Street) that gold had been discovered on Summerhill Creek was an event of international significance. The public opening of the first Denison Bridge in January 1856 celebrated the physical connection of Bathurst with the rest of the colony and was perhaps the first such event marking the construction of an essential public resource in the Central West. This bridge, together with Ranken's Bridge at Eglinton, was swept away in a flood in 1867, which leads one to realise that although the BRC has had both natural and man-made disasters, none appears to be acknowledged with a commemorative anniversary event. The official opening by the Governor of NSW, Sir Hercules Robinson, of the railway line to Bathurst, including its station, in April 1876 was equally a signature event marking the linking of the area with the outside world. For those who attended both the 1856 bridge and 1876 rail ceremonies, there would undoubtedly have been a sense of true progress being achieved in the development of their community.

The Bathurst People's Convention in November 1896 offered an important opportunity for the public to have its say in the shaping of Federation. A very appropriate public art work, a bronze chair backed by a glass panel bearing the names of the delegates, can be found on Howick Street, next to the site of the now demolished Bathurst School of Arts Hall. This artwork dates from the centenary of the Convention. The only contemporary public record of the original event is the foundation stone for the Technical College, which was coincidentally laid at the same time. The foundation stone, however, makes no mention of the Convention and in time the event appears to

have passed from community memory. The modern memorial, however, may well help hold its place in future community memory. There is perhaps an argument here for the importance of public monuments in strengthening and replenishing community awareness in its heritage.

The 1896 People's Convention was an event of national importance, as was the State Funeral of Ben Chifley in June 1951. The funeral attracted a crowd of perhaps twenty-thousand onlookers as well as the leading men and women of Australia. The Queen's first visit to Bathurst in February 1954 is an occasion still within living memory. Sometimes such moments in history are commemorated at a later date by the unveiling of a special plaque, as is the case with the Foundation Cairn marking Macquarie's establishment of Bathurst in 1815. The Queen's 1954 visit was marked by a plaque at the Olympic Pool complex named in honour of her visit - and now demolished. More often though, no plaque or monument will be found to record an historic event and over time what was once considered an important occasion will sometimes fade from contemporary public memory.

Whether remembered or forgotten, of greater or lesser importance, events are part of the fabric of a community's history and its heritage. An understanding of events in our history can help us to better appreciate not only the heritage value of associated sites but perhaps more importantly to better understand community values of past times.

11. Exploration

Our preparations are as complete as they are ever likely to be, for I believe if we had remained a month longer at Bathurst, we should have each day recollected something more that might be useful. (4 April 1832 entry in the journal of Captain John Douglas Forbes, 39th Regt, on setting out in search of the 'Kindur', a river supposed to flow into an inland sea. R McLachlan, editor, *In Pursuit of Bushrangers and a River* (1984), p.11)

Geographical exploration, in the sense of making unknown places known to a wider society, has very likely always been a feature of human societies. The BRC area was known to the Wiradjuri people long before the arrival of Europeans. Consequently, it is misleading to speak of 'firsts' or 'discovery' when considering European exploration.

European exploration of the Bathurst area is an extension of the exploration of the eastern inland following the crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813. Assistant Surveyor George Evans undertook an initial reconnaissance as far as the Bathurst Plains also in 1813. Evans reported that he encountered land equal in potential to any he had seen in the colony. The inland settlement of eastern Australia can be said to have begun with this initial, positive, journey by Evans. A commemorative monument in King's Parade, incorporating a figurative group sculpted by Gilbert Doble, marks the centenary in 1913 of the explorations of George Evans. Unashamedly heroic and imperial in its style, the monument reflects an earlier understanding of the past, perhaps not so widely shared today.

Bathurst served as the commencement point for several significant expeditions, as well as for many unofficial reconnaissances by settlers and soldiers, until at least 1835. In 1815, Evans explored south-west of Bathurst as far as the point where the Mandagery Creek enters the Lachlan River. A section of the tree on which he marked his arrival at this point is now in the Bathurst District Historical Museum. Surveyor-General John Oxley, commencing from Bathurst in 1817, continued Evans's exploration of the Lachlan River as far as the site of Booligal. He set out again from Bathurst to follow the Macquarie River in 1818 as far west as the site of Coonamble. In 1821, James Blackman, Superintendent of Convicts, with the aid of a Wiradjuri guide, Aaron, explored northwards, across the Turon River as far as the Cudgegong River. Scouting both for pastoral land and a route to the Liverpool Plains, William Cox and William Lawson undertook their own, separate, expeditions in the area of the Turon River around the same time. On one of his expeditions, in November 1821, Lawson recorded in his diary (now in the Mitchell Library) exploring the 'Limekilns Cave' (24 kms north-northeast of Bathurst, in the area of Limekilns), thus providing possibly the first recorded exploration of a limestone cave on the Australian mainland*. Bathurst served also as a starting point in 1823 for Allan Cunningham, the botanist, in his exploration north to the Darling Downs. Through these and other early expeditions - using Bathurst as their depot - the pastoral potential of the lands in the Central West was revealed. (*K Pickering, *Lieutenant William Lawson Australia's First Speleologist*. No date. Unpublished mss, copy held by BRC.)

The early explorers of eastern inland New South Wales found that the rivers they explored flowed generally westward and northward. This raised the question as to their final outflow and

the possibility of an inland sea, a possibility that promised a fertile inland and great honour for whomever made the discovery. Bathurst served as the starting point for several important expeditions seeking the answer to this question, most notably those of Charles Sturt (1828-29), John Douglas Forbes (1832) and (doubting) Thomas Mitchell (1835).

Some of these expeditions are commemorated on a brass plaque in the grounds of the Bathurst Bowling Club (now Panthers Bowling Club), the site of the British Army barracks in colonial Bathurst and the official starting point for expeditions into the interior.

The two decades following the successful crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813 mark the beginning of the inland exploration of the Australian continent. Bathurst can with good cause lay claim to being the birthplace of Australia's inland exploration - or at least its midwife. No other settlement in inland New South Wales, or perhaps anywhere in inland Australia, has witnessed the departure of so many official expeditions in the exploration of inland Australia.

12. Fishing

No heritage items of regional or state heritage significance concerning fishing are thought to exist in the BRC area. The locality's history of fishing is limited to that of food gathering by Wiradjuri and recreational fishing in post-settlement times, for which there may be sites of local heritage significance along the area's main rivers and streams. It is worth noting that an abundance of fish in the first major stream in the area encountered by Surveyor Evans in 1813 was named the Fish River in consequence. An acclimatisation group, with Dr Thomas Machattie as one of its leading members, was active in the late 19th century stocking watercourses in the wider area with trout for angling, but with limited success in the BRC area. Although the area lacks any natural lakes or natural ponds of significant size, the Ben Chifley Dam and Winburndale Dam reservoirs have at times provided for recreational fishing, both legal and illegal.

13. Forestry

Timber getting and sawmilling were essential elements in the early settlement period with local timber providing necessary building material. General Stewart's land grant, located along the south bank of the Macquarie to the west of Bathurst, is known to have been a good source of timber in the early decades of settlement. A creek on that grant, roughly near the former Apex picnic ground, named Sawpit Creek is very likely the site of an early timber operation.

A prodigious demand for timber for both building construction and in mining came with the goldrush from the 1850s. The effect on surrounding bushland is still apparent around Hill End for example, evident in the multi-trunk regrowth of trees caused by continual cutting. On the plains, the sourcing of timber for major building projects, such as the 1856 timber arch Denison Bridge, could be difficult. Timber of adequate size and strength had to be carted some distance and a lack of suitable timber may have been a contributing factor to the abandonment of earlier proposals to bridge the Macquarie at Bathurst.

Logging and sawmilling of native forests as a local undertaking has continued into modern times, with mills operating for example at Trunkey Creek and at Eglinton (Taylor's sawmill). The history of the Hill End sawmill, operating until 1970, provided by Bruce Goodwin in *Gold and People* (1992), offers useful insights into the marginal nature of commercial forestry in the BRC area. Forestry operations were small-scale and often family-based undertakings. Goodwin also describes other forestry-related undertakings, including the production of charcoal used as a vehicle fuel substitute during the Second World War. Eucalyptus leaf harvesting and distillation for the oil has been undertaken at various times in the area, including during the depression of the 1930s. State Forests and pine plantations, as around Kirkconnell in the east and Macquarie Woods in the west, occupy a significant portion of the BRC area.

Compared to localities such as Oberon and the south coast region of NSW, the BRC area is not likely to have a forestry heritage of regional or state significance. There may though be objects and sites, such as sawmills, forestry and milling equipment - often self-made - as well as logging sites of local heritage significance.

14. Health

Health as an historical theme can be understood as the ways in which people have provided for their physical and mental well-being. The most common understanding of this would be in the history of providing formal medical services, for instance in the way of doctors and hospitals.

The Wiradjuri offer a more informal health heritage, one based on traditional medicines and practices developed from centuries of interaction with the environment. Local native plants formed an important part of the Wiradjuri traditional pharmacopoeia, perhaps an undervalued contribution to our heritage. Prior to European settlement, the Wiradjuri were isolated from many diseases all too common in Europe and Asia. Their lack of immunity, however, contributed to the stress brought by contact with European settlement.

Since settlement, the BRC area's health history is typical of inland eastern Australian localities, with the addition of a significant convict health element in its earliest history. The first hospital, built in 1824 on the site known as the Dairy Farmers Factory in Bentinck Street, was mainly for the care of convicts and under the charge of the Government Medical Officer (Dr Busby). This institution had as much to do with convict discipline as with health care. In 1842, with the winding down of the convict system, the hospital became a public hospital, the Bathurst District Hospital, and was placed under community management. The evolving story of this hospital service since 1842 is an important part of Bathurst's civic history - one of its more famous trustees was Ben Chifley. In 1880, a new and substantial hospital building, achieved through community initiative, was constructed in Howick Street, part of the present-day Bathurst Base Hospital. Elsewhere in Bathurst, St Vincent's Hospital was established in 1923 by the Roman Catholic Church at 'Hathrop', a late Victorian mansion on Gormans Hill Road. 'Hathrop' also served as the Western Red Cross Convalescent Home during the First World War. (Refer to T Barker, *A History of the Bathurst District Hospital 1824-1965* (1965) for further details on public hospitals in Bathurst.)

Another important public hospital in the area is that at Hill End, built in 1873 at a time when the rapid growth in the size of that isolated community justified, if not demanded, this level of medical care. In 1925 the hospital ceased operating as a fully equipped and staffed hospital and in 1930 it was closed permanently. Medical services were provided for a time by a resident doctor and then by weekly visiting doctors. (Bruce Goodwin, pp181-186; Alan Mayne, p.114) In the 1940s, this level of service became impractical and medical responsibility for Hill End was largely assumed by Sofala's doctor and hospital - for a time at least. The Sofala Hospital was only established in 1934, making use of the old court house (built in 1874). The devolving of medical services did not stop with Hill End, for Sofala in turn soon suffered the same loss of hospital and resident doctor. Bathurst's medical services were called upon to provide for both communities, which for Hill End in recent times has included a daily district nurse and a monthly doctor. The Hill End hospital building has since 1972 served as a museum and visitors' centre for the historic site; the Sofala hospital has passed into private hands. The histories of these two hospitals reflect the rise and decline of their host villages, as well as tell us something of the important changes that have taken place in rural health services generally over the past century.

While public hospitals provide important landmarks in the history of health, hospitals in the past existed mainly for the treatment of serious accidents and for the care of those unable to be cared for at home. Birth, death and most illnesses between were commonly cared for within the family home. Qualified medical practitioners were also not always available in the first decades of settlement. A barbershop, such as Baptiste's Barber Shop (the building for which is still standing) in Hill End, could sometimes serve as a place of primary dental care and first aid treatment. In earlier times of less formal certification, quack doctors, herbalists, bone-setters and traditional healers provided medical assistance. Sometimes such assistance was offered within a particular community, away from the public gaze, as with the ministrations of traditional Chinese medicine among goldfield Chinese.

Even with the appearance of public hospitals, other smaller and sometimes private institutions provided for more particular forms of health care, such as maternity or birthing hospitals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These were usually privately run in domestic houses with female maternity (midwife) staff. Bathurst is known to have had a number of such places, sometimes used by rural women from more remote places with less in the way of medical facilities. (Daisy Bates may have been one such patient in 1886.)

WH Tighe in *The Private Hospitals of Bathurst* (1995) offers the history of some thirty-odd small private hospitals in Bathurst, the earliest recorded, the Bathurst Infirmary on William St, dating from 1849. Another of Bathurst's earliest private hospitals, Dr Fawcett's Homoeopathic Hospital, 1876-1884, combined two adjoining cottages, 92 and 94 Piper Street, into a single hospital building of over 20 rooms. The earliest known private maternity hospital dates from 1886. Most of these small hospitals were dependent on the services of the doctor or nurse owner and usually functioned only for a few years. In 1911, there were eight such private hospitals licensed in Bathurst, all but one of which had closed by 1930 but had been joined in the intervening years by five new hospitals. By 1945 all small private hospitals had closed in Bathurst, in part because of an expansion in the services of Bathurst's public hospital particularly for maternity cases.

202 Durham Street offers an interesting case study of a domestic building used as a hospital. Originally built as a private home, the two storey building served as a temporary public hospital between 1879-1880 during the interval between the destruction by fire of the old (convict) hospital on Bentinck Street and the opening of the Bathurst District Hospital. From 1888-1890, it once more served as a hospital, the privately run 'Durham Lodge', under the ownership and direction of doctors WW Spencer and TA Machattie. After brief use as a benevolent home by the Bathurst Poor Relief Society, the Salvation Army established a maternity hospital and home in 1904 for girls in unfortunate circumstances. It was licensed in 1916 to the Salvation Army as a lying-in hospital for six patients. Named 'Ebenezer Hospital', it functioned until 1922.

Dr Machattie is also associated with what was Bathurst's largest and possibly most successful early private hospital, Strathmore Private Hospital located at 202 Russell Street (now a B&B). Built as a private residence in 1882, it was licensed as a private hospital in 1913. Unlike most other private hospitals, Strathmore was licensed to receive both surgical and maternity patients. It functioned as a hospital until 1944, when it was then used for a time as a convalescent home.

Bathurst's private hospitals were mainly concerned with maternity cases. Not only childbirth but also the risks to infants from diseases and infections were major health concerns. The Country Women's Association was active in the BRC area, as elsewhere throughout Australia, in providing health care for babies, with a baby health care centre opening in Bathurst in 1926.

In modern times, there has been a profound shift in medical care away from home or small-scale care to larger public or semi-public clinical environments with treatment provided by professional staff. An aspect of this shift was the providing of a professional ambulance service for the district, a purpose built building for which was opened in 1929 on William Street. Residential facilities for the care of the elderly are another feature of societal changes in the 20th century.

Doctors and nurses have been an important part of the health scene in the BRC area. While people relied on their home remedies and patent medicines (such as Holtermann's Life Drops) for most of their needs, there were occasions requiring professional medical attention. Bathurst had, certainly by the second half of the 19th century, an impressive number of medical doctors, with their identities, careers and places of work and residence well documented. Their surgeries, often combined with a residence, can be found particularly along George and Keppel streets. Whereas today medical doctors are now limited to Bathurst, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they also practiced in the larger villages outside of Bathurst, for example Rockley. The goldrush communities of Hill End and Sofala had resident doctors well into the 20th century. In Peel, Dr William Kerr's combined house and surgery (Peel House, c.1857), now a residence only, is still recognisable as a 19th century doctor's surgery/residence. A reminder of the introduction of professional dental care is the 'Dental Surgery' at 101 William Street, built in 1895. Pharmacies, too, have a history in the area. Bray's Dispensary in Hill End, now long abandoned, once boasted a lampstand crowned with a mortar and pestle in front of the premises. (H Hodge, *A Guide to Historic Hill End*, 1981)

Bathurst area doctors, at least in the 19th and early 20th centuries, commonly played an important civic role beyond practicing medicine and were important contributors to the cultural and civic development of their community. They frequently provided leadership on municipal councils and in local improvement associations. Machattie Park, named for Dr Richard Machattie, was the brainchild of doctors Thomas Machattie and William Spencer, who also initiated the planting of trees along Bathurst's streets. Doctors were also, as today, amongst the district's entrepreneurial capitalists, in the case of Dr Spencer going bankrupt in a local gold mining venture.

Bathurst was for a time, particularly in the 1890s-early 1900s, a popular health retreat. Being only a relatively short railway trip from Sydney, the area offered with its higher altitude and drier climate an accessible alternative to the humid heat of the coast. The word 'Sanatorium' was sometimes attached to otherwise ordinary boarding houses. Encouraging health-centred stays may have been the area's first tourism initiative.

Bathurst is able to claim at least one important scientific development in medical treatment. This is in the experimental work in the use of X-rays carried out in the 1890s by Father Joseph Slattery (1866-1931), a science teacher at St Stanislaus' College. In 1896, Father Slattery used

his equipment to produce an X-ray to assist in surgery, the first occasion on which this was done in New South Wales. (A print of an early X-ray by Slattery, possibly the one described above, is held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum.)

Death provided the closing chapter to an individual's medical history. The area's cemeteries can yield interesting insights into the past state of health with inscriptions on the nature and cause of death. The Church of England cemetery in Sofala contains at least one tombstone, that of the Williams family, recording multiple deaths of children in one family on the goldfields, a reminder of higher rates of infant mortality in the past. (See Theme 37 (Birth and death) for a more detailed discussion of cemeteries in the BRC area.)

The theme of health can provide useful insights into past societies and their development. Health care can reflect deeper social concerns and values, such as on the extent to which care is extended to others in the community. Changes in health care can also mirror other societal changes, for example the development of professionalism and the growth of centralisation of services.

15. Industry

They had the courage to ride their wave, but it is quite certain that they had no idea then how far it was to take them. (On the establishment of the Edgell cannery in 1926. The Story of the Firm 1906-1914 (1944), p.9)

The NSW Heritage Office defines the theme of industry as a broad category of human enterprise extending over a range of technological levels and production purposes. It includes the simple workshop-based mode of production, such as a blacksmith, utilising little machinery to produce individual items to order. At the other extreme of the range, the definition of industry includes highly mechanised plants turning out large quantities of goods in serial production runs, as would have been the situation in Bathurst's wartime munitions factory. The difference between the two extremes is not always one of difference in historical periods. Simple modes of production are still required today for handicrafts and other products not suited to mass manufacture. The definition of industry used in this entry is necessarily a restrictive one. It does not include primary industries, such as mining or agriculture, or engineering operations carried out by the railways, or activities such as education. The reader is advised to consult the relevant theme entries for information on such industries.

15.1 Industry 1815-1851

Traditional Wiradjuri industry shared much in common with pre-industrial European hand based workshop production. In both cultures, a good eye and an experienced hand, combined with knowledge of the natural materials used, were the main requisites of the crafts man or woman. Output would have been limited to what was needed and, prior to the arrival of Europeans, would have included all the implements and tools needed to sustain life, together with all items of clothing (including the possum cloak for which the Wiradjuri were noted). There exist in the area sites where stones were gathered or quarried for tool making. Percy Gresser, a 20th century local amateur archaeologist, created an instructive collection of finished stone tools, part of which is held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum. (See Theme 18 (Science) for further information on Percy Gresser and his collections.) After 1815, following contact with European manufactured goods, Wiradjuri handicrafts were progressively replaced with their European equivalents, for example steel axes and manufactured cloth. Ingenuity though was applied for a time in a 'technology transfer' between the two cultures. Discarded glass bottles were broken up and fashioned into sharp cutting tools with glass replacing traditional stone.

Industry in the first decades of settlement was limited, as one would expect, to providing for the basic needs of the settlers and processing their agricultural and pastoral products. Much of what was required by early settlers - from candles to horseshoes to furniture to flour - was made on their properties. After 1833, with the opening of Bathurst to private settlement, the first few industrial enterprises begin to appear in the town. Flour mills were amongst the first industries so established, such as the Union Mill on the corner of George and Durham streets in 1843. The general point can be made, however, that industrial activity, even if limited, was more likely to be found outside of Bathurst until towards the middle of the century.

Prior to the arrival of the railway in the BRC area in the 1870s, it was both difficult and expensive to offer the area's products for sale in Sydney. If intended for the Sydney market, livestock had to be driven to Homebush on the outskirts of Sydney, via the Blue Mountains, for sale and slaughter. The situation was little better for the grain farmer. Wheat from Chile, transported by sea, was commonly less expensive to the wholesaler in Sydney than wheat hauled overland by waggon from inland New South Wales. Consequently, livestock was boiled down on property 'works' for tallow and taken in barrels to Sydney for outbound export. Meat was sometimes salted and similarly shipped in barrels to Sydney for export, the Pacific Islands apparently offering a good market. Tanneries (on 'Blackdown', for example) processed hides, as leather was a valuable product used where we use flexible plastics today. A woollen mill operated at Winburndale Rivulet. Grain was milled locally - by wind, water or steam power - but the flour was mainly for local consumption in the early years. A number of early mills are known to have been in operation on Bathurst area properties, two of the earliest (1820s) being at 'Yarras' (Limekilns Road) and at 'Blackdown'. The buildings for both of these mills still exist, now adapted for re-use as a shearing shed and as a residence, respectively. For a time in the late 1820s, but at a location not identified, at least one distillery was in operation, providing one more good use for locally grown grain.

George Ranken at 'Kellosiel' near Eglinton operated a flour mill from the early 1830s which was initially water powered and then powered by a steam engine, said to have been the first such engine west of the Blue Mountains. A channel, or mill race, cut to divert some of the flow of the Macquarie River to his mill can still be seen near the present-day Ranken's Bridge at Eglinton. George Ranken also established one of the first breweries in the area, around 1835, alongside his mill; both were destroyed by fire in 1852. (At least one other brewery, earlier but short-lived, may have been in operation around 1832.) The Kellosiel Brewery was then relocated (for a time) to the corner of Morisset and Peel streets in Bathurst and, under changing ownership and different names, continued intermittently until - as the Great Western Brewery Co. Ltd - it closed in 1927. With his mill and brewery, together with other food processing activities such as his cheese making, George Ranken was one of the BRC area's pioneer industrialists. He was equally a pioneer in creating a vertical structure in his industrial activities by processing his raw products progressively through various stages to a finished manufactured product, as exemplified by his brewery.

Other industries in the early settlement phase provided the building materials for the new society - brick and lime making (roasting pits at Limekilns, near Mount Horrible Road), timber milling - with the technical processes involved simple and the output limited to local need. The earliest brick kiln (approximately 1824), for which archaeological evidence may still exist, was located south of present-day Havannah Street near Vale Creek (formerly known as Queen Charlottes Ponds). (See *Plan for the Town of Bathurst*, dated 19 January 1833.) Industries associated with building materials, such as brick making and sawmilling, have enjoyed a continuity in the area that is not found with most other local industries. Individual brickworks and sawmills have come and gone, but the industry as an activity has continued through to the present day.

Very little remains in the way of extant sites from the BRC area's earliest industrial activities. By its nature, much of this activity did not require constructed buildings or complex industrial works. However, it is perhaps a reflection of an inherent romanticism in heritage that the

locations of nearly all the early flour mills are known and in some cases the mills have been conserved and adapted for re-use. But, the locations of the less romantic tanneries and boiling down works have been largely forgotten or overlooked.

15.2 Industry 1851-1901

Two developments in the second half of the 19th century changed the scale and nature of the BRC area's industry in a profound way. These were the goldrush from 1851 and, two decades later, the coming of the railway in the 1870s. The goldrush brought in a massive influx of people, all needing goods and services, and introduced a new economic dynamic, gold mining, into the region. The railways brought the area's agricultural products within cost efficient reach of Sydney and the wider world, and encouraged generally a growth in population and economic activity. The combined effect of these two developments was to transform Bathurst, along with Kelso, from an administrative/pastoral service centre into a modest industrial centre. However, the railway connection with Sydney ultimately offered more risk than benefit to local industries. The wider market for the area's industrial products was over time outweighed by the loss of the local market to outside competitive rivals. This is the conventional argument offered by historians such as Theo Barker. A contributing cause may be that many of the industries that flourished in Bathurst from the mid-19th to early 20th century were eliminated by wider changes in technology, markets and business practices. Cars replaced horses; local coachworks gave way to mass-produced automobiles built in metropolitan areas. Bathurst's industries failed to respond to such changes, but may have been unable to respond effectively in any case.

Industry in Bathurst from the mid 19th century was still focussed for the most part on the manufacture of items needed locally or on the processing of the area's produce. Bathurst is similar in this respect to other major inland regional centres, such as Goulburn or Dubbo. It is markedly different, however, to Lithgow, which, with its coal resources, was able to develop an iron industry.

The *National Advocate* in 1890 (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp200-201) provided a list of ten categories of industries in Bathurst at that time. The newspaper's list included four flour mills, two breweries (Great Western Brewery to 1927) and the Crown Brewery, 1883-1920), four tanneries, one wool scouring works (Waddell's on the river bank at the foot of Rankin Street) and two manufacturing chemists, among other industries described in the newspaper. The *National Advocates* list is far from complete. Only one boot and shoe factory is listed, but such consumer goods as footwear and clothing were also manufactured in a number of small, often family-run, workshops. For example, in 1862 there were 36 boot makers in Bathurst, many of whom employed apprentices and journeymen. Boots - as well as clothing, hats and saddlery - were also manufactured by E Webb & Co. from 1870 in workshops behind their George Street complex, employing at times some 150 workers. Around the same time, firearms were being made by B Pedrotta in his gunshop on William Street, offering perhaps the premier example of a skilled craftsman working in Bathurst. If all this work should make one thirsty, there was at least one lolly water factory known to be operating by the 1890s, William Butler's Great Western Aerated Water, Cordial and Vinegar Manufactory. The phrase, 'self-sufficiency', may not have been in vogue in the late 19th century, but it was in practice in Bathurst.

As the newspaper's survey was made in the 1890s, it did not include the Bathurst Co-operative Dairy Company's butter factory, established in 1901. An impressive industrial complex, progressively extended, the factory is still standing on the corner of Bentinck and Howick streets, and still in use as a milk depot. Prior to its use by the dairy company, this site had been occupied by flour mills from 1847, with the last being the Acme Flour Mill, and then, around 1899, it was used briefly by the Federal Brewery. The location has thus been put to at least three different industrial uses since 1847, making it one of the oldest extant industrial sites in Bathurst.

Among the local iron foundries and fabricators serving local mining and agricultural needs, several warrant particular mention. The Denison Foundry, established in 1866, was located near the present-day Denison Bridge on the south bank of the river, raising the possibility of a potential archaeological site. On the corner of Bentinck and Russell streets, George Fish & Sons Pty Ltd manufactured agricultural machinery from 1863; their steerage ploughs were well regarded throughout western New South Wales. Operating iron and brass foundries, Fish was able to offer a comprehensive metal manufacturing and engineering service. Laycock's Engineering, located at 108 Seymour Street, from 1889 also manufactured equipment for local factories, including conveyor systems for flour mills in and beyond Bathurst. The blacksmithing and fabricating equipment used at Laycock's has been relocated to the Bathurst Goldfields (Museum) on Mount Panorama. WH Hudson & Co. (originally Hudson Brothers, later known as Hudson Timber Industries), a timber merchant located on Keppel Street, built a successful business from the 1880s manufacturing prefabricated buildings ('portable houses'). (The locally famous 'portable ballroom' now at 'Glanmire Hall', dated at 1889, could possibly be one of their products.) The Cobb & Co. coach works, established in 1862, was unique to Bathurst. While there were other coachworks in Bathurst and Kelso meeting local needs, the Cobb & Co. plant employed 40-50 men building coaches for use on the company's extensive network. With its manufacturing process involving progressive stages and different teams of craftsmen, the Cobb & Co. works may have been the first assembly-line factory in Bathurst, if not inland New South Wales. As well as these larger operations, there were, both in Bathurst and in the wider area, dozens of smaller craft workshops providing tinsmithing and blacksmithing. Welding shops today provide for the needs of local metal fabrication work, with perhaps the continued local manufacture of corrugated metal water tanks offering something of a link to 19th century metal craft workshops.

Flour mills and tanneries, previously small scale and rurally located, became larger industrial plants in close proximity to the railway. The histories of Francis Crago and Sons' Pty Ltd mill (lower Piper Street), built 1904-06, and the Tremain Brothers' Victoria Mill (Keppel & Havannah streets) encapsulate the changes that took place. Both mills grew out of earlier, smaller, milling businesses located elsewhere, but re-located to Milltown sites to take advantage of the rail connection. These two mills, seemingly the largest in the BRC area, flourished for some decades and, utilising the best milling technology available, were in their time on a par with the best mills operating in New South Wales. The Victoria Flour Mill replaced its original millstones with steel rollers by about 1890, allowing for the production of a high quality white flour. The Crago Mill was described on its opening in 1906 by the *National Advocate* 'as the most complete mill in the Commonwealth', fully automated with its own electric light generating plant. However, both mills, and the BRC area's milling industry generally, were fated to inevitable failure. New breeds of wheat suitable for the drier western plains and the extension of

the railway further west reduced Bathurst's importance as a wheat growing area. A concurrent development was the growth of large flour mills in coastal urban centres that used the railway to ship in western-grown grain for milling into flour for sale not only to coastal urban population but also throughout the state. Both of these Bathurst mills found in time they could not compete. The Crago Mill closed in 1954. The Tremain Brothers' Mill continued until the 1980s, its closure marking the end of more than 150 years of flour milling in the BRC area.

Francis Crago offers an interesting case study of a late 19th century capitalist, reminiscent of a character from a Victorian 'saga'. His family home at 169 Havannah Street, built in 1883, was within sound of his mill, a practice favoured by many early British industrialists. The Crago Fountain in Machattie Park marks his contribution to the community as an alderman and mayor in the 1890s. An entrepreneurial businessman, he attempted to meet outside competition by opening mills beyond Bathurst, as far distant as Brisbane and Newcastle. He challenged the Sydney-based mills by opening his own mill in Newtown in the late 1890s, a development though that also saw the relocation of his family and the centre of his business operations to Sydney. This move out of Bathurst by Crago is perhaps instructive of what the successful late 19th century Bathurst capitalist had to at least consider in order to survive.

Milltown, an industrial suburb running roughly parallel to the railway, provided both employment and residences for Bathurst's industrial workforce. Many of the industries discussed above were located in or near Milltown, particularly those benefiting from a rail connection. Milltown is popularly defined today as Bathurst's traditional working class industrial suburb. However, a surprising number of workshops and factories were located elsewhere in the city, such as along the river bank, suggesting caution in identifying any particular area as Bathurst's industrial centre in the late 19th century. The 'Pickle Factory', a single storey Victorian industrial building at 9 Morisset St, is a reminder of the light manufacturing industry once found in that neighbourhood.

Although most industries for practical reasons located themselves in Bathurst (including Kelso), some limited industrial development did take place in the wider area. Blacksmith shops and similar metal fabrication workshops were essential industries for both mining and farming. Butter factories operated in the 1890s in O'Connell, Evans Plains and Perthville, but their work appears to have been largely absorbed by the larger plant in Bathurst after 1901. Arthur Budden, the major entrepreneur in Rockley, built the Rockley Flour Mill in 1862 to cater for the increase in the local population owing to the goldrush and tenant farmers. The mill ceased functioning sometime around 1900, but in an interesting example of adaptive reuse the mill's equipment was applied to other local industrial activities. The steam engine was used with local gold stamping batteries and the mill stones crushed marble at Newbridge. (*The Rockley Manner*, pp60-61) In Hill End, the largest 'factory' may have been the Barley Sheaf Brewery, operating for about ten years from 1873 on a site on the southern side of Bald Hill. With a population of at least 8,000 - mostly adult males - there was sufficient custom for a time for such a specialised industry. Another brewery located outside of Bathurst was the Glanmire Brewery operated by Edward Combes on his 'Glanmire Hall' property around 1870-75. As well as providing for the thirsty miners on the neighbouring Glanmire goldfield, the market for this brewery was in Bathurst, making this particular operation an unusual example of a Bathurst industry located outside of the city's limits.

The Bathurst area's breweries, those within and beyond the city, all eventually closed, the last being the Great Western Brewery in 1927. (See discussion above.) By this stage, the Great Western was owned by Walker & Co., a local firm that also owned the Standard Brewery in Orange. What happened to this combined, and apparently successful, brewery operation is instructive of the fate of Bathurst-based industry generally. Walker & Co. was ultimately bought out by Sydney-based Toohey's Brewery, who very quickly closed down the Bathurst and Orange breweries. The brewery premises were used, at least temporarily, as depots for Toohey's Sydney brewed beer, delivered by rail. Local industries simply could not compete over time with better-capitalised and larger scaled Sydney-based industries using cost efficient rail and, in time, improved road transport to deliver their products to Bathurst area customers. The fate of Bathurst's breweries, flour mills, and many similar manufacturing industries was the common fate of most such industries located in the inland. (In the case of breweries, see KM Deuthser, *The Breweries of Australia A History* (2002). Information on BRC area breweries has been taken from this source.)

15.3 Industry in the 20th century

The 20th century was a time of profound change for the area's industries. As discussed above, virtually all major local industries - many of them household names in their time - eventually faded and closed. The local self-sufficiency previously provided by Bathurst's industries gradually disappeared, with locally made goods replaced by new brands and labels from non-local industries. Some individual businesses weathered the changes better than others did. As noted previously, local building product industries, such as brick makers, managed to some degree to hold their place in the market through to the present day. For other industries, the process of being squeezed out of the market was only a matter of time. For example, Ashelford's, a Bathurst cordial manufacturer, continued into the 1980s but its local drink products eventually lost out to brands from nationally based companies. That one of these rival soft drinks owed something of its popularity to the Second World War was perhaps not coincidental. The Second World War was an important catalyst in reshaping industry in the Bathurst area. The contribution of the war to Bathurst's industries can be seen in the history of Edgell's. Edgell's is an important exception to the general trend of decline in the area's locally established industries.

Gordon Edgell and Sons Ltd, known locally as Edgell's, is arguably the most significant industry to appear in the area in the pre-war period. Robert Gordon Edgell (1866-1948), an engineer by training and an orchardist and asparagus farmer from 1906, designed and built a small hand operated canning plant on his 'Bradwardine' property in 1926, initially to process asparagus grown on his Macquarie River flats. The knowledge needed to build the family's cannery was acquired through a private study tour of American canneries by one of the Edgell sons. RG Edgell took this initiative in response to the collapse of the fresh asparagus market and the failure of canneries in Sydney to meet his needs. The cannery operation was small scale and, indeed, somewhat primitive. Local tinsmiths were employed to make the cans, which were sealed by hand with a soldering iron. A larger and more sophisticated cannery was built in 1938 and other vegetables were canned in addition to asparagus. Some portions of this plant still exist on the present-day factory site, together with some early equipment. The endeavours of the Edgell

family in the 1920s and 30s to enter, and successfully so, the canning industry offers an interesting case study. It is widely held, and claimed so by Edgell's, that they were the first in Australia to produce commercially canned vegetables.

It was the opportunities afforded by the Second World War, however, that took the company from being a minor player in food processing to a nationally recognised brand. The Edgell factory was designated an essential war industry, which in turn brought military contracts, most especially with the American military forces, and access to modern, American food processing technology. Overall, the wartime contracts provided the opportunity to further expand and upgrade operations, including a plant in Cowra. Buildings erected during the war are still in use on the Bathurst factory site, including a staff amenities block and an impressive smoke stack, possibly unique in Bathurst. Edgell's emerged from the war as a nationally significant food processing company and a leader in food processing technology, with its Bathurst plant an important part of the company's operations. The company took advantage of the post-war enthusiasm for canned foods, as well as expanding into new lines, which included the opening of a plant in Bathurst in the late 1950s to make baby food (under the American Gerber brand). It is worth stressing that the successful expansion of Edgell's beginning in the 1940s owed much to the opportunities provided by the war, including approval from the Commonwealth Treasurer, Ben Chifley, for the company to restructure financially. Comment is often made on Chifley's support of the expansion of General Motors Holden; Edgell's offers a not dissimilar story. Edgell's also has an interesting ongoing connection with American food processing technology, beginning with its inception in 1926.

Ownership of Edgell's, incorporated in 1930 and once with a significant Bathurst shareholder base, has passed through several different corporate ownerships since 1961 and is now owned by Simplot, an American company. There is perhaps in this change of ownership, from Bathurst-owned to a branch operation of a multi-national, a playing out of another version of the inevitable outcome for Bathurst industrialists. (Information on Edgell's has been taken from documents provided by Simplot, Bathurst.)

The war brought other industries to Bathurst, most notably the Australian Defence Industry (ADI) munitions factory located at 396 Stewart Street (Blayney Road), opened in 1942. The massive main building - with the original Australian Coat of Arms still on its front façade - may possibly be the largest single storey brick building in the BRC area, if not the wider region. This factory was one of a number of similar defence factories built throughout the inland to supply Australia's wartime needs, particularly in the war against Japan. By being built inland and in a dispersed manner, it was hoped they would be relatively safe from Japanese air attack. One hundred houses, described as 'Duration Houses' (or 'Duration Cottages'), were built around the same time, 1942-43, on the then northern edge of the city to provide for the influx of workers. Intended only as temporary houses, they were upgraded to 'permanent homes' in 1946. (Information provided by Bill Tighe, BDHS) The ADI factory, together with Edgell's, was a significant early employer of women on its assembly lines.

With the end of the war, the ADI factory buildings were turned over to the manufacture of civilian products. This post-war use was anticipated when the main building, an extensive single-storey brick structure, was built and thus the site may offer evidence of how the wartime

government, guided by Treasurer Ben Chifley, combined wartime needs with postwar reconstruction plans. With the availability of both a modern factory building and an experienced local workforce, Bathurst for a time became a major centre for light manufacturing. The ADI site was first used by California Productions Ltd for the manufacture of clothing and footwear. Footwear operations were soon started up by other companies (Robins Shoes Pty Ltd and Jayne's), all sharing the ADI site. California Productions and Jayne's eventually left Bathurst, but Robins Shoes continued into the 1990s in a factory in Bentinck Street. The ADI plant in 2007 is no longer a manufacturing site as such but is used by Australian Wool Handlers as a wool store and by a building products distributor as an exhibition centre and warehouse.

Clyde Industries Ltd, known locally as Clyde Engineering, established a works in Kelso in 1970 to build railway locomotive engines under contract for state railways. The enterprise continues to operate under new ownership. It is the only large heavy manufacturing industry remaining in Bathurst, as well as being one that offers an historical link to earlier days when Bathurst was a major centre with its railway workshops for the repair and maintenance of rail engines and rolling stock.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, several multinationals located new factories in Bathurst, presumably attracted by incentives including lower costs as well as access to raw materials. These new industries include Devro Pty Ltd, a manufacturer of sausage casing, and Uncle Ben's, a manufacturer of pet food. Their presence is part of a regional development pattern, with similar food-related industries in Blayney and Orange producing for national and international markets. These recently-established industries, together with Edgell's, are among the main industries in the Bathurst area at the present time in terms of employment and capitalisation and define the area's industrial profile as being mainly concerned with food processing. George Ranken would be pleased.

The history of industry in the Bathurst area is fairly typical of an inland area. Industry initially was limited by isolation to meeting the needs of the local population. This isolation also provided protection from outside competition. The goldrush and the railways provided opportunities and, for a time, the area offered a lively and diverse industrial scene, one that endeavoured to provide both for local self-sufficiency as well as for markets further afield. Much of the heritage arising from industrial activity in the second half of the 19th century still exists and warrants consideration for its heritage values. Ultimately however, most local industries found it difficult to hold their own against outside competition. One notable exception was Edgell's, the history of which is of national significance. The Second World War was a major factor in the success of Edgell's; the war also brought other industries to Bathurst, which in turn led on to post-war industrial opportunities. As a generalisation, these post-war industries also in time faded but were replaced with new, often multi-national, operations that are arguably reflections of the globalisation of production and markets. In essence, industry in the Bathurst area has evolved since 1815 from a situation of local self-sufficiency to one of global interdependence.

A useful archaeological survey of industry in Bathurst City is provided by D Baristow, 'Historical Archaeology' in *City of Bathurst Heritage Study* (1992), Vol 1.

16. Mining

*... my companion suddenly said, 'Stop and listen.' I pulled up my horse, and heard as I imagined the rushing of some mighty cataract. 'It is the cradles,' said he; and so it was - the grating of the gravel or rubble on the metal sifters of five hundred rockers! I shall not easily forget the impression made on my by this singular acoustic effect. There was no pause nor the slightest variation in the cadence as it floated up to us on the still air, and I have no doubt that had we listened for an hour not the slightest check in the monotonous roar would have been detected. (CG Mundy's account on his way to the Turon in 1851, in GC Mundy, *Our Antipodes* (1852), taken from DWA Baker, abridged edition (2006), p.287.)*

Mining is an important theme in the history of the BRC area, most especially following the discovery of gold in 1851. The mining activities associated with the goldrush contributed significantly to the shaping of the present-day character of the BRC area. The search for gold led to both a rapid growth in population and the development of local commerce and industry. Many of the BRC area's villages owe their origin to the goldrush; the very landscape of the area in many places has been physically reshaped by gold mining activities.

While gold mining is arguably the most economically and historically important form of mining, other minerals, as well as stones and earths, have also been mined in the area. Indeed, mining in the BRC area can be said to have begun with the collecting and shaping of stones for tools by the Wiradjuri. The earliest European mining came not long after settlement in 1815, with the extraction of local clay for the making of bricks and fossilised limestone for mortar. Later, marble quarrying provided building materials; sand and gravel extraction operations continue into the present time. Copper mining was under way near Rockley by the late 1840s - before the gold rush - and later at Sunny Corner from the 1880s - after the gold rush.

The mining history of the BRC area has much in common with other areas of the Central West. This history is also an important part of the wider history of the 19th century gold rush in eastern Australia. However, in contrast to neighbouring Cabonne Regional Council with the Cadia Mine, gold mining is no longer an important economic or social feature of the BRC area and has not been so for almost a century. As well, the BRC area lacks coalfields and oil shale deposits, in contrast to neighbouring Greater Lithgow Council where coal and oil shale define that LGA's mining history and contemporary character.

There are dozens, if not hundreds, of individual prospecting, mining and quarry sites of heritage interest scattered throughout the BRC area. The sites often still provide visual evidence of activity with mullock heaps, shafts, adits or open cuts, as well as archaeological remains of races, smelters, stamper sites and engine mounts. The traces of water races are evident generally in many locations. Such features are the stuff of Australian history. It is possible in a brief review such as this to touch only on a few mining sites and to offer only a very general overview of the history of mining in the BRC area. For more detailed information, the reader is advised to refer to the many published histories available on this subject, some of which are listed in the bibliography provided for this report.

16.1 Gold

Payable alluvial gold was discovered on the Turon River in the Bathurst district in June 1851, shortly after the inaugural Australian discovery of a payable goldfield in nearby Ophir in April of that year. The goldfield village of Sofala, so named after a Biblical goldmine, was established on an existing village reserve where the Bathurst-Mudgee road crossed the Turon River, a fortuitous arrangement that aided the rush to the Turon Goldfield. Sofala became the administrative centre for the Turon Goldfield, with a two storey wooden residence for the Gold Commissioner one of the first government buildings erected. The residence, which is still in existence, may possibly be the oldest extant goldrush building in New South Wales, while Sofala can claim to be the oldest surviving goldrush village in Australia.

The discovery soon brought large numbers of people from elsewhere in Australia and from overseas to the area. By the close of 1851, diggers - thousands in number - dug, panned and sluiced for gold along the Turon River, from its source above Sofala to its junction with the Macquarie River, with Wallaby Rocks a particularly popular site.

Other goldfields soon came into being as diggers fanned out and explored the area's other streams and valleys for signs of gold. From Sofala, diggers moved onto Big Oakey Creek and followed it up to the Wattle Flat tableland, where gold was found and a village soon established. By September 1851, another major goldfield opened at Trunkey Creek (Arthur) in the south of the BRC area, with mining activity stretching south to the Abercrombie River - and beyond. The discovery of gold in quartz on Louisa Creek, just to the north of the BRC boundary, caused a rush in that general area, which led in turn to the opening up of the nearby Tambaroora field. Gold was also being mined near Rockley by 1853, while Mitchells Creek, near present-day Sunny Corner, was worked for gold from the late 1850s. St Anthonys Creek close by Bathurst City provided yet another goldfield. Many more discoveries and workings were scattered throughout the BRC area, far too many to be described in this brief survey.

For the few who struck it rich, there were many more who did not. Consequently there was a regular migration of diggers from field to field, with many giving up altogether. The arrival of new chums fresh off the boat from Europe and America, and from China (in appreciable numbers from about 1857), kept up the 'rush' through the 1850s. The Australian goldrush, including particularly the activities in the BRC area in the early 1850s, was a continuation of the 1848 Californian goldrush, a mad search for gold that would last half a century and spread around the world.

The search was initially for alluvial gold, that is the accessible sands and gravels of watercourses were panned or sluiced for gold. Gold was also recovered from 'dry diggings', such as at Tambaroora and Wattle Flat. A characteristic feature of the early Turon field was the working of side gullies and ravines for gold, as had led to the discovery of the Wattle Flat find. This was a technique borrowed from the Californian field and, according to Ian Jack, was first used in Australia on the Turon field. Turon also possibly saw the first use in Australia of mercury in the recovery of gold, another idea introduced by an American digger. On Wattle Flat, a group of American Negro diggers in 1855 set up the area's first horse-powered pug mill, a device to

puddle intractable alluvium clay causing the heavier gold to sink for later recovery. The presence of American diggers, as well as Australians returned from the Californian goldfields, provided an important source of knowledge and experience in the mining of gold. The contribution of local Aborigines, the Wiradjuri people, warrants mention as well. Local tradition holds that the initial discovery of gold at Tambaroora was made by an Aboriginal tracker working with the police, who found a nugget when driving a peg for the troopers' tent. (If the police had pitched their own tent perhaps there never would have been an early rush at Tambaroora.) Local Wiradjuri knowledge of the landscape, as well as Wiradjuri bush skills in shelter building and such, were drawn on by early diggers unfamiliar with local conditions.

When the more easily accessed surface deposits were worked out, miners turned their attention to buried streambeds and employed what was known as deep lead mining. Shafts or pits were sunk and the sands and gravels hauled to the surface and sluiced for gold. Both forms of mining - alluvial and deep lead - involved arduous labour, with mixed results for the diggers depending on the quality of their claim as well as the general condition of the field. Claims were equally unworkable in times of flood and in times of drought, both being characteristic of the BRC area. The Turon, in particular, was subject to flash flooding, which made the claims not only unworkable but also lethal. (See Theme 37 (Birth and death).) For dry times or on dry diggings, dams and water races were constructed to store and channel run off water, remnants of which remain around Sofala and elsewhere on the BRC gold fields.

Diggers soon discovered that gold could also be found embedded in quartz, as the lucky find by Aboriginal shepherds of the massive Kerr Nugget (or, Dr Kerr's Hundredweight) in 1851 attested. It was realised from the first weeks of the rush that quartz reefs were the source of the alluvial gold being found - and thus the true prize to be sought. Some reef gold finds were worked from the early 1850s, sometimes illegally as early mining licenses were only for alluvial gold, not 'gold in matrix'.

The separation of the gold from its quartz matrix presented a technical challenge for the diggers. In brief, it is necessary to crush vast amounts of quartz to the consistency of sand and then process the sand through several stages to recover payable gold. This can be done on a small scale - as it was in the early 1850s - by crushing the quartz by hand with a hammer, or perhaps with an iron bar in a dolly pot, and then washing the crushings in a cradle. The potential suggested by the finds of the early 1850s, however, called for a more efficient process.

The technology involved in processing quartz was not complex - heavy iron stamping batteries powered by steam engines - but it was massive and expensive. To be done successfully, the mining and the crushing had to be carried out on an industrial scale that called for high levels of capital investment. The funds needed might come from syndicates of miners or from investors, some from the area and others as distant as England. All of this contributed to an environment of speculation and, more than occasionally, scandal. (The history of local mining companies - their funding, their operation, and most particularly, their local social and economic connections - is a subject warranting further investigation. It is interesting to see the names of key local capitalists, such as James Rutherford and J N Gilmour, involved in reef mining ventures.)

Various attempts were made in the 1850s to mine quartz reef gold on a more economic scale. The first significant - if unsuccessful - attempt was very likely in the area known as Golden Point on the Turon in 1852 by the Turon Golden Ridge Quartz Mining Co. From 1854-1856, another attempt, this time by the Colonial Gold Co., also ultimately unsuccessful, was made in the Tambaroora area. Calcinating kilns, or roasting pits, were constructed to make the quartz ore easier to crush. The Tambaroora roasting pits, now part of the Hill End Historic Site, are quite possibly the oldest such structures in Australia.

The real beginning of reef mining in the area came in the late 1850s with the discovery of rich quartz reefs at Bald Hill* (now Hill End) by Joseph Wythes, who had been prospecting and working quartz reef finds in the Tambaroora-Hill End/Hawkins Hill area since at least 1854. His discoveries, aided by the expertise of knowledgeable Cornish miners, opened the way to the company-based reef mining on Hawkins Hills in the 1860s. Other fields followed the lead of Hill End and a critical, if volatile, mass of reef mining activity was soon achieved throughout the gold mining localities of the BRC area. Syndicates and companies were formed to finance the mining operations and to acquire the necessary crushing equipment. (*Sometimes referred to as Bald Hills.)

Over the next three or four decades, scores of reef mines were operating at one time or other in at least a dozen different localities throughout the BRC area. Some mines were large operations with numerous shareholders and employees, employing stamper batteries of ten or twenty heads and sinking shafts several hundred feet in depth. Others were small, occasional operations, where the quartz would be waggoned out from time to time to be crushed at the communal battery, such as the Alma Battery in Trunkey Creek, which battered away from 1869 until 1914. Stamper batteries, steam engines and boilers were shifted about to take advantage of new finds, with even the names of mines reassigned to new ventures. Nothing was certain, even less was permanent. Some mines were short-lived; others operated spasmodically over several decades. Some mines were highly productive and some were not. Every mine has its own history - and myths.

Thus by the early 1860s, if a generalisation might be allowed, there began a widespread move to quartz reef mining from alluvial mining, at least in terms of investment and gold production. The rapid collapse of Tambaroora, an alluvial mining centre, and the sudden rise of Hill End, a reef-mining centre nearby, reflects the major transition taking place. Virtually nothing remains today of the once bustling settlement of Tambaroora.

Alluvial mining continued, but became either the province of the subsistence miner or an activity carried out on a large scale with teams of paid workers - often Chinese miners in both situations. In the case of the individual European miner, prospecting might be combined with making a living on a selection or occasional work as a shearer or employed miner.

Mining companies reworked some of the old alluvial diggings with extensive sluicing operations, notably along the Turon around Sofala until late in the century. Large scale - steam pump powered - sluicing operations had already begun at Sofala in the 1850s. Early in the 20th century, the Tambaroora Sluicing Company reworked the old alluvial diggings in Golden Gully employing high-pressure hoses. At Glanmire, on St Anthony's Creek near Bathurst, Chinese

miners were employed in the 1860s by Edward Combes' Glanmire Gold Mining Company Ltd to construct water races and dams to sluice alluvial beds for gold. The connection of Chinese miners with alluvial mining, often assiduously reworking old diggings, and their impressive hydraulic engineering feats are characteristic of the post 1860 alluvial goldfields. Their presence in numbers in the last decades of the 19th century is commonly noted.

Reef mining, however, provided the core of productive gold mining activity in the BRC area from the 1860s. The change in mining methods required by reef mining altered the very character of a goldfield, from a place of individual effort relying on hand tools working small claims to a place of large scale, capital intensive mining ventures and miners working for wages. (But never Chinese miners; a workplace apartheid was firmly in place.) Quartz reef mining involved sinking shafts or excavating large open cuts to find the gold bearing quartz reefs, with the quartz brought to the surface and processed through steam driven stamper batteries. After Hill End, Wattle Flat together with Chambers Creek were the first localities to develop as important reef gold mining centres. (Hill End is sometimes claimed as the site of the first reef mine and first stamper battery in Australia. Alan Mayne, a Victorian, claims this is not so and states that Victorian goldfields hold this distinction. A Mayne, *Hill End* (2003), p.34)

The boom in reef mining brought great wealth, but it was invariably a short-lived prosperity, as exemplified even by the history of Hill End. At Hill End, reef mining flourished in the early 1870s, with its boom years in 1871 and 1872. A town came into being, almost overnight, and for a brief time rivalled Bathurst as a major population centre. (See Theme 23.3 (Towns, suburbs and villages) entry for Hill End.) The finding of the 'Holtermann nugget' in 1872 in the Star of Hope Mine on Hawkins Hill, containing some 3000 ounces of gold, offers an apt metaphor of the wealth in gold being recovered. But the mines at Hill End were in terminal decline by the early 1880s, with some mines having already shown such poor returns that workers were being paid on a profit share basis ('tribute') as early as 1874. Mining had effectively collapsed by the first decades of the 20th century, following a final attempt on Hawkins Hill between 1908-1924. Hill End's ultimate destiny was to become an open-air gold mining museum, from 1967. (See A Mayne, *Hill End* (2003) for brief history.)

At Wattle Flat, the Big Oakey Creek was worked for several decades, until at least 1920. Remains of machinery and buildings, as well as a concrete dam and tank, can still be found on the site. Other important Wattle Flat mines include Little Oakey Creek, Solitary Mine, and the Queenslander Mine, dating from the 1880s and so named for an association with Thomas Morgan of Mount Morgan gold mine fame. All of these mine sites are of possible industrial archaeological interest given that remnants of equipment, buildings and mining activity are still present and that collectively they cover a wide time range in the history of mining technology. (Note: Oakey as in Big Oakey and Little Oakey is sometimes spelt as Oaky.)

Chambers Creek had a spectacularly short life, with reef mining beginning in 1868, briefly - and modestly - reaching its peak in 1872-73 and collapsing totally by 1875. Those who made the real money appear to have been the promoters who exaggerated the value of Chambers Creek for investors, including some English capitalists. Further research may reveal that Chambers Creek provided one of Australia's earliest major mining scams.

Reef mining at Trunkey Creek commenced around 1868, following the find of Joseph Arthur, reaching its peak in the 1880s and managing to continue production until the 1910s. According to Ian Jack, there were five major deep shaft mines, all with their own stamper batteries, working within a sixteen-kilometre radius of Trunkey by 1875. James Rutherford was the major shareholder in one of these mines, Pine Ridge, which is still an identifiable site. On Rutherford's advice, the Pine Ridge mine (about 8km south of Trunkey Creek) employed a thirteen-metre diameter waterwheel, drawing water from Copperhanna Creek, to operate its stamper battery. Another of the five mines listed in 1875, the Grove Creek Gold Mining Company's mine at Mount Gray, is now part of the Abercrombie Caves Reserve. The mine site has been interpreted for visitors and is the area's only such interpreted mining site outside of Hill End. (*Mount Gray Gold Field*, undated Abercrombie Caves brochure.)

Other important reef mining localities - all with mines active between the 1860s and the early 1900s - include: Mitchells Creek (Sunny Corner) and nearby Dark Corner, Gilmandyke (south of Rockley), Napoleon Reef (Walang), Clear Creek (Peel), Caloola and Wiagdon as well as various sites along the Turon River valley (including Sofala and Turondale).

At Sofala, and elsewhere along the Turon River, the reworking of the old alluvial beds with massive sluicing operations led in 1899 to the use of steam powered bucket dredges, floating on pontoons, to extract the alluvial sand and gravel in a systematic - industrial - fashion. The Turon River Dredging Company operated two such dredges, until finally ceasing operations in 1914. At least two other dredges operated on the Turon River for a time as well. From 1908-1910, a dredge operated below Hill End at the junction of the Turon and Macquarie rivers, on Dredge Hole. The cessation of dredging in 1914 effectively marked the end of Sofala as a goldfield. Dredging buckets are on display in Sofala. Some gold dredging, on a very small scale and not with much success, also took place in Fitzgerald's Valley in 1905-1906. (For details on dredge mining on the Turon see M Higgins, *Gold & Water A History of Sofala and the Turon Goldfield* (1990), chapter 8.)

No major mines appear to have been started up after the early 1900s, although mining exploration and the reworking of old mines has continued spasmodically to the present day. By the 1920s, gold mining as an even modestly important economic activity in the BRC area had effectively ceased. Mining continued in a lesser way, largely returning in its form to its early 1850s character of individuals working small claims. In the depression of the 1930s, the goldfields provided some income for the unemployed; today fossicking is a way of supplementing an income or with metal detector occupying a weekend.

The goldrush had a profound effect on the historical development of the BRC area. While it cannot be claimed that the area was one of the major gold producing areas of New South Wales, the BRC area holds some of the first goldfields and pioneered important stages in the wider goldrush. For the local area, gold brought an influx of people and produced wealth that aided in the area's development. New towns - Sofala, Trunkey Creek and Wattle Flat - were created almost instantly as goldseekers and service providers flocked onto the goldfields. Hill End for a few years was one of inland New South Wales' largest towns. None, however, grew into major townships - as was the case with Parkes and Forbes. This was the result no doubt of the pre-existence of a major settlement in the area, namely Bathurst, together with the unsuitability of

surrounding country for close agricultural settlement. Some goldrush settlements have disappeared completely, for example Chambers Creek and Tambaroora. Nonetheless, the overall effect of gold mining was to provide a catalyst to the development of Bathurst and its district. This is an ironic outcome in a way, for Bathurst was somewhat isolated physically from the rush at first, located as it was on the south bank of the unbridged Macquarie River. Excepting St Anthony's Creek, there were as well no major diggings in the immediate vicinity of Bathurst. Gold was sought for in Bathurst itself, but nothing worthwhile was found. There is little in Bathurst's extant built heritage that connects directly with its goldrush history. Bathurst offers a very different example of a goldrush city when compared with Ballarat or Bendigo, or even Orange.

The gold mining sub theme is a complex subject, one that is central to the history of the BRC area. It is also a theme with dozens of heritage sites, mostly unresearched and scattered across the BRC area. Some are in remote locations while others are too easily accessible to vandals and looters. Some of these sites have potential in not only telling us more of the BRC area's history but also of the history of gold mining in Australia. Mining equipment still occasionally remains in situ on the area's goldfields or reef mining sites, together with building and mine working remains.

Gold mining can only receive a cursory treatment in a general heritage study. The subject warrants a comprehensive heritage study in its own right, incorporating an archaeological survey of mining sites and a management plan for the conservation of both important sites and items of moveable heritage. Some iconic items, such as stamper batteries, have already been relocated to museums in the BRC area, notably the Bathurst Goldfields (Museum) on Mount Panorama and the NPWS Historic Site in Hill End. The private museums at Sofala and Hill End (History Hill) are also likely to hold items of local mining heritage significance.

More information can be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See in particular the entry by Ian Jack, 'Theme 3: Gold', which is based on a survey of both primary sources and field study. Useful references will also be found in the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Survey' by Aedeon Cremin, which also contains advice on the archaeological value of several mine sites. The reader is also advised to consult the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets, which contain additional information on mining sites, including photographs.

K Cook and D Garvey, *The Glint of Gold a History and Tourist Guide of the Gold Fields of the Central West of New South Wales* (1999), provides some useful potted histories of the different goldfields in the BRC area as well as very brief histories on many individual mines. (See pages 13-61, 74-75, 280-304.) Some of the gold mining localities discussed in this theme entry are covered by locality histories listed in this report's bibliography.

See also information relevant to gold mining in the theme entries dealing with industry (Theme 15), transport (Theme 20) and the area's villages (Theme 23).

16.2 Copper mining

The copper mine at Summerhill ('Summer Hill'), situated on Campbells River near Rockley, was operating by 1848, making it one of the oldest copper mines in NSW. (Copper Hill near Molong and Lipscombe Pool Creek near Canowindra, both operating by 1844, are earlier.) The area around Rockley, stretching southwards to Burruga, was also for a time one of the major copper-producing areas in New South Wales prior to the development of Cobar.

Early mines in the BRC area were disadvantaged by transportation problems, as were most other local industries. Copper ore could be smelted on site to a matte with a higher copper percentage, but the cost and difficulties of transportation was a common factor in the failure of the area's early copper mines. Until the arrival of the railway in the BRC area in the 1870s, transportation of the area's bulky products to Sydney and its wharfs relied on bullock waggons and an arduous journey of many days over the mountains.

The Summerhill mine was financed by local investors, who formed a company in 1848 - the Bathurst Mining Company - for that purpose. The Summerhill mine was not a particularly successful venture for its investors. Very little copper was produced and the mine operated only intermittently following the discovery of gold in 1851, ceasing altogether by 1905.

The mining of the copper ore required hard-rock mining methods, either by shafts, drives or open cuts. These techniques, pioneered in early copper mines such as at Summerhill, would later be applied to reef gold mining in the area, with often times copper miners providing the necessary mining knowledge and skills. There is as well an association with Cornish mining migrants.

It is possible that physical evidence for other early hard rock mining operations for copper and other non-auriferous minerals is to be found in the BRC area. There is said locally to have been a copper mine working intermittently in the Walang area from prior to the gold rush until the early 20th century. Theo Barker mentions a lead mine operating in 1849 on TC Suttor's property, 'Grosvenor Farm', about nine miles from Bathurst. (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992), Vol 1, p.187) (Suttor's miners worked for rations only, with the promise of payment dependent on the success of the mining venture. This is an interesting example of early, pre-unionised, mining labour. See Theme 25 (Labour).)

A 'second wave' of copper mining came about in the 1870s with successful mining ventures at Cow Flat and Apsley (near The Lagoon). Cow Flat was the larger and more consistently operated mine. Both mines benefited from the rise of copper prices in the 1870s as well as from the nearby arrival of the railway around the same time, and from the direct involvement of Lewis Lloyd (1842-1902), a local mining entrepreneur and industrialist. Lewis had been trained in Wales as an ore smelter. Copper ore was partially reduced in mine furnaces and then transported to the railway at Perthville for shipping to Lithgow, where the final smelting took place at Lloyd's Eskbank Smelting Company.

Success, however, was dependent on the price of copper and the continued involvement of Lewis Lloyd. The price of copper dropped in the mid-1880s and Lloyd's interest was drawn increasingly to the richer possibilities offered at nearby Burruga. His selling out of his Apsley and Cow Flat investments contributed to the decline and eventual closure of these mines in the

early 1900s. Archaeological evidence of mine workings and reverberatory furnaces can be found at these sites, with stone built buildings still in use at the Cow Flat mine site. Cow Flat also supported a small settlement, some buildings for which remain. Slate was also mined for a short period at Apsley.

The BRC area contains several copper mining sites of 'niche' interest in Australian mining history. Summerhill was one of the first copper mines in eastern Australia. Cow Flat and Apsley have connections with the activities of Lewis Lloyd, a 19th century entrepreneurial miner and industrialist.

More detailed information can be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See in particular the entry by Ian Jack, 'Theme 4: Copper', which is based on a survey of both primary sources and field study. Useful references will also be found in the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Survey' by Aedeen Cremin. The reader is also advised to consult the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets, which contain additional information on mining sites, including photographs.

16.3 Silver mining

Sunny Corner also belongs to the 'second wave' of the area's copper mining enterprises, although to be more accurate, Sunny Corner was regarded primarily as a silver mining operation. The ore bodies at Sunny Corner, together with Dark Corner, produced, as well as silver and copper, significant quantities of gold, lead, zinc and antimony.

From the late 1850s, the Sunny Corner area was worked for its gold (as Mitchells Creek), with silver attracting attention in the early 1880s and leading to the working of several silver mines. Some copper was being mined by the mid-1870s, but it was silver that attracted interest and finance. A number of mining companies worked in the area, the main one being the Sunny Corner Silver Mining Company, formed in 1884. The Silver King Mine (closed 1887) operated nearby; other, smaller, mines worked in the Dark Corner area.

The Sunny Corner Silver Mining Company, drawing on American smelter technology, operated with financial success until the collapse of the price of silver in 1892. After 1892, the locality's mines and smelters worked only periodically. The Sunny Corner Company completely shut down in 1896, and its mine, and others in the area, continued to be operated intermittently by a succession of speculators until 1922. This post-1896 interest in the ore bodies of Sunny Corner and Dark Corner saw new equipment installed, remnants of which remain. Since 1922, the area has seen some exploratory work and, according to Cremin (see reference below), the mine continued to be worked for zinc until the 1950s.

The Sunny Corner site once included a township, with perhaps up to 4000 people at the height of the mining operation around 1890. After 1900, the town declined and many of its buildings were dismantled and re-erected in Portland. Extensive relics, however, remain in the immediate vicinity of the Sunny Corner Mine, including buildings used as offices and equipment housing. The engine house built of squared blocks of cast slag is possibly unique to New South Wales. The most spectacular relics are perhaps the brick smelter flues running up the hill to the brick

chimney, dating from the early 1890s, built to remove toxic fumes. The failure to do so is still evident in the surrounding sterile landscape.

Sunny Corner, with its American smelter, was for a time one of the more successful 19th century silver and copper mining operations in the state and provides today a valuable resource for understanding late 19th century mining and ore refining methods.

More detailed information can be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See in particular the entry by Ian Jack, 'Theme 5: Sunny Corner and Dark Corner', which is based on a survey of both primary sources and field study. Useful references will also be found in the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Survey' by Aedeon Cremin. The reader is also advised to consult the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets, which contain additional information on mining sites, including photographs. See also V Poys, *Sunny Corner, A Silver Town of the 1880s* (1989).

16.4 Molybdenum mining

Molybdenum, in the form of molybdenite, was mined for a short time at several sites in the Yetholme area between 1914 and 1920. Molybdenum's use in hardening steel, in place of tungsten, made it a valuable metal during the First World War, a value heightened in that Australia was initially one of the few suppliers of the mineral. The mines in the Yetholme area were not the largest in Australia, but were still of some importance during the war. Mount Tennyson Molybdenite Co. and the Mammoth Molybdenite Mines Ltd were the two main mining companies, both of which also ran their own smelters. (The mining and refining site on 'Mount Tennyson', a property about 6kms south of Yetholme, is said to offer useful archaeological evidence of the processes involved.)

Molybdenite mining was short lived, lasting not much beyond the war's end. The Yetholme mines closed not long after the war's demand for armaments ceased and the price of the mineral crashed. The war also witnessed the development of molybdenite mines in North America, reducing even further the viability of the local mines. Yetholme's molybdenum mines offer an unusual link to Australia's wartime history.

Further details on molybdenum mining can be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See in particular the entry by Ian Jack, 'Theme 7: Molybdenum', which is based on a survey of both primary sources and field study. Useful references will also be found in the Study's Industrial Archaeology Survey by Aedeon Cremin. The reader is also advised to consult the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets, which contain additional information on mining sites, including photographs.

16.5 Limestone and marble quarrying

The earliest quarrying of limestone took place not long after European settlement, from as early as 1822 in the area known as Limekilns, so called because of the nearby kilns used to roast the quarried limestone for use as mortar. Ian Jack described the site of the convict period quarry as being 'the deposits to the north of the Mount Horrible Road, leading east to Palmers Oakey'.

Limestone continued to be quarried from this area intermittently after the convict period, but the deposit was never fully exploited.

The limestone deposits in the Mountain Run Creek and Browns Creek locality (south west of Cow Flat) have been quarried consistently since the 1890s. Omya Australia Pty Ltd has been quarrying limestone on an industrial scale in this area at their Cow Flat Quarry since at least the early 1980s. Early quarry work was on a very small scale by comparison but included, again by the 1890s, the use of limekilns. Ian Jack and Aedeon Cremin recorded a 'surviving limekiln', where Quarry Road crosses Mountain Run Creek, close by what is identified as the 19th century quarry. Ian Jack further noted that such 'country limekilns' are rare in New South Wales. (A brief description with photographs of this limekiln is provided on an Industrial Archaeology Inventory sheet accompanying the Evans Shire Heritage Report.)

High quality marble was quarried in the BRC area in commercial quantities in at least three or four locations, with the industry most active between the 1890s and 1920s. The area's marble has been remarked upon for its decorative variety in colour, grain, and pattern as well as for its high quality generally. The earliest quarry was on 'Fernbrook', a property north of Limekilns, roughly in the same area as the site of the 1820s limestone quarry. Fernbrook quarry lies south of Mount Horrible and to the east of the Mount Horrible Road. The quarry was established in 1894 by the Commonwealth Marble Company, a firm with a number of marble quarries in the Central West. Fernbrook was particularly active for at least its first twenty or so years, when marble from the quarry was used in several prestige projects in Sydney, including the handrail on the main staircase at the New South Wales Art Gallery. Fernbrook appears to have been the only commercial marble quarry to the north of Bathurst in the BRC area.

The remaining three quarries were all to the south of Bathurst in the Rockley locality. Again, they were in areas associated with limestone mining. Marble was quarried in Ponsonby Parish, along the upper reaches of Mountain Run Creek, in the first decades of the 20th century. This was reported in 1919 to be a well-equipped quarry, with expensive machinery installed. However, little evidence remained of the quarry or its equipment by the 1980s, owing to the ongoing mining operations of Omya. Another quarry operated in Bringellett Parish, approximately 10kms west of Rockley on the Old Lachlan Road. In the 1980s, the quarry was reported to have a 'rare Chilean mill' in situ. Ian Jack, writing in 1987, described it as a grinding mill that may have been used for talcose extraction by flotation. (See Goldney & Bowie, *A Report to the Australian Heritage Commission* (1987), Vol II, p. 157, item 260.)

The most significant marble quarry in the BRC area was perhaps the quarry at Caloola, also established by the Commonwealth Marble Company. (The quarry is approximately 21kms south west of Bathurst on the Bathurst-Caloola Road.) Opened prior to the First World War, the quarry provided marble for a number of important projects in Sydney, including the vestibules of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital and Challis House (Martin Place), as well as for Her Majesty's Theatre. Caloola marble, together with Carrera marble from Italy, was used in 1907 by James White in Melbourne's sculptured memorial to Queen Victoria in Queen Victoria Gardens. (No Victorian marble was used!) As the quarry deepened, good quality white marble was revealed, but appears not to have been fully exploited.

It is worth noting that the transportation beyond the district provided by the railway facilitated the development of the area's marble quarrying industry. Some marble polishing work may have been carried out in Bathurst before the slabs were shipped on to Sydney or Melbourne for final cutting and polishing. Samples blocks of polished marble from local quarries are held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum. The use of locally quarried marble in buildings in the area is worth investigation. The walls of the former Abercrombie Shire Chambers, built in 1912, are constructed of locally quarried marble rubble.

The BRC area marble quarries need to be viewed and assessed within the context of the wider marble quarrying industry of the Central West, if only to avoid marbled parochialism. Marble quarrying was also carried out near Mudgee, Molong and Orange (Borenore). These quarries also produced high quality building material, which was sometimes combined with marble from the Bathurst district. Borenore and Molong marble provided the steps and balusters supporting the Fernbrook marble handrail on the main staircase at the NSW Art Gallery, constructed 1900-1901. The black and white marble newel posts at the foot of the stairs are from one of the quarries in the Rockley area. (Information provided by NSW Art Gallery) The BRC area quarries are important elements in this wider history of the quarrying and use of decorative marble in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Further details on limestone and marble quarrying can be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See in particular the entry by Ian Jack, 'Theme 6: Limestone and Marble', which is based on a survey of both primary sources and field study. Useful references will also be found in the Study's Industrial Archaeology Survey by Aedeen Cremin included in the report's. The reader is also advised to consult the Study's 'Industrial Archaeology Inventory' sheets, which contain additional information on mining sites, including photographs.

17. Pastoralism

Pastoralism refers to the industry of breeding and raising animals for human use, most usually for the consumption of meat, wool and hides. It commonly refers to sheep and cattle on large grazing properties, as distinct from crop raising or mixed farming. Pastoralism can also include horses and more exotic pasturing animals, such as goats. The BRC area occupies a central place in the New South Wales history of pastoralism, with its earliest activities dating from settlement in 1815. It was Governor Macquarie's intention that the Bathurst Plains was to be the larder for the colony.

17.1 Origins and development

Long before the arrival of European settlers - with their herds and flocks - the Wiradjuri had practiced pastoralism in the form of seasonal burning to help maintain an environment attractive to grazing native animals such as kangaroos. The open park-like landscapes so created over the centuries helped establish a grazing country that suited a European pastoral industry. While the Wiradjuri undoubtedly provided early pastoralists with practical assistance, such as in locating reliable water sources, the pastoral development of their country was not subject to negotiation.

From 1816, the official policy under Governor Macquarie was to restrict private grazing activity to the north side, or right bank, of the Macquarie River. The first land grants for pastoral use were limited to that side of the rivers. Grants were also initially limited in number, restricted to a few, notably William Lawson and William Cox, whom the government was obliged to reward for services rendered. Land to the south or west of the rivers was to be reserved for government stock. Prior to this ruling, Lawson had already established himself across the Fish River on the west, or left, bank at 'Macquarie' in July 1815, where he appears to have stayed. William Cox similarly was running stock south of the Macquarie at Swallow Creek, but elected to vacate in exchange for a land grant north of the river, a site he later named 'Hereford'.

Macquarie provided smaller land grants in 1818 along the east bank of the Macquarie River for ten private settlers, some of whom had a convict background. Two of these settlers, Thomas Kite and William Lee, and their descendants, would go on to establish pastoral holdings of significance in the BRC area.

Macquarie's restrictive policy proved unworkable. Within a few years the illegal running of stock was occurring and pressure was increasing for more land to be opened to pastoralists. On Macquarie's departure government policies changed under Governor Brisbane and his successor, Governor Darling. The policy was now one of generous land grants to men of capital. The practice of Macquarie of providing small land grants to deserving men of lesser means fell from favour. Legal pastoral settlement became more readily accessible through evolving arrangements from the early 1820s. (See Theme 22 (Land tenure) for a more detailed discussion of this very complex history.) The consequent rapid expansion of large scale pastoral settlement led to conflict with the Wiradjuri people in 1824. (See Theme 27 (Defence).)

It should be noted that the BRC area lies just within the 'Limits of Location' beyond which was the domain of squatters and large pastoral runs, often illegally 'squatted' but ultimately held

under lease. Pastoral properties in the BRC area tended to be smaller than those established further west and, with some important exceptions, seem more usually to be held under land grant or purchased freehold title rather than leasehold or licence. It is more accurate therefore to describe those involved in raising cattle and sheep in the BRC area as pastoralists or graziers, rather than as squatters. Their activities also often included other agricultural undertakings in addition to pastoralism, such as grain farming and orcharding. A further generalisation might be made that the more productive properties were those established in the first decade or so of settlement on the more open and better watered country, particularly the Macquarie and O'Connell plains and their tributary valleys. Latecomers had to make do with the more hilly and forested country to the north and south, which is also where the licenced and leasehold runs generally can be found. (See Theme 22 (Land tenure) for a more detailed explanation.)

The BRC area today contains a number of identifiable pastoral properties that have direct connections with properties established in the first two or three decades of settlement. In addition to their historic homesteads, it is sometimes possible to find buildings, or remnants of buildings, associated with early pastoral activity. Two such historically significant early pastoral properties from the early 1820s, both established along the Winburndale Rivulet valley, are 'Brucedale' (granted to George Suttor, 1823) and 'Yarras' (originally 'Yarrow'; granted to George Innes). The present-day shearing shed on 'Yarras' was originally a convict-built two-story brick corn or flour mill. Nearby, along the eastern bank of the Macquarie, several other pastoral properties were established in the same period. 'Blackdown' on Eleven Mile Drive began as a land grant in 1822 to Thomas Hawkins, who was also the government storekeeper. 'Blackdown' was the first land grant made in the post-Macquarie period. Other early pastoral properties along the river include 'Alloway Bank' (1823, Captain John Piper) and 'Kelloshiel' (1823, George Ranken).

The men taking up grants in the 1820s offer an interesting cross-section of colonial 'society'. Some were free settlers who had migrated to the colony in anticipation of such opportunities, such as George Suttor and George Ranken. John Piper and Thomas Hawkins were, or had been, government employees; other early grantees had military backgrounds. A few kilometres further north, Samuel Terry, an emancipated convict and one of the colony's richest men, took up a grant for 'Millah Murrah', but given the extent of his property and business interests it is questionable whether he spent any time on his property.

The east bank of the Macquarie River, together with its tributaries, offers an historically significant concentration of 1820s land grant properties, many with early homesteads intact. It is worth noting that several of these historic homesteads, as well as pastoral mansions built later in the century, lie within a few kilometres of Bathurst. Some are actually within the city's present-day boundaries. This is a consequence of the Bathurst settlement being at the physical centre of the surveying of the earliest, and choicest, pastoral blocks established along the river.

Further south, along the east bank of Campbells River, similar developments were taking place from the early 1820s, providing a springboard for further pastoral expansion to the south and west of the Macquarie and Campbells rivers as land was made available later in the decade. Thomas Arkell, the superintendent of government stock and no doubt advantaged by this position, established by 1839 an extensive pastoral property, 'Charlton', of at least 10,000 acres,

stretching along both banks of Campbells River. The property's 1830s homestead is unusual in having attached stone-built convict and servant quarters. 'Mulgunnia', a property near Trunkey Creek dating from the late 1830s, was also part of Arkell's expanding pastoral holdings. Early buildings remaining there include a shearing shed with drop slab walls; and collectively the property offers an impressive early vernacular homestead complex with examples of different building styles, materials and techniques. Near present-day Rockley, Captain Steel established 'Rockley Farm' on his 1829 land grant. A stone fodder barn, with the date 1838 inscribed on its lintel, remains. Bushrangers, usually escaped convicts, were a particular problem in the Rockley area and impeded development for a time for men like Steel. (See Theme 29 (Law and order).)

Further south yet, in the Trunkey Creek to Abercrombie River area, the McKenzie family created their own pastoral empire, which from modest beginnings in the 1840s grew into a network of family properties that dominated the southern part of the BRC area by the late 19th century. (A more detailed discussion of the Clan McKenzie is provided in the essay by Ian Jack. See sources, below.) Around the same time as the McKenzie family were taking up their land, pastoral activity increased in pace in the north of the BRC area. 'Killongbutta', at the end of the road by the same name, with its two wattle and daub linked cottages from the 1840s and its interesting collection of slab outbuildings provides an insight into both the isolation of early pastoral properties and the resourcefulness of the early owners. Although this survey is far from exhaustive, it illustrates the expansion northwards and southwards from the starting point around Bathurst over the 1820s-40s. By the late 1840s, virtually all of the BRC area, or at least those parts that could carry sufficient stock, was taken up for pastoral use.

Subsequent generations of pastoralists would divide or consolidate these early holdings as grazing fortunes were made or lost, and enthusiasm for the life of the pastoralist waxed and waned. Most of those properties established in the first decades of settlement have long since lost a connection with the original settler family. An important exception is 'Brucedale', which has remained in the ownership of the Suttor family since the land grant of 1823. Another exception is with the land acquired in 1827 by Colonel William Stewart, 'Mount Pleasant' on the west bank of the Macquarie River, part of which still remains in family ownership. This land was quite literally the first that was made available to pastoralists beyond the riverbank limits imposed by Governor Macquarie in 1816, with Stewart's being the first such grant.

The original Stewart property is interesting for another reason in that it offers an example of the grand houses - commonly two-storied and architect designed - that the succeeding generations of 19th century pastoralists built on their land, whether inherited or purchased. 'Abercrombie House' (formerly 'Mount Pleasant'), a baronial-style stone mansion built in the early 1870s, now owned by the Morgan family, sits directly across the road from the original 1830s 'Mount Pleasant' homestead (now known as 'Strath'), which is still owned by the Stewart family. It would be misleading to suggest the original homestead is a particularly modest building. It has the appearance of a substantial fortified homestead, one where the balls are likely to have been musket fired and not waltzed as at 'Abercrombie House'. In such ways had the life of the pastoralist changed over the previous half-century.

Similar grand 'second generation' pastoral homes can be found throughout the area. Two sons of William Lee, one of Macquarie's ten settlers, built such homes, 'Leeholme' and 'Karralee', on the

lands they inherited or otherwise acquired. JN Gilmour's 'Bathampton' (1874) on the Blayney Road is another example. In some cases, the earlier homestead was extended and otherwise improved, rather than replaced. 'Mildura', near Georges Plains, originally an 1840s dwelling was so transformed in 1880 by its owner, Joseph Smith. Collectively, and to greater or lesser degrees, these homes can be seen to reflect the consolidation of wealth and social status that pastoralism had brought to some in the BRC area by the last quarter of the 19th century.

Local pastoralists were a major source of capital for industrial, commercial and mining ventures in the district. As would be expected, this class of prosperous and influential pastoralists also provided many of the BRC area's early political and community leaders, such as Sir Francis Suttor and George Lee. Men of significance who arrived as new chums to the district, such as James Rutherford of Cobb & Co., found mutual advantage in identifying with this established group, in effect a landed aristocracy, and acquiring their own pastoral properties. In the case of Rutherford, this was 'Hereford', near Kelso. A fine home within Bathurst was the mark of the most successful of the BRC area's late 19th century pastoralists. 'Bradwardine', built in the late 1870s to a design by Edward Gell, was the town residence of the Hon. Francis Bathurst Suttor. Nearby, 'Llanarth' was the home of John Smith, a successful pastoralist of the Cabonne district. 'Woolstone', an Italianate Victorian mansion built in the 1880s, provides an especially interesting example of the fortunes of the BRC area's early pastoralists. 'Woolstone' was built by William Kite, who was the son of Thomas Kite (1789-1876), a transported convict and one of the ten settlers granted land by Governor Macquarie in 1818.

17.2 Sheds and stock

Shearing sheds are the iconic structures associated with pastoralism in Australia. The BRC area does not have any historic shearing sheds on the scale of size found further west, although the 'Freemantle Station' shearing shed, built in 1902, was once of that measure. The area does, however, have a number of smaller shearing sheds, which because of their early age or unusual construction are of historical importance. The 'Bunnamagoo' shearing shed, on the Rockley-Burruga Road, dates in part from the 1830s, when the property was a land grant to James and Thomas Pye. The central room of the wood slab shed is built on four locally quarried soapstone pillars, massive in size, with soapstone footings supporting the exterior walls of the shed. Ian Jack writing in 1987 described the 'Bunnamagoo' shearing shed as 'among the most evocative buildings relating to the pastoral industry in the whole of the Bathurst district'. The shearing shed on 'Killongbutta', together with its other slab buildings - particularly the smithy, provides an insight into the layout and workings of a mid-19th century pastoral property. A good example of an intact vernacular bush timber shearing shed can be found on 'Watton', a property in the Freemantle area. The 'Sylvia Vale' shearing shed, located on the Chifley Dam Road, shows a similar vernacular approach to shearing shed construction in building materials and design. It is the larger shearing sheds that usually attract our attention. 'Berrimbilla Stud', on Clear Creek Road, has one of the smallest sheds in the area, a tiny shed of iron sheets and wooden poles. Another early farm building of heritage interest is the large two storey rubble slate barn, thought to date from the 1840s, at 'Riverview', Duramana. These are only a handful of the dozens of sheds and barns, many still in use, associated with the early pastoral history of the BRC area.

Stock numbers grew remarkably quickly from the earliest days of pastoral activity. As early as 1821, there were already close to 6,000 head of cattle and 28,000 head of sheep in the Bathurst

area. A little over 100 years later, the wider area under the Bathurst Pastures Protection Board jurisdiction would report in 1930 close to 40,000 head of cattle and almost one million sheep. While the BPPB figures do not coincide exactly with the BRC area, they provide a sense of the magnitude of the growth in stock numbers. (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.85 and p.97) The figures suggest that sheep have been favoured over cattle, and this is particularly so in the hillier country beyond the plains and generally throughout the BRC area. The breeding stock brought in by the first settlers included Merino ewes imported from a stud flock in Sussex, England, as well as pedigreed cattle, sheep and horses from the studs at Macarthur's Camden Park. The Reverend Samuel Marsden, a pioneer breeder of sheep, is also associated with the area's early flocks. Later in the century, George Lee of 'Leeholme' would be known for his Durham bulls, prize cups for which are held by the National Trust at Miss Traill's House. One of the more unusual early pastoral ventures was Thomas Lee's attempt (at some time before 1893) to raise alpacas and fallow deer on 'Woodlands', activities more usually associated with late 20th century hobby farmers.

Horse breeding was an early feature of the area's pastoral activity. Stock horses were a necessary tool of trade and by 1828 there were at least 1000 horses listed in the stock population of the district. Later in the 19th century, the BRC area would support an historically significant horse breeding industry, although the area was not, as Ian Jack observes, a major horse-breeding area, when compared to Mudgee Shire for example. The Bathurst area has long been a significant contributor to the breeding and training of horses for the 'trotting industry', with the type of horse bred locally for Cobb & Co. stagecoaches proving ideal for this style of racing. James Rutherford at 'Hereford' was an early breeder of note; in recent decades, the Turnbull family at The Lagoon has established a national reputation for their breeding and training of horses. The breeding and training of racehorses has equally been an important feature of the area since the earliest days of settlement. In the late 19th century, George Lee, whose stables still stand at 'Leeholme', was one of several local racehorse breeders of historical importance; his Merrywee won the Melbourne Cup of 1892.

17.3 The economics of pastoralism

Pastoralism dominated the economy and society of the BRC area until the discovery of gold in 1851. The goldrush brought major changes to the area, pastoralists included. Properties lost workers to the goldfields and gold diggings disturbed the countryside, especially the watercourses. But pastoralists gained a highly lucrative local market supplying meat to the diggers and to the residents of a rapidly growing Bathurst. The social and economic changes brought by the goldrush led in turn to political pressures to change the nature of land settlement in the colony. This resulted in the 1861 'Selection Act', the first of several such acts which facilitated smaller farms, often at the expense of leaseholding pastoralists. However, the impact on the established pastoralists in the Bathurst area, most of whom held clear title to their land, was perhaps not as great as further west. Nonetheless, 'Closer Settlement' brought an increasing awareness of property boundaries and straying stock, an awareness that was accompanied by a careful surveying of road allowances and the introduction of wire fencing. A formal network of Travelling Stock Routes and Stock Reserves permitted movement of stock across land, which formerly had often been the unchallenged domain of the resident pastoralist. The country was becoming more fully settled. This process continued with further settlement schemes in the early

20th century and later the hobby farm phenomenon, which would see the breaking up of some of the area's large pastoral properties into smaller units. (See Theme 22 (Land tenure) for a more detailed discussion.)

Pastoralism made many fortunes, but both large pastoralists and small selectors failed and did so for a variety of reasons, including lack of capital and expertise. They failed as well as in consequence of a problem that confronted virtually all early agricultural and industrial ventures in the BRC area - the absence of cost effective transportation to markets. Stock had to be either driven to distant markets or boiled down for tallow and transported by waggon, together with the wool clip, over poor roads. (See Theme 15 (Industry).) Droughts, bushfires, stock diseases, bankers and rabbits (from around 1880) can be added to the list of challenges. The drought and accompanying economic depression of the 1840s, for example, saw the failure of many of the area's first pastoralists. Similar challenges were offered in the droughts and economic depressions of 1890s-1900s and the 1930s-40s. Droughts and depression have continued to offer periodic challenges to the area's pastoralists.

The transportation problem, however, was finally solved with the arrival of the railway in the 1870s, reaching Bathurst in 1876. The railway also encouraged some pastoralists to diversify into other agricultural activities, although it should be noted that many of the BRC area's pastoralists had combined agricultural activities with grazing since early days of settlement. The Bathurst Experiment Farm, established in 1895, provided education and expertise in both opening new opportunities for local pastoralists as well as in modernising existing pastoral practices. With the growth of the local population, together with the marketing opportunities offered by the railway, dairying emerged in the late 19th century as a significant pastoral industry. There had been some cheese making in the area since the first decades of settlement, most notably on George Ranken's 'Kellosehiel' property. The railway connection to Sydney, as well as the Bathurst market itself, however allowed for an industrial approach to dairying. (See Theme 15 (Industry).)

Pastoralism is arguably the oldest continuing theme in the area's history and considerable heritage remains to be seen and appreciated, particularly in the way of historic homesteads. Some of these homesteads are among the oldest in inland Australia. Equally important, but perhaps less elegant in appearance, are the places of work on the properties, as well as the residences of the workers. It is very easy in a discussion of pastoralism to overlook the day to day work of a property and the men and women who undertook that work. Pastoral properties were amongst the first places of employment in the area and can provide an invaluable timeline on the evolving nature of both work and workers. For example, the earliest properties employed both Aborigines and convicts, while more recently shearers are likely to be Maori from New Zealand. Shearing sheds have also witnessed major changes in work practices and technology, including the move from hand shearing to mechanical shearing. Much of this workplace history in the BRC area remains yet to be documented and interpreted.

A broad support infrastructure for the pastoral industry was created in the BRC area - and over time has been renewed many times. Boiling down works, tanneries, butchers and wool scouring works processed the products of pastoral properties. In the first decades of settlement, this work was normally carried out on the properties; from the late 1830s, larger processing works became

available in Bathurst. Also in Bathurst, particularly after the arrival of the railway, stock saleyards and wool stores provided the marketplaces to support trading. Stock and station agencies provided financial services for the industry. To this list of support services, one can add the Pastures Protection Boards, with the Bathurst Board being one of the first established in the state, around 1902. An interest in improving breeding stock, and agricultural practices generally, contributed to the establishment in 1858 of what became in time the Royal Bathurst Show. In 1895, the Bathurst Experiment Farm was established by the government. All of these activities and developments are part of the history and heritage of pastoralism.

The pastoral industry was the first industry established in the BRC area following European settlement in 1815 and continues today as one of its most important industries. Pastoralism has been an undertaking that has shaped both the culture and physical appearance of the BRC area, although it has arguably changed little itself in some of its fundamental characteristics. The quad may have replaced the stock horse and shearing may be by mechanical clipper, but on many properties the day's work is carried out in some of the oldest buildings in the BRC area and the core purpose of that work remains unchanged. Out in the paddock the ram still does what the ram does best.

The main information sources for this theme entry have been B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), Chapter 6 'The Pastoral Story'; and, Ian Jack, 'Theme 1: Pastoral Development', in *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987), Vol 1. Both are recommended for further reference as they contain historical details, particularly concerning early pastoralists and their properties, not repeated in this essay.

See the theme entries for Agriculture (Theme 6), Industry (Theme 15) and Land tenure (Theme 22) for additional information relating to pastoralism.

18. Science

I had been lying on a sunny bank, and was reflecting on the strange character of the animals of this country as compared with the rest of the world. An unbeliever in every thing beyond his own reason might exclaim, 'Two distinct Creators must have been at work; their object, however, has been the same, and certainly the end in each case is complete.' (An observation made by Charles Darwin in January 1836 while on his way to Bathurst, as cited in G. Mackaness, *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains 1813-1841*, (1965), p.234.)

Science, or scientific endeavour, in the BRC area has concentrated mainly on the recording of natural phenomenon and the practical application of science, rather than pure or theoretical science.

The exploratory visits during the first two decades of settlements by George Evans, John Oxley and Thomas Mitchell, all trained surveyors and astute observers, provided the first scientific reconnaissance of the BRC area. William Lawson, also a trained surveyor, undertook several informal exploratory journeys of the region during his time as Bathurst Commandant. While these journeys did not require the same rigour of scientific observation as those of his contemporaries, Lawson possibly provided the first recorded exploration of a limestone cave on the Australian mainland, that of the Limekilns Cave in November 1821. (K Pickering, *Lieutenant William Lawson Australia's First Speleologist*. Undated manuscript held by BRC.)

Allan Cunningham, who accompanied John Oxley's Lachlan River expedition in 1817, conducted the earliest botanical research in the area. In this and in subsequent expeditions on his own account, Cunningham undertook an important botanical investigation through the interior of the colony, with Bathurst on occasion serving as his expedition base. A living reminder of this pioneer botanist may exist in the form of an apricot tree in the grounds of Old Government Cottage, believed to have been planted by Allan Cunningham. (*Old Government Cottage*, pamphlet published by Bathurst District Historical Society (nd))

The relative accessibility of Bathurst put the area within reach of visiting scientists in the 19th century. Among the earliest visiting scientists were two Frenchmen in 1824, Rene Primevere Lesson, a naturalist, and Jules d'Urville, a botanist, both members of the Duperry expedition. Lesson's journal entries suggest the area provided specimens for French scientific collections, as well as the opportunity for scientific observations. (Including the observation of a 'very troublesome small insect ... a very common small fly that keeps trying to fly into one's mouth and nostrils') The most significant visiting scientist was undoubtedly Charles Darwin, who travelled to Bathurst in 1836. A reading of his journal entries, with his observations of flora and fauna encountered on the way, suggest the journey contributed in a modest way to the development of his theories of evolution. (Transcripts of Lesson and Darwin can be found in G Mackaness, *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841* (1965).)

Scientific education locally very likely began with the private initiative of Dr William Bassett, a local doctor and former student of Michael Faraday, who provided free classes in chemistry,

geology and electricity from the late 1860s. This was a time of rising local interest in the applied sciences, reflecting the growth of technology in many aspects of work and life. Bassett was a major force in the development of formal applied scientific education in the area, culminating in a government funded Bathurst Technical School in 1882 and the Technical College (William Street) in 1896 (foundation stone). He and his colleagues were also instrumental in the establishment of Bathurst's own Scientific Society in 1890. (Sir Ian Clunies-Ross, foundation chairman of the CSIRO in 1949, was born in Bathurst in 1899; his father, William Clunies-Ross, was both chairman of the Scientific Society and head of the Technical College in the 1890s.)

The need to develop modern - scientific - agricultural methods led to the establishment in 1895 of the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station (BARS), originally known as the Bathurst Experiment Farm. BARS is one of the oldest continually operating agricultural research facilities in rural New South Wales. As with other agricultural research stations, BARS was created to find practical solutions and new opportunities for the area's farmers. Its role has been mainly in the application and teaching of agricultural science. Its applied scientific research since 1895 has included wheat trials by William Farrer, experiments with tobacco growing (in Morse Park), and the propagation of the Fragar Peach. (See Bowie, McLachlan, et al, *Celebrating 100 Harvests A Centenary History of the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station* (1995) for a detailed history of the farm's research.)

In the area of individual scientific endeavour, the achievements of Father Joseph Slattery, a science teacher at St Stanislaus' College, are of particular significance. He is credited with pioneer scientific work in radio transmissions and X-ray photography in the 1890s. In 1896, he produced Australia's first X-ray photograph used in medical surgery (to locate shotgun pellets in a hand). A photographic print of possibly this X-ray is held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum. He is also said to have conducted the first practical experiments in Australia in radio (wireless) transmission in February 1904 with the transmission of messages (clicks) from St Stanislaus' College to the tower of SS Michael and John Cathedral and to Kelso. (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1961), p.133) St Stanislaus' College maintains a small museum telling the story of Father Slattery's work. (For a biography of Father Slattery, see B Innes, *Priest and Scientist. Joseph Slattery - Australia's First Radiographer* (1996).)

In the late 20th century, it was equally the work of an individual, Warren Somerville, which led to the establishment of the area's pre-eminent scientific collection today, the Somerville Collection of minerals and fossils. The Somerville Collection is a reminder that the BRC area has been home to other dedicated amateur scientists, perhaps less well known. In the mid-20th century, Percy Gresser, a local shearer, devoted many years to collecting Wiradjuri stone tools and recording archaeological and anthropological evidence of Wiradjuri culture. Some of his collection is now held by the Bathurst District Historical Museum, the managing society of which Gresser was a member. (His cottage on 'Bondura' has been recently restored.) Around the same time as Gresser scoured paddocks for discarded stone tools, George Hoskins explored the stars from his homemade observatory, still standing, at his home, 'Euarra', on the O'Connell Road. The BRC area hosts today a number of private observatories, benefiting no doubt from the area's clear night skies.

Reflecting on the story of science in the BRC area, it might be said that it is predominantly a story of individual endeavour, with the notable exception of BARS, and is usually associated with either the natural world or an applied purpose. The consequence of this for heritage is that many heritage items, if they still exist at all, are likely to be held away from public gaze.

The writings of Percy Gresser, both in manuscript and published, are held by the Bathurst District Historical Society and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) in Canberra. Both institutions also have artefacts collected by Gresser.

19. Technology

Technology refers to the tools, materials and methods employed to build, power and maintain the physical being of society. Technology has to do with how we make what we make and how we do what we do. It encompasses both the application of a particular method or mode of doing something for a particular purpose or outcome, as well as the innovation of a new technique for undertaking such tasks in a more efficient, less costly or improved way. By way of example, Father Slattery's use of his x-ray machine, James Rutherford's locally manufactured Cobb & Co. leather sprung coaches and the ploughs made at George Fish's Foundry are all important examples of technology applied respectively to medicine, transport and agriculture.

Given the breadth of this theme, it is impossible in this entry to do more than touch on a few key points that may help to illustrate something of the nature and variety of the locality's technological history. As technology touches virtually all aspects of work and life, the reader is referred to associated themes in this study, particularly to the entries dealing with science, utilities, mining, industry, transport and communication.

Our heritage in technology can be traced back many thousands of years with Wiradjuri wood and stone technology, as has been described generally for the Central West area by Bronwyn Conyers. In the same source, Ian Bowie lists several stone quarry and tool making sites in the wider region. How local Wiradjuri 'technologists' may have adapted new materials, particularly glass and metals, for use in traditional tools and weapons warrants further study. (See D Goldney and I Bowie, *A Report to the Australian Heritage Commission* (1987), Vol I, pp 31-46 and Vol II, pp 226-251.)

Pioneer and vernacular technology: With the arrival of settlers in the early 19th century, European technology was introduced to the area. What followed in the Bathurst area is part of the wider history of technological development in rural Australia. Technology was initially simple, human or animal powered and often homemade out of necessity. Over time, new mechanical technologies powered principally by steam, then petrol and diesel and, finally, electricity came into use. It was not always a uniform transition but generally speaking a modernisation process has taken place over the past 200 years. This can be seen in agriculture where horse drawn implements became progressively more mechanically complex and the horse was ultimately replaced by the tractor. While there are probably no commercial farmers still working locally with pioneer-era horse drawn ploughs and reapers, the pioneering approach to resolving technological needs with self-designed and home-made devices has continued beyond the days of early settlement. Into modern times, local sawmills and similar small-scale industries such as eucalyptus distillation plants relied on the technical ingenuity of their operators. Vernacular technological innovations can sometimes enjoy heritage significance, as well as a practical application.

Domestic technology: In our daily domestic life, we have come to expect not only a central role for technology but also an expectation that more and better devices will continually be made available to make our domestic work simpler and, increasingly, to provide for our leisure. The 'generational' life of domestic technology is now measured in years, if not months.

Consequently, it is easy to forget how transforming the introduction of new technology could be for the lives of people in the past. The appearance of radio and television had a major impact on not only leisure but also on family interactions, and is as well part of the ongoing story of the difference electricity has made to daily life.

The impact of radio and television is perhaps more easily imagined today than the transforming effect the sewing machine had following its arrival in Bathurst in the early 1860s. Rachel Henning experienced something of that excitement when she visited Mrs Ranken in September 1861, who showed her visitor her new sewing machine, 'which they have just set up'. Rachel's Bathurst resident sister, Amy Sloman, was 'wild to have one, and they are now on sale at Bathurst, but £10 is a good deal of money.' (Rachel Henning, letter 10th September 1861)

The mechanical sewing machine enabled the mother of the household to make clothes her family with a previously unimaginable ease - a liberating ease. The acquisition of a sewing machine offered a benchmark in the rise of a household's fortunes, while its loss provided a measure of calamity. For a girl, the personal ownership of a sewing machine marked an important rite of passage in life. For many women, it was as well a means of both self-employment and personal creativity. Such was its popularity that Bathurst was a sales depot for the American sewing machine manufacturer, Singer, around 1900. Today most clothes are made on sewing machines in China, although some are still made at home - if on sewing machines made in China. For more than a century, the domestic sewing machine, at first mechanical and then electric, has provided an iconic item of domestic technology of great usefulness in heritage interpretation. The sewing machine is only one example of transforming domestic technology. Developments in cooking appliances, modern refrigeration systems for keeping food fresh and safe, and the introduction of indoor plumbing have likewise changed our lives - and the design and construction of our homes. The recognition and appreciation of changes in domestic technology - and the ways in which buildings have been adapted to accommodate such changes - can assist in better understanding past society.

Building technology: Building construction provides a useful window on the locality's history of technology. Many of the early buildings in the BRC area relied from necessity on local natural materials, such as pise and timber slab. This building technology remained in common use for many decades, revived during the years of the goldrush and land selection. There are a number of extant examples remaining in the area, many of them still occupied as homes. The goal of builders, however, was ultimately to create buildings reminiscent of home. Stone and brick, together with sawn timber, were the desired building materials, their use reflecting the wealth and permanency of settlement. The making of bricks, together with preparing limestone mortar, were probably the area's first non-agricultural industries, dating from within the first few years of settlement. The location of Limekilns, as the name suggests, was the site of a kiln for roasting locally quarried limestone for brick mortar. Bathurst's first town plan, dated 1833, shows the site of a brick kiln on the south side of the river. Building technology has evolved since, from hand pugged bricks to machine extruded bricks together with brick kilns established and since decommissioned, in several localities. Similarly, other building technologies have evolved over time, for example the use of concrete. Initially, most building materials - particularly brick, stone and timber - were produced locally, while today builders are more likely to import much of their building material from beyond the BRC area.

There is perhaps little to set the BRC area apart from other areas in the history of its building technology. One important exception might be the innovations of WH Hudson & Co., who developed a successful technology in the 1880s for the manufacturing of prefabricated wooden buildings ('portable houses'). (The locally famous 'portable ballroom' now at 'Glanmire Hall', dated at 1889, could possibly be one of their products. Other Hudson buildings may still exist in the Central West.)

The BRC area offers scores of buildings displaying different examples of historical building technologies. For example, the wooden two storey Gold Commissioner's residence at Sofala, built in the early 1850s, is constructed with tongue and groove boards, suggesting it may have been a pre-fabricated building, at least in part. The need for pre-fabrication may reflect both the need to erect an official building quickly as well as the difficulty in sourcing local building materials and skilled tradesmen on a chaotic goldfield. 'Mountain View' at Wiseman's Creek, also dating from the mid-19th century, offers an equally interesting history in its building technology. It may be the only surviving two storey wattle and daub constructed building in Australia

Industrial technology: The history of the locality's main industries also reflects a history of technological change. In the pastoral industry the most popularly recognised change has been in the shearing of sheep. The technology involved has moved from hand powered shears to steam engine and finally electrically powered mechanical shears. Although the technology has changed physically the work of the shearer, the shearing shed itself has remained largely unchanged and has adapted to the needs and regimes of the developing technology. Consequently, shearing sheds offer a valuable opportunity to interpret these 19th and 20th century developments in technology - steam, electricity and mechanisation - that impacted widely on work and society. The BRC contains a number of historic shearing sheds, many of them still in current use, for example 'Killongbutta', 'Gowan', 'Freemantle' and 'Yarras'. Other farm workplaces are often likely to reveal a similar history of changing technology in work tools, equipment and processes - from bellows forge to oxy-acetylene welders in the smithy workshop.

In the case of manufacturing or processing industries, the area's flour mills provide an interesting narrative of technological development - from early 19th century wind and water powered property-based mills through to the industrial scale steel roller mills of Bathurst's Milltown. All of these mills have long ceased operations, but their sites still provide evidence of the milling technology once employed. For example, Tremain's Victoria Mill, off Keppel Street, in operation until the 1980s, used steel rollers from the 1890s. This was a marked technological advance on the French burr millstones, on display outside the mill, used by the mill's founder, William Tremain, at his first mill, located at 'Rainham' from 1868-1873.

William Tremain was one of many local industrialists to acknowledge the importance of technology in his business. Two other local men in particular warrant individual mention. Scots born George Ranken can be described as the BRC area's first engineer and its first technologist. In 1841, Ranken was the first man to employ steam power in the Central West - for his grain mill - but only after an unsatisfactory attempt to divert part of the flow of the Macquarie River to power the mill. Ranken was a self-educated engineer, but sufficiently capable of designing and

building a bridge across the Macquarie in 1856. An inventor, his last project, upon which he was working when he died in 1861 while in England, was a patent for an improvement in the screw propeller for steamships.

Robert Gordon Edgell was a professional engineer, who applied his technological knowledge to a new career in fruit and vegetable farming. Literally through his own hands-on efforts, Edgell established the beginnings of what became one of Australia's pre-eminent vegetable canning factories in the mid-20th century by designing and building his own canning technology in the 1920s. An important later step in achieving his company's pre-eminence was the introduction of the latest American canning technology during the Second World War. The Edgell story provides an example of 'can do' local inventiveness combined with state of the art technology transfer from America.

An earlier story of technology transfer came with James Rutherford and his establishment in Bathurst in the early 1860s of the Cobb and Co. coach factory, which produced stage coaches based on an American design. Built for western American road conditions, similar to those found in Australia, the Cobb and Co. coach proved to be a technological advance on the English equivalent. Although the factory has long since been demolished, a restored example of one of the coaches produced there is on display at the Bathurst Visitor Information Centre.

There are many other examples that might be offered highlighting the role of technology in the development of the area's manufacturing and processing industries. An instructive time capsule showing some of the tools and methods used in the 19th and early 20th centuries is provided by the contents of the Laycock's Engineering workshop at the Bathurst Goldfields (Museum) on Mt Panorama. Laycock's was an important supplier and maintainer of Bathurst's milling and mining industry.

Mining technology: The BRC area is among the earliest copper and gold mining regions of Australia, with copper mining and smelting dating from the late 1840s and gold mining from 1851, only weeks after the discovery of payable gold at nearby Ophir. Mining, together with marble quarrying, remained important industries in the area until the first decades of the 20th century. During that period a wide spectrum of mining and refining technology was employed, from simple hand operated cradles to multi-head steam powered stamper batteries. In the case of gold mining, the BRC area can lay claim to being amongst the first places to use certain mining and gold extraction processes, such as the quartz roasting pits near Hill End dating from the early 1850s. Hill End was one of the first areas in Australia to engage in underground hard rock mining for gold. Around the turn of the century, floating dredges worked the Turon River for its remaining alluvial gold deposits. Consequently, it is not improbable to suggest that most mine site technologies for the mining and refining of gold available in the 19th and early 20th centuries were in use at one time or other in the BRC area. A similar argument might be made for small-scale copper mining as well. In the case of silver mining, in the 1890s the Sunny Corner Silver Mining Company drew on American smelter technology and, for a brief time, was one of eastern Australia's major silver producers. A more detailed discussion of mining technology will be found in Theme 11 (Mining).

Technology permeates all aspects and levels of life, whether at work or in the home. Much of the locality's history of technology is typical of the experiences of rural Australia overall. There will be found within the BRC area good representative examples of that wider experience, as well as examples that are rare if not unique.

The reader should consult other technology-related theme entries, notably Agriculture (Theme 6), Communication (Theme 8), Industry (Theme 15), Mining (Theme 16), Pastoralism (Theme 17), Science (Theme 18), Transport (Theme 20), Utilities (Theme 24), and Labour (Theme 25), among others. Refer also to the index for relevant indexed entries.

20. Transport

The Bathurst road was bad when I was here before, but now there is no word that I should like to use that would the least express its state. (Rachel Henning, letter 19th May 1861)

Transport can be defined as the ways and means by which people carry themselves and their goods. In short, transport is how people travel. In the case of the Bathurst area, the history of transport is largely about road, rail and air travel. However, long before the arrival of European settlers, the Wiradjuri as part of their nomadic culture had established a complex network of pathways or foot tracks. Local pathways linked with others that were part of extended trading routes. The first official roads built by European settlers were constructed to handle waggons requiring easy gradients and linked points of importance to European settlers, and therefore may well have ignored existing trails. However, it is possible that some of the early unofficial tracks in the district, especially those developed by pastoralists for droving, were surveyed with the assistance of Wiradjuri knowledge and may indeed have followed Wiradjuri pathways. It also seems likely that those roads that followed watercourses may have coincided with Wiradjuri trails. The subject of early roads and tracks having a Wiradjuri heritage warrants further research.

20.1 Roads

The history of roads in the Bathurst Regional Council area is closely tied to the establishment of Bathurst as a primary centre beyond the Blue Mountains. It is very much a case of 'All Roads lead to Bathurst'. It is an interesting, if not unique, feature of the area's settlement history that the construction of the road preceded settlement. The more common pattern in British colonial history is for the building of the road to follow the first wave of settlement, utilising the rough track established by the pioneers.

The first road to Bathurst was constructed by William Cox and convict workers across the Blue Mountains and on to Bathurst over a period of six months between July 1814 and January 1815, and was begun only months after Surveyor George Evans explored the Bathurst Plains. Known as Cox's Road, the twelve foot-wide road descended to the Vale of Clwydd below Mount York, then continued westward to Sidmouth Valley. It reached O'Connell Plains along the line of present-day Carlwood Road. At a point approximately two kilometres south of the village of O'Connell, Cox's Road entered the Bathurst Regional Council area, roughly along the line of the present-day O'Connell Plains Road. Keeping to the south of the Fish River, and not crossing that river, the road crossed the Campbells River at some point to the north of the bridge at The Lagoon, possibly on 'Riverview'. The road then followed the river's course northwards to its confluence with the Fish River, where the two rivers form the Macquarie River. Following the Macquarie River the road continued on to Bathurst, without crossing the river. (The general line of the road follows approximately the present-day Lagoon and Gormans Hill roads.) Cox's Road terminated in Bathurst on the south (west) bank of the river at the foot of William Street. (Information on the likely route of Cox's Road provided by Kevin Boole, Bathurst & District Branch of the National Trust. An 1827 map provided in T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992),

Vol. 1, p.26, provides further advice on the road's route, suggesting the road may have crossed Campbells River twice.)

Within a decade or so of its construction, Cox's Road was rivalled as the preferred route from the mountains by other roads, including unofficial deviations, offering either easier or shorter routes. Locally, these changes were mainly to do with fording the river to the east of Bathurst and approaching the settled area over more easily travelled country, a practice encouraged by the establishment of William Lawson's pastoral property at 'Macquarie' in mid 1815. The changes in route also reflect the growth of free settlement around Kelso and the distribution of early land grants along the east or north sides of the rivers. In effect, as settlement gathered pace not all travellers were headed for the government base at Bathurst. The crossing at White Rock quickly became a popular route. A new official route was surveyed in 1823 which crossed the Fish River at O'Connell and, following the line of the present day Bathurst-O'Connell road, entered Bathurst via Kelso, thus requiring a crossing of the Macquarie River at journey's end for those continuing on to the Bathurst settlement. This more direct route from O'Connell to Bathurst quickly became the preferred road and appears to have been incorporated into Major Edmund Lockyer's 1829 road. Cox's Road via the Lagoon was soon referred to as the 'Old Bathurst Road'.

A lasting and more significant change in the road to Bathurst came in 1830 with the building of an entirely new road under Major Mitchell's direction. Mitchell's survey brought his road, named the Great Western Road, into the BRC area through Meadow Flat, Brown's Hill and down onto the Bathurst Plains and then into Kelso. Perhaps of greater significance for Bathurst than the line of the road's entry into the settlement was Mitchell's use of Victoria Pass in place of Mount York, a dangerously steep pass for those descending in loaded waggons. Mount York was equally too steep for loaded waggons to ascend easily. Mitchell's Great Western Road (now Highway) proved to be the most efficacious route, quickly eclipsing the roads pioneered by Cox and Lockyer. Mitchell's road continues to provide the main road access between Bathurst and the Blue Mountains and Sydney. There have been, of course, some changes in the actual line of the road, but sections of the original road can be followed running parallel to the modern highway in the vicinity of Walang. 'Green Swamp Inn' at Walang, built in the 1830s, sits alongside such a section. (See below, a toll bar existed nearby in the 1870s, adding to the heritage significance of this road section.)

It may be useful to reflect briefly on both the rejection of William Cox's pioneering road and the long-term impact his road had on the subsequent development of Bathurst. Cox followed a route that terminated his road on the left or southern side of the Macquarie River - and it was at that point of termination that he also fixed the site for the new settlement of Bathurst, a decision endorsed by Governor Macquarie a few months later. One reason for picking this exact location was because the higher ground there would provide some protection from flooding. It may have been in the better interests of the settlers, however, if both the road and the settlement had been made on the north side of the river. Early free settlement began on that side of the river and Mitchell's better road from the mountains came from that direction. Marooned on the south side of the river, Bathurst soon found itself in desperate need of a bridge and otherwise disadvantaged from time to time, as in the delay in bringing the rail service across the river from Kelso to Bathurst. If Cox had found a route along the north side of the river and had sited the proposed

government settlement accordingly, much would be different in the details of Bathurst City's subsequent history. His road - a different Cox's Road - would also perhaps still be in use.

The convict-built roads to Bathurst, constructed between 1814-1830, were major undertakings in road construction in early colonial Australia. In ways both practical and metaphorical, they opened the way to inland settlement and development. These early roads also contributed to Bathurst's establishment as a centre for both government and commerce, as well as a place of road junctions. Bathurst provided the hub for roads radiating into the country beyond, thereby facilitating pastoral settlement and communication with other early settlements in the Central West.

These early roads most often began as tracks guided by the natural features of the country, as in following ridge lines, and sometimes came about from the private efforts of pastoralists and other travellers, perhaps following in the footsteps of explorers and surveyors - or Wiradjuri guides. Tracks became roads, of a sort, as people used the more popular routes ever more frequently. In discussing early roads, one employs the term 'road' very loosely and indeed this is so until late in the 19th century, if not into the 20th century. Their condition was usually deplorable for want of maintenance and it was not uncommon for travellers to deviate from the line of the road to find firmer ground not churned up by previous waggons or stock.

The first major road to be built from Bathurst was that leading westward to the government settlement at Wellington, established in 1823. The road was constructed along a line surveyed by John Oxley in 1817 and 1818. Originally known as Simpson's Line, after the first commandant at Wellington, and later as the Orange Road, it followed roughly the route of the present-day Mitchell Highway (so named in 1936). This road, for which Bathurst is a terminus, played a crucial role in opening up the country west of the Macquarie River. The road to Wellington was a government initiative and convict built, as was the Limekilns Road, built by 1827 to access limestone deposits.

Other roads were less official in their origin. As settlement advanced, some of these rough tracks gained official acknowledgement as roads, and were duly surveyed and gazetted as public roads - and work undertaken on them by the colonial government. To the north, what began as a cattle track in the 1830s followed generally a line close to the present-day road to Watttle Flat via Winburndale Rivulet and Mount Wiagdon, and then to the present-day village of Sofala. Here it crossed the Turon and continued northwest to join the Mudgee Road at Tabrabucca Swamp. To the west of this track was another early track leading to Mudgee via Duramana and Millah Murrrah, following approximately the present-day Turondale Road. A markedly better road system developed in the area of Campbells River and Queen Charlotte's Vale, largely because of the greater pastoral activity there. The establishment of Rockley, a crossroads settlement, was an outcome. An early road to the Lachlan Valley (Cowra) area of settlement went south from Bathurst through present-day Perthville and across Fitzgerald's Valley. Another road to the Lachlan went via Campbells River and Dunn's Plains (near Rockley). The main road to the Lachlan Valley today, the Mid Western Highway via Evans Plains and King's Plains, was proclaimed in 1928, but follows the line of a surveyed road dating from at least 1861. ('Mid Western Highway' *Historical Roads of NSW* (1958), p.14) Other early tracks in the south of the BRC area, and now largely forgotten, include the line surveyed by Charles Throsby in 1819 from

Bong Bong, together with Meehan's Road (named after Surveyor James Meehan) between Bathurst and Lake (Lagoon) Burra Burra. A myriad of lesser roads and tracks connected to individual properties or provided shortcuts and links to other main routes. For example, Gilmour Street began as a track to William Cox's grant at 'Hereford'. Some of the area's roads are, or were, also Travelling Stock Routes and, in some cases, the movement of stock was the initial reason for the road, as was the case with the Bathurst to Sofala road. The stock reserves provided on these roads, together with the extra wide road allowance, has benefited the survival of local flora.

The needs of government and pastoral settlement decided the routes of roads in the first decades of settlement. After 1851, such decisions were determined by discoveries of gold. Interestingly, the early road pattern served the needs of the goldrush remarkably well. The road to Sofala in 1851 took diggers to the very centre of a rich find. The goldrush though led to important new road construction - and the improvement of old roads (most notably the Great Western). The Bridle Track road from Duramana to Hill End, with its impressive stone embankments and terrifying cliff face sections, was built in consequence of the gold discoveries in the Hill End and Tambaroora area. The original bridle track, remnants of which can still be seen alongside the present-day road, may have its origins in a track made by the Suttor family in the mid-1840s to access their pastoral holdings on the Hill End plateau. The Bridle Track route to Hill End was replaced in the 1880s by a better road connection via Monkey Hill and Sofala. The gold discoveries in the Trunkey Creek area led to the building of the road from Bathurst to Tuena and Goulburn, probably in the 1860s. This goldrush era road now provides the main road connection to the BRC's southern boundary along the Abercrombie River.

Roads were in a very real sense the arteries of the Bathurst area, for along them flowed people and goods, the lifeblood of commerce. However, until the goldrush, roads would have seen relatively little traffic given the sparse population of the area and the distances to be travelled. Wool would have been the main outward road freight, carried along by slow moving bullock teams. The amount of traffic increased dramatically with the goldrush. Inns - ever more with the goldrush - were positioned along the roads at regular intervals, as well as in the settlements, to serve the needs of the traveller and his animals, a necessary arrangement given the relatively short distances that could be travelled before the use of motor vehicles. A journey that might take us three or four hours in a car today could easily take three or four days by very fast coach. A heavily laden waggon might with good luck travel 15 or 20 kilometres in a day. Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins' journey from Sydney to Bathurst in 1822 - with her children and all her worldly possessions - took eighteen days. A wool laden bullock waggon of the 1840s might take four weeks to reach Sydney from the BRC area. To serve such 'staged' travel, dozens of inns or hotels, often with blacksmith and animal forage nearby, once operated throughout the area. They varied considerably in quality, with some offering a quality service and others being little more than shanties. Their importance can be seen in the many accounts, often highly detailed, provided by travellers. (See, for example, G Mackaness, *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841* (1965).)

While there are still licensed hotels dating from this period in some of the larger villages, no roadside hotels remain from the many that would have once existed. Some have survived as private residences; others exist only as ruined sites. Their disappearance was due to a

combination of lost trade that came with the motor vehicle and restrictions in licencing. From the mid-20th century, an American innovation, the motel, offered a new style of accommodation. Local folklore claims that the Bathurst Motor Inn (originally the American Motel, then Sunset Motel) on Durham Street was the first such motel built in Australia. (Date of construction not found.) At least one traditional inn responded to the challenge, the Kelso Hotel added a motel wing and survived. The motor vehicle also led to the development of other roadside services. The petrol station and the motor garage replaced the blacksmith, or, in some cases, the blacksmith evolved to meet this new demand. Garages replaced stables and coach houses or were altered for this new purpose.

Before the introduction of motor vehicles and the railway, however, the horse and the bullock provided the most common means of long distance transport. Bicycles were used from the late 19th century, particularly by itinerant agricultural workers such as shearers. For those too poor to travel otherwise, shoe leather was sometimes the only means of transport. Stables, carriage houses and blacksmiths are to be found on many properties and in villages in the area, a reminder of this era of saddle, carriage and horseshoe. For most people, travel between the area's settlements, or further afield to Sydney, meant travel by public coach. A coach service was operating between Sydney and Bathurst as early as 1824, undertaking the journey in four to five days. The goldrush led to an increased demand for coaches.

The most significant development locally in consequence of that demand was the establishment by James Rutherford in 1862 of Cobb & Co. in Bathurst, a firm which came to dominate the coaching scene. Cobb & Co. brought not only a coach service to the area - and beyond - but the firm also established its coach factory in Bathurst and operated horse-breeding properties in the wider area. (A restored Cobb & Co. coach is on display in the Bathurst Visitor Information Centre.) Cobb & Co. was an innovative company. Its American designed coach, using leather springs, offered a more comfortable ride compared with those coaches of British design. Its horses were bred to run fast but short stages (average 16 km) and were harnessed in a characteristic five-horse team arrangement. A network of roadside inns and changing stations provided staging posts for the rapid changing of teams. The Royal Hotel at Sofala, with the coach booking office now part of the bar, was part of this network. Along the Mitchell Highway at Vittoria, the Beekeeper's Inn, known locally as the 'halfway' house, also provided a coach change station. Cobb & Co. offers an interesting example of technology transfer with its American coach design, as well as a case study of an early integrated business managed on an American model, voracious in competition with smaller local competitors. When viewed from that perspective, one can perhaps see Cobb & Co. as a harbinger of economic regimes to come, including globalisation. (A useful history of Cobb & Co. can be found in Diane de St. Hilaire Simmonds, *Cobb & Co. Heritage Trail Bathurst to Bourke* (1999). Rachel Henning in her letter of 19 May 1861 provides a colourful description of her journey from Sydney, part of which was with Cobb & Co.)

The first known motor vehicle on the area's roads was a homemade steam car in 1893. In 1900, the Thomson Steam Car (now in the Melbourne Museum) was brought by rail to Bathurst from Sydney for exhibition at the annual Bathurst Show. The owner, Herbert Thomson, drove the car back to Melbourne from Bathurst, the first long distance motor trip in Australia, a journey of 790 kilometres over ten days at an average speed of 14km/hr. (The vehicle is on display in the

Melbourne Museum.) Within a few years, an increasing number of petrol motor vehicles made their way, if slowly, over the mountains. The first Bathurst owned vehicle was very likely that of Dr Tom Machattie, which arrived in 1904 after a temporary abandonment owing to impassably deep mud on the Great Western Road at Meadow Flat. The concurrence of deep mud and an ever-increasing public enthusiasm for motor vehicles was not an acceptable arrangement. The motor vehicle required improved, all-weather roads. (Further information on early motoring in the area can be found in Chris Morgan, 'The 1909 Brush Motor Car,' *Newsletter of the Bathurst District Historical Society*, No.67, January-April 2005. The Brush Motor Car, the earliest existing locally owned motor vehicle, is on display at Bathurst Visitors Information Centre.)

The administration of roads presents a complex history. Gazetted roads, as opposed to informal tracks, were public works and the colonial government's responsibility to fund, build and maintain. The raising of funds for road maintenance was sometimes done through tollgates, or toll bars, on the road. One such toll bar operated in the 1870s in Kelso on the Sydney Road (Great Western Road), possibly at the corner of Gilmour Street. (A McRae and C Churches, *Kelso Village* (2001), Book I, pp137-140) Other toll bars operated around the same time at the Rocks on the Mitchell Highway, near the bridge discussed below in this entry, and on the Great Western Road near 'Green Swamp Inn' (Walang). The government office charged with the task of public works evolved in 1859 into the Public Works Department. In 1906, the responsibility for the maintenance of country roads passed to the newly created shires. Main roads, such as the Great Western Road and the Orange Road/Mitchell Highway, remained under the control of the Public Works Department. Other main or trunk roads included - in the north - the roads to Sofala via Wattle Flat, Hill End (as far as Monkey Hill), and Limekilns (until 1923). In the south, trunk roads went from Bathurst to Rockley and to Trunkey Creek, with the Trunkey Creek road continuing on to the Abercrombie River, via Newbridge (until 1928) and Caloola (from 1928). Roads within Bathurst, and also within Hill End until 1908, had become a local responsibility earlier when municipal status was acquired.

With the increasing use of roads by motorised traffic and the accompanying community expectation of better roads, main road responsibility was passed in 1925 to the Main Roads Board, a new government department solely concerned with roads. It evolved into the Department of Main Roads in 1932 and more recently into the RTA. From 1925, in general and not always uniformly or with immediacy because of depression and war, there began a process of improving main roads. This included the paving of the Great Western and Mitchell highways (excluding near Vittoria) by 1938 and the Mid Western Highway to Cowra by 1960. A similar programme of improving other trunk roads and local roads followed. The relatively recent improvement of the area's internal network of roads, particularly their sealing, has had a significant impact by reducing isolation and making the services of Bathurst more accessible. Writing in the early 1980s, Eve Buscombe (*Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983)) noted the then recent improvements on the 'Mount Wyagdon' (Mount Wiagdon) section of their road to Bathurst, together with the final sealing of the road. These improvements, she wrote, are 'bound to change the nature of life on the Wattle Flat plateau which has been relatively isolated for the past decades that the motor car has been king.'

It is worth observing that not a great deal has changed in the routes of the area's main roads in the past 150 years, making many of the BRC's roads of some historic interest. Roads have

waxed and waned in relative importance and sections of roads have been re-routed, but little has been added to the area's road network since the late 19th century. The main east-west roads, namely the precursors of the Great Western and Mitchell highways, were surveyed and built by the 1830s. Around that time, other roads and tracks ran north and south, the lines of many of which would be recognisable to a modern traveller. By the end of the first decade or so of the goldrush, other major roads in the area were in place and much of the present-day road network was largely established.

It is also worth noting that this road network has sometimes laid the base for a subsequent physical impact of some lasting significance, particularly within settlements. For example, the entry of the Great Western Road into Bathurst allowed for a straggling ribbon development through the village of Kelso. The Great Western Road, in effect, became its defacto high street, thereby denying Kelso any real centre. By contrast in Bathurst, the decision to follow Durham and Stewart streets as the connecting roads to the Mitchell and Mid Western highways on the city's southern outskirts has helped both to create and preserve a compact – and heritage rich - city centre. But this has happened at the expense of creating an uneasy mix of commercial and residential use of these two streets. The present-day ribbon layout of Wattle Flat along the Bathurst-Sofala (north-south) road reflects the increased use of that road to Sofala during the goldrush era. The east-west road from Limekilns became the less travelled road, and thus the less desirable location for Wattle Flat's shops and inns.

While much of the early road network has been built over with road improvements, it is still possible to find sections of old roads revealing early road building methods. One such remnant road, an abandoned section of the early dirt road between Wattle Flat and Sofala, possibly improved with the goldrush, shows the use of logs set transversely into the roadbed to resist erosion. No substantiated remnants of Cox's Road have been identified to date in the BRC area. However, its general line can be followed and archaeological evidence of the road may still exist, although the possibility is remote that such evidence can be identified unequivocally as such. Unsealed sections of the early Lachlan Valley road from Dunn's Plains/Rockley, signposted as 'Old Lachlan Road', together with another early road signposted as 'Old Trunk Road', are still in use. The two roads to Hill End are still essentially late 19th century roads in their design and construction.

(Historical details on roads have been drawn largely from the entry on Communications in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Heritage Study*, 1987; T Barker, 'The Roads of the Region' in Volume I of Goldney and Bowie, *A Report to the Australian Heritage Commission*, 1987; and, T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992) Vol 1. Information on the wider history of roads in NSW can be found in R Broomham, *Vital Connections: A History of NSW Roads from 1788* (2001).)

20.2 Road bridges

In an area with many watercourses, the bridge is an essential part of road construction. The absence of a bridge over the Macquarie at Bathurst was a major problem, made worse by the re-routing of the Sydney road to the north of the river. Until late 1855, the river was crossed - and Bathurst reached - either by fording or by ferry (after 1832, approximately along the line of the Evans Bridge). Bathurst was frequently isolated by flooding or high water, a situation that

interfered with its administrative role. With the discovery of gold in 1851 along the Turon, merchants on the 'wrong' side of the Macquarie found the absence of an easy crossing a cause of lost business. Government administrators equally found the river increased their isolation from where their services were needed. A bridge was finally provided after 40 years of settlement and only after considerable local lobbying. A five arch laminated timber arch bridge, 380 feet long and 31 feet wide, was completed in 1855 and opened on 1 January 1856 by Governor Denison, after whom the bridge was named. On 13 January a second bridge, privately built, was opened downstream near the newly established village of Eglinton. The village and the bridge were the initiatives of George Ranken, after whom the bridge was named. (A crude - gravity defying - drawing of Ranken's Bridge is held by the Bathurst District Historical Society.) The opening of these two bridges, particularly the Denison Bridge, were significant events in the area's history. Both bridges were destroyed in the space of an hour in the June 1867 flood, their loss a major blow to residents and travellers alike.

The replacement bridge, completed in 1870 and also named the Denison Bridge, is a bridge of historic importance. It is a wrought iron truss bridge using an American design, the Pratt truss, and, according to the Institute of Engineers, Australia (Historic Engineering Marker, 1995), was the first Pratt truss bridge in New South Wales. This use of an American design, over a British design, represented a major departure from previous practice by the colonial government. Its construction as a metal truss bridge, rather than as a timber or stone bridge, was also innovative. The 1870 Denison Bridge is the second oldest metal truss bridge in NSW and the fifth oldest in Australia. (NSW Heritage Media Release, 23 May 2003) The bridge was built entirely, or at least almost so, from iron produced and fabricated in the colony, thus helping to establish a benchmark in the colony's industrial capabilities. The Denison Bridge was decommissioned in 1992 and replaced by the Evans Bridge, a concrete span structure, which is located approximately on the site of the first Denison Bridge.

Another historic road bridge crossing of the river within Bathurst can be found at the 'George Street Falls'. The date of the first bridge built here is not known with certainty, but there have been at least three bridges at this site. The present-day concrete span bridge replaced a timber beam bridge built in the early 1930s at the suggestion of Robert Edgell. Edgell sought a new bridge capable of taking trucks carrying cut asparagus to his factory, finding the existing bridge old and unsafe. Further down the river, the Edgell's company built another vehicular beam bridge, presumably at a later date, linking agricultural land on the north bank with farming operations on the south bank and via Esrom Street with the cannery. Known locally today as the 'Simplot Bridge', this bridge is a private bridge and is still in use by Simplot. The Simplot Bridge may possibly have a connection with Robert Gordon Edgell, who prior to his agricultural career was involved in bridge design work.

Since 1855, there have been at least eleven vehicular bridges built across the Macquarie River along the Bathurst/Kelso to Eglinton stretch. Five remain, the oldest being the 1870 Denison Bridge. These bridges reflect both the growth of Bathurst as a community and its role as a gateway to the inland of New South Wales. There is as well a metaphorical meaning to these bridges in that the Macquarie River marked the official frontier in the first decade of settlement.

There are, or have been, many other historically important road bridges in the BRC area, including numerous humble timber span bridges, a number of stone bridges and some impressive timber arch bridges. To list or review all such bridges is not within the purpose of this study. The bridges along the Sofala to Hill End road do though warrant mention. Still in use, they include several well-constructed stone arch bridges over creeks near Sofala and a timber Allan truss bridge, built circa 1897, over the Turon at Wallaby Rocks. Not only are these bridges quality examples of their type, but their presence on this road offers evidence of its past importance in providing efficient communication with a once significant gold mining centre. The timber truss bridge over the Turon, together with a similar bridge over the Abercrombie, are both NSW Public Works Department designed bridges dating from a time when that department had an international standing in the design and construction of timber truss bridges. On the Mitchell Highway, a rolled steel joist (beam) and buckle plate bridge over Rocks Creek (near the 'Old Toll Bar'), built in 1885 and now by-passed, offers an interesting comparison with the more recent concrete bridges on that highway.

Footbridges over streams were once more common than is the case today. Although now in a damaged condition and no longer in use, the remnants of the Sofala footbridge, an iron lattice girder bridge, is an unusual example of such a bridge, and one with considerable social history. The bridge was originally erected over the Fish River at O'Connell around 1870 and brought to Sofala in 1882, following the opening of a road bridge at O'Connell. The footbridge remained in use at Sofala until demolished in 1986 by a flood. A photograph of a pedestrian swing bridge over the Macquarie (1928) is given in J Buchan, *Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001), p.179. (See also his discussion on the building of the Freemantle road bridge in 1930.)

(Further information, including photographs, on rural road bridges in the BRC area can be found in Volume I of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study*, 1987. Historical and technical information on some 45 historical road and footbridges, including demolished and decommissioned bridges, throughout the BRC area can be found in the *Bridge Register Bathurst*, a manuscript document held by the BRC. T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992 & 1998), Vols 1 & 2 offers detailed information on Bathurst's bridges. An information sheet, 'Bridging the Macquarie', prepared in 2006 by R McLachlan is available from the BRC.)

20.3 Rail

The construction of the railway line from Sydney over the Blue Mountains to the Central West was a major engineering undertaking, probably the colony's single most significant public works project of the 19th century. It was also one of the lengthiest projects in the time taken to complete. The line, work on which commenced in the mid-1850s, only reached Bowenfels in October 1869. While other communities, such as Mudgee and Molong, had to lobby and petition for a railway line, there seems never to have been any doubt that the main line would include Bathurst. The issue was when this would happen. Built in budgeted sections, it took a further seven years for the Great Western Railway to reach Bathurst from Bowenfels. Temporary terminal stations (railheads) were established progressively at Locksley in April 1872, Brewongle (Macquarie Plains) in July 1872, Raglan in March 1873, Kelso in February 1875 and Bathurst in April 1876. In November 1876, the line reached Blayney, via stations at Perthville (Perth), Georges Plains and Wimbledon (Fitzgerald's Platform). The stagecoach network,

principally that of Cobb & Co., linked with the terminals, progressively moving westward as the line extended. Although the existence of a temporary terminal station was brief, it offered the host settlement lucrative opportunities in providing services for travellers and freight. This could be the cause of community friction, as it was between Kelso and Bathurst, when Kelso business interests lobbied to delay the extension of the line across the Macquarie River to Bathurst.

Generally speaking, the coming of the railway had an impact on the area's settlements. In the case of Raglan, the two years of serving as a terminus was sufficient to establish it as a permanent village. A railway station in a village brought business and provided improved mail and freight services. The securing of a village station was often the outcome of keen lobbying and petitioning. The failure of the railway to pass through a settlement was a serious blow to its future viability, a factor that needs to be considered when looking at the history of Rockley, for example. Villages in more rugged areas, such as Sofala as well as Hill End, were never serious contenders for a railway connection. For Bathurst, the arrival of the railway was an important benchmark in its history. Bathurst gained major railway workshops for maintenance of engines and carriages and with this a significant influx of industrial workers, impacting on the class structure of the town - and its culture with the formation of a brass band by the railway workers. Railway workers and their families formed a socially and politically distinctive cohort in Bathurst until at least the 1970s.

But, it was in its impact on transport efficiency that the railway truly changed the status quo. Compared with road transport, rail could move people and goods quickly, efficiently and cost effectively. It was now possible to travel between Bathurst and Sydney in a matter of hours, not days. It was also now possible to transport to Sydney a wider range of agricultural products, as well as bulky quarry products. Improved transport saw the development of new industries in the BRC area, notably fruit and vegetable growing. Some industries, however, did not benefit from the rail link. Bathurst's flour mills found in time that the market in Sydney was not for their milled flour but was more for the inland's wheat for milling by Sydney mills. Bathurst manufacturers discovered that the rail brought goods from outside rival manufacturers into what had once been a market effectively closed to outside competition. The rail link was of importance during wartime, as evident in the ordnance depot sheds along Lloyds Road with their spur lines. The siting of the Bathurst stock saleyards in the 1880s also required easy access to the rail line.

The appearance of motor transport in the early 20th century, as discussed above, did not have much initial impact on the predominant role of the railway. Instead, for a time the railway contributed to a relative decline in the importance of road transport. The re-emergence of roads came only with improvements in both motor vehicles and roads, from about the middle of the century. Since then, the railway has steadily declined in its overall importance - so much so that the passenger rail service has now become largely a motor bus service.

Although the railway is diminished in importance today, its arrival was a seminal moment in the area's history. This importance, understood and acknowledged by the people of that time, is reflected in the public ceremony presided over by the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, to open the Bathurst Railway Station in April 1876. Railway stations and staff accommodation, including the many decommissioned village stations, are reminders of the earlier pre-eminent

role of the railway. The most significant artefact of the railway era is, of course, the railway line itself, including its bridges. There are a number of impressive overbridges along the eastern part of the line, as well as evidence of the re-routing of the line to achieve an easier gradient. The wrought iron lattice girder bridge across the Macquarie, built in 1876 and of British design, is the oldest example of its type still in use on the NSW Railway system. Plans were made to replace this bridge in 1912 over concerns for its safety. Concrete piers were constructed alongside the 1876 bridge but no further progress was made on building a replacement. Despite these safety concerns, the bridge continued in use and it is only now, in 2007, that action is being taken to complete the replacement bridge. The Rocket Street road bridge, built in 1888-89, is an American Pratt truss bridge with an impressive span of 41.2 metres. These two bridges provide valuable insights into late 19th century railway engineering. Bathurst's railway history can as well make the unique claim of an association with Ben Chifley, unquestionably Australia's most famous locomotive driver. The locomotive (No. 5112) associated with his career on the railway is owned by the BRC, having been allocated to Bathurst City Council in 1972.

Within Bathurst, Keppel Street went from being one of Bathurst's least commercial streets to one of some pre-eminence following the locating of the railway station at its foot in 1876. Two hotels (one being the Victoria Hotel) were built to greet travellers on their arrival – and farewell them on their departure. Fine buildings with shops and eateries led on to Machattie Park and the 'old' city centre. Bathurst has never had a more elegant and welcoming gateway. Keppel Street remains largely intact and offers today a superb example of how a street was purposely developed to accommodate a major change in transportation services.

(See T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp177-190 for a detailed account of the area's early rail history. Further information, including photographs, on rail bridges in the BRC area can be found in Volume I of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study*, 1987.)

20.4 Air

Bathurst did not have an airfield until the Second World War. However prior to the war aircraft occasionally landed - and with luck successfully took off - from a number of open level spaces around Bathurst. Identified landing strips include a paddock near Marsden School, the area now known as the Kelso playing fields and a field known as 'Shutes Paddock' (this apparently being the favoured landing strip). The first flight west of the Blue Mountains (the first flight in Australia taking place in 1910) was made in April 1912 from the Bathurst Show Grounds, with the site marked in 1985 with a plaque. Another local connection with aviation history is provided through Ray Parer, a St Stanislaus' College old boy, who pioneered international long distance aviation in the 1920s. His World War One era aircraft, 'DH9', was flown by Parer to Bathurst as a favour to his old school, and indeed was promised in 1966 to St Stanislaus' College as a permanent exhibit. (The disassembled aircraft is presently in the possession of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra. An information panel on Ray Parer's achievements can be found at the Bathurst Aerodrome terminal.)

There was considerable local interest in aviation in the 1920s and 30s, due largely to the efforts of PJ Moodie, a Bathurst pharmacist and long serving member of the city's council. (The road to the airport was named in his honour.) Under his aegis at least two attempts, both unsuccessful,

were made to float companies to develop aviation services for which Bathurst would serve as the hub of operations. Moodie also headed up a vigorous campaign from the mid-1930s lobbying the Commonwealth Government to build an airport for Bathurst, but success came only with the Second World War and following the entry of Japan into the war. In 1942 a military airfield was constructed near Raglan, its purpose was mainly to serve the overflow of aircraft using Richmond Air Base. A wartime purpose was a common reason for the building of a number of airports in inland NSW, with the Raglan airport fitting into that scheme. With the restoration of peace, the case was made once again for a civilian airport for Bathurst, and was accepted. The Raglan Aerodrome (today identified as the Bathurst Aerodrome) was opened as a civilian airport in December 1946 by Prime Minister Chifley, who was also the local member and a significant supporter of Bathurst's case for a civilian airport. The first regular commercial flights - provided by Butler Air Transport Pty Ltd using war surplus DC3 aircraft - began on 16 December 1946. (A model of a Butler Air Transport DC3 presented to JB Chifley is held by the Chifley Home Museum.) Scheduled commercial flights - mainly to and from Sydney - have continued to operate from Bathurst's airport since then.

Whereas rail was once the preferred means of transport to Bathurst for distinguished visitors, this is now provided by air travel. Ben Chifley's body was transported to Bathurst from Canberra by air; both of the Queen's visits to Bathurst were by air. While the airport has been of convenience to business travellers and a useful facility during special events, such as the Mount Panorama races, the airport has had relatively little impact on the area's transportation history when compared with road and rail.

(Based on information provided by J Trevor-Jones, Bathurst Aero Club, together with main published sources used in study.)

Transport has been a significant theme in the history of the area since the building of the first road to Bathurst. The development of Bathurst as a settlement is tied closely to its role as a major road junction with roads leading further into the interior. However, the limitations of those early roads also restricted the economic development of the area generally, at least in terms of agricultural development, but by pure chance provided easy access to the goldfields of the 1850s. The arrival of the railway in the district presents a scene that is as dramatic in its local consequences as it is common to the history of inland Australia generally. There remains considerable heritage in situ relating to the theme of transport in the BRC area in the way of bridges and roads, as well as wayside inns and railway stations.

IV. Building settlements, towns and cities

21. Accommodation

*I built a three-room wattle and daub house and sent for my family. This house was constructed in regulation style, without sills, simply by driving saplings into the ground at regular intervals, on either side of which were fastened the wattles or split limbs, forming horizontal half-rounds, the space between them being filled in solid with a mixture of earth, water, and grass. The roof was made of saplings and gum bark, and a chimney erected of slabs and finished with a barrel. A trench was then dug around the hut to drain off the water, and the new residence was complete. (Augustus Baker Pierce, an American digger of the 1870s, as cited in Alan Mayne, *Hill End* (2003), p.20.)*

The history of accommodation, or housing, in the Bathurst Regional Council area offers an experience largely typical of an eastern inland community. The area is able to provide extant examples of a wide range of accommodation, from goldfield slab cottages and pastoral homesteads of brick and stone through to late 19th century urban terraces and modern suburban project homes. A useful social and economic history of the BRC area, and eastern inland Australia generally, can be drawn from the various ways in which people have constructed and arranged their accommodation since 1815.

Accommodation in the form of historic houses as well as other early buildings adapted for reuse as modern homes accounts for the largest category of buildings identified in the BRC area as having heritage significance. By rough count, at least 40% of all heritage significant sites in the BRC area were either purpose built to provide accommodation or have at some time since been adapted for this use. A pragmatic reason why many of these places of heritage value have survived to the present day is because they have been valued as real estate. But there are other values as well. A house is a home and the home provides the physical centre, the place of memory and identity, for individual and family. Society rightly attaches strong emotional value to such places. We also value houses for their expression of aesthetic values and the evidence they can provide of past construction techniques. A house, whether a cottage or a mansion, is a time capsule of past ideas and ideals of construction, design and decoration, all of which can add to its potential heritage significance. There comes with this, however, the risk of valuing historic homes primarily for their aesthetic, technological and emotional values at the expense of other insights they can provide into the past, particularly when considered in a collective sense. The brief analyses provided in this theme entry, it is hoped, will show that accommodation - the places where people lived - can be valued as heritage items, not only for sound aesthetic and emotional reasons, but also for contributions to our understanding of other narratives of social and economic history.

21.1 The genesis and early evolution of accommodation in the BRC area

The first European settlers in the area had no choice but to provide their own basic shelter, relying on bark sheets and canvass tents to shield them from the elements. Practical

arrangements, simple in execution and adequate to needs, rather than comfort, directed what was built. Building roads and government infrastructure was the main purpose of the first convicts and their overseers. Getting land into production and gold claims worked were equally the priorities of pastoralists, selectors and diggers. There was generally little interest in or the resources available for the building of better housing.

Accommodation for the Wiradjuri prior to European settlement drew on natural materials at hand and was built for temporary use only, in keeping with a nomadic lifestyle. The stripping of bark sheets from stringybark trees for use in shelter walls or roof coverings was a technique passed on to early European settlers by the Aborigines. The use of bark in this way was an important building material for some time, one used by different waves of settlers with limited resources, and is still on occasion employed today. Remnant sheets of bark can still be found in older buildings in the area, such as in the roofs of stables and outbuildings.

As settlement and a sense of permanency took hold, better housing was built. A dwelling with walls of split timber slabs, wattle and daub or pise (rammed earth) would replace bark and canvass. Sawn timber, locally made bricks and imported corrugated iron sheets were likely to follow, but subject to the fortunes of the dweller. This evolution in quality of accommodation was the general experience of the different waves of settlement in the 19th century - pastoralist, miner and selector. It needs to be kept in mind that the evolution of accommodation, from bark hut to brick cottage and beyond, developed unevenly through the area. While some of the early arrivals might in time be living in two storey architect designed brick homes, others - newly arrived and chasing their dreams of gold or land - were still knocking up a rough hut of bark and hessian. Consequently, a surviving gold digger's timber slab hut or a selector's wattle and daub cottage is representative not only of that phase in the BRC area's history but also of early housing in general.

The BRC area is fortunate in that many of these early simple, vernacular homes are still in use in its villages and rural locales and often kept in good repair, thus providing an instructive representative selection of early building styles and technologies. Two good examples of such are two wattle and daub selector's cottages at Duramana - 'Pine Cottage' (c1890s), off the Bridle Track, and at 'Box Hill' (c1870s), on Dinger's Lane - so named after the original selector family. At least two wattle and daub miner's cottages are located on Arthur Street in Trunkey Creek. The village of Trunkey Creek in general provides an instructive outdoor museum of goldrush vernacular construction, with a half dozen or so intact 19th century miners' cottages present utilising such building materials as wattle and daub, sawn bush timber and salvaged iron. Several 1850s slab huts, or at least their remnants, can be found along the Bridle track around Duramana, and elsewhere in the BRC area where gold was once worked. The 'Rising Sun Inn', dating from the 1850s and known as 'Rosedale' today, is a substantial building of pise construction, a popular building material in the early days of settlement.

The evolution of housing might be sped up in the area's main settlements, but equally it could be extinguished quite suddenly in rural localities. Sites once occupied by settlers and miners were often abandoned, leaving only the ruins of their dwellings to offer evidence of the presence of a passing wave of people. However, there still remain in the villages and rural areas of the BRC sufficient examples of early accommodation utilising vernacular building materials and methods

to help us in the 21st century to imagine and understand the accommodation built by settlers in the 19th century.

Early established pastoral properties can also offer examples of early vernacular constructed accommodation, but sometimes incorporated into a later, improved building - built as families grew and finances improved. For example, 'Northolme' (near Rockley) combines 1830s pise and 1870s brick cottages into a single home. 'Killongbutta' (Killongbutta Road), offers another variation on the construction of the early homestead from basic building materials. The 'Killongbutta' homestead is formed from two 1840s wattle and daub linked cottages. 'Gestingthorpe', near Georges Plains, is a one and a half storey residence of brick and stone from the 1880s, which has skilfully incorporated earlier elements from the 1840s. Many such pastoral and farming homes incorporating earlier accommodation, sometimes from the first decades of settlement, are to be found throughout the BRC area. It is though not only a feature limited to early homesteads. 'Lockleigh' (Tarana Road, Brewongle) has been the extended family home of the Locke family for four generations. The original house, built in the 1890s, has been successively extended to accommodate new generations and their families. While there is a general pattern to be found, each individual property will have its own particular history to tell through the physical evidence of a home built and rebuilt, extended and modified, over the generations.

Down on the Macquarie River plains, the success of some of the early pastoralists - benefiting from their advantageous land grants - led to the building of quite substantial homesteads soon after their arrival. Within their structure these homesteads often display something of the evolution of the pastoralist's success - with rooms and wings added to the basic, original building and open areas enclosed. A number of these early homesteads still exist, usually single storey and sometimes vaguely Georgian in style but adapted for the colonial climate. Their style, size and substance reflected, and probably intentionally so, the growing wealth and status of their owners, men who had been able to gain the best land on the plains. These early homes are located on the Bathurst Plains and adjacent areas of earliest settlement. 'Kelsoville' (Kelso), 'Blackdown' (Eleven Mile Drive), 'Brucedale' (Winburndale, Peel Road), 'Westbourne', (near Eglinton), 'Strath' (Ophir Road) and 'The Grange' (O'Connell Rd) are just a few of several such early pastoral homesteads, the construction of many dating from the early 1830s. 'The Grange' is a particularly good surviving example of a Georgian style homestead, as it is largely unaltered from its original appearance. These early homesteads provided accommodation not only for the pastoralist and his family but also for servants and workers, including assigned convicts prior to the 1840s. Outbuildings used today for other purposes may have once provided accommodation for servants and farm workers.

Subsequent generations of pastoralists, in some cases the children and grandchildren of the pioneer pastoralists, built new homesteads later in the century, commonly two storey and often architect designed. 'Mount Pleasant' (now 'Abercrombie House') was built in the early 1870s across the road from 'Strath', the original 1830s Stewart homestead. 'Bathampton' (at Kings Plains on the Mid Western Highway) was built in 1874 for the Gilmour family. 'Woolstone', an Italianate Victorian mansion of the 1880s, was built by William Kite on the family's original 1818 grant, which by 1880 was now on the edge of the growing settlement of Kelso. The rear of the house incorporates an earlier and much humbler cottage built by William Kite's convict

father. Not all such fine houses were located on pastoral properties. A substantial house within Bathurst was the mark of the successful late 19th century pastoralist. 'Bradwardine', built in the late 1870s to a design by Edward Gell, was the town residence of the Hon. Francis Bathurst Suttor of 'Brucedale'. Nearby, 'Llanarth' was the home of John Smith, a successful pastoralist of the Cabonne district. Most of these grander homes date from the last quarter of the 19th century, but a few later examples can be found. 'Micklegate', on the Mitchell Highway at Dunkeld, a Federation style residence built in the 1920s, was described in the Evans Shire Heritage Study (Item 229) as 'probably the best example within the Shire of a large house belonging to this period'.

It is worth noting that the BRC area's prestige homes and mansions do not appear to have an obvious connection with goldfield wealth, although many of their pastoralist owners were mining investors and benefited considerably from provisioning the goldfields. But most of these mansions are 'grass castles' and not the mansions of mining magnates. We remember Louis Beyers by his humble cottage at Hill End and not by a Bathurst or Hill End mansion. There are no grand houses in any of the goldfield villages, with accommodation largely limited to variations on the 'miner's cottage' and the occasional more substantial brick home. (The Holtermann Photographs though show an amazing variation in how some diggers individualised their simple homes, particularly with their gardens.) Rockley offers something of an exception in its range of dwellings, but this reflects its longer and more varied history. Hill End has a handful of better built homes. 'Craigmoor' (Beyers Avenue), built in 1875 by James Marshall, a mine owner, is the grandest house to be found in Hill End. With its largely intact interior of wood panelling, it has considerable heritage significance as an unmodified middle class 19th century home. But it is certainly not a mansion, an assessment underscored when one considers its timber-frame mud-plaster kitchen at the rear. The apparent absence of gold funded mansions in Hill End and Bathurst is very likely the consequence of those who made their money from gold, and lacking any particular personal connection to the district, leaving soon after for home or elsewhere. An important exception to this generalisation may be 'Glanmire Hall' (Glanmire, Great Western Highway), a fine two storey brick and stone Victorian romantic mansion built in 1881 by Edward Combes. Combes was one of the principals in the nearby Glanmire gold mining operation.

For a privileged few accommodation may have evolved from canvas tent to marble hall. But for most of those who settled on the land as pastoralists or farmers, particularly for those who sought a life as a selector, accommodation evolved at a more modest level, but evolved nonetheless. The story of settlement, from rude hut to comfortable home, can be read in the fabric of many heritage properties in the BRC area, particularly with its pastoral homesteads. In the case of the accommodation built on the area's goldfields, another sort of narrative can be read in the vernacular fabric of the huts and houses left behind. The considerable differences in the style and quality of early accommodation offer a useful tool in exploring the development of different BRC communities and their relative social and economic success.

21.2 An historical geography of accommodation in Bathurst City

The above discussion has focussed mainly on the origin and early evolution of accommodation in rural and village locations. While drawing on a similar experience of origin and early

establishment, the history of accommodation within Bathurst offers some differences in how it developed.

Before 1833, all accommodation in the Bathurst settlement was associated with the colonial administration and was exclusively for the needs of officials, soldiers and convicts. The opening of Bathurst to free settlement from 1833 was though not followed by a prodigious rush of house building. The earliest extant private house in the BRC area is perhaps not in Bathurst, but may possibly be 'Mill Cottage' at O'Connell on the Fish River. (See Evans Shire Heritage Study, item 236.) Now incorporated into a later building, the original cottage portion is of rubble stonework built in c.1830 by Daniel Roberts as the residence for a now demolished mill. As discussed, a number of extant land grant homesteads also date from around this period and may incorporate even earlier elements. It is not within the capacity of this study to declare which may be the earliest extant house in the BRC area, for which there are likely to be several close contenders.

There is though little remaining within Bathurst of a comparable early date. The sites of settlement residences, military and convict barracks and the female factory, as well as any private homes from the 1830s, were all located in or near the lower end of William and George streets and have been built over many times since their construction. Although there is debate over its age and origins, the small brick cottage known locally as Old Government Cottage (at the rear of 1 George Street) very possibly dates from the convict period of settlement, perhaps as early as 1817. It is claimed to be the oldest extant building west of the Great Divide. The cottage may be the remnant of a larger building. In any case, in its design and structure the building is characteristic of the earliest basic dwellings built for individual or family accommodation. It is also in its location on the banks of the Macquarie River sited where such early housing was located. (*Old Government Cottage*, pamphlet published by Bathurst District Historical Society (nd))

By the 1840s, more private housing was being built in Bathurst and a few examples still exist from this period, although most are now extensively modified. Much of what was built in the 1840s was in or near the CBD area, and likewise subject to loss through redevelopment. Built in 1842, 'Rankin Cottage' (117-121 Rankin Street) is one of the surviving early houses to be found along Rankin Street. Now a craft shop, the building provides some idea as to the accommodation available to working people of the time. Located further away from the CBD, Miss Traill's House has also fortunately survived and has not suffered too much unsympathetic modification. Built in 1846, it is still able to show something of the character of middle class accommodation of its time. Georgian in design, or at least intent, the house had separate servants' quarters and the main building was bisected by a central hallway, included a formal room for entertaining visitors, as well as modest provisions for the private needs of the family. Its wide verandah, as found with pastoral homesteads of a similar design and period, acknowledges that this 'gentleman's residence' is located in Australia.

An economic and population boom came to Bathurst with the gold rush of the 1850s and was renewed with the arrival of the railway in 1876. The second half of the 19th century experienced a rush of house building, much of which has survived. Something of the patterns in the city's economic and social history of this period can be read in the accommodation that was built. The arrival of the railway, and an accompanying industrialisation, created the need for an industrial

district, Milltown, with working class accommodation. Small workmen's brick cottages were built, some freestanding and others as economically constructed terraces but all on much smaller allotments than those first surveyed in 1833. Foremen, managers and skilled workers could expect to occupy larger, but still modest, homes. The Chifley Home (10 Busby Street), a terrace house of two bedrooms and (originally) a detached kitchen, offers a good example of the type of accommodation associated with a salaried railway employee of the late 19th century. It was accommodation within walking distance of work, an important consideration in the locating of railway and mill workers in this part of Bathurst. The house was not owner built, but was built on speculation sometime in the 1880s and then purchased as an investment property for rental income. This is very likely a common pattern with accommodation built for the needs of Bathurst's growing working class population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The original 1833 survey of allotments anticipated the town dweller would want space for a horse or two and perhaps a house cow. As Bathurst became more urbanised land became more valuable and allotments became smaller, at least for working class and lower middle class accommodation. Larger allotments were (and still are) progressively subdivided and new accommodation built on the released land. Concurrent with the reduction of allotment size, tracts of reserved land within and on the edge of the town were released for private use. All of this has helped create the interesting diversity of design and character of mid 19th century to mid 20th century housing that can be found, roughly, in the streetscapes of the area bounded by Havannah, Howick, Hope and Rocket streets. The block release of reserve land has also created quite marked time boundaries in places, as can be seen at the junction of William and Brilliant streets. These changes were a gradual process. Photographs from the 1890s still show Bathurst as a township of scattered dwellings, with many houses on large blocks.

By the late 19th century, Bathurst had a wide range of accommodation available. The small single storey, self-standing cottage characteristic of earlier times was joined by more commodious two storey brick homes, appropriate to the station of middle class merchant or professional. Located at opposite ends of George Street, 'Hatherly' (198 George St), a Victorian Italianate home, and the residence at 1 George Street are prime examples of this type of accommodation. The first was the home of an architect, Edward Gell, built in 1878 to his own design; the second was the home of John Ford, one of Bathurst's bankers, built in 1860. For workers, terrace housing was built, most commonly just two dwellings in single or double storey, but not in continuous rows. The scattered siting of these modest terraces along Bathurst's streets, with self standing cottages between, suggests the involvement of a number of small scale developers, building as finances and opportunities allowed. Only a few extended terraces of a design more usually associated with metropolitan inner suburbs were built. The 'Centennial Terrace' (36-42 Keppel Street), with four two storey terraced homes, is an example of such, but by no means the largest. 'Cambria Terrace' (105-115 Havannah Street) and the neighbouring near identical (but unnamed) terrace (93-103 Havannah Street), with 12 two storey homes in total, offer the most impressive row of terraces in Bathurst. Their position directly opposite the railway helps to underscore the impact the arrival of the railway in 1876 had on the development of accommodation in Bathurst. These large terraces seem somewhat out of place in their streetscapes, urban escapees marooned in a country town. Their construction perhaps reflects an optimism that Bathurst would soon grow into a larger city. The construction date, 1888, and name, 'Centennial Terrace', displays as well the growing patriotism of that time.

The mix of Bathurst's streetscapes with different styles and ages of accommodation is also evident in the location of its finer homes, the mansions of the wealthy and high status residents both within and on the fringes of the city. A common pattern is for the mansions of the elite to be built on land of higher elevation in a city, thus creating a sort of 'dress circle' overlooking all others and enjoying a better climate. However, in the case of Bathurst there is no 'dress circle', no exclusive district of the city. Some of Bathurst's finer 19th century homes do follow the convention of building on the heights, such as 'Blair Athol' (281 Keppel Street), built in 1897, as well as the earlier built, 'The Lindens' and 'Bishop's Court' at the top of William Street. At the time of their construction all three were the homes of Bathurst's leading citizens. But there is no discernible pattern in the location of such homes. This can be explained in part at least with the location of the homes of some of the immediate district's leading pastoralists, as noted previously. The early land grants surrounded the settlement of Bathurst and, as the settlement expanded outwards, there was no call to build anywhere else other than on the Bathurst or Kelso edge of the original property. Perhaps guided by this behaviour, latecomers of wealth and standing followed the example set by their social peers. James Rutherford, unquestionably one of Bathurst's leading citizens, built his grand home, 'Hereford', in 1878 on the edge of his property within sight of Bathurst - if though on a very slight rise. The Webb family, leading merchants of the city, built 'Hathrop' in a comparable location on the other side of the city - but without a slight rise. But not all were so guided. Francis Crago, in his time one of Bathurst's pre-eminent industrialists, built his home in 1883 at 169 Havannah Street in the middle of socially down market Milltown - but within the sound of his nearby mill in the manner of some early British mill owners. That much of the higher land to the south of city was reserved land as the Bathurst Common and, after 1895, as the site of the Bathurst Experiment Farm, may have inhibited the growth of a dress circle. Whatever the reasons or factors influencing the choices of Bathurst's elite, the result has contributed to the diverse character of Bathurst's built heritage and its streetscapes.

This analysis has been concerned with developments in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Much has happened with the city's accommodation since then as the city has spread well beyond the limits envisioned by the 1833 plan. One major development was the building of a whole new suburb on the western edge of the city during the Second World War to provide housing for munition factory workers. Described as 'duration housing', these houses continue to provide accommodation. Housing Commission developments followed in the postwar period, including a housing settlement created as a memorial to Ben Chifley. The growth of suburbs in the last quarter of the 20th century - and into the 21st century - now reach out to the very edges of the once exclusive pastoral mansions of 'Llanarth' and 'Hereford'.

21.3 Workplace accommodation

Accommodation has often been provided as part of a person's employment, although less so in recent times. Grander homes built in earlier times often contain quarters for servants, sometimes within the main building or in attached out buildings. The best known of such accommodation is probably that provided for travelling shearers in the way of purpose built huts or cabins with a nearby cookhouse and dining room. There are many examples of shearer's quarters to be found in the BRC area, some of heritage interest.

Workplace accommodation includes not only temporary on-site accommodation, as might be used by transient shearers or fruit pickers, but also arrangements for the permanent employees of the police, railways, banks, schools and similar. The Bathurst railway stationmaster's house (Keppel and Havannah streets) is a fine two storey Victorian Gothic brick house, appropriate to an employee of this importance within the railway bureaucracy. Its location next to the railway station is a reminder of the expectation that the occupant was to be immediately available if required. As well as reflecting societal expectations of an employee's commitment to his work, the nature of communication and transport in times before the telephone and motorcar often required this close proximity of home and workplace. A similar pattern of living with the job can be found elsewhere in the city with other occupations and residences. The Bathurst Show Grounds provided its caretaker with a two storey Victorian Italianate home, built in 1885 to the design of Edward Gell. Located at the busy road front of the grounds next to the gates, the employer's expectation of workplace duties over domestic privacy is quite explicit. The former City Bank (built around 1895 and now the Westpac Bank, 88 William Street) once provided apartment accommodation for the bank manager on its top floor. As well as living above the community's money and the bank's mortgage records, the resident manager was also expected to provide the first line of defence with his bank issued revolver. In the case of an early park curator living in the Queen Anne style curator's cottage within Machattie Park (built in 1890 to the design of James Hine), his firearm was used to shoot stray dogs molesting the park's ducks living in the pond by his front door.

Protestant clergymen often lived with their families in a church provided rectory or parsonage within close proximity of their churches, a continuation of the English custom as well as a practical outcome of church land grants. The 1870 Edmund Blacket designed rectory for Holy Trinity in Kelso follows this pattern, as does the residence for the Dean of All Saints' Cathedral, built in the early 1950s. There are some interesting exceptions to this pattern. Reverend Sharpe, the first resident clergyman for All Saints', around 1846 built at his own expenses his own home, a Georgian style cottage he named 'Entally', some distance away from his church. (Located at 321 Russell Street, now known as Miss Traill's House, a National Trust property) There has been a shift generally in recent decades for clergy accommodation to be apart from church curtilage. This can be seen with the accommodation provided for the ministers of the Uniting Church, formerly Methodist, on William Street. The first Methodist parsonage (142 William Street), built in 1838 as a single storey residence, was located next to the church, as was the second parsonage, 'Hollydene' (115 Keppel Street), a two storey Victorian Gothic house built in 1887. Both buildings have been redeveloped as commercial premises and the ministers associated with this church now live within the community. This change has come about for a number of possible reasons, reasons not limited to the particular circumstances of the William Street Uniting Church. Early church land grants have become over time inappropriate as places for homes and more appropriate for other, commercial uses. Societal attitudes as well as clergy expectations have changed as well.

Employer-provided accommodation can also be found in the villages and the rural locales of the BRC area, as in the case of public school teachers and police officers. Accommodation so provided was a necessary requisite given the likely absence of comparable alternative accommodation. But such living arrangements again reflected the expectation of the employee's

total commitment to their work. In most cases, the teacher's residence and the school, usually just one classroom, shared the same building. At Walang (c.1875), Limekilns (1875), Brewongle (1876), Yetholme (1858) and Turondale, (c.1880), and elsewhere, many of these combined teacher residence and schoolroom have now been converted to private homes. Village police were likewise once expected to share their accommodation with their employment. This is still the situation at Rockley, where the police station and residence share a c.1867 single storey brick building on Church Street. The very intact lock up behind, however, has been decommissioned, although it too represents another type of 'workplace' accommodation once found in the area. With police now only stationed at Rockley, Hill End and Trunkey Creek, this workplace accommodation arrangement is now the exception, when at one time it was commonplace. The same can be said of changes in village railway and post office accommodation arrangements. The c.1877 railway station and residence at Georges Plains is now a private home, as is the impressive 1879 two storey brick post office and residence at Sofala. Sofala is also the site of the Gold Commissioner's Residence, a unique two storey wooden building, possibly pre-fabricated, built in the early 1850s. Accommodation was also provided in the larger villages for resident clergymen, but with all remaining houses now private residences. St Peter's rectory in Rockley, an 1880 brick cottage on Pepper Street is one such example. Also in Rockley, on Phantom Street and dating from the same period, is the former Roman Catholic presbytery.

Sharing accommodation with one's workplace was not limited to those in an employee relationship. Business owners often lived 'above the shop', both in Bathurst and in the outlying villages, or provided such accommodation for their employees. The neighbourhood 'corner shop' is an example of this arrangement and was once commonly found in residential areas. Hotels and taverns also once required by law that the publican lives on site. While there are today few shops and pubs with owner occupied accommodation, the buildings themselves remain, and in the case of corner stores many are most often used exclusively today only for private accommodation.

An interesting measure in how markedly workplace living arrangements have changed can be seen with doctors' accommodation. At one time it was expected that a doctor would share his home with his surgery. 'Peel House', built in the 1850s by Dr Kerr in Peel, offers a good example of such a home in a village setting. The building has separate entrances for surgery and home. In Bathurst, Dr John Brooke Moore adapted the former Methodist parsonage (142 William Street) into a combined home and surgery by adding a top floor around 1900. In doing so, he transformed an 1838 single storey Victorian Georgian parsonage into a two storey Federation Queen Anne doctor's residence and surgery. His son, also a doctor, continued to live and practice from the house until his death in 1968. It is today a mixed commercial premise, the Brooke Moore Centre. The combined surgery residence is now very much an artefact of past times.

Accommodation provided at one's workplace, either by choice or by requirement, has become less common over time. There are many reasons for this trend, ranging from improvements in transportation and communication to changes in social values and the very nature of employment.

21.4 Communal accommodation

We commonly think of accommodation in terms of family or private dwellings. Since the first days of settlement, however, there have been different situations calling for communal or group accommodation. This form of accommodation is usually associated with schools, religious orders and their welfare institutions, as well as hospitals, the military and prisons.

The early living arrangements in Bathurst for convicts, including a separate 'factory' for female convicts, and barracks for their military guards have long since been demolished. The present day Bathurst Bowling Clubhouse on William Street was originally the Bathurst police barracks, designed by James Barnet and constructed in the mid 1870s on the site of the earlier British Army compound. The Bathurst Gaol, located off the Orange Road, dates from the late 1880s, and is one of the oldest places of communal accommodation in continual use in the BRC area. More transient were the barrack buildings of the army camp on the Limekiln's Road, used for military accommodation during the Second World War, from 1940, and after the war as hostel accommodation for migrant families seeking a new life in Australia. Prisons, hospitals, barracks and migrant hostels have different regimes of purpose and discipline, but all require their inmates to share a transient domestic life.

In the case of student accommodation, Bathurst's boarding schools all have residences or dormitories of some description, with those of St Stanislaus' arguably being the most important historically in tradition if not fabric. The school has been providing boarding accommodation on its present site since 1873. Although its current student residences are all relatively recent, Charles Sturt University campus contains several older buildings once used for student accommodation when the site was part of the Bathurst Experiment Farm (BEF) and later the Bathurst Teachers' College (BTC). Cunningham House, now academic offices, was built in the early 1900s as student accommodation; during the Second World War it housed workers from the nearby munitions factory. A communal dining room and other facilities created a self-contained community. Cunningham House, together with other buildings from the first decades of the BEF, is a well-built brick structure. By contrast, to meet the demand for teacher training with the postwar baby boom, single storey wood and fibro dormitories (buildings N6 and N8) were hurriedly erected in the 1950s on what then became the BTC campus. Wartime ordnance storage buildings (such as Building W9) were as well converted to accommodation. All of these buildings are now used for other purposes and students are provided with new, purpose built residences. Prior to the 1970s, campus accommodation was usually in the form of shared rooms with few frills, while the expectation since has been for single rooms with shared kitchens and lounges. An economic and social history of 20th century education can be read in the history of campus accommodation buildings. (The present day Oxley Village CSU student residence is built on the site of the BEF's piggery, arguably an appropriate location for undergraduate accommodation.)

Communal accommodation is an important part of the culture of Roman Catholic religious orders. Former convents, combining classrooms and living quarters, once used by teaching nuns can be found in the villages of the area, such as Peel and Sofala. The Sisters of St Joseph still maintain their convent in Perthville. St Joseph's Convent is a substantial two storey brick building, portions of which date from 1875. The convent is also used today as accommodation

for girls attending school in Bathurst. The Sisters of Mercy have their Bathurst convent, Mount St Joseph's, in a former mansion given to the order by John Meagher, a successful Irish Catholic storekeeper in the early 20th century. Prior to becoming a convent, the mansion, then known as 'Logan Brae', had been used as a residence for male students of the Bathurst Experiment Farm. The former monastery of the Patrician Brothers (84 George Street), a teaching order, is now the chancery office of the Bathurst Diocese. Many Roman Catholic sisters and brothers, as well as priests, in the 19th and early 20th centuries had some personal connection with Ireland. It is perhaps not surprising that the balcony of the monastery has a wrought iron railing featuring Irish harps in its design. Perhaps this was a way of allowing their communal accommodation to express something of their communal, but still special, identity.

As well as places of accommodation for their own use, Catholic religious orders provided communal accommodation for others. 'Holmhurst' (306 William Street), now a privately run student residence, was from 1912-1970 St Joseph's Orphanage and a Catholic presbytery. Prior to 1912, the building had been a private residence, as was 'Braemar' (in Keppel Street, now demolished), before the church purchased it for use as a hostel. There is an interesting pattern in this acquisition of private mansions by the church for communal accommodation purposes. Other denominations, the Anglicans and the Salvation Army, also used what were once private homes for communal welfare accommodation. (See Theme 34 (Religion).)

Communal accommodation, now largely limited to prisoners and students, was once an important part of the BRC area's social and cultural life. For many of the same reasons applying to workplace accommodation, communal accommodation, at least in a formal and institutional sense, is no longer commonplace.

21.5 Adapted re-use of buildings for accommodation

Historic buildings built and used for purposes other than dwelling places are often adapted at a later stage for use as accommodation. As discussed above, there are many examples in the BRC area of buildings once used for public purposes, such as village police stations and rural schools, which now serve as private accommodation. The former Abercrombie Shire Chambers in Rockley, built in 1912 of locally quarried marble rubble, is perhaps the most impressive former public building now serving as a private home.

Former hotels, especially in rural locales, as well as many village stores and other business premises have likewise been adapted for residential use. Numerous examples of such adaptive re-use can be found with the former shops and stores in the villages of Rockley, Sofala and Wattle Flat. A number of former inns situated along the old roads of the area are today used as domestic accommodation. 'Woodside' (1850s) at Glanmire, Green Swamp Inn (1830s) at Walang and Belle Vue ('Brookland Park', 1850s) at Yetholme were early inns along the Great Western Road, now adapted for use as residences. The Rocks Inn (c.1865) at the top of Rocks Hill on the Mitchell Highway and 'Clifton' (c.1870) at Locksley were also once licenced roadside inns. The homestead at 'Gowan' on Freemantle Road incorporates the former inn from nearby Chambers Creek. The timber inn, built around 1875, was moved to the property, presumably with the aid of a bullock team, and connected to an existing 1830s wattle and daub cottage. Many village and rural churches likewise have been converted for use as private accommodation,

as well as former convents and other structures never intended for such use by their builders. The adapted re-use of early buildings is commonplace in the BRC area's villages and rural locales.

Adaptive re-use of heritage buildings for use as accommodation seems to be less common within Bathurst. It may be that their adaptation does not fit comfortably within accepted norms for city accommodation, or perhaps it is because their commercial value lies with other uses. Examples though can be found. One of the most interesting - and ambitious - recent examples is the redevelopment as apartment accommodation of the 1870s Webb's Emporium (171-179 George Street), a three storey Victorian Italianate department store. The most unusual example of adaptive re-use is without doubt the contemporary circular house at 249 Piper Street, which was built atop a late 19th century circular brick water supply reservoir, a redundant relic of Bathurst's first municipal water reticulation system. The trend though is more for former family homes to be adapted for use as offices and small business premises, as can be seen with many examples in the area bound by George, Piper, Havannah and Keppel streets. Former hotels have likewise been adapted for other uses, the Royal Hotel on William Street being one such conversion. While still providing apartment accommodation, the hotel now includes restaurants, a gallery and office space.

Accommodation is one of the most important historical themes in the study of a community's heritage. Not only is it a theme that relates directly to the most common item of heritage - the house - but the careful study of accommodation, whether house or hotel or convent, can reveal much about the historical development of a community, its social and economic progress and important cultural changes.

See also the theme entries for Technology (19), Towns, suburbs and villages (23), Welfare (30), and Domestic life (32).

22. Land tenure

Land tenure can be defined as how land is administered by society for purposes of occupation and economic development. The history of land tenure in the Central West can be summed up as being the record of how Crown Land, since its expropriation from Wiradjuri ownership, has been progressively alienated for private ownership or private use through an evolving legal system of land ownership and occupation. The BRC chapter in that history is largely typical of eastern inland New South Wales located within the Limits of Location, a settlement boundary established in 1829.

Prior to European settlement in 1815, land tenure locally was solely the concern of the Wiradjuri people and was managed according to their traditional understandings of land ownership. For the Wiradjuri, land tenure was based upon birth and kinship rights and obligations, which in turn were part of a complex cosmology that did not separate land from person. Land was not owned in the European sense of land ownership. Land could not be transferred to another or sold or exchanged.

With the extension of British colonial rule beyond the Blue Mountains in 1815, the system of land tenure established in the Sydney region was extended into the BRC area. This system did not recognise prior Aboriginal ownership of the land - in either the spiritual or the temporal senses. All land was Crown Land and initially the system of land tenure provided settlers was that of a land grant.

Governor Macquarie, who favoured a limited settlement of the newly discovered country west of the Great Divide, strictly controlled the alienation of Crown Land in the BRC area. Land grants were made during his administration (from 1816 to 1821), but only to a handful of pastoralists. This included generous land grants to those associated with opening the way to the interior and the building of the road to Bathurst, notably William Cox and William Lawson. Prior to receiving land grants, both Cox and Lawson were permitted to bring stock into the area and to graze them more or less where they wished. Cox exchanged his grazing privilege for a land grant north of the river on a site he named 'Hereford'. Much smaller land grants were also made in 1818 to ten less prominent settlers, a mix of free and time served men, for farms in the Kelso area. Under Macquarie, land grants were restricted to east and north of the Macquarie River. Crown Land on the west or south side of the river was restricted to use as government stock reserves.

Governor Brisbane introduced a more generous policy of land grants. Free settlers were now encouraged to apply for land grants; settlers were even allowed to nominate specific blocks of land. The first local grant under Brisbane's administration was made to Thomas Hawkins in April 1822 for what became 'Blackdown', the homestead for which remains. A number of other well known homesteads in the BRC area have their origin through similar land grants under Governor Brisbane, including 'Alloway Bank' (John Piper), 'Kellosiel' (George Ranken) and the Grange (West family). Most of these early grant properties have long since changed hands and have been sold out of the ownership of the original family. The 300 acres granted in 1823 to

George Suttor, however, is still owned by the Suttor family, making 'Brucedale' the oldest farm continuously owned by one family on the Australian mainland.

As well as grants, a system in the 1820s known as a 'ticket of occupation' allowed the right to graze stock on Crown Land without it being made a grant of land. A 'ticket' gave the holder some advantages if the land being grazed should later become available for grant or purchase.

Brisbane's encouragement of pastoral settlement, with the consequent in-rush of grant holders and their stock, quickly over ran huge tracks of Wiradjuri land. In 1824, the Wiradjuri attempted an armed resistance to this threat to their existence, which can also be seen as a threat to their understanding of land tenure.

In 1826, the area beyond the Macquarie River, previously the government stock reserves, was opened by Governor Darling for pastoral settlement by grant. The land grant made to Colonel William Stewart along the west bank of the river was the first such grant. Other grants were made in the area of Rockley, notably 'Charlton' (Thomas Arkell) and 'Rockley' (W Steel). A detailed account of tenure arrangements for early landholders in the wider Rockley area is provided in *Rockley Manner* (1989). A large portion of land, over 50,000 acres, in an area roughly between the Mid Western Highway and the Vale Creek was granted to the Church of England under an Act passed in 1826. This Act endowed the Church with a land quota of 1/7 of every county when surveyed. The BRC area may have been one of the first locations where this provision was applied. The arrangement was cancelled in 1837 and this land too was made available to pastoralists.

The systematic alienation of Crown Land through large land grants came to an end in 1831. The arrangement for land tenure by then was evolving into a more complex and fluid system, one that included not only land sales and grants but also a bewildering assortment of leases and licenses. It is possible in a brief survey such as this to offer only a very general overview of the workings of land tenure policies and laws. As with any general treatment, this is done at some risk of error and omission. Generalisations can be made, but the reader must realise there are always exceptions to such generalisations.

In an attempt to control the further westward expansion of pastoralists, the country beyond the Nineteen Counties was declared in 1829 to be beyond the Limits of Location. As the counties of the BRC area -Wellington, Roxburgh and Bathurst - are three of the Nineteen Counties, all lie within the limits. Strictly speaking, the land tenure arrangements and issues - squatters and runs - that evolved beyond the Limits are only marginally relevant to the BRC area. However, according to locality historians, such as Jim Buchan (*Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001)), some pastoralists in the more peripheral areas of the BRC area initially 'squatted' on Crown Land prior to establishing a legal claim. Many pastoralists from the BRC area also took up squatting runs in the neighbouring area of present day Cabonne Regional Council, which straddles the boundary of the Limits of Location.

Within the BRC area, original pastoral land grants were sold on to new owners; land became increasingly available as purchased freehold. By the early 1830s, Crown Land in the area was being sold by the government at auction to pastoralists. Pastoralists were also able to take up

land through leasehold or 'Occupational License'. As a general rule, leased lands were now most likely to be found in the more rugged country, beyond the Bathurst plains. By the late 1830s, there was little or no unalienated grazing land remaining except in the hillier country. Many of the large holdings in the Freemantle area were made up predominantly of Crown Leases as late as the early 20th century. Another form of leasehold tenure was that of 'Permissive Occupation', which possibly may still be found in some of the small villages.

The need for village settlements to service the scattered rural population led to the surveying of village allotments for private sale or dedication for churches, as at Peel (1847) and Rockley (1850). A town plan for Bathurst was prepared in 1833 and the sale of the town's first allotments by auction (in Sydney) took place in September of that year.

The goldrush of the 1850s brought the widespread need for another sort of land tenure, that of the gold mining claim and lease. Goldrush villages were surveyed and land blocks sold. There was though an element of chaos in such attempts to bring surveyed order to mining communities and scattered gold diggings.

The presence of miners in the colony contributed to the introduction of arguably the most important development in land tenure in colonial New South Wales, the 1861 Robertson Lands Act. Sometimes referred to as the Selection Act, this Act, or more correctly collection of Acts, allowed for the free selection of blocks of unalienated Crown Land for agricultural purposes. The process was subject to requirements that the land be truly occupied and that the land be developed, or improved, for agriculture. Success would transfer the land to freehold title. The social goal of the Act was to allow people of modest means to establish small farms. Locally, the unsuccessful miners of the Turon Goldfield were among the earliest recipients of farming selections. This pattern is still evident in country around Wattle Flat and Turondale, where many farming families can trace a connection with a goldrush ancestor. One of the challenges for these selectors was that most of the best agricultural land in the BRC area was already taken up by earlier grants and purchases, and was now freehold title and not available for selection. Selected blocks were limited to the remaining unalienated Crown Land, which was likely to be in the more rugged, timbered country.

One outcome of the Selection Acts was the creation of land reserves throughout the area. This was done to preserve key blocks of Crown Land from selection and reserve them for other purposes, including village commons, cemeteries, stock routes and reserves. The commons at Hill End and Wattle Flat were created through this measure. Other reserves in the BRC area, such as the many nature reserves, have evolved from this decision to remove certain tracts of rural land from selection. Within Bathurst, however, Crown Land had previously been set aside for special purposes. The Bathurst Common (commonly called 'The Park') was established in 1850 as the Town Extension Reserve. It has since then undergone much transformation (and dismemberment); the original reserve area includes today the sites of Charles Sturt University, the Bathurst Golf Club and the Boundary Road Reserve, among others. Large tracts of the BRC area today remain Crown Land in the form of nature reserves and state forests.

Another development arising from selection was that allowing for the purchase of land already occupied on which agricultural improvements had been carried out. 'Improvement Purchase'

could be used by pastoralists to secure Crown Land previously taken up without purchase or grant, which may have been the case in some peripheral areas of the BRC area. A similar arrangement was also used by miners to purchase land already occupied under mining laws, such as a Miner's Right, and which had been improved, perhaps by the building of a cottage. The same land policy also allowed for businesses in mining villages or along the area's roads to put their sometimes shaky land tenure on a more legal basis. 'Improvement Purchases' may help explain the straggling and erratic layout of some of the area's mining villages and localities. The irregular pattern of small holdings in the Yetholme-Napoleon Reef area suggests land tenure established through 'Improvement Purchases' or similar. Eve Buscombe (*Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983)) notes that many of the homes in Wattle Flat were built on land acquired in this manner.

The land selection process proved to be a complex affair, with incoming selectors and established pastoralists sometimes at odds over claims to the same piece of land. Revised laws allowed for other forms of land acquisition, such as 'Conditional Purchases' for pastoral runs, and a new administrative body, the Land Board Office (the nearest being in Orange), to oversee the process of alienation and arbitrate on matters of land tenure and landholding. For the most part, these arrangements were concerned more with resolving the disposition of large untitled runs, as found further west. Some Crown Land in the BRC area, however, was still held under lease and therefore of concern to the Land Board.

Many selectors failed in their attempt to wrest a living on their often remote and infertile blocks, undercapitalised and without ready access to markets. This was a colony-wide problem and to alleviate it the 1895 Lands Act created the new land tenures of the Homestead Selection and the Homestead Grant. This made small blocks of Crown Land, usually close to settlements, available for sale on deposit and the condition of five years' occupation and the building of a residence.

The Homestead initiative was a preview of the policy to facilitate what became known as 'Closer Settlement', a response to a perceived need to 'unlock' land for denser settlement. By the beginning of the 20th century, virtually all available Crown Land suitable for agricultural settlement had been taken up throughout the state. The 1904 Closer Settlement Act allowed for the acquisition by purchase of existing large properties and their subsequent subdivision into smaller holdings. Subsequent Acts, notably the 1910 Closer Settlement Promotion Act and the Returned Soldiers' Settlement Act of 1916, set up processes to facilitate the acquisition of land by groups or individuals. As elsewhere in the state, the BRC area saw various initiatives under one form or another of 'Closer Settlement'.

The first Soldier Settlement scheme in the area, and one of the earliest in New South Wales, was begun on 'Montavella', near White Rock, in December 1916. The property was resumed by the government and redistributed by ballot in mid-1917 as fruit growing blocks to recently returned soldiers. Other Soldier Settlements were established in the area, for example on 'Macquarie Vale' (near Kelso) again for fruit growing blocks, and on the grazing property of 'Watton' (Freemantle area). Over time, Soldier Settlement blocks have lost any particular distinction by way of land tenure and have generally merged with surrounding rural activity, or in the case of 'Macquarie Vale' become lost in the suburban sprawl of Kelso. (T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), p.110)

An especially ambitious 'Closer Settlement' scheme took place in 1929-30 in the Freemantle area. The Freemantle Closer Settlement Estate saw the breaking up of the 'Freemantle', 'Gowan' and 'Willow Glen' properties, a total of over 100,000 acres, into blocks of 1,000-3,000 acres for purchase under Closer Settlement conditions. According to Jim Buchan (*Freemantle to Bathurst* (2001)), the settlers struggled to earn a living on their blocks and many were forfeited and re-assigned. The experience made a lasting impact on the district.

The 'Closer Settlement' initiatives, as in the case of the Freemantle project, had an impact on the pattern of landholding in the BRC area. A number of larger properties were cut up into smaller blocks for family farms or orchards. But, as happened earlier with the selections of the 19th century, often these smaller properties proved to be too small and uneconomical to support a farm family. In the case of the Freemantle blocks, their carrying capacity, especially in times of drought, was less than expected. In response to these hard outcomes, many small blocks were bought out by more successful farmers and larger, economical farming units created. Elsewhere though, agricultural properties have been resurveyed and retitled to provide freehold blocks for the suburbs of Bathurst and Kelso. And yet others have been broken up to meet the demand for rural lifestyle properties - sometimes with the seller having the advantage of holding a cluster of contiguous failed selections which, when combined, allow for the sale of a single block meeting present-day building permit requirements. In such ways, the original early 19th century land grant arrangement for the alienation of Crown Land has evolved into 21st century land ownership arrangements of 1/4 acre suburban blocks and hobby farms.

The skilled work of many surveyors has been required to draw the lines of land tenure on both deed and ground. Evidence of the work of surveyors can be found in the trig stations and other survey points throughout the region. The Land Information Centre in Bathurst holds a collection of maps and surveying equipment of heritage significance.

While the history of land tenure can be described in terms of the evolving ways Crown Land was alienated for other purposes, there are important associated narratives. It is a history that begins with the expropriation of Wiradjuri land and includes their resistance to that expropriation. Some of the first of those expropriations are still identifiable, and as such provide historically significant examples of early land grants. The BRC area also offers an unusual case study for the history of land tenure in that it is inland but still within the boundary of the Limits of Location.

Perhaps more importantly the arrangements that evolved for the alienation of Crown Land reflect important social and political changes in Australia. Land grants initially were meant mainly for men of capital, men who would be able to develop the pastoral potential of the inland. The handful of small grants made by Macquarie offer a preview of what was to come. Land tenure comes to reflect a wider contest underway in the 19th and early 20th centuries, one sometimes defined as the contest between bosses and workers, or capital and labour. Pastoral land grants and leaseholds in time gave way to homestead selections and soldier settlements. The same parcel of land has in many instances changed both the natures of its title and ownership several times since Crown title was alienated. A close examination of the evolving land tenure history of localities within the BRC area is likely to reveal an interesting social history.

23. Towns, suburbs and villages

I cannot say I admire the 'city' of Bathurst. It stands in the midst of the Bathurst Plains without a tree or shrub near it. It is all built of red brick, stone being unknown in the district, and it blazes away in the sun, being the most boiling place in summer and the coldest in winter that is to be found in Australia. It looks large at a distance, because the houses are scattered about at long distances from each other, as if it had rained brick buildings. There is an immense square, or rather open space, in the middle of the town on which are scattered a church, which is called 'Norman', though I hope the Normans were never guilty of such architecture. A Romish church, with a big square tower of no particular order, and a Scotch church all over pinnacles, a Dissenting chapel, a prison with a huge brick wall round it; a bank and various shops; all one mass of red brick. (Rachel Henning, letter 14 May 1856)

The pre-eminent town in the BRC area is, of course, Bathurst City, the official establishment of which dates from May 1815. William Cox chose the site for the settlement, which was in effect the terminus of the road he was contracted to construct from the mountains to the plains explored by Surveyor George Evans in 1814. When considered in its historical context, the present city of Bathurst can be divided into several separate components. Bathurst on the south side of the Macquarie River has grown - spreading southwards and along the river - since the official establishment of the settlement at the foot of William and George streets. Initially, this settlement was restricted to an official or administrative purpose and growth was limited. The official origin of the city remains evident today with the presence of the area's major government buildings, such as the Bathurst Court House. On the north side of the river, what is now the ever-expanding suburb of Kelso was established not long after 1815 as a place for private settlement. The difference between official and private settlement is reflected in the street layout of the oldest parts of both communities - an orderly grid for one and straggling ribbon settlement for the other.

The more distant suburbs of Raglan, Eglinton and Perthville were originally separate villages but have now become satellite suburbs for Bathurst-employed commuters. While Perthville still retains something of its rural village ambience, Raglan and Eglinton, together with Kelso, have been largely transformed into bedroom suburbs by modern suburban housing developments. Modern suburbs have developed as well on the edges of the older parts of Bathurst, beginning with postwar housing development and then escalating in the last quarter of the 20th century with such suburbs as Windradyne and Llanarth. In their street layout, predominantly one of closes, places and crescents, as well as in their pastiche house designs, these new suburbs owe little to the heritage of Bathurst - other than in the use of local names for suburbs and streets.

The population of greater Bathurst, including Kelso and in round figures, grew from less than 300 in 1821 to 3600 in 1856, undoubtedly a measure of the impact of the goldrush. By 1891, Bathurst's population had almost tripled to 10,000 but then remained in a state of very slow growth, even stasis, for several decades, reaching only a little over 12,000 in 1933, 13,000 in 1947 and 17,000 by the mid-1960s. Most of this growth was in Bathurst, not in Kelso. Since the early 1970s, population growth has once more been dramatic, with the population of the city and its immediate area doubling the 1960s figure by the early 21st century.

This sequence of periods of oscillating growth has influenced the city's architectural development, resulting in the creation of a wealth of buildings from the late 19th century and their subsequent preservation during the quieter times of the first half of the 20th century. Such preservation, of course, has also meant fewer buildings of architectural merit being erected during those decades of little growth. At least, this is the impression given by the relative absence of buildings from this period identified as having heritage significance. The rapid and continuing increase in population since the 1970s has changed the situation completely, placing Bathurst's 19th century architectural heritage under pressure but perhaps not offering much in the way of architectural merit by way of compensation. It will be for future generations, of course, to offer such a judgement. (Population statistics can be found in T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), pp190-192.)

Existing villages in the former Evans Shire area include, in the north, the townships of Hill End, Sofala, Wattle Flat and Peel and, in the south, Georges Plains, Rockley, Trunkey Creek, and Cow Flat. The villages of Sunny Corner and Yetholme, today more hobby farm localities than discrete villages, are to the east of Bathurst. The village of O'Connell straddles the Fish River, thus placing its southern portion under Oberon Regional Council. These settlements developed to service 19th century mining and pastoral activities and the needs of travellers on the area's roads. Many were, in fact, the direct outcome of gold or copper mining activities with their very location determined by a pragmatic convergence of minerals, water and transportation. Generally speaking, these villages have declined in size and importance with the decline of mining, the mechanisation of farming and the attraction of Bathurst as a place of work and residence facilitated by improved roads and the motor car. Peel has enjoyed something of a revival as a rural lifestyle suburb; other villages, including Vittoria, Chambers Creek and Dunkeld, have completely disappeared, or nearly so. Chambers Creek offers an especially interesting example of a boom-bust goldrush town, quickly reaching a population of over 500 and then dropping to a mere handful in the space of three or so years in the early 1870s.

Also passed from sight, and often memory, as well are the temporary community sites of itinerant workers and transients, such as railway construction crews. Rossmore Park on Limekilns Road was once the site of such a 'town', a wartime army camp and then a postwar migrant camp.

Taken together, Bathurst and the villages of the locality are of great importance in shaping the character of the locality, including its heritage character. The history of their origins and development - indeed their very locations - reflect the history of the Bathurst area. There can be no argument in stating that the buildings and streetscapes in some of the villages offer significant heritage value. In particular, the goldrush villages of Hill End and Sofala, together with Rockley, because of their combination of historical importance and heritage integrity, are worthy of consideration as villages of heritage significance.

(An administrative history of the BRC area's settlements is provided in Theme 28 (Government and administration).)

The Villages of the Bathurst Regional Council LGA:

Brief histories of some of the BRC area's villages researched and written by members of the Bathurst District Historical Society are provided below in alphabetical order. The main sources used in researching these histories will be found in the bibliography.

Zoned heritage areas have been established under the BRC LEP in the villages of Hill End, Sofala, Wattle Flat and Rockley.

A useful survey of the villages of the former Evans Shire is to be found in Volume 1 of the *Evans Shire Council Heritage Study* (1987). See Ian Jack, 'Theme 8: The Townships'.

23.1 Eglinton

Eglinton village is located approximately 6 kms from Bathurst, on the north bank of the Macquarie River. Its origin and early history is closely associated with George Ranken, an early settler. Ranken took up a land grant nearby in 1822, which he called 'Kelloshiel'. Nearby land grants were held by Thomas Icely ('Saltram') and Captain John Piper ('Alloway Bank'). An early initiative by Ranken was the erection of a water mill on the banks of the Macquarie River, a race having been dug through the adjoining properties from a dam made on the river. (This race is still visible, particularly from the west side of the bridge.) In 1841, steam power was applied to the mill and is claimed to be the first such mill of its kind west of the Blue Mountains.

In 1838 Ranken bought Icely's 'Saltram' property, the lower portion of which was later surveyed into small farms and village allotments. In 1855 the village was named after Ranken's friend, the Earl of Eglinton. Eglinton was very much the initiative of George Ranken, a man of considerable agricultural and commercial enterprise. Ranken was the first to introduce winemaking to the western districts. He also had a brewery, a flour mill, grew tobacco, and with a herd of 150 cows being milked at 'Kelloshiel' was also involved with the making of cheese.

Eglinton village provided for his workers and also benefited from its close proximity to Bathurst, provided the river could be bridged. Ranken's successful bridging of the Macquarie offers an insight into the aspirations he held for his village. As is still the case, there was only one other high water crossing in the immediate area.

The first bridge across the river at Eglinton was built by Ranken in 1856, but was destroyed in the flood of 1867. Until the next bridge was built in 1873, a boat was used to cross the river. In 1920, a contractor by the name of Foord (possibly Curtis & Foord, Burwood contractors) built the third bridge, which was an important part of Eglinton's history until its replacement in 1998 with the present bridge. Shortly afterwards the old wooden trestle bridge was dismantled; a small part remains in place on the south bank. All four bridges were named after George Ranken.

Agriculture, particularly market gardening, has been an important part of Eglinton's history. In addition to Ranken's undertakings, the Pipers also manufactured cheese and grew fruit, especially apples and figs which were considered to be the finest in the district. John Halsted, teacher in charge of Eglinton Public School from 1889 to 1905, began a project that was to give Eglinton one of the outstanding, and award winning, garden schools in the district. His success

is said to have resulted in the Minister for Education including agriculture in the curriculum taught in public schools. Halsted was also responsible for procuring a recreational ground in Eglinton. Various people, including Chinese, managed market gardens. Cattle grazing and other farming pursuits were part of Eglinton's early years.

Taylor's sawmill was one of Eglinton's important non-agricultural industries. During the war years, workers at Taylor's sawmill were exempt from going to war. Ira Taylor organised the building of the Eglinton Hall, which was built as a memorial to those who served in both world wars. It was officially opened in 1947. In 1900 a church was built as a memorial to JD Muller. It is the only church building remaining in Eglinton, but is now privately owned.

Eglinton was formerly part of Turon Shire and came under the control of Bathurst City Council on 1 October 1977; it is now part of Bathurst Regional Council. In recent decades, Eglinton has evolved into a satellite suburb for Bathurst - largely thanks to the bridging of the Macquarie River initiated by George Ranken.

A history of Eglinton, *Eglinton Voices* (2005), written and edited by Angie Peard, for the sesquicentenary of the village can be found at the Bathurst Regional Council library. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.2 (King) Georges Plains

Georges Plains is located approximately 12 kms south of Bathurst, via Perthville. Within the land of the Wiradjuri people the village of Georges Plains, named by European settlers in honour of King George III, was one of at least three Government stock stations established when the western side of the Macquarie was reserved for Government use.

European settlement in this area originally consisted of large pastoral grants and the village of Georges Plains was once a fully functioning township servicing the needs of the rural area. It is still possible to see the remnants of the shop and post office in the main street, the pleasing, picturesque railway station still stands, as if waiting to welcome alighting passengers, and the old pub remains, but as a private residence. The school masters house is also now a private home, but the one room Georges Plains Public School - which endeavoured to educate generations of local children - was burnt down in 1973.

Although many of the original large grants were broken up and the prosperity of high wool prices of the 1950s has now declined, some of the descendants of the first settlers still reside in the area and many of the early buildings and homes still stand.

The township of Georges Plains has lost much of its original character and function, but St John's Church, standing shyly obscured behind large trees, is a reminder of the workmanship, strength and courage of its time and offers something beyond the apathy of many modern day buildings. It is also a unique reminder of the generosity of pastoralist Joseph Smith, who owned nearby 'Mildura', one of the land grants in the Georges Plains area. It is thought that the death of his young son may have influenced his generous donation of the land and the building costs for

the exquisite St John's Church, built in 1867 and designed by architect Edward Gell. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.3 Hill End

Hill End is located 93 kms northwest of Bathurst. Originally known as Bald Hill (or Hills), Hill End became one of the major 19th century gold boomtowns in New South Wales. Following the discovery of alluvial gold in the district in 1851, miners began to move into the area. By 1872 Hill End was already a prosperous town with most miners working underground in shafts seeking gold veins in the quartz rock. In October 1872, the largest ever gold specimen was discovered at Bernard Otto Holtermann's and Louis Beyers' Star of Hope Mine, prompting the town's major boom. In 1873, 255 gold mining companies were registered in Hill End. Names of such mines as The Caledonian, The Scandinavian, Rose of Denmark and Cornish Star reflected the multicultural make-up of the mining population, which included a large number of Chinese miners. Contemporary population estimates for the community in its boom years of the 1870s varied between 30,000 and 50,000, but actual numbers were likely much less, perhaps 8,000. (*Geographical Encyclopaedia of New South Wales* (1892) gives a population of 500.) Miners and their families were serviced by four churches, a school, three banks, a hospital, two newspapers and 51 hotels. Many of the homes and commercial buildings were no more than temporary shacks and few remain today. However, a remarkable visual record of Hill End in the 1870s still exists in hundreds of photos in the *Holtermann Collection*, commissioned with profits from the Star of Hope specimen. After 1873, water needed for the steam powered stamper batteries became scarcer and gold returns began to fall. Miners left the area and apart from a few minor booms in the early to mid 1900s Hill End's population went into decline. It now stands at around 100. Tourism is now the main industry, although limited gold exploration, using modern technology, continues. The ageing buildings and mining scarred landscapes attracted numerous artists over the past century, with Donald Friend most known for his association with Hill End. In 1967 the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service took over management of the township, ensuring Hill End's survival as an historic village. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.4 Kelso

From early in 1818, after the first ten settlers arrived to take up their land grants on the eastern bank of the Macquarie River, an unplanned village slowly began to grow nearby. This village would later be called 'Kelso'.

The early settlers at Kelso, and the surrounding country, were largely free settlers - migrants from England, Scotland and Ireland who saw Australia as a land of opportunity. There were, of course, convicts and government officials, but Kelso began as a free settlement in contrast to Bathurst, the government settlement. By the 1820s there was a need on the eastern side of the Macquarie River for inns, blacksmiths, saddlers and stores. Over the next decade small businesses began to establish themselves along the five roads that centred upon Kelso. Unfortunately there were to be no official plans for the layout of Kelso village. Early memoirs make mention that 'Kelso boasted a straggle of cottages, two inns and the only shop in the district.'

Governor Brisbane visited Kelso in 1823, by which time the number of free settlers had increased in the village. It was Governor Brisbane who officially named the small village 'Kelso', after the birthplace of his wife, Lady Anna Brisbane. It was to take some time though for the name 'Kelso' to gain popular use, and even then there was often confusion, both officially and privately, with some still opting to use 'Bathurst' as the location, just to be sure.

With the sale of Bathurst town lots from 1833, Kelso's importance diminished somewhat as people could now settle over the river. The discovery of gold in 1851, however, brought a boom to the businesses of Kelso, as the village sat astride many of the roads to the goldfields, particularly the Turon. The railway arrived at Kelso in early 1875, a year before its arrival across the river into Bathurst, offering again another moment of advantage for Kelso. By this time, Kelso had a number of successful businesses, such as Rivett's Wagon Works, Thurling's Blacksmith's shop, Thompson's Great Western Tannery, Ingersole's Butchery, George Hayward's Kelso Tannery, Thomas Dovey's Fodder and Grain Store, Edward McMenamin's Store, the Melbourne Hotel and the Sportsman's Arms Hotel. In the late 19th century, fruit orchards were established in the Kelso area and, for some decades, local orchards and pastoral activities provided the village with a rural outlook.

The Second World War saw the establishment of an Army Training Camp nearby on the Limekilns Road. From 1948 to 1952, the camp served as a migrant camp with some 80,000 people from many nationalities passing through. Kelso though retained its rural village atmosphere. The 1960s saw the first of the changes that would take Kelso towards becoming a more urban settlement. It was the 1970s that marked the real push when Turon Shire Council transferred land to the Bathurst City Council to establish the 'Elouera Estate'. Larger schools were established, shopping centres and other business appeared as the village of Kelso moved into the 21st century. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.5 O'Connell

O'Connell is located on the Fish River 18 kms southeast of Bathurst. The river divides the village, which is also the boundary between Bathurst and Oberon regional councils. Only that part of the village on the north bank, located for the most part on the hill above the river, is in Bathurst Regional Council.

The O'Connell area was much frequented by the Wiradjuri, who are thought to have visited particularly to collect river stones for tools. The first European visitor was Surveyor Evans in 1813, who bestowed the name O'Connell Plains in honour of Lieutenant Governor Sir Maurice O'Connell. Cox's Road, completed in early 1815, passed to the south close by O'Connell. Within a few years, a more direct route to Bathurst running through the site of O'Connell came into use. No settlement took place in the area until after the first land grants in 1823, notably to the Walker and Hassall families. Much of the heritage relating to this early pastoral settlement lies on the southern side of the river, which is in the territory occupied by Oberon Regional Council.

The village of O'Connell owes its establishment to its location at a river ford on a main road, a common reason for the origin of many settlements in inland New South Wales. The Plough Inn (1833) and The Willow Glen (1860), both located on the Bathurst side, have now disappeared. Taking advantage of the steady flow of the river, a water driven flour mill was built by Daniel Roberts on the north bank in 1837. A house associated with the mill, 'Mill Cottage' (c.1830), still stands.

Most of the development - stores, churches and cemeteries, saleyards, racecourse - took place on the south bank, but the main government presence - the police station and the public school (1876) - was located on a hill on the north bank. The building of the first bridge across the Fish River in 1877 facilitated this division of the village. The village was at its height in the 1860s and 1870s, but had gone into an appreciable decline by the last decade of the 19th century.

The decline of O'Connell was due in part at least to the re-routing of the main Sydney road to the north of the village, which was also bypassed by the railway in the 1870s. However, O'Connell survived and found a steady, if quiet, role as a rural service village. The village has been further transformed in recent decades with low key tourism and rural lifestyle residents. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.6 Peel

The village of Peel is located approximately 20 kms north of Bathurst on the Sofala road. Although much of the Parish of Peel was occupied by free settlers and assigned convicts by the 1830s, the village of Peel - located on the northern boundary of the Parish by the early surveyors - was not proclaimed until 1847. The name was a tribute to the prominent British statesman, Sir Robert Peel. While speculators from Bathurst and the nearby Suttor family availed themselves of the opportunity to buy land in the fledgling village, John Howard of 'Brucedale' was the first to build and open a hotel, The Shearer's Arms, on July 1 1850. Peel proved to be the ideal location for a public house as it was on the main road between Bathurst and Mudgee and, with the discovery of gold, central to mining operations in the area. Although there were no major gold finds in the immediate neighbourhood, the discoveries on the Turon in 1851 enhanced Peel's prospects as a supply centre. The village prospered accordingly. By 1852 Peel had hosted its second annual race meeting and established its second hotel, The Golden Pippin. In 1854, Grosvenor Francis opened his flour mill and by 1856 Peel had its long agitated for National School, the first in the County of Roxburgh. The first substantial residence in Peel was probably 'Peel House'. It was built between 1851-1856 by Dr Kerr, the 'discoverer' of the celebrated hundredweight of gold known as the Kerr Nugget. James Read became Peel's first postmaster in 1856 and towards the end of the same year Peel's third hotel was licensed. By 1857, Peel's businesses included two goods stores (with two more under construction), two butcher shops, two blacksmiths and three hotels. Further commercial services were provided by four shoemakers, six carpenters, a tailor and several dressmakers. A Roman Catholic Church (1861) and an Anglican Church, St John the Evangelist (1866) provided for the religious needs of the village. Life at Peel in the 1850s-70s was enlivened by the rivalry of two local politicians, William Cummings and WH Suttor snr, who represented different sides of the political fence and were also of different religious persuasion.

From the 1860s until well into the 20th century quartz mining along Clear Creek was a constant source of employment for those living in the district. For the past century, Peel has coasted along and these days is a haven for escapees from congested city life. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.7 Raglan

The history of Raglan, a village 6 kilometres east of Bathurst, is very much part of the district's transport history. As the new Great Western Railway line, built in increments from Sydney, made its way closer to Bathurst the site for the village was surveyed in 1856. Believed to have been named after Lord Raglan, the village began to develop with the first hotel, Raglan Inn, opening in 1862. In 1864 grounds were purchased for the Bathurst Agricultural and Horticultural Society. The annual show, now the oldest in inland New South Wales, was first held at Raglan in 1864. It was held at the site each year until 1868 when it was relocated to the Bathurst racecourse. The railway reached Raglan in 1873. Passengers alighted from trains and were taken by Cobb & Co. coach into Bathurst. A small school had opened in 1870 and by 1874 Raglan was an important railway village with three hotels, the school and a church. After the railway reached Bathurst in 1876 the village's population began to decline in the early 1900s. However, within decades the village was again to become a major transport hub.

Needing an additional airfield to house the overflow of military planes from the Richmond Air Base, the government opened a military airfield at Raglan in 1942. At the end of the Second World War, in 1945, the need for a civil aerodrome was recognised and the Bathurst Airfield opened at Raglan in 1946. Since then Raglan has continued to develop into what is now a thriving village community and Bathurst satellite suburb. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.8 Rockley

Rockley, located on Pepper's Creek, is 35 kms south of Bathurst. It is a unique and historic township whose earliest known inhabitants were the Wiradjuri people.

The present location of the township of Rockley was originally kept as part of a government stock reserve from 1815-1829. In 1829 a grant of 1,920 acres was made to Captain Watson Augustus Steel who named his grant 'Rockley', after his birthplace in England. The actual township of Rockley was established in 1850 when Steel and other landholders requested that part of the stock reserve be surveyed into allotments so they could be purchased by tradesmen to service the local districts.

The discovery of gold and copper in the mid-nineteenth century drew many Europeans to the area. Rockley and the immediate area at its peak was home to around 2-3,000 people. This discovery also brought about lawlessness and many of the isolated landholders had to depend on themselves for defence. Many bushrangers inhabited the area and the story of the Ben Hall Gang in 1863 robbing and holding to ransom the Assistant Gold Commissioner at Dunn's Plains, near Rockley, is now part of the district's folklore.

Many of Rockley's rare and historic buildings remain unspoilt or have been restored. The former Rockley Flour Mill (1864) is now a museum. The School of Arts, built in 1890, still stands; once used as a picture theatre, it is still in use for dances, concerts, dinners and school functions. The former Abercrombie Shire Chambers (1912) is constructed of local marble and the late Ben Chifley, former Prime Minister of Australia, served as Shire President from December 1937 to 1940. In particular the churches stand as monuments to the early development of this township.

A simple but prosperous time illustrating rural life at the turn of the 20th century can be seen reflected in the preservation of the town's architecture. Many of these buildings are considered to be of heritage significance - the churches of St Peter and St Patrick are both Edward Gell buildings, for example. Some historic buildings have been adapted for new uses; for example, the original Wesleyan Chapel is now a holiday rental residence. The picturesque and historic town of Rockley has been listed by the National Trust as a National Trust Historic Township. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.9 Sofala

Sofala, located on the Turon River 45kms north of Bathurst, is Australia's oldest surviving gold town. The village came into existence in mid 1851 when gold was discovered on the Turon River, not long after the initial discovery at Ophir. In the early days the township is reputed to have had a population of 30,000 Europeans and 10,000 Chinese. Actual figures were likely much less. By 1868 there were 51 licensed hotels and numerous other businesses catering for the needs of the prospectors. The main street of Sofala extended to Wallaby Rocks, some five kilometres, and a similar distance along the Turon River, known as the Upper Turon, in an easterly direction.

Gold was found in abundance, one of the richest finds being a 120-ounce nugget at Big Oakey Creek. Later, inventive prospectors built huge dredges that scoured the riverbed searching for alluvial gold. (Buckets from these dredges are on display in Sofala.) Another remarkable achievement was the digging of water races cut into the hillsides. These channels, dug by hand, extended for many kilometres tapping into local creeks to supply water by gravity to work the sluices and stampers of the gold diggings. Even today, the races, to be seen weaving their way around the hills, remain a visible reminder of goldfield history.

Sofala is one of the few villages from the goldrush era to have stayed much as it was. Many significant buildings have survived, including the Royal Hotel (1862), the police station and gaol (1890s), the post office (1879) and the former Sofala hospital, originally built in 1874 as a court house. Other historic buildings are now private residences. A key to the survival of many buildings in Sofala has been their sympathetic adaptive reuse as residences or tourist-related businesses.

The compact nature of slab buildings and rusty roofs reflect the goldrush days, giving a unique atmosphere to the village. Internationally recognised Australian artists, including Russell Drysdale, Donald Friend and others, have portrayed on canvas something of the charm and personality of the village. That same charm and personality draws tourists today. The village

has responded to this interest with a low key tourist industry, providing accommodation, cafes and shops in the historic buildings of the village. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.10 Trunkey Creek

Trunkey Creek is located 56 kms south of Bathurst on the Goulburn Road and about 13 kms from Abercrombie Caves. The district was one of the earliest pastoral areas to be established south-west of Bathurst, with some sections surveyed in the early 1820s. The area produces some of Australia's top quality merino wool. A wool festival is held annually over the October long weekend.

The village owes its origins to the 1850s goldrush. In September 1851, Edward Hargraves (associated with the initial discovery of gold at Ophir earlier that year) announced that there was payable gold to be found at the junction of the Abercrombie River and Grove Creek, located to the south of Trunkey Creek. This announcement is probably what sparked the initial goldrush in the Trunkey Creek and Tuena areas. A settlement, a miners' camp, was first established about 4 kms south of the present village, near Belmore Bridge. In 1868, Joe Arthur made a major discovery of gold opposite the present day village and this sparked a renewed rush on Trunkey Creek.

The village was proclaimed the village of 'Arthur' in February 1873, following its survey in 1869 by Randolph Macattie. The village continued to be known officially by this name until 1988 when it was changed to Trunkey. Even from the earliest days though residents referred to the village as being at Trunkey Creek; this is also the name shown on most modern maps. In 2004, after representations from local residents, the village name officially became Trunkey Creek. The origin of the name Trunkey is uncertain. It is said to be either the Wiradjuri word for 'Old Man Kangaroo', or a name created after a miner with a trunk-like nose who worked the creek.

At the time when alluvial gold was found easily and tales were told of men filling their billycans with gold by lunchtime, the village was said to have had a population of around 2500. In its hey day, the village had 25 hotels, most of them shacks selling adulterated liquor. The promise of easy money attracted many bushrangers to the area, as well as the unfortunate infestation of greedy speculators, who may have been responsible for the lack of any substantial growth of the village. On 1 November 1870, a Royal Commission was held at Trunkey Creek to investigate the situation.

The hills around Trunkey Creek are filled with abandoned mine shafts, mullock heaps and crumbling mud and brick huts. Even though a bushfire in 1939 destroyed many historic buildings, the village itself contains a number of buildings dating from the goldrush era, for example the Golden Age Hotel and the old miner's cottage on Arthur Street, some of which are featured in Holtermann photographs of 1872. Trunkey Creek, today a tranquil and rustic village with about 100 residents, provides an authentic reminder of the early goldrush days. (Provided by Bathurst District Historical Society.)

23.11 Wattle Flat

Wattle Flat, 40 kms north of Bathurst, is a forested plateau (3000ft) of fertile land from which deep gorges plunge hundreds of feet to the Turon River below. Aboriginal people found ways through the gorges, creating a gateway linking the coastal people with those inland on the hunting and fishing grounds of the western plains. During the period 1821-1850, British settlers, including cattle herders, farmers and runaway convicts, coexisted amicably with the Wiradjuri living on the plateau.

The discovery of gold in 1851 introduced a catalyst to the peaceful Wattle Flat setting. Within weeks the Turon catchment was pulsating with hundreds and later thousands of people who had recklessly staked everything on the dream of finding gold. Ill prepared, mostly from city origins, the gold seekers surged to the Turon Goldfield. Walking, riding and in waggons, their trek was endured over hundred of miles, with extremes of weather, terrain and shortage of provisions.

Eventually they struggled 1000 feet up the sheer slopes of Wyagdon Mountain (Mount Wiagdon) to the Wattle Flat tableland. There they found that enterprises to meet the needs of the desperate travellers had been quickly set up. Blacksmiths, bakeries, butchers, stores, grog-shops and accommodation spread along the bush road in shanties, tents, shacks and even gunyas. Replenished and equipped the travellers hurriedly followed the road that plunged to the Turon catchment.

For a few years Wattle Flat retained its significance as a gateway to the goldfields. Then the focus of mining changed around 1855. The easily acquired alluvial gold petered out and the focus shifted to quartz reef gold mining. Large mining companies were established across Wattle Flat, as the plateau and its gorges proved to be the most successful sites for such mines. Hundreds of miners chose to make Wattle Flat home for their families, combining labouring in the reef mines with farming and other activities. Within five years the crude structures first erected were being replaced by substantial buildings, including churches, stores, schools, houses, a Post Office, Land and Mining Warden Office, and the Wattle Flat Racecourse (dating from 1852 and still used). Many of these buildings remain today. Wattle Flat soon became the most populous area of the Turon Goldfield, and remains so.

A meander through Wattle Flat today will reveal many artefacts from the epic times of the gold years - miners' cottages, butcher shops, the police station, blacksmith shop, court house, stores, water reservoirs, bakery, school, churches, four cemeteries, the 1852 racecourse and many others. The rich store of heritage evidence of the past years is inexhaustible. All tell much of the way of life at Wattle Flat. The adjacent Heritage Lands contain several hectares of 'Argyle Apple' (*Eucalyptus cinerea*), one of the largest stands in the central west.

The State Road, Highway 54 - which runs through to Bathurst, Goulburn and Canberra - passes through Wattle Flat, along the same old bush track of the goldrush. As in 1851, Wattle Flat continues to be the gateway, south to the western plains and north to Queensland.

Origin of the name: When the first band of diggers mounted Wyagdon Mountain (Mount Wiagdon) and saw the beautiful plateau spread out before them, they called it, by reason of the

plentifulness of Wattle trees in the neighbourhood, 'Green Wattle Flat'. For many years this original name was retained, but gradually the initial adjective fell into disuse, until at the present time there are few who even know of its former existence.

Remnant mines at Wattle Flat: Scores of reef mining operations, some with very deep shafts, were a feature of the 19th century landscape of Wattle Flat. The Wattle Flat Lands Trust has preserved five such mines. They are fenced for public protection and may be viewed by arrangement.

Examples of rich yields:

1. Crushings from 'Blue Duck'

A. Depth 100 feet, from 407.5 tons quartz: 501 ozs. 13 dwts. of gold.

B. Depth 60 feet (same reef), from 70 tons quartz: 77 ozs. 1 dwt 18 grains of gold.

2. Crushings from 'Solitary', depth of 525 feet. The last stone crushed yielded 6 ozs to the ton. Water trouble was responsible for closing down this shaft.

3 'Big Oakey', depth of 400 feet. This mine at one period yielded the rich return of 10 ozs to the ton.

(Provided by the Bathurst District Historical Society)

24. Utilities

Utilities refers to the provision of water, sewerage, gas and electricity. During the first decades of settlement residents had little choice but to provide these services for themselves. It is still a case of providing for one's own water and sewerage, and in some places electricity as well, beyond Bathurst. This entry will focus on the provision of utilities in Bathurst and the surrounding villages.

24.1 Water and Sewerage

Until the late 19th century, the provision of potable water was the concern of the individual householder. Depending on circumstances, water was provided by wells or rainwater tanks or was carted from the river; the household pit toilet (dunny) was the sewerage system. Such arrangements risked typhoid. With the introduction of local government, there began a steady improvement in the provision of potable water and safe sewerage.

In 1886, the NSW Public Works Department began the construction of a piped water supply system in Bathurst, the first such scheme provided for a country town in the colony. The system drew water through steam powered pumps from the Macquarie River filling two reservoir tanks in Piper Street, which in turn fed the piped distribution system. This arrangement, however, proved to be unreliable and the original system was augmented in 1889 with a deep well below the pumphouse, which was linked by tunnels to the river flats. The remains of these augmentations, together with other extensions undertaken as late as 1929, are still visible on both sides of the river near the 1886 pump house. This system is no longer functioning. (A detailed discussion on the above developments can be found in T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp114-120.)

Relying solely on the Macquarie River proved inadequate to the needs of a growing city. In 1931 construction commenced on a dam on the Winburndale Rivulet, to the east of Bathurst. The concrete dam and 21 kilometre gravity pipeline (constructed of bitumen coated jarrah staves) were constructed using unemployment relief funds. The Winburndale system is still operational and provides untreated water for park and industrial use. In 2006 the last of the jarrah stave pipes were replaced; an example of the original timber pipeline is kept at the Bathurst Waterworks, Waterworks Lane.

As with the earlier system drawing directly from the Macquarie River, the Winburndale supply soon proved inadequate for Bathurst's needs. Bathurst City Council elected not to join in the development of the nearby Fish River Water Supply Scheme and instead, after considerable public debate and detailed investigation, opted for the construction of a dam on Campbells River, work on which commenced in 1948. On completion in 1956, the earth and rock-fill dam was named after Ben Chifley. Water is released from the dam into Campbells River and taken up by pumps on its reaching the Water Treatment Plant, which is located on the site of the original 1883 water intake plant. In recent years, the Ben Chifley Dam has been raised and other improvements made to both the collection and treatment of the city's water supply. (Main source of information for the above account is 'Bathurst Water Supply', NSW Public Works, 1994.)

What flows in must flow out. The development of a sewerage system necessarily followed in the wake of a reticulated water supply. By the early 1890s, local doctors were concerned by the confluence of a growing population and inadequate arrangements for the disposal of human waste. Insanitary discharges into Jordan Creek invited the real risk of typhoid. Household and business sewerage disposal was largely a matter of individual responsibility. A measure of the situation can be seen in that the first Bathurst house to have a septic tank sewerage system was 'Blair Athol' in Keppel Street, installed only in 1892. (C Sloman, *The History of Bathurst 1815-1915* (1994), p22) Most households relied on often leaky cesspits and sealed earth closets, both requiring regular emptying by nightsoil carts. The council system of collecting nightsoil, for disposal on the Bathurst Common - now Charles Sturt University and the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station - was proving dangerously inadequate by the early 1900s. However, a sewerage reticulation system and treatment works (on Commonwealth Street) was not completed until 1914 and not operational until 1916, owing largely to bureaucratic delays. A corrugated iron building and the remains of a concrete tank, both possibly from this period, are to be found on the Macquarie River site of the present-day sewerage treatment plant. The plant has been extended and modernised considerably since 1916, and contains items reflecting the historical development of sewerage treatment, including the experimental 'Bathurst Box' of the 1970s. (See 'Bathurst Sewerage Services', Bathurst City Council, 2000?)

Beyond Bathurst and its immediate satellite villages of Raglan, Perthville and Eglinton, the supply of potable water and the treatment of sewerage still relies on the individual householder. While modern technology, commonly in the form of pressure pumps and concrete septic tanks, is the usual arrangement, older properties may still have reservoirs, wells and tanks - as well as dunnies - dating from earlier times. Communal arrangements for the storage of water can also be found near villages, for example the reservoir at Wattle Flat and Stevens Weir at Rockley. The Rockley weir was built in 1933 by Abercrombie Shire as a relief project during the Depression.

24.2 Gas

The earliest use of gas lighting in Bathurst may have been in 1861 with the small plant run by JC Stanger and used to light his shop in the School of Arts Building (corner of William & Howick streets). (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.53) Other Bathurst businesses undertook similar small-scale efforts in the 1860s. The first gasworks in Bathurst for public distribution was constructed in 1872 by John Wark (Bathurst Gas Company), who may have also earlier set up the first domestic gas plant for lighting his own home. (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp105-114) Using Lithgow coal, the generating plant was located on the corner of Charlotte and Durham streets, with the gas provided through a piped reticulation system to customers, initially commercial premises in George and William streets and mainly for lighting purposes. Gas street lighting, replacing earlier kerosene fuelled lights, soon followed - but lit only on moonless nights. (The present-day street lights in the CBD and Keppel Street areas are not from this period.) The Bathurst Gas Company works remained operational until 1914, after which the plant buildings were progressively demolished.

In 1884, Bathurst Council, in direct and acrimonious competition with the Bathurst Gas Company, began the construction of their own gas works on Russell Street. This undertaking

was preceded by a lengthy legal and political wrangling arising from the need to wrest from Wark the monopoly previously granted him. The outcome was the Municipal Gas Act of 1884, allowing the council to provide gas in competition with a private supplier. The site for the Bathurst Municipal Gasworks, as well as being convenient to the railway line for coal delivery, was chosen as the plant had to be in a low lying location so that the (lighter than air) gas could be easily distributed through pipes to consumers throughout the city. The plant was operational by early August 1888, making it one of the earliest municipal gasworks in the colony. With two sets of gas mains under some streets, Bathurst consumers had a choice of gas supplier until 1914, when the council bought out the Wark enterprise. The Russell Street site underwent expansion and modernising improvements over the following decades. In 1941, to meet the demands of defence industries and the army camp, a new horizontal retort house was built, and extended in 1945 and 1952. In 1958 (or possibly 1960) a new vertical retort house was built, allowing for the extension of gas supplies to new consumers. (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.220) In the 1960s and 70s, the plant was adapted to handle liquefied petroleum gas and the production of gas from butane and propane. With the arrival of natural gas in 1986, the gasworks were sold to AGL; the site was abandoned and the works closed in 1995 following severe flooding.

The Bathurst Municipal Gasworks was a successful and significant venture in public utilities. Its highly politicised origins provide an instructive chapter in public utility establishment. It was one of the earliest, largest and longest operating such operations in regional NSW, and 'one of the show pieces of the industry', according to Broomham. It was also important in the financial history of the city, contributing 40% of its revenues by 1912, according to the *Jubilee History of Bathurst* (p.13). As Greaves (p.220) notes, the story of the rapid expansion of Bathurst's municipal gas works is 'illustrative of the growth of the city.' Rosemary Broomham writes, 'The site offers an excellent and compact example of a large country gasworks offering evidence ... of technological changes. Its relatively unmodified condition raises it to state significance.'

A third, small, gasworks was in operation at the Bathurst railway complex, possibly near the station, from about 1881 to 1887, producing gas for the use of the passenger carriages. (See R Broomham, Bathurst Gasworks 3.)

Further information about all three Bathurst Gasworks (1,2 &3) can be found in Rosemary Broomham, *Survey of Rural Gasworks in NSW Stage 1* (Sydney, 1997).

24.3 Electricity

Before the establishment of the Electricity Authority of NSW in 1945, the supply and distribution of electricity was very much a local, even private, undertaking. Bathurst City was a relative latecomer in providing a public supply of electricity to its residents, with the city built and maintained system not coming into operation until December 1924. The first general supply for the city was from a power plant at 68 Bentinck Street; a larger plant was shortly afterwards installed at the city's waterworks. From 1930 'bulk current' was supplied by the Railway Commissioners from their generating plant at Lithgow. The sub-station building rescued in 2005 from demolition by Mitre 10 on their Bentinck Street site is a significant heritage item dating from the first years of Bathurst's municipal electrical distribution system. (Given the importance

of domestic electricity supply to the rise of the home DIY industry, one hopes that Mitre 10 will recognise - and benefit from - the presence on their premises of such a relevant heritage item.)

Prior to 1924, electricity had been provided privately, for example by local businesses for their own use, or by government generating plants for official needs, most notably with the State Railways. Occasionally, portable power plants were used to provide electric lighting for public events, as was the case in 1894 at the Bathurst Show. Some of the larger rural properties ran their own electrical power plants for domestic and farm use, and continued to do so for many years. Similarly, the supply of electricity in the BRC's villages would have depended on local initiative until after the Second World War.

The situation overall was one of an ad hoc power generation and distribution system statewide. Both Depression and War impeded development. Following WWII, all of the state's electricity production and distribution was brought increasingly under central control. A rural electricity subsidy scheme was introduced in 1946 to make electricity available to rural consumers and a state-wide power grid began to replace local power sources. By the mid-1950s power was being supplied to the Central West from sources beyond the region. Collectively, these developments saw a concerted effort to provide power to more rural consumers, beginning in the 1950s. Branch lines networked the district, building on the earlier local initiative. Electricity had reached Wattle Flat by 1959; two years later in 1961, Hill End, one of the area's more remote villages, was linked to the mains grid. (Buscombe, p191; Goodwin, p149) In the mid-1950s, a system of County Councils was established to take over responsibility of the electricity authority from local government. In the case of the BRC area, this was the Southern Mitchell County Council, established in 1954, which in turn has evolved into the present-day Country Energy. (See B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), for information on Bathurst's electricity supply.)

The successful completion of a utilities project was often an event of local celebration. The supplying of gas, electricity, water and sewerage were benchmark moments, in effect statements about the community's progress and its achievement of modernity. In the context of heritage, it is important to remember and celebrate these achievements - even when the sites involved lack aesthetic appeal.

V. Working

25. Labour

Labour refers to how people earn their living including methods and places of work, together with the ways in which people organise themselves as a workforce. Some occupations in the BRC area today can be traced back to the first decades of settlement. The methods of work may have changed, but the purpose of the work often remains the same, whether it is producing wool or shopkeeping or pulling a beer. Other occupations have come into existence in only recent times and reflect broad social and economic developments in Australia.

In pre-colonial times, Wiradjuri of the BRC area would have spent a few hours a day working collectively in kinship groups hunting and gathering food needed for the day. Some tasks, such as tool making or the making of skins into cloaks, drew on individual expertise, perhaps determined by gender, but the overall ethos was one of cooperative labour. This pattern of a family-based labour group would be shared later by settler families, where all members of the family would be expected to contribute to the labour pool of the family farm. With the collapse of their traditional economy, some local Wiradjuri found individual employment on pastoral properties, for instance as shepherds. Percy Gresser, a local amateur anthropologist, has written of Aboriginal shearers employed locally. (See Theme 18 (Science) for more information on Gresser, his collection and writings.)

The main workforce in the initial period of colonial settlement, however, was not based on the settler's family, but was essentially a system of forced convict labour, little different to slavery. Convicts were employed directly by the government and, with the arrival of free settlers, as assigned servants. Convict labour is associated with many early properties in the BRC area, as well as with major public works, such as Cox's Road and the first buildings of Bathurst. The Bathurst District Historical Museum holds an evocative object from this time of forced convict labour, a ship's spar to which road repair gangs were chained. The convict labour system disappeared with the ending of transportation to New South Wales in 1840, but convict labour, if in a different form, has continued in the area to the present-day. The area's gaols, notably Bathurst Gaol (now Bathurst Correctional Centre), have always included some requirement for inmate employment. (The maintenance schedule for the 1870 Denison Bridge, *Bridge Register Bathurst* in BRC possession, records delivery of crushed rock supplied by Bathurst Gaol.) The original rationale for the establishment of the Kirkconnell Correctional Centre was linked with the employment of inmates in forestry work as part of their rehabilitation. When opened in 1961, it was known as the Kirkconnell Afforestation Camp. The concept of 'assigned labour' applied also to many post-war migrants who came to the area through the Bathurst Migrant Camp on Limekilns Road as they were obliged to work as directed by the government as part of their emigration agreement.

As settlement gathered pace in the 19th century, an ever-widening range of occupations was taken up in the area. The distance from other comparable areas, particularly from Sydney, called for a high level of self-sufficiency and, accordingly, the application of knowledge and skills in

many different areas of work - from candlemaking to waggon building. The modern concept of 'multiskilling' offers a way to imagine the nature of the area's early workforce. Prior to the goldrush, and again after the rush, many workers were involved in agricultural and pastoral work. An individual worker could easily over their working life be called on to develop the skills to work at horse breaking, fence building, ploughing, shearing, harvesting and, if really courageous, cooking for shearing crews. The heritage of these pioneering skills and the range of labouring activities they represent is part of the heritage of shearing sheds, stockyards, barns and other rural employment sites. While many of the necessary skills remained little changed for decades, change did occur, such as in shearing with the change from hand to mechanical clipping. Evidence of this change can sometimes be found in old sheds and is worthy of note. The replacement of the horse and bullock with mechanised means of power also led to changes in labour skills. The transformation of stables to cater for motor vehicles sometimes reflects as well the changes called for in the labour to care for the new 'horses', with grease pit replacing manure pile.

The goldrush in 1851 was initially the source for much self-employed labour. Small businesses in the way of inns, shops and blacksmiths were commonly centred on a self-employed workforce. The gold diggers also worked for themselves or in collectives of like-minded mates, as long as the surface or alluvial gold held out. Over time, however, many independent miners found it necessary to make their living by offering their mining skills for wages as employed miners in one of the mines at Wattle Flat or Hill End or later as workers on Sofala's dredges. The transition was not always, or indeed rarely, simple. Employed work in the mines might be augmented or replaced from time to time with labour on the family selection, forays back into private alluvial mining or even work as a drover, shearer or rabbitier. The oral histories of the Wattle Flat and Duramana areas, among other locales, suggest such a pattern of mixed employment extending into relatively recent times. Miners, both self-employed and wage employed, tended to live in the villages on the fields and not in Bathurst, which was not conveniently located near mining employment. Bathurst, in consequence, never had a significant resident population of mining families, an important difference in its historical development compared with equivalent large regional centres on the Victorian fields, such as Bendigo or Ballarat, or Lithgow with its coal mines.

The Chinese on the goldfields offer an interesting variation in this evolving work pattern of miners. Chinese diggers also worked initially in collectives, often based on a clan or village association with demanding social and financial obligations. With the decline of alluvial mining, Chinese miners were rarely given the opportunity because of racism to enter paid reef mining employment or to follow the general labour pattern set by white miners. These circumstances of social isolation, combined with the skills brought from home, directed a different course, one that has come to characterise the post-goldrush Chinese as industrious market gardeners, scavengers of depleted goldfields and versatile shopkeepers. On stations, they might work as cooks and contract ringbarkers, but rarely if ever as shearers or stockmen.

Although early settlement and the goldrush did see some industrial development - with an embryonic industrial workforce - manufacturing industry was relatively limited as a place of employment when compared with mining, farming and grazing. Flour mills, tanneries and boiling down works were among the area's first 'factories'. Items of daily consumption, such as

candles and beer, were made locally from local raw products. In such respects, the BRC area's labour history was fairly typical of inland settlement. One interesting point of difference arose from the presence from 1862 of Cobb & Co., the stagecoach firm. The company's coachworks employed 40-50 men, who given their range of skills and their employment together on a complex manufacturing process, might be described as among Bathurst's first industrial workers.

However, one can probably only speak of a recognisable permanent industrial working class appearing with the arrival of the railway to the area in the 1870s. The railway had a prodigious impact on Bathurst's labour history. As a railway town, Bathurst became home and workplace for a sizeable cohort of men, and boys, who worked for a salary in offices and stations, on the trains and in the huge workshops that dominated the Bathurst railyards. Their working and private lives were governed by the discipline of timetables and regulations on a scale quite unlike anything previously experienced in the area, excepting possibly during the convict era. But unlike the convict system, the railway offered men permanent salaried work - with a pension - and an ethos that encouraged a settled, married working class life. Work and life in Milltown had more in common with the working class suburbs of Sydney than with the mining villages of Sofala or Trunkey Creek. The importance of the railway in the shaping and character of Bathurst's labour culture remained an important factor until the third quarter of the 20th century. By the mid-1970s, a policy of scaling down rail services and reducing maintenance works in Bathurst was well underway.

The arrival of the railway coincided with, and to some degree engendered, the expansion of other industries and businesses in Bathurst. The last decades of the 19th century is the era of Bathurst's great emporiums, notably Webb's and Meagher's, who also ran their own boot and clothing factories in Bathurst. Flour mills, such as the Victoria Mill (Tremain's) and the National Flour Mill (Crago's), expanded operations in hope of taking advantage of the rail link to Sydney. The *National Advocate* in 1890 (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp200-201) listed ten categories of industries in Bathurst at that time, including breweries, iron foundries, boot making and manufacturing chemists. This local merchandising and industrial revolution brought increased opportunities of salaried and disciplined employment. In time, the railway also facilitated the development of a fruit and vegetable growing industry by enabling orchardists and gardeners to transport their produce to the Sydney market in an efficient manner. This new industry required temporary workers, many of them transients, to pick and pack crops.

Little mention of union activity, or industrial relations generally, is provided in the secondary histories of the BRC area, which may be a reflection of their conservative authorship. Many of the workers in the area's workshops and small industrial plants in the 19th century would have been employed under the terms offered an apprentice or journeyman. Theo Barker in the first volume of *A History of Bathurst* (pp227-228) offers an interesting insight into the workplace arrangements of the town's journeyman boot makers (working in thirty-six different shops), who struck unsuccessfully over a cut to their wages in 1861. (Their employers cut wages to counter the appearance in Bathurst of cheap boots sold by a chain store, Hunter & Co.) This may possibly have been the first such industrial workplace strike in the locality. Barker identifies a Richard Colbran, one of striking boot makers, as the earliest known strike leader in Bathurst.

A Bathurst Weekly Half Day Association was formed in 1873 and the Eight Hours Movement was active from 1874. The Eight Hours Movement led to a largely successful campaign for an eight hour working day for labourers, provided the catalyst for the formation of several local unions (including the Bathurst Workers Union in 1897), and initiated an annual Eight Hour Day procession (first Monday in October). The Half Day Association sought, as the name suggests, the early closing of shops one day of the week and enjoyed mixed success with local store employers before being overtaken by state legislation for early closing in 1899.

The main strength of unionism within Bathurst was largely with the railways; in connection with which the historically most significant event of industrial unrest was the statewide 1917 railway strike. It was his participation in this strike that began Ben Chifley's political career. The protest march of the striking railway men through Bathurst may have been the first such march in Bathurst. Railway employees and their unions were essential to the rise of the Australian Labor Party in the Bathurst area. The rail network equally served as a network for the fostering of both union and party activities.

Beyond Bathurst, Hill End with its gold reef mines and salaried miners seems to have been the most active centre of union activity and strikes. The difficult working conditions and poor pay in the deep level mines at Hill End resulted in a strike at the Reward and Amalgamated mines in 1916. The strike ultimately failed, but a lasting bitterness between strikers and strike breakers divided the community for many years. The dynamiting of a mine boiler is a rare instance of industrial violence in the BRC area. (A Mayne, *Hill End* (2003), pp90-91 and information from Marj Prior, Hill End oral historian.)

Overall, however, it is difficult to find much in the secondary literature to suggest that the BRC area was an exceptionally important centre for unionism when compared, for example, with the Lithgow area with its stronger mix of railway, coal mining and industrial workers. Similarly, the BRC appears to have been a relatively quiet area for union activism among agricultural workers. The secondary literature once again offers little evidence that the area experienced any labour unrest comparable with the prolonged and bitter shearing strikes found elsewhere in the last decades of the 19th century. (The only shearing strike of this period discussed in B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.78, is one outside the area, suggesting little happened locally or has been subsequently forgotten.)

The opportunity for paid or self-employment has varied with economic circumstances. During times of economic depression, the area has suffered from widespread unemployment, as has been the experience elsewhere. Unemployment relief schemes have been used to provide paid employment on local public works projects, for instance in the building of the railway deviation near Locksley in the 1890s and on Winburndale Dam and pipeline in the 1930s. The Mount Panorama circuit road was likewise an unemployment relief project. Jim Buchan in *Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001) writes of work being undertaken in the Freemantle area by Turon Shire Council as a relief scheme to help recently settled soldier settlers. The Freemantle Bridge (White's Crossing) over the Macquarie River was built in 1930 using local labour paid on the government relief system.

For those not able to find employment on relief schemes, rabbiting and gold prospecting were perhaps the best alternatives. Bruce Goodwin, who grew up in Hill End during the depression of the 1930s provides an interesting account of how people there coped. (Bruce Goodwin, *Gold and People - Recollections of Hill End 1920s to 1960s* (1992)) In some places, marginal economic activities usually associated with hard times continued during times of wider prosperity. Such employment activities typically required little investment beyond time and labour. Eve Buscombe in *Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983) describes how rabbits and blackberries provided both employment and foodstuffs for people in that area, with rabbits being sold in quantity to Western Stores in Bathurst as recently as the 1950s. Kinnaird, the storekeeper in Wattle Flat, purchased 'kerosene tins full of blackberries for the jam makers' into the early 1970s. Eucalyptus leaf collecting and oil distilling was also undertaken in the bushland areas of the BRC, for instance around Kirkconnell.

For the most part, this discussion of labour has been concerned with the employment of men, a reflection of the cultural mores of past times. While women might be employed as unpaid workers in the family shop or on the family farm - as well as in the family home - sustained employment for women in the 19th and early 20th centuries was limited. Paid employment was restricted mainly to domestic service, specialised areas such as teaching or in retail work as shop assistants. Employment, including self-employment, for women was available in only a few skilled trades, that of sempstress perhaps being the most common.

Marriage and children usually meant the end of outside paid employment for women. However, marriage for a few women sometimes led to a career as a licensed innkeeper, following the death of their publican husbands. It was difficult for a woman to acquire a license independently, but this may have been the case with Mrs Dillon's inn in Kelso (long demolished) and Mrs Mary Black's Royal Hotel (still standing in William Street). (See WH Tighe, *Inns and Hotels of Old Bathurst Town* (1992) for further examples of female publicans.) Another area of limited self-employment for women in the 19th and early 20th centuries was in health care in Bathurst's private hospitals or as midwives. (See Theme 14 (Health).) Other women, those with some capital and entrepreneurial skills, owned and ran their own commercial businesses - and did so in noticeable numbers. (See Theme 7 (Commerce).) But all of the above are exceptions to the employment opportunities more usually available for most women in the 19th century.

This general situation of limited employment opportunities for women adds to the significance of two important industrial developments in the early to mid-20th century. These developments provided factory employment for women and helped establish locally such employment as a social norm. Both the Edgell's cannery, opened in 1926, and the Australian Defence Industry's munition factory, operating during the Second World War from 1942, employed women as a major component of their work forces. Edgell's also expanded operations during the war, thanks to American military contracts. The role of the war in opening employment opportunities for women is an important part of the area's labour history. Following the war, the ADI munition factory site became a centre for clothing and footwear manufacturing (California Productions Ltd, Robins Shoes Pty Ltd and others), again with a sizeable female workforce. Clothing and footwear manufacturing provided for a time a major source of employment for both men and women.

The last decades of the 20th century provided a time of dramatic changes in employment. Employment opportunities in the area's rural locales declined sharply with the economic failure of its villages and the realities of economic rationalism in agriculture. BRC rural residents turned to Bathurst for employment, a reflection as well of the demographic change in the very nature of rural residents, who were increasingly 'rural life stylers' and not the farmers and miners of the past. Within Bathurst, major employers of the early 20th century - the railways and the flour mills - together with the manufacturing industries of the postwar period were replaced by relocated government departments, new light industries (some attracted to the area by the proposed Growth Centre in the 1970s) and new educational institutions. As elsewhere throughout Australia, an expanded service and retail sector became a major source of employment and the two income household became the norm.

The BRC area's history of labour involves hundreds of individual occupations over almost two centuries of technological and economic change. It is a history of endeavour and plain hard work, as well as a history of both change and continuity. While methods of work may have changed, there remains continuity in the purpose of many occupations, particularly in commerce and agriculture. Other occupations have disappeared with time and new occupations, unimaginable a century ago, have likewise come into existence. The theme of labour offers an ongoing and evolving history, reflecting wider social and economic developments. It is important that the heritage of work and workplace is preserved so that future generations of workers can better understand both the history of their occupations and the changing nature of work.

VI. Education

26. Education

My work [as a supernumerary teacher at Bathurst High School in 1940] is exhausting from its sheer uselessness and the huge masses of poor wretched children being flung into an educational treadmill unsuited to them and hated by them. When I look at our educational system and at our mass reactions to world disaster and individual liberty, I know with a bitterness beyond bearing that we are all being paid for perpetuating a national fraud. (Dymphna Cusack to Miles Franklin, Bathurst, November 1940, cited in M North, 'Dymphna Cusack: Beautiful Exile', *Hecate* (1999), p.151)

Education is a central feature in both the locality's history and in its modern-day character. The BRC area has many heritage buildings and sites reflecting the diversity of its education history.

Prior to the arrival of European settlers, the teaching and learning of both practical and ceremonial knowledge was an important element in Wiradjuri culture. Associated sites can be found in the locality and are known to present-day Wiradjuri.

26.1 The first schools

Education in the early 19th century was the responsibility of the Church of England as the established or official church. Thus, the opening in Kelso in 1826 of the area's first school - and the first school west of the Great Divide - was undertaken by the first clergyman in the area, Reverend Thomas Hassall, shortly after his arrival. Around 1828, another Church of England School was opened, across the river in Bathurst. The building occupied in the 1840s by this school, or more correctly the school into which it evolved, is now the Crowded House Restaurant, on Ribbon Gang Lane off William Street.

Reverend Hassall's successor, Reverend John Espy Keane, also initiated a small private boarding school in his own home. Other small privately run schools, most usually only for boys, were conducted spasmodically in the area from the late 1820s. Presbyterian schools - in Bathurst and Kelso - were opened in 1838, with the Bathurst school initially on the site now occupied by Stockland in William Street. A Wesleyan Methodist school also operated in Bathurst intermittently around this period. The first Roman Catholic school opened in 1843 in Bathurst and later in the century was merged with schools provided by recently arrived religious orders. Although individually small and sometimes spasmodic, collectively these early attempts at offering church-based schools provide Bathurst with a significant history as an early provider of education in regional Australia.

However, schooling for many children in the first decades of settlement was not always easily available, especially for children living beyond Bathurst. Some early settlers, depending on their circumstances and inclination, were able to provide their children with home schooling, perhaps

in the case of the better off with the help of a governess or tutor. This was the arrangement for the children of George Ranken at 'Kelloshiel' in the 1820-30s, who were taught by the property's storekeeper. Evidence of home schooling can possibly still be found on some homesteads in the way of rooms and furnishings once set aside for schooling. This is a situation that continued in some isolated places into modern times, aided by correspondence or distance education.

26.2 Primary schools - state and church

The establishment of a public school (National School) system in 1848 led in turn to the establishment of government regulated schools offering a simple, secular curriculum and an attempt at compulsory primary education. The first public school in the locality was established in Bathurst only in 1853, a surprisingly late date. (Even Orange had opened its National School by then.) As noted above, many children in the town were already provided for by the denominational schools and the introduction of a state run school encountered some public debate over its nature and necessity. As might be expected, the National School had a very fitful beginning in Bathurst, even closing for a time for want of teachers and an adequate venue. The Bathurst National School (Bathurst Public School from 1866) was located eventually in the Methodist Hall (built 1836, on William Street) and continued there until 1876, when, after further public debate over the siting of a new school, it was re-located to the purpose-built Bathurst Public School on Howick Street, designed by GA Mansfield. The Howick Street site was a compromise decision. It was too small and in a location lacking any opportunity for expansion. Its sportsground had to be located on what is now Carrington Park and makeshift answers were continually enrolled to find extra classroom space elsewhere. The chronic failings of the Howick Street School led eventually to the opening in 1940 of a new school on a ten-acre block (known as Prince's Park) on George Street. The Howick Street School was used as a soldiers' canteen in WWII before being integrated into the neighbouring Bathurst Technical College and is now a museum housing the Somerville Collection.

Additional public (primary) schools were established in the suburbs of Bathurst as the city expanded. Two of particular historic interest are the Milltown Public School (later Bathurst South Public School), established in 1879, and the Kelso Public School, established in 1871. Both of these schools grew out of Church of England initiatives, with the Kelso school able to claim a lineage to the school established in 1826 by Reverend Hassall.

Public school education was also provided progressively to rural and village communities throughout the BRC area, particularly following the Public School Act of 1866. This act allowed for schools to be established in smaller communities in the colony. Larger villages may have already had a National School by then. Rockley, for example, had a National School built in 1863, with a temporary school in a private residence prior to that date. In the case of Eglinton, a public school was established in 1868 with the school for a time sharing premises with the local Post Office. Wattle Flat is thought to have had an ('unsatisfactory') denominational or private school in 1857, which was replaced with a National School opening on 1 July 1858. According to Eve Buscombe (*Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983), pp9, 35), the Wattle Flat Public School is one of the oldest schools in the state, although the present school building dates from 1872 and 1883. The growth of education is reflected in the number of schools of various descriptions placed under the supervision of the Bathurst District Inspector. As early as 1873, there were 110

schools in the Bathurst District with a total enrolment of about 12,000 students. By the mid 1890s, the number of schools or departments had risen to 253 with over 9,000 students.

A Public School in rural locales and villages came only through petition and on evidence of need. Initially only a half-time school might be allowed, with an itinerant teacher shared between small communities, or perhaps a provisional school for a community with 15-25 children. (The arrangements varied according to regulations in effect at different times.) To provide for their immediate needs, an eclectic, often rudimentary, variety of school buildings were sometimes constructed or conscripted by the community, a necessary first step in gaining a permanent school building and public school status. In Trunkey Creek, the Golden Age Hotel on Arthur Street (built c.1858-63) is said to have been used as a dance hall by night and a schoolroom by day. In the absence of a village, a temporary school might be constructed by parents on a local property. Several such community-built schools can be found on properties in the Freemantle area. The tiny school on 'Watton' included Spartan accommodation for the itinerant teacher. The Milkers Flat Provisional School, in use from 1897-1920, made use of the community's Union Church, which also doubled as the community hall. When the school closed, the building was shifted to its present site alongside a shearing shed, where it served for a time as shearers' quarters. (J Buchan, *Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001))

Provided sufficient student numbers could be sustained, a rural or village community in due course would be provided with a well-built public school and teacher's residence either incorporated or built nearby. In the BRC area these buildings are commonly brick built structures dating from the 1870s and are often among the most substantial buildings in the locale. Most of these schools have now closed with the decline of the rural population, the buildings commonly converted to private residences. The school at Limekilns, once attended by Ben Chifley, is one of a number so converted. The Limekilns school is exceptional in another way as well. According to local oral history, this stone school building was not provided by the government, but was built by the Limekilns community on land donated by the neighbouring property in the early 1860s. The building continued to be used, if intermittently, as the local public school until 1916. This community origin would explain both its unusual stone construction and its eccentric school sign. A handful of original 19th century public school buildings still remain in use as schools in some of the larger or more distant villages, for example in Hill End and O'Connell. But for the most part the era of the rural or village public school had passed by the late 1960s. Geoff Walker, the teacher at one such school, the Turondale School (commenced as a provisional school in 1874; closed in 1967) offers a useful social history of a one teacher school and its host community in the 1960s. (Geoff Walker, *Chalkdust on the Turon* (1998).)

The coming of a permanent school with a resident teacher was an important milestone in the history of a rural or village community. A school was provided only on the petition of parents and their guarantee that they would support it. Conversely, the loss of the school - as with the loss of other public services such as the post office or police station - marked the decline of the community. It marked as well the loss of an important community facility as the school building was often as well the local community meeting place. The school's teacher, together with the local postmaster and policeman, also provided a connection with outside government

bureaucracy. For those of limited literacy or ability to cope with bureaucracy, the local teacher could be of invaluable assistance.

The spread of public schools in the area was matched by the further development of church schools, notably Catholic primary schools established and run by religious orders. Examples of such include the Sisters of Mercy at St Mary's Convent, opened in 1868, located on church property (Keppel and William streets). Two notable buildings associated with St Mary's are the 'temporary ballroom', originally from 'Hathrop' and now at 'Glanmire Hall' but used for a time from the 1920s as a recreation room by the school, and the early 20th century neo-classical concrete school building facing William Street. Nearby, the Patrician Brothers provided education for boys at St Patrick's (on the corner of Keppel and George streets, now demolished) from 1884 until the 1920s - when the Brothers were expelled from the Diocese on grounds of incompetence and insubordination. Ben Chifley was a pupil for a brief period. In 1901, St Philomena's was established in South Bathurst, in what was then a working class suburb, initially staffed by Sisters of Mercy and then by Sisters of St Joseph. As Bathurst expanded in the 20th century, several more primary schools were established by the different religious orders, with teacher training also undertaken locally by the Catholic Church.

Roman Catholic religious orders were also significant providers of primary education in the area's villages. These schools offered a similar curriculum to that of the local public schools, but were notable as well for tuition in music. The substantial two storey brick convent and school house in Sofala ('Turon Terrace'), built in the early 1870s, suggests a determination to offer the best possible schooling to that community's Catholic children. However, in the transient mining camps and the temporary communities of railway builders, there was no opportunity to build anything in the way of a lasting schoolhouse. The success of Catholic schools in the bush owes much to the commitment of teaching nuns. After 1883, denominational schools no longer received a financial subsidy from the government, whose policy was now to support only a secular education with state funds. The commitment of church, teachers and parents worked successfully to overcome the resulting gap in funding.

It is important to note though that there was a controversial side to the commitment of the Catholic Church to its schools. The church viewed harshly those parents who did not send their children to a church school. Locally, this led to the divisive 'Kenna Affair' in 1879, which saw Richard Kenna, a leading member of the Bathurst community, buried without benefit of the Church for having put his son in a Protestant school. Earlier, the Church excommunicated Daniel Deniehy over his opposition as a parliamentarian to government funding for church schools and subsequently refused his burial by the Church in 1865. Both of these events reflect something of the determination of the Catholic Church to prevail in educational matters.

26.3 Secondary education

Education, both public and denominational, was limited initially to the primary school level. Various private attempts were made in Bathurst from the mid-1850s to establish secondary education in the form of a grammar school, but without success until 1865. In that year, the Reverend Savigny, an Anglican clergyman, opened a private grammar school for boys on the site

of the present-day Park Hotel. This was the first secondary school in the BRC area, however it functioned only until 1872, closing with the departure of Savigny.

A more lasting initiative had commenced in 1866 with the arrival of the Roman Catholic Bishop, Bishop Mathew Quinn. Quinn came to Bathurst with the intention - and in the face of some government disapproval for his initiative - of offering his parishioners' children the opportunity of denominational secondary education. He was accompanied from Ireland by a party of Sisters of Mercy, who opened St Mary's High School for Girls (St Mary's College) in 1867. The present-day MacKillop College, until 1995 the Diocesan Catholic Girls' High School, is the most recent successor of this initiative. A high school for boys was also established at the same time, St Stanislaus' High School, which quickly evolved into a boarding school, St Stanislaus' College. This development marks the beginning of Bathurst's role as a major provider of secondary boarding school education. The college was modelled on Irish Catholic residential colleges familiar to Bishop Quinn.

In 1873, St Stanislaus' College moved to its present-day site on Brilliant Street and into a Gothic Revivalist style building designed by Edward Gell (with towers added by JJ Copeman in 1907). It is worth pausing to reflect on the symbolic importance of this building, which has dominated the Bathurst skyline since 1873. For Bathurst's Catholic community it was, and perhaps still is, a representation of their success as a community, one that began with illiterate convicts but was now transformed into one of scholarship. The college building has been described as Gell's most important commission. It is also important as one of inland New South Wales' oldest boarding schools and a milestone in the cultural growth of the area's Catholic community.

The closure of Rev Savigny's school in 1872 left the local Anglican community without a secondary school in sympathy with their religion. The rapid success of the largely Irish Roman Catholic community in providing for their children no doubt encouraged the Anglicans to address this deficiency without delay. In 1874, under the auspices of the Church of England and the personal guidance of Bishop Marsden, a secondary school for boys was opened. For a brief time it made use of a succession of temporary locations, including the Oddfellows Hall (124 Keppel St). A permanent school was built by about 1875 on the block bounded by Peel, Hope, Keppel and Piper streets on land originally intended as the bishop's residence. Originally referred to as the Bathurst Church of England College, the school soon took on the name of All Saints' College, after the cathedral church. All Saints' continued until 1919, when it closed for want of students and funds, in part a consequence of the war. It reopened in 1923 at its present site, 'Esrom House' on Eglinton Road, where existing buildings formed the nucleus of the new school. One building, the college's brick chapel, built in 1910, was moved to the new site. A residential girls' high school, Marsden School, was established in 1925 by the Anglican Church at 'Hereford', the former residence of James Rutherford. Pixie College, a private girls' school (see below) merged with Marsden. Marsden itself merged with All Saints' in 1977 to create a co-educational school and the 'Hereford' site became a Catholic Church school, Holy Family School. This transfer of the site from one denomination to another offers an insight into changes in sectarian attitudes by the late 20th century.

A government high school was not provided in Bathurst until 1883, following the passing of the Public Instruction Act of 1880. The high school, one of the first three established in New South

Wales, was housed in the already crowded Bathurst Public School (Howick Street). Enrolment was initially for boys only, with girls admitted from 1884. The Bathurst High School triggered considerable local debate similar to what had accompanied the opening of a government primary (National) school three decades earlier. The argument was that Bathurst already had two church-sponsored high schools, the viability of which would be undermined by a secular, government-sponsored high school. This was also the time when the government subsidy to church or denominational schools ceased, adding to the financial concerns. However, it was the Bathurst High School that struggled to find students, especially boys, and was compelled to close its boys' section in 1887 for want of patronage. The girls' section flourished for a time, but it too closed in 1898 for want of students. By this time the Bathurst Public School was raised in status to that of a superior public school, which was able to offer students qualifications of a level to allow entry into the public service. This development further challenged the viability of a state high school.

The initial attempt by the government to provide Bathurst with a public high school ultimately failed. The simple fact was that the market for public secondary education - not compulsory but fee paying and generally regarded as elitist - was being met by Bathurst's private schools, which were perceived as offering better value by Bathurst's aspirational parents. As well as those schools connected with the churches, there were also by the 1880s a number of secular private colleges (some also offering primary education), notably Pixie Ladies' College (established in 1882; upper William Street), Macquarie House for Young Ladies (1 George Street) and The Elms Ladies' College. (It seems curious but there appear to have been no equivalent private academies for Bathurst's young gentlemen. There are references, however, to a privately run night school, De Clouett's, operating in the early 20th century - attended by a young Ben Chifley.)

In 1905, an interim measure of state secondary education was introduced with the Bathurst District School, one of the first of nineteen such schools established in the state. A district school sought to provide students with an education that would help them find employment in local industry or enter a Teachers' Training College. In 1913, the government made another attempt to provide a state high school in Bathurst with the opening of a school in rooms in the Technical College (William Street). The initiative was more successful this time, perhaps because the curriculum was now less academic and more applied than in the 1880s. Further refinements in curriculum, and a public demand for secondary school specialisation, led to the reclassification in 1923 of Bathurst Public School as a rural school (until 1930) and the girls' high school as a domestic science school. In 1927, Bathurst High School was relocated to its present site on Hope Street - on land that had once been the site of All Saints' College.

By the late 1920s, Bathurst had a successful mix of secular and church-linked secondary schools, all of which in some form continue to the present-day. The Second World War brought both challenges as well as opportunities. Marsden School closed from 1942-1948, its facilities commandeered for wartime use. However, a Sydney-based private school connected to the Presbyterian Church, Scots College, relocated to Bathurst for the duration. Following the war, in 1946, the school's temporary campus at 'Karralee' was re-established as a separate school, Scots School. A second state high school, Kelso High School, opened in 1976, the buildings for which were largely destroyed by fire in 2005. The Kelso school was one of the first flexible plan design high schools built in New South Wales, evidence of this landmark design can be seen in the section of the original school that survived the fire.

26.4 Technical and post secondary education

Bathurst was one of the first centres outside of Sydney to be given a technical college. A state-sponsored system of technical education came into being from the mid-1860s, initially in Sydney with the Mechanics' School of Arts. Within a short time the Board of Technical Education was established to oversee and facilitate courses and teachers, including beyond Sydney. As awareness of the need for quality technical education grew, itinerant teachers were by the early 1880s being sent by the Board to offer classes in the larger country towns, including Bathurst.

This outreach programme coincided with a well-established local programme of providing technical education, underway since the early 1850s. Courses were offered in a variety of scientific and technical subjects by local lecturers at the Bathurst School of Arts and Mechanics' Institute, established in 1855. (More commonly known as the Bathurst School of Arts; its building was on the corner of William and Howick streets, now demolished.) Of particular importance was the initiative of Dr William FP Bassett, a local doctor and former student of Michael Faraday, who provided free classes in chemistry, geology and electricity from the late 1860s. (See Theme 18 (Science).) This was a time of a rising local interest in the applied sciences reflecting the growth of technology in many aspects of work and life. Given also that this was during the goldrush period, courses in geology and mineralogy were also particularly popular.

Initially courses were offered in an ad hoc way, but from the early 1880s organised classes began with the Board's establishment of the Bathurst Technical School, which used rooms in the School of Arts and other temporary rooms around Bathurst. JM Pringle, an officer of the Colonial Architect's Department then working in Bathurst to superintend the construction of the new gaol, offered drawing classes in rooms at the back of the Baptist Church on Keppel Street (now demolished; Coleman's Office Products). The success of the venture gave impetus for the appointment of a resident teacher, WJ Clunies-Ross, and in time the building of a new, purpose-built technical college building. (The name of the institution changed from 'school' to 'college' around this time.)

There was strong local support for a technical college building, which enabled the colonial government to repurchase part of the land (on Williams Street) originally granted the Bathurst School of Arts in 1858. The foundation stone for the building was laid in November 1896, as part of the Bathurst Federal Convention then underway, with the Romanesque-style building, designed in the office of the Colonial Architect (WL Vernon), completed in March 1898. Courses were offered in a range of subjects, including mechanics, technical drawing, the sciences and commerce-related areas. Over time, this technical school has evolved into the TAFE complex located opposite CSU, with the William Street building now largely redundant. Courses have also changed considerably over the last century with the focus now on trades (since the 1930s) and general adult education. During the Second World War, the William Street premises provided training for RAAF technicians under the Commonwealth Defence Training Scheme.

The Bathurst Technical College had its origins with informal classes offered by the Bathurst School of Arts. There was, and continues to be, in the BRC area a long tradition for self-improvement educational classes. This is reflected in the collection of the library of the Bathurst School of Arts, the historic core of which is now held by Bathurst Regional Library and is listed on the State Heritage Register. Study classes and lectures in an impressive range of topics, often quite esoteric, were commonly available from the 1860s. Of particular note are the courses offered by groups such as the Workers Educational Association (WEA) and the role of the Railway Institute (on Havannah Street) in the early 20th century in providing for the educational needs of railway employees (including Ben Chifley as an instructor).

Educational lectures were also available from time to time in the halls and schools of arts in the area's villages, particularly its mining villages. Mining and geology lectures were particularly popular, as in Sunny Corner in the 1880s where an outreach programme was provided by the Bathurst Technical College. Sunny Corner also had its own local library, housed in the School of Arts. (C Karlsen, *Return to Sunny Corner* (1988?))

The BRC area's popular interest in educational self-advancement helped support Bathurst's lengthy campaign for post-secondary institutions, preferably a university. Charles Sturt University was established in 1989 but its antecedents can be traced back to the establishment of the Bathurst Experiment Farm (BEF) in 1895, one of the first such institutions in New South Wales. A central purpose of the farm was to offer agricultural education, including to resident students enrolled in formal courses from 1895-1941. By the 1940s, and partly in consequence of the war, this educational role had evolved into a less formal arrangement, thus making many of the buildings on the farm available for a new initiative. This took the form of the Bathurst Teachers' College, established in 1951, which in turn evolved into Mitchell College of Advanced Education (MCAE) in 1970, a multi-purpose tertiary college. In 1989, MCAE, in turn, became the Bathurst campus of Charles Sturt University, one of several campuses of the university. A number of heritage significant buildings dating back to the BEF period remain in use today on the CSU campus, as well as re-adapted buildings from the Second World War. (See T Barker, *The History of Three Colleges* (1987) for further information.)

The BRC area has a lengthy and complex education heritage and education is a key theme in understanding the history of the BRC area. While in many respects it is a history typical of eastern inland New South Wales, it is equally one that reflects local issues and initiatives. It is also a history that places the area in the forefront of educational developments in inland New South Wales. Of particular note is the early and sustained role played by the churches in establishing educational facilities.

The BRC area's educational history is told in some detail in the following sources:

T Barker, *A History of Bathurst*, (1992 & 1998), Vols 1 & 2. (See Barker's bibliography for published histories for individual schools.)

T Barker, *The History of Three Colleges* (1987)

I Bowie, R McLachlan, et al, *Celebrating 100 Harvests A Centenary History of the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station* (1995)

J Fletcher and J Burnswood, *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848-1983* (1983)

B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976) (Contains several chapters on education.)

Most published local and village histories include a history of their local schools. A number of local schools have also produced their own commemorative histories.

A list of government schools from 1848-1983 can be found in J Fletcher & J Burnswoods, *Government Schools of New South Wales* (1983), listed under their respective county. BRC public schools are located in the counties of Wellington, Roxburgh and Bathurst. Note the date provided for a school is when the school commenced, which is often some years before the building of a permanent schoolhouse. Consequently, the date provided on a school building is the date of the building's construction and not the date when a school first commenced. Archival information for many of these schools is held (in 'school files') by the NSW State Archives at Kingswood.

VII. Governing

27. Defence

The local lasses are enjoying the war enormously. It gives a fillip to the boredom of their normal existence and they drink and neck more than they'd ordinarily get a chance to (Dymphna Cusack to Miles Franklin, Bathurst, November 1940, as cited in M North, 'Dymphna Cusack: Beautiful Exile', *Hecate* (1999), p.151)

Raids and skirmishes very likely occurred between rival Wiradjuri groups prior to the arrival of British settlers. The occasion and cause of such clashes can only be speculated upon today.

Bathurst as a British settlement began in 1815 as a military outpost on the western boundary of settled New South Wales. A small permanent garrison of soldiers drawn from British regiments stationed in the colony served in Bathurst from 1815 until 1847, with a brief return during the goldrush. The garrison served to keep order over the convicts and provide protection from bushrangers and the Wiradjuri. The Bowling Club precinct on William Street was the site of their barracks, the greens of which warrant archaeological investigation. A reminder that the BRC area was once part of a greater Britain remains with the placenames of Vittoria and Raglan, both having 19th century British military associations.

With the withdrawal of British troops from the Australian colonies in 1870, colonial volunteer defence forces were formed, including in Bathurst. The Bathurst Mounted Rifles was an important part of community's life in the late 19th century, and even had its own regimental colours (now in the Bathurst District Historical Museum).

Two military events of historical significance date from the early settlement period. In 1824 Wiradjuri warriors under the leadership of Windradyne mounted armed resistance in defending their homelands from colonial incursion and occupation. Martial Law, in itself a rare event in Australian history, was declared following a series of Wiradjuri guerilla-style attacks on homesteads. The conflict rapidly escalated into retaliatory attacks on the Wiradjuri by soldiers and settlers. Several conflict sites, including places of possible massacre, can be identified from contemporary sources, at least in terms of their general locations. These include Millah Murrah, Bells Falls Gorge, Billiwillinga and, closer to Bathurst, the river flats near Kelso. 'Brucedale' was the scene of a peaceful encounter between Windradyne and a member of the Suttor family, an incident that is held in high regard in local folk history. (Sites associated with the conflict of 1824 warrant assessment as sites of heritage significance, but further work may be required to fix exact locations.) The conflict around Bathurst in 1824 is part of the larger, continent-wide, history of indigenous resistance to British settlement.

The other colonial military event of note involved bloodshed within the European settlement. In late 1830, British troops from the Bathurst garrison as well as troops despatched from Sydney, together with police and armed settlers, were used to crush a convict/bushranger uprising known as the Ribbon Gang or Bathurst Rebellion. The uprising culminated in several skirmishes in the vicinity of the Abercrombie River, with the nearby Abercrombie Caves area providing the

bushrangers with sanctuary. (A detailed account of the military involvement is provided in Henry Bialowas, *Ten Dead Men* (unpublished mss, 2007).)

Other military connections of the locality offer both unique and characteristic Australian experiences of the wars in which Australia has been engaged since the late 19th century. Bathurst provided a significant contribution to the 1884 NSW Sudan Contingent, memorabilia of which is held in the Bathurst District Historical Museum. Peter Handcock (tried and executed with Breaker Morant) was from Bathurst and his story is associated with the Boer War Memorial unveiling by Field Marshall Kitchener in 1910.

In World War One, several recruitment marches either passed through or terminated in Bathurst, including the Cooee March of 1915. The Bathurst Show Grounds served for a time as a military camp, the history of which is commemorated with a plaque at the show grounds. The 54th Battalion had a close association with the BRC area, with many of its members recruited locally. A convalescent hospital was established in 'Hathrop', a property on Gorman's Hill Road. An unusual connection of the BRC area with the First World War is the mining of molybdenum near Yetholme, which was used in hardening steel for use in armaments. (See Theme 16 (Mining).) The 1914-1918 wartime experience of Bathurst and the BRC area generally is largely typical of a well-established inland community.

The Second World War had a profound effect on the area and led to a number of major developments, some of lasting significance. As was the case throughout Australia and had been so in the previous war, volunteer organisations, such as the Voluntary Aid Detachment and the Volunteer Defence Corps, were established. Civilian institutions were requisitioned for wartime needs. The Howick Street Public School became a recreation centre for servicemen and enemy aliens were interned in Bathurst Gaol. Marsden School was requisitioned for military use.

In early 1940, a military training camp was established on Limekilns Road and was used for the training of the 7th and 9th Divisions, as well as the ill-fated 8th Division sent to Malaya and Singapore. In consequence of the camp, a Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery is located next to the Bathurst General Cemetery.

In 1942, an Australian Defence Industry munitions factory was established in Bathurst, the principal buildings for which on the Blayney Road are still in use for non-military purposes. Housing was built for plant workers, some of which still provide homes today. The student residence at the Bathurst Experiment Farm (now Cunningham House on the CSU campus) was used for worker accommodation. Edgell's food cannery expanded and modernised in response to military contracts, particularly after 1942 with America's entry into the war. Young women of the Australian Women's Land Army, quartered at 'Mount Pleasant' (present-day 'Abercrombie House'), helped with the harvesting from 1942-1944. The city and its environs provided space for warehousing for an army ordnance depot, a number of the warehouses and storage sheds still exist in the area, as on the present-day campus of CSU and nearby on Lloyds Road.

With Japan's entry into the war at the close of 1941, air attack was a very real possibility, leading even to the construction of backyard air raid shelters. Bathurst's airport at Raglan was built during this period, in 1942; dispersal airfields may also have been built in the surrounding

countryside. Scots School was relocated to Bathurst out of concern for a Japanese attack on Sydney.

Collectively, the many wartime sites in and around Bathurst, together with their associated histories, offer a valuable record of a regional city during the Second World War and are an important part of the wider wartime history of inland Australia.

The connection of the city with Australia's wartime Federal Treasurer and, briefly, wartime Prime Minister, Ben Chifley, makes Bathurst's Second World War heritage even more significant. The Bathurst area has as well a connection with a number of nationally significant military men. The most highly decorated serviceman from the area was Bathurst-born Major BA Wark, awarded the Victoria Cross in 1918. The city was also the childhood home for two of Australia's official military historians, Bathurst-born Dr Charles Bean (WWI) and Bathurst (All Saints') educated Gavin Long (WWII). Australia's most famous war cinematographer, Damien Parer (1912-1944), was educated at St Stanislaus' College.

The experience of war occasions a need for a community to remember the contribution and loss of those who served. As with all Australian communities, the BRC area has many war memorials. The War Memorial Carillon in King's Parade is the most recognisable of the area's war memorials. It is also a memorial with a particularly strong social value in its heritage significance. Dedicated in 1933, it was built brick by brick with funds - pennies and shillings - raised by public subscription during the difficult years of the Depression. More war memorials can be found in Bathurst's parks, schools and churches and most often take the form of monuments, plaques and honour boards. Some memorials, such as the WWI memorial row of trees opposite the Bathurst Show Grounds, have disappeared with time. In one case, the Bathurst Experiment Farm WWI Honour Roll now on the wall of the CSU Chapel (Cow Shed), the memorial reappeared after decades of exile in a shed. War memorials are also to be found in the villages of the area, such as in Seven's Park in Rockley and in Hill End. The Hill End memorial includes a trophy machine gun. A trophy WWI German field gun, together with memorials to the different units trained there, stands at the entrance to the WWII army camp on Limekilns Road. The colours of the 54th Battalion AIF, a World War One unit with a strong local connection, are laid up in All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, which like many churches in the district contains other military memorials. Collectively, the dozens of different war memorials, some dedicated to individuals, are an important part of the heritage landscape in the BRC area.

Defence, or perhaps more accurately conflict, is an important theme in the history of the BRC area. War impacted not only on the community as a whole but also on the lives of those individuals who were called away to fight or to serve in other ways. It is not surprising then that so many monuments, buildings and sites associated with Bathurst's military history of the 19th and 20th centuries can be found throughout the locality. The history of defence in the BRC area is for the most part representative of the experience of inland NSW. Two experiences, however, stand out as having been particularly significant. These are the 1824 Wiradjuri resistance to British settlement and the impact of the Second World War on Bathurst.

A useful survey of Bathurst and area during the two world wars is to be found in Christopher Morgan, *Castle, Kit Bag and Cattle Truck* (2001).

28. Government and administration

Rockley Pound Scale of Charges. Mileage Rate for Droving or Taking Animals to Pound. Rate Per Mile. For the first animal, Threepence. For every other trespassing & impounded at the same time, One Half-Penny. Sixpence for the first 100 & One Penny for every 100 or Portion of 100 above that number. (From an Abercrombie Shire sign, dated 1910. As given in T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), p.74.)

Given its origin in 1788 as a government initiated convict colony, government and administration have always been a major theme in the history of New South Wales. Bathurst was likewise established as a settlement in 1815 as a government initiative and its development, especially in the first decades, was subject to government direction. This was a direction that was autocratic rather than democratic, subject to draconian rules and regulations. By contrast, the life of the Wiradjuri was governed by tradition and kinship relationships, largely unacknowledged by the colonial government. The Wiradjuri were declared to be British citizens and their community was placed by the British government within an understandable framework of 'tribes' and 'chiefs'. It is an interesting anomaly that in dealing with Aborigines the British drew on their experiences with North American Indians but with the important exception of making treaties and acknowledging prior sovereignty of Aborigines over themselves and their lands.

During the convict era, control over government and administration was very much the preserve of the Governor, who was appointed by the Crown to administer the colony in its name. He was answerable to the British government for his actions, not to the convicts and free settlers. Though adherence to the rule of law largely protected colonists from the worst excesses of arbitrary government, it was a top-down form of administration. This authority was passed on in turn to the Governor's representative in Bathurst, the Commandant. The Bathurst Commandant had responsibility for all territory west of the mountains. Bathurst's first Commandant, William Cox, an ex-military officer turned free settler, was rarely resident in the area and appears to have given little attention to his position. His successor, William Lawson, also a free settler with a military background, served as Commandant from 1819-1823. Unlike Cox, Lawson resided in the district. Lawson was replaced by Major James Morisset (1823-1825), a military man with a reputation for strict discipline and efficiency. It was during Morisset's term that martial law was declared in 1824 in consequence of the warfare between Wiradjuri and settlers. Morisset went on to serve as the Commandant at Norfolk Island, where he gained a reputation as a harsh administrator, before returning to settle on a farm near Bathurst (Winburndale). Morisset's successor as Bathurst Commandant was Lieutenant John Fennell, who died in Bathurst in 1826. (Fennell is buried in the Holy Trinity Cemetery in Kelso, together with Morisset. Their graves are among the few existing heritage items relating to Bathurst's early administration.) The position of Commandant was from Morisset's appointment filled by a serving military officer, which fitted with the semi-military character of the office.

During the early 1830s, the position of Commandant lapsed. His duties were assumed, in part at least, by police and judicial appointments, notably that of a resident police magistrate. Bathurst

was being transformed from a penal out station into a settlement for free and time expired residents. One of the lasting administrative acts of this period was the surveying of Bathurst for development as a civil settlement, with a grid of streets and allotments for purchase. (*Plan for the Town of Bathurst*, dated 19th January 1833.)

The disappearance of the autocratic position of Commandant was part of the wider changes occurring in the government of the colony, changes we recognise today as being part of the gradual evolution towards democratic representative government. An attempt to introduce a form of local self-government was made in 1843 with the establishment of District Councils, including a council for the Bathurst-Carcoar District. The initiative failed by 1846, in part because the area was too sparsely populated to provide the tax base to pay for police and gaols. The colonial government had no alternative but to continue its direct administration and to provide for necessary services, such as roads and policing. Access to the central government in Sydney was provided mainly through the legal network of courts. The Bathurst Court House served as the local administrative centre, with the magistrates acting as the de facto government representatives linking the local area with the central administration. Police and other resident government employees played a similar role in overseeing government services at the local level, which in time included the registration of births, deaths and marriages, land titles, and similar registration and tax collecting functions.

With the goldrush, the office of Gold Commissioner was created to provide for administration on the goldfields, with other goldfields officials and officialdom following soon after. The mining registrar's office in Hill End and the Gold Commissioner's residence in Sofala came with this need for an administrative presence on those goldfields. The goldrush also saw more court houses and police stations, which served also as agencies for government services, established in mining villages. In passing, it may be worth noting that in Sofala one can see a nascent administrative compound being planned in the location of key government buildings - the Gold Commissioner's residence, the police station and gaol and the court house. Even the fence posts used for the Commissioner's residence, recently restored, bear the broad arrow mark used to identify government property. (See Theme 29 (Law and Order).)

The Municipalities Act of 1858 allowed larger settlements to petition for the right to incorporate as municipalities with an elected local council. A municipality had the power to make by-laws and raise funds through local rates, together with the responsibility for the management of its own roads and services. These services included the provision of utilities (including in time both telephones and electricity), public markets, saleyards and recreational facilities such as sportsgrounds. Although self-administration involved expenses and responsibilities, it was an attractive proposition for those residents who held a progressive view of their community's development. In the case of Bathurst, a town growing in population and prosperity largely thanks to the goldrush, the proposition of incorporation had strong support - at least among the largely Protestant business and professional establishment. However, the less prosperous among Bathurst's householders, often Irish and Catholic, were less enthusiastic. Bathurst's community decision to incorporate came only after heated arguments over costs and benefits, with division for and against reflecting sectarian differences in the community. The process to achieve municipal status began in 1858 with public meetings and was finally achieved only on 13 November 1862. Consequently, Bathurst was incorporated after Orange (1860) and Mudgee

(1860), but was one of only thirteen incorporated towns or districts outside Sydney by 1862. The municipality included only that part of present-day Bathurst on the south side of the Macquarie River. (See map in T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, p.69)

On 20 March, 1885, Bathurst was designated as a city by the government. This arrangement, an outcome of the Crown Lands Act (1884), was applied at the same time to all large urban centres in the colony, of which Bathurst was one of six. It was a measure intended primarily to bring some bureaucratic order to a century of urban settlement. Some 500 other settlements were also officially listed as towns or villages, including villages within the BRC area. Most of the area's villages had been so designated, or gazetted, before 1885. Rockley, for example, was gazetted as a village in 1851, making it the sixth oldest town west of the Blue Mountains. Gazetting as a village, however, had little to do with civic government. It allowed for subdivision of land into smaller allotments and the surveying of streets and, if residents so petitioned, perhaps a post office and a school.

Only one other town in the BRC area was incorporated as a municipality, Hill End in August 1873. This was during the time of Hill End's dramatic development as a major gold mining centre, a time when it was one of the largest country towns in the colony. For over three decades Hill End had municipal self-government with a council of eight aldermen and a mayor - and responsibility for some 17 kilometres of roads. The boom, however, did not last and as the population declined so did the financial viability of maintaining a Borough Council. In 1908, Hill End, effectively bankrupt, ceased as a municipality and became part of the recently established Turon Shire. Hill End served as an administrative centre for the Shire. In 1967, Hill End entered into yet another administrative form when it became the Hill End Historic Site and under National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) custodianship, while still remaining within Evans Shire. Hill End was among the first villages in Australia to become a designated 'historic site' administered with a primacy given to maintaining its heritage integrity. The experience has offered challenges for both residents and the NPWS.

Beyond the boundaries of Bathurst and Hill End, the villages and rural locales of the area continued after the legislation that came into effect in 1858, and again after 1885, to be administered by the central government. Significant change came in 1906 following the Local Government Act. By this Act, the government compulsorily created shires with elected councils, which took over from the state responsibility for the maintenance of local roads and the provision of specific community services. Two shires were created in the BRC area. Divided by the Macquarie River, Turon Shire was on the north side and Abercrombie Shire was on the south side of the river. Turon Shire included the village of Kelso, where it located its shire chambers. The Abercrombie Shire Chambers in Rockley, built from locally mined rubble marble in 1912 and now a private residence, served as that shire's chambers until 1946, when the headquarters of the shire were relocated to Perthville. (*The Rockley Manner* (1989), p.270) The Rockley Chambers building contains a commemorative window in memory of Ben Chifley, who was both a councillor and president of that shire.

In October 1977, the two shires were merged to form Evans Shire, by which time Kelso had already become part of the City of Bathurst. In 2003, Bathurst City and Evans Shire were

merged to form Bathurst Regional Council. (Some eastern portions of Evans Shire were merged with Oberon Regional Council.)

Changes in boundaries between the three earlier local governments had occurred from time to time between 1906 and 2003. For example, Busby Street in South Bathurst was at one time the boundary between Bathurst and Abercrombie Shire, an arrangement that allowed Ben Chifley, resident at 10 Busby Street on the Abercrombie Shire side of the street, to serve as a shire councillor.

An ambitious development plan overlay local government for a time in the 1970s-80s. This was the 1972 proposal for the Bathurst Orange Growth Centre, the first of several such regional development plans for inland New South Wales. In the case of the BRC area, the project was managed by the Bathurst Orange Development Corporation. The growth centre proposal, initiated and backed by the federal and state governments of the time, planned not only the further development of Bathurst, Orange and Blayney but also the creation of a new city, for which land was acquired. The proposed site of the new city was in the area of Vittoria, including Macquarie Woods. Although the growth centre plan did not come to fruition and was terminated in the 1980s, it did have a profound effect on the development of Bathurst. State government services were relocated to the city, notably the Central Mapping Authority in 1973. The successful expansion of the city's Mitchell College of Advanced Education into a multi-purpose college can be linked to the growth centre proposal. There is also a connection with the rapid suburban expansion of Bathurst in the late 20th century, initially undertaken to meet the housing needs of relocated public servants and in expectation of the thousands more to come. Following the collapse of the growth centre proposal, an attempt was made to use some of the land acquired in Evans Shire for an artillery-training base. The attempt was unsuccessful, thanks largely to an energetic public 'No Base' campaign. Some of the land concerned was then transformed into the Macquarie Woods reserve.

Colonial and state representation: From 1843-1856, a limited franchise elected representatives to the NSW Legislative Council, including two representatives from the present-day BRC area (and beyond). (Sir) Saul Samuel (from 1854-1856) was perhaps the most famous of the handful who served in the Legislative Council during this period.

With the introduction of responsible self-government in 1856, a fully elected Legislative Assembly was introduced, and the Council returned to being an appointed body until relatively recently. Three Legislative Assembly electorates were established in the BRC area, known (from 1859-1893) as Bathurst, East Macquarie and West Macquarie. Bathurst was limited to the town of Bathurst. East Macquarie extended from the east (north) side of the Macquarie River and included the villages of Kelso, Sofala and other local villages. West Macquarie covered country to the west (south) of the river, excluding Bathurst. These three electorates did not coincide perfectly with the boundaries of the present BRC area. In the north, Hill End and Tambaroora were initially in the Goldfields electorate and later part of the Mudgee electorate. There have been many changes in electorates and electoral boundaries since 1859. The present-day state electorate of Bathurst includes the three original electorates covering the BRC area.

It is not within the purpose of this study to provide a detailed history of the BRC area electorate(s). Two points though might be made. First, colonial (later state) politics are an important part of the area's history. Election campaigns were invariably lively and, more so than today, occasions for public spectacles with speeches from hotel balconies and torch lit street parades. In that context, the BRC area's public halls and hotels (such as the Royal Hotel in Bathurst, with its balcony) sometimes have a role in the political history of the area.

The second point to be made is that the Bathurst area electorates have had - if only from time to time - representatives of historical significance. As well as men of local standing, such as members of the Suttor, McPhillamy and Webb families and Louis Beyers of Hill End, among others, its representatives have included people of wider historical importance. Two premiers, Sir John Robertson and Sir James Martin, represented East Macquarie, although not residents of the electorates. West Macquarie was represented for over a decade by William Patrick Crick, a graduate of St Stanislaus' College and one of the more colourful politicians of his day. Daniel Deniehy, one of the great political activists of the 19th century and in part responsible for the achievement of responsible government in 1856, held the seat for East Macquarie in 1860. (A list of members representing the three main electorates for the first fifty or so years is in C Sloman, *The History of Bathurst 1815-1915* (1994), pp202-203.)

Federal representation: The BRC area has been within the electorate of Calare since 1977, an electorate centred on the major population centres of Lithgow, Bathurst and Orange. Prior to 1977, indeed from Federation in 1901, the BRC area was within the electorate of Macquarie. Over a period of 75 years, the boundaries of the Macquarie electorate periodically shifted, briefly including Orange (1906-12) but more often extending as far east as the Blue Mountains and Emu Plains and as far south as Crookwell. This needs to be taken into account when considering the heritage arising from Ben Chifley, who represented not only the BRC area but also these and other communities from 1928-31 and again from 1940-51.

Electoral boundary changes proposed in June 2006, which came into effect in 2007, will divide the BRC area between the electorates of Calare and Macquarie. The south and eastern portions of the area, including Bathurst City, will return to the old electorate of Macquarie, which will extend eastward to include the Blue Mountains. The north and western portions will remain in Calare, which will now extend westward to include much of the remaining Central West. The 2007 electoral boundaries for the BRC area are similar to those in 1922-1933, when Chifley began his federal political career.

Macquarie was named for the colonial governor of the same name, who was closely associated with the area's early history. Calare is the Wiradjuri name for the Lachlan River, a distant stream with no direct associations with the BRC area. Originally located more to the west, Calare has migrated eastward with electoral redistributions.

Heritage sites connected with the theme of government and administration include not only those buildings associated with the day to day work of officialdom, such as shire offices and court houses, but also the outcomes of that work. Much of the infrastructure of the area, such as roads, utilities and recreational facilities, as well as community services, such as bushfire brigades and

their halls, are part of this theme. The personal histories of the area's administrators and representatives also contribute to heritage of this theme.

Detailed information on the 19th and early 20th century history of government and administration in the BRC area can be found in C Sloman, *The History of Bathurst 1815-1915* (1994) and in T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* 1992 & 1998), Vols 1 & 2.

See also such themes as Transport (Theme 20), Utilities (Theme 24), Health (Theme 14) and Sports (Theme 36) for more detailed histories and heritage item examples of work undertaken by 'Government and administration'.

29. Law and order

*A gentleman whom I met at Bathurst, and who is well known in the colony for his humorous qualities, was stopped on a bush-road by a rough fellow, who, rushing upon him, thrust the muzzle of a pistol into the pit of his stomach, roaring out at the same time, 'Stand, you ----, or I'll blow out your brains!' 'My good fellow,' retorted Mr. P ----, with perfect self-possession -- 'you won't find my brains down there!' The ruffian laughed heartily at the joke, and treated, as well as robbed, the joker with a degree of tenderness and civility very foreign to his usual habits of doing business. (Extract from unpaginated electronic copy of Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes* (1852).)*

All societies have the need for some manner of arrangement for maintaining discipline and good order amongst their members. Laws are drafted to define what is deemed improper behaviour; maintaining social order is provided for through a system of police, law courts and punishments. Both those who enforce the laws and those who break them are part of our law and order heritage.

The Wiradjuri people had their own system of law and order prior to British settlement. Life was governed by orally understood rules, or customs, which were based on a cosmological understanding of society that was radically different in many ways from a western legalistic one. Wiradjuri groups in the BRC area were small, family groupings where sharing of resources was unquestioned and the place of the individual within the group was pre-determined by familial ties. Consequently, Wiradjuri customary law was more concerned with issues of relationship, such as in the arrangement of marriages, than with issues of individual property ownership, as in western law. Punishment of lawbreakers was achieved through a graduated scale of social sanctions and physical punishments according to the seriousness of the offence.

Although today we may not view the Wiradjuri-British conflict of 1824 as a law and order issue, it was viewed as such by the British and also quite possibly so by the Wiradjuri. The Wiradjuri, defined by the government as British subjects, were described as being in rebellion against their lawful government. Martial law was declared. From the Wiradjuri point of view, however, the British settlers, overstaying trespassers on Wiradjuri land, were equally behaving in a manner totally incompatible with Wiradjuri custom. Expulsion of the interlopers was the required response.

The British understanding of law and order came to the BRC area in 1815 with the construction of Cox's road - and its convict labourers. Predominant in this understanding, and in the apparatus provided for its enforcement, was the need for maintaining discipline and control amongst the convicts, who worked as assigned servants for settlers as well as in convict gangs for the government. Armed British soldiers provided law enforcement; honorary magistrates, selected from free men of property resident in the area, administered the law. Bathurst was established, in part at least, as a centre for the administration of this military system of law and order.

The 1824 conflict demonstrated the need for a military mounted police force. The mounted police were used primarily for policing beyond what was known as the Limits of Location, established in 1829, where government authority was limited. Bathurst had a detachment from about 1830, which used Bathurst as a base for long-range patrols beyond the Limits. (The boundary line of the Limits of Location lies to the west of the BRC area, roughly in a line from Wellington to Molong to Canowindra.)

With the transition to a post-convict society from the 1820s, new, more formal, arrangements for law and order came into being for those areas within the Limits of Location, such as the Bathurst area. From 1827 Bathurst had a paid police magistrate, joined in 1829 by a civilian police force of constables under a chief constable and a police superintendent, but with a high degree of local control over the community's policing. Police Districts were introduced in the colony in the 1830s. The law was administered and civil disputes settled through a permanent court of petty sessions, in the case of Bathurst from 1832. (A plaque on the Bathurst Court House commemorates the establishment of the court of petty sessions.) The establishment of a court was an important stimulus to the growth of the settlement, and as the community grew inevitably disputes requiring the arbitration of a court become more common. Bathurst became, and has remained since, a major centre for justice in western New South Wales - even with the absence until 1848 of a dedicated court house. One of colonial Australia's most famous barristers and eloquent democrats, Daniel Deniehy (1828-1865), practiced in this court house; but alas the site (possibly on George Street) where he suffered his fatal collapse in consequence of years of alcohol abuse is lost to history.

The story of the Ribbon Gang (sometimes called the Bathurst Rebellion), all convict bushrangers, in 1830, offers a classic 'law and order' tale from this early period, a time of transition from convict era 'law and order' to that of a civil society. It is also possibly the largest police action in the history of colonial inland New South Wales. A number of Ribbon Gang related sites exist in the BRC area, including the site of the gang's public execution in Ribbon Gang Lane in Bathurst on 2 November 1830. Their trial provided the first sitting of the colony's Supreme Court in Bathurst, on 29 October 1830.

The goldrush of the 1850s brought new requirements for policing and law enforcement in the colony, including within the Bathurst area. A Police Gold Escort was established in 1851. Goldfield regulations, such as mining licenses, were administered by a specially appointed Gold Commissioner from 1851. The area witnessed some of the first disputes between miners and authorities over these licencing requirements, notably at Sofala in 1853. The 1862 Police Regulation Act brought the various police forces - Mounted, Gold and local - together into one uniform force under central control, recognisable as the antecedent of today's police force. From the early 1870s, with the establishment of the Department of Mines, locally resident mining wardens, such as at Hill End, provided for local legal matters relating to mining.

The establishment of stable communities in the BRC area beyond Bathurst led to the provision of a permanent police and court presence in the larger settlements. Local courts, or courts of petty session, functioned in Hill End (1871-1988), Sofala (1851-1962), Rockley (1861-1974), Trunkey Creek (1869-1975) and Sunny Corner (1884-1925). Their physical location within a village may reveal a government precinct, as can be seen at Sofala. The precinct is less obvious in Rockley,

as the planned court house was never constructed. Nonetheless, the close siting of the former Abercrombie Shire Chambers, the former post office and the police station (with detached cell block), together with the vacant court house block, perhaps shows the intention for such a precinct. The combined police station and court house in Trunkey Creek, built around 1880, was one of only two brick buildings in the mining village, a gesture of permanency and authority that would not have gone unnoticed among a transient population.

Police stations and court houses were important symbols heralding the arrival of civilisation and the growing success of the host communities. Their existence was being acknowledged by the government in far away Sydney. In turn, their closure perhaps marks their decline but it also reflects the impact of modern communication and transportation. Many of the police stations and court houses built in the 19th century still stand, although nearly all have now been converted to private residences. Villages and rural locales too small for a court house were provided with a visiting or travelling magistrate to handle minor legal cases. A tiny two-room cottage (c.1850) in the village of Peel is thought locally to have been used as both the combined residence and courtroom for such a magistrate.

The legal development of the BRC area, evidenced in the establishment of local courts in its villages, saw as well the need for an enhanced role for its court in Bathurst - and a grander court house. The present-day Bathurst Court House, built in 1882 to the design of James Barnet (and replacing the much smaller 1848 building), is one of the most impressive court houses in regional New South Wales. Such is its grandeur that popular myths still persist that it was meant for elsewhere, not for Bathurst. The grandeur of the Bathurst Court House reflects not only an intention of impressing the public with the majesty of the Law, but it is also a real measure of the importance of Bathurst as a regional centre in the late 19th century. The scale of the building was as well a necessary requirement as the court house served as the main administrative centre for the area. Around the same time, a larger and more impressive police station was also provided in Bathurst (present day Bowling Club, William Street), also designed by James Barnet. Both buildings made - and continue to make - an official statement about the importance of Bathurst as a regional administrative centre.

Criminal activity in the post-convict period in the BRC area was very likely typical of other comparable inland areas. While serious crimes of violence did happen - and public executions took place until the 1870s - petty criminality occupied most police and court time; and the bulk of those sent to gaol were sentenced for relatively minor infringements. Bushranging activities, however, invariably attract the greatest interest today - even if they are perhaps atypical of the area's crime history. The Ben Hall gang was active in the BRC area, as well as in the wider Central West Region, in the 1860s. The gang's most famous exploits locally were their 'raid' on Bathurst in early October 1863, followed a few weeks later by their fatal armed holdup of the Keightley homestead at Dunn's Plains, near Rockley. (The bullet-riddled door from Dunn's Plains is on display at the Bathurst District Historical Museum.) Both of these events are important episodes in the narrative of bushranging history. The events at Dunn's Plains provided the plot for one of Australia's first feature films, *A Bushranger's Ransom, or A Ride for a Life*, filmed in 1911 in the Bathurst area. (Of the first twenty feature films made in Australia, five are about Bathurst-area bushrangers.)

The first prison or gaol in the BRC area was erected in 1820, probably in the lower William Street area, primarily as an extension of the convict system. This was replaced in 1840 with a purpose-built prison in what is now Machattie Park. In 1887, the present-day prison, located on the Orange Road, was completed and the old prison site was redeveloped as Machattie Park. The Bathurst Gaol, together with the Bathurst Court House, were always intended to serve a wider region than the BRC area. This role has grown even more important with the closure of courts and gaols in smaller communities in the Central West.

Change has likewise taken place in our understanding of the purpose of prisons - and punishment. A Prisoners Aid Society was formed as early as 1887 in Bathurst. Since the 1930s, low security prisons, notably in the form of re-forestation camps, have focussed on the rehabilitation of prisoners and not just their incarceration. Kirkconnell Correctional Centre is an example of such; it was established in 1961 as the Kirkconnell Afforestation Camp.

The history of law and order in the BRC area contains elements both unique and typical. The conflict of 1824 provides an important case study of different cultural understandings of law. The early years of settlement as well coincide with early developments in the transition to our present day legal system from a military/convict legal system. As the locale for some of the first goldfields, the BRC area is also an important part of the early legal history of the goldfields. In its later development, the Bathurst area offers a representative example of the history of law and order in inland New South Wales. In particular, Bathurst Court House and the Bathurst Gaol, together with the area's more modest village police stations and court houses, are important to our understanding of the evolving history of law and order in the 19th century.

Hilary Golder, *High and Responsible Office - A History of the NSW Magistracy* (1991). Appendix 3 lists dates for the establishment and closure of courts in NSW.

30. Welfare

Welfare refers to the ways in which people and groups within the community are assisted in times of need. The history of welfare in the BRC area is largely typical of a regional Australian community. As well as assistance from official agencies, it is also a story of mutual help groups, the initiative and work of community groups as well as the lifelong contributions of the men and women of religious orders and churches.

For the Wiradjuri people in traditional times, the care of the sick, aged or orphaned was usually the concern of the individual's kinship group, with expectations and obligations a seamless part of Wiradjuri culture.

For the first decades of settlement, little was offered or anticipated in the way of charity or welfare, a situation to be expected in a frontier area. A convict hospital and a female factory, both located in Bathurst, provided for extreme situations only. The situation improved only modestly with the ending of the convict system in the 1840s. Churches were able to offer some limited assistance but the expectation was that people cared for themselves or were cared for by family or friends. There were though more than a few people who lacked such care. In response, an attempt was made to establish a Benevolent Society in the 1850s to care for the aged poor, but this initiative failed for lack of public interest. Anyone, perhaps for reasons of age or infirmity, judged incapable of caring for him or herself, and possessing no family or friends able to assist, could only hope to be recommended by the police or magistrate to be sent to one of the government run asylums in Sydney or Parramatta.

The situation improved markedly in the last decades of the 19th century as society became more established - and wealth was generated by the goldrush. A second attempt at a 'benevolent society' for Bathurst was more successful in 1876 with the formation of the Poor Relief Society by leading citizens for the aid of the poor, sick and elderly. Among other activities, the Society ran a Benevolent Home for the aged and poor on Durham Street, near Peel Street, from 1896 for some years. (C Sloman, *The History of Bathurst 1815-1915* (1994), pp112-113) It is quite possible other early community-based charities existed, but their activities may have not been noted by later historians.

Charitable relief also became increasingly available through church organisations, particularly on the part of the Roman Catholic Church from the 1860s, following the establishment of the diocese centred on Bathurst. Church-based organisations provided relief to parishioners in difficulties. St Vincent de Paul's established locally in 1903 is still active today. As well as its many schools, early Catholic initiatives included an orphanage. The Sisters of Mercy opened an orphanage, St Joseph's Orphanage, soon after their arrival in 1866; around 1912 they moved it into a mansion on William Street (now Holmhurst), where it continued for some years. Still operating is St Vincent's Hospital, established in 1923 by the Catholic Church.

The Salvation Army was another important provider of welfare services. The Army established a presence in Bathurst from the mid-1880s, with detachments in the mining villages of Hill End, Sofala and Sunny Corner. The provision of social services was, as it continues to be, a key

feature of the Army. In 1897, they opened a Rescue Home ('for fallen women') in Bathurst. The Home's main purpose was to provide a refuge for unmarried pregnant women from the western region. Prior to this, the Army arranged for girls to be provided with a railway pass to allow them to make their way to the Army's Rescue Home in Sydney, an echo of the earlier arrangement for the area's aged paupers. The first Bathurst Rescue Home was located in an existing building in Piper Street. In 1904 the Home moved to 202 Durham Street, with accommodation for twenty-two women. (From 1922-1936, the building, renamed St Hilda's, became a Church of England run boarding house or hostel for country girls attending school in Bathurst; it is now a private residence.*) The Salvation Army's home was a continuation of an earlier, failed effort by the Bathurst City Mission, another Protestant group. The Mission (1882-1894) was founded by leading ladies of Bathurst originally to help the poor and homeless, but in 1889 the ladies turned their attention to the town's Chinese community.

(*Information provided by Bill Tighe, BDHS; see also, *National Advocate*, 10 July 1922. St Hilda's is sometimes mistakenly referred to as St Agnes', a hostel run by the Roman Catholic Church in 'Braemar', now demolished, in Keppel Street.)

From the mid-19th century mutual benefit societies ('friendly societies'), such as the Independent Order of Oddfellows, joined church-based and other secular aid societies in providing welfare aid in time of need. A small insurance premium provided financial assistance in time of illness, unemployment and old age, with the burial fund ensuring a decent Christian funeral. The Oddfellows Hall (built 1892) in Sofala is a visible reminder of this community-based social security system, as well as evidence of the work of such societies in providing community amenities. The presence of this hall in a goldfields village illustrates as well the important connection of mutual benefit societies with the goldrush era. The Bathurst railway community offered similar welfare arrangements through its different trade unions for its members. A variation on the 'mutual benefit society' is the temperance society, of which the Bathurst area had a number of groups, active even in small villages such as Peel. While not established to provide financial assistance, temperance societies offered moral support for families where alcoholism was a problem.

The nationwide introduction during the 20th century of a range of government welfare provisions in the way of pensions, beginning with the Old Age Pension in 1901, brought changes locally. In response to the Old Age Pension, the Poor Relief Society closed their 'Benevolent Home' and wound up its activities generally around 1910. Government provided welfare, as well as changes in public attitudes, led in time to the redundancy of the local Salvation Army and Catholic homes and orphanages. An increased government responsibility for welfare led though to homes of another sort, Housing Commission homes. In Bathurst, a Housing Commission estate in West Bathurst was built in the early 1950s in memory of Ben Chifley, who is said to have requested such a memorial.

As well as legislated pensions, government at all levels took on a more direct (if grudging) responsibility for the welfare of its citizens in times of widespread hardship. During the depression of the 1930s, police stations throughout the area served as dole stations where the transient unemployed came to collect rations - and were then moved along by a helpful constable. Some grocery stores provided rations in exchange for dole coupons. Temporary

employment was provided for unemployed men (usually resident in the area) through government-funded public works. Winburndale Dam and the Mount Panorama circuit road are two examples of many such projects built in the BRC area with relief labour. For many families though, 'welfare' in the depression was what one could provide for oneself. (See Bruce Goodwin, *Gold and People - Recollections of Hill End 1920s to 1960s* (1992) for a good local account of rural life in the Depression.)

Although the government took on a more significant role in providing welfare, input and initiatives by the community were still important. Glenray, established in 1957, is an example of a very successful local initiative and includes now both a school (Carenne Public School) and a sheltered workshop. Other welfare-related activities were part of larger, nation-wide initiatives. The Country Women's Association (the CWA), established in NSW in 1922, has a long history of providing support services for country women, especially in the care of infants. The Bathurst CWA Branch, formed in 1923, was operating a baby health care centre by 1926. Other community-based charity groups came into existence during the 20th century and now provide for particular welfare needs. For example, Macquarie Homes, an aged care facility, was opened in 1948. These developments are part of a national, if not international, pattern in community-initiated welfare programmes.

The history of welfare in the Bathurst area is largely representative of the experience of inland Australian communities generally. As an area of early settlement, dating from convict and goldrush times, it is though a history covering a broad spectrum and thus able to offer an equally broad spectrum of examples of welfare.

Refer to other 'social history' themes such as Religion, (Theme 34) Social institutions (Theme 35), Health (Theme 14) and Education (Theme 26) for examples of welfare activities within those themes.

VIII. Developing Australia's cultural life

31. Creative endeavour

Creative endeavour can be defined as cultural activities of community or self-expression pursued in such areas as art and handicraft, music, literature and theatre. Creative endeavour may be a very personal activity, as in writing or painting. Alternatively it may involve the wider community, as might happen at an annual school concert or amateur theatrical production in the local School of Arts. Creative endeavour may be the work of the professional, whose creativity is the foundation for their life's calling; alternatively, the creative efforts of the amateur may be simply for personal pleasure. The output of creative endeavour can range from a humble homemade quilt to a painting hanging in the National Gallery of Australia, from the recitation of a bush poem enjoyed by a few friends to the publishing of a national bestselling novel. No matter the source or the purpose, all creative endeavours contribute - if in varying degrees - to the cultural heritage of the area.

The carved trees of the Wiradjuri, although made for ritual purposes and according to ancient designs, offer a form of creative endeavour that pre-dates European settlement of the area. Wiradjuri culture did not distinguish between professional and amateur artist, and, as well, creativity was very likely closely bound to traditional cultural practices. Possum cloaks (now extremely rare) and rock paintings provide other examples of traditional Wiradjuri creativity.

With European settlement, the full spectrum of modern European 'arts' was brought to the area and in one form or another, and to varying degrees of excellence, all have found their adherents and audiences. To provide a comprehensive discussion is beyond the capacity of this brief thematic survey and only the briefest of overview can be provided.

31.1 Music and theatre

Music stands out as a particular area of local achievement, both historic and continuing. Bathurst has a long history of bands, the most significant of which was the Bathurst District Brass Band founded by Sam Lewins in 1885 (initially as the Bathurst Railway Band). The band's railway connection highlights the growth of an urban working class culture brought to Bathurst with the railway. Its regular concerts from the bandstand in Machattie Park became an iconic feature of the city; its excellence was acknowledged beyond Bathurst in major band competitions. The band played under Lewins' direction for some fifty years, a record in itself, and continues today in the form of the Bathurst City and RSL Concert Band.

The Band offers but one musical sample from a heterogeneous musical scene in the BRC area. What is known today as folk music was an important part of many community gatherings, especially on the goldfields and in the woolsheds. The recorded dance music, both original compositions and acquired tunes, of Joseph Yates (1895-1987), Bathurst area bush worker, poet and musician, provides an aural sense of this lively music scene. (*Jindi Plays Joe - Collected*

Tunes from Joes Yates, CD-ROM, Bathurst c.1995) Musical societies, sometimes short-lived and often dissolving in vociferous feuds, have been a common feature of the Bathurst cultural scene from the mid-19th century. Both classical music and music hall found appreciative audiences in Bathurst's School of Arts Hall (demolished in the early 1970s), from whose stage Nellie Melba once sang. The Mitchell Conservatorium (established in 1978) and the annual Bathurst Eisteddfod (established in 1946) are modern day descendants of a musical heritage that dates back to at least the mid-19th century. The annual 'Carols by Candlelight' in Machattie Park can trace its origins back to the first public event held in the park on its opening in December 1890. There would be few communities in Australia able to claim a comparable annual musical event held in the same location for well over a century.

The origins of theatre in the BRC area date from at least the 1850s. Two permanent theatres existed in Bathurst at this time and visiting theatrical shows were also a popular entertainment on the goldfields. Amateur dramatic societies have existed in Bathurst since the 1860s. An on-going modern example of such, the Bathurst Carillon Theatrical Society has presented an annual musical since 1959, its first show being *Oklahoma*. A well-remembered local story about the Bathurst Migrant Camp is their production of the opera *La Tosca* in 1950, described then 'as the most elaborate cultural effort ever undertaken in the district'. (B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976), p.229) Charles Sturt University, including as well its earlier incarnations as a Teacher's College and a College of Advanced Education, has been an important centre for drama education for over fifty years. Leading actors, directors and playwrights have studied, worked or taught at the University's Ponton Theatre.

31.2 Literature

Various literary figures, some of national significance, have had an association with the area, particularly in the late 19th century when, for a brief time, Bathurst hosted a vibrant intellectual community. The author of *Convict Days*, William Astley (1855-1911), writing under the pseudonym of Warung, was an active member of that community. Another 1890s writer on the convict theme was William Derricourt (1819 - ?), a former inmate of Port Arthur and a selector near Bathurst, whose *Old Convict Days* was published in 1899. Nat Gould (1857-1919), one of Australia's great writers of sport and sporting fiction, also lived around this time in Bathurst and set some of his novels in the area.

A measure of Bathurst in the late 19th century can be seen in the contents of the Bathurst School of Arts Library (William Street), now held by the BRC Library on Keppel Street. A contemporary institution was the circulating library provided by JR & A Jones from their bookstore at 94 William Street (now Eastmon Camera store). This two storey book 'warehouse', the origins of which date before 1849, was by the 1890s known throughout the colony as the supplier of the best and latest in books.

Although he might have challenged the label of 'creative endeavour', Charles Bean (1879-1968), arguably Australia's most influential historian and the creator of the Anzac legend (or mythology), was born in Bathurst. Gavin Long (1901-68), historian of the Second World War, also spent some of his childhood in Bathurst, where his father George Long was Anglican Bishop. Bathurst has also been home for a time to other important Australian historians. These

include AW Jose (1863-1934), one of the first to attempt the writing of a modern history of Australia and the author of the seminal work, *The Romantic Nineties*, and George Black (1854-1936), Labor Party historian. Ida Lee (1865-1943), Kelso born, migrated to England where she established a respectable career as an historian of British Imperial expansion. This may have been a career denied her if she had remained in Bathurst.

Bathurst's educational facilities have links with several writers of note. The poet AD Hope (1907-2000) was a student at Bathurst High School for a time in the 1920s and Dymphna Cusack (1902-1981), novelist and playwright (perhaps best known for *Come in Spinner*, 1951), served in a supernumerary position there in 1940. A political radical, Cusack was 'exiled' by the Education Department to conservative Bathurst on Christmas Eve 1939 as punishment in consequence of her union activism. Her time in Bathurst, although a low in her teaching career, contributed to her store of social observations and personal experiences that found their way into her novels and plays. Her 1962 novel, *Picnic Races*, draws on her Bathurst experience and her observations of local social dynamics. Hill End provided the setting for the bush village in her novel. Also drawing on her Bathurst experience is her 1943 play, *Comets Soon Pass*, which was intended in part as 'payback' to the 'local nabob' and 'asparagus king', Robert Gordon Edgell. Edgell, a one-time supporter of the ultra-conservative New Guard movement, had tried to damn Cusack publicly in Bathurst for her social welfare activity. It is interesting that this clash between Cusack and Edgell became staffroom folklore at Bathurst High School. (M North, 'Dymphna Cusack', *Australian Writers, 1915-1950, Dictionary of Literary Biography* (2002), Vol 260)

A connection in the early 1970s with a local school also accounts for the local residence of Gabrielle Lord, a prize-winning novelist. In recent years, Bathurst's Mitchell College of Advanced Education, now Charles Sturt University, has provided a temporary base for several established contemporary writers of national note, including Nigel Krauth, Andrew Denton and Paul Stafford. Grant Hervey (pseudonym of George Cochrane (1880-1933)) wrote a bizarre historical novel, *An Eden of Good* (1934), while an inmate of another Bathurst institution, the Bathurst Gaol. Bathurst scenes are included in his book, as they are in Gordon Neil Stewart's *House of Bondage* (1975), an historical novel about the family of Major General Stewart. Gertrude Poyitt (1867-1950) published several novels (in both French and English) under the name of Wolla Meranda in the 1920-30s, some of which drew on Sunny Corner where she was born and lived much of her life. She is buried in the Sunny Corner cemetery under the name of Wolla Meranda. (K Karlsen, *Gert A Lady Ahead of her Time* (1988?))

Notwithstanding the above survey of local authors and their writings, there would appear to be very few works of literature written with Bathurst or its environs as the main setting. Indeed, there seem to be surprisingly few published writers of note since the early 1900s of either fiction or non-fiction who could be said to be local by birth or by long residence.

31.3 Visual arts: painting, photography and cinema

The visual attractions of the Bathurst area have provided inspiration for many artists, both professional and amateur, since John Lewin's first sketches of the Bathurst Plains in 1815. Other early artists of note include Conrad Martens, who visited the Abercrombie Caves in 1843, and George Angas, who through his published engravings offered the world some of the earliest

views of the 1851 goldrush (including Wallaby Rocks). However, while important 19th century artists visited the area, it would be difficult to claim any significant artist as a resident. Two artists warrant mention, but more for their contributions to the advancement of art in the public sphere. Arthur Collingridge (1853-1907), a skilled graphic engraver, co-founded the (Royal) Art Society of NSW in 1880 and taught art at the Technical College in Bathurst. Edward Combes (1830-1895), builder of 'Glanmire Hall' and local member of parliament, was one of the founders of the Art Gallery of NSW, as well as an accomplished amateur artist. (He also operated a brewery for a time at 'Glanmire Hall'.)

The work of some of Australia's major 20th century artists, including Russell Drysdale and Donald Friend, is associated with the Sofala and Hill End area. Drysdale's work, such as *The Cricketers* and *Sofala* (1947, NSW Art Gallery), offers a unique understanding and appreciation of the aesthetics of these goldrush settlements. Similarly, Friend's painting of Sofala's mainstreet (*Sofala*, 1947, NSW Art Gallery) reinforces the iconic heritage value of that street. In the late 1940s-1950s, Hill End became an important retreat - a remote bohemia - for a number of Australian artists and has in consequence a seminal place in Australian art history. Long-term resident artists included Donald Friend, Donald Murray, Paul Haefliger and Jean Bellette, with occasional visitors including Jeffrey Smart and Margaret Olley. Another important artist to spend creative time in Hill End at a later date was Brett Whiteley. This artistic connection with Hill End led to the establishment in 1995 of an artist in residence programme allowing for present-day artists to live in the Haefliger and Murray cottages in Hill End. Lloyd Rees is another notable artist with a strong connection with the area, who is as well represented by a permanent collection in the Bathurst Regional Art Gallery. The gallery also holds artwork of critically recognised local artists, such as Graham Lupp. The successful portrait painter, Reg Campbell, is associated with Sunny Corner, where he had his studio. The presence and work of famous artists, as well as that of the less famous, all contribute to our cultural heritage and in the case of some artists at a national level.

Hill End is also important in the field of photography with the work of Beaufoy Merlin and Charles Bayliss (the Holtermann photographs) in the 1870s. (Less well known today are the Hill End photographs from the 1950s made by Russell Drysdale.) The district generally has attracted other photographers of note, including Harold Cazneaux in the 1920s-30s. The photographic collection of the Bathurst District Historical Society provides a comprehensive pictorial record of the Bathurst area. The collection holds not only the work of photographers of the significance of Beaufoy Merlin but also the extensive collections of local studio photographers (such as the Gregory Studio), as well as those of Bathurst's newspapers.

From the earliest years of Australian cinema, the Bathurst area has provided the location, and at times the inspiration, for feature films, the earliest being *The Shepherd of the Southern Cross* (1914). As noted under Theme 29 (Law and order), the area's bushranging history was a mainstay of the early Australian feature film industry. A more romantic tale, *A Girl of the Bush* (1921), filmed in part on 'Freemantle Station', provides a valuable visual record of the working of the station's shearing shed and yards. Sofala has provided a picturesque setting for several films, with perhaps *The Cars that Ate Paris* (1974) being the most important in terms of Australian film history.

31.4 Architecture and landscape

Architecture and landscape design can also be included under the theme of creative endeavour. Indeed, buildings and parks can provide the most public and longest lasting of creative achievements. In the Bathurst area, the work of local private architects, such as James Hine, John Copeman and Edward Gell, is well represented, together with the work of important architects from elsewhere, one being Thomas Rowe. In the case of Edward Gell, the area holds an essential portion of his work, which is largely limited to the Central West. Being a government centre, Bathurst also has fine examples of the work of government architects, most notably the Bathurst Court House - designed by James Barnet. Walter Vernon designed several Federation-era buildings for the Bathurst Experiment Farm (now CSU). Machattie Park, constructed by AA Patterson to the design of James Hine, is an excellent example of a late Victorian garden park. Very little of outstanding architectural merit seems to have been built in the BRC area since the early 20th century, reinforcing the earlier observation that the late 19th century was a particular time of creative endeavour in Bathurst.

The building contractors responsible for the practical fulfilment of the architect's plans also warrant attention. David Jones was the building contractor responsible for a number of important heritage buildings from the 1870s-80s, including the Bathurst Court House, as well as several buildings now demolished, such as the first Anglican Cathedral. Jones was not the only building contractor in 19th century Bathurst, but he is arguably the most important in heritage terms. W McLean, another important contractor, built the School of Arts Library building on William Street and has an association with Miss Traill's House, where his family lived for a time.

Given the purpose of this thematic survey, the reader will find ample references to the work of individual architects in many of the other theme entries. Refer to the index for guidance. (A brief survey of Edward Gell's work is provided in the map and catalogue that accompanied the 2006 exhibition, *Edward Gell A Country Architect (1818-1899)*.)

As well as the more formal and public expressions of creative endeavour, as discussed above, there are also folk arts and handicrafts. These include the creations of weavers, quilters and knitters, as well as those of model builders and cabinetmakers. Among others! To this can also be added the unpublished work of local bush poets and songwriters. For the most part though, unless held by museum or archival collections, historic examples of such achievements generally remain within family possession. They are no less items of heritage significance for this.

32 Domestic life

The intimacy of the cottage provides when we re-enter it from the brisk cold a delicious contrast of warm white walls, shelves and books and objects d'arts and mellow fire glow with a large black pot of soup bubbling on the hob. (Quotation from the diary of Donald Friend about his Hill End cottage inscribed on stone by Ian Marr, Hill End Artist in Residence, in the exhibition *Ian Marr: Beautiful Chaos*, Bathurst Regional Art Gallery, 2 February- 18 March 2007.)

Domestic life refers to the different ways in which people carry out their daily living arrangements and routines. Domestic life covers many facets, from the very nature of the group living together to where, how and by whom meals are prepared and laundry washed, as well as what might be described as the lifestyle shared by those living together. Today, a common denominator for domestic life is that of the nuclear family household with its familial - and familiar - associations, roles and routines. While this is an understanding well grounded in our culture, it is an arrangement we too often uncritically impose on the past. In the case of the BRC area, many different arrangements for domestic life have been followed. While the family household provides the most common model, there are many variations on that model, both historically and in our contemporary culture.

For the Wiradjuri people prior to European settlement, domestic life was arranged along kinship lines with domestic tasks, such as food gathering and preparation, determined by age or gender according to tradition. Outside of times of extreme drought, it seems likely that the arrangements governing domestic life were both stable and predictable with seasonal changes dictating changes in tasks. The growing presence of European settlers after 1815, however, would have had a major impact on the traditional domestic life of the Wiradjuri.

The living arrangements of the earliest settlers were largely masculine in character, and harshly so. Convicts in the Bathurst area, predominantly men, were housed in very basic hut or barrack accommodation. Bedding might be a hammock or a straw palliasse; meals prepared from government rations were usually cooked and taken communally. Convicts working as assigned servants as stockmen or shepherds most often lived in wattle & daub huts often isolated from any other settlement. The domestic duties of the hut were commonly in the charge of a designated hutkeeper, usually an older and less active convict. The domestic arrangements of government officials and free settlers enjoyed some advantage over that of the convicts. Convict servants undertook the daily domestic chores and a greater degree of privacy and comfort was afforded the master. Old Government Cottage (rear of 1 George Street), although there is debate about its origins and original size, may offer some insight into the domestic arrangements of the better off Bathurst resident of the early settlement period. The cottage comprises three main rooms in line, a storeroom and a cellar, possibly for keeping food cool. (*Old Government Cottage*, pamphlet published by Bathurst District Historical Society (nd))

For the first decade or so of settlement, domestic life was largely managed by and for men. Family-centred domestic life was an aberration in this male-centred environment. An insight into the challenges faced by the few women - mothers and wives - who settled in the area in the

first decade or so is provided by the account of Elizabeth Hawkins in her 'Journey from Sydney to Bathurst in 1822', a popular account widely available.

With the opening of the Bathurst area to free settlers and the transition from a convict society, family-centred domestic life became more common and over time the presence of women became a key influence on the evolution of the domestic environment. Reflected in this is a wider discourse of Victorian society that dictated that men and women were to occupy different roles in the house and the family. Men were responsible for the economic well being of the household; women stayed home and managed the domestic sphere. This was a powerful ideal, but it was not always possible or practical in a frontier settlement. The wife sometimes found herself both responsible for the domestic sphere as well as having to assist her husband on the farm or in the shop. The many inns and shops combined with a residence found throughout the area reflect this compromise.

The wealthier households more successfully implemented the ideal of separate spheres. The wealthier the household, the grander the house and the greater the accumulation of possessions, all requiring the employment of servants. In this situation, the wife's role could be more that of domestic manager than domestic worker. In those households with servants, the desired arrangement was for servants to live in separate accommodation, but close at hand. The combination of kitchen and servants' quarters as a separate structure is a common feature found with older large pastoral homes. Another common feature of older homesteads in the BRC area is the stranger's room, which is a guest bedroom attached to the outside of the house with no direct access to the interior. The room offered an effective solution to the problem of providing hospitality to passing visitors, while not exposing the family to a risk of insecurity or (sexual) impropriety. Social and cultural values, as well as practical concerns, are often revealed in a building's arrangements for the household's domestic life. (Rachel Henning in her letters offers some interesting middle class insights on the place of servants in households in the mid-19th century. See her letter 14 May 1856.)

In effect, however, it is impractical to speak of any set arrangement for domestic life in colonial times. Although the aspiration was one of separate spheres for men and women, the circumstances of class and wealth often imposed a practical reality on what might actually happen. As well, although we can speak of an idealised Victorian family life, centred on family-focussed daily routines, such as family Bible readings, the degree and regularity of such routines varied widely from household to household. Another important variable in domestic living relates to the number of generations living under one roof. While the degree it was so can be debated, three generations in one household was commonplace in the last decades of the 19th and the first of the 20th centuries. By contrast, today most households typically consist of two generations with an increasing number of single occupant households.

The goldrush saw an influx of mostly male diggers, many of them fresh to the colony. Their domestic arrangements were often both basic and harsh, owing more to the domestic culture of the convict shepherd's hut than to that of the (usually) middle class home left behind in Britain. Among the Holtermann photographs from the 1870s are a number that offer interesting evidence of the influence women had on domestic life as more of them came onto the fields. The cottage may still be primitive but a flower garden in the front yard, curtains in the window and babes in

arm suggest an aspiration for the domestic ideals of Victorian England. These ideals are displayed in 'Craigmoor' in Hill End, the late 19th century middle-class household of a mine manager. Through good fortune the house has been preserved nearly intact with its comfortable wood panelled rooms and late Victorian furnishings. But its primitive detached kitchen suggests the domestic ideal may have been only imperfectly achieved even in this prosperous and well-settled household.

On balance, the 20th century brought a more settled lifestyle for the people of the BRC area. The demographic volatility brought by the earlier land and gold rushes of the 19th century was over, replaced by a more steady pattern of waged jobs in town in company with inherited or purchased farms in the countryside. This stability in turn further facilitated the aspiration to create the ideal domestic life. Bathurst has two house museums that offer some useful insights on domestic life in the early to mid 20th century. An upper middle class perspective is provided by the National Trust at Miss Traill's House (321 Russell Street). It is perhaps unfortunate that the National Trust has largely denied Miss Traill's acceptance of modernity in her domestic life, removing her Hill's Hoist and television, among other items. The 20th century was a time of major technological changes in domestic arrangements. At the Chifley Home Museum (10 Busby Street), physical evidence of such changes from the early-mid 20th century can be seen, including the replacement of gas lighting with electric and the provision of a kitchen sink with (cold only) running water. Although the home of a Prime Minister, it remained pre-war working class in character. The arrangements for domestic life are clearly those of Mrs Elizabeth Chifley and perhaps reflect her aspiration to be the perfect housewife. Both houses, interestingly, were childfree for all of their later histories. Their domestic arrangements, therefore, do not reflect the increasingly child-centred lifestyles of most families in the last century, particularly in the post-war period, as seen for instance with the inclusion of games rooms in houses and back gardens for playing. With the post-war migration of people from many different cultural backgrounds, ethnicity has become another important influence on domestic life in the area.

As a generalisation, the majority of people in the area since the convict and goldrush eras have lived in traditional family-centred households, or have at least attempted to follow that model in their domestic living. There are some important exceptions, however. Transient agricultural workers, notably shearers, have well-established patterns of domestic life on their work sites. A number of properties in the area have shearers' quarters of historic interest, one example being 'Bathampton's' shearers' quarters built in the mid-20th century to a union-approved design. The remains of a 19th century shearers' cookhouse, with a brick and stone oven built into the hillside, can be found on 'Stony Creek Station'. The impressive stone meat store at 'Freemantle Station' offers some notion of the scale of the common domestic arrangements for what would have been a small community, especially at shearing time. In Bathurst, there is a long history of student residences, dormitories and 'digs', all with their own - sometimes eccentric - domestic living arrangements. Several convents in the district and at least one monastery in Bathurst, Patrician Brothers (now the Catholic Chancery Office, 84 George Street), have provided for their domestic arrangements according to the rules and discipline of their respective orders. 'Logan Brae', now Mount St Joseph's, in South Bathurst has passed through three very different domestic cultures since 1876. It began as the mansion home of John Busby, from 1896 to about 1908 the house provided student accommodation for male students of the Bathurst Experiment Farm and has since then served as a convent for the Sisters of Mercy.

The domestic arrangements for the soldiers training in Bathurst's wartime army camps also followed set codes of duties and discipline. In the case of the camp on Limekilns Road, accommodation was provided in rows of barrack huts, each with its serried rows of identical beds and a complete absence of privacy. Meals were mass produced by army cooks and served in impersonal mess huts. All was in sharp contrast to the domestic ideal sought by mother back home. After the war, the barracks provided accommodation for migrants from war torn Europe, many of whom were families seeking domestic stability in a new life. One wonders how the barracks were adapted, perhaps unofficially, to provide for this need, as well as for a non Anglo-Celtic Australian understanding of domestic life. Limekilns Camp barrack buildings can still be found on rural properties in the area, where in some cases they were moved to provide for yet another mode of domestic life. Recognising the ways in which a building is changed to accommodate different domestic living arrangements over time can provide a valuable social history record.

Domestic life also extends beyond the four walls of the home and into the garden and associated out buildings. The appearance and purpose of the home garden, the way in which the backyard may be used for entertaining or food preparation are all part of domestic life, as is Dad's shed out back. Important clues as to the values, ethnicity and class of past occupants can sometimes be found in garden use, layout and ornamentation. The marked differences in the Chifley and Traill gardens provide interesting insights into the domestic living of these two households, both typical of their different social classes.

Domestic life is an important heritage theme. With careful analysis, a place of residence, whether house or convent, can tell us about how people lived and interacted and offer insights on the role of gender, class and ethnicity in creating Australian culture, both in the past and today.

See also Theme 19 (Technology) and Theme 21 (Accommodation).

33. Leisure

Tambaroora - A game in which each participant contributes an agreed sum to a pool which is then gambled for, the winner being required to buy drinks for the participants with (some of) the winnings. (Definition in *The Australian National Dictionary* (1988).)

Leisure refers to how people amuse themselves outside of their daily work, studies or chores. It includes the different recreations people have taken up at different times, both individually and as a community, from pennyfarthing bicycling to computer videogames. Leisure can be as simple as a walk in Machattie Park or as demanding as flying a glider from Piper's Field. Leisure also includes time spent in the local pub with friends, perhaps with a game of cards and a pint - or two. Indeed, the area's pubs should be regarded in any survey of leisure as among the area's oldest continuing venues for informal leisure and entertainment.

Weekend hobbies and schoolyard games have come and gone - or, in some cases, remained - over the past two centuries in the BRC area. Many people in the area found, and still find, pleasure through either watching or actively engaging in competitive and individual sports, or enjoying creative endeavours, such as music or art. These leisure activities are discussed more fully in the entries for Theme 36 (Sport) and Theme 31 (Creative endeavour).

For the Wiradjuri in pre-settlement times, leisure would have been shaped by the needs of a hunter and gatherer communal life and in accord with centuries-old cultural practices. Story telling and corroboree dancing and music making would have provided not only a leisure activity but also contributed to the education and bonding of the group. Similarly, the games of children's play would have honed the skills of the next generation's trackers and hunters.

The link with education seen within Wiradjuri leisure activities can also be found with some post-settlement recreation activities, such as reading. Reading for both pleasure and self-improvement may be among the oldest continuing leisure activities in the area. One of the earliest clubs formed in the Bathurst area was the Bathurst Literary Society, formed in Kelso in 1825 or 1826. Like the Bathurst Hunt Club, the Literary Society was restrictive in its membership, and its purpose may have had as much to do with social positioning as with literary discussion. Nonetheless, the Bathurst Literary Society, with its lectures and library, does mark the beginning of a formal attempt at cultured leisure activities, including reading. The Bathurst School of Arts, established in 1855 with a wider membership, succeeded the Literary Society in providing for the needs of Bathurst's readers. The books in the Bathurst School of Arts Library collection, now held by the Bathurst Regional Library, reflect this well established leisure activity, as does the regional library collection generally.

The Bathurst School of Arts, especially the hall nearby, was an important centre for leisure activities in the 19th and early 20th centuries. A scan of newspaper notices in the late 19th century reveals a varied programme of concerts and lectures at the School of Arts, from smoking concerts with local musical talent to visiting professional theatrical productions. From the 1870s, the Bathurst Market Building, located on what is now King's Parade, was another popular

venue. Travelling tent shows used the open space alongside the building. For a time after its demolition in 1909, the remaining foundations of the Market Building continued to provide an outdoor setting for leisure events. Similar leisure activities, if less frequent and less ambitious, were offered in community halls in the area's villages and rural localities.

Perhaps offering a sign of changing tastes in leisure, in 1914 the Bathurst School of Arts Hall was converted to a cinema, *The City*, and continued in this use until its demolition in 1972. Bathurst's first cinema, *The Burlington*, began in 1910 as an open air cinema in lower William Street, before moving to a purpose-built building opposite St Mary's School further along William Street, a decision encouraged no doubt by the impact of Bathurst winters on ticket sales. Travelling cinemas found audiences in the area's rural and village halls. The periodic visits in the 1930s of Allan Tom, 'the picture show man' from Manildra, is remembered fondly still by many local rural residents. The Rockley School of Arts building was modified to accommodate a projection room, an indication of the popularity of cinema in that community. As with many other regional communities, Bathurst's cinemas initially flourished but then declined with the arrival of television, arguably the most popular form of leisure since the 1970s. For a time, in the 1970s-80s, the sole cinema in the BRC area was the Western Cinema drive-in theatre (opened 1972) at Mount Panorama, a not surprising development given the increasing accessibility of young people to cars (with backseats). Whether offered on stage or on screen, spectator performances have always been a major source of leisure in the area, at least since the goldrush era. Touring companies of musicians and actors, circuses and other performers, as well as local talent, have long contributed to the leisure of the area's inhabitants.

Many of the sites used for public entertainments of the past can still be identified in the BRC area, for example the Oddfellows Hall in Sofala and the School of Arts in Rockley. The wooden dance platform in the 'Hall of Terpsichore' (1860, present platform 1880) in Abercrombie Caves constructed by miners and settlers must surely be unique. In Bathurst, the Trocadero (1937, George Street) offers a visual reminder of a time in the 1930s and 40s when dancing, perhaps to the latest American jive, was a popular leisure activity. The 'portable ballroom', originally erected in 1889 at 'Hathrop' (Gormans Hill Road) and now at 'Glanmire Hall', most likely never reverberated to such tunes. Weekly or monthly dances were once a popular leisure activity in both town and country, a necessary part of matchmaking and courtship. Rachel Henning (letter 20th July 1861) tells of a Bathurst 'Subscription Ball', held in a 'good ballroom ... tastefully dressed up', with the 'colonial girls ... excessively pretty'.

Dances, or balls, were - and still are - held to raise funds for community needs. Eve Buscombe in her booklet, *Wattle Flat Goldfields* (1983), reproduces a wonderfully descriptive advertising poster for a double header event in Wattle Flat on 6 July 1892 to raise funds for the Bathurst Hospital. A 'Grand Minstrel and Variety', featuring the Sao Minstrels - with the added promise of 'screaming farces' and 'clog dances' - would open the fund raising evening at the Wattle Flat Public School. Later in the evening, a Grand Ball was to be held in the Temperance Hall, with good music and an 'efficient' MC. All community halls throughout the BRC area are likely to hold memories of similar community events.

Some leisure activities in the area have been undertaken through clubs and societies. It is beyond the scope of this brief review to list more than a few examples of such clubs. Debating

societies were especially popular in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, as were clubs formed around particular hobbies such as stamp collecting or competitive activities such as chess. Technological developments sometimes gave rise to new leisure opportunities and clubs were in time formed by fellow enthusiasts. The bicycle is an example of such a development, with the first bicycle club formed in Bathurst in 1886. Other clubs have served to provide suitable leisure activities for particular groups in the community, including youth clubs such as the Boy Scouts. Some of these clubs and activities continue to the present-day, if sometimes changed in their name, purpose and nature. Their places of meeting, club records, together with the tools and products of their activities can sometimes reveal items of heritage value.

Individually pursued hobbies or pastimes have been the preferred leisure activity for some people. The Bathurst area is very likely typical in the range and variety of such hobbies, from collecting stamps and bottles through to making handicrafts with wood or fabric. Sometimes the results of these private passions can produce items, singly or in a collection, of heritage value. Their display at special exhibitions, including most particularly at the annual Bathurst Show or the smaller local shows of the BRC area, was always an important event for the individual hobbyist or collector.

This theme review has not discussed the place of creative endeavour and sport within the theme of leisure. This is not to be dismissive of their contribution to leisure, indeed sport has been one of the most important sources of leisure for many residents of the BRC area. And, in no less a way, music, theatre and the visual arts have long provided leisure activities. The reader is referred to the separate theme entries dealing with creative endeavour (Theme 31) and sport (Theme 36) for a detailed discussion.

The BRC area is most probably typical of an inland community in the nature and variety of leisure activities followed over the past two centuries. It differs from a coastal region in lacking the iconic Australian leisure activities provided by beach and surf, although Bathurst did manage to create its own version of Manly for a time in the mid-20th century. So called by locals, the sandy riverbank near the Denison Bridge provided the beach for swimming in the Macquarie River, but with no prospect of surf - or sharks.

34. Religion

The piety and diligence of [Rev] J.E. Keane has been greatly blessed, in drawing the attention of people of this class [landed settlers], to the obligators of religion, at least, as regards the outward acknowledgement of them; and there a few in his congregation who are considered spiritually-minded. Our meeting was not large, but it was owned by a comforting measure of divine influence. (9 September 1831 journal entry of James Backhouse, Quaker missionary, on his visit to Bathurst, as cited in G Mackaness, *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountain of New South Wales 1813-1842* (1965), p.204.)

Religion might be defined as particular systems of belief and practice reflecting the quest for ideal values, the definition of which is usually shaped by the recognition of a controlling power entitled to obedience, reverence and worship. In the context of heritage, the theme of religion refers most commonly to those buildings and places used to express and practice such beliefs. It is also a theme that can offer useful insights into wider cultural understandings.

The BRC area's religious history is typical of inland regional Australia. The original inhabitants of the area, the Wiradjuri, followed a system of beliefs interwoven with daily life and closely linked to their surrounding environment. Landscape features, such as Waluu (Mount Panorama), provided the settings for instructive ancestral stories. Special places were reserved for ritual ceremonies. Trees were carved with symbols to mark places and occasions of religious or spiritual significance. An example of a Wiradjuri carved tree, or dendroglyph, now rare in the area's landscape, is in the Bathurst District Historical Museum. The BRC area holds many sites and places of spiritual significance to the Wiradjuri people, all of which contribute to the religious heritage of the area.

Christianity, destined to become the area's dominant religion, arrived with European settlers in 1815. The first Christian service ('divine service') held west of the Great Divide took place in Bathurst on 7 May 1815, preceding Governor Macquarie's proclamation of the settlement of Bathurst. A cairn at the foot of William Street marks the approximate site of this event. This first service, which followed the rites of the Church of England, was undertaken without the participation of an ordained minister. This was the case also with early Roman Catholic services in Bathurst, the first being held in 1824 following Governor Brisbane's order permitting Catholics to hold separate religious services. (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1992), Vol 1, p.93) These two events are instructive in reminding us of the unquestioned place of religion in the lives of early settlers.

Religious services for all denominations for the first twenty or so years in the BRC area were usually carried out without the benefit of ordained clergy and were held in places, often homes and inns, temporarily turned over to religious services. While it is true to say that religion was used as an instrument of social control over the convicts who formed a sizeable portion of the early settlement, there were many convicts and free settlers of deep religious conviction. No matter the degree of conviction, the practice of organised Christian religion was a recognised part of settler culture.

The conducting of religious services and the building of churches provides a major element in the area's cultural heritage. In a very tangible way church building underscores the establishment and development of European civilisation in a new land. Permanent organised Christian worship in the BRC area can be dated with the arrival of Reverend John Espy Keane, Church of England, in 1825, although Rev Thomas Hassall, a land grant settler, had been conducting services earlier. The first church, Holy Trinity in Kelso, was completed in 1835, and is claimed to be the oldest church west of the Great Divide. Holy Trinity has also perhaps attracted more adverse comment for its appearance than any other historic church in Australia. Charles Darwin, famously, decried its appearance as squat and ugly. Rachel Henning (letter 19 May 1861) described it as offering a beautiful view from its hill, 'but it is a very ugly contrivance in itself, red brick with a little square tower and an article on top thereof exactly like a tin [candle] extinguisher'.

The first Anglican Church in Bathurst proper, All Saints', was consecrated in 1849, designed by Edmund Blacket and with Reverend Thomas Sharpe as minister. In the mid-1870s, the original church was expanded in size and consecrated as a cathedral. However, serious failings in the foundations of the building led to its demolition and reconstruction in the 20th century in the form of the present-day All Saints' Cathedral. Some fragments of the original Blacket work remain, the baptismal font being a notable example. The first cathedral's bells, dating from the early 1850s and used by the original church, have been the focus of a community campaign seeking their rehousing in front of the present-day cathedral. It is interesting to see how relics from earlier churches are preserved and roles sought for them in later times. Other churches in the area are likely in a similar way to contain material from earlier times or from other places, perhaps embedded within the very fabric of the church or in use as furnishings.

The Wesleyan Methodist chapel (Uniting Church) on William Street, built in 1837 and now used as a church hall, is the earliest extant church south of the Macquarie River in the BRC area. The chapel sits well below present-day street level, offering a visual reminder of its relative antiquity. An even earlier building used for occasional Methodist worship can be found at 'Orton Park' (Perthville Road), where Joseph Orton, a visiting Methodist minister, held a service on 11 November 1832. The establishment of permanent Methodism in the West can be dated from this service. The building, later used as stables, is thought by its present owners to have been built in 1825. If correct, the stables – an appropriate choice of building – may be the oldest extant building used for religious services in the BRC area, if not the Central West. The first Presbyterian Church, St Stephen's, was built in 1835 on the William Street site now occupied by Stockland. A plaque set into bricks from the original church is on the William Street façade of the shopping mall. The church's demolition followed the construction in 1872 (architect Thomas Rowe) of the new St Stephen's on George Street.

The first Roman Catholic priest, Father Therry, to reach Bathurst came in 1830 on the occasion of the execution of members of the Ribbon Gang. A permanent clergy presence came in 1838, with the first Catholic Church, on the corner of George and Keppel streets, consecrated in 1849.

The building of permanent churches with resident clergy came only two or three decades after the initial settlement of Bathurst. The delay was perhaps not so much owing to a want of faith on the part of early residents (and in the case of Catholics had much to do with official restrictions), but was more a reflection on the remoteness and smallness of the district's denominational

communities. When the first churches were built they were amongst the first public buildings of architectural distinction (excepting Holy Trinity) and with intentional permanency, expressing a sense of achievement and confidence on the part of parishioners.

An exponential growth in churches and congregations came with the goldrush in 1851 and the consequent growth in population throughout the district. Over the following decades, new churches replaced earlier buildings in Bathurst, as in the case of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches. Newly arrived faiths found sufficient numbers to support permanent churches, as was the case with the Baptists in 1870 on Keppel Street (demolished, now Coleman's Office Products). The Congregationalist denomination flourished for a time and then faltered, part of the wider story of the attempt of the smaller non-conformist Protestant faiths to establish themselves in Australia.

One Protestant denomination of particular local interest historically is the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army established a presence in Bathurst by the mid-1880s, not long after its arrival in Australia (Adelaide in 1880; Sydney in 1882). The Bathurst detachment was one of the first sent beyond the coastal cities. Born in the urban slums of England, the Army was then a controversial new church - with its uniforms and street-wise Evangelical ways - and initially encountered some harassment. But the Army soon flourished, which might be seen as a measure of an emerging urban-like working class in Bathurst. In 1886 a Citadel was built on Russell Street, quite likely the first one in inland New South Wales. Local detachments were soon established in the mining villages of Hill End, Sofala and Sunny Corner. By 1897, Bathurst had become the headquarters of the Army for western New South Wales. The provision of social services was and continues to be a key feature of the Army's presence in Bathurst.

The strong Anglican and Roman Catholic presences evolved into dioceses with bishops, cathedrals and attendant local parishes. The Roman Catholics doing so in 1865, followed by the Anglicans in 1870. The ranking of Bathurst as a cathedral city, with bishops in residence, contributed to Bathurst's standing as a regional centre of importance. The two cathedrals are landmark buildings today, the building and rebuilding of which offer important architectural and engineering narratives. St Michael & St John, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, which dates in part from 1858, has associations with an important local architect, Edward Gell. Gell, a student of AW Pugin, was also the architect for a number of churches in the local district beyond Bathurst, including both the c.1870 Anglican and Roman Catholic churches in Rockley. These community churches provide some of the best examples of this important Central West architect. (A brief survey of Edward Gell's work is provided in the map and catalogue that accompanied the 2006 exhibition, *Edward Gell A Country Architect (1818-1899)*.)

Soon after the arrival of gold seekers on the new diggings, travelling preachers and clergy arrived to offer open-air alfresco services at goldfield settlements. Those goldfield villages that took on some degree of permanency, as for example Hill End and Sofala, built more substantial churches, usually Anglican or Roman Catholic. They were commonly of a vernacular construction using available building materials, at least initially. But the congregations strived to build impressive churches of brick and stone - as if to reinforce that wavering sense of permanency as well as to share in a public way the riches of the goldfield. With the closer agricultural settlement that followed the goldrush, rural communities likewise built their local

churches. For those rural communities lacking a village, the church often provided a necessary place of communal focus. St Mary's, the whitewashed timber Roman Catholic Church at Kirkconnell, with its cemetery, offered such focus. Built in the 1860s, it is also one of the few examples of a timber construction designed by Edward Gell. Rural and village churches in general often provide good examples of the work of the area's local architects.

The Anglican Church at Peel, St John the Evangelist, is a typical if somewhat austere example of a village church. It is a solidly constructed brick church, built around 1865 when the village was still enjoying something of the prosperity of being on the road to the Turon goldfields. A useful insight can be gained, or perhaps rung, from the church's bell. Very likely following an appeal, the congregation went to some trouble to order their own bell from the British Empire's pre-eminent bell casting foundry, the Mears and Stainbank Foundry in Whitechapel, London. The bell was cast with the date, '1873', and the inscription, 'Peel Church Bathurst', but for some reason not the name of the church. It is through such physical details that one can from time to time catch a glimpse of earlier times. The Union Church at Caloola, a corrugated iron church from the 1860s, offers an example of ecumenical cooperation in the bush, with the church shared by Anglicans and Methodists. This ecumenical attitude was extended to the church's cemetery, which includes a number of Chinese graves.

Religious rivalry or sectarianism, however, is perhaps the more usual discourse encountered in the BRC's religious history. This often expressed itself in the financial support offered their respective faiths by leading citizens of the area. Church building and, in the case of Roman Catholics, the building of convents was often thanks to generous donations by the area's business and pastoral families. Methodist ventures benefited from the support of the Webb family; the Catholic faith enjoyed the generous support of the Meaghers. The convent of the Sisters of Mercy, originally 'Logan Brae' a private residence, was purchased for the sisters by John Meagher. The decision to shop in a Webb store or that of the rival Meagher clan was as much a decision determined by religion as by price tag or choice of goods.

The attractive stone church of St John's Anglican Church in Georges Plains (1867, architect Edward Gell) was built thanks to the generosity of Joseph Smith, a wealthy local pastoralist ('Mildura'). Churches, especially in their commemorative plaques and windows, can sometimes offer useful clues about the role and power of local elites of the past. Holy Trinity in Kelso offers such a narrative with its memorial windows, plaques and church furniture dedicated to members of the earliest settler families, such as the Lee family. There is a conscious attempt here to follow a cultural practice from 'home', where the village church would be similarly identified with the local landed gentry. Holy Trinity reaffirms publicly the newfound status and respectability of the Lee family, convict in its origins but now pillars of the establishment.

Religious denominations have offered some of the first community services in the Bathurst area. In Bathurst, the Salvation Army, a relative latecomer to Bathurst's religious community, conducted a maternity and rescue home from 1897 (later, from 1904 at 202 Durham St). St Vincent's Hospital was established by the Catholic Church shortly after the First World War. Anglicans, Catholics and other faiths played an essential role in building schools and providing education, a role that continues to the present day. Of particular importance was the presence of the Roman Catholic teaching orders, particularly the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of St

Joseph. Convent schools, now converted to private residences, can still be found in the area's villages, including Peel and Sofala. A continuing presence remains with St Joseph's Convent in Perthville, a portion of which dates from the 1870s. The local history of the different religious orders is interesting in itself. In the case of the Sisters of St Joseph at Perthville it includes a story of their founder, Mary MacKillop, who, on a visit in the 1870s, forbidden to stay at the Convent stayed in the Hen and Chicken Inn on the Perthville Road.

As well as Christianity, other religions were practiced in Bathurst. Bathurst had a small Jewish population from early settlement, as well as occasional Moslem residents, but there is no record of any particular buildings being built or used for their worship prior to recent times. Chinese arrived with the goldrush and are known from contemporary accounts to have followed their religious practices. The Bathurst Chinese Mission (later Western Chinese Mission) was formed in 1889 by the town's non-conformist Protestant churches to provide missionary work amongst the local Chinese, occupying various premises until its closure around 1894 or 1895. Chinese joss houses or temples existed in Bathurst (corner of Rankin and Durham streets) as well as in Sofala and Hill End.

The theme of religion offers useful insights on the BRC area's history and heritage. There is a lasting legacy of buildings in the way of churches and residences that are among the finest buildings in the area. These buildings mark the establishment and growth, and sometimes decline, of the area's communities. There is as well an historical narrative of cultural identity - and rivalry - that contributes to our wider understanding of who we are and from whence we have come.

The bibliography in T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2 lists a number of denominational and church histories. B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976) provides a chapter on 'The Churches of Bathurst'. Local histories, as listed for this report, invariably offer information on their local churches.

35. Social institutions

Yesterday afternoon the ladies of Bathurst made a magnificent response to the call of the Mayoress to meet and discuss the advisability of founding a branch of the Red Cross League in Bathurst. (From The Bathurst Times, 14 August 1914, as cited in T Barker, A Pictorial History of Bathurst (1985), p.95)

According to the NSW Heritage Office, social institutions can be defined in two broad categories - those created to provide some mutual benefit for members and those created to service a common interest. As this definition overlaps with the organisations formed for leisure, sporting, health, education and similar community activities, the reader should also consult other relevant social themes.

In pre-colonial times, the Wiradjuri lacked formal social institutions in a European sense, but their kin and wider language group essentially provided for both of these categories of social institutions. The situation for the first European settlers was arguably more precarious. Prior to the provision of social welfare by government in the early 20th century, the individual or family commonly had to provide for themselves in time of crisis. (See Theme 30 (Welfare).)

From the mid-19th century, mutual benefit societies ('friendly societies'), such as the Independent Order of Oddfellows, as well as church-based networks, were established to provide some measure of aid in time of need. A small insurance premium provided financial assistance in time of illness, unemployment and old age, with the burial fund ensuring a decent Christian funeral. (Some present-day health funds evolved from similar community-centred institutions.) The Oddfellows Hall (built 1892) in Sofala is a visible reminder of this community-based social security system, as well as evidence of the work of such societies in providing community amenities. The presence of this hall in a goldfield village illustrates as well the important connection of mutual benefit societies with the goldrush era. The Masonic Order of Freemasons was, and still is, active in the BRC area as a provider of social assistance since the formation of the first lodge in Bathurst in 1845. Their historical presence is evident with their halls in Hill End and in Bathurst on Keppel Street. The concept of mutual benefit societies evolved locally in the 20th century to include credit unions and building societies, often very local in their origin and membership. One such local building society, the Mitchell Building Society, now absorbed into a non-local society, once called on its members to keep their money 'west of the mountains'. Many homes and businesses in the area were financed through these local credit institutions.

A concern for educational and cultural self-improvement underlay the movement in the late 19th century to establish Schools of Art. Often the impulse came from society's 'betters' seeking to offer improving opportunities for their community's lower orders, as was the case with the Bathurst School of Arts. But workmen were also part of the wider movement for self-improvement through education, as in the case of the Railway Institute on Havannah Street. The Bathurst School of Arts, once a significant regional institution, no longer exists, but its library building can still be seen on William Street (next to the technical college building) and its library collection is held by the Bathurst Regional Library. Among the BRC area's villages, the Rockley

School of Arts (1890), designed by John Copeman, a Bathurst architect, provides a good village example of this important Australian social institution.

Another type of social institution is the group or organisation formed for the purpose of community improvement or sometimes only the advancement of a particular community interest. The 'Progress Association' is a common and lasting example of such an organisation, common in the villages of the BRC area and throughout Australia. The area has seen as well lobby groups formed at different times for very specific purposes. For example in the early 20th century the Bathurst Federal League lobbied unsuccessfully for Bathurst as Federal Capital; more recently in the 1980s, the 'No Base' group lobbied successfully to stop the building of an army artillery school on the BRC area's north-western boundary. Significant government sponsored developments in the area are often indebted to the efforts of such lobby groups, often ephemeral in nature and duration and highly focussed in their objectives.

Clubs offer another form of social organisation. One of the earliest in the area was the YMCA, first established in Bathurst in 1874. For ladies of all ages, a branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union was established around 1886. One of the earliest established ethnic clubs, and still active if in an evolved form, is the Highland Society, formed in 1884. Among those clubs known as 'service clubs', the Bathurst Rotary Club is probably the oldest, founded in 1932. Service clubs are important for their contributions to community amenities, such as in parks and playgrounds, which are commonly labelled according to the club responsible.

The Bathurst area today has branches of many recognised national volunteer organisations providing social support, one example being the Bathurst branch of Red Cross Society founded in 1914 in response to the war then beginning. The Country Women's Association (the CWA), established in NSW in 1922, is arguably the most important women's organisation for rural women, with a long history of providing support services for country women and their families. The Bathurst CWA Branch was formed in 1923, making it one of the oldest branches in the state. The importance of the CWA as a social institution, however, has been extended since well beyond the city's boundaries. The tiny and unassuming CWA hall in Hill End has provided a place for country women to meet and overcome the isolation of country life.

The Returned Servicemen's League (RSL) was formed nationally following the return of World War One servicemen, with a sub-branch in Bathurst. Originally known as the Returned Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia, it was established in Bathurst, with its first clubrooms opened in 1933 in Rankin Street, and is one of the oldest extant social clubs in the area. With an increase in membership after the Second World War and a change in liquor laws in 1954, the RSL, as well as some sporting clubs in Bathurst, became significant social venues as well as providers of important social and sporting benefits. Bathurst also had for a time a private 'Gentleman's Club' (now the Bathurst Convention and Function Centre, Howick Street), which failed financially in the 1980s owing presumably to the want of local gentlemen.

As well as sporting and hobby clubs, there are also social institutions for children, the purpose of which is usually to provide both entertainment and moral guidance. The earliest in the area was probably the Boys' Club, formed in 1905. A Police Citizens Boys Club was established in 1948, the purpose-built Keppel Street premises for which are now commercial premises. Halls used by

Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are still in use, however. Formal youth clubs are more a feature of Bathurst City than the area's villages and rural locales.

The history of social institutions in the Bathurst area is largely typical of inland rural communities, but offering early examples of some institutions owing to the early history and size of the area. For the most part and with few exceptions, Bathurst area social institutions may provide little in the way of direct heritage evidence of their existence or of their contribution to the area's social history. Beyond a handful of halls, there appear to be relatively few historic buildings belonging to the area's social institutions, leastwise commensurate to the importance of their contributions. Nonetheless social institutions are an important part of the fabric of history.

36. Sport

XII. That the Livery consist of a Scarlet Frock Coat, with Black Velvet facings, Buff Waistcoat, White Breeches, and Top Boots. (From the rules for the Bathurst Hunt, formed in 1824, as cited in T Barker, *A Pictorial History of Bathurst* (1985), p.8)

Sport can be defined as contests of skill, strength and endurance between people or their animals. The Bathurst Regional Council area has a particularly rich sporting history. With the exception of beach and alpine activities and some water sports, virtually all sports played by Australians have at some time found participants and spectators - as well as punters and bookies. Sporting activities involving skills of hunting or physical endurance would have been part of traditional Wiradjuri life. The earliest sporting contests of the British settlers were not dissimilar in purpose.

36.1 Horse and other animal sports

The first organised sporting activities following the arrival of British settlers were very likely horse races, initially as spontaneous races and later as specially organised race meetings on rough courses. From the 1830s, an annual race meeting, with accompanying ball, was the most important fixture on the area's sporting calendar. 'Alloway Bank' provided one of the favourite early racetracks. The sport remained relatively unstructured until 1863 when land was granted for a racecourse on the Bathurst Common (now CSU & BARS) and the Bathurst Jockey Club was formed the following year. The racecourse has had to relocate several times since then. With the establishment of the Bathurst Experiment Farm in 1895, the track moved to a site near Lloyds Road, which in turn was lost to military use during the Second World War. Homeless for some years, its final move was in 1959 to Tyers Park. The clubs overseeing local racing, sometimes in competition with one another, have had an equally turbulent history. They have been repeatedly disbanded, reformed and renamed many times since 1864, often in consequence of volatile disputes amongst members.

Horseracing has been an important element in the area's social history. The track was where all - rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant - could meet, socialise and enjoy a day in common. It was as well the place where the wealthier class - in effect, the local racehorse breeders and owners - could make their mark. George Lee, whose stables still stand at 'Leeholme', was one local racehorse breeder of national standing. His Merrywee won the Melbourne Cup of 1892.

Horse races have been an equally important sporting activity in the area's villages and rural locales, particularly during and since the goldrush. Brian Hodge in *Frontiers of Gold* (1979) writes that establishing a racecourse on a goldfield was amongst the first undertakings of the newly arrived diggers. The first race meeting at Sofala was in January 1853; a similar story can be told of other fields. Jim Buchan in *Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001) notes that the first advertised sport there was a horse race on Boxing Day 1862. The nearby, and short lived, goldfields town of Chambers Creek managed at least one horse race, in 1872. Race day, especially on the goldfields, was a major social occasion. Picnic races in particular provided a popular combination of sporting and social event.

Race meetings with trotters began by at least 1889 as part of the annual Bathurst Show using a track specially built for that purpose. This is some years before the formation of the first harness racing organisation in Australia, the NSW Trotting Club, in 1902. The Bathurst Trotting Club, formed in 1910, held its first meeting at the show grounds in the same year, where race meetings have been held on a regular basis since. (C Sloman, *The History of Bathurst 1815-1915* (1994), pp 286-287; T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp530-521) As elsewhere, trotting was joined by pacing in the early 20th century. The Bathurst area has long been a significant contributor to the breeding and training of horses for the 'trotting industry', with the type of horse bred for Cobb & Co. stagecoaches proving ideal for this style of racing. James Rutherford at 'Hereford' was an early breeder of note; in recent decades, the Turnbull family at The Lagoon has established a national reputation for their breeding and training of horses.

The mounted hunting of kangaroos and dingos on horseback was another early sporting activity, at least among the local 'gentry'. The earliest sporting club formed in the area was the Bathurst Hunt Club in 1824. With its prescribed livery and formal rules of behaviour, the club self-consciously patterned itself on the English hunt. The club suggests a conscious effort by its members to model themselves on the social mores of the English landed gentry and, perhaps, to claim an antipodean equivalence of social rank. Certainly, one needs to be aware when considering the central role of the horse in early sports in the district that there were those who rode - and those who walked. The Bathurst Hunt Club went through at least two incarnations, the last in 1876-1878. Until at least 1878, mounted hunts, sometimes in company with the Sydney Hunt Club, were held on district properties, on occasion ranging over a course from 'Alloway Bank' to Evans Plains. The mounted hunt drew on riding skills associated with the pastoral industry. Although the equivalent riding skills today are perhaps those of bike or quad rider, the annual Rockley Rodeo, now about forty years in existence, is based on an earlier tradition of gymkhanas and similar events.

Other forms of animal based contests that developed with settlement, and arguably not as limited by class and wealth, include hare coursing, greyhound racing and the racing of pigeons. Animal blood sports, such as dog or cock fighting as well as ratting (with dogs), were sometimes staged at pubs in the 19th century, together with boxing events. Hare coursing (a dog sport) was particularly popular in the 1870-1900s. George Lee is said to have purposely introduced hares on his 'Leeholme' property, one of the first to do so in the colony. With the rail link between Bathurst and Sydney established in 1876, Bathurst became a popular location for Sydney-based coursing enthusiasts to hold meetings. Coursing, as with the mounted hunt, took place on a number of local properties, including 'Leeholme', 'Mildura' and 'Hereford'.

36.2 Field team sports

Ball games appeared as colonial society developed. Cricket was the first team game to be played in the area, from at least 1849 on an organised basis with the establishment of the Bathurst Union Cricket Club. Earlier informal matches may have involved the small detachment of British soldiers stationed in Bathurst, as cricket is known to have been a sport encouraged in the British Army at this time. Villages and rural communities followed Bathurst in due course with their own cricket teams. Matches between locals and visitors became a popular social and sporting

event. According to Brian Hodge in *Frontiers of Gold* (1979), the first recorded match on the area's goldfields was in 1852 at Tambaroora. The accounts of cricket matches discussed by Jim Buchan in his 2001 history of the Freemantle area and Geoff Smith in *A History of Fitzgerald's Valley Wimbledon* (nd) show how these matches helped create links between communities both within and beyond the BRC area.

Bathurst area cricketers can claim at least three nationally significant early players of cricket, all born and played in Bathurst, George Bonner (1855-1912), Charles ('Terror') Turner (1862-1944) and Thomas McKibbin (?-1939). 'Terror' Turner's ashes have been placed in a monument at the Bathurst Sports Ground. Cricket matches, together with horse racing, provided the earliest mass sporting events. Visiting English cricket teams, in particular, drew huge crowds.

There was briefly in the 1890s a locally invented version of cricket for young women, known as Rockley Cricket, after the community where it was particularly popular. (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, pp497-498) Interest in the game, however, soon declined, perhaps because of the rise in popularity of cycling and tennis among young women. Rockley Cricket is an interesting example of local inventiveness in sport, as well as being an early example of a sport for women. Until very late in the 19th century, there was little in the way of organised sport specifically for women.

Different codes of football later challenged cricket's appeal as the pre-eminent organised sport. Rugby (Union) began as an organised sport in Bathurst in 1874 and initially made use of the Bathurst Cricket Ground, with the addition of goal posts. Several football clubs, including school clubs, soon formed and a wider network of competing clubs developed. The first Rugby League club in Bathurst was formed in 1913. As elsewhere in Australia, the contest in Bathurst between these two forms of rugby for players and supporters was lively. One of those involved in the debate was JB Chifley, a loyal Union rugby player. Bathurst has produced a number of important rugby players. Herbert Daly (1885-1950) played as a St Stainslaus' student before going on to play with the first Wallabies team in 1908-09.

As with cricket and horse racing, football too had its following in locales beyond Bathurst with local teams playing on their own fields. Both Buchan and Smith, together with other local historians, comment on the eventual decline of organised sports, be it cricket or football, in the histories of their respective districts. This is no doubt a reflection of a decline in population together with the opportunity afforded local players to join Bathurst teams following improvements in road transportation.

Soccer (Association Football) was introduced locally on August 5, 1914, the day after the declaration of the First World War and not a propitious time to attract young men to a new game. Baseball made its first appearance around 1932. Baseball and soccer, as well as more recent additions such as basketball, have their adherents, especially among young people. However, Bathurst remains a stronghold for the traditional sports of cricket and rugby.

36.3 Individual sports: swimming and shooting

Swimming has been a popular recreational activity in the area since the first meeting of people and waterholes on a hot summer day. As a formal sporting activity, swimming can be dated to the opening of Bathurst's first pool in 1887 in Princess Street (next to the Dairy Farmers' Cooperative). This privately built pool, together with ad hoc arrangements on the nearby river, served for some decades, but not without frequent criticism. After considerable public debate and delay, the Olympic Pool in Elizabeth Park was built in 1953. In 2006, this pool was demolished and is to be replaced with an expanded aquatic centre - a relatively late development for a major regional centre. Beyond Bathurst, swimmers sometimes made use of resources developed for other purposes. At Hill End, the Cornelian Mine dam once provided that town with its swimming pool. In Rockley, Stevens Weir built in 1933 as a relief project also served as the village's swimming pool, with a transmission belt from the Edgell factory in Bathurst adapted as a water slide. (*The Rockley Manner* (1989), pp272-73)

Shooting, both for recreational hunting and competition target shooting, is a sport that can be traced to the earliest days of settlement. Competence with firearms was once a necessary prerequisite of good citizenship, particularly so in such a rural and patriotic community. A rifle range was established on the Bathurst Common in 1869 and a Volunteer Rifle Club formed the following year. As the name suggests, the range, the club and the sport had close associations with the colony's recently established volunteer defence force. The first recreational hunting club, the Bathurst Rifle Association, was formed in 1886, but then as now most recreational hunting takes place outside of clubs. Through a succession of clubs - forming and disbanding - the sporting activity of shooting has continued through to the present day, but the sport lost its 'citizen soldier' connection by the mid-20th century.

During the height of the sport's popularity - before the First World War - Bathurst produced several marksmen of world standing. Between 1903 and 1913, Arthur and Will Cutler won both state and national competitions, including the King's Prize on several occasions, and both represented Australia at Bisley in Britain. In 1909, the Bathurst Civilian Rifle Club, with Arthur Cutler as captain, won the Empire Cup in competition with the best marksmen in the British Empire. The trophy was duly presented to Cutler by Lord Kitchener on his visit to Bathurst in 1910. To quote Theo Barker it was 'one of the most memorable occasions in the history of sport at Bathurst.' (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2) Unfortunately, the achievements of Bathurst's marksmen are probably today among the area's most forgotten sporting accomplishments. (It is believed that the Empire Cup trophy is held locally; it warrants recognition as an item of heritage significance.)

36.4 Social sports: golf, tennis and bowls

The Bathurst Golf Club, established in 1894 or 1895, was the third such club in New South Wales, but the game appears initially to have enjoyed popularity mainly with the upper social levels of the community. Prior to the mid-1890s with the building of the Club's first links in the area of George Park (Brilliant and Browning streets) and its first clubhouse, the game had been limited to some private links in the BRC area. The Golf Club links were relocated to its present-day location on the Orange Road in 1931 and the game has since widened in popularity, a development in keeping with elsewhere in Australia. The present clubhouse building, built in

1933 and altered since, is one of the city's best examples of the 'interwar functional' architectural style (architect Frank Scobie). (See F Farrugia, *History of the Bathurst Golf Club: Our First One Hundred Years* (1994) for further information.)

Golf links were also maintained on private properties in the area. 'Rockley Farm' had a nine-hole course, including a clubhouse, prior to the Second World War, and Dr Brooke Moore is said to have had a private course on property he owned near Brewongle. The existence of such private courses offers an interesting insight into the social history of early 20th century sport. (AM Roberson, *Rockley Manner* (1989), p.54)

Tennis, like golf, also began largely with private facilities and initially with a limited following. The first public courts (at the cricket ground) were built in Bathurst in the 1870s, with the first Bathurst Tennis Club formed in 1884. The sport grew in popularity, particularly among the area's village and rural residents. The building of a tennis court was a sporting facility within the reach of small communities and even some property holders. A country tennis match or competition was, like all rural sports, equally an occasion for meeting friends and neighbours. The importance of tennis in rural communities is often commented upon by local historians, including Geoff Smith in his history of Fitzgerald's Valley and AM Roberson writing about Rockley. The area's local newspapers in the 1920s-50s regularly reported on country tennis matches. To cite just one of many such reports, the Walang community columnist gleefully reported in the *Western Times* (11/6/1926) that their tennis club had beaten that of nearby Yetholme, their 'ancient opponents'. Tennis courts, often now in a neglected state, can be found on many local properties or near community halls. Tennis was also one of the few competitive sports available to young women before the mid-20th century.

Bowls was another game open to both men and women, which also came into fashion in Bathurst in the late 19th century and again after some initial hesitation. The Bathurst Bowling Club green was first established on city land alongside Machattie Park in 1895; it was relocated to the old Police Barracks, its present site, in 1940. Other organised sports, such as croquet (from 1928) and archery (from 1947), can be added to the list.

36.5 Wheeled sports

Wheeled transport brought forth a new form of sport, one based on people and their machines. Bicycles were used for both competitive racing, as well as non-competitive recreation. There is an unproven claim that the first cyclist in Australia was a Bathurstian, WR George, who around 1870 rode a locally made bicycle - without springs and with solid tyres. (T Barker, *A History of Bathurst* (1998), Vol 2, p.515) The first of many cycling clubs to have existed locally was established in 1884; road and track races have been held on a regular basis since then. Interestingly, for a time pedal cycling and motor cycling shared the same clubs, reflecting perhaps a common enthusiasm amongst young men for the latest in road technology. With the introduction of the pneumatic tyre in the 1890s and improvements generally in the safety of bicycles, cycling gained in popularity as a recreational activity. This was particularly so among the young women of Bathurst, who, with tennis racket strapped to handle bars and dressed in the appropriate cyclist fashion, peddled forth into the 20th century. Or, alternatively, they may have

peddled their way to the Victoria Skating Rink in Keppel Street for an afternoon of roller-skating.

Relying on wheels of another sort, the racing of motorcycles and motor cars has a particular significance in the sporting history of Bathurst. Motor cycle road racing began in 1911, initially on different circuits using local roads. By the early 1930s, the races had taken on a more formal arrangement. From 1931 to 1937, the Vale Circuit, a 11.6 km gravel road circuit, was the scene for the Auto Cycle Union of NSW's annual Easter weekend race meeting. In 1937, a scenic tourist road was built around, or rather up and around, Mount Panorama as an unemployment work scheme. It was soon realised that this road would make a first class motor racing circuit. The annual Easter motor cycle race was accordingly transferred to Mount Panorama in 1938, with motor car racing beginning as well in the same year. The Mount Panorama circuit of 6.213 km of hills and curves has achieved international recognition, chiefly through the annual Bathurst 1000 car race. The Vale and the Mount Panorama circuits, together with the National Motor Racing Museum, represent a significant element in the history of motor racing in Australia. It seems likely that the museum holds moveable items of national heritage significance.

Although this thematic history has not been fully comprehensive in its survey of organised sports in the area, the evidence available suggests that sport is an important theme in the Bathurst area's history. This is not unexpected given the importance of sport generally in Australian culture. In that context, the sporting history of the area is largely typical of a developed inland region. There are though some special features in the local version of that history, such as the achievement of Bathurst's marksmen and the important role played by motor racing, as well as the way in which the Bathurst area was often amongst the first rural areas to embrace a new sport. The period roughly between 1890 and the outbreak of the First World War was a particularly active time for the introduction of new sports. It is during this same period that Bathurst was also at its liveliest in other ways, as noted in the theme entries for science and creative endeavour. It is probably not coincidental that many of the same community leaders responsible for introducing new sports were also equally active in other aspects of community development.

In seeking heritage items relating to sport, the physical development of sporting facilities needs to be considered. Generally speaking, the first sports fields, like the first race courses, were often just a suitable flat cleared space. Purpose built sporting facilities emerged in time as a major element of municipal investment for leisure. These facilities included not only fields for cricket and football, but also places for social sports such as tennis, lawn bowls and croquet. As well as historic sporting venues, the records, equipment and trophies of sporting clubs may also provide heritage items.

IX. Marking the phases of life

37. Birth and Death

Birth and death are the two physical certainties of human life. They mark the beginning and end of personal experience, as well as points of continuity and disruption within families and the wider community. 'Birth' involves not only giving birth, but also conception and contraception, together with the stages of pregnancy, antenatal and post-natal care. Miscarriage, termination and infant death need also to be considered. Similarly, 'death' involves not only the moment or place of dying but also the causes of death from accidental to murderous to natural, together with the disposal of the dead through funeral rituals and burial or cremation procedures and the meanings of death as illustrated in memorials and graveyards. These rhythms of life are as evident in this locality as in any other place and are represented by a range of heritage sites, some of which are today well understood and valued.

For the Wiradjuri, practices associated with birth and death were defined by custom. It is likely there exist in the area, although not publicly identified in BRC heritage surveys to date, sites associated with birthing. Living trees near places of burial were sometimes carved with symbols of spiritual meaning, a distinctive feature of Wiradjuri culture. Very few of these trees are still to be found, most having disappeared over time. An example from the O'Connell area is in the Bathurst District Historical Museum. The grave of Windradyne, traditionally dated at 1835 and located on 'Brucedale', may be the earliest example of a grave combining Wiradjuri and European funeral practices. It is in any case among the earliest identified post-settlement graves.

Death was the more common experience in the first decades of settlement given both the predominance in numbers of men over women and the nature of that settlement. From the early 1820s women began to arrive in greater numbers and, such being the way of things, the first children of settlers were born. The evolving history of birthing in the area reflects very much the wider story of the subject. For early isolated settler families the only choice may have been a home birth. Later, as Bathurst grew, the option of attending one of the town's private birthing hospitals may have been possible. This was the option taken by Daisy Bates, whose husband was working as a drover in the district, with her first and only child. (See Theme 14 (Health) for further information on hospitals and medical care generally.)

By comparison with today, incidents of miscarriage and infant mortality, as well as the death of women in childbirth, were high in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Mute evidence of such loss can be found on gravestones in old cemeteries throughout the BRC area. The Wattle Flat Roman Catholic Cemetery contains the grave of an infant (William Chifley, died at 11 days) who, if he had grown to maturity, would have been the uncle of Ben Chifley. Nearby in Sofala's Anglican Cemetery, the gravestone for the Williams' family records the death of five children between 1872 and 1881. The youngest death was at 14 days; the eldest was recorded as six months and 12 days. Space had been left on the stone to record yet more deaths. Equally poignant is the Anderson family cemetery on remote 'Killongbutta' (Killongbutta Road, Freemantle area), which holds the grave of a young child reburied there by his grieving mother from an earlier grave on 'Gowan'. Some years after remarriage and moving to 'Killongbutta', she returned to 'Gowan' for

her son's bones. The cemetery alongside the Uniting Church at White Rock offers a gravestone, dated 1866, for Elizabeth Sophia Pleffer, aged 15 minutes.

There are many identified post-settlement burial sites in the BRC area, most of which are of historic and heritage interest. Cemeteries can provide useful information both on patterns of settlement as well as on the individuals there buried. Dating from 1837, the cemetery at Holy Trinity in Kelso is arguably the most significant in terms of early settlement, as it contains the graves of a number of historically important early settlers and officials. There have been at least three burial grounds within Bathurst City. The earliest was the cemetery located on the corner of George and Lambert streets (Bathurst Public School area), which contained the graves of the executed Ribbon Gang members. It may have only been used for about ten years, until the early 1840s; no trace of it remains. Another cemetery was established in the early 1840s in the area bounded by Havannah, Piper and Lambert streets. It too soon fell into disuse and no evidence of it remains today. What is known today as the Bathurst General Cemetery was first used in the 1840s. The gravestone of Thomas Arkell, dated 1848, is thought to be the oldest existing monument in the cemetery.

Many of the churches built in the 19th century in the area's villages and rural locales have cemeteries attached. In some of these cemeteries, individual surnames on gravestones will be seen to dominate through to the present day, providing visible evidence of the continuing presence of families in the district for well over a century. The cemetery near the Turondale church, with its dominance of the surnames of Cole and Charman, offers a good example. Gravestones also provide insights on the risks of life and work in earlier times. Henry Robinson's gravestone in the Sofala Anglican cemetery records the cause of his death on 18 December 1851 as the result of a 'sudden rising of Oakey Creek'. Robinson was very likely a digger on the Turon Goldfield, then only a few months old, unaware of the dangers brought by summer thunderstorms.

Past society's sectarian divisions in life are reflected as well in death. The village of Wattle Flat has four known cemeteries - a community cemetery plus one for each of the three main Christian denominations. As well as religion, race also divided people in death. Both Sofala and Hill End had separate Chinese cemeteries, their locations now subject to some conjecture after decades of neglect. Chinese graves can be found in a small section on the edge of the Bathurst General Cemetery, and the Union Church cemetery at Caloola is also known to hold unmarked Chinese graves. The graves of members of religious orders can sometimes be found grouped together, as in the Bathurst General Cemetery. On the edge of the same cemetery is a small Commonwealth War Graves Cemetery, its presence connected to the army training camp on Limekilns Road.

In addition to church and community cemeteries, the BRC area has a number of small cemeteries on private land established for the needs of settler families. The cemetery close by 'The Grange', an early land grant property near O'Connell, is an example, as is the one near the former Rising Sun Inn on Limekilns Road. These small, often remote cemeteries and occasional lone graves are a visible reminder of the isolation of early settlers, as well as of the high personal cost that sometimes came with pioneering in a new land. Jim Buchan in his study *Freemantle via Bathurst* (2001) has identified thirty-eight such burials between 1849 and 1919 in just that one district, at least half of which were of children. The Anderson family cemetery on 'Killongbutta'

in the Freemantle area has only seven graves, five containing young children. Handsome engraved gravestones have been placed there with much expense and effort, particularly impressive is the gravestone for the family patriarch, Thomas Anderson. Symbolically, the permanence intended for this cemetery relays a message of the Anderson family's confidence about the eventual outcome of their pioneering endeavour - from convict shepherd to dynasty of landowners. That it proved ultimately not to be so is a not uncommon story.

In some cases, burial on private land was the expression of the deceased's attachment to their family or home. This may have been the case with William Lane, who is buried in the corner of his garden at 'Orton Park'. The grave of Major General Stewart (died 1854), marked by a grand obelisk atop Mount Pleasant, perhaps reflects a similar sentiment of being buried on one's own land, but its singularly isolated and commanding position may also reflect social divisions of that time. The local legend that the General was buried standing upright, so as to better view his property, but was then reburied headfirst by disgruntled locals, suggests this. Such stories often embody past understandings and values that can be useful in better understanding the social significance of a grave or cemetery.

The most famous 20th century grave in the BRC area is undoubtedly that of Ben Chifley in the Catholic section of the Bathurst General Cemetery. His wife, Elizabeth, is buried separately in the McKenzie family plot in the Presbyterian section. This separation in death is a lasting reminder of the role religion and sectarian divisions played in their lives. The Chifley graves are only two examples of many such individual stories that can be found in cemeteries in the BRC area.

See Theme 14 (Health) for additional information of possible relevance.

Barbara Hickson, et al, *100 Lives of Bathurst Memories in Marble*, published by the BRC in 2005, offers an excellent survey of life stories to be found in the Bathurst General Cemetery, as well as a brief history of cemeteries in Bathurst and Kelso and useful information on cemeteries generally.

38. Persons

I could not be called a 'young radical', but if I think a thing is worth fighting for, no matter what the penalty is, I will fight for the right, and truth and justice will always prevail [Pause] That's my story anyway. (Extract quoting part of Ben Chifley's final speech (10 June 1951) from Bob Ellis and Robin McLachlan, *A Local Man A Play about Ben Chifley* (2005), p.62. Part of this sentence from his speech provides the epitaph on his gravestone in the Bathurst General Cemetery.)

Our knowledge of the more significant persons who contributed to the shaping and building of the BRC area is for the most part both well remembered and well documented. At least this is the case since European settlement in 1815; but by contrast, we know little about Wiradjuri people as individuals prior to that date. The post-1815 situation is characteristic of settler societies, particularly so in Australia where the movement of people and the recording of their activities - from convict labourer to land grantee - was of direct interest to government authorities.

Bathurst and its surrounding district, especially given its claim on being the first inland settlement and the scene of many significant events, is also able to offer a great many 'firsts', some of which are of national importance. Indeed, it may be said that the BRC area has through people identified with the locality made many significant contributions to the wider history of Australia, at least until the mid 20th century. Ben Chifley, Federal Prime Minister and Treasurer, is undoubtedly the most famous person in this category.

But our valuing of personal contributions ought not to be measured only by a national yardstick, for the history of the area is arguably very much the product of the efforts of the many ordinary men and women who have lived and worked in the BRC area. Their contributions may have only been made in a local or family context, but in that context the contribution may have been critical. The area's heritage has also been shaped by persons from beyond the area, such as artists and architects, who may have been both influenced by their contact and, in turn, contributed to the area's heritage. The 20th century artists, Donald Friend and Russell Drysdale, for a time residents of Hill End, are prime examples of such persons.

Our remembering of persons who contributed to the history of the BRC area often comes through associated buildings and sites, many of which are valued today for their heritage significance. Early pastoralists are remembered, even commemorated, as both individuals and families through their fine homesteads; their convict labourers are remembered collectively through their work in building these homesteads and their outbuildings. The physical evidence of the 19th century goldrush is provided through goldfield detritus, the communal testament of the labour of tens of thousands of diggers. Chifley is remembered through his marital home and his grave; the memory of Friend and Drysdale is recalled not only in the villages of Hill End and Sofala, but also in their paintings of those places. Through associated sites and places, people from the past can be remembered in a communal as well as in an individual sense.

It is not practical in a brief survey such as this to do more than touch on a few individuals. The survey will serve though to show something of the variety of people connected with the locality as well as show the patterns of human endeavour in its history. Through the index provided for this study, the reader can find further information on these and dozens more individuals, as well as on ethnic and community groups, in the other themes in this study. The theme entries will provide a contextual understanding of individual and group contributions to the history of the BRC area, together with references to associated places of heritage significance. It will often be found that the life and work of individuals relates to more than one theme or one heritage place. Readers are further reminded that many of the people referred to in this study are discussed more fully in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (ADB) and are consequently by definition people of more than local significance.

1815-1850. The first decades of settlement: People in the first phase of this period might be divided into a number of categories. First came the explorers, of whom George Evans is arguably the most important in a regional sense - soon followed by William Cox, the road builder. Over the following two or so decades, other explorers, including Charles Sturt and Thomas Mitchell, made use of the Bathurst settlement as a starting point for their journeys into the unknown inland. Officials and convicts formed the first permanent settlement at Bathurst. The administration of the settlement fell to Bathurst's commandants, military men such as William Lawson and Major James Morisset, while initial medical, educational and religious facilities - among the first in inland Australia - were the work of Dr George Busby, Rev Thomas Hassall and Rev John Espy Keane. Others, the more significant being those involved with the main religious denominations, would soon extend the educational work begun by the Church of England. Bishop Quinn of the Roman Catholic Church warrants mention. Education, the collective work of many, is a significant feature in the cultural heritage of the BRC area.

Convicts are usually not remembered today for their individual contributions, but as a group they were indispensable for the labour they provided. Individual convicts working as assigned servants can with diligent research be linked with specific properties. Ralf Entwistle, together with other convicts in his Ribbon Gang, is one convict remembered through associated sites, not buildings but a cave and a laneway, one the legendary site of his camp at Abercrombie Caves and the other the place of his execution on Ribbon Gang Lane.

Reflecting the time of Bathurst's pastoral settlement - a generation and more since the arrival of the First Fleet - the area's early land holders provide a mixed demographic belonging to a critical stage in Australia's social history. Under Governor Macquarie's administration, land was made available to men of convict background such as Thomas Kite and William Lee, one a former convict and the other the bastard son of a convict. Other land holders were free settlers, such as the Suttor family and George Ranken, who is also deserving of the title of Bathurst's first industrialist, men who had migrated to Australia with their families with the express purpose of taking up land. Others, such as Captain John Piper and Major General William Stewart, had prior connections with government or military service in the colony. The land occupied by the flocks and herds of the incoming settlers was not an empty land. In 1824, the Wiradjuri unsuccessfully resisted the loss of their country. Their leader, Windradyne, respected by both settlers and Wiradjuri, is arguably the most significant locally born person of this early period.

As settlement slowly developed, a more diverse population emerged. Although it was overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic in ethnicity, there were individuals of other origins. Dominique Popolari, originally from Naples and transported to Australia as a military convict, was one of Bathurst's early publicans. It was also a predominantly male society, a fact that makes the contributions of the relatively few women present of particular importance. Elizabeth Hawkins is properly linked with her husband, Thomas Hawkins, as co-pioneer in the establishment of 'Blackdown' in the 1820s. In the 1830s, Mrs Dillon, Kelso innkeeper, became one of the area's earliest successful businesswomen. Susannah Popolari worked alongside her innkeeper husband, Dominique, and carried on as an innkeeper in her own right following his death in 1860.

The BRC area is fortunate in having a comparatively well-documented record of its early settlement history. Thanks to the work of family historians it is possible to provide in some detail the personal histories of many individuals and to link those histories with extant sites and places of heritage significance. The Heritage Wall, located at the foot of William Street, provides a useful record of early pioneers and their families. A limitation of this record, however, is that it is limited to those early settlers who had descendants.

1851-1901. A time of gold and steam - and new people with fresh ideas: Prior to 1851, the BRC area was a relatively isolated pastoral district, sparsely populated and largely dominated by a small coterie of landholders. The discovery of gold in 1851 and the arrival of the railway in the 1870s combined to transform the area. Gold brought waves of new settlers with new values and aspirations; the railway ended economic and social isolation. 1851-1901 was a time of new blood, new ideas and new money.

Among those who achieved some fortune on the goldfields, Bernard Holtermann and Louis Beyers, both from Europe and both associated with Hill End, also earned a lasting fame for their contributions to the cultural heritage of the BRC area. Commissioned by Holtermann, Charles Bayliss has provided us with a unique photographic record of the goldrush era. His photographs of mining cottages, Hill End street scenes and mine workings - invariably with the men and women of the goldfield posing for his plate camera - remind us that the goldfields were the work of many thousands of men - and women. Most came to the area from overseas - from America, Europe and China - for the express purpose of finding gold. Some were lucky; some were not. Some stayed; some moved on. People of many backgrounds and life vocations, such as Mary MacKillop's Sisters of St Joseph, worked to meet the social and educational needs of the waves of new arrivals.

The goldrush triggered an economic boom that lasted for some decades. New businesses were established, such as James Rutherford's Cobb & Co, to meet the needs of an ever-growing inland settlement. Emporiums replaced general stores, with Edmund Webb and John Meagher being amongst the pre-eminent merchants in Bathurst. In the new towns spawned or spurred on by the goldrush, other 'coming men' of business likewise emerged, such as Arthur Budden in Rockley. The arrival of the railway encouraged the development of industry in Bathurst, especially flour mills such as those established by Francis Crago and the Tremain brothers.

The second half of the 19th century was also a period of remarkable sporting and cultural development. George Lee, a Melbourne Cup horsebreeder, the cricketer George Bonner and the marksman Arthur Cutler, all Bathurst born, are just three among the many notable sportsmen who were active at this time. In the field of music, Sam Lewins, English migrant and railwayman, established his award winning brass band. Father Joseph Slattery, a teacher at St Stanislaus' College, undertook nationally significant experiments in radiography in the 1890s. Dr William Bassett, English born medical practitioner and amateur scientist, laid the foundations for technical and tertiary education in the BRC area. Other local doctors, notably Dr Thomas Machattie, were at the forefront in the development of many of the community's cultural and social amenities, not least being Machattie Park. Machattie was also a leading figure, together with William Astley, in Bathurst's contribution to Federation, the Bathurst Federal Convention of 1896. Astley was a journalist, and together with other resident journalists such as Nat Gould and Charles White, helped benchmark the potential of regional journalism in Australia.

This period, extending into the first decade or so of the next century, was the time when many of the area's extant significant heritage buildings were designed and constructed. James Barnett's grand Court House is arguably the best recognized of these, but also to be found throughout the district are the houses, halls and churches of the area's own local architects - Edward Gell, James Hine and John Copeman, among others.

The period between the discovery of gold and the first decade of the 20th century was the BRC area's golden age. A rapid growth in population, together with wealth from gold and pasture and later from the economic opportunities brought by the railway, saw the BRC area, and Bathurst in particular, grow from an isolated frontier settlement into a diverse and sophisticated society, a place of confidence and independence. This maturing of Bathurst and the surrounding area was the achievement of many different people, some well known to us today. The individual contributions of others may not be so readily recognised today. But, collectively, all were responsible for a golden period in Bathurst's history that is not likely to be seen again.

1901-1951. 'Not dead, but sleeping': Russell Keon-Cohen in B Greaves, *The Story of Bathurst* (1976) described Bathurst in the period from 1899 to 1914 as being, 'not dead, but sleeping'. His description can perhaps be ascribed equally to the following decades as well. The economic and social frenzy of the second half of the 19th century had passed. The goldfields were played out and drought visited the pastures. World War One soon brought other concerns. For the BRC area, two people might be mentioned in connection with the war - Major Blair Anderson Wark, who was awarded the Victoria Cross, and Charles Bean, Bathurst born, who recorded the history of that war.

World War Two likewise brought local people to wider attention. Robert Gordon Edgell, who had commenced his pioneering vegetable canning industry in the decade prior to the war, was able through wartime opportunities to establish his business on a national scale. The most significant person to emerge in this period, however, was undoubtedly Joseph Benedict (Ben) Chifley. Again, it was the war that facilitated his rise to national importance, first as Treasurer and later as Prime Minister. Ben Chifley's death on 13 June 1951 provides a most suitable terminus to this period in the BRC area's history. It remains to be seen if the BRC area will see again anyone of his stature.

As noted, this brief survey can draw attention to only a small sample of the many men and women who have contributed to the history of the Bathurst Regional Council area. By its nature, this survey focuses on the better-known people, those whose lives and careers find their way into history literature. *100 Lives of Bathurst* (2005), a guide to graves in the Bathurst General Cemetery, takes its readers to the final resting place of some of those mentioned in this study. At least seventeen are listed in the guide.

Pastoralists - Thomas Arkell, John Piper and John Gilmour,
Merchants - Edmund Webb and John Meagher
Science educator - Dr William Bassett
Publicans - Mary Black and Dominique Popolari (Popilarie)
Bathurst's best known married couple - Ben and Elizabeth Chifley
Catholic rebel - Richard Kenna
Industrialist - George Fish
Utilities pioneer - John Newlands Wark
Transportation pioneer - James Rutherford
Musician - Samuel Lewins
Medical pioneers - Dr George Busby and Dr Richard Machattie

It is a list of seventeen names that underscores the range and diversity of people and achievements to be found in the history of the Bathurst area. One must be mindful however that history is not the work of just the few but is the outcome of many individual endeavours, some great and many more not so great. The remaining 83 lives to be found in the cemetery guide were not mentioned in this study, but the history of the Bathurst Regional Council Local Government Area is their history as well.

A Final Word: Notwithstanding the naming of roads, suburbs and public facilities in honour of local persons of merit, the BRC area is in need of a public commemorative site recording a broad selection of historically significant local persons. This might take the form of a plaqued walkway, similar to that provided in front of the Bathurst Regional Council offices for winners of the Mount Panorama motor races. It is disappointing that many of those who gave long term contributions to the area are given less public acknowledgement than the out of town winners of a weekend motor race.

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The Historical Context of Heritage Assessment

1 What is historical context?

The NSW Heritage Manual offers the following advice: 'A heritage item (place or object) needs to be considered in the context of the history and historical geography of the area surrounding it. When identifying the heritage items of a given area (such as that of the Bathurst Regional Council), a purely visual approach is inadequate. It is important to understand the underlying historical influences that have shaped and continue to shape the area. Finding the historical context calls for historical research.'

It is not always practical to undertake detailed historical research on every likely heritage item. This is certainly the situation with the dozens, if not hundreds, of heritage items that must be identified and considered by the community heritage study underway in the Bathurst Regional Council Local Government Area.

In such circumstances, the use of recognized historical themes might help find the required historical context.

2 What are historical themes?

An historical theme is a way of describing a major force or process that has contributed to our history. For example, *mining* is an obvious theme in Australian history, as are the themes of *exploration*, *convicts* and *migrants*.

Less obvious, but historical themes all the same, are themes such as *communications* and *utilities*, themes that take us historically from postmen on horses to STD telephones and from tallow candles to electric lights.

Historical themes help us focus on the impact and the dynamics of history, showing how we have changed or have developed over time in ways both obvious and not so obvious.

The NSW Heritage Office has identified 38 historical themes that help us to better understand the history and heritage of New South Wales. To varying degrees, these themes are also representative of the Bathurst area's history and thus likely to assist in the process of identifying and assessing heritage items in that area.

The 38 state level historical themes are by intention broad in what they cover. *Mining*. *Labour*. *Transportation*. And so forth. These broad themes should be thought of as umbrella themes providing cover for more specific sub-themes of regional and local interest.

In the case of the Bathurst Regional Council area, for example, under the broad state-level theme of mining, we can consider local historical themes of gold, copper and silver mining but not coal mining. Coal mining, however, is a theme of importance to BRC's wider region, the Central West Region.

Relating the BRC's local historical themes to broader regional and state level themes is important in helping to determine the relative importance of the history - and the heritage item - being considered.

Definition of Heritage Item: It may be helpful to remind the reader that the term 'heritage item' is not limited to a physical place of heritage significance, such as a building or a bridge, where something man-made exists to be seen. The 'heritage item' can be more than a single building, as in a precinct created by a village streetscape or collection of farm buildings. The term also includes sites where nothing tangible may now exist, such as an explorer's campsite or a cattle droving trail, or a site where an important historical event took place. 'Heritage item' further includes heritage objects, that is items such as handtools and antique tractors as well as paintings and art objects. Such objects are commonly referred to as 'moveable heritage', even if the object might be something as large as a locomotive engine or a stamping battery. For the ease of reading, this discussion may at times speak only of heritage buildings or places. This can be assumed to include as well heritage precincts, sites and objects.

3 Using the BRC's thematic history

The thematic histories provided in this study are not intended to be the final word on the history presented. Considerably more could be said on each of the themes. Considerably more examples of likely heritage items could be listed and considered.

The purpose of the thematic histories is to offer historical context guideposts as to what may be found in the heritage of the BRC area. The thematic histories are provided to encourage and guide further thinking and discussion about what might be likely heritage items.

The thematic histories can be used in six ways - intentionally broad and overlapping - to help identify what might be of heritage significance and then to assist in assessing that significance.

1. Broadening the search: The historical themes provided for this study cover virtually all aspects of life - from accommodation to utilities, from education to labour and from birth to death. Much of what is written in the thematic entries will be familiar and expected. However, the wide net cast by a thematic approach can cause us to think about aspects of the BRC area's history where we might not expect to find heritage. A thematic approach may also help keep us from overly concentrating on particular heritage items or periods of history.

2. Finding forgotten heritage: By breaking up our history into separate themes, we are often able to uncover something of an area's hidden or forgotten history. A thematic approach helps us fill in, or at least identify, gaps in our knowledge of an area's history. This can in turn bring to light objects and places of likely - if perhaps forgotten - heritage importance.

3. Looking across the plains - and beyond: A thematic approach also allows us to look at the Bathurst Regional Council LGA in a whole or collective way and not just at the historical experience of individual districts and communities. We are also able to compare the BRC area's history with the wider histories of the Central West Region and the State. All of this can help us to make comparative judgements about the relative importance of our local heritage places. We are able to see what is especially important or special about the Bathurst area's historical experience and what may be especially valuable in the heritage of that history. The result can sometimes be surprising.

4. Making connections: Heritage items rarely exist in isolation from other heritage items. A thematic approach can provide a context within which the heritage significance of an item can be better understood, assessed and compared. Themes may help to explain why a place exists or how an object may have been used, how it changed over time and how it relates to other heritage items.

5. Multiplying themes: An individual heritage item is likely to have connections with more than just one historical theme. Multiple thematic connections may add to the heritage significance of a heritage item, as well as assist in better understanding its broader history.

6. Giving voice to the silent: The use of a broad range of historical themes in identifying and assessing heritage items may provide an opportunity for an input from people and groups sometimes absent from such decision making. This may include not only marginalised groups within a community but also people and groups now long passed into history. It becomes then the task of the historian writing the theme entry to represent such groups.

4. Assessing heritage

The following section provides a practical discussion of the procedures generally used in making decisions about heritage items. Examples of heritage items are provided from the Bathurst area's thematic history and suggestions are offered as to where historical themes can help provide the historical context needed to make heritage judgements.

The procedures discussed here generally follow those recommended by the NSW Heritage Office in their Heritage Manual. Other heritage bodies use similar procedures.

Defining Heritage - Value and Inheritance: Heritage in the context of historic buildings, sites and objects can be defined as: 'those things which *we value* and want to pass from one generation to the next - *our inheritance*.' This is a well-accepted definition in the cultural heritage profession. It will be found in the NSW Heritage Manual, published in 1996 by the NSW Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning.

Value and inheritance are the key words in the above definition. The definition calls on the present generation to consider carefully what is of value in their community which they wish to pass on to the next generation. It is a serious business, for to make a mistake - to overlook a site, place or object of heritage value - could mean the loss of heritage not only for the present but also for future generations of BRC residents.

An historical thematic approach to identifying heritage helps to ensure that the search is broad and thorough, balanced and unbiased.

The Importance of Heritage Objects: The public understanding of heritage is usually tied to places and sites. That objects may have heritage significance is often overlooked. Sometimes objects, perhaps in the way of machinery or tools, are all that may remain today of a place or site of historical importance. It's important not to overlook heritage objects, sometimes called Moveable Heritage Items, when considering what is heritage.

Identifying Items of Heritage Value: Some items of heritage value are easily identified as they are well known and their heritage value is widely shared.

By viewing heritage through historical themes, places long forgotten, or perhaps even unknown to us today, may emerge as having heritage significance. Equally, there may be places we do not regard as having any particular heritage value but which may be seen as having some value once placed in their historical context.

To help in deciding what is of value, heritage specialists have developed a process that culminates in our being able to make a heritage assessment, or Statement of Significance, about a heritage item. Preparing a heritage assessment involves determining the nature and degree of heritage value in a methodical way according to recognised criteria, first presented in the Burra Charter.

The Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, more commonly known as the Burra Charter, was developed in the 1970s as a guide for making good decisions about the care of important places. The Charter, consisting of 29 articles, is based on the earlier Venice Charter, but with amendments reflecting Australian considerations. The Burra Charter has been supplemented since with further guidelines, such as those provided by the NSW Heritage Office in their Heritage Manual. These are included in this discussion.

Defining Heritage Value: There are four ways in which heritage value may be defined.

- **Aesthetic value:** A place has positive visual or sensory appeal, landmark qualities and/or creative or technical excellence. (NSW Heritage Manual) This is just a fancy way of saying, 'It's beautiful!' James Barnett's Court House in Bathurst is an example of a heritage item having aesthetic value.

- **Historic value:** A place may have historic value because it has influenced, or has been influenced by, an historic figure, event, phase, or activity. It may also have historic value as the site of an important event. (Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance, 2.3) The modest semi-detached house at 10 Busby Street has considerable historic value because of its associations with Ben Chifley.
- **Scientific value:** The NSW Heritage Manual defines scientific 'as technical/research and refers as well to archaeological and industrial places. Items having this value are significant because of their contribution ... to an understanding of our cultural history....' The site and buildings of the Bathurst Agricultural Research Station (BARS), formerly the Bathurst Experiment Farm, have scientific value because of their connection with early agricultural research. The portable ballroom at 'Glanmire Hall' is also of scientific value as an unusual example of 19th century building technology.
- **Social value:** Social value embraces the qualities for which a place has become a focus of spiritual, political, national or other cultural sentiment to a majority or minority group. (Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance, 2.5) The NSW Heritage Manual suggests that this social value should be an expression of contemporary community esteem. The Bathurst area's many war memorials have social value because of their direct connections to the histories of its families, past and present.

Many heritage items will be found to encompass more than one of the above four values. Reference to the historical themes will help in assessing the relevance of heritage values.

Knowing its historical context, as shown through associated historical themes, can help us identify and evaluate the heritage value of a place or object.

Representativeness and Rarity: Having determined that a place has particular heritage value or values, according to the above criteria, it is necessary to measure the relative importance of that value. The NSW Heritage Office offers two criteria to qualify significance: *Representativeness and Rarity*.

Representativeness means that a place may have particular significant value because it is a fine representative example of an important class of significant items or environments. In other words, it offers a good representative example of a type of heritage item that may be found elsewhere in or beyond the BRC area.

Rarity means that a place may be significant because it represents a rare, endangered or unusual aspect of our history.

These criteria are not mutually exclusive. A place can in its heritage significance contain some aspects that are representative and other aspects that are rare. Thematic history can be particularly helpful in establishing degrees of representativeness and rarity.

Local, Regional and State: The NSW Heritage Office also classifies heritage places geographically according to whether their defined heritage value(s) can be regarded as significant at local, regional or state levels. (A state level of significance might also extend to a national level of significance, but national classifications are not strictly within the NSW Heritage Office's brief.) Thematic history will assist in making these distinctions.

The Bathurst Regional Council's community heritage study is concerned in part with identifying heritage places and objects within the BRC area for entry on the State Heritage Register. This requires such places and objects to be of a state level of heritage significance.

Some heritage places may have an importance on all three geographical levels. That is, the local level, the Bathurst Regional Council Local Government Area (or, Bathurst area); the regional level, the Central West Region; and, the state level, the State of New South Wales.

The Statement of Significance: Why is this Place Important? The process as outlined above leads to the preparation of a statement of significance for a likely heritage item.

A statement of significance explains simply why a place has value in heritage terms. The statement establishes the heritage values the place holds and further assesses it in terms of its representativeness or rarity, as well as its relative significance according to local, regional or state criteria. To put it simply - Why is this place important?

The statement should include as well a discussion of the relevant historical themes and sub-themes, guided by the list developed by the NSW Heritage Office.

Most of the Bathurst area's heritage places will be found to be representative, not rare, and of local or regional importance, but most often not of state (or national) importance. To assess them so is not to diminish their heritage significance to the local community. To do so would be to discount the heritage of the Bathurst area and to diminish the area itself.

5 Recommended sources for guidelines in identifying and assessing heritage items

- Australian Heritage Commission, *Protecting Heritage Places* (Workbook and CD-Rom) (Canberra, 2001)
- JS Kerr, *The Conservation Plan: A Guide to the Preparation of Conservation Plans for Places of European Cultural Significance* (Sydney, 2000)
- Peter Marquis-Kyle and Meredith Walker, *The Illustrated Burra Charter: Making Good Decisions about the Care of Important Places* (Sydney, 1992)
- The NSW Heritage Office, *The New South Wales Heritage Manual* (Sydney, 1996)
- M Pearson and S Sullivan, *Looking after Heritage Places. The Basics of Heritage Planning for Managers, Landowners and Administrators* (Melbourne, 1995)