

BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations



Issue 1

August 2010



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BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

<http://www.bluemountainsheritage.com.au/journal>

ISSUE No 1

AUGUST 2010

ISSN 1838-5036

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EDITORIAL

This is the inaugural issue of **The Blue Mountains History Journal** which is published online and hence is freely available in electronic form. Issues are to contain fully referenced, and peer reviewed, articles submitted by anyone on any aspect of the human history, and related subjects, of the Greater Blue Mountains and neighbouring areas. This venture has been assisted by funds allocated through the Royal Australian Historical Society by ArtsNSW.

This first issue contains four articles but only one of the authors is a professional historian so hopefully indicating the non-restrictive intent of this publication. The subjects range from the history of a large block of land to accounts of the lives of two significant individuals and then to an update on the tools and occupational sites of the indigenous people. This eclectic selection embraces the time span of human history from the twentieth century to as far back as currently we know – c.50,000 years for this part of Australia.

So as to ensure that authors receive continued reward for their efforts, hard copies of each issue of **The Blue Mountains History Journal** will be archived with six organisations; the National Library of Australia, the State Library of NSW, the Royal Australian Historical Society, the Springwood Library, the Lithgow Regional Library and with the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.

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***BLUE MOUNTAINS ASSOCIATION OF
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NORTH SPRINGWOOD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE SITE OF ST COLUMBA'S SEMINARY AND HIGH SCHOOL

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Abstract

The Catholic church land at North Springwood was well known to Aborigines ; their track to the Nepean River passed through, they used the spring alongside, and nearby they had rock shelters and a tool-making site. William Lawson was granted land here which he used as a staging post when moving stock across the Blue Mountains. In 1890 Samuel Lees acquired it for sub-division but initial sales were disappointing and new lots were unsuccessfully auctioned in 1901. In the 1890s an abattoir was operating around Kable's Spring grotto area which in 1908 the Catholic Church dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes. By 1909 the Church effectively owned 1200 acres (486 ha) of land and opened St Columba's Seminary in 1910.

Key Words: St Columba, Seminary, Lawson, Lees, Springwood, Blue Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

For one hundred years the Catholic church has run various forms of educational and religious activities on a large bushland estate in the northern part of Springwood. Although the Blue Mountains City Council regards the estate as in the suburb of Winmalee and has given it the heritage identifier of WL 001, it is convenient to call it St Columba's, Springwood. That is what everybody called it throughout its 67 years as a Catholic seminary, and now that it is a Catholic High School, Springwood is still the address recognised by the Catholic Education Office.

The central core of stone buildings, which are still so impressive today, housed a seminary for intending Catholic priests from 1910 until 1977. It was an adjunct to St Patrick's Seminary at Manly and was architecturally St Patrick's writ small (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Seminary as built in 1910. The orientation of the seminary changed through 90 degrees from east to south in 1934, when the south-east wing with its dominant tower and a distinguished new courtyard behind realigned the whole complex and redefined its relationship with the environment (Anonymous 1916, opp. p.90).

The site also housed a Marist Brothers' school from 1942 until 1955 and a convent of the order of Our Lady Help of Christians from 1933 until 1977. Since 1979 the Springwood complex has been remodelled to house a co-educational high school, dedicated, like the Seminary, to the memory of the Celtic saint, Columba of Iona. The site is now intensely complicated with additional school buildings and changes of use and internal spaces.

This major complex of buildings old and new is set, however, in a very extensive area of bushland, totalling some 480 hectares or 1200 acres. The history of this land in the nineteenth century, before the Catholic church developed it, casts significant light on the growth of Springwood.

Indigenous Importance

The land occupied by St Columba's lies on an original Aboriginal trade-route which climbed up from the Nepean River to the Springwood Ridge. The Aboriginal track ascended westwards from the river south of Mahons Creek (Figure 2) and north of the junction of Lynchs Creek with Blue Gum Swamp Creek. Where Springwood Ridge turns due south, near Grose Head South, there was a major tool-making site. The Aboriginal thoroughfare then followed the ridge down through the land later occupied by St Columba's College passing close to the site of the present buildings (Paish 1992, p.4).

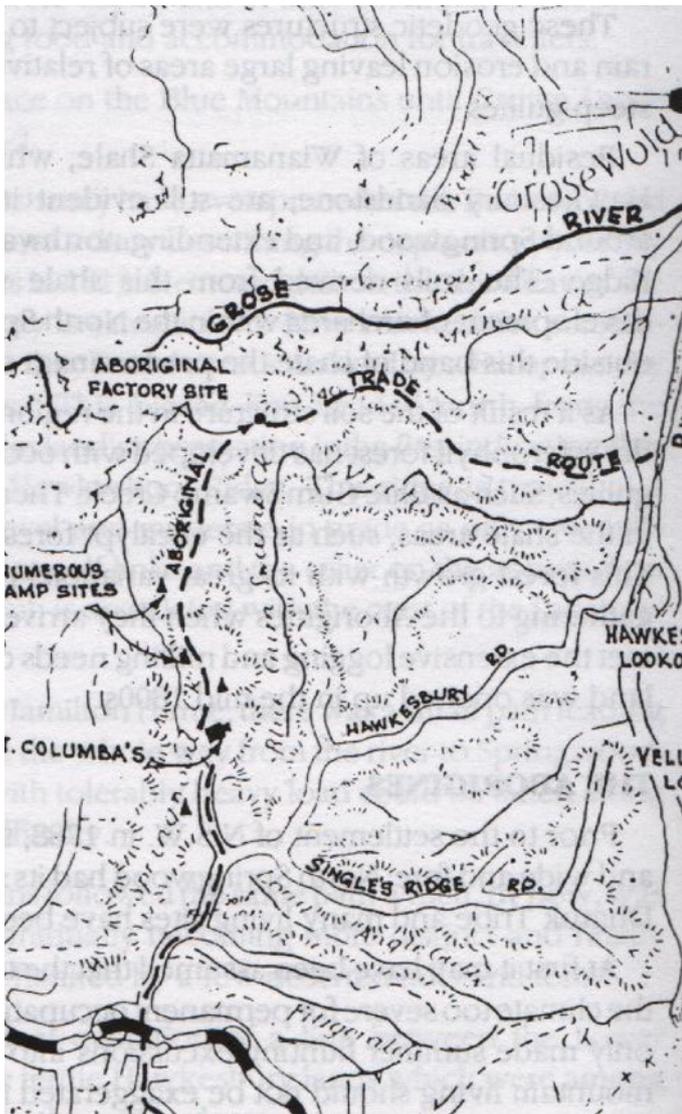


Figure 2. Aboriginal track from Nepean River to Springwood (Paish 1992, p.4).

Not surprisingly, there is a good deal of evidence of Aboriginal use of the area along and around the trade-route, which was found by Father Eugene Stockton when he surveyed the whole 1200 acres of St Columba's in 1992. A more intensive survey undertaken four years later by Jo McDonald, of Brayshaw McDonald Pty Ltd., increased the tally of

sites to seven rock shelters with clear evidence of Aboriginal use, fourteen more with possible occupation, three axe-grinding grooves, and two rock-art sites (Stockton 1992; Perumal Murphy Wu 1996, p.18).

These areas of archaeological sensitivity are extensive, including the slopes which go down to Springwood Creek on the west and to Blue Gum Swamp Creek on the east, coming very close to the Seminary and later High School complex.

One feature of cardinal importance to the Aboriginal people was a permanent water-source near the track. This spring is where the Catholic grotto dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes was later built (Figure 3). The spring appears on a European survey plan of the area in 1837 and in the 1881 edition of the Coomassie parish map is named as 'Kable's Spring' (Fox 2006, p.161; Galloway 1838). This spring, with a pretty pool below a waterfall, was well known to the earliest European settlers.



Figure 3. Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes, formerly Kables Spring, early 1930s (W.G. 1934, p.179).

A track from the south to the spring was already established before any of the area was granted to any European. This was probably the Aboriginal track along the line of the south-eastern part of Hawkesbury Road and onto the private road leading to St Columba's (Figure 2), but it was developed by the early settlers in North Springwood and water was regularly carted along this track to the earliest European homes. It is striking that the track ended for the Europeans at 'Kables Spring' (Figure 4) for unlike the Aboriginal people, they did not go north from the spring; the new European route down to Yarramundi bypassed Springwood Ridge and created the NE part of Hawkesbury Road instead.

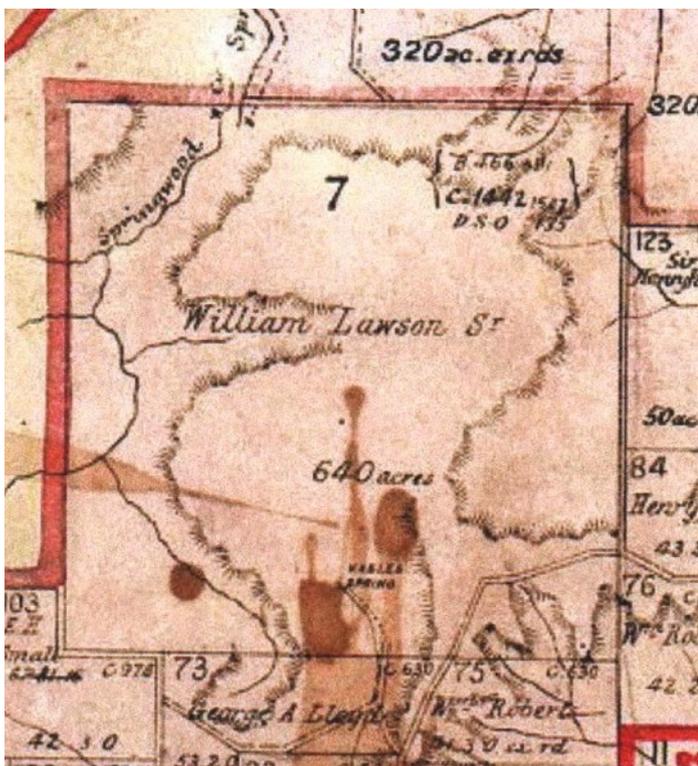


Figure 4. Lawson's 1839 grant of 640 acres, portion 7, in North Springwood. Kable's Spring is marked. The road running across the corner of the 640 acres is the present Hawkesbury road (Department of Lands 1905).

This is not the spring beside which Governor Macquarie camped in 1815 and which gave Springwood its name, but it was an important source of water for both the Aboriginal people and the Europeans. Why it became known as Kable's Spring is not clear. The Kable family was prominent in Windsor and Sydney as Henry Kable, as a First Fleet convict, became a prosperous merchant and acquired property on the Hawkesbury and elsewhere. In old age he farmed at Pitt Town and did not die until 1846 (Hainsworth 1967, pp.31-32). There is no recorded connection between Henry and Kable's Spring and there is no surviving documentary use of the name in Henry's lifetime. But by 1881 the name was well enough known to be inserted on the parish map, so it is likely to have some connection with one of Henry Kable's numerous sons (Fox 2006, p.161; Lands, Plan 466.691).

William Lawson's Grant

Land with a constant supply of water of course attracted powerful interests and in 1839 a square piece of country containing 640 acres was granted to William Lawson senior (Figure 4). Kable's Spring

was in the centre of the southern part of this substantial grant, later known as Portion 7 in the Parish of Coomassie.

William Lawson knew precisely what he was doing. He had, after all, been there before. With Blaxland and Wentworth, he had passed through Springwood while crossing the Blue Mountains in 1813. By 1839 Lawson was resident at Veteran Hall at Prospect, where he had established a spacious headquarters, with many outbuildings constructed in the 1820s. Lawson's major land holdings over the Mountains were around Bathurst, Mudgee and Wellington, which were looked after by overseers, agents and family. On his death in 1850, his total landed property exceeded 200,000 acres: the Springwood grant was a mere 3% of his landed estate (Dunlop 1967, p.96). But the 640 acres (259 ha) on the Lower Mountains filled a very useful function, and this can be deduced from the reasons for the 1813 crossing. The 'Dauntless Three', along with their four servants, four horses and five dogs, did not cross the Mountains out of geographical curiosity nor because they were challenged to get to the other side. Lawson, like Wentworth and Blaxland, was looking for new pasture for stock in a strictly utilitarian way. When, six years later in 1819, Commissioner Bigge was asking searching questions Gregory Blaxland made no secret of his motivation. Writing in the third person, he told Bigge that

"... he did not know of any unoccupied space of good pasturage on this Side of the Mountains ...", so was

"... fully convinced of the necessity of finding out a further extension of pasturage" (Mackaness 1978, p.23).

Topography

The modern 1:25,000 map (Land Information Centre 2000), like the old parish maps (Figure 4), gives a glimpse of how rugged Lawson's square mile (2.6 km²) of land was away from the accessible Springwood Ridge. There were uncleared, steep, slopes going down to Springwood Creek which watered the whole western sector of the grant. On the north-east the land was watered by part of the Blue Gum Swamp Creek system. Springwood Creek drained north into the Grose River, while Blue Gum Swamp Creek turned east into the Nepean River (Figure 5).

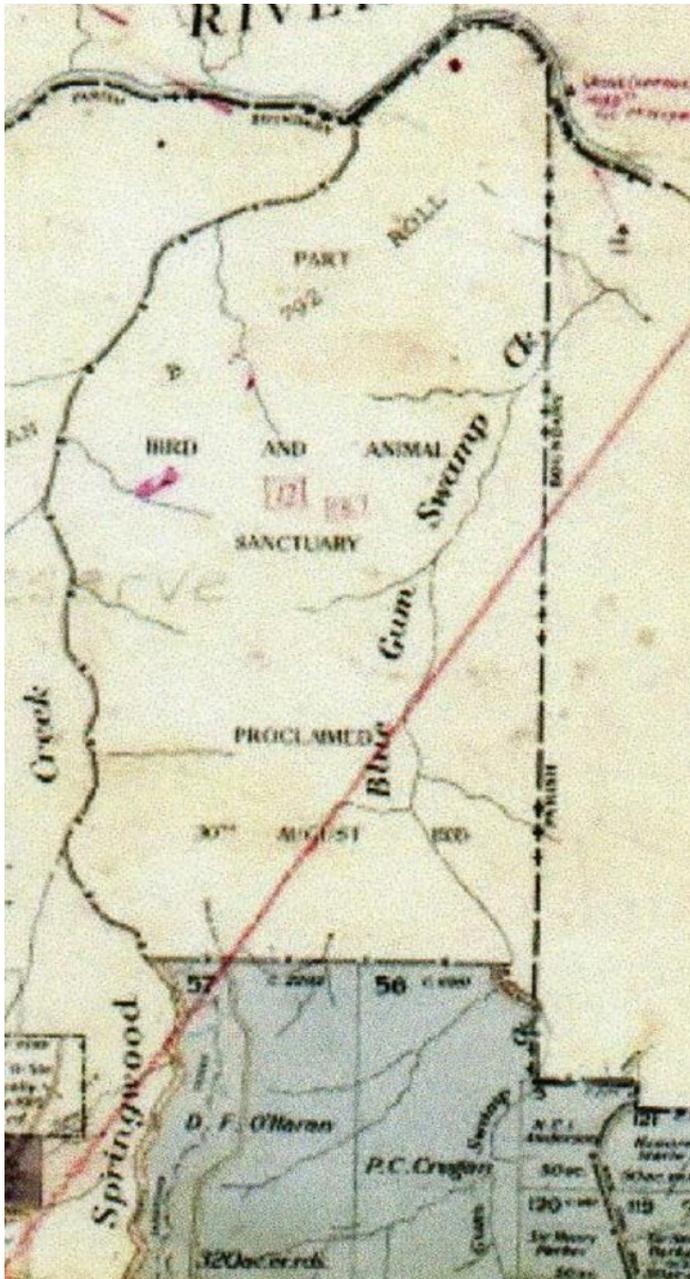


Figure 5. *The creek system immediately north of St Columba's, showing Springwood Creek running north to the Grose River and Blue Gum Swamp Creek turning east to the Nepean River (Department of Lands 1930).*

The Lawson property was in a strategic position, for the combination of the track from Springwood to Kable's Spring and the developing Hawkesbury Road, both running through the periphery of the estate, gave Lawson useful access to the new grant. The Hawkesbury Road cut across the south-east corner of the Lawson grant, so that some 28 acres (11.4 ha) of the original 640 acres (259 ha) lay to the south of the road (Figure 4).

The purpose of the Springwood acquisition was to provide staging paddocks for Lawson's stock, either en route to Bathurst and Mudgee from the Cumberland Plain or coming from the western plains to the Sydney

markets. Lawson's son, William junior, had talked about the need for half-way stations in a letter of 1824, when he commented about the recent discovery of Bells Line of Road:

"Young Bell has discovered another passage across the Blue Mountains: its going by one of the side lines of our Farm at the Couryjong [Kurrajong] brush, which will make it worth twice its value, and a Halting place." (Beard 1967, p.38).

The Lawsons had over 80,000 sheep and over 14,000 head of cattle over the Mountains in the 1820s and even more in the 1830s, so there was a self-evident need for 'halting places' between the Central West and the coastal markets. Lawson had a famous horse stud over the Mountains and his valuable blood-stock also needed care and attention when it was on the road. The property at Kurrajong on Bells Line of Road was one early 'halting place' for the Lawson stock, the 640 acres at Springwood in 1839 near the main Western Road became another. There is no likelihood that either Lawson or his family was ever resident on the Springwood grant but there may very well have been a stockman's hut. No such hut is, however, marked on any surviving map.

After his wife died in 1830, William Lawson senior ('Old Ironbark') was largely resident at Prospect, where Veteran Hall had been greatly improved and embellished over the years (Beard 1967, facing p.33). His sons, Nelson and William, were responsible for the inland stock (Dunlop 1967, pp.96-97). After his death in June 1850, at a ripe old age, William Lawson's estate remained in the hands of successive trustees for a very long time. After 1861 the trustees were also responsible for administering the will of William Lawson junior, who had been the principal beneficiary under his father's will. The trustees were responsible for ensuring that the profits of the very extensive Lawson holdings should be enjoyed by members of the family, including most of the eight children of William junior, but Springwood was a very small part of their responsibilities and there is no evidence that the trustees did further clearing or development of the 640 acres in Springwood. This position lasted for more than thirty years.

Myth

It has been claimed that the property was acquired by Sir Henry Parkes, but this is mistaken. Parkes did indeed hold for a while some of the small portions adjacent on the east, but never had title to Portion 7.

These adjacent holdings are probably the main reason for the mistake, although the curious mystique which surrounds the name of Sir Henry doubtless has made the false attribution attractive. The story actually goes back to Cardinal Moran himself. When he dedicated the seminary in October 1909, Moran said in passing in his speech that it had been Parkes' land (Anonymous 1909). Sixty years later, Susan Cox wrote a prize-winning Jackson Essay on St Columba's and she recorded the unanimous belief of the priests and nuns of the 1960s that William Lawson junior passed on the Springwood land to the Government, which "*then passed it on to Sir Henry Parkes*". No one at the seminary, I suppose, would have dreamt of contradicting Cardinal Moran, even after his death in 1911. But the story improved over the years, for Miss Cox tells us that the fathers and the sisters also told her that Parkes:

"selected the land on account of its beautiful surroundings. He also selected it for his home site." (Cox c.1970, p.1)

A well-rounded, circumstantial story always sounds so plausible, just as Parkes' real house at Faulconbridge still attracts so much misinformation, since people do not want to believe that Joseph Jackson so radically altered and even resited his hero's Mountain retreat.

Barbara Higginson in her 1995 Conservation Plan of St Columba's, repeated in good faith the story told by Susan Cox (Higginson 1995, pp.2, 6). More recently, there has been greater caution. In 2005, Pamela Smith's good study of the background to the controversial attempt to rezone the seminary site does not allow Parkes to sneak in at all and Perumal Murphy Wu's Planning Report had in 1996 deftly side-stepped the issue (Perumal Murphy Wu 1996). The alleged Parkes connection has survived for a century and is an excellent example of the way in which mythologies in local history can so easily flourish and are so difficult to extirpate.

Acquisition and Sub-division by Samuel Lees

The 640 acres at Springwood continued to be vested in the Lawson trustees until the 1880s. In 1884 a

dispute over the interpretation of the wills both of William senior and William junior was brought before Sir William Manning in the Equity Court of New South Wales. Within Manning's wide-ranging judgment was the declaration that the trustees were at liberty to sell the Springwood land "*in such way as they should think fit*" (State Records NSW 1884). Four years later, in October 1888, the trustees, who were by this time an accountant James Clegg Taylor, and John Rendell Street, husband of Susannah Caroline Lawson, a daughter of William Lawson junior, agreed to sell the 640 acres to Samuel Edward Lees (State Records NSW 1888). John Rendell Street was the father of Sir Philip, grandfather of Sir Kenneth and great-grandfather of Sir Laurence Street, all three Chief Justices and Lieutenant Governors of New South Wales (Bennett 1990, pp.118-119).

In 1889 Street and Clegg converted the title of the 640 acres of the Springwood estate from Old System to Torrens under the Real Property Act of 1862 and Samuel Lees entered into official registered possession in 1890 (Land Titles Office 1890; State Records NSW 1890).

Samuel Lees was a man of 57 when he acquired the Springwood estate in 1890. A printer by trade, he was prominent in Sydney life. He was an alderman of the city of Sydney for thirty years after 1879 and became mayor in 1895 and again in 1904. By 1890 he had also been representing the Nepean (which included Springwood) in the Legislative Assembly for three years and he continued as a Parliamentarian until 1901 (Springwood Historians 2003, p.198; Roberts 1986, p.58).

Lees saw his Springwood purchase primarily as a medium for profit by sub-division. He immediately had the whole 640 acres surveyed by E.A. Harris, who was a surveyor operating at St Mary's, and offered the whole acreage at auction in 28 allotments on 28 February 1890 (Harris 1890). As with many sub-divisions, the story is protracted and rather messy, but the gradual break-up of the Lawson estate is well documented and is a significant part of the story of late Victorian and Edwardian Springwood.

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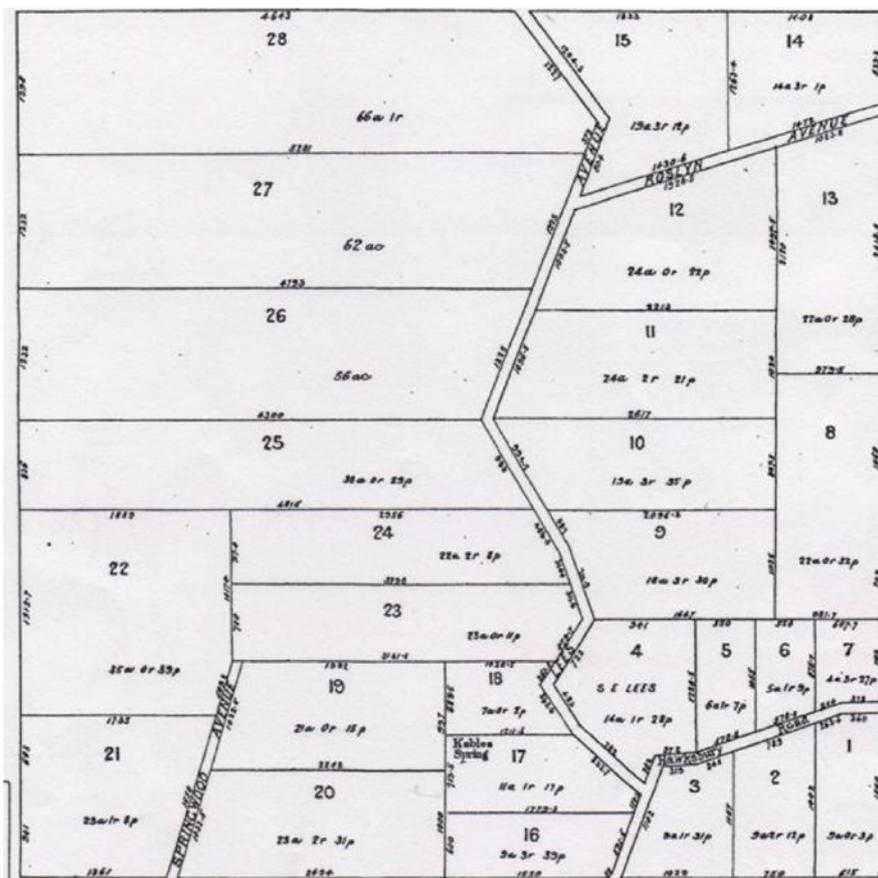


Figure 6. *Lees' first sub-division plan, 28 February 1890 (Harris 1890).*

The original 28 allotments of 1890 varied in size from under five to over 60 acres (2 to 24 ha) (Figure 6). The smaller ones were closest to Hawkesbury Road, while the largest were in the remote north-west sector with steep slopes going down to Springwood Creek. Although Lees initially earmarked for himself allotment 4 (Richardson & Wrench 1890, panel 3), where the new St Thomas Aquinas church has now been built close to Hawkesbury Road, he did not build there and did not persevere with any idea he may have entertained in 1890 of having a mountain summer-house at Springwood.

Access to the new proposed allotments was achieved by creating three entirely new roads in 1890.

- The eponymous Lees Avenue left Hawkesbury Road where the entrance to St Columba's is today. It bent around allotment 4, the one reserved for Lees, and then went in two long straight sections, the first going north-west and then turning north-east. These two straight sections were to be superseded by a single straight driveway in 1910 when the seminary was opened.

- The second new road, Roslyn Avenue, was planned to branch to the east off the northern part of Lees Avenue,
- while the third new road, Springwood Avenue gave access to the south-western allotments 19 to 23.

All three new avenues were advertised in 1890 as being 66 feet wide, "... cleared in the Centre to the extent of 33 feet, leaving a Fringe of Forest Trees on each side of 16.5 feet wide." (Richardson & Wrench 1890, panel 1; 1901, panel 1)

But in fact none of the outlying allotments was ever sold by Lees and of the three new access routes only Lees Avenue was properly developed as a roadway. Lees Avenue is basically the entrance drive to St Columba's High School today. There are no modern equivalents of Springwood Avenue or of Roslyn Avenue.

The western boundary of the Lawson land was fenced for Lees by two local men, Charlie Chapman and the popular cricketer George Stratton (Anonymous n.d.; Springwood Historians 2003, pp.304-305).

The land was optimistically described by the real estate agent as:

"Celebrated for its large area suitable for cultivation and the rich character of the Soil" (Richardson & Wrench 1890, panel 2; 1901, panel 2 amended).

The eight allotments with frontages onto Hawkesbury Road (Nos. 1-3, 5-7, 16, 17) were snapped up and also two allotments, 8 and 9, which were approached along Lees Avenue, but the recession of the 1890s began to bite and Lees had to mount a further auction in October 1895. This resulted in only one additional sale, allotment 18 on Lees Avenue (Bonney 1901).

In December 1901 Lees, who had just ceased to be the Parliamentary member for Nepean, engaged a Sydney surveyor, E.A. Bonney, to divide the unsold part of the estate, along with Lees' own reserved lot 4, into 57 smaller lots (Figure 7).

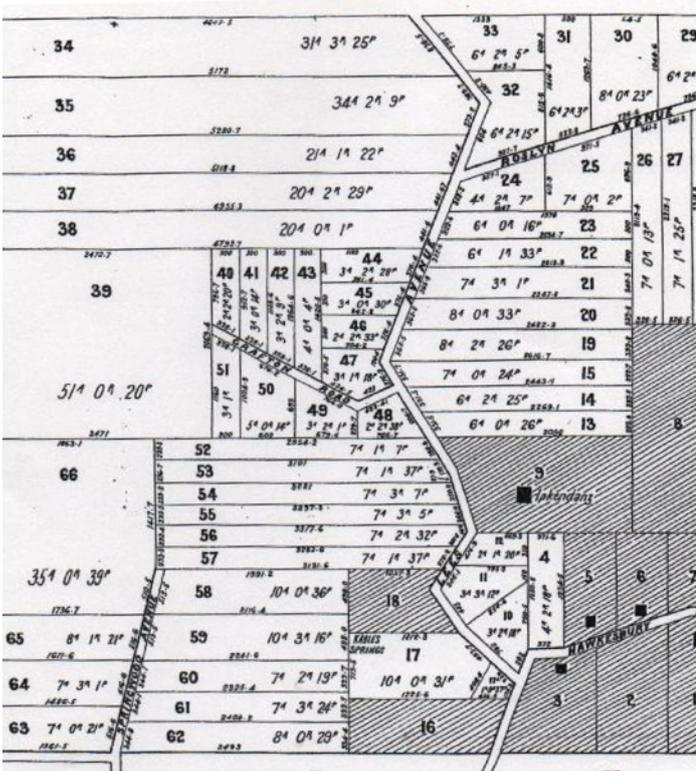


Figure 7. Lees' third and final sub-division, 6 December 1901 (Bonney 1901).

The original lot 17, which in its NW corner contained Kable's Spring (Figure 7), was sold after the 1890 auction and by 1901 had reverted to Lees, so the spring was also included in the 1901 sale, still as portion 17. Lees was clearly a shade desperate at the height of the Federation drought. He declared in the advertisement of sale:

"No reasonable offer refused. The Vendor desires an absolute Clearance." (Bonney 1901)

To encourage sales, the estate agent bragged about a fourth private road:

"Grafton Road has splendid blocks of small area to suit all buyers, who may take one or more Lots." (Richardson & Wrench 1901).

But Grafton Road had not been cleared of trees like the other streets and the twelve lots, 40-51, which lay along Grafton Road, attracted no purchasers. No further sales at all were made at the 1901 auction.

Houses

All six new houses which had been erected in the south-east sector of the estate, and which are shown on the 1901 plan as a general encouragement to bidders, were on allotments sold between 1890 and 1895.

One of the six purchasers was William Louis Ipkendanz, who bought allotments 8 and 9 in 1894 and built a house called 'Elmhurst' on lot 9 in 1897 (Figure 8).



Figure 8. William Ipkendanz's 1897 house called 'Elmhurst', with the later addition of dormer windows. (Photograph by Ian Jack, 6 August 2008.)

Ipkendanz had migrated to Australia in 1883 at the age of 39. Born in Hanover, he had been employed in European hotels, where he met his future wife, who came separately to Sydney in 1884 at the age of 20 and soon married William. The couple continued to work in the hospitality industry, building the Royal Exchange Hotel in Marrickville in 1888. William, his wife Lina and their increasing family continued to be located in Marrickville until 1895, but bought the 21 acres (8.5 ha) of allotments 8 and 9 from Lees in 1894 with the expectation of moving to the more European climate of the Mountains (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.171-173; Meader 1992, pp.38, 40).

Initially Ipkendanz and his family occupied the new cottage built specifically for leasing by John and Rebecca Stefanson on the north side of Hawkesbury Road on allotment 5 of the Lees estate. The Stefanson cottage still exists, just to the east of Paulwood Avenue, under the name 'Sulitelma', but, like the adjacent lots 6 and 7 to the east and lots 1 to 3 on the south side of Hawkesbury Road, it was permanently alienated from Lawson's original portion 7 and did not become part of the Catholic Seminary land. The cottage on lot 6 was built by Robina Smith in 1908 and was destroyed to allow the creation of Yandina Avenue. 'Carleen', however, built on lot 7 in 1905-1906 by Henry Britten, the Anglican rector of Ryde, still survives (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.41, 301; Paish 1992, pp.20, 23, 25).

Within the later Catholic estate, Ipkendanz's new house on allotment 9 was begun in February 1897 and was reported to be wooden: this may possibly be the early weatherboard building close to the present 'Elmhurst'. In March a brick house was underway: the bricks were not local and were being carted from Springwood railway station. In July a writer in the *Nepean Times* noted that 'Elmhurst' would not be ready for occupation for a couple of months, but there

is no account of Ipkendanz actually moving the short distance from the Stefanson cottage to *'Elmhurst'*. The likely date is late 1897 (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.172-173; Anonymous 1897a,b,c,d).

'Elmhurst' under Ipkendanz was on an L-shaped holding; there was a kitchen garden to the east of the house and a milch cow grazed in the paddock. After a while, Ipkendanz established a small mixed orchard for family use: it was not a commercial enterprise. The six Ipkendanz sons and one daughter, born between 1885 and 1899, attended Springwood Primary School, but in 1908 William and Lina decided to return to Marrickville where the educational facilities for their sons were deemed to be superior. At the same time as the remaining Lees estate was being acquired by the Catholic church, Ipkendanz sold *'Elmhurst'* and its 21 acres (8.5 ha) to the church in a separate transaction, and the entire Ipkendanz family returned to Sydney soon afterwards (Springwood Historians 2003, p.173).

To the south-west of *'Elmhurst'*, on the west side of Lees Avenue, a surveyor and engineer called Harold Vincent Turner bought allotment 18 after the 1895 sub-division sale (Bonney 1901) and built a cottage there in rusticated weatherboard soon after 1901. This allotment, like *'Elmhurst'*, was bought by the Catholic church independent of the Lees estate and four local men moved Turner's cottage on logs to the Seminary site in 1908 (Figure 9). It is still in use to the south-west of the Seminary, after alterations in 1924 or 1933-1934.



Figure 9. Turner's cottage, re-sited to the south-west of the seminary buildings. (Photograph by Ian Jack, 6 August 2008.)

A Noxious Industry

The other area within the later Catholic precinct which was developed in Lees' time was around Kable's Spring, on Lot 17 (Harris 1895). This ten acre (4 ha)

allotment was sold to William John Rayner about 1893 for use as an abattoir and a 'boiling-downs', along with a holding paddock for the animals about to be sacrificed.

Rayner was a prominent Springwood citizen. He had come to the district about 1877 and in the 1880s had developed the principal general store in the village. In the 1890s he was advertising himself as a

"draper, grocer, ironmonger and produce dealer, now a butcher and baker also"(Springwood Historians 2003, p.271).

At the end of 1892 Rayner had got into trouble for creating a public nuisance with the smells of boiling down stock in the middle of Springwood, so after being taken to court in 1893, he moved his entire slaughtering and tallow-making operations to the greater privacy of Kable's Spring. Rayner was a close political associate of Lees and served as the secretary of Lees' electoral committee. He also became a trustee of the Nepean Cottage Hospital, where Lees was the founding Chairman in 1895 (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.271-273; Roberts 1986, p.58).

Because of his association with Lees, it seems likely that Rayner was allowed to use the reserved allotment 4, immediately south of *'Elmhurst'*, as an additional holding paddock. This led to trouble in 1897 between Ipkendanz, who kept dogs, and Rayner and his Norwegian employee, Martin Olsen, who laid poisoned baits to keep the dogs away from the sheep. Some of the Ipkendanz dogs died as a result (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.173, 245, 274).

Soon after this unpleasant incident, Rayner decided to leave Springwood. Later in 1897 he sailed off to Western Australia, but left his two sons and Martin Olsen to look after his business interests, including the butchering. Olsen, however, went off to the Klondyke gold-rush in 1898, and again in 1899 and in that year the Rayner sons joined their parents in Western Australia (Springwood Historians 2003, pp.245-246 & 273-274). It seems likely, therefore, that the abattoir and 'boiling-downs' had ceased to operate at Kable's Spring by 1899. It is a rather unexpected short phase of some nine years between the spring being used as domestic water for North Springwood and becoming a grotto dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes. When the abattoir closed, Lees re-acquired lot 17 and it was included in the third sub-division auction in December 1901, labelled

seductively as ‘Kables Springs’ (Figure 7) (Bonney 1901).

The Catholic Church Land

The closure of Rayner’s enterprises in Springwood village led therefore to the acquisition of Kable’s Spring by the Catholic church in October 1908, when Lees finally cut his losses and sold his remaining 554 acres (224 ha) of the Lawson grant, while William Ipkendanz simultaneously left Springwood and sold ‘Elmhurst’. Harold Turner sold his weatherboard cottage soon afterwards in June 1909.

The result of these purchases was that the Catholic trustees acquired a unified Springwood estate of 584 acres 1 rood 29 perches (c.236 ha) (Figure 10) (Land Titles Office 1908, 1909).

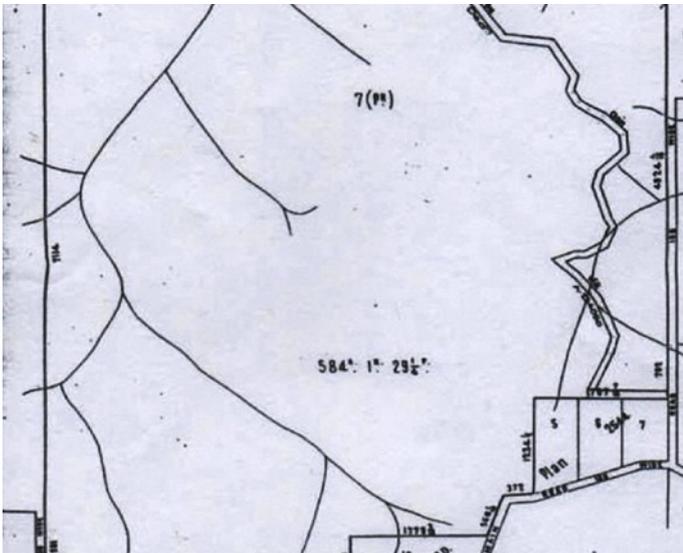


Figure 10. The St Columba’s estate acquired by the Catholic church in 1908-1909 (Land Titles Office 1909).

On 17 June 1909, Monsignor Denis O’Haran (Cardinal Moran’s private secretary and Dean of St Mary’s Cathedral, and a man of independent means) and Father Patrick Cregan (the founding Rector of the Springwood Seminary) entered separately into Special Conditional Pastoral Leases on Portions 57 and 56 respectively to the north and north-east of portion 7, each containing 320 acres of former Reserved Land (129 ha) (Figure 11). The clean straight lines of the Lawson grant contrast with the western boundary of the O’Haran Portion, which winds sinuously along the course of Springwood Creek.

The two priests retained individual title to their portions, converting them to Conditional Purchases in

1919 and then to Torrens Titles in 1920 and 1922 respectively, and granted them officially to the Catholic Church trustees only in 1947. But their land should be regarded as having been part of the Seminary estate from the beginning in 1909 when it was more than doubled in size to just over 1200 acres (486 ha) (Land Titles Office 1920, 1922, 1947; Department of Lands 1914).

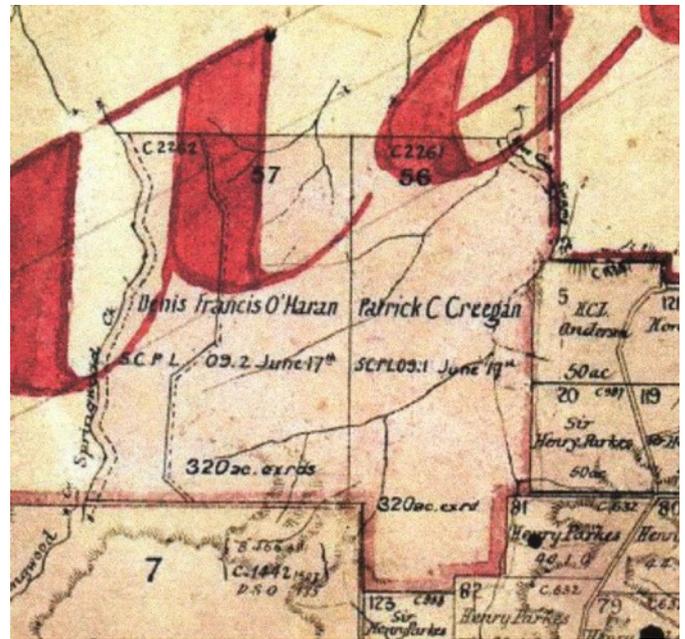


Figure 11. The two portions 57 and 56, immediately north of the seminary land, acquired as Special Conditional Pastoral Leases by Monsignor O’Haran and Father Cregan in 1909. Cregan’s name is misspelt on the parish map (Department of Lands 1914).

The expression *de facto* might not have been a happy one in the hearing of Monsignor O’Haran. The Irish priest had come to Australia as Cardinal Moran’s private secretary and remained the archbishop’s closest confidant. Moran’s bulky *History of the Catholic Church in Australasia* is still used as a source, but the unacknowledged contribution of Denis O’Haran was important to that great enterprise of 1894-1895. That was also the year in which O’Haran founded the influential polemical journal, the *Australasian Catholic Record*. But by the time that O’Haran contributed 320 acres to the seminary grounds at Springwood, he had had to endure considerable discomfort as the co-respondent in a scandalous divorce case in Sydney in 1900-1901. He was sued for £5,000 by Arthur Coningham, a well-known test cricketer, for seducing his wife Alice and fathering her youngest child in 1899. Although Alice admitted having had an affair with the priest, the first trial had a hung jury and in the second the jury let O’Haran off after strong tactics by his lawyers. Nonetheless, the Protestant press had a field-day and

maintained the sectarian pressure (Ayres 2007, pp.212-227). When Moran died in 1911, it is significant that O'Haran was at once shunted off to be the parish priest to the needy and unemployed of Darlinghurst, although he still popped up from time to time at Springwood with his friend and fellow-donor, Father Cregan, whose reputation as Rector of the seminary was unblemished (D'Arcy 1988, pp.73-74).

Postscript

The seminary opened its doors to twenty-six aspiring priests in March 1910 and a whole new, rich history of the 1200 acres at Springwood opened out thereafter. But the themes of early Blue Mountains developments, knowledge of Aboriginal trackways and springs, new communication routes, stock-droving over the mountain ridgeways, the supply of water for domestic, commercial and industrial needs, the pressure of population after the railway came in the 1860s and the ups and downs of speculative sub-division, all these things emerge from the history of St Columba's estate before 1910 and deserve equal recognition with the pomp and circumstance of the Catholic institutions which have presided over that part of Springwood ever since.

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JOSEPH HAY: ONE OF LAWSON'S PIONEERS

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Abstract

Joseph Hay (1848-1923) joined the Department of Lands when aged 28 and subsequently became a Land Agent, primarily in Sydney but also in the Blue Mountains. He bought many portions of land in Lawson, sometimes by dubious means, and established the San Jose Estate where he built a large house in which his wife ran an accommodation business; that building later became the Stratford School for Girls. By enthusiastically promoting the natural beauty of the Lawson district he aided his land sales. Towards the end of the nineteenth century he separated from his wife and moved to Perth where for a quarter of a century he was active in the preservation of fauna, particularly birds.

Key Words: *Joseph Hay, land speculator, San Jose, Reserves, Lawson, Blue Mountains.*

INTRODUCTION

Lawson has had many well known and respected pioneers who helped to develop and promote the Township. The Wilson family was one of the first to settle there in 1843, when it was known as Blue Mountain and subsequently Henry Wilson was granted a license on the 9 January 1845 for the Blue Mountain Inn. (State Records NSW 1844-45). This Inn would certainly have been the gravitating point for locals and travelers. Henry and Sarah's daughters Dinah Fanny, born 1845 (NSW BDM 1845) and Adelaide (Adelina) Mary, born 1850 (NSW BDM 1850), were the first Europeans to be born in Lawson and in 1879 Adelina Falls was named after their second daughter (Railway Guide 1879, p. 39).

One politician who deserves recognition and praise for his forethought and vision in relation to the Blue Mountains is the Hon. John Macintosh MLA. On the 19 May 1876, he wrote to the Minister of Lands about the need to set aside the natural beauty spots as public reserves at a time when speculators were buying large parcels of land at the bargain price of one pound per acre. Fortunately the Minister for Lands, Thomas Garrett, concurred with both the need and the urgency. So Surveyor John Williams Deering was instructed to ascertain which locations were to be set aside and to survey each of them, and within two months, on the

20 July 1876, he submitted his report and map (Deering 1876); all of his proposals were approved by the Minister for Lands.

"Blue Mountain

At this spot in convenient proximity to the railway platform are many beautiful waterfalls hitherto unreserved. On the north side of the railway I beg to propose to reserve of 360 acres to include three waterfalls and on the south side a reserve of 480 acres, to include five waterfalls with a road access to each from the railway platform two chains in width. A small sum would enable these roads of access to be planted as avenues ... on the north side a small foot-track leads to these from the first down a narrow gorge... on the south side. A small foot-track leads to the first and nearest one" (Anonymous 1876).

The name Blue Mountain was changed to Lawson in mid 1879 (Forsyth 1982, p.125).

Joseph Hay was one of the land speculators whose activities had worried John Macintosh. But Joseph not only obtained large quantities of land he also promoted and constructed a network of tracks to the many waterfalls and was to become one of the first of the local trustees for Lawson's Reserves.

THE HAY FAMILY

Joseph Hay was the first son of Joseph and Mary Hay (c.1820-1882) being born in 1848 in Chile, South America. The family moved to London, where his youngest sister Mary Ann, was born in December 1859 (Ryan 2005). But their stay in England was short for they emigrated on the ship *Spitfire* and after a voyage of nearly 3 months from Plymouth the ship arrived in Sydney on the 25 August 1863 with its 419 passengers (Anonymous 1863; State Records NSW 1863 records arrival on 24 August 1863). The passengers included, Joseph's widowed mother Mary (née Lovat) aged 43, his brothers Thomas and Hugh, aged 12 and 10 and his sister Mary, aged 3; Joseph was 15 and listed as a 'Labourer' (State Records NSW 1863).

.His full name was Jose Guillermo Hay but the spelling of his middle name on different birth and death certificates of his children has varied; Gulielmo, Guilermo, and Gugliemo. But he went by the anglicised name, Joseph Hay, as shown on all the Certificates of Title, and newspaper entries and correspondence relating to him.

Joseph married Eliza Jane Reuben, 17 June 1871, at St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney (NSW BDM 1871). Eliza was born in the year 1847, at Maitland NSW (Hooke 2008, p.63). Their children were, Mary Catherine Hay, born 28 April 1872 and Christabel Lucy Hay, born 3 February 1874 at which dates their address was recorded as Berry Street, Lavender Bay, North Sydney (NSW BDM 1872; 1874; Hooke 2008, p. 63). Christabel Lucy died aged 14, on the 5 September 1888 due to Tuberculosis and is buried in the Roman Catholic section at Waverley Cemetery (NSW BDM 1888).

Mary Johnson (Figure 2), (6 April 1908 - 3 March 2001; Ryerson 2010) married Acroyd Broughton Chamberlain in 1940 (Land Titles Office 1940 ?). The Chamberlains also only had one child, , Barbara Marilyn (Figure 3), born 22 August 1940, who married in 1972 and had five children, one of whom is Jocelyn who was also given the family name, Christabel (Azar 2010a).

Mary Catherine Johnson who died in 1960 (NSW BDM 1960) was small in stature and in her later years profoundly deaf (Azar 2010b).



Figure 1. *Mary Catherine Johnson (née Hay) (daughter of Joseph & Eliza Hay)*
(Photo: Barbara Azar Collection).

Mary Catherine Hay (Figure 1) attended Hurlstone College (now part of Trinity Grammar School) from where she matriculated. In 1893 she enrolled as an Evening Student at Sydney University taking an Arts degree, graduating with a BA in 1897 (University of Sydney 1930, p.768 entry as Mrs M.C. Johnson) and becoming a school teacher at Hurstville. She married William Peter Johnson on 2 January 1907 (NSW BDM 1907) and their only child was Ruth Christabel



Figure 2. *Ruth Christabel Mary Johnson (granddaughter of Joseph & Eliza Hay)*
(Photo: Barbara Azar Collection).



Figure 3. *Barbara Marilyn Azar (great granddaughter of Joseph & Eliza Hay)*
(Photo: Brian Fox Collection).

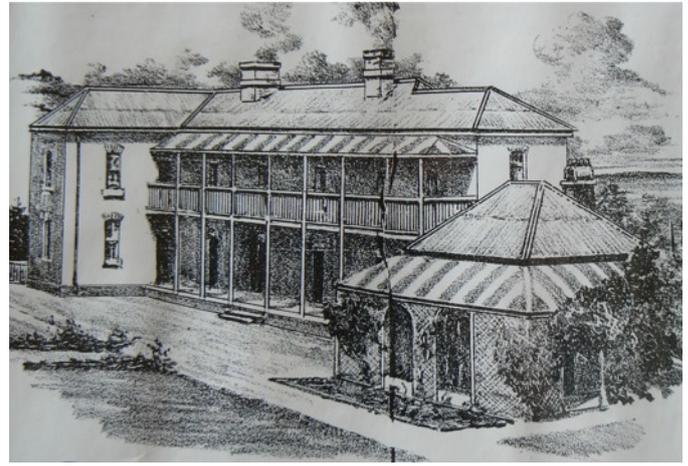


Figure 4. *The Hay's family house at Lawson known as the San Jose, The Blue Mountain Sanatorium.*
(Photo: Barbara Azar Collection).

Joseph Hay's employment

Joseph Hay was first employed by the Department of Lands, Sydney on 1 March 1876 as a Temporary Clerk (Anonymous 1881a; Registrar General 1877, p.77) in the Miscellaneous Branch. (Anonymous, 1881c col.5). One significant task given to him in 1878 by the Minister for Lands was to seek out the origin of Hyde Park, Sydney. Joseph found a copy of an order by Governor Phillip dated 1 August 1790 which showed the intended reserve which Joseph recommended be dedicated under the existing Land Act together with two adjacent parks for which he suggested the names Phillip Park (on the southeast side of St Mary's Cathedral) and Cook Park (on the north side of William Street opposite the Australian Museum). His idea was adopted and trustees appointed. (Hay 1896; Registrar General 1879, p.86).

One of Joseph's land purchases in Orient Street, Lawson in 1888 shows his occupation as, Land Agent (Land Titles Office 1888), but his main business was in Sydney. Thus the Sands Directories record him as a House and Land Agent at 12 Bond Street (Sands 1889, pp.10 & 984), and at 95 Market Street (Sands 1891, pp.80 & 975), then as an employee of the Tourist Bureau and an agent for the Blue Mountains Estates at 16 Bond Street (Sands 1893, pp.10 & 1109), and then again as a Land Agent at 6 Castlereagh Street (Sands 1895, pp.18 & 900).

Joseph and Eliza Hay purchased their land in Lawson on the 12 September 1878 (Por.76, Table 1) and had their two storey house constructed on the western side of San Jose Avenue, next to and on the northern side of what is now the Lawson Library (Figure 4). By mid 1879 their new home of 14 rooms was completed and they had moved in; it had a dual purpose as the family lived in one part and the rest was let to boarders for which advertisements were placed in newspapers from early 1880.

As Joseph was very heavily involved in his Sydney employment, the business side of taking care of boarders, was left to his wife, Eliza (Hay 1886a,b). To attract people to their premises the new buzz word of the day 'sanatorium' was used, some advertisements being entitled, 'San Jose, Blue Mountains Sanatorium' (Russell 1882, p. 30) and the promotion being that clean mountain air was the best treatment for lung diseases, such as tuberculosis. Other adverts were simply, 'Accommodation at San Jose' (Hay 1886a), 'Vacancies at San Jose' (Hay 1886b) and 'Mrs Hay's Establishment' (Anonymous 1888a).

In June 1889, Joseph applied for a publican's license and for his premises to go by the sign, 'Hay's Family Hotel', but the application was denied by the Penrith Licensing Court (Anonymous 1889).

Sometime in 1899, Joseph Hay separated from his wife, Eliza, and moved to Western Australia where he

was employed in the Lands Department in Perth sometime prior to 1909 (WA Parliamentary Debates 1909). It is unclear whether he remarried (Azar 2010c) Joseph Hay died in the Perth Public Hospital on the 17 June 1923, aged 76, and his death certificate listed him as a bookkeeper (WA BDM 1923) He was buried in Guildford Cemetery, Perth (Hooke 2008, p.65).

Eliza Hay remained in Sydney and died 1912 (NSW BDM. 1912); aged 65 and was buried alongside their daughter Mary Catherine in the Catholic section of Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney (*Catholic Cemeteries Board Office* 2010).

Joseph's sister, Mary Ann Hay, took her vows as a nun at the Benedictine Monastery of Subiaco, Rydalmere, Sydney on the 14 August 1886. She died there on the 10 December 1911 (NSW BDM 1911; Ryan 2005).

The Lawson Residence



Figure 5. *'The Palace Guest House'.*
(Photo: Brian Fox Collection).

The Hay's sold their Lawson house in January 1894 to William John Finneran, a Sydney builder who in turn sold 'The Palace Guest House' (Figure 5) to John Thompson Ralston, a Sydney solicitor in September of the same year. From 12 May 1917 to 17 November 1924 Ralston leased the building to Miss Effie Townsend Wiles, a boarding school proprietor in which she named, Stratford School for Girls when jointly with her sister Miss Ethel Harriett Wiles the property was purchased (Land Titles Office 1924 ?). Subsequently, in 1937 the title was transferred to the Archbishop of Sydney Howard Mowell (Land Titles Office 1937 ?), and in 1941 to the Church of England Property Trust which was controlled by the Anglican Grammar School until 1966. For nearly forty years, until the 4 June 1980, the house was used by the Blue Mountains Community School but on that date the

building was gutted by fire (Anonymous 1980). The tower (constructed after the Hay's had left) is the only remaining section of the building still standing and this unoccupied property still remains in private hands (Hooke 2008, p.70).

Joseph Hay's involvement in the Public Parks Lawson

The Blue Mountains National Park in the vicinity of Lawson is both on the north and south side of the main highway and town. The northern section was designated Reserve No. 35 and the southern side as Reserve No. 36, both having been Notified on the 15 August 1876 (Macintosh 1879).

In 1878, Joseph Hay called the northern Reserve, 'San Jose Park' and the southern one 'Santa Cruz Park', both names originating from his county of birth, Chile. Within a short space of time his exploration of the Reserves led him to name several waterfalls, viz. Christabel Falls (after his first daughter, but now known as Dantes Glen Falls), Cecilia Falls (now known as Fairy Falls), St Michaels Falls and Sebastian Falls, so named after three Catholic saints (Russell 1882, pp.28-32). Seeing the tourist potential, together with a neighbouring landholder, Robert Stubbs, he organised a deputation to the Secretary for Mines (Anonymous 1879). They were joined by John Macintosh and Thomas Smith, both Members of Parliament, and by Ezekiel Baker, Secretary of Mines, and former Secretary of Lands. Together these men sought approval for a road from the northern falls along San Jose Avenue through the railway reserve to the eastern side of the railway station, and the width of Broad Street (Honour Avenue) indicates that it is probable that the south side was also included. The deputation was successful.

Of course not everyone was happy about a road two chains in width (120ft or 36.5m) from the village to the waterfalls on both the north and south side of Lawson. Letters to the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald were scathing.

"at incredible expense, one wonders where the money is coming from...ugly as forest clearings...The beauty of nature is violated" (Jefferis 1880).

Both it and another went under the title, 'Vandalism on the Blue Mountains' ('Gum Tree' 1880).

Joseph Hay was not a person to sit back and take the abuse lightly, but sent off his own letter to the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald:

"the Government having reserved these roads to the falls two chains wide for the

special purpose of planting an avenue of trees, the trustees are simply carrying out that intention and have no idea of making a roadway 2 chains wide they simply intend to have a sufficiently wide carriage-way in the centre and plant a double avenue of such ornamental shade trees as the Director of the Botanic Gardens may advise... Mr Fletcher one of the most active of the Wentworth Falls Trust has also encouraged our intentions” (Hay 1880)

The first trustees appointed in 1878 for Reserves at the ‘Blue Mountain Station’ were the Hon. Sir George Wigram Allen, James Henry Neale and Charles Moore (Department of Lands 1878). However the trustees of the reserves dedicated on 16th January 1880 were Charles Moore of Springwood; J.G. Hay of San Jose, Blue Mountain, and Charles Moore, Director of the Botanic Gardens, Sydney (Anonymous 1880; Mackenzie 1879). The Trustees took their work seriously and with passion, and for months actively engaged in carrying out improvements, constructing paths and seats (Anonymous 1882).

Joseph Hay did stretch the truth a bit about his activities in a letter to the editor of Lawson’s newspaper, which records:

“I myself got the parks dedicated under the Public Parks Act of 1854, and got all the money that was voted either for them or the avenues placed on the Estimates. The first work I did was to clear portions of the Railway Reserve; and all San Jose Avenue, and after clearing the northern ridge to the further boundary of the public park of San Jose and making roads and tracks to the waterfalls. I devoted attention to the Santa Cruz Avenue and public park. My co-trustees fell in with these views” (Hay 1910)

Joseph Hay’s Land Ownership of Lawson

Between the years 1878 and 1890 Joseph Hay purchased over 630 acres (256 ha) of land in Lawson (Table 1).

(a) North Lawson

His first Conditional Purchases of Crown Land were made on the 25 July 1878 when he acquired Portions 58, 59 and 60 (Figure 6). These portions were due to be put up for sale by auction at Penrith on the 7 August 1878, but were withdrawn as Joseph had purchased them prior to the sale (Pitt 1878a,b; Land Titles Office 1878). Further land acquisitions in 1878 included,

Portions 73, 74, 75 and 76 Parish of Jamison, County of Cook.

He bought two portions in 1881 and three in 1890 so that at one stage he owned all the land north of the railway line excluding one portion, the railway reserve and the site of the present Lawson Swimming Pool. That included all of the present day Bullaburra north of the railway line and east to San Jose Avenue at North Lawson.

In 1884 Joseph had subdivided Portions 74, 75 and 76, calling his subdivision, the San Jose Estate. That land was divided into Sections A – H & K – N and split into 162 Lots (Campbell 1884). His house was on Lot 1, Section A. He transferred all of the 43 Lots, which are between Hay Street and Evans Street to his only living child, Mary Catherine Hay, on the 27 October 1906, but due to unpaid rates, the then Mary Johnson was to forfeit all of these Lots to The Council of the Shire of Blue Mountains on the 1 March 1932 (Land Titles Office 1932 ?).



Figure 6. Parish Map of Jamieson, (sic) County of Cook, 11 edition, 1959.

(□ Land and Property Management Authority <http://www.lpma.nsw.gov.au>)

(b.) South Lawson

His sister Mary Ann Hay had on the same day of Joseph’s first land purchase, 25 July 1878 acquired Portion 10 and 11, Parish of Linden (Table 1) and a few months later on the 12 September 1878 she purchased Portion 21. At one time she had a house called Santa Cruz and advertised accommodation in her ‘Mountain Residence’ called Santa Cruz (Hay 1880d). All three of these portions were sold to Joseph on the 19 November 1881, Joseph having recently purchased Portion 27 on the 26 October 1881 in this same area. These four portions are

bounded by the Great Western Highway on the north, Orient Street on the west, Flinders Street on the south and part of Somers Street on the east.

On the 10 September 1903 (Land Titles Office 1903 ?) Joseph Hay transferred his title deeds of Portion 27 (located south of the present Catholic Church and school) to Elizabeth Louisa Harriett, the Mother Prioress of the Benedictine Monastery of Subiaco, where his sister Mary was a nun.

Four smaller Lots of land were owned by Joseph within the Village of Lawson, these included, Lot 6, 14 and 15 on the western side of Orient Street, purchased 14 January 1888 and Lot 2 in Honour Avenue next to the Blue Mountain Hotel, purchased 3 May 1884.

Most of Joseph's land purchases were subject to mortgages and it appears by the dates of purchase and sale that he was a land speculator, that is a buyer and seller of land for a quick profit. The majority of his land was sold within ten years of purchase. Advertisements for the sale of his land appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* extolling the virtues of the close proximity to the railway. (Hay 1882).

His purchases were not without controversy, within the NSW Parliament Legislative Assembly it was reported, that,

"... the case of Mr. Hay, a clerk in the Lands Office having a conditional purchase on the Blue Mountains and not residing on it, had been referred to a commission for inquiry." (Hoskins 1879).

One of the regulations of a Conditional Purchase (such as he made on the 25 July 1878) was to improve the land, fencing, yards, house etc within a prescribed time frame. For 12 months while the Hay's were still living in Sydney Joseph would catch the 8pm train to Lawson and return to Sydney on the first train in the morning in order to comply with the residence clause of the Act.

In 1881 Joseph was charged with 'dummying' at Lawson, having entered into an unlawful agreement with Benjamin William Roberts (a neighbouring land

holder) (Anonymous 1881c). He gave Roberts the money to buy land under Conditional Purchase as trustee and then he was to pass the land onto Joseph Hay (Anonymous 1881b). At the trial, the jury voted 11 for acquittal and one for conviction (Anonymous 1881c) and another sitting of the court a couple of days later still resulted in the jury being unable to reach a unanimous decision (Anonymous 1881d).

Joseph Hay's community involvement at Lawson. Not only was Joseph was a prominent Trustee of Lawson's Reserves, but he also helped in the establishment of the Public School at Lawson in 1888 (Anonymous 1888b) and in obtaining the Railway Platform.

Joseph Hay liked to promote the Blue Mountains by writing about its explorers and he had printed and circulated thousands of his pamphlets (Hay 1888).

Some of Joseph Hay's community activities in Perth.

In Perth Joseph Hay became involved with environmental issues. Thus he established the Gould League of Bird Protection in Western Australia, c1910, a branch in Victoria having been created in 1909, and he campaigned for the protection of the Fauna and Flora Reserve at North Dandalup (c.65 km south of Perth) from the timber companies. In June 1910 Joseph wrote to Parliament requesting that 50,000 acres be dedicated for the preservation of fauna and flora and put in trust for the present Natural History and Scientific Society and not denuded of its timber (Baskerville 1992). Also in 1910 he presented his case in Parliament against a proposed Game Bill for the protection of all indigenous species of birds and setting aside 10 percent of all Crown Lands for Flora and Fauna reserves.

Postscript

The lasting legacy of the Hay family in Lawson is the streets named after them Hay Street, Joseph Lane and San Jose Avenue on the northern side of the railway line and Mary Street and Christabel Street on the southern side.

**Table 1. Joseph Hay's Land Ownership. Parish of Jamison;
County of Cook and Village of Lawson**

Portion	Area	Purchase Date	Purchase Price	Sold	Survey Plan	Vol. ; Fol.
58	43ac 1r	25/7/1878	129 pounds for 58, 59, 60	5/12/1882	724.1507	615/220
59	44ac 2r	25/7/1878		5/12/1882	723.1507	615/220
60	41ac 1r	25/7/1878		5/12/1882	723.1507	615/220
73	80ac	1/7/1878	£80	5/12/1882	768.1507	615/221
74	48ac	5/9/1878	£69 5/- for 74, 75	5/7/1889	761.1507	649/240
75	21ac 1r	5/9/1878		5/7/1889	761.1507	649/240
76	41ac	12/9/1878	£41	26/3/1888 - 1907	761.1507	555/224
148	40ac	6/2/1890	£40	28/5/1890	1238.1507	1003/22
508	40ac	6/2/1890	£40	28/5/1890	1051.1507	1003/21
509	40ac	6/2/1890	£40	28/5/1890	1051.1507	1003/21
510	40ac	20/3/1881	£40	5/12/1882	1051.1507	615/222
511	40ac	8/9/1881	£40	5/12/1882	1051.1507	615/223
Lot 6; Sec 1	1r 27p	14/1/1888	£43	10/4/1895	Village of Lawson	1095/192
Lot 14; Sec 1	1r 26p	14/1/1888	£48	17/10/1894	Village of Lawson	1095/193
Lot 15; Sec 1	1r 39p	14/1/1884	£107	24/3/1891, part; 25/9/1909	Village of Lawson	993/129
Lot 2; sec 2	2r 36p	3/5/1884	171 pounds	28/8/1889	Village of Lawson	715/17
Joseph Hay's Land Ownership Parish of Linden, County of Cook						
27	11ac 1r 30p	26/10/1881	£57 3/-	10/09/1903		575/187
10	21 1r	19/11/1881	Portion 10, 11 & 21	Subdivided & sold between		555/225; 897/175
11	40ac	19/11/1881	transferred from	12/2/1891 - 4/1/1910		also 1012/87
21	40ac	19/11/1881	from Mary Hay	23/2/1893 - 30/6/1893		555/226; 897/175
Mary Ann Hay Land Ownership Parish of Linden; County of Cook						
10	21 1r	25/7/1878	£61 5/- for 10 & 11	19/11/1881	722.1507	555/225
11	40ac	25/7/1878		19/11/1881	722.1507	555/225
21	40	12/9/1878	£40	19/11/1881	790.1507	555/226

Note: The Sold column relates to the first sale. A number of Portions were subdivided and lots sold at various dates.

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DR WILLIAM BELL (1815-1871):

Experiences of a 19th Century Doctor on either side of the Blue Mountains

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Abstract

Irish William Bell skillfully acted as Surgeon Superintendent on his voyage to Sydney where in 1839 he established a practice and charitably offered free consultations for the poor. He moved to Parramatta (1840) where his business failed and he was gaoled for insolvency. Re-establishing in Windsor (1842) he prospered and became active in community events but his forceful character brought him conflict. He practiced at Carcoar (1850), Orange (1851) and Sofala (1854) where he also had employment at inquests and was even a Postmaster. In 1856 he resided in Campbelltown and Picton and became a Coroner, a J.P. and a Magistrate but relocation to Sydney in 1863 was accompanied by diminishing income and frequent moves in his final years.

Key Words: William Bell, Doctor, Coroner, Surgery, Blue Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

Dr William Bell's legacy, "Dr Bell's Settlers Guide or Modern Domestic Medicine and Surgery, Windsor NSW 1849" (Figure 1, Sabine 2009) was unknown to those who were most in need of his written ministrations. The unpublished manuscript was accidentally discovered by this author among legal documents of a Windsor solicitor in one of a number of uncatalogued boxes held by the Mitchell Library (Beddek & Coley c.1827-1888).

William Bell was very aware that little information was available to "Families, Settlers, Bushmen and Invalids" (Bell 1849b) who were out of reach of a medical man. His guide was written without the use of technical or professional terms so that with the book in one hand and a vial of the medicine of the day in the other, most practical colonists would be able to assist themselves or their friends in their time of need.

It was written in two parts, the first part being an alphabetical list of common complaints, their symptoms and treatment followed by prescriptions and drawings to illustrate the text, e.g. Figure 2.

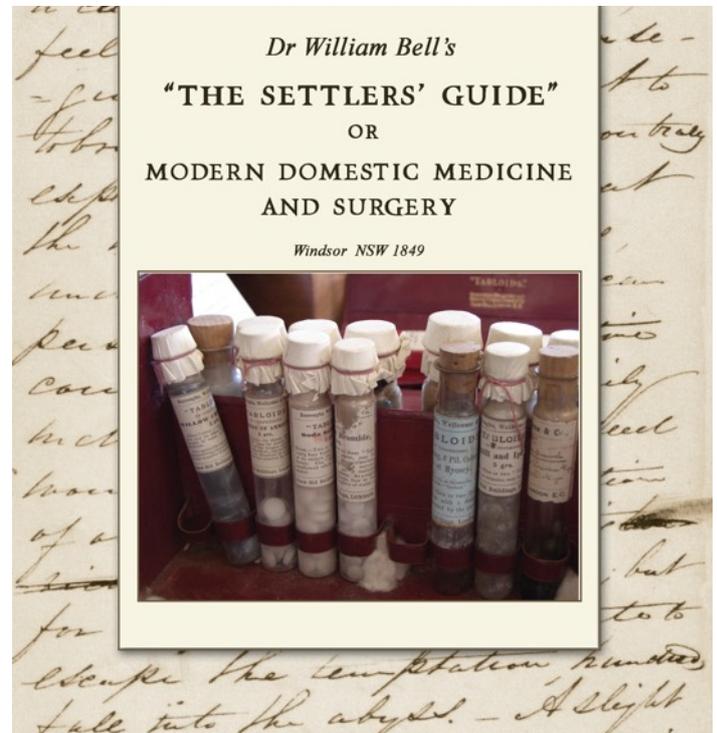


Figure 1. *The Settlers' Guide* (Sabine 2009)

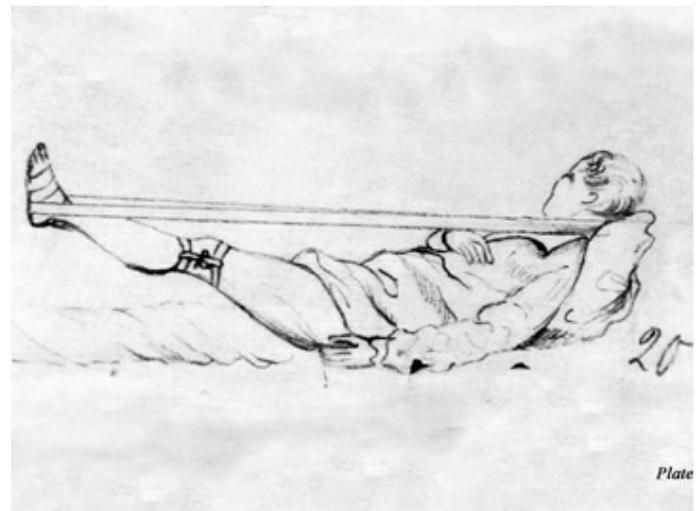


Figure 2. *Treatment for a fracture of the knee cap.* (Plate 8, p.173 in Sabine 2009).

The second part was devoted to problems of women, infants and children and was likewise followed by prescriptions and Tables of Doses in Common Use. For example:

'Sore throat.

If the inflammation should extend to the organs of voice, leeches ought to be applied to the throat, and an emetic given and doses of tartar emetic administered every hour. Hot spirits of turpentine will also found to be serviceable.' (Sabine 2009, p.125).

The sequel to the discovery of Bell's manuscript has been the research into the life and experiences of William Bell that, in part, constitutes the text of this paper.

Emigration

The voyage in 1839 of the vessel '*Hero of Malown*' from Liverpool to New South Wales (arrived 1 April 1839 ; Anonymous 1839a) had been made horrendous by gales, illness and the deaths of two adults and twenty children, and ten births at sea and three births whilst lying in the quarantine ground (Anonymous 1839b). They had died despite the best efforts of the Irish Surgeon Superintendent, Dr William Bell, a graduate of the Royal College of Surgeons, London and Licentiate Accoucheur from Trinity College, Dublin and being aged only 24, he was young to have taken on the responsibility for all of the passengers on the ship.

A surgeon-superintendent was not a member of the ship's crew, but an independent government agent, employed by the authorities responsible for the transport of emigrants. Their authority was considerable and could exceed that of the Captain in some circumstances, not only medical matters but also in decisions about disciplinary measures among the emigrants and for any aspect of ship-board life which affected their life and well-being, including cleanliness of the ship.

Their first born child, Eliza Matilda had been born in Ireland in 1838, but Bell's wife Margaret Georgina (née Barnewall) had given birth to their second daughter, Georgina Sophia, during the gales experienced in the Bay of Biscay when the storm had smashed off part of the ship. On arrival in Sydney, the '*Hero of Malown*' was quarantined until all signs of measles and smallpox had gone (released from quarantine 24 April 1839; Anonymous 1839c), soon after which six of the grateful cabin passengers took out an advertisement in the *Sydney Herald* to congratulate Bell:

"... to express our gratitude for your unremitting exertions, to promote, in every possible way, our health and comfort during our passage from Liverpool, and finally here in Quarantine.

It affords us sincere pleasure to bear testimony, not only to your professional abilities, but in your impartial and gentlemanly deportment towards all on board under circumstances of no ordinary trial, an our earnest wishes are, that your superior talents may meet with the encouragement they so highly deserve." (Sinclair et al. 1839).

Sydney (1839)

In 1839 Sydney was a busy port city, and many emigrants were arriving. Bell soon made himself known to the settlers of the Colony in the manner he used for the rest of his life. He wrote both letters to the Editor and from his very recognisable style of writing it is reliably inferred that he reported as a Country Correspondent to the newspapers of the day.

On 1 July 1839 he registered with the NSW Medical Board as a Medical Witness at Coroners Inquests, and Inquiries held before Justices of the Peace in the Colony of NSW (Thompson et al. 1839).

Bell read of the death of one Richard Roberts (Neilson 1839) who had suffered from *Delirium Tremens* and died in the Sydney gaol while under the medical care of Surgeons John Neilson and Robert Rogers. Roberts's death was subject to an inquiry and, along with a number of others, Bell wrote in agreement with the treatment given, which was:

"Croton Oil used for violent purging followed by the removal of a pint of blood to quieten the patient down."

He signed his letter William Bell, Royal College of Surgeons, London (Bell 1839a) but later used his full name less frequently as there proved to be other William Bell's already in the colony. These included a talented miner who was also a bird stuffer and several others who had arrived unwillingly on government assisted passages.

Bell soon established himself and advertised (Bell 1839b) that he had commenced to practice his profession as Surgeon and Licentiate Accoucheur etc. in Argyle Street, Sydney and made a special note that he would give:

"Gratuitous advice for the Poor from nine till ten o'clock in the morning."

However a golden opportunity too good to resist presented itself in Parramatta.

Parramatta (1840-1842)

Buoyed by youthful optimism, in early January 1840 Bell borrowed a large amount of money to buy the Stock-in-Trade of a business in Parramatta from a fellow Surgeon and Druggist, John Neilson (Neilson

1840). Neilson imported medical supplies and had obtained the stock from Henry Whitaker, a chemist, druggist and dealer in groceries, all items which were commonly sold together. The business boomed from the beginning and many of the Colonial society flocked to his shop doors. Such notables as Mr Bayley, Mrs Blaxland, Mr Lawson, Lady Wylde, Surgeon Harris, Sir John Jamieson, John Macarthur Esq., Mrs Macarthur and their sons James and Hannibal were among his many customers.

However as 1840 advanced Sydney's residents were facing a financial crisis that commenced when boom prices had been paid for Crown land. Governor Sir George Gipps later stated (Ross 1993, p.259, cols.2-3) that among the causes was the uncontrolled extension of credit which led to a run on the Savings Bank of NSW, and the crash of a number of trading banks. This caused hardship for many and by the end of 1841 Robert Dulhunty advertised that one run would be given away with the sale of every thousand sheep (Dulhunty 1966). He had been one of the wealthiest men in the Colony and owned seven large stations, or runs, each of 16,000 acres (6475 ha), one of which was called 'Dubbo'.

Bell fared no better during that time and when his customers were unable to pay him, he was gaoled for insolvency (State Records NSW 1841). While this must have been a very unpleasant experience, he was in very good company being only one of the 800 insolvents that year. With an ever increasing flood of society's 'Exclusives' becoming insolvent, the law was promptly changed so that gaol was no longer the first option; but the change came too late for Bell who had already served his time (Burton 1842).

Tough times necessitated tough action and one such involved John Neilson, the Surgeon from whom Bell had borrowed, and who himself became insolvent to the tune of £10,000 but was fortunate in having assets of nearly £9,500. Despite this he continued to badger anyone whom he believed was holding out on repaying him and on one occasion, Neilson and a Bailiff broke into the home of Mr Cook, a Surgeon of Brickfield Hill, for the purpose of executing a warrant to seize goods to a certain value. Cook defended himself vigorously so Neilson had him charged with assault and the reporter on *The Sydney Gazette* commented:

"Verily these Surgeons and M.D's are a precious lot of fellows – they require the pruning knife and no mistake." (Anonymous 1841). In the midst of the depression, Bell with a young family to support

decided to give up shop life and do what he knew best - practice medicine. He returned to Sydney briefly in 1841 before moving on to Windsor.

Windsor (1842-1850)

In 1842 Windsor had more than 1000 free inhabitants, plus about 300 convicts, and was the third largest town in the colony after Sydney (Anonymous 1842, col.2). It was still in the grip of the depression when Bell arrived and already there were three medical men in the district. However Bell settled in and advertised:

"Gratuitous, Professional advice and attendance will be given Labourers, Tradesmen and their families; but the medicine must, in every case, be paid for on delivery." (Bell 1843).

The social life was divided between the Sporting Characters (an honorary group title usually written in capital letters in the newspapers of the day) and the literary ones who wanted a Circulation Library and intellectual pursuits. Naturally, Bell joined the latter and assumed roles to which he was entitled by his social position and was on the inaugural Committee of the Hawkesbury Regatta Club (Anonymous 1845a). There was much social excitement when, in 1845, the first Hawkesbury Maiden Regatta was held after months of hard work from the committee (Anonymous 1845b).

Day by day Bell attended to illness, accidents, suicides and murders. His surgical qualifications enabled him to perform post mortems, a not infrequent part of his duties, when required by the local coroner for an inquest but the full duties were to be a:

"Medical Witness at Coroner's Inquests, and Inquiries held before Justices of the Peace." (Thompson et al. 1839).

As such he was involved with a case of part of a human skull being found near Maroota which was white on one side, burnt on the other. One local doctor believed that the death was caused by violence, while Drs Bell and Day believed to the contrary. The jury at the Coroner's inquest, after some deliberation, sorted out the matter to everybody's satisfaction by finding that the person had been 'found dead' (Anonymous 1847).

Despite Bell's abilities as an excellent physician and surgeon, all of his life he was hopeless at managing money. By 1845 he had 43 unpaid accounts due to him, half of which belonged to people who had moved from the district, so he again became insolvent with just £20 worth of assets which included three beds, and 2 aboriginal skulls. (Bell 1845). His liabilities

were a wife and now five children to feed – Eliza Matilda, (b.1838), Georgina Sophia (NSW BDM 1839), Edward Thomas (NSW BDM 1841), Mary Susan (b.1843; ?NSW BDM 1845a), and, confusingly, Susan Mary (b.1845; NSW BDM 1845b).

In addition to his money problems, Bell had completely fallen out with another medical man, Dr Joshua Dowe, who was a Sporting Character and owned a race horse. The intellectual Bell had a manner which could cause resentment, but Dowe was the Coroner which enabled him to even up the score in public. In 1849 a set of circumstances arose which affected Bell and bought their personal war to a head.

Dowe's close friends amongst the Sporting Characters were very happy when they were invited by Governor Fitz Roy's son, Mr George Fitz Roy, to a meet to be held at Homebush which was to be led by George Fitz Roy's own pack of trained dingo hounds. The correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported (Anonymous 1849c) that Fitz Roy had obtained a fine dingo for the occasion but on the day of the hunt the dingo gave them the slip and the hounds lost the scent. Shortly afterwards the dogs found a scent again and the hunt rushed off but this proved to be unfortunate as the scent turned out not to be the dingo but Mrs Connelly's watchdog. The watchdog bolted into Mrs Connelly's stockyard and from thence to the kitchen where the dog stood back and hurled abuse at his pursuers. When it became apparent to the gallant leader of the pack that they were all at fault they raced after the wily dingo for some time before they caught and killed it. The reporter stated that they had never seen such a fine field before.

This type of sport was anathema to Bell whereas Dr Dowe was in his element, and following the hunt Dowe was asked by other Sporting Characters to invite Mr Fitz Roy to dinner at Coffeys Inn in Windsor. George Fitz Roy replied that he was unable to attend and from his distinctive writing style Bell, as the writer of a 'From our Correspondent' column in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, seized upon the refusal as being prompted by the social station of the Sporting Characters who had issued the invitation (Anonymous 1849a). This was interpreted as an attack on Dr Dowe and resulted in a response, signed by one of the "Sporting Characters", that was so heated that the Editor struck out several paragraphs before publication (Anonymous 1849b). Very soon afterwards Bell was assaulted one evening in Windsor. He wrote an equally heated letter to the Editor giving details which he claimed was the cause.

"I now come to the causes: I have rendered myself obnoxious to a set of gamblers, black-legs, and "sporting characters," simply because I do not mix or associate with them: I have never yet spared reproof, from all transactions arising from them, and because I tell the truth, such is not palatable to them. I do not choose to make boon companions of a set of idle fellows who can scarcely read, write, or spell, and some of whom only left the Female Factory, at Parramatta, with their mothers, a few years since.) (Bell 1849a).

It was late in 1849 that Bell was putting the final touches to his book, *The Settlers Guide or Modern Domestic Medicine and Surgery* (Sabine 2009) and in October he advertised it in the *Sydney Morning Herald* as "Soon to be published" and asked for subscribers (Bell 1849b). He had great hopes that the book would sell sufficient copies to enable him to get out of debt, and possibly out of Windsor.

Another very public run in with Dr Dowe as Coroner was the last straw when Dowe did everything possible to humiliate Bell during an inquest which was widely reported in the press (Anonymous 1849d). The Maitland Mercury reporter wrote:

"If correctly reported evinces some rather peculiar views held of his rights and powers by the Coroner Dr Dowe." (Anonymous 1849e).

Bell came out of it so well that a very angry Dowe wrote to the Hawkesbury Benevolent Society and demanded that a public meeting of subscribers be held to decide who would be the chosen medical man at the hospital as he refused to work with Bell any longer (Dowe 1849).

Over the Blue Mountains (1850)

The opportunity to leave the poisoned atmosphere of Windsor came when the only medical man in Carcoar, Dr Robert Rogers, died tragically on 2 December 1849 while fording the flooded Lachlan River to see a patient at night (Anonymous 1849f; 1849g). Bell remembered Rogers as the Doctor for whom he had given a positive opinion about the medical treatment given to a prisoner who had died from *Delirium Tremens* in gaol. After leaving Sydney, Rogers had been the medical attendant at the Blackheath Stockade in the Blue Mountains and later Coroner at Hartley before moving on to Carcoar.

Bell almost immediately set about making plans to leave Windsor for Carcoar. As always, he owed money but wanted to leave Windsor with his reputation intact so he consolidated his debts. He

borrowed sufficient money to cover the debts - but under very stringent conditions (Beddek & Coley c.1827-1888), one being that he had to place his only asset, *The Settlers Guide*, into the hands of the local Windsor solicitor until he was able to repay the total loan. The manuscript was found 150 years later in the Solicitor's papers lodged in the Mitchell Library and as it was still unpublished it is clear that Bell was never able to retrieve it.

Bell received a great send off from his fellow Masons at Brother Carter's Hotel in Windsor and was given a very handsome letter of thanks from the Directors of the Hawkesbury Benevolent Asylum (Anonymous 1850a). It was reported that his gratuitous services to the hospital over two years had saved them an expense of £80.

Firstly, the daunting crossing over the Blue Mountains lay ahead of the family which by then consisted of five girls and two boys, the most recent additions being Augusta Henrietta (b.1847; NSW BDM 1847) and William Barnewall (b.1849; NSW BDM 1849) who was then only a tiny baby. Had Bell been on his own, he might have taken the shortest route from Sydney to Carcoar which was by way of Parramatta, Windsor, North Richmond, Mount Tomah, (Andrew) Brown's Mill at Bowenfels called "Cooerwull" ("Cooerweel") and on to the Bathurst Road about five miles (8 km) from Hartley. This route saved forty miles (64 km) or so and there was good accommodation at Douglass Hill, now Kurrajong Heights, but it was normally traversed on a horse or on foot! Instead the family had to travel by coach via the Western Road.

Henry Rotton, a mail-coach proprietor from Bathurst earned a good reputation for superior drivers and horses. He had the Royal Mail contract and at that time was running his coaches frequently into the country. Three times a week one could pick up a four horse mail coach from Penrith (Rotton 1850) from whence it travelled over the Blue Mountains and through Hartley to Bathurst and then it was possible to take a two horse coach from Bathurst via Kings Plains to Carcoar and that also ran three times a week (Rotton 1850). Children under nine years of age were charged half price. Excess luggage had been the cause of serious inconvenience so that the proprietor had been compelled to adopt an enforceable rule that each passenger was only allowed to carry fourteen pounds of luggage free, and would be charged for any extra.

In January 1851 the Bell family travelled from Windsor to Penrith by coach and then changed into

the Royal Mail coach for the drive westwards. It is difficult to imagine the conditions inside the vehicle with a number of adults and seven young children desperately clinging onto anything while being thrown about by the lurching motion of the coach for the following night and day. After crossing the Nepean River on the punt, the climb up Lapstone Hill day or night was taken on foot by the passengers who walked where necessary during the rest of the crossing of the Blue Mountains, depending on the exhausted state of the poor horses. It was common for drivers to speed downhill over the corrugated dirt road in order to make up for the slow uphill progress, sometimes with tragic results.

At this time road gangs of recalcitrant convicts who had been convicted of secondary colonial crimes were used as labourers for the roads and housed in the stockades. The road over the Mountains was in such a poor state that Henry Rotton, the mail-coach proprietor had to buy new carriages in 1851 as his existing ones were nearly:

"... all broken down from the immense traffic and the dreadful state of the roads." (Lea-Scarlett 1976).

Carcoar (1850-1851)

Bell hoped for a new start in Carcoar. The village was small, and was set in rich agricultural lands, so after the rough and tumble of Windsor, Carcoar appeared considerably quieter and much more civilised. William, his wife Margaret, and their seven children arrived in Carcoar in late January 1850 (Anonymous 1850b) and a highly flattering letter of welcome was published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (M.M.G. 1850) despite the writer having read only the advertisement for the book (Bell 1849b). But M.M.G. also wrote:

"The services of a regularly qualified man have been long, very long, felt and much required in this extensive and important country etc." (M.M.G. 1850).

While flattering to Dr Bell, that statement both hurt and upset poor Mary Rogers, the widow of Dr Rogers whose tragic death had left her destitute with four children under the age of six. She wrote angrily that she was prepared to produce her late husband's medical diplomas and certificates to prove that he was very well qualified (Rogers 1850).

Bell advertised for:

"... a person capable of imparting a plain English education ..." (Bell 1850b)

to his children and the family settled into the daily routine of a country doctor, births, deaths, and some

terrible accidents followed by post mortems. At last Bell was a very big fish in a small pond.

Soon after arrival Bell advertised (Bell 1850a) that he would set up a limited number of beds for the sick in a portion of The Old Court House, where the family lived, and would also establish a dispensary (Anonymous 1850c). Again he advertised that he would give gratuitous advice to those in need and for the rest of his life he would always make specific hours in which to give free advice to the poor, even though he charged for medicine.

Towards the end of his first year in Carcoar a very strange case was presented to Bell for his expert opinion. He was sent for identification some burnt animal bone fragments, including portion of a skull, which had been found among a heap of ashes near the Lachlan River. Bell identified them correctly as not being human bones. Some months previously, back at Brudenagh on the Lachlan, a shepherd working for Mr John Wood, of Brundah Station had disappeared in circumstances which had caused great suspicion. When a wild rumour was circulated in the town that the head of the missing man had been found and sent to Dr Bell another man employed by the same squatter suddenly disappeared, leaving his wife and five children behind. On hearing this, the Police had the area by the creek searched more thoroughly and among the burnt ashes hundreds of minute pieces of pulverised bone were found and sent to Dr Bell and this time there was sufficient evidence for him to identify them as human. The suspect, a shoemaker with one club foot was said to have taken off in the direction of the Murrumbidgee or the Murray and no more was heard of him (Anonymous, 1850d).

Bell had been very involved with the Anti-transportation Society in Windsor and now that Carcoar was to have its' own Association Bell was in the thick of it (Anonymous 1851a). To reinforce their determination each member signed a pledge vowing that at the ensuing General Election the signatories would not support any candidate who was not entirely opposed to the reintroduction of convict labour.

Suddenly, in 1851 Bell, for no obvious reason left Carcoar and moved the family to Orange.

Orange (1851-1852)

In March 1851 Bell advertised that he could be consulted at Mr Peisley's Inn in Orange four days a week until a cottage in the course of erection for him was completed (Bell 1851). [It seems a remarkable coincidence that the discovery of gold at Ophir, 27 km

north of Orange, was announced only four weeks later (Anonymous 1851b)].

In July 1851 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that: "*Dr Bell intends to establish a temporary hospital in the township, which will be a matter of great consideration, in cases of severe illness, or accidents, and he will also visit the diggings professionally on two or three days in each week;*"

"Some few cases of cold are reported, but their cure has consisted of strong potations of Peisley's and Staunton's rum, rather than doctor's stuff"." (Anonymous 1851c,d).

Soon after in July 1851 it was reported that:

"I have heard many a professional curse the gold finding." ... "As an illustration, Dr. Bell of Orange, the nearest medical practitioner, has not had a single case connected with the diggers, and bitterly deploras the present state of practice, with high price of provisions." (Anonymous 1851c)

Adding insult to injury, an apothecary had previously advertised that he had arrived back at Ophir from Sydney with drugs and chemicals etc and intended giving medical advice at the diggings at extremely moderate charges (Clarke 1851).

It appears that about this time Bell's main income came from post mortems and colourful examples of his cases were:

- An intoxicated Worthy Carlisle brought it on himself when he took exception to impolite words about Fred the Frenchman's wife and got fatally stabbed. (Anonymous 1852c).
- On another occasion a post mortem was needed when Scruffy Frank arrived drunk at a friends place with a bottle of rum and further reinforcements for drinking later of two kegs of the same across his saddle. After they had a few drinks they went to bed to sleep it off and Scruffy Frank didn't wake up the next morning (Anonymous 1852b).
- A very sad case was one of a young woman whose husband was away on the Turon. She caught cold and died two days after giving birth. I quote the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

"This poor young woman wanted three or four months of being sixteen years of age and was the mother of two children, the eldest one seventeen months old and not able to walk yet." (Anonymous 1852a, p.3, col.1).

We now come to a mystery. From August 1852 to October 1854 Bell is missing from the record and having been so consistently in the news from the time

of his arrival in the Colony this is quite odd. His father Edward Bell died in Newry, Northern Ireland sometime in 1852 (Lyons 2010?) and a possible explanation could be that the family may have gone back to Ireland for a time.

Sofala (1854-1855)

It was in October 1854 that Dr Bell reappeared as his old self at the gold diggings at Wattle Flat, on the Turon, when a Coroner's report (Anonymous 1854a,b) indicated that he had performed a post mortem on a notorious drunkard, a woman who had been missing overnight and was found next day standing upright in the middle of a water hole but when rescued she immediately expired.

The township of Sofala had become a very busy town, substantial buildings had been erected, the Church of England had built a school and classes were also being held in the Wesleyan Chapel. It made a central base, convenient to the diggings, from which Bell could work. Despite being well out of civilisation, Bell continued to keep up with overseas medical practice by way of journals. He sent a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* (W 1854) announcing that a distinguished physician in Paris had pronounced that a shock of electricity given to a patient dying from the effects of chloroform, immediately counteracted its influence and restored the sufferer. Bell wrote:

"I merely quote this simple remedy as one deserving the attention of all in cases of life and death when the customary antidotes are of no avail." (W 1854).

In social matters Bell was right up there with the best. When a testimonial was to be given to the departing Assistant Gold Commissioner and acting Magistrate for Sofala, Bell was chosen as treasurer for the purchase of a handsome gold watch and performed the address (Anonymous 1855a). He was on the committee of the Turon Patriotic Fund raising subscriptions in aid of the Patriotic Fund for widows and orphans of the Crimean War. It was reported with some surprise that:

"Not only have the poor and middling classes of society subscribed liberally, but, on this eventful occasion, even the rich have given with no niggardly hand." (Anonymous 1855b).

In October 1855 Bell was listed as Postmaster at Sofala and an agent for 'Row's Embrocation, or Farmers Friend' (Row & Row 1855). This was a product which was all things to all hooved animals for cuts, bruises etc. and carried a testimonial from William Bowman Esq.

Bell had to consider the future marriages of his five daughters, ranging from Eliza Matilda who was the eldest girl now eighteen, down to Augusta Henrietta, who was nine. Their mother, Margaret Georgina, had been a Barnewall, a name founded in 1066 with a Knight named Barneville et Berners who came to England with William the Conqueror (Anonymous, 2010). But she had been 'disowned' by her upper class family because of her marriage in Dublin to Bell, who was 'merely' the son of a merchant. However, based on her own upbringing, Margaret had well taught her young daughters how to behave in polite society as their subsequent marriages show.

In 1855 Bell was 40, the gold fields were being worked out and the miners were moving on. It was time for the family to follow so the choice was made to depart for Campbelltown.

Campbelltown and Picton (1856-1863)

In 1856 Campbelltown had a population of 2000, with two magistrates (Anonymous 1856a). It was a town with a future as very soon it was to have a railway connection from Liverpool and thus onto Sydney. It was likely to provide a good living for a medical man with the high moral, intellectual and social standards which Bell had found sadly lacking on the goldfields.

So it was in 1856 that Bell rented a home of a style which befitted his social status and from which he commenced his medical practice. A year later on 22 January 1857 Bell became a Coroner (Anonymous 1858-1870), which was a position for which he was most suited; the remuneration was a mere £20 per annum that contributed little to his income, but it was a start. Things continued to improve when in addition to the appointment as Coroner he became a J.P., and by 4 December 1857 he was also a Magistrate (Anonymous 1857g). Unfortunately for all of the status that the positions conferred, the income derived from them did not help a medical man to educate five daughters and two sons and send them into the world.

As Coroner, the area he was required to cover was Campbelltown, Appin and Liverpool. Using whatever means of transportation available, he was required to arrive promptly to the location where a body lay before decomposition set in. The Court would then sit at the Inn nearest to the incident so you could be sure the Coroner got there as speedily as possible.

It was common for folk to go to church and of one incident that Bell attended *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported (Anonymous 1857b) that:

“It has been very much the practice with some people returning from prayers on the Sundays to be continually racing along the Menangle Road, and very frequently in a state of inebriation.”

It was revealed at the inquest that when a group were returning from a funeral, four horsemen commenced racing and one horse became unmanageable and dashed furiously against another horseman. The result was another funeral.

As Coroner, Bell often held inquests into deaths from drunken behaviour causing falls from horses, or overturned gigs. Frequently there were deaths by drowning when fording rivers which were in flood, one being a case of a man who shortly after entering the water was swept off his horse but managed to swim to the bank from where he had just entered (Anonymous 1857c). Not deterred, he retrieved his wet and shivering horse and dashed once more unto the breach where he drowned. One starts to wonder what on earth a horseman could have been thinking when he forced his terrified horse forward into a raging torrent.

In Campbelltown Bell blossomed. Apart from his medical work, there were many committees to which he could contribute and over the next few years he was involved with St Peter's Church and the formation of an Auxiliary Branch of the Church Society (Anonymous 1857d). Later he joined the local school board attached to the Campbelltown Church of England School (Anonymous 1857e) and supported the proposal for the formation of a Benevolent Society (Anonymous 1857f). He was chairman to raise funds for, and part of a deputation to wait upon the Governor-General to solicit his presence at, the celebrations for the grand opening of the new railway line from Liverpool when it opened in Campbelltown (Anonymous 1858a) on the 5 May 1858. He was chairman to raise funds for the Donegal Relief Fund for the starving peasantry (Anonymous 1858b) and an inaugural member of the Campbelltown School of Arts Committee (Anonymous 1859a, col.4), where he also gave lectures. In his spare time he was a medical referee for the Australian Mutual Provident Society (Anonymous 1856b) and the Liverpool and London Fire and Life Insurance Company (Anonymous 1857a).

His crowning moment came when a new Masonic Lodge called the 'Southern Cross' was inaugurated at Campbelltown in November 1858 (Anonymous 1858c). The day started with a splendid spectacle before hundreds of visitors of a grand parade in which the Masons marched through the town to St Matthews

Church in all of their Masonic glory. The visitors included many notables such as the Colonial Treasurer, the Mayor of Sydney and the Solicitor-General. When the toast to the new lodge was proposed Bell, as Brother Dr. Bell, the Worshipful Master of the New Lodge replied as he said later 'in a short, neat, and suitable speech'.

All of this socialising helped his daughters to meet the right people and in July of 1857 Eliza Matilda married William John Cordeaux (NSW BDM 1857), only son of William Cordeaux, an important Land Commissioner who was involved with Commissioner Bigge's 1820s investigation of the Colony and Governor Macquarie (Morgan 1966). Mr and Mrs Cordeaux moved on to Berrima where their 10 children were born. Three years later, in 1860, Mary Susan [not to be confused with her sister Susan Mary] married William Redfern Antill in Campbelltown (NSW BDM 1860). He was the third son of Henry Colden Antill who had arrived as ADC to Governor Macquarie and named his estate 'Jarvisfield' after his friend Lachlan Macquarie's estate on the Isle of Mull. A subdivision of the property in 1844 enabled the founding of the township of Picton (Antill 1966). William and Mary Antill had 11 children at their home called 'Abbotsford' at Picton.

Simmering in the background of all of these activities was the continuing news of the approaching railway extension, which was creeping ever onwards towards Campbelltown. After years of waiting, on 5 May 1858 at the arrival of the official first train the town erupted with bunting, decorations, speeches from everybody, and culminated in a Ball which ended at dawn.

Due to the multiplicity of his roles, for some years Bell's frequent appearances in court could be in the role of the Coroner for the dead or the Magistrate for the living. He could also be found appearing as a medical witness, or reporting to another Coroner on a post mortem he had performed on a victim. In addition to his other duties, Bell was also the vaccinator for the area and in a small pamphlet he mentioned that:

“in six months he had vaccinated upwards of 500 children with the greatest success” (Anonymous 1862b)

for which he was paid £5 per annum, plus 2/6 for every successful vaccination (State Records NSW 1868-1869).

Being all things to all men and the time spent keeping up his position in society was taking its toll on the income from his medical practice.

By 1859 it was all getting too much. A contributor to *The Sydney Morning Herald* noted that the district of Liverpool should be included in that of Parramatta, not Campbelltown because:

"... Dr Bell has too large a circuit to attend to including the districts of Campbelltown, Liverpool, and Appin, and if two deaths should occur in the one day, as has been the case already, it would be almost impossible to hold inquests before decomposition of the bodies would ensue, and identification of them be established. It is well known that Dr Bell feels seriously the labour and loss of time that is cast upon him, – for his districts extend from a few miles of Sydney to near Wollongong, and the salary and fees of office are but a paltry pittance, compared with the time, labour, patience, and responsibility attached to the office." (Anonymous 1859b).

After spending so much time on his social obligations he became insolvent for the third time in 1860. He did it with a flourish, owing nearly £700 [in 2010 c. \$65,000] when his outstanding income amounted to only £104. It is clear from a reading of his list of creditors that he had been in financial difficulties for at least two years. He owed large sums to his relatives by his daughter's marriages as well as money for rent, butchers bills, drapery, hats, hardware, groceries, printing, a tailor, and he had given a number of promissory notes.

His rented house in Campbelltown had a surgery, two parlours and three bedrooms and the rooms were very well furnished. For his daughters he had bought a Piano Forte which had cost £50 guineas. At his insolvency investigation he said that the healthy state of the district during 1859 had made a difference of £400 in his practice compared with 1858 and that he had tried to dispose of his practice but had not succeeded in doing so. He stated that he was never in the habit of giving parties and he did not own a gold watch.

However, you couldn't put Bell down for long. Although he lost his status as a J.P., and he had relinquished his unpaid position as Magistrate through overwork, he was still a medical man and a Coroner. There were still the School of Arts lectures in Campbelltown to look forward to and Bell had given a lengthy talk on some portions of an original narrative of a voyage to Australia 1858-1859. This apparently had run considerably overtime but Bell reported as 'Our Correspondent' that it had been much enjoyed by all (Anonymous 1860).

Picton

By May 1861 Bell had obtained the position of Medical Superintendent of the Southern Extension Line from Campbelltown to Picton (Anonymous 1861a). On the 29 May 1862 he advertised that he had moved to Redbank, Upper Picton (Bell 1862b). He then became the correspondent for Picton in addition to Campbelltown, writing for the *Sydney Morning Herald*.

As practicing Medical Superintendent, Bell treated many of his patients who were victims of some dreadful railway accidents.

Another side to the work were the conditions of the labourers employed by the contractors, Messrs Peto and Co. It was the custom that many men came from Sydney and elsewhere, suffering from disease, with a view of getting employment on the line whereby for 1/- a week they could get their ailments attended to and then could finally become a burden on the sick fund. Bell would have none of it and, in his usual *subtle* fashion, he instigated a test case. He sued a railway man for £3.3.0 for professional attendance in a private capacity at Menangle. The defendant had refused to pay on the grounds that he was an employee of the railway contractors and was paying into their sick fund and so was not liable. Bell won on the grounds that at the time of treatment he had advised the defendant that the injury did not fall within the rules of Messrs Peto and Co sick fund and the defendant had agreed at the time to pay the fee (Anonymous 1861b).

Bell continued to enliven readers of the *Sydney Morning Herald* with cheerful treasures such as 'Death and Modes of Dying' (Bell 1862a) and wrote an essay on Smallpox which was published and the proceeds of the sale of 100 copies were to go to the Lancashire Relief Fund (Anonymous 1862b). Bell was bored when in the August of 1862 he started his column with:

"News from this quarter may be communicated in a very few words, and which means none at all, or the next thing to it; and were it not that we cling to anticipation for a speedy change from the dull monotony of everything around, our lot would be dreary enough." (Anonymous 1862a).

He continued to work as a Coroner until the following year but then he took the family back to where he had started from Sydney.

Sydney (1863-1871)

In August 1863 Bell placed a large and immodest advertisement (Figure 3 - Bell 1863) in the *Sydney Morning Herald* extolling his medical and writing achievements.

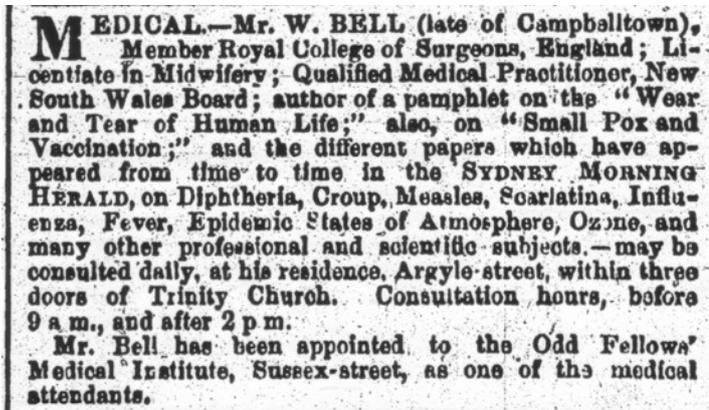


Figure 3. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1863, p.1, col.6.

By August 1863 the three remaining unmarried daughters, Georgina Sophia, 24, Susan Mary, 18 and Augusta Henrietta, 16 were looking towards the future and the desirability of making good marriages such as their older sisters had done. Bell had never wavered in his belief in a good education for all and his own children were no exception. The youngest girl, Augusta (aged sixteen), was soon enrolled as a boarder with Miss Moore of Moore Hall, Double Bay, and at her school in Macleay Street where she learned English Grammar, Political and Physical Geography, Civil History, Chronology, Astronomy, Use of the Globes, Natural History, Schools of Painting, Geometry, Music and French. (Moore 1863). Young William Jnr (aged fifteen) attended the Lyceum Academy in Bathurst Street with the Rev. Thomas Aitken, A.M. where senior courses offered included Latin, Greek, Euclid, Algebra, Astronomy, Use of the Globes, Mensuration, Bookkeeping etc. (Aitken 1863). It was an interesting training for a future Auctioneer.

Having been relieved of all of his extraneous occupations in Campbelltown, Bell's arrival in Sydney in August 1863 allowed him time to concentrate fully on his medical practice, and his writing.

The family soon moved from The Rocks into a second and more suitable Sydney residence for a practice and a home on the corner of Druitt and Kent Streets, lately vacated by the Police Surgeon. But this abode was

temporary for it was followed by a third move in 1864 to No. 2 Jamison Street:

"*The well-known family residence*" of two stories, with a large number of excellent rooms. The advertisement said that "... *the premises are well drained ...*" and had "... *water and gas laid on ...*" with "... *a patent water-closet on the first floor connected with the City Sewerage.*" (Bowden 1865).

This latter part was very important to Bell who wrote in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (Bell 1868) about his concerns in relation to the insanitary state in which many of the people of Sydney lived. The rich as well as the poor suffered, and many others were equally concerned and cited

- The filling in of areas reclaimed from the water at Darling Harbour which was achieved by dumping Council refuse on to it.
 - The city streets were littered with horse manure from the many horse drawn carriages and carts watering to lay the dust and the sweepings added body and stench to the refuse.
 - Drains and pipes were too small in diameter and quickly blocked in wet weather.
 - Disease carrying pools "... *of stagnant, offensive water ...*" were often surrounded by unsanitary terrace houses built as cheaply as possible by rich land owners (Bell 1868; Graham 1868).
- In addition, there were noxious cottage industries
- Butchers meat and offal was carried in uncovered carts.
 - Cows were milked in suburban backyards and their warm milk delivered locally (Graham 1864; Doherty 1870).
- Any of these could contribute to the deaths of children and adults as they suffered from preventable disease.

In order to keep up appearances, Bell went overboard with furnishings for their new home in Jamison Street and had all of his old furniture expensively repaired. He also '*renovated*' himself buying boots, shoes, black dress trousers, a silk vest, two Crimean shirts and three bandanas from David Jones store. Not unexpectedly, by September 1864 he was insolvent again. This time he had only managed to borrow £10 each from his two sons-in-law. He owed £400 to his creditors while his patients owed him only £17.3.6 (State Records NSW 1864). He continued on with his work as Government Vaccinator, and in July 1865 the family moved to 463 Pitt Street South between Liverpool and Goulburn Streets – a fifth Sydney residence. There he was struck by what seemed a possible money making idea, so he advertised (Figure 4, Bell 1866).

MEDICAL.—Important to Heads of Families.—In order to meet the views of many persons of limited incomes, and who are, from such causes, often prevented seeking proper medical advice and attendance until serious and fatal illness ensues, Dr. BELL intends, from the 1st July, to open a list for the names of families so circumstanced, living within a radius of two miles from the Haymarket, and will guarantee them **MEDICAL ATTENDANCE AND MEDICINE** for the sum of Five Pounds annual subscription, paid quarterly. Further particulars may be had, and the list signed, at the residence of Dr. BELL, 463, Pitt-street South. Early application is necessary, as the number will be limited to about 100.

Figure 4. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1866, p.1, col.5.

On a much happier note, in August 1868 at Christ Church St Lawrence, there was a joint wedding

- Georgina Sophia married John Cruickshank, R.N. a Scottish Surgeon on HMS Brisk and several years later Lieut. Cruickshank became the British Vice Consul in New Caledonia (NSW BDM 1868a).
- and on the same day Augusta Henrietta married Lieut. John James Frushard Bell R.N., also from HMS Brisk, and later returned with him to Scotland (NSW BDM 1868b).
- In the following April, Susan Mary married Lieut. Edward Liardet R.N. from HMS Virago (NSW BDM 1869) and several years later he became British Consul to Samoa.

However, in the 1860s Bell's practice slowly diminished despite his dedication to his patients and the poor whom he still treated for nothing. It was his irascible nature and determination not to suffer fools gladly that did not endear him to prospective patients and his reputation for non-payment of accounts also would not have helped his reputation.

He was still determined to keep up appearances, and a loan of £150 from his new son-in-law Edward Liardet temporarily kept the wolves at bay again until July 1871 when a Bill of Sale crippled him. It took away his horse, carriage, furniture and other effects to the amount of £350 and two months later he was declared insolvent for the fifth time, owing nearly £400 which included the lease of a piano, and he was owed £260. Those outstanding debts were mostly not recoverable (State Records NSW 1871a).

So Bell was forced to move for the sixth time to the corner of Cleveland and George Streets Redfern and only six weeks later there was a seventh move to York Villa, Ashfield (Bell 1871). Although only 56, he was a broken man and a doctor's Certificate dated 15 September 1871 was presented to the court when he was unable to appear in person for his last insolvency

examination (State Records NSW 1871b). It stated that Bell:

“... has been under our medical care for some considerable time back and that we have carefully examined his case. We are of the opinion that his state of health is most precarious & his disease of a very serious character. We have no doubt that unless medical treatment is assisted by change of air & climate & that speedily, fatal results may be expected. We would accordingly recommend that means at once be adopted to remove him from all matters of business & all other sources of anxiety & to allow of his speedy departure to a warmer climate – with the advantage – if possible- of a sea voyage.”

He 'voyaged' only as far as Picton where seven weeks later on the 7 November 1871 he died of lung disease aged 56 (NSW BDM 1871). William Bell was buried at Jarvisfield, Picton, near the Antill vault which is now on private property.

Postscript

There was no death announcement in any newspaper.

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[Whenever Bell wrote a medical letter, which later became an essay in the SMH, he always signed them W. Bell. Space limitation in this instance did not allow for use of his full name.]
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ABORIGINAL PREHISTORY OF THE BLUE MOUNTAINS

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Abstract

Aboriginal stone tools of various shapes have been discovered in and around the Blue Mountains, some confirmed to be c.50,000 years old. A rock shelter at Wentworth Falls was occupied from at least 22,000 years ago, close to the last glacial maximum, when the temperatures were c. 9°C lower than now and since there have been minor fluctuations in climate which gradually became more hospitable. The Central Blue Mountains was used for religious purposes and the ridges to the East and the West for domestic occupation. Abundant stone tools at some sites signify sequential industrial production of Yarramundian, then Capertian, and then Bondaian tools.

Key Words: Aborigines, stone tools, Yarramundian, Capertian, Bondaian, Blue Mountains.

edition is in fact a new book with new contributors (Low 2009).

The oldest signs of human presence in our region were stone artefacts found 15m below the surface at the base of the gravels in quarries along the Nepean River (Stockton & Holland 1974, Nanson et al. 1987). They comprised choppers, steep-edged scrapers and serrated knives discarded by people as they foraged among the channels of the then broad, braided course of the river. These finds were questioned in academic circles on the grounds of tool identification, complex stratigraphy and dating problems (Figure 1) but finally doubts were removed and a firm antiquity established close to 50,000 years ago (Stockton & Nanson 2004). The significance of the finds is that while comparable dates have been obtained for tools collected to the north and west of the continent, this is the only one verified for the eastern seaboard.

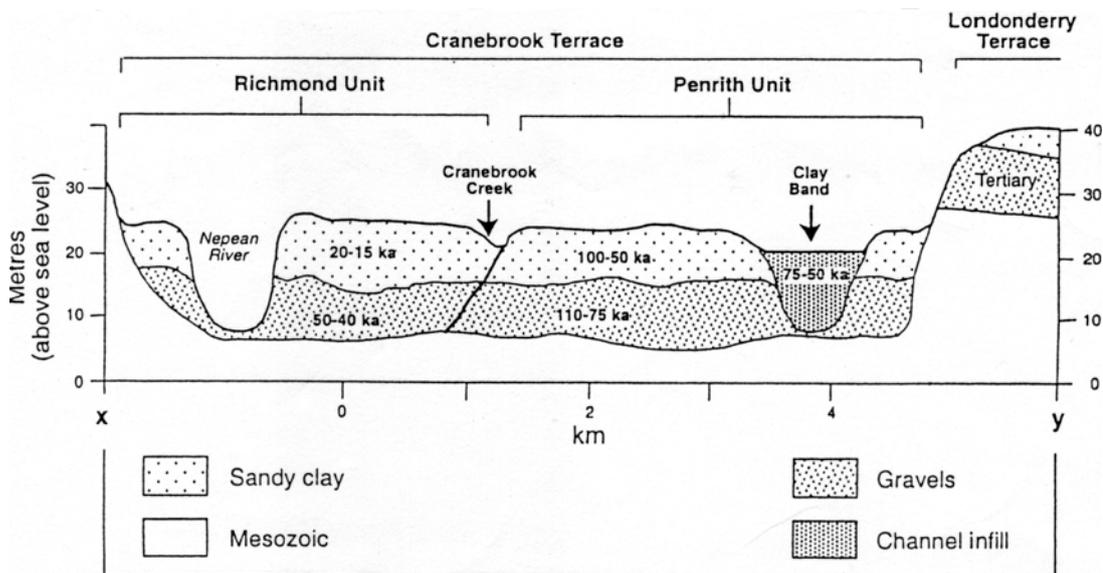


Figure 1.
Cranebrook Terrace, Penrith (Nanson et al. 1987, Fig.4, p.75; Stockton & Nanson, 2004, Fig.1, p.60; Stockton, 2009b, Fig.7, p.51).

INTRODUCTION

“The Blue Mountains have long been a peopled place.” So headlined was the chapter on archaeology in *Blue Mountains Dreaming (Second Edition)* (Stockton 2009b, p.41). A second edition of that book became necessary, because the 15 years since the first had seen the discovery of many new sites, including the world-famous Wollemi rock art (see Figure 5 and Kelleher 2009, pp.90-92; Stockton 2009a, pp.9-11), and considerable advances in research in anthropology, geomorphology and contact history. So the second

Such antiquity for human presence in Australia is all the more remarkable given the generally accepted view that our species emerged from Africa as little as 60,000-70,000 years ago (e.g. Wells 2002; Oppenheimer 2003, p.82).

The *in situ* pebble chopper (Figure 3a) came from the base of site 11 in gravels dated 40,000 to 50,000 years ago.

Occupation Sites

The oldest known occupied site in the Blue Mountains is a rock shelter on the Kings Tableland (Wentworth Falls), with a series of dates going back 22,000 years. At Shaws Creek, near its junction with the Nepean River, there is a large rock shelter with a deep deposit showing continuous occupation back to an estimated 20,000 years. It could well be older, as past rock falls allowed only the top half of the deposit to be excavated and it continued to yield artefacts to the bottom of the trench.

Both these sites were occupied at times verging on the last glacial maximum which peaked about 15,000 to 20,000 years ago. The main threat of the climate then was not so much cold, with temperatures about 9°C lower than the present, but the extreme aridity then prevailing in South-East Australia - the 'Great Dry'. Though sharing in this aridity the Blue Mountains may have been relatively more moist than adjacent areas and so served as a haven for all forms of life, including the human. Three more rock shelters, now far too dank for camping, show occupation at this time: Walls Cave (Blackheath), Lyrebird Dell (Leura) and Horseshoe Falls (Hazelbrook). After the 'Great Dry', the climate became wetter and warmer, making for an environment more favourable for human habitation when more sites began to come into use and older sites were used more intensively (e.g. Springwood Creek shelter).

An important new feature of *Blue Mountains Dreaming (2nd edit.)* is the account of the environmental history of the region over the last 20,000 years, which served as the backdrop to the human history (Mooney & Martin 2009; Stockton 2009b, pp.60-62). Combined are the results of the dating and pollen analysis of cores extracted from swamps and from the dunes of Newnes Plateau. Though not as drastic as the last glacial maximum, the record is of minor fluctuations in rainfall and temperature, together with varying bushfire regimes, as the Blue Mountains gradually became more habitable for humans.

Extensive surveys and excavations have shown the spread of Aboriginal occupation across the Blue Mountains. By contrast with the present European pattern of settlement, with a string of towns threaded by road and railway only along the main east-west ridge, Aboriginal sites are far more widespread and uniform across the whole region (Figure 2). Aboriginal occupation extended beyond the main ridge, along to the end of secondary ridges, spilling down their gentler slopes and into shallow head

valleys. Where selected areas have been intensely surveyed, the density of sites per square kilometre has been found as high or higher than closely studied areas further afield (Stockton 2009a, pp.16-19; 2009b, pp.45-46). Evidently this was a good place for ancient foragers to settle, with abundant shelter, water, tool-making stone and food resources (Merriman 2009). The Central Blue Mountains, where the outcropping Hawkesbury Sandstone forms broad ridge top platforms, apparently attracted religious activity evidenced by abundant rock art (rock engravings, cave paintings and drawings) and stone arrangements. This has recently been found even more strikingly in the Wollemi wilderness (Kelleher 2009, pp.90-92; Stockton 2009a, pp.9-11). By contrast, the Upper and Lower Blue Mountains reveal more intense "domestic" occupation.

Stone Industries

Where written documents serve to mark the history of a people through time, prehistory has to resort to stone artefacts, the only durable remains of earlier inhabitants, to show just one aspect of human development, viz. the technological. For the most part one is left to guess at the political, religious, social and demographic changes of a people over time. The technological development, the prime interest of this author, comprises changes in tool types and their method of manufacture. Pioneer excavations by Fred McCarthy in the piedmont sites of Lapstone Creek (Emu Plains) and of Capertee (near Lithgow) had established a sequence of Capertian and Bondaian industries (McCarthy 1948; 1964). The more recent excavations in the Blue Mountains, but especially the Shaws Creek site (KII), with its abundant assemblages of worked stone in successive strata spanning 20,000 years, provided the opportunity of fine tuning and dating the succession of tool kits (Figures 3 and 4) (Stockton 2009b, p.57-60, 62-65).

The bottom level excavated at Shaws Creek yielded a small assemblage of large flake tools finely retouched on a natural sharp edge. This industry has been labelled Yarramundian (after the locality, Yarramundi) and may have had contemporary counterparts elsewhere in Australia (Stockton 2009b, p.63). This was followed by some 10,000 to 15,000 years of the notoriously nondescript industry, the Capertian which mostly consists of amorphous, *ad hoc* flakes with incidental retouch for generalized scraping and cutting purposes. The few describable tools, not exclusive to this period, include hammerstones, anvils, split pebble choppers and small thumbnail scrapers.

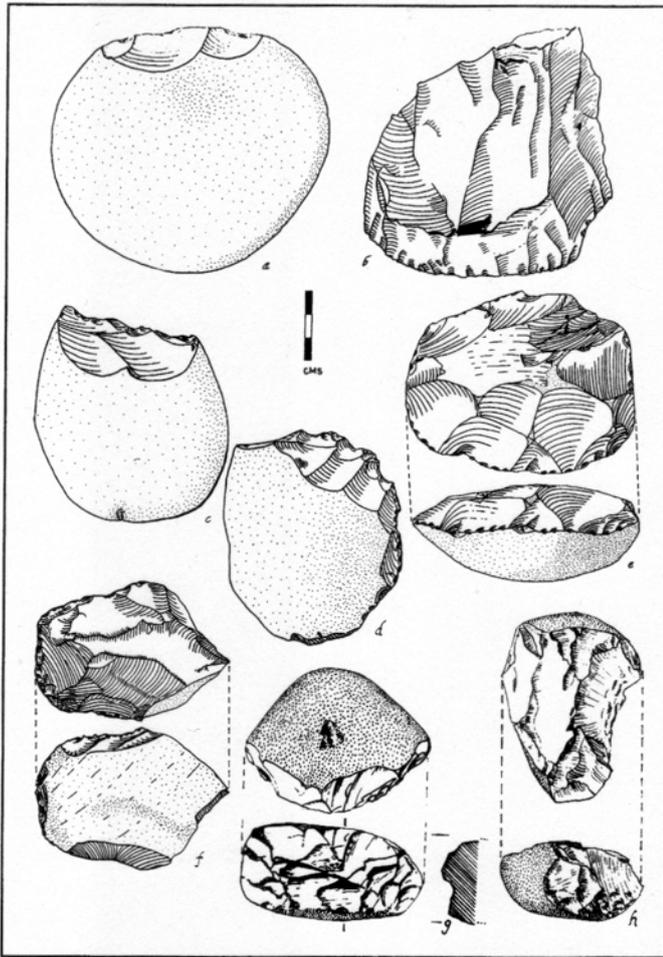


Figure 3. Artefacts found in Large Tool Assemblages on open sites at Castlereagh, Machins Crater, Grose Head South, Euroka and Winmalee (Stockton 1993b, Fig.2.4, p.28; 2009b, Fig.2, p.44).

Choppers (a, c), Horsehoof core or steep-edged scraper (b, g), serrated flake (d), Uniface pebble chopper (e), composite pebble cutting tool (f), steep-edge concave scraper (h).

About 4,000 years ago marks the sudden appearance of the Bondaian industry. It was part of a continent-wide trend to greater sophistication in the manufacture of small tools, with regional variations in the types of tools produced. The Bondaian *facies*, typical of South-East Australia is shown at Shaws Creek to emphasise small backed flake tools, where the side opposite the naturally sharp edge has been deliberately blunted to facilitate hafting with resin to a wooden handle (bondi points, geometric microliths, eloura adze flakes (illustrated in Figure 4). Fragments of edge-ground axes made their appearance, and

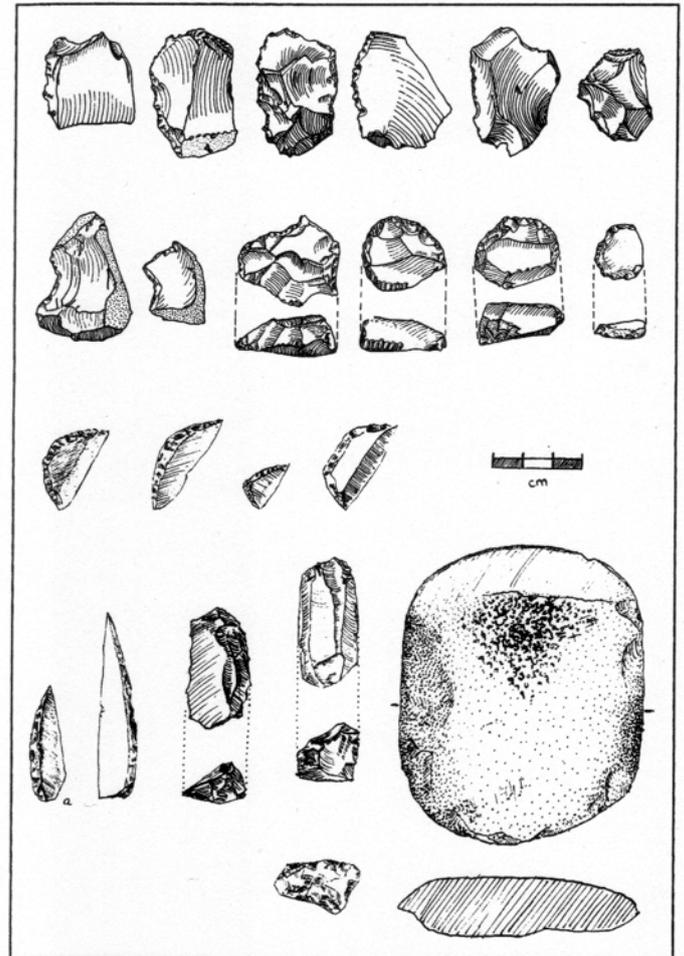


Figure 4. Artefacts found in Small Tool Assemblages which are typical of excavated sequences in base camps whether rock shelters or heavily used open sites (Stockton 1993b, Fig.2.5, p.29; 2009b, Fig.1, p.43).

Capertian Tools First Row – saw toothed flakes (6)
Second Row – concave (2) and discoid (4) scrapers
Bondaian Tools: Third Row – geometric microliths

Fourth Row – bondi points, elouera, bipolar cores, edge-ground axe-head

increasingly the scales from bipolar cores (possibly used as spear barbs). There is apparent a variety of techniques for carefully controlled flaking. The Bondaian levels show a marked increase in content of flaked stone and a steep drop in the size of flakes produced. This suggests more time and attention devoted to stone tool making around the campfire, and its hint at intensification of camp life (allowing greater interest in religion, law, kinship, art etc). The Bondaian period, subdivided into Lower, Middle and Upper, peaked in the Middle Bondaian (about 2,000 years ago) in terms of the amount and sophistication of its stone working.

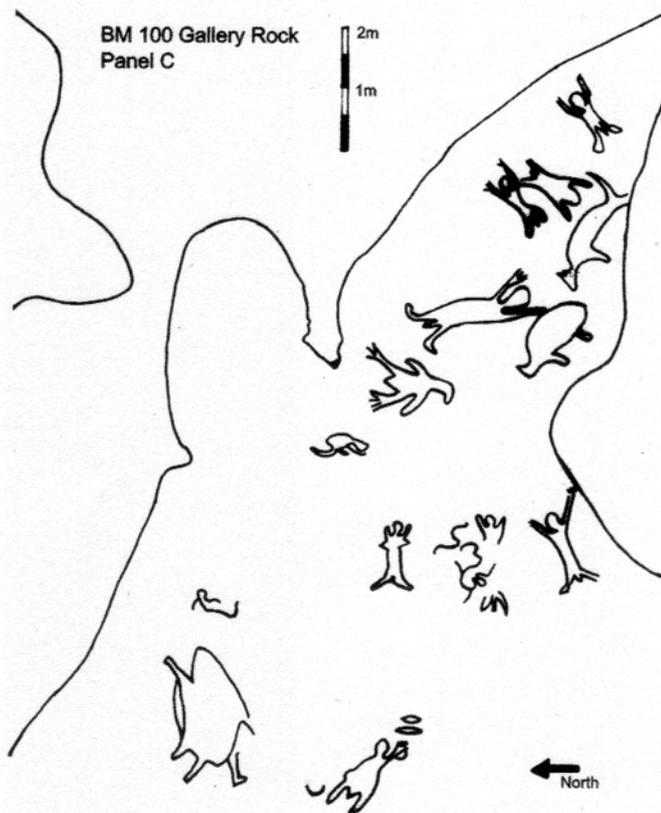


Figure 5. Engravings from part of Gallery Rock, Wollemi (Stockton 2009c, Fig.5, p.244).

Postscript

This has been but a synopsis of the archaeological findings as reported, for general readership, in *Blue Mountains Dreaming (2nd edit.)*. That book also contains reports on the art, anthropology, contact history, food resources and languages of the local Aborigines, so providing a fuller picture of the first inhabitants of the Blue Mountains.

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