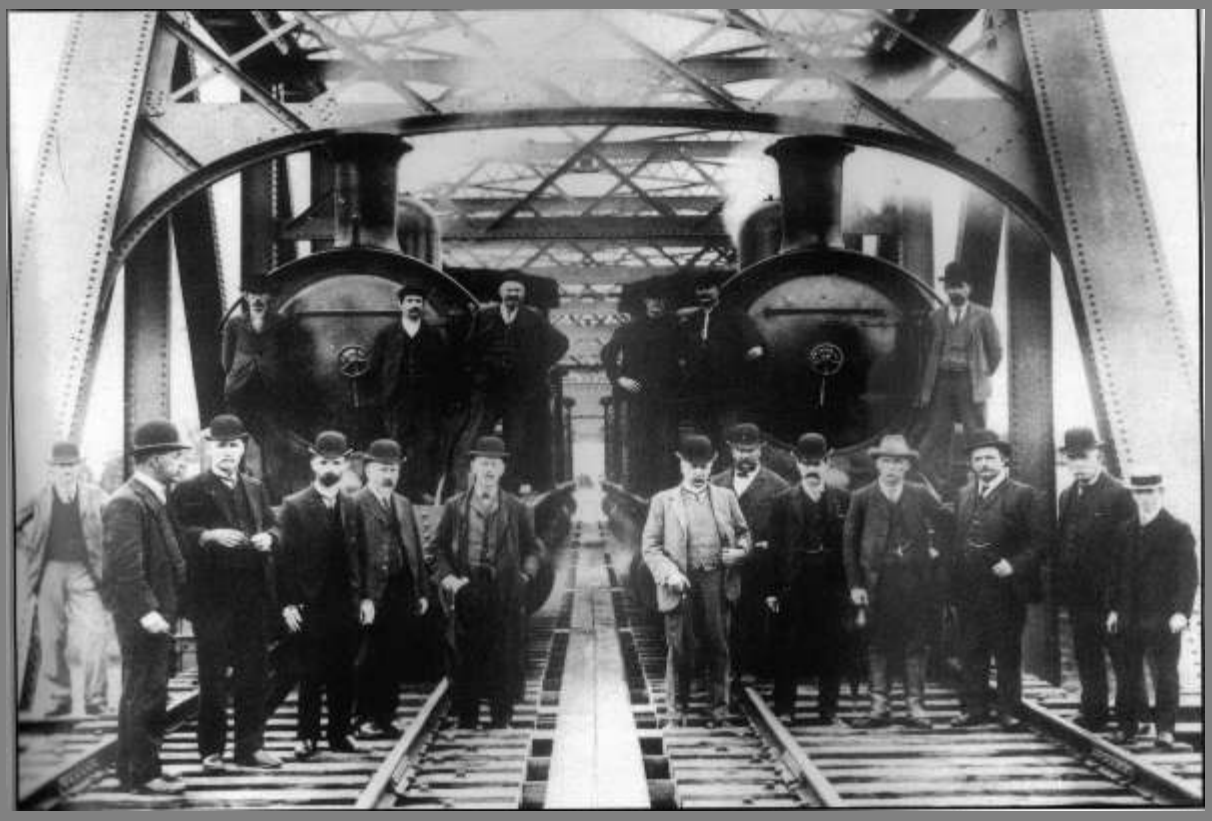
BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations



Issue 4

October 2013

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Blue Mountains History Journal

The Blue Mountains History Journal is published online under the auspices of BMACHO (Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations Inc.).

It contains refereed, and fully referenced, articles on the human history, and related subjects, of the Greater Blue Mountains and neighbouring areas. Anyone may submit an article which is intermediate in size between a Newsletter contribution and a book chapter.

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Cover Photo; Railway bridge opening 1907.
Penrith City Library Photographic Collection.

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BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

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EDITORIAL

Issue 4 of **The Blue Mountains History Journal** has a bumper crop of six papers and one note so the total number of pages is somewhat greater than in previous issues. Two papers deal with explorations of the Blue Mountains before the 1813 crossing, the bicentenary of which is being commemorated this year. Three papers have pioneering individuals as their subject, one each in relation to Blackheath, Medlow Bath and Lawson. The sixth paper focuses on the various ways by which the Nepean River has been crossed near Penrith - the main gateway to the Blue Mountains.

The first two papers have been written by Andy Macqueen, and they deal with different aspects of George Caley's explorations. They are complementary to each other, the first focussing on Caley's obsession to find a route across the mountains and his regret that he did not achieve that before he left the colony. The second of Andy's papers relates to the curious names that Caley used for various features in the Blue Mountains; it not only reveals where some have become attached to features that Caley did not intend but it also deals with the possible origin of the names given to somewhat similar features in Yorkshire.

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In the third paper Ron Brasier has brought together much of his extensive research on Osborne Ladies' College that had its final chapter in Blackheath. But the Principal, Miss Gibbins, commenced on a career in education up in Queensland and the sequence of schools that she started has been traced. Ron reveals many fascinating aspects of this enigmatic character and his paper is illustrated by a generous collection of photographs.

Medlow Bath is one of the smallest of the villages of the Blue Mountains but it too has had its characters. The fourth paper discusses the life of one Cornwallis Wade-Browne who started out in a military career in England, became a stockman in Queensland and ended up settling in Medlow (as it was then called) and having a peripatetic life moving between a farm on what is now Water Board land and a holiday home in Bay View.

Fifthly, Brian Fox has revealed what he has been able to find out about another pioneer of Lawson. In our first issue (2010) he tackled Joseph Hay and now it is Benjamin Roberts - both at one time being owners of large parcels of land in Lawson.

The one feature that is common to all who have contributed to the history of the Blue Mountains is that at some time they, or their ancestors, had to cross the Nepean/Hawkesbury River by some means in order to gain access to the Blue Mountains. Patsy Moppett has researched this most important aspect of travel to the Blue Mountains and in the sixth paper she provides the chronology of the ways by which the Nepean River has been crossed near to Penrith. That location needs to be stated for the crossings of the Hawkesbury River near to Windsor and Richmond await another study.

All of the papers in Issue 4 have been independently reviewed and revised as a consequence of suggestions.

The final contribution is a short postscript by Christine Cramer who has been able to confirm some of the conclusions published in Issue 3 relating to the death of Professor V. Gordon Childe in 1957 and the bones discovered at the same site in 1959.

For the convenience of readers, at the end of this issue there is a cumulative list of the papers that were published in Issues 1, 2 & 3.

Dr Peter C. Rickwood,
Editor

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THE IMAGINARY PASSAGE: GEORGE CALEY'S UNREQUITED BLUE MOUNTAINS OBSESSION

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Abstract
The botanist and explorer George Caley (1770-1829) made several journeys into the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, most notably a rugged expedition to Mount Banks in 1804. In 1806 he followed the footsteps of Francis Barrallier at least as far as the Kowmung River. Caley had the personal wherewithal to cross the mountains, but lacked adequate support from Governor King and the accumulated knowledge that would later benefit Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth. Immediately before leaving the colony in 1810 Caley thought he had discovered the commencement of his long-sought "passage" through the mountains. The fact that he never had the opportunity to follow it up, together with the memories of his experiences in the sublime landscape, haunted him for the rest of his life. However, the supposed passage did find its way onto an early map purporting to show Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth's route.

Key Words: George Caley, explorers, maps, Blue Mountains.

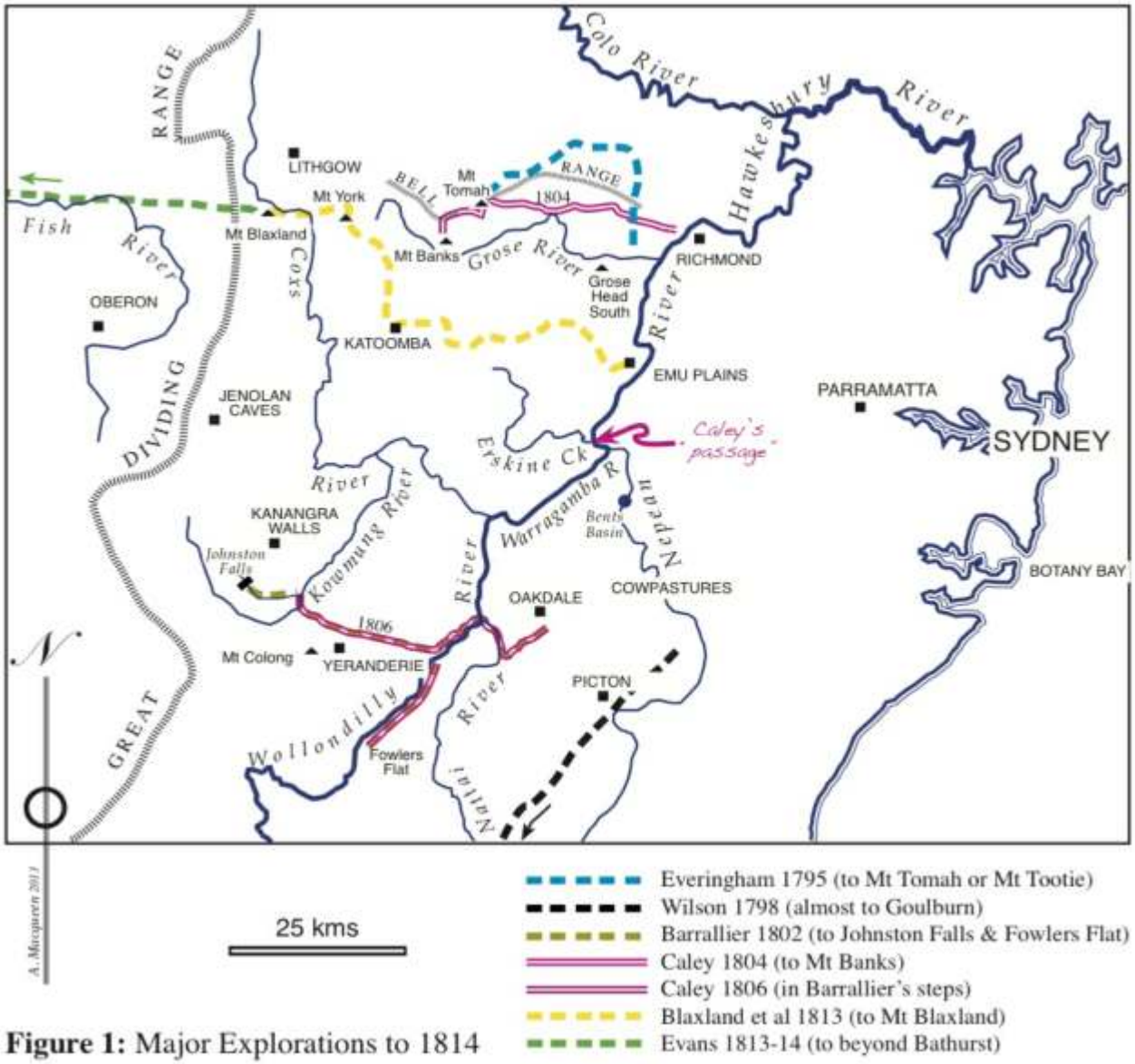

Figure 1: Major Explorations to 1814

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INTRODUCTION

George Caley's 1804 expedition to Mount Banks is well known to anyone with at least a passing interest in colonial exploration. Many would also be aware of his several journeys of exploration in the Picton-Oakdale area, and his substantial contribution, as an employee of Joseph Banks, to local botanical research.

Caley's life and achievements have been analysed by Rae Else Mitchell (Else Mitchell 1939), Alan Andrews (Andrews 1984), Joan Webb (Webb 1995), and others (e.g. Currey 1966; Macqueen 2013), and it is not the intention to cover old ground here. The purpose is to identify and consider the various expeditions which Caley made into the Blue Mountains and to place them in the context of other exploration by Europeans. If we define a Blue Mountains expedition as one which involved an attempt to enter or cross the ranges which generally bounded the colony to the west, then Caley undertook at least six such expeditions — far more than any other individual, so far as is known (Figure 1).

Of particular interest is a "passage" which Caley supposed would provide him with a route through the mountains but which he never had the opportunity to explore; and the cartographic muddle which that supposed passage was to cause.

The Grose River and Grose Head

Caley started exploring the bush around Sydney in late 1801. By the end of 1802 he had taken about six trips in the Nepean country which, incidentally, he appears to have regarded as part of the Blue Mountains (Andrews 1984, pp.12 & 14).

The son of a horse-dealer, Caley was a competent horseman. Moreover, he owned a horse when horses were scarce in the colony and the cost of purchasing one exceeded a labourer's annual wages (McLaren 1996, p.31). In the Nepean country Caley found that his mare (used as a packhorse) gave him a distinct "advantage over all others" in exploration. In 1802 he cast doubt on the prospects of Francis Barrallier's expedition, which was about to commence, stating that:

> "I am so vain as to think, that with another man besides myself, & a horse, that I can go further than what his party will, provided the weather is favourable." (Caley 1802, p.110, p.882).

His first known attempt to explore the Blue Mountains, as we generally understand them (Macqueen 2012), took place when, some time before 28 April 1803, he explored an unknown distance up the Grose River, gathering plants with Colonel Paterson. Paterson had been there before, in 1793, so possibly no new ground was broken (Caley 1803a, p.129; Macqueen 2007, pp.36 & 318). Caley would have learnt what Paterson already knew: that the mountains would not be easily crossed via the valley of the Grose. He seems to have concluded that easier routes would be found on the higher ground, for when mentioning the expedition he also wrote that:

> "The Blue Mountains here so called are far from being high hills. The highest hill that I have yet seen I can ascend in 20 minutes, or ½ an hour at most. They are evidently a huge heap of rocks, with very deep valleys." (Caley 1803a, p.129).

This seemingly absurd statement suggests that Caley had not attempted to climb any significant part of the Mountains.

It was presumably after that that he ascended "Grose's Head" — apparently today's Grose Head South (Caley 1804b, 5 November, p.19; Andrews 1984, p.40 et seq, maps 5 & 8). The trip up Grose Head South may have been just one element of an exploration of several Blue Mountains foothills. In May 1803 he said he was

> "... just going to the Blue Mountains and which will be a weeks journey…" (Caley 1803b).

The plan was then postponed, but at some stage he searched for prospective locations to attack the ranges with the support of his trusty mare. He later wrote that he had:

> "... tried every part to the westward for to penetrate into the interior with a horse but always having been prevented by very barren rocky ground." (Caley 1804a, p.153).

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He had clearly changed his opinion about the value of horses. His view from Grose Head South must also have changed his opinion that the mountains were simply small hills that could be ascended within half an hour. It probably convinced him that in planning his next expedition he must avoid getting "entangled with the vallies which run to the Grose" (Caley 1804b, 5 November, p.9). Despite that resolution he was immediately to become very much entangled with those valleys.

Mount Banks

On 3 November 1804 Caley set out on his best-known expedition. It took three weeks, and was accomplished on foot with no pack animals. He took with him "... four of the strongest men of the colony, ..." (King 1805, p.725) and a dog. (This oft-repeated quote derives from a report by Governor King, but it is quite clear there were only three men with Caley (Caley 1804a, p.154; Caley 1804b, p.126).) Caley himself shouldered a share of the equipment, but he was later to observe how much it hindered his botanising and navigating (Caley 1807b).

Caley never mentioned his assistants by name, though they were evidently convicts. On the supposition that they were on a promise of a conditional pardon, the author postulates that their names were John Franklin, Thomas Brown and Samuel Matthias, for those three men were together granted a pardon soon after the expedition (Colonial Secretary 1805). Franklin had arrived in the colony in December 1801 with a life sentence, while Matthias had arrived as recently as May 1804 with a seven year sentence; for either of them to have received pardons so soon is exceptional. There are too many Thomas Browns on the record to pin down, but men by that name were transported along with both Franklin and Matthias (Thomas Multimedia 2013).

What was the aim of the expedition? The answer lies in the statement Caley made to Banks on the eve of departure:

"I shall set off from the Hawkesbury and proceed towards the Carmarthen Mountains and if I am so lucky as to get there ... I shall proceed from there to the westward or to the most promising part of the country. You must excuse me for saying that Botany is not the primary object but [there is] an enthusiastic pride of going further than any person has yet been. My party is but small only 3 men besides myself." (Caley 1804a, p.154).

The Carmarthen Mountains he was referring to were the prominent volcanic features visible from Sydney, including Mount Banks and Mount Tomah. Although there is no statement that he was trying to cross the mountains, his hope to proceed further west from those high points to the "most promising part of the country" surely amounted to such an ambition. To avoid failure, he framed his aspirations ambiguously, expressing the fall-back objectives of reaching the Carmarthen Mountains or simply going further than any other (European) person. He was thus almost assured of success.

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2004

Figure 2. A 2004 re-enactment party following Caley out of the Devils Wilderness.

The route of the expedition has been interpreted in detail by Andrews (Andrews 1984). The author has conducted further analysis and explored most of it twice, and has proposed small variations — mainly to do with the descent to the Devils Wilderness and the approaches to Mount Tomah (Figure 2; Macqueen 2007, pp.41-42, 44 & 319).

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In short, the expedition proceeded from Richmond, up to Kurrajong Heights, thence to Mount Tomah (his Fern Tree Hill) via his "Devil's Wilderness" on the Grose River, and finally to Mount Banks. Today one can travel by car to Mount Tomah and almost to Mount Banks, but certainly not along Caley's route. Caley was aware of the need to stay away from the Grose, and he knew that the best ploy was to follow ridges, but, like Everingham, Barrallier and others before him, he suffered from the problem that Blue Mountains ridges are very hard to discern. They are indistinct, being hidden in a maze of like ridges and branching spurs: in the absence of a map they cannot be easily interpreted and navigated due to the shortage of commanding views and to the continual obstructive vegetation. Thus, Caley was unable to discern the Bell Range and the fine route that it offered, and repeatedly encountered deep gorges and canyons as he tried to make a beeline across the grain of the country.

Even on his return journey Caley decided to retrace his rugged outward route through the Devils Wilderness, rather than risk what he by then recognised as the more promising route to the north (Caley 1804b, pp.99-100).

In reporting the expedition to Banks, Caley wrote:

> "The roughness of the country I found beyond description. I cannot give you a more expressive idea than travelling over the tops of the houses in a town." (Caley 1804c, p.165).

So much for the hills he might have climbed in under half an hour. Even more dramatically, at the end of his journal he wrote:

> "In speaking of the toil of the journey, exclusive of the danger, I think [I] may safely say, it was the most laborious man ever went to." (Caley 1804b, p.128).

A lofty claim indeed. However, anyone who sets out today in his footsteps will soon verify that his route was certainly rugged. His descriptions and the names he assigned — such as "Devils Wilderness", "Gaping Gill" and "Dismal Dingle" — do not overstate the nature of the terrain.

But it was not simply the ruggedness that affected Caley. There was another element in his response to the country he found himself in. It emerged at Mount Banks, where he was surrounded on the one side by enormous cliffs falling into an astonishing valley, and on the other by the incredible maze of rocky ridges and defiles that he had battled his way through to arrive there. On seeing two crows, he

> "could not help remarking one of the [his] men saying, that they must be lost, or else they would never stop in such a place as this." (Caley 1804b, p.90).

Yet, like the crows, Caley did stop at the place — for two days and three nights. He knew the way home, so he was not lost in that sense, and he knew that by delaying his return he risked running short of rations. Perhaps he was lost in another sense: he was lost in wonder at the extraordinary place in which he found himself. A place that was so much beyond his experience and comfort zone that his time there must surely have constituted some form of spiritual experience. All that he had encountered on the way there served to heighten the experience. His deserted, barren, challenging, wild, ugly and perhaps haunted wilderness contributed to a form of pleasure and elation, a response that many modern-day adventurers would identify with. It was his experience of "the sublime".

If this analysis is correct it may explain his mood on departure from the mountain:

> "Now being at the farthest of my journey, and just upon the point of setting of upon our return, I found myself elevated [*sic*] in a manner I knew not why, no farther than the sake of return." (Caley 1804b, p.90).

There is no hint of the anticlimax that one might expect. The fact that he had not scaled his ultimate mountain by proceeding further west to discover new pastures did not lessen his experience. He had convinced himself that that goal was then unattainable, with the limited time and energy available to him. He had studied the view to the west, across the upper Grose Valley, and mused that "it might be readily travelled over" (Figure 3), but (erroneously) concluded that, even if one managed to circumvent the Grose Valley, one would probably run into further "Ha Ha!"s — his term for unexpected chasms (Caley 1804b, p.85).

But he had had a very special experience that would draw his mind back to the Blue Mountains for the rest of his life.

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Photo: Andy Macqueen, 1996

Figure 3. Across the Grose Valley from the side of Mount Banks, showing ground around Blackheath that "might be readily travelled over".

A year later, on hearing Caley's account and studying his journal, Governor King was moved to write a most pessimistic report:

> "… I cannot help thinking that persevering in crossing those mountains, which are a confused and barren assemblage of mountains with impassable chasms between, would be as chimerical as useless. Few possess the bodily strength and enthusiastic mind which Cayley (*sic*) does to encounter such researches; yet with these qualities within himself, being well equipped, and having the strongest men in the colony to assist him, nevertheless, with all those advantages, nothing but his enthusiasm could have enabled him to perform that journey. From its effects he did not recover for some time after his return." (King 1805, p.726).

Caley was thus praised, but the cause of further exploring the mountains was dashed. King's attitude can only have contributed to the extended delay in further serious exploratory attempts. It flew in the face of Caley's continuing and probably heightened ambition, which was clearly to cross the mountains. Five months after the expedition he had written:

> "At present I see no prospect of remaining here, unless I could make some very long journies into the interior, but these are easier planned than executed, for they cannot be done without expense & undergoing great and violent fatigue." (Caley 1805, p.176).

Caley could cope with the fatigue. What he lacked were the necessary equipment and manpower, and these would not be forthcoming from King.

Caley and his three men were physically quite capable of undertaking the journey that was completed some nine years later by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth. Although the latter accomplished their 27-day journey with packhorses, several days of the expedition were spent cutting tracks for them. Caley's Mount Banks expedition took 21 days, and although shorter in distance it involved much more rugged travelling. Blaxland and friends did not succeed because they took packhorses, but because fresh information led them to take a easier route — information not available to Caley. They gleaned that information, in part at least, from a hunter who already knew the country at least as far as Springwood (Blaxland 1823, p.66). Once they reached the Wentworth Falls area, their ridge-finding task was assisted by the major escarpment which lay to their left. Moreover, they travelled across the very country around Blackheath which Caley had observed from Mount Banks and mused that "it might be easily travelled over" (Caley 1804b, p.84).

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Photo: Andy Macqueen, 1992

Figure 4. Caley's probable 1806 terminus: Christys Creek near its Kowmung River confluence.

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 1992

Figure 5. Barrallier's probably terminus: Johnston Falls on Wheengee Whungee Creek

In Barallier's footsteps

Caley's next Blue Mountains expedition was in the footsteps of a rival. In 1802 the Frenchman Ensign Francis Barrallier had undertaken a Governor-sponsored expedition in the southern Blue Mountains. The principal part involved a walk from a depôt at "Nattai", south of Oakdale, westward across the Nattai, Wollondilly and Kowmung Rivers (passing just north of Yerranderie), thence up Christys Creek (Figure 4). With his men's courage failing in the face of yet more rugged country, and their rations depleted, he retreated probably at the waterfall now known as Johnston Falls on Wheengee Whungee Creek (Figure 5), about eight kilometres south-south-west of Kanangra Walls (Macqueen 1993, p.82-86).

Barrallier later produced a comprehensive journal and a map. When Governor King received them, probably in early 1806, he "doubted the accuracy" (Caley 1806, p.229). He decided to send Caley to check Barrallier's route and report back, particularly on the "forest land" which Barrallier had reported along the Wollondilly — the Burragorang Valley (King 1806).

Unfortunately Caley did not leave a journal of that journey, though he did write a brief report to Banks (Caley 1806). He also drew a map: the original has not survived, but a copy of it appears as an inset on Grimes' 1806 map (Figure 6; Grimes 1806 ?), and Flinders' 1814 map also seems to have adopted it (Figure 7; Flinders 1814; Andrews 1998, p.57). Judging from Grimes' inset, Caley's trip involved not only Barrallier's tract to Christys Creek, but also his side-trip up the Wollondilly to the vicinity of Fowlers Flat.

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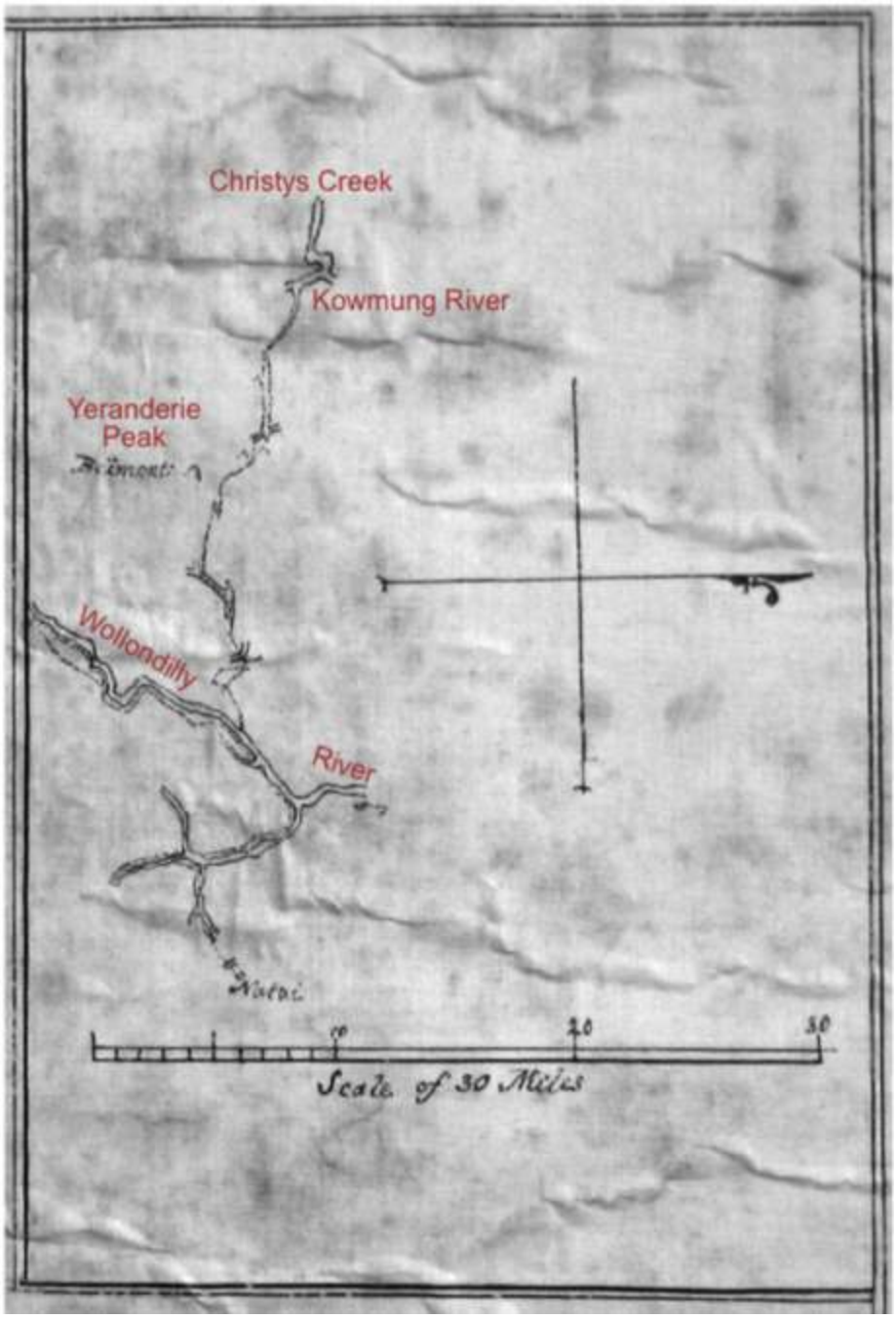

Figure 6. Inset on Grimes' 1806 map, being a copy of Caley's map in the footsteps of Barrallier (Grimes 1806 ?) with annotations.

Caley's journey took place over 28 days in July-August 1806 (Andrews 1998, p.49). He was accompanied by three men, including the highly regarded free settler John Warby, who had also accompanied Barrallier (Andrews 1998, pp.15-18). Also with the party was a "native boy", probably Caley's personal friend Moowat'tin (Caley 1806, p.229).

A bullock cart with two drivers helped the party reach a point near the - "Nattai" depôt. If that took a comfortable six days each way (based on Barrallier's time over the same ground), we might conclude that the rest of the expedition, on foot, took around sixteen days. Barrallier, who was also on foot, took just fourteen days to cover the same ground, so either Caley was delayed along the way, or his party was surprisingly slow given that his guide Warby had been there before.

In reporting to Banks, Caley chose not to mention that he had a guide, though he was happy to suggest that Barrallier did:

> "I do not make it half the distance what Mr. Barrilier (*sic*) has done. He was out 2 months, and had every indulgence and support. About 15 men he had variously employed. Besides he had been a journey before this in the present track, for better than half the way. I do not wish by what I say that Mr. Barrilier (*sic*) had engrossed too much time in comparison to what I completed it in. He had the tract to find out, or at least he got the natives to do it — I had only to examine it ..." (Caley 1806, p.229).

The "natives" whom Caley referred to were not from that area, and it was unfair of Caley to suggest that they might have guided Barrallier. At times they proved more a hindrance than an asset.

Caley also wrote that "the journey was nothing near as rough a one as that to Mt. Banks", which on the whole is true. However, the statement begs intriguing questions. One is whether Caley actually went all the way to Barrallier's terminus. The evidence suggests he did not. The course up Christys and Wheengee Whungee Creeks is very rough and involves much wading and scrambling on slippery rocks — not an attractive proposition in mid-winter. Had he tackled it he would surely have alluded to the difficulties. Furthermore, his map, as represented on the Grimes inset, does not show much of

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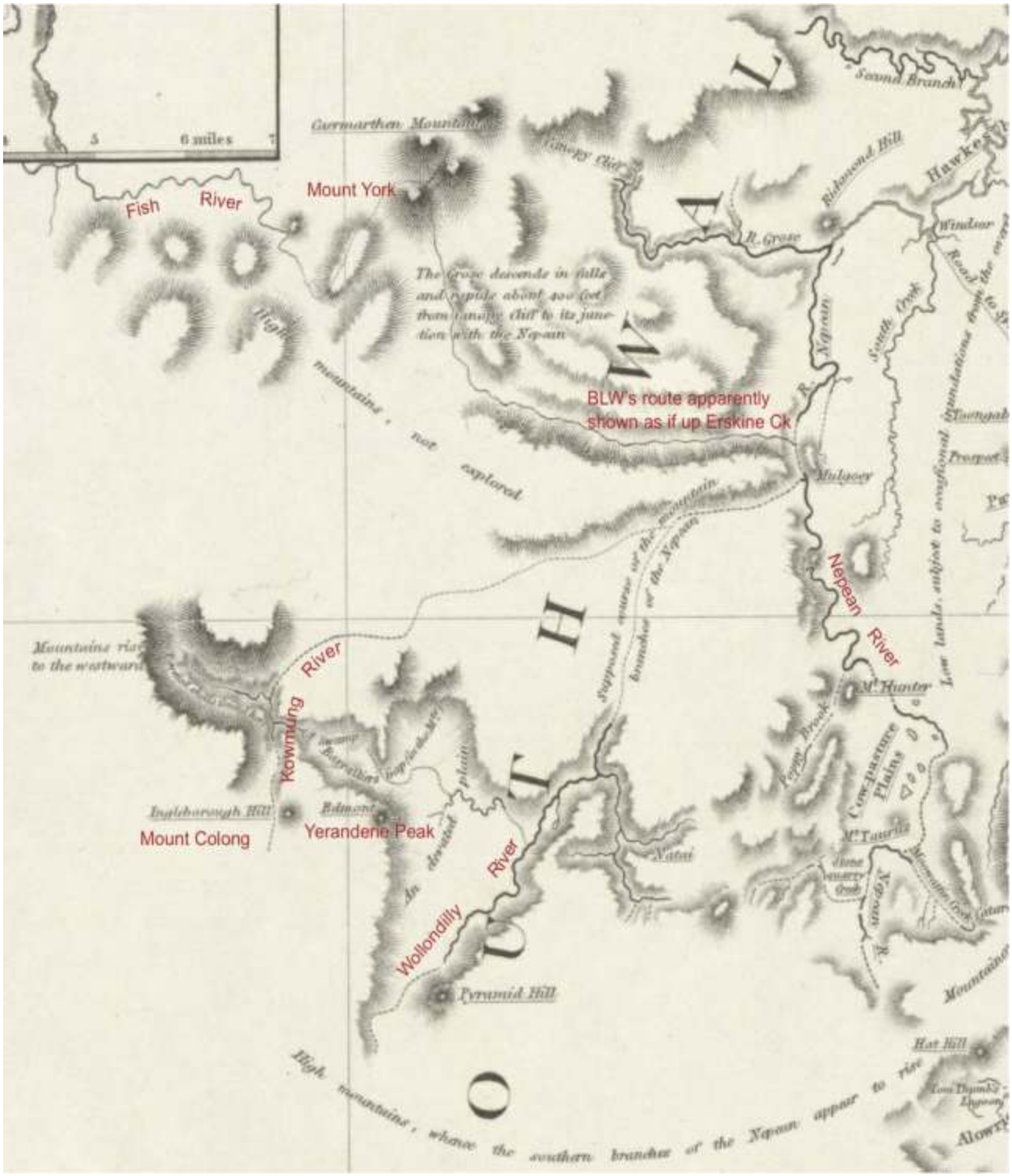

Figure 7. Portion of Flinders 1814 map (Flinders 1814) with annotations.

Christys Creek. The representation of his map by Flinders purports to show several kilometres of it, but the plot bears little relation to reality. It is suggested here that he only went as far as the Kowmung River (which he named the Dryander). The fact that he chose to name Christys Creek "Shellstone Brook" does not imply that he had more than a cursory look at its lower reaches (Caley 1807a, p.279).

The bigger question is: given his opinion that the country was not so rough, why did he not spend a little time examining the possibility of a forward route? While Barrallier wrote that his terminus waterfall posed an impassable obstruction, it is clear that his reason for turning back had more to do with the shortage of provisions and the morale of his men. Caley should also have been enticed by the fact that Barrallier's men had climbed the ridge above the Kowmung River-Christys Creek confluence and reported that the country was impassable due to pyramid-shaped hills, but Barrallier

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had not checked the prospect for himself. There would have been an enormous temptation for Caley to check for himself. If he had stumbled on a viable route (as indeed he could have done, say via the Boyd and Kanangra Ranges) he would certainly have made a name for himself, and forever ruined the reputation of his rival.

Part of the answer is probably that John Warby, perhaps even more strong-willed than Caley, was utterly persuaded that a passage in that area was impossible and was able to convince King and Caley of that opinion. The other part is that King's main interest was not in finding a crossing, but in establishing the value of the Wollondilly country for settlement. He believed that if settlement developed there it would then be possible to use it as a strategic starting point for crossing the mountains to the west (King 1806).

However, such a crossing was of low priority: like Hunter before him, King was more interested in constraining a penal colony than opening up mountain crossings. He may even have explicitly ordered Caley not to go beyond Barrallier's path.

Whatever the case, Caley probably came to bitterly regret having turned around before exploring onwards for himself.

Searching for the Warragamba River

In July 1807 Caley proposed an expedition to search for

> "... the junctions of the Nepean & Dryander with the Hawkesbury, and if possible to discover a passage to the Roodee*." (Caley 1807b, p.261).

He was referring to the confluence of the Nepean River with what we now call the Warragamba River. Caley normally referred to our Nepean as the Hawkesbury, and considered our Wollondilly-Warragamba River to be the Nepean. Having seen his Nepean (Wollondilly) and Dryander (Kowmung), and deducing that they must empty into his Hawkesbury (Nepean), he probably hoped that the junction would provide a better opening into the mountains than Barrallier's rugged route down from the Nattai. And while he knew that the Wollondilly and Kowmung did not offer a ready passage through the mountains, he probably suspected (correctly) that there would be another tributary (our Coxs River) coming from a more inland direction.

In fact, George Evans had been to the Warragamba junction in 1804, having taken a boat up the Nepean. There appears to be no map from Evans' trip, except perhaps the rather ambiguous detail on the Grimes' 1806 map. It appears to show the junction, but in a manner divorced from reality.

Figure 8. Portion of Grimes' 1806 map showing (at centre) the Nepean-Warragamba confluence (Grimes 1806 ?)

* The mention of "the Roodee" is enigmatic. It is presumably some reference to the racecourse by that name at Chester, England, which is situated onalluvial flats where there was once a harbour at the head of the navigable part of the River Dee.

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Caley was probably aware both of Evans' expedition and Grimes' map (Figure 8, but he needed to investigate the place for himself).

Caley was accustomed to exploring in the Nepean area with only one companion, and with his mare as a packhorse. On this occasion however, he sought approval from Governor Bligh to put together a party of six men, arguing that having more hands to carry the equipment

> "would exempt me from carrying a load myself, and would enable me to be more accurate in making observations. For what by carrying a load upon me back, the compass in my hand, and continually stooping for plants, added double fatigue to me, than what the [men] underwent. And frequently I have been so overcome, as to be unable to make my remarks." (Caley 1807b, p.261).

The Governor gave his approval but Caley was nevertheless unable to obtain enough provisions and his plan for a large party was abandoned (Caley 1807b). Consequently, when he set off to find the junction in late October 1807, he once again had just one companion - probably Moowat'tin - and his trusty mare.

The expedition took eight days. After some botanising in the Menangle area, Caley followed the east bank of the Nepean to Bents Basin (which on a previous trip he had called Dove Dale, after Dovedale in Derbyshire). He intended to cross to the western side of the river and proceed to find the junction from there, but it was somewhat swollen. His account continues:

> "… I found some difficulty in crossing myself, and as my man could not swim I gave up the attempt… I travelled some miles down the river with the intent of discovering the aforesaid junction, until I came to a rough mountainous country called by the natives Mulgoey (at which place they inform me the rivers meet). Having traced it a little way down in this rough country, at length it suddenly took a direct course to the west, apparently into the heart of the mountains. With this I was obliged to return to such ground as our horse could travel on. I still made several attempts to catch it again without gaining my object, till at last being tattered and torn, and our provisions scanty, I was obliged to shape my course homewards." (Caley 1808a, p.276).

He had reached the place near Wallacia where the Nepean enters the Lapstone Structural Complex, which defines the eastern edge of the Blue Mountains plateau. The river is lined with small cliffs on both sides and feeds into Nortons Basin just upstream from the Warragamba confluence (Figure 9). Exploring further with a non-swimmer and a horse was too problematic. Whether he saw Nortons

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 9. The Nepean River near Nortons Basin: the terrain that prevented Caley reaching the Warragamba confluence in 1807

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Basin is not clear, but he certainly did not reach the junction, and was thus "disappointed in the principal object" of his expedition.

A passage discovered

Nevertheless he came away convinced that he had been close to his goal, and surely would have made another attempt to find the junction had not hot weather and political events intervened. Less than three months later Governor Bligh was deposed. Years later, in 1822, Caley wrote:

> "A short time previous to the mutiny in that Colony, from the knowledge I had gained, by the many journies I had made, I strongly fancied I had at last hit upon a place, where a passage might be met with, leading into the interior further than I had been before, but owing to the arrest of the Governor, I resolved to keep free from the rebel party, as it was called, and get to England as soon as I could." (Caley 1822).

Caley did not return to England immediately, but in not wanting to associate with the illegal administration he could not obtain permission to explore for his projected "passage". In frustration, in early 1809 he wrote to Banks:

> "I oftentimes occupy my thoughts, what new plants there are in some parts of the Blue Mountains undiscovered, and lament that I am deprived the means of going thither. However great may be my natural failings and however incapable I may be of following some pursuits, I have the vanity to think that nature has given me a pre-eminence as a traveller in this country, in exploring his works. Though I flatter myself to be possessed of this innate principle, yet I have never had a fair trial. There has always been something to disconcert my views. Now the time is past." (Caley 1809).

He also reflected on the great value of his Aboriginal friend Moowat'tin, writing to Banks that he

> "is the most civilised of any one that I know who may still be called a savage, and the best interpreter of the more inland natives language of any that I have met with — I can place that confidence in him which I cannot in any other — All except him are afraid to go beyond the limits of the space which they inhabit, with me (or indeed any other) and I know this one would stand by me until I fell, if attacked by strangers." (Caley 1808b, p.289).

This appreciation of Moowat'tin as an exploring companion contrasts starkly with the experience of Gregory Blaxland, who, after taking two Aboriginal assistants on his exploration up the Warragamba River, reported that:

> "The natives proved but of little use; which determined me not to take them again on my more distant expedition [across the mountains in 1813]." (Blaxland 1823).

That contrast may say more about the character differences between Caley and Blaxland than the relative merits of Aboriginal companions.

Caley probably held a glimmer of hope that the climate for his exploratory efforts might change for the better when Governor Macquarie arrived, but in that he was disappointed:

> "…, that gentleman, I must say, held out better encouragement to me than any Governor had before done, but by his having begun to make Magistrates from those who had been convicts, my thoughts became the more directed towards England." (Caley 1822).

It seems that Macquarie's progressive social changes were even less tolerable to Caley than the climate which followed the military coup. By 1810 he had made up his mind to leave the Colony. With a view to the possibility of being a witness at the trial of the mutineer Major Johnston, he arranged to sail on the *Dromedary* which, along with the *Porpoise*, was to accompany the *Hindostan* carrying Bligh back to England (Anonymous 1810c, 1812). However, the illusive mountain passage still bugged him, and when a last-minute exploratory opportunity arose he seized it even at the risk of missing his passage:

> "The troops being embarked, and having got the greatest part of my things on board ship, yet, from information a native had given me, respecting the junction of a river I had before much wanted to ascertain, and not being, by living up the country, under either the eye of the Governor or Ex-Governor, I would not refrain in absenting myself for four days, in going with the native to see it, whether I lost my passage or not." (Caley 1822).

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The troops referred to embarked on 10 April 1810 (Anonymous 1810a). Caley's fellow explorer and botanist Colonel Paterson — also leaving for England, though he died during the voyage — boarded the *Dromedary* on 1 May in preparation for the ship's departure for the Heads (Anonymous 1810b). Hence, Caley's hurried expedition apparently occurred in the latter half of April. His 1822 letter relates the undertaking as follows:

> "On tracing the united streams downwards, on coming to a bold rocky eminence, whose base was washed by the river, I had the pleasures and mortification [Caley's emphasis] to behold in reality, what I had before fancied, viz. a tract of country admitting of a passage into the interior with ease. The day was remarkably fine, the preceding having been very wet, and gave more liveliness to the scenery, the impression made on my mind was too deep to ever be erased, and never man left a scene more reluctantly than I did this." (Caley 1822).

The identity of the place referred to has been the subject of unpublished speculation. It is easy to become carried away with Caley's enthusiasm and claims, and suggest locations well into the mountains — the junction of the Cox and Wollondilly for instance. However, careful analysis suggests a location that is not only lowly, but misguided.

Key aspects of his story are that his journey only took four days, that it involved "tracing the united rivers down", that the new "passage" started at a "bold rocky eminence … washed by the river", and that it arose from information provided by an Aboriginal person.

Taking the last point first, it seems unlikely that the place he discovered was simply the Warragamba-Nepean junction. He had almost been there himself, and he knew that: he did not need Aboriginal advice to find that junction, he simply needed a little more time and a better organised party.

It is suggested here that the information Caley had received was that the river from the west which he sought was not a tributary of the Warragamba, but a separate stream joining the Nepean a little further downstream. On hearing that he set out, probably with Moowat'tin (who was to accompany him to England), firstly to the Warragamba junction. Taking an easier approach than he had attempted in 1807, he probably arrived at the top of the escarpment on the immediate northern side of that junction, a spot easily reached by tracking about four kilometres west-south-west from today's Mulgoa. After viewing the junction below him, he proceeded along the heights above the true right bank of the Nepean, first westerly then north-westerly, "tracing the united streams [of the Nepean and Warragamba Rivers] downwards". While he conceivably followed the river bank itself, rather than the heights above, this is unlikely because small cliffs would have hindered his progress and certainly posed a barrier to a horse if he had one with him.

He only had three kilometres to go — and some small gullies to negotiate — before observing a significant opening formed by a tributary stream entering the other side of the river. The entrance was flanked by bold rocky spurs, the bases of which were, more or less, "washed by the river". He looked up his newly discovered branch and decided it was his long-sought passage through the mountains. He may well have scrambled down from his viewpoint for a closer view, but unless he was prepared for a swim he would not have actually explored his new-found tributary. Pleased that he had finally found it, but mortified that he would never have the opportunity to follow it up, he left the scene which was so imprinted on his mind.

The tributary he had found was Erskine Creek, and certainly from Caley's viewpoint it would have presented itself as a promising pathway. However, it provides no passage through the mountains. It (and its tributaries) can certainly be followed up to Kings Tableland, or say Woodford or Lawson, but only with difficulty: it is a very rugged and winding creek system.

Not only was he wrong about the passage, but he was wrong if he thought he was the first European to discover it. As mentioned, George Evans had taken a boat up the Nepean in 1804. In doing so he would have passed the Erskine Creek junction (Figure 10), and must surely have wondered about it, if not explored a little of it. Curiously however there is no record that he took any notice of it at that stage.

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Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 10. The mouth of Erskine Creek, as probably seen by Caley from the right (east) bank of the Nepean

Fictitous Mapping.

Six months after Caley's "discovery" Evans was there again, this time on a boat expedition with Governor Macquarie. They travelled up the Nepean and the lower, navigable part of the Warragamba River. Also present, among others, were Gregory Blaxland and the Aboriginal guide who provided the name "Warragombie" (Macquarie 1810, Entry of 29 November 1810). It was after that that Gregory Blaxland was inspired to attempt to cross the mountains by following the Warragamba River — something he would assuredly not have bothered with if he had received any advice from Caley. His attempts were unsuccessful, leading him to the conclusion that he needed to follow a ridge between the Warragamba and the Grose (Blaxland 1823, pp.65-66).

Blaxland never wrote of the branch that was Erskine Creek, and how that branch might enter the exploration equation. However, his companion Evans certainly did make note of it. We find on his 1814 "Map of the Settlements" a rough representation of the lower Warragamba River — labelled the "Western River" — and, with similar prominence, the mouth of Erskine Creek (Figure 11; Evans 1814a).

Evans produced that map after his 1813-1814 journey in and beyond the footsteps of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson. The map shows Coxs River where he came across it near Hartley, but does not speculate as to its course further downstream. However, in his expedition journal Evans gave his opinion that the Coxs River

> "... falls into the Nepean by the run North of the Western River, and that the Source of the Western River springs from the Mountains S.W. of Nattai, ..." (Evans 1814b).

It is therefore apparent that Evans believed the Coxs River emerged at the Nepean as today's Erskine Creek — consistent with Caley's prior speculation. It is evident that from 1810 onwards a conversation was taking place about the likelihood that Erskine Creek offered a passage through the mountains. Who started it is unclear, but Caley and Evans were participants. Possibly Blaxland was not a participant initially, or he would not have wasted his time persevering up the Warragamba.

The next cartographic development was quite extraordinary. In the same year that Evans drew his map, Matthew Flinders published his "Chart of Terra Australis". Sheet 1 depicts, very sketchily, the Coxs River flowing to the Nepean as if it were Erskine Creek (Flinders 1814). It also appears to indicate that the route taken by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth, and Evans, went up that river before crossing the Divide and heading down the Fish River to the west (Figure 7). The map bears close similarity to John Oxley's map of 1822, except that the latter shows the corrected version both of the explorers' route and of the course of the Coxs River (Oxley 1822).

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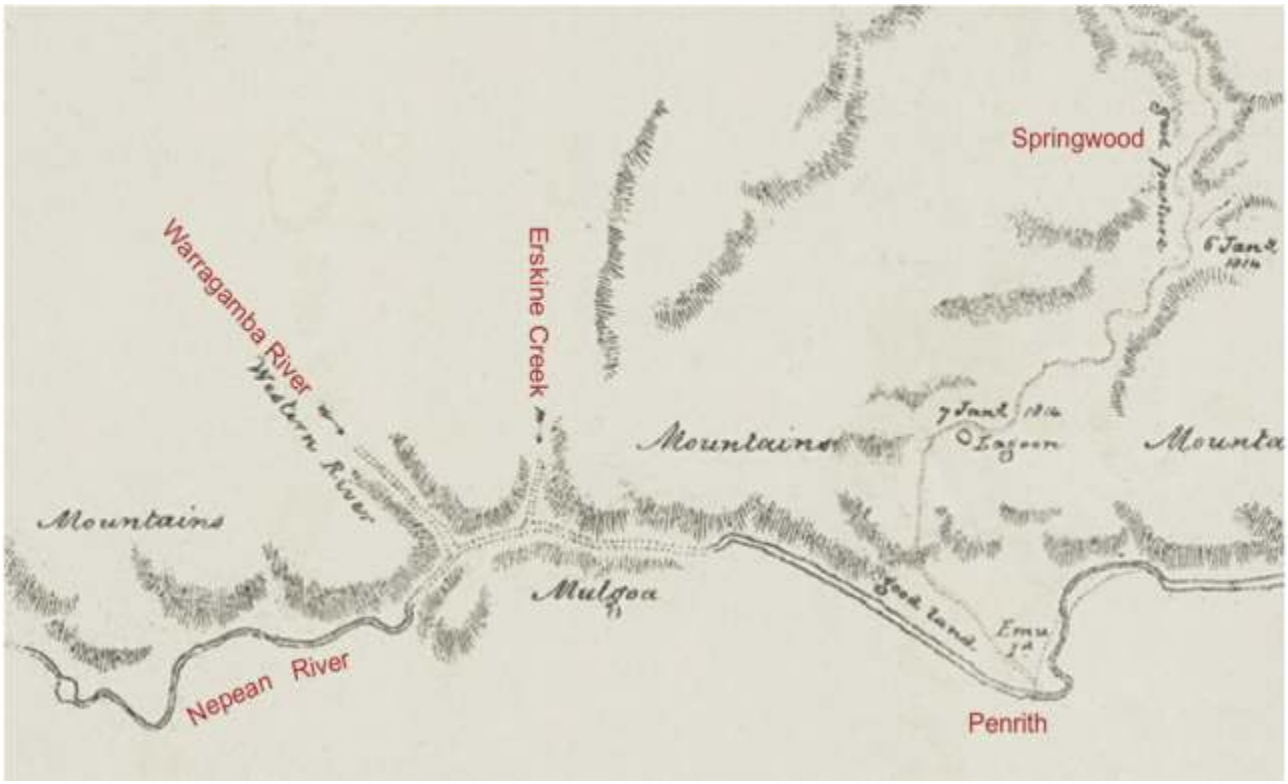

Figure 11. Portion of Evans 1814 map, showing the mouth of Erskine Creek (Evans 1814a).

How did Flinders come to produce his strange map? He must have received some information concerning Evans' route, for it does show a rough but reasonable representation of the Fish River. But as for the part over the sandstone plateau, the Coxs River is shown more or less along the explorers' true route. One can only conclude that Flinders was only provided with a hasty sketch of the explorers' route and thought that the part over the mountains followed a river and not a ridge.

It is proposed here that Flinders made that mistake because of advice from Caley. It is known that the two had been communicating in England: Caley had provided Flinders with maps, including one of Barrallier's journey (Webb 1995, p.110). Indeed, the Flinders map includes information from Caley's 1806 journey in Barrallier's footsteps. It is reasonable to suppose that Caley also gave Flinders his opinion that Erskine Creek would provide a passage through the mountains, and that when news arrived of the three explorers' success, both gentlemen in England jumped to the conclusion that they had used Caley's passage.

There is further evidence in support of the above. An anonymous article in 1827 contended that William Lawson, before leaving London,

> "... had met with Mr. Caley, and frequently discussed with him the practicability of **a** mountain pass, ..." (Anonymous 1827, col.2).

The implication was that Caley's advice had assisted the newcomers to the mountains. This is supported by Caley himself, who wrote that

> "An officer who came to England in the same ship with me, on his return, was one of the party who first entered the interior by this tract." (Caley 1822).

While it is not certain which ship he took, it is certain that Lawson sailed to England in 1810 — the same year as Caley — to be a witness at Major Johnston's court martial. He returned to the colony in 1812, the year before the famous expedition.

Whether Caley was able to provide any definitive advice to Lawson is conjectural. He presumably told him to stay clear of the Carmarthen Mountains on the north side of the Grose. He presumably told of his discovery of his Erskine Creek passage. While Lawson and Blaxland would subsequently have rejected that as an option for their route — Blaxland's experiences on the Warragamba would have been persuasive — Caley's advice may well have led them to the idea of following a ridge

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between the Grose to the north and Erskine Creek to the south. As we have seen, when Caley was on Mount Banks he mused that the high ground on the far side of the Grose Valley "might be readily travelled over": if he had mentioned this to Lawson, it would certainly have influenced such a decision. When Caley heard of the newcomers' success, however, he apparently assumed they had taken his advice and followed the river passage. The above extract indicates that as late as 1822 he was still under the impression that they had followed "this tract" — a reference to that passage.

A haunting obsession

In England in 1812, Caley wrote longingly of his "unquenchable thirst for a further knowledge of the mountains of N.S.W." (Caley 1812). The next year, he said "I cannot erase from my mind" those same mountains (Caley 1813). Much later, in 1822, when he recounted his discovery of the above "passage", he wrote from the West Indies:

> "Instead of forgetting New South Wales on my arrival here, my thoughts became more occupied than ever, and which were further heightened, by my friends there telling me, let me be where I would, they knew my mind was in the Blue Mountains of that country." (Caley 1822).

Twelve years after leaving the colony Caley was thus still ruminating about the mountains. Why was that so? It is an interesting question, and one that might also be asked with regard to his contemporary Francis Barrallier, who also appears to have reflected longingly on his achievements and lost opportunities in New South Wales (Macqueen 1993, p.123).

The first part of the answer is that Caley was thinking of happier times, when he was fit and had the freedom to roam the mountains. Back in England, and subsequently in the West Indies, life had become a frustrating struggle. A second part may be that he was haunted by his experience of the sublime landscape. It was like a drug, drawing him back for the rest of his life — as all adventurers know.

Finally, he probably had an enormous and perhaps growing frustration and regret that, given more time and support, the passage that was "never to be erased" from his mind would have led him through the mountains and onwards to personal reward and fame.

Perhaps, some time after Archibald Bell's guided negotiation of the Bell Range in 1823, Caley was informed not only that his river passage was a dud, but that the Bell Range had proven a good route. If so, the news is hardly likely to have alleviated his enduring frustration, though his dreams may have turned from the rocky entrance to Erskine Creek to the crows of Mount Banks.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that European explorers could have crossed the Blue Mountains long before 1813 if they had had the full support of Governors Hunter, King and Bligh, and Major Johnston, and/or if they had better engaged with the local Aboriginal people. In fact, John Wilson crossed the mountain barrier as early as 1798, when he almost reached the site of Goulburn; his achievement was seemingly suppressed by Hunter because the last thing he needed was expansion of a prison colony (Cunningham 1996, p.83). To the extent that in 1798 the ranges around Mittagong appear to have been regarded as part of the Blue Mountains, it may be claimed that Wilson and party were the first Europeans to cross the Blue Mountains (Macqueen 2012, pp.4 & 20).

George Caley and his three strong men were physically capable of making the crossing along Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth's route, and other routes. He also had an advantage in the person of his faithful Aboriginal friend Moowat'tin. However, Caley lacked not only official support, but the accumulated knowledge and guidance that was later available to Blaxland and Lawson. Caley almost certainly contributed some of that knowledge.

It is surprising Caley never attempted a second journey to Mount Banks, using what he correctly suspected to be the easier route along the Bell Range. Had he done so he might have been tempted to go on to circumvent the Grose Valley. He would have discovered that his presumed further "Ha Ha"s did not exist, thereby establishing the Bells Line of Road nearly two decades before Archibald Bell was guided along it by Aboriginal friends (Bell 1823).

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Similarly, had he in 1806 persevered a little further beyond Barrallier's footsteps in the Kanangra region, he could have identified a route across the mountains several years before Blaxland and friends.

It is ironic indeed that having rejected two feasible options, Caley became obsessed with an illusory passage which, had he followed it up, would simply have ended in more failure and hardship. Nevertheless, the "passage" was recorded in perpetuity when it was represented on Flinders' 1814 map.

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HILLS, POTS AND GILLS: GEORGE CALEY'S BLUE MOUNTAINS AND YORKSHIRE PLACE CONNECTIONS

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Abstract
The colonial botanist and explorer George Caley (1770-1829) made several references to places in the Yorkshire Dales. These included the hills Ingleborough, Pen-y-ghent and Whernside. Others — Jingle Pot and Gaping Gill — were limestone sinkholes which he was reminded of when he stumbled across particular features during his 1804 expedition to Mount Banks. In these latter cases, comparison of the corresponding places in the Blue Mountains and Yorkshire raises the likelihoods that Caley was mistaking his Yorkshire features in one case, and that historians have mis-identified Caley's Blue Mountains feature in the other. Caley's familiarity with the Yorkshire country is called into question.

Key Words: George Caley, explorers, Blue Mountains, Yorkshire

INTRODUCTION

George Caley undertook several expeditions into the Blue Mountains of NSW in the period 1803 to 1810. His 1804 journey to Mount Banks was one of the few well-documented exploratory journeys in the Blue Mountains prior to the 1813 crossing by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth (Andrews 1984; Macqueen 2013).

A man of independent spirit, Caley generally did not follow the common practice of assigning the names of politicians and other prominent people to the places he discovered. He used his imagination, selecting names such as "Devil's Wilderness", "Luminous Valley" and "Dismal Dingle" to describe not only the physical reality of a place, but to allude to events that occurred or personal moods that prevailed (Brownscombe 2004, p.195). It was a way of rendering familiarity to the unfamiliar alien landscape he was faced with. The application of a little humour was also a way of maintaining the morale of his faithful convict followers.

Exceptions occurred when he named his 1804 terminal point Mount Banks (Caley 1804b, p.165), after his benefactor, and when he named his probable terminus of 1806 the Dryander River (Caley 1807, p.279). Following Francis Barrallier's 1802 footsteps, he had reached today's Kowmung River, and he was thinking of Joseph Bank's right hand man Jonas Dryander (Macqueen 1993, p.91).

On some occasions he also applied the names of features he knew back in England. In an excursion of 1802, for instance, he assigned the name "Dovedale" to the vicinity of Bents Basin on the Nepean River. He was recalling Dovedale in Derbyshire, a place he had probably visited on his journeys between Manchester and London (Else Mitchell 1939, p.482).

In his mountain travels, Caley named several features after places in Yorkshire (Figure 1). This paper identifies those features and their Yorkshire namesakes, and investigates the connections made by Caley between them.

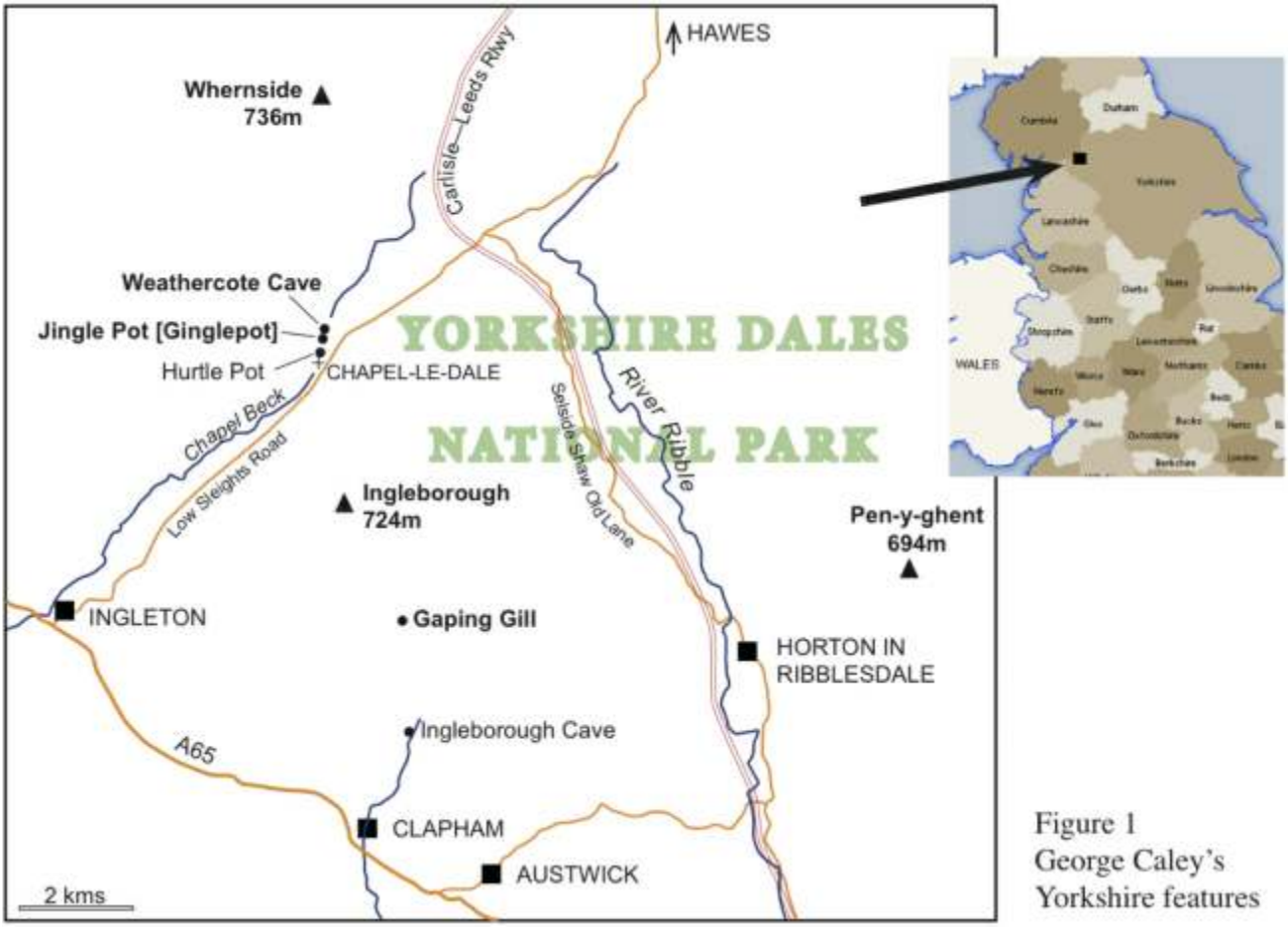

Figure 1
George Caley's
Yorkshire features

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 2. Ingleborough as seen from the Chapel Beck.

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Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 3. Pen-y-ghent seen from the direction of Ingleborough.

The Yorkshire hills

In April 1803 Caley wrote that

> "The Blue Mountains here so called are far from being high hills. The highest hill that I have yet seen I can ascend in 20 minutes, or ½ an hour at most. They are evidently a huge heap of rocks, with very deep valleys." (Caley 1803, p.129).

The truth is that Caley could not have ascended anything other than a low foothill in half an hour, and the comparison with Ingleborough and Pen-y-ghent seems absurd (Figures 2 & 3). The summits of those Yorkshire features have elevations of 724 and 694 metres above sea level respectively, but rise only around 500 or 600 metres above the adjacent valleys (Ordnance Survey 2008). Many points in the Blue Mountains exceed 1100 metres, thus Caley's 1804 terminal point, Mount Banks, has an elevation of 1062 metres and rises some 740 metres above Blue Gum Forest, in the Grose Valley below.

Moreover, whilst the hills of the Yorkshire Dales are comprised mainly of sedimentary rocks which have weathered to produce a stepped landscape, there are few vertical cliffs of significant height or extent. The only trees and shrubbery to be found occur where they have been cultivated on modern farm lots; generally, only moorlands are to be found. Hence, in the Blue Mountains the passage of an explorer was hampered by cliffs, canyons, scrub and the shortage of good views, but the rambler in the Dales could walk almost anywhere obstructed by nothing but dry-stone walls and sheep.

How could Caley have made such an inappropriate judgement? The answer is that he had a distorted view of both mountain areas: distortion to do with both temporal and visual perspectives.

Caley was born in 1770 somewhere in the Craven district of what is now West Yorkshire, where Ingleborough and Pen-y-gent are situated. His father was a farmer and horse dealer. However, the common statement that he was a Yorkshireman is misleading. His parents were from Lancashire and evidently only moved to Yorkshire about the time of his birth. In about his eighth year they moved back to Lancashire, settling near Manchester, where Caley went to school (Webb 1995, p.2). There

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is no certainty that he ever returned to the Dales before his departure for New South Wales in 1799, though his one-time mention that he had

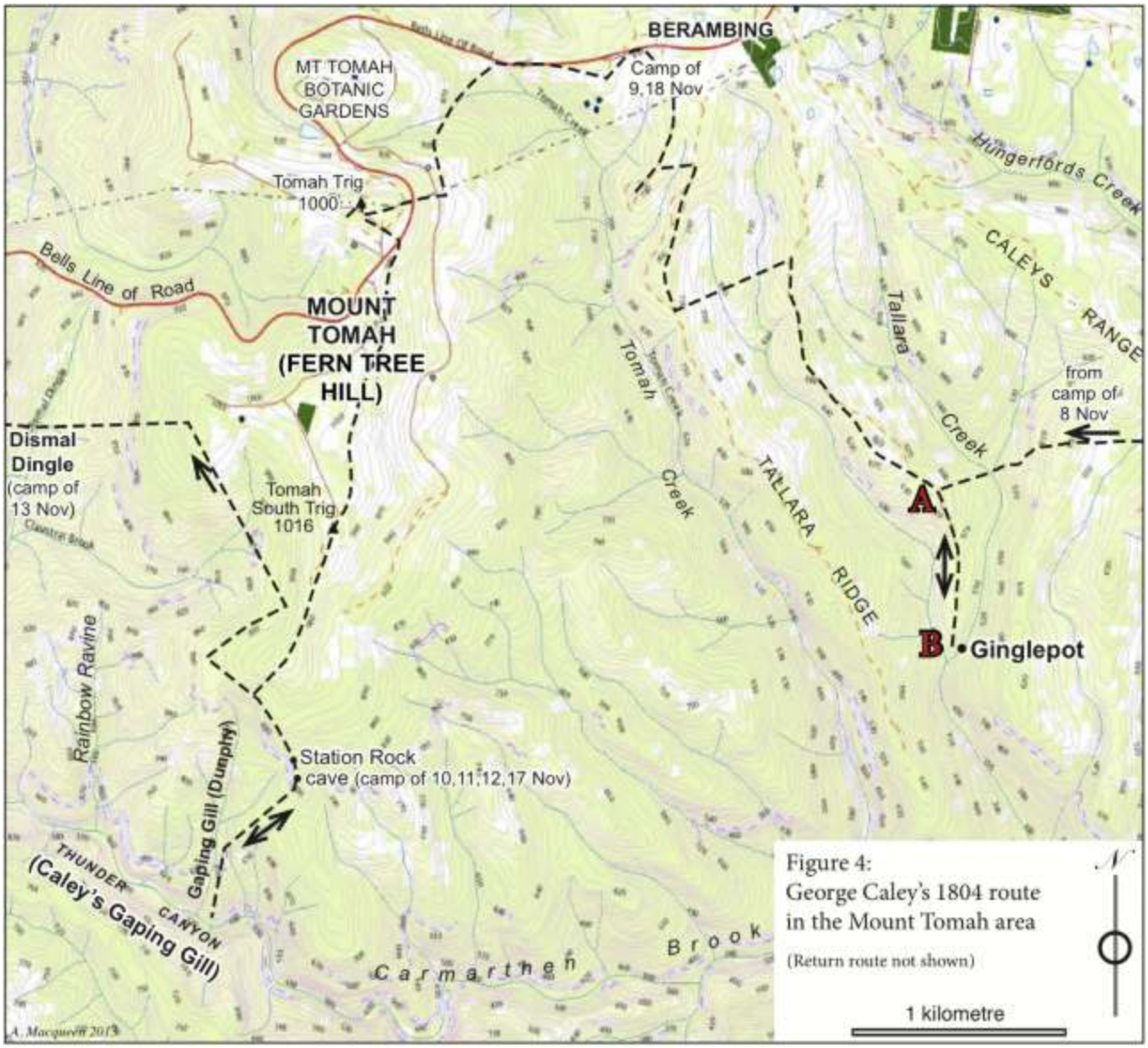
> "... been deceived by lofty mountains in England, ..." (Caley 1804a, p.37)

might hint that he did.

If he only knew the Yorkshire country as a child, those hills would have grown in his mind. Furthermore, should he have had in his possession in New South Wales a popular book by Reverend John Hutton, he would have read that Ingleborough had an altitude of one mile (1600 metres) — more than twice its real elevation: this would certainly have reinforced his inflated memory (Hutton 1781, p.33).

As for the Blue Mountains, when he made the statement Caley had clearly not ascended anything substantial, nor had he come to appreciate the heights to which the "Carmarthen Mountains" rose or the formidable country that lay amongst them. His appraisal was based on the misleading views of the mountains to be obtained from Sydney and the Cumberland Plain as the foothills along the Lapstone Monocline tend to mask the higher country extending beyond.

By the time he was battling with the terrain on the way to Mount Banks in 1804, Caley assuredly had good reason to rethink his comparison with Yorkshire Hills, but it seems he was still determined to honour one of the Yorkshire Hills by imposing it on the new landscape. Examination of Matthew Flinders 1814 "Chart of Terra Australis" reveals an "Ingleborough Hill" approximately in the position of Mount Colong, one of the most prominent mountains in the Blue Mountains region (Flinders 1814). Caley passed nearby during the aforementioned 1806 trip in Barrallier's footsteps.



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He drew a map which has not survived, but that part of Flinder's map is believed to have derived from Caley, so it is almost certain that "Ingleborough Hill" also came from Caley (Andrews 1996 p.61; 1998, pp.56-57). Mount Colong is nearly 1050 metres above sea level and surrounded by rough country, though not by such high and extensive cliffs as the likes of Mount Banks. Perhaps what stimulated the appellation is that both Ingleborough Hill and Mount Colong have flat tops. Caley was probably also responsible for attaching the name "Belmont" to what appears to be Yerranderie Peak on Flinder's map (Andrews 1998, pp.56-57), and he probably named it after the Lancashire village of that name, not far from where he grew up.

Ginglepot

Ingleborough and Pen-y-ghent were not the only Yorkshire features that Caley had on his mind. Even while he was embroiled in the most rugged parts of his 1804 undertaking, face to face with topography that would have been unimaginatively tough in the Yorkshire Dales, he was still making connections.

The first appears in his journal entry of Friday 9 November. His route for the day, as re-interpreted by the author (Macqueen 2007, pp.45-46) and followed by the 2004 bicentennial re-enactment party (Mount Tomah Botanic Gardens 2005), is shown on Figure 4. The zig-zag nature of the route arises from the fact that Caley was trying to get to Mount Tomah but did not perceive the Bell Range which provided the easy passage: instead, he was confronted repeatedly by gullies and ravines which he in turn had to avoid.

So, on arriving at point "A" on Figure 4, and finding a deep valley between himself and Tallara Ridge, and with cliffs below him, he elected to head south down the spur he stood on, hoping that it would provide an easy path into that valley. However, when he had almost reached the bottom — at point "B" (grid reference GDA 56H 263547 6283379) — he found that such a descent was impossible:

> "... [The spur] ended in a steep precipice between two vallies. We descended into the one on our left, which was the one we had just crossed, thinking of going down it, but to our surprise we found the water fell several yards perpendicular, and was very much confined. I could not help thinking but what this place had much the appearance of a dreadful chasm called Ginglepot, which is situated in a valley between two of the highest mountains in England, viz. Whernside and Ingleborough." (Caley 1804a, pp.35-36; Figure 5).

Caley's new Ginglepot has not yet found its way onto today's maps, because past interpretations of his route in the area did come across a place fitting the description. The current interpretation,

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 5. The view across Chapel Beck to Whernside from Ingleborough Hill.

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2013

Figure 6. A modern explorer peers down the main waterfall in Caley's Tallara Creek

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however, reliably locates the feature in Tallara Creek, at grid reference GDA 56H 263567 6283392. It is situated where a benign section of the creek reaches a "nick-point" in the sandstone strata, and descends into a canyon flanked by cliffs some 30 metres sheer. In doing so it emerges from an incision in those cliffs to plummet, by the author's measurement, 21 metres to the bottom. To the extent that one cannot obtain any view without dread of falling into the dim chasm, Caley's word "dreadful" is quite appropriate (Figure 6).

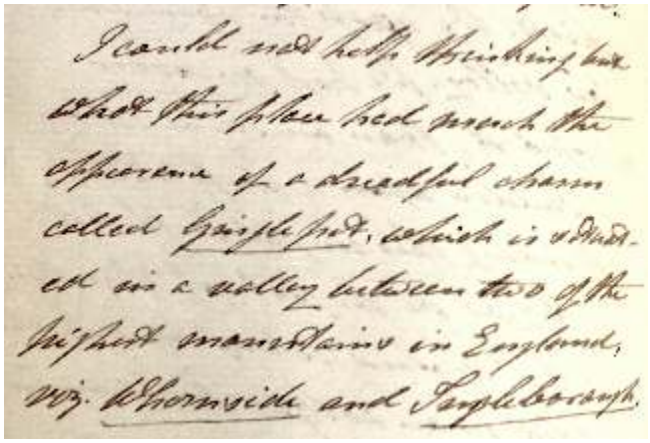

Figure 7. Paragraph concerning Ginglepot from Caley's journal (Caley 1804a, p.36)
(Reproduced with the permission of the Natural History Museum, London).

As Caley found, there is no way of descending into it — other than by abseiling on a long rope. Caley realised that he needed to circumvent the valley by retreating and finding a more northward route.

The word "Ginglepot" in the journal has been illusive, as Caley's handwriting has produced several different interpretations (Figure 7). Historian Ida Lee thought the name was "Gristlefoot" (Lee 1910, p.122) or "Grislefoot" (Lee 1925, p.144), whereas Alan Andrews preferred "Gurglepot" (Andrews 1984, p.57).
More recently, Ross Brownscombe suggested "Gris-lepot", where the character "-" was unclear (Brownscombe 2004, p.176).

Using British Ordnance Survey maps the author searched all the feature names in the valley between Whernside and Ingleborough but was unable to find one resembling any of the above. There are, however, many features described as 'pots', being holes in the ground associated with the action of water on limestone. (In Australia, pots are more often known as sinkholes, dolines or simply holes.) Further examination of Caley's script suggested that the name might well be "Ginglepot". In fact, there is a "Jingle Pot" between Whernside and Ingleborough (Ordnance Survey 2008). Furthermore, in the late eighteenth century, when Caley was rambling in the area, it was spelt "Ginglepot" (Macqueen 2007, p.319; Figures 8 & 9).

Does the Yorkshire Jingle Pot bear any resemblance to the feature in Tallara Creek?

In the late 1770s, when Caley was a small boy, the Reverend John Hutton (1739-1806), vicar of Burton-in-Kendal, took leave of his parish and embarked on a tour to various limestone caves in the West Riding district of Yorkshire. In 1780 he published a book about his travels, and it proved so popular that it went to a second edition in 1781 (Consortium 2005, Hutton 1781).

In visiting the dale between Whernside and Ingleborough, six kilometres north-east of the village of Ingleton, Hutton and his companions arrived at the delightful little seventeenth-century church of St Leonards, at Chapel-le-Dale, which still stands today. There they picked up a guide — the local curate and school teacher. A short distance from the church, by the Chapel Beck, they were shown a limestone sinkhole known as Hurtle Pot (Hutton 1781, p.22), which Hutton described with the adjectives "horrid", "dreadful", "awful" and "dismal" and commented that

> "The descent of *Aeneas* into the infernal regions came again fresh into my imagination, ".

The author of this paper has also visited the site: from today's perspective, it must be said, Hutton's language is colourful to the point of absurdity.

After quoting various passages from Dryden, Hutton continued:

> "When we arrived in the superior regions [i.e. climbed out of the Hurtle Pot], we pursued our journey about a hundred and fifty yards farther up a very narrow grotesque glen, over a natural bridge of limestone about ten yards thick, having the subterranean river *Wease*, or *Greta* underneath. When we got to the head of this gill, we were stopped by a deep chasm called *Ginglepot*,

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at the bottom of a precipice: It is of an oblong and narrow form; an enterprizing person with a steady head and active heels, regardless of the fatal consequences of a false step, might leap over it. It is filled with smooth pebbles at the bottom, except at the south corner, where there is deep water, which in floods swells up to the top, and issues out in a vast torrent. The length of this chasm is about ten yards, and the perpendicular depth, at the north corner, about twenty yards." (Hutton 1781, pp.24-25).

Photo: Liz Macqueen, 2012

Figure 8. The author looks into the Yorkshire Ginglepot.

Photo: Liz Macqueen, 2012

Figure 9. View into the Yorkshire Ginglepot.

Hutton refrained from applying to Ginglepot the sort of colourful language he used for Hurtle Pot and other sites. Indeed, it hardly bears comparison with Caley's "dreadful" Ginglepot in Tallara Creek. It is certainly a chasm, one arrives at it unexpectedly, and to fall into it might well have fatal consequences, but there the comparison ceases. It is only about 12 metres deep — Hutton's "twenty yards" (18 metres) probably included the small cliff which overlooks the northern end —and as Hutton reported one might almost jump across. It does not rate, even in Hutton's account, in the "dreadful" category. Moreover, it is not fed by a surface stream; rather, in times of flood the pool at its base (according to Hutton) wells up and overflows at the top, for it is connected with an underground river that flows between Weathercote Cave (upstream) and Hurtle Pot (downstream).

A possible explanation for this mismatch is that Caley never visited the Yorkshire Ginglepot himself, but was aware that others described it as a chasm. He had probably read Hutton's work and may have owned a copy. Another explanation is that he only visited it as a young boy, and it had grown in his

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mind. There is a third possibility: that given the passage of time since his visit to the Dales, and his youth at the time of his visit, he confused Ginglepot with a feature very nearby, named Weathercote Cave after the adjacent property. As will be seen from the Hutton's passage below, Weathercote Cave seems a much better candidate to inspire comparison with the feature in Tallara Creek.

> "Returning back a little way from *Ginglepot* in order to find a passage out of this dreary glen, we proceeded about a hundred and twenty yards higher when we came to *Weathercoate-cave* or *cove* the most surprising natural curiosity of the kind in the island of *Great Britain*. It is a stupendous subterranean cataract in a huge cave, the top of which is on the same level with the adjoining lands. On our approach to its brink, our ears and eyes were equally astonished with the sublime and terrible. The margin was surrounded with trees and shrubs, the foliage of which was of various shapes and colours, which had an excellent effect, both in guarding and ornamenting the steep and rugged precipices on every side. Where the eye could penetrate through the leaves and branches, there was room for the imagination to conceive this cavern more dreadful and horrible, if possible, than it was in reality. This cave is of a lozenge form, and divided into two by a rugged and grotesque arch of limestone rock: The whole length from south to north is about sixty yards, and the breadth is about half its length. ... The perpendicular height of the north corner of this cave, was found by an exact admeasurement to be thirty six yards; near eleven yards from the top issues a torrent of water out of an hole in the rock, about the dimensions of the large door in a church, sufficient to turn several mills, with a curvature which shews, that it has had a steep descent before it appears in open day; and falls twenty five yards at a single stroke on the rocks at the bottom, with a noise that amazes the most intrepid ear. The water sinks as it falls amongst the rocks and pebbles at the bottom, running by a subterranean passage about a mile, where it appears again by the side of the turnpike road, visiting in its way the other caverns of *Ginglepot* and *Hurtlepot*. " (Hutton 1781, pp.25-27).

Hutton's depth of Weathercote Cave, 33 metres, and the height of the main fall of water within it, 23 metres, compare remarkably closely with the corresponding measurements in the Tallara Creek feature — 30 and 21 metres. At the bottom, while the stream in the former disappears into a

Figure 10. Joseph Turner's painting of the Weathercote Cave.

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subterranean passage, the Tallara Creek canyon continues down the valley, though this fact is completely masked by the rainforest vegetation within it.

In Hutton's and Caley's time Weathercote Cave was reputedly a popular tourist attraction. The artist Joseph Turner visited it in 1808 and 1816, and subsequently painted the scene (British Museum 2012; Figure 10). Weathercote Cave continued as an attraction until a fatal accident in 1971 resulted in the landowner restricting access (Oldham & Oldham 1972; Craven Pothole Club 2002).

It seems probable that when Caley named Ginglepot in the Blue Mountains, he really had in mind not the original Ginglepot, but its near-neighbour Weathercote Cave. There appears to be no other worthy candidate in the valley between Ingleborough and Whernside.

Gaping Gill

On today's maps, there is a feature named 'Gaping Gill' draining the slopes of Mount Tomah. It was Caley who introduced the name, though probably not for that particular feature.

Like Jingle Pot and Weathercote Cave, the original Gaping Gill (or Ghyll) is a Yorkshire Dales limestone feature. It is situated on the open moorland slopes two kilometres south-west of the summit of Ingleborough. A popular walking track passes it. It was a local attraction in Caley's time, though Reverend Hutton did not visit it on his famous tour. If he had, he would certainly have applied his full armoury of dreadfuls, awesomes, horrids and terribles, for it is indeed an amazing feature. A picturesque stream, the Fell Beck, suddenly plunges over 100 metres down a vertical shaft only a few metres in diameter, into one of the largest known caverns in Britain (Figure 11).

The waterfall itself is the highest uninterrupted fall in Britain (Bradford Pothole Club 2012). On reaching the bottom, the water flows through an extensive cave system. No-one was able to reach the bottom until 1895, when one Edouard-Alfred Martel managed it (Wikipedia 2012) but not without an alarming experience when, in stepping off his rope ladder at the bottom, it sprang back almost beyond his reach.

How does the Yorkshire Gaping Gill compare with its Blue Mountains namesake? Before answering that, we must correctly identify the Blue Mountains feature that Caley had in mind.

Photo: Liz Macqueen, 2012

Figure 11. The Yorkshire Gaping Gill.

On Saturday 10 November 1804 Caley arrived at his "Station Rock" (probably GDA 56 H 260503 6282802) and camped nearby in a cave (probably GDA 56 H 260543 6282755). The next morning he set off down the hill below him, making a beeline for Mount Banks. He described the escapade as follows:

> "About SSW 1m down hill, thinking of crossing the valley to get upon Saddle Hill or Mount Banks, which was not very easy of descent. On coming near to the bottom, I was surprised to find the valley formed a dreadful chasm, whose depth at a rough guess could not be considered as less than 50 yards, but probably it might be much deeper. In breadth it did not seem to exceed 15 yards.

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> Its sides were perpendicular as if hewn by a chissel. On throwing down some large pieces of rock, they were a long time before they reached the bottom, and made a frightful noise.
>
> The main valley which came frowards [opposite of towards?] Mount Banks, seemed to be the same, but was backed up by a turn in the hills, and had a fine rill of water which I could hear tumbling down the rocks a little higher up. The valley which we came down that formed this horrid chasm, was void of a rill, but had water lodged in the cavities.
>
> Finding it impossible to cross, we returned nearly to the same place we had left. …" (Caley 1804a, pp.51-52).

Having been repulsed at Gaping Gill, Caley set out again from Station Rock, taking a most arduous route round the flanks of Mount Tomah, down into a deep gully — which he named Dismal Dingle, applying another adjective favoured by Hutton — and up and over Mount Bell.

Caley did not mention Gaping Gill in his text: the name appeared on the map which he subsequently drew (Figures 12 & 13). Bushwalking historian (and later High Court Judge) Rae Else Mitchell found that the map indicated that Caley's Gaping Gill was the canyon at the bottom of the valley (Else Mitchell 1939, p.499) — known to today's canyoners as Thunder Canyon. The stream flowing through it is officially known as Carmarthen Brook, and the whole valley is officially known as Thunder Gorge.

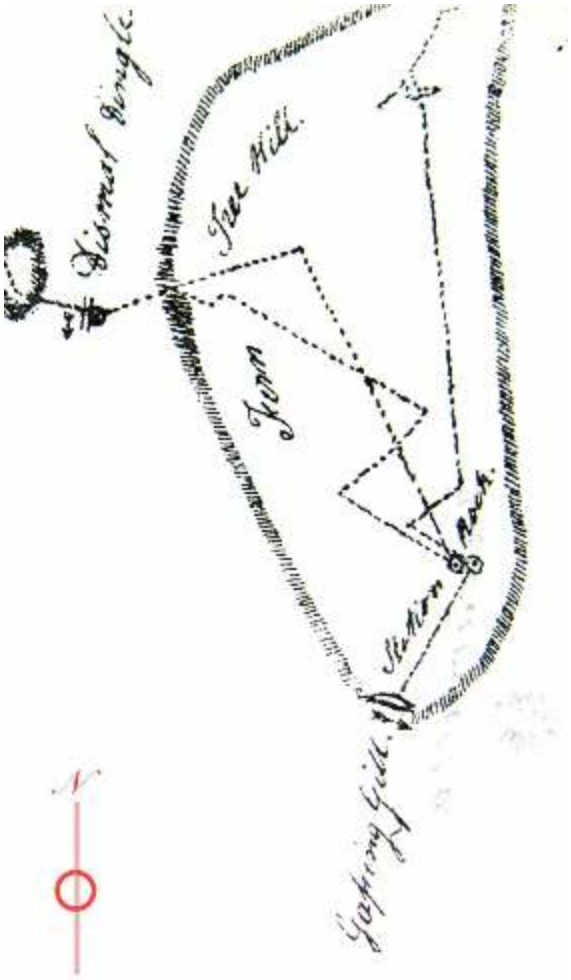

Figure 12. Portion of the copy of Caley's map in the *Historical Records of NSW*, showing the Mount Tomah (Fern Tree Hill) and Caley's Gaping Gill. (Caley 1805) The image is rotated to orientate north upwards on the page as in Figure 4.

Figure 13:. The corresponding portion of the copy of Caley's map in Grimes' 1806 map (Grimes 1806 ?).

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Bushwalker, conservationist, and placename enthusiast Myles Dunphy took a different view. Apparently relying on Caley's text rather than the maps, he decided that Gaping Gill was the:

> "deep gully on SSW side of Mt. Tomah leading into Carmarthen [Thunder] Canyon. Caley, in trying to reach Mt. Banks in a straight line from Mt. Tomah was blocked by the depths and had to return to Tree Fern Hill" (Dunphy 1965).

Dunphy's interpretation was formally adopted by the Geographical Names Board in 1970 (Geographical Names Board 1970) and Alan Andrews concurred, suggesting that "Caley did not descend so far as" Thunder Canyon (Andrews 1984, p.65).

Dunphy and Andrews' view derives partly from reliance on Caley's single "SSW" bearing, which, taken in isolation, has Caley intersecting the tributary "gully" and does not allow for the change in course needed to continue down to the edge of Thunder Canyon. This author prefers Else Mitchell's original idea. Caley's map of his expedition, which he sent to Banks and which appears as a direct copy in the *Historical Records of NSW*, shows the location and orientation of his Gaping Gill to correspond to Thunder Canyon (Figure 12; Caley 1805). Another version of the map, presented by Grimes, rather intriguingly even shows the bend in Caley's course which is required for him to have walked to the lip of the canyon; perhaps it was copied from a Caley original that was more detailed than the version he sent to Banks (Figure 13; Grimes 1806 ?).

Dunphy and Andrews, further relying on Caley's text, assumed (probably correctly) that Gaping Gill is intended to be the "dreadful chasm" and (probably incorrectly) that the "dreadful chasm" was the tributary gully that Caley first encountered as he went down the hill. However, that tributary gully (today's Gaping Gill) bears poor resemblance to Caley's description: it is vastly more than 15 yards (13.7 m) wide — at least 100 (91 m) — and the cliffs that might be "hewn by a chisel" are confined mainly to a relatively short section of the eastern bank. Moreover, he would hardly have been "surprised" to come across the tributary gully — he had had a bird's eye view of it when the previous afternoon he descended from Mount Tomah and was forced to steer to Station Rock. Thunder Canyon, on the other hand, would certainly have taken him by surprise. It is represented by chiselled cliffs on both sides, perhaps 40 yards (36 m) apart. While one can clearly see the bottom of the former feature, the bottom of the canyon is largely hidden from view, better fitting the rock-throwing story.

Here is the author's interpretation of Caley's passage:
On leaving his cave near Station Rock, Caley's south-westerly course took him down a small spur for about 500 metres, whereupon at the top of a sheer cliff (at GDA 56 H 260208 6282404) he was confronted by the deep south-heading gully coming down from his right — now known as Gaping Gill (Figure 14). His spur swung southward so, keeping that gully on his right, he followed it down still in the hope of crossing the main valley. After 400 metres he came, "near the bottom", to the rim of Thunder Canyon (GDA 56 H 260199 6282041). That is the feature he described in his first paragraph, and which he subsequently named Gaping Gill (Figure 15).

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 14. The Geographical Names Board's Gaping Gill.

Photo: Andy Macqueen, 2012

Figure 15. View from the lip of Thunder Canyon: Caley's probable Gaping Gill.

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When he referred to the "main valley which came frowards Mount Banks", Caley was looking further up the Thunder Gorge beyond the confluence of the tributary gully beside which he has just descended. It is indeed from that direction that one can hear the water "tumbling down the rocks". Caley was under the impression (which is easily gained when one visits the place) that that upstream portion of the gorge is not as deep, and that the remarkable depths of the canyon are associated with the entry of the tributary gully. In other words, he thought the tributary gully swung into the main valley, carving out the Thunder Canyon. Hence, when he referred to the "valley we came down that formed this horrid chasm", he was actually referring to two different features: the tributary gully and Thunder Canyon below him.

When the area was visited in 2012 after several wet seasons, in places water could just be heard trickling in the tributary, but the sound was certainly not of "tumbling" water, a description that well applied to the sounds of Thunder Gorge.

It was Thunder Canyon that Caley found "impossible to cross". It would not make sense for him to have been referring to the tributary gully: when one follows his footsteps as if destined for Mount Banks, it appears illogical to even contemplate crossing it, rather than continuing further down into the valley.

So, to return to the comparison with Yorkshire. The author has stood and gazed down into Thunder Canyon, into the tributary gully now named Gaping Gill, and into the Yorkshire Gaping Gill, probably in the same places as Caley. The Yorkshire feature most certainly better fits Thunder Canyon than the tributary gully that now carries the name. The canyon and the Yorkshire Gaping Gill are equally awe-inspiring, and both involve frightening vertical drops into confined and invisible depths. However, the comparison cannot be taken too far: Thunder Canyon is a linear feature that poses a barrier to onward progress, whereas the Yorkshire Gaping Gill is a round hole that poses a barrier to nowhere. To look into Thunder Canyon is to look into scary shadows; to look into the Yorkshire Gaping Gill is to look into frightening blackness. Thunder Canyon is surrounded by steep rugged slopes covered in woodland and dense understory while Gaping Gill is surrounded by open moorland.

In fact, had Caley's courage held out a little more, he would have found the cleft which enables one to scramble to the bottom of the canyon, and another passable route on the other side. Had he done so, he could have reached Mount Banks two or three days earlier than he did. But then, if he had simply followed the Bell Range all the way from Kurrajong, his expedition would have been briefer indeed: some of his important botanic discoveries would not have been made, and two Yorkshire Dales landscape features would never have been introduced to the Blue Mountains.

Conclusion

George Caley's various allusions to Yorkshire features are romantic yet paradoxical. The hills Ingleborough and Pen-y-ghent are much lower and more approachable than the predominant peaks of the Blue Mountains. Yorkshire's Jingle Pot and Gaping Gill at first seem to bear no comparison with the corresponding Blue Mountains features, but this can be attributed, in both cases, to mistaken identities: when Caley named Ginglepot in the Blue Mountains he was probably thinking not of Yorkshire's Jingle Pot but of the nearby Weathercote Cave, and when he named Gaping Gill in the Blue Mountains he was probably referring to Thunder Canyon, not the tributary creek which now carries the name. If these allowances are made, some interesting comparisons can indeed be drawn.

Caley may only have visited the Yorkshire features as a young boy as it was only in his first seven or eight years that he lived near the Dales. There is no clear evidence that he visited the area after that, and he and his family were not of a class that would readily afford to go leisure rambling in a place over a hundred kilometres away. If that is the case, the scale and impressiveness of each of the features would have grown in his mind.

Moreover, he probably never visited anything in Britain more mountainous than the Yorkshire country, so he had nothing else to call on — except the mountains near Cape Town, which he would have seen, and possibly visited, during his voyage to New South Wales.

Whether or not Caley's Yorkshire travels were confined to his boyhood, he possibly had a copy of Hutton's work concerning a tour to the caves. The fact that both Hutton and Caley were fond of the word "dreadful" may be indicative, and Caley used another Hutton adjective when he named the canyon between Mount Tomah and Mount Bell "Dismal Dingle"

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OSBORNE LADIES COLLEGE, BLACKHEATH AND THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ITS PRINCIPAL AND OWNER MISS VIOLET GIBBINS

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Abstract
During Victorian times in the late 1800s, and into the early 1900s, the situation of single unmarried women was dire. There was little financial support from society as we know it today and there was some resentment to women holding a position which could be done by men – the bread winners. Those women who had some degree of education turned at first to being a governess to the children of the wealthy families and the privileged, next they would try to gain a teaching position in the government school system from which they might progress to becoming the owner principal of private school. This was the path which Violet Gibbins (1876-1958) took to form Osborne Ladies College, Blackheath. Her life in education is discussed and the organisation and activities of her final school are examined.

Key Words: Gibbins, College, Blackheath, Navy, Blue Mountains

INTRODUCTION

In 2000, Mount Victoria & District Historical Society received from the nieces of Miss Victoria Everingham a donation of memorabilia of Osborne Ladies' College, Blackheath which was conducted on (British) Royal Navy traditions and protocols. Miss Everingham had been both a pupil (February 1923-December 1925) and on the staff (January 1926-December 1958) initially as governess to the primary students before becoming Deputy of the college (Everingham 1984a, 1989a). She died in 1999 (Anonymous 1999a,b,c) having expressed a desire that the collection be passed to an historical society on the Blue Mountains. When checking through the many boxes, I was delighted to find a wonderful collection of photographs, letters, documents, press clippings, college memorabilia, greeting cards and personal correspondence that gives an insight into the establishment and function of the college. This material also provided a glimpse of the family life and career of Violet Gibbins, prior to her establishing Osborne Ladies College, latterly with Miss Everingham as her deputy - but titled 'governess' - for much of its life time.

There have been many articles and papers written about Osborne Ladies' College, some with glaring errors of fact. This paper will describe Miss Gibbins' early life and career in education, her support of the military especially the British and Australian Navies in WW1 and WW2, and the influence on her life of the death of her brother in 1916 to endeavour to discover her motivation to establish a college considered by many to be more appropriate for boys rather than girls.

The starting point has been the few clues given verbally by Miss Everingham (1985) when she talked of Miss Gibbins' early teaching career in Queensland for an Oral History Program and a few of her letters. Press clippings in the collection held at the MV&DHS Museum, and information supplied by various Historical Societies and Archive Centres in Queensland and NSW, have provided some answers and confirmed or corrected some previously published details.

The Early Years

Violet Gibbins was born in Victoria in 1876, the only daughter of William Gibbins, one of Australia's pioneer civil engineers. She had two brothers - William who was older and Norman who was younger. The family moved to Queensland when their father was employed on civil engineering projects and then was involved in the development of the Queensland railway system (Anonymous 1915a). She adored Norman but there was some family conflict leading to Violet becoming estranged from her mother and her older brother William (Conde 2005, pp.146-147; Hanstock 2005, p.32).

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Violet Gibbins received most of her early education at Brisbane Grammar School and then she attended Ipswich Grammar School where she matriculated in March 1895 (Anonymous 1895). The move to Ipswich Grammar School followed concern from her parents that the discipline at Brisbane Grammar School was "too harsh" ! (Everingham 1985).

Her Teaching Career In Queensland

Soon after leaving school (?1891 but she would have been only 15 so this date is dubious unless she matriculated by part-time study at Ipswich Grammar School in 1895) Violet Gibbins took a position as a governess at Charleville and later she became the Head Mistress of Charleville High School from 1892 (Everingham 1993 claimed her to be 18 at the time, i.e. 1894) to 1898. Next she moved to Yungaburra, on the Atherton Tablelands 44 km south-south-west of Cairns, where she taught at a small day school (Everingham 1993; Figure 1).

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 1. Miss Violet Gibbins and pupils at an unidentified school in Queensland, c.1890s.

Kuranda, Cairns and Lismore

In July 1898, and aged just 22, she decided to start a school at Kuranda, 18 km north-west of Cairns, (Anonymous 1898a) it being known as "Miss Gibbins' High School" (Anonymous 1898b, col.6); she was advertising for pupils at the end of that month (Gibbins 1898) and continued to do so until late in March 1899 (Gibbins 1899a). However that may have been an unfortunate venture for in June 1899 her name appears in an advertisement for the Cairns School of Arts as the teacher of botany, domestic economy, and the theory of music and voice culture (Thomas 1899; Figure 2).

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 2. A young Miss Violet Gibbins in Queensland, pre-1900.

But that second activity was short lived as well for in August 1899 she advertised as Principal of the "High School, Cairns. Boarding and Day School." (Gibbins, 1899b) but which was also called "Miss Gibbins Cairns High School" (Anonymous 1899, col.5) and in some other reports as "Cairns High School" (Gibbins 1901) (Figure 3). However, years later she wrote

> "... I was never a member of the staff of the Cairns High School. More than 25 years ago I opened a private school in Cairns. I was then about 18 years of age." (Gibbins 1935).

She was being falsely modest as she was born in 1876 so would have been 23 in mid 1899.

In January 1900:

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Cairns Historical Society, Catalogue No.PO3418.

Figure 3. Staff of High School, Cairns 1901-1902
Miss Gibbins, front row, second from right

"Miss Gibbins (Cairns High School) has taken [*? leased*] the large house on the Esplanade recently occupied by Mr Hansford ... It is a healthy comfortable site, enjoying a constant sea breeze, and parents in the country who have daughters resident at the school will no doubt extract considerable comfort from the knowledge that the Institution is so happily placed. Miss Gibbins has won golden opinions from the parents of local children, and the High School has deservedly acquired quite a distinguished reputation." (Anonymous 1900, col.3).

While at Cairns, she was the Organist at St. John's Church of England (Gibbins 1935). By mid 1900 she had employed as "Assistant Teacher: Miss D.J. Gibbins" (Gibbins 1900; relationship unknown) and the premises were named as *Girton House*; similar advertisements appeared until 14 January 1902 (Anonymous 1902a). However, four months later Violet Gibbins had become Head Mistress of a Girls' Protestant School in Lismore (Anonymous 1902b) which was opened on 7 April 1902 by the Misses Waldron and was still advertising as "A High-class Boarding & Day School, Uralba-Street" in September (Anonymous 1902c).

Stanthorpe and Southport

In 1903 Miss Gibbins moved to the bracing climate of Stanthorpe in southern Queensland and, with the assistance of a generous benefactor, she established another private school called Cambridge Ladies' College ("after her father's University" - Everingham 1993). She advertised for pupils on 21 September 1903 (Gibbins 1903) and opened the school in College Road (Harslett & Royle, 1973, p.133; Anonymous 2009) on 18 January 1904 (Anonymous 1904a) with 20 boarding pupils enrolled (Figure 4).

Stanthorpe & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 4. Cambridge Ladies College, Stanthorpe, Queen-

The teaching staff consisted of herself and an assistant, and there were housemaids and a gardener. The girls wore a chocolate and blue uniform with a "sailor straw hat with a sailor badge on a black band" (pers. comm. Stanthorpe and District Historical Society, 10 December 2005; Figure 5). Shades of Osborne College appearing?

Cambridge Ladies College operated at Stanthorpe until 1906 when, following Miss Gibbins' concern that she was unable to stand the cold weather, it was moved 165 km east-north-east to Southport (Everingham 1984b), being established prior to December 1907 (Anonymous 1907b). Following the sale of the college at Stanthorpe, all the pupils followed Miss Gibbins to Southport. However, she was sued by the purchaser of the Stanthorpe property who claimed misrepresentation - but Miss Gibbins won the case (Anonymous 1907a).

She was still principal of Cambridge Ladies College, Southport in May 1908 when

> "presented with a very beautiful address from her present and past pupils" (Anonymous 1908; Figure 6).

Press clippings and reports dated in this period give glowing accounts of Miss Gibbins' teaching ability and she was highly respected by both her pupils and the community in which she served.

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Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 5. Cambridge Ladies College pupils returning from church, c.1904.
[Note: Straw 'sailor' hats, some with inverted brims.]

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 6. Illuminated Address presented to Miss Violet Gibbins on leaving Cambridge Ladies College, Southport, May 1908

However, I have not been able to determine if she ever received any formal teacher training in Queensland. She was probably one of those gifted 'pupil teachers' for whom teaching was natural - something quite common in those times before regulations required that teachers pass a recognised form of teacher education.

Her Encounter With The Navy

Miss Gibbins became acquainted with the Navy in the late 1890s and early 1900s when NSW, SA, Victoria and Queensland each had their own fleet of ships and were collectively known as the colonial navies. [The Royal Australian Navy was not formed until 1913 and then only with two cruisers, three destroyers and two submarines.] Trinity Bay (just south of Cairns) was a regular port of call for the Royal Navy and visits were made by the officers and men of the ships to the schools in Cairns for displays and concerts. Students also paid visits to the ships while they were in port and that undoubtedly gave Miss Gibbins the opportunity to meet many officers.

She was fascinated by the sea and the splendid appearance of a 'dressed ship' entering or leaving port may have had a profound influence on her. Miss Gibbins was so impressed with naval formality, discipline and tradition that in later

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years she named her colleges Osborne after the British naval midshipman training centre, Osborne Naval College on the Isle of Wight

"... (where many of my father's relations received their early naval training)" (Gibbins 1935).

However, it is most likely that the origin of Osborne was being formed when Cambridge College was at Stanthorpe for there is a hint of the navy uniform (Figure 5) which some consider to be more appropriate for a boys' school.

While she was running Cambridge Ladies College at Southport, the pupils were taken to nearby Stradbroke Island to spend some of their recreation time in rowing boats.

The Move South To Sydney

Miss Gibbins had several bouts of illness while teaching in Queensland so she was a woman considered to have always been in rather delicate health (Everingham *no date*).

In 1909 she travelled by ship to move to Sydney but was very ill on the voyage, yet that did not deter her from further travel by sea (Anonymous 1915b). Unanswered are:

- Why did she leave Queensland?
- Was it because of the falling out with her family?
- Was it because,

  "Violet Gibbins fled from the wine and alcohol north and from marriage which she did not have or want." (Everingham 1993) ?
- Was she apprehensive about the approaching requirement for all teachers in Queensland to have approved qualifications?
- Had the Stanthorpe court case caused her to lose face?
- Was it her ongoing health issues?

Setting up in Sydney and the start of "Osborne"

After arriving in Sydney in 1909, Miss Gibbins taught part time in two schools (Everingham 1993) and attended Sydney University although she studied selected subjects and did not graduate from any faculty. At some time later she was awarded a 'Licentiate in Music' by the London College of Music (Gibbins 1918).

Photo: Ron Brasier -May 2011

Figure 7. Hall at St. Matthew's Church, Ocean Street, Bondi.

Bondi

In 1910 she opened a school in St. Matthew's (Anglican) Church Hall in Ocean Street, Bondi (Anonymous 1912b; Figure 7); it was to be the birth of the unique Osborne College.

"Osborne College, Bondi. A Select Boarding and Day School for Girls. A Special Department for Boys under 12 years. .... Successes of pupils taught by Miss Gibbons (*sic*) include ..." (Anonymous 1912a).

The pupils dressed in naval style uniforms - the girls in 'square rig' (suits) and the boys in 'round rig' (bell bottoms) (Figure 8). In 1912, the officers and men of the cruiser HMS *Drake* sent to the college its most treasured possession - a White Ensign (Figure 8) with permission to fly it on special memorial occasions and ceremonies such as the Battle of Trafalgar, Kings Birthday etc. (HMS *Drake* 1913).

[Sadly it was not long afterwards in 1917 that HMS *Drake* was torpedoed and sunk off Northern Ireland (Wikipedia 2013a)]

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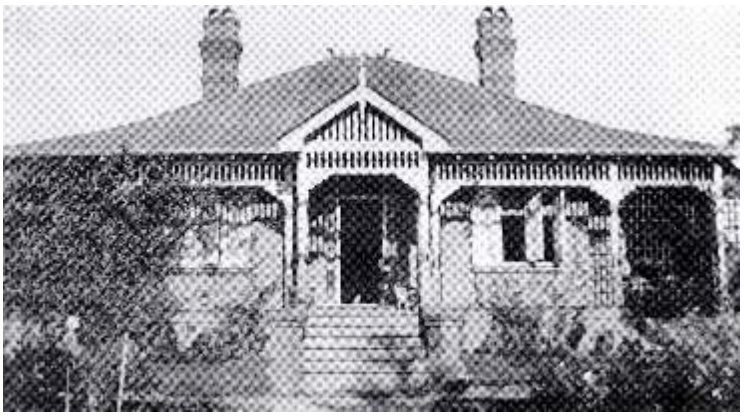
Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 8. Advertisement for Osborne College, Bondi (c.1912 or 1913)
Girls in 'Square Rig' and a boy in 'Round Rig' uniform with bulldog and the White Ensign gifted to the College in 1912 by the crew of HMS *Drake* (Hanstock 2002, p.47).

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 9. Miss Violet Gibbins, Principal & Owner, Osborne Ladies College, in her "Navy" uniform c.1910.

A photograph (Figure 9) of Miss Gibbins in her pseudo Naval Officers type uniform is thought to have been take while she was at Bondi; it is interesting to note that this is the only known photograph of her dressed as such. Late in life she seems to have become camera shy for in the MV&DHS collection there are no photographs of her attending functions, nor of meeting with the many distinguished people with whom she became acquainted - not even when they visited the College.



Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 10. Osborne Ladies College, Epping (between Rawson & Railway Streets) 1914-1923.

Epping

By 1914 the Bondi premises proved to be too small for the increased number of pupils so Miss Gibbins had to relocate the College (Anonymous 1914a,b); it was moved to a building in Epping (Figure 10). The cottage that she leased is a little south of the Railway station at 26 Rawson Street, on an elevated area on the west side of the railway line; it was called *Braidbah* and is now almost concealed being back from the street on a battle-axe plot.

Mrs. Mollie Tiernan (née Ray), an ex pupil whose family lived in the cottage after the college moved to Blackheath, and a lady who lived all her life next door to that cottage, contributed their recollections of the school and gave descriptions of the building (pers. comm. interviews c.2005 when both ladies were in their 90s). They spoke of the pupils being at times in their navy style uniforms and lining the fence alongside the railway line to wave Australian and British flags to the passengers and

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troops passing by (see Anonymous 1925b). These were acts of patriotism encouraged by Miss Gibbins in WW1 and later it was also the practice when Royalty were passing (Anonymous 1934). Mrs. Tiernan also provided a plan of the cottage and details of the gardens, orchard and groves of trees in which the pupils played (Tiernan 2005).

In 1922, Dymphna Cusack (author of many books such as '*Come in Spinner*' and '*Caddie*') taught at the college as a pupil teacher; in her autobiography '*A Window In The Dark*', she described Miss Gibbins (Figure 11) as

> "a fine women, well-educated in the English mode. ... [but] had no money to carry out her ideas." (Cusack 1991, p.35).

For much of her life, Miss Gibbins kept dogs of various breeds such as a bulldog (Figure 8), a border collie (Figure 11) and a St. Bernard (Figure 20). A succession were called 'Nelson' but the St. Bernard was named 'Roger the Great'!

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 11. Miss Violet Gibbins, Principal, with dog 'Nelson', Epping c.1915.

It was on 20 July 1916, that Miss Gibbins' much loved younger brother, Norman (Figure 12), was killed at Fromelles (Anonymous 1916a,b); that event caused her much grief and a further nervous breakdown so the College was closed for some months. As she was Norman's next of kin, and sole beneficiary (Conde 2005, p.147), she fought a strong, persistent and bitter campaign with the War Department to obtain his property rather than have it go to their mother (who legally was considered to be his next of kin) and her other brother - such was her bitterness towards them. Eventually a compromise was made with her family and in 1920 Violet received some of Norman's property and campaign medals (Conde 2005, p.147). Miss Gibbins unsuccessfully sought to have Norman's heroic deeds given more recognition in the form of a Victoria Cross (Conde 2004, p.52), as had been suggested by the men with whom he led and served.

Figure 12. Captain Norman Gibbins of the 55th Battalion (AWM 2013a), 1st Infantry Brigade (Anonymous 1915a), killed at Fromelles, France, 1916.

In 1916 she wrote to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and his wife Jean, who at that time were giving a series of lectures on spiritualism. Miss Gibbins sought help from them through this medium but in a letter of reply, Lady Jean Conan Doyle advised her

> "not to form a circle or go to seances being not very strong of disposition".

Miss Gibbins annotated the letter

> "I was inclined to seek spiritual help in the sad search for my brother's soul". (Doyle 1920).

She was somewhat reluctant to accede to a request from a staff member of the Australian War Memorial who wished to examine the letters from her brother, but with the support from the War Historian, C.E.W. Bean, she agreed. There is confusion about the fate of those letters some of which were reputed to be in the War Memorial collection yet Conde (2005, p.147) wrote that they were destroyed in a fire and AWM (2013b) only records letters of condolence.

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Miss Gibbins' support to the War effort and the Empire during and after WWI

During the years of World War I, Miss Gibbins organised many fund raising concerts, drama presentations and fêtes to raise finances to support the servicemen and their families, and also to provide an endowment for ex servicemen's beds at the War Memorial Hospital, Waverley and towards their rehabilitation programmes. Food, tobacco and comfort parcels were sent to the troops and navy ships in the front line. She tended the graves of servicemen at the Field of Mars Cemetery, Ryde, placing wreaths on graves for many years and after moving to Blackheath she made 110 laurel wreaths for Anzac Day 1924, no doubt with the help of the pupils. She provided scholarships for the daughters of deceased servicemen through the British ex Servicemen's League and in return, those who received them performed small tasks at the College (Everingham 1989b) such as collecting the mail and feeding and walking the dogs. Miss Gibbins supported many organisations such as the Red Cross, the NSW Navy League, the Imperial Servicemen's Association and the R.S.L., receiving honorary membership and citations from those organisations.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 13. L to R: Victoria Tresna (16) and Ena Laughlin (12) Everingham on entering the College at Epping in 1923.

In January 1918, she undertook a recruitment campaign in south west NSW but the poor responses from the audiences that she addressed were a great disappointment to her, as was the organisation of the Recruitment Committee. In 1917 and 1918 she made approaches to Australia House, London, the Blind Soldiers and Sailors Hostel and the Imperial War Graves Commission offering to serve in "war work" in England but with the change for the better in the outcome of the war there was a surplus of volunteers already in England willing to fill these positions.

Victoria Everingham (who was to play a major rôle in the operation of the college when it moved to Blackheath) and her younger sister Ena, were the two youngest of a large family claimed to have been thirteen children (Everingham 1993) but only eleven have been traced! Following an advertisement in a country newspaper for vacancies at the college (Everingham 1989a), Victoria and Ena became pupils of Osborne College at Epping in February 1923 (Figure 13) seemingly being more fortunate than their three elder sisters whose education is not known.

Osborne Ladies College, Blackheath

By June 1923 the college had outgrown Epping and so the move was made to Blackheath (Everingham 1984b). There Miss Gibbins had leased the most prominent building in the area, a three storey mansion originally built in 1888 as a hotel known as *Centennial* (Oreinos 1898; Figure 14); after the

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Figure 14. Mr. Lindeman's Centennial Building

Bank crisis of 1892-1893 it was acquired by Mr. Charles H.E. Lindeman who renovated it extensively before opening the premises as quality accommodation for tourists. In 1904 it was bought by Dr R.T. Paton (Anonymous 1904b) who renamed it *Crammond* and in 1923 he leased it to Miss Gibbins (Gibbins 1923).

It was a most imposing building (Figure 15) located some two kilometres west of the village on Paradise Hill; the land comprised Portion 340, some 40 acres (16 hectares) overlooking the Kanimbla Valley (Figure 16).

In the College Prospectus of 1925 (Osborne College 1925; Figure 17), and in many advertisements in country and local papers, the building was described as
"being amidst scenery unequalled the world over in a climate which defies disease" (Low 1991, p.110).

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 15. Osborne College - oblique aerial view looking south, c.1930s.

Having been built as a hotel the accommodation for the pupils was considered to be superior to that offered by other boarding colleges of the time. Each pupil had her own room (Figure 18), or two sisters shared; the younger pupils were in two dormitories. In 1898 the building was claimed to have "forty large, airy, and lofty rooms" (Oreinos 1898, p.28) possibly not including bathrooms and lavatories as in 1938 it was reported to have 49 rooms (Silvey 1961), yet most advertisements for the college stated 50 rooms.

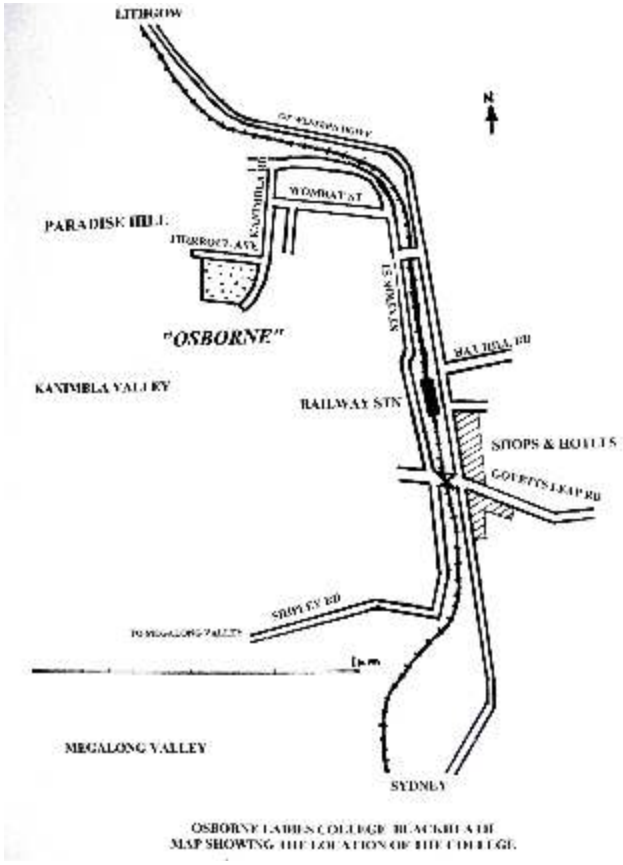

Figure 16. Map of Paradise Hill, Blackheath.

Each of the rooms was named after a warship; HMS Pelican was Miss Gibbins' bedroom, HMS Sirius was Miss Everingham's bedroom, HMAS Sydney, HMS Sussex, HMS Revenge and HMS Arethusa were some of the pupils' bedrooms. The dining room was HMS Vincent and HMS Albion, HMS Rodney and HMS Blake were classrooms. The main assembly room was HMS Nelson, a bathroom was HMS Neptune, and the sick bay was HMS Dreadnought.

Formality was the order of the day (Figure 19) and individuals were given ranks: Miss Gibbins was the Admiral, Miss Everingham was the

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Figure 17. Osborne College prospectus, 1925.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 18. A well appointed bedroom for Senior girls.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 19. Senior girls in full dress uniform c.1936.

Commander, the Head Girl was the Captain, prefects were Lieutenants, and junior pupils were 'middies' i.e. from midshipman (Hanstock 2005, p.36). There were a few primary students (Everingham 1989b) and they even had a mascot (Figure 20).

Conditions at the college were generally regarded as Spartan (e.g. by Heiler 2003 in an article with erroneous dates! and by Hanstock 2005, p.42) or "harsh" (Hanstock 2005, pp.30 & 42) although Miss Everingham (1984b) disputed that. However, the girls would drill and parade each day, both in summer and winter!

Sporting activities included archery (Figure 21), golf, swimming, tennis and rifle shooting (Figure 22) at which several of the girls excelled coming from country properties. They also took part in eurhythmics (Anonymous 1927; Figure 23), classical dancing and physical culture and they participated in acting (Anonymous 1921, 1929; Figure 24) and were taken on walks to collect botanical specimens (Figure 25) and to explore the Blackheath area (Everingham 1989a).

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Figure 20. Two senior girls with the mascot, 'Roger the Great'.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 21. Senior Girls practice archery in the College grounds.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 22. Senior Girls - wartime, with college mascot. Rifles used for shooting practice

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 23. Eurhythmics class on the front lawn of the College, c.1920s.

Discipline was strict, although considered by Miss Gibbins "not to be irksome" (Yeaman, 1976, p.248). It mostly took the form of 'dressing-down' lectures, writing of volumes of lines and loss of privileges; less frequent was corporal punishment, such as hitting on the hand with a ruler (despite chilblains!), a practice common in schools and colleges in that era but not acceptable in today's society.

Miss Everingham wrote
"Discipline in the school, some say, was a little too severe at times for girls, but the Principal was really a very kind woman. It was only those who did wrong blatantly who suffered. Naval discipline is better accepted by boys. ... Generally speaking Osborne was a very happy school." (Everingham 1989a).
In another letter Miss Everingham cited the case of two sisters who were expelled and were "against the school" because they were not allowed back (Everingham 1994). Adverse hearsay comments were cited by Hanstock (2005, p.36) but authorities apparently disregarded them.

At times there were upwards of 70 to 80 pupils enrolled at the college, these having come from Sydney,

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Figure 24. Cast for a Shakespearian Recital c.1920s. Costumes hired from "Buttonhole" in Sydney.

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 25. Pupils visiting 'The Glen' to pick wild flowers. c.1930s.

Brisbane and country areas, especially from Queensland (Everingham 1989b). Daughters of vice regal and diplomatic staff serving in the Pacific Islands and New Guinea also attended. Fees were structured to be within the reach of middle class families and scholarships were offered to the children of deceased ex servicemen (Anonymous 1925a).

In 1939 it was reported that:

"The spirit of the school is captured in the college song:

Heroes have gone before us,
Sailors in every sea;
Of Raleigh and Drake, and Dauntless Blake,
Osborne must worthy be.

With her are the laurels and trophies,
The victories won with tears;
Oh, see that she guard for the making was hard,
The work of a thousand years."

(Anonymous 1939a).

"The school adopted a British ship during the war, the Hedingham Castle. Comforts were sent to it and Christmas parcels." (Everingham 1989b).

That adoption was late in the war period for the corvette was only launched on 30 October 1944 and briefly served as a convoy escort (Wikipedia 2013b).

Throughout WW2 Miss Gibbins, with the college pupils, held concerts, plays and other fund raising activities to support the war effort, as she had done at Bondi and Epping during WW1, sending food and comfort parcels to the troops and men on the British and Australian ships. She had many Naval officers and men visiting the college for presentation and prize giving days (Figures 26 & 27), and for ceremonial occasions, and pupils visited the ships while they were in port.

Following the death of Dr Robert Thomson Paton on 22 January 1948 (Anonymous 1948), Miss Gibbins purchased the property from his estate on 23 March 1948 (CoT 1917), including his magnificent library.

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Figure 26. Officers from the aircraft carrier HMS *Indomitable* at Osborne College's 36th Birthday, 1946.
[N.B. College Banner and White Ensign.]

Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection

Figure 27. Pupils escort Rear Admiral Custance to his car after the Prize Giving Ceremony, 7 December 1938.

Violet Gibbins - The Person

Miss Gibbins has been described (Everingham 1985) as a strict disciplinarian determined, severe at times, tall but slight in stature, somewhat manly or of military bearing in appearance, eccentric, frail of health and prone to sudden outbursts of rage followed by an equally sudden period of calm - possibly due to the increasing effect of her mental health from which she had been suffering for some years. However it is noted that, in letters and cards from ex pupils to Miss Everingham, she was held by some in high esteem and some wrote that she mellowed in later years.

At the launch of the Osborne College exhibition at the MV&DHS Museum on 10 July 2010, some 70 people attended many of whom were ex pupils who spoke fondly of their times at "Osborne" and of both Miss Gibbins and Miss Everingham. The stated aim of Miss Gibbins was to

> "turn out the girls to be refined public spirited young women with high moral standards at the completion of their schooling ready to meet life's challenges with confidence." (Osborne College 1925).

She had remarkable contact with high dignitaries, vice regal and high ranking navy officers. But for all her love and patriotism for the British Empire, she never went "back home" to England. Between the wars she is known to have travelled to Queensland with pupils on three occasions (Anonymous 1939b) although earlier she had written (Gibbins 1935)

> "... I have taken many parties of pupils to southern Queensland".

and Everingham (1989b) wrote of visits to other places as well in the school holidays.

The girls always presented themselves to the people of Blackheath as being polite and on the best of behaviour, and when they marched in formation to the village or the train station they looked very smart and shipshape in their full dress uniform. They were allowed limited contact with the local girls while in the village (Everingham 1985), so some local residents – the "Osborne Watchers" – criticised Miss Gibbins and the college as being remote and distant from the people of Blackheath and having little or no involvement in the local activities. But the locals were invited to the concerts and plays which were provided for the parents and guests of the pupils (Anonymous 1929).

The Last Days Of Osborne College

There was a large bushfire in Blackheath in 1952 which threatened the college so causing the pupils and staff to be vacated to the village centre where they spent the night in St. Aidan's Church hall (Everingham 1989b). Being in poor health, Miss Gibbins was greatly upset by the fire and according to Miss Everingham "she was never the same again" (Everingham 1985).

Eventually the routine of the College returned and pupils again attended public ceremonies even in the final year of its existence (Figure 28).

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Mount Victoria & District Historical Society collection.

Figure 28. Marching to their last ANZAC Day Ceremony - 25 April 1958.

Since the establishment of Osborne College at Bondi in 1910 Miss Gibbins had always kept dogs as pets (Figures 8, 11 & 20), but in 1958 she was bitten by one of the college dogs and went into shock. This was followed by her having three strokes and pneumonia with her mind finally going. After a period of three months hospitalisation (Everingham 1988) and care by Miss Everingham, Miss Gibbins died on 10 August 1958 in *Tregothnan*, a Leura nursing home, (Anonymous 1958a; NSW BD&M 1958 registered at Katoomba). The funeral was held at Northern Suburbs Crematorium Chapel on 12 August (Anonymous 1958b) with the members of the 55th Battalion A.I.F. Veterans Association and Navy personnel in attendance. A memorial service was held at the Garden Island Chapel a week later. I feel that this troubled lady was now at rest and would now hopefully fulfill her dearest wish - to be once again with her brother Norman.

During the period of this illness and the time spent in hospital, Miss Everingham continued to look after the college, paying the bills until the end of the term in September 1958 when she sent all the girls home (Everingham 1985). She had promised Miss Gibbins that she would stay at the college until the finish expecting that she may have in some way be a beneficiary in the will, but she was left nothing by Miss Gibbins - the bulk of her estate being bequeathed to the Royal Australian Navy Relief Fund and the rest to a War Veterans Home!

Towards the end of her life Violet Gibbins had some reservations as to how she would be remembered, expressing to Miss Everingham that following her death

> "... she wanted the school 'to die' as she thought that people would laugh at the naval idea and say that it was ridiculous in a school." (Hanstock 2005, p.44).

Violet Gibbins was the Principal of Osborne College, in its various forms, from 1910 until 1958 when the end came to the life of a woman who had devoted herself to the education, and, in her own mind, for the betterment of young women when they moved out into the world. Also in 1958 a unique part of the history of Blackheath ended after a period of 35 years.

Had Miss Gibbins achieved her ambition? I think she had. From a very small start in Charleville, her school had in time grown to be one of the most prestigious of the small private schools in NSW Perhaps she may have had ideas of her girls entering the Navy but that was not as readily acceptable in her era as it is now.

Aftermath

Most of the contents of the College were auctioned in Sydney prior to the sale of the building (Everingham 1988). The property was put up for auction in February 1959 but was passed in with the highest bid reaching £4,100, some £2,900 below the reserve price (Anonymous 1959). The property was eventually sold on 1 July 1959 to Mrs. Lilas Olive Vida Ella Khan, the wife of Frederick G.M. Khan of the Royal Australian Air Force (CoT 1917). Miss Everingham remained on the premises until December 1959 (Everingham 1989a).

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In 1963 the owner (Mrs. Khan) and her husband visited the then dilapidated and unoccupied building, and found their way to the cellar where they discovered two large P & O trunks containing the possessions of a WW1 soldier, including uniforms and many letters. It was (as now we are aware) the property of Norman Gibbins for which Miss Gibbins so determinedly had fought with the authorities, and her mother, to unite with his medals that had been left to her. The Khans, not realising the importance of this find but thinking that it would be of some significance, decided that they would examine the contents of the trunks more closely on a following visit. But that was not to be as on Wednesday 23 October 1963 the building was burnt to the ground along with the contents (Anonymous 1963a,b,c), thereby losing this valuable source of Miss Gibbins connection with her brother.

Although the MV&DHS has a remarkable collection of Osborne memorabilia, Miss Everingham's nieces felt that other items may have been accidentally sold in the garage sale held to dispose of their aunt's possessions. In particular, the contents of some suitcases were not fully checked before the sale. It is indeed unfortunate that throughout the years so many historical records have probably been lost in similar circumstances.

Photo: Ron Brasier - 12 March 2013.

Figure 29. Mountains Christian College.

After the fire, the property was purchased by the World Wide Church of God and a new building was erected on the site using some of the Osborne original bricks in the construction. In 1978 that building was bought by the Logos Foundation who operated a ministry and school until 1988 when the property was sold to the Gateway Christian School (Mountains Christian College 2011). From 1999 that became known as The Blue Mountains Christian School and in 2010 it was renamed Mountains Christian College (Figure 29).

Postscript

Victoria Tresna Everingham (b.1906; NSW BD&M 1906) died at the age of 93 on 6 November 1999 at the Lakeside Nursing Home, Laurieton, NSW (Anonymous 1999a,b,c) (c.26 km south-south-west of Port Macquarie); she was formerly of 89 Macleay Street, Frederickton (c.44 km north-north-west of Port Macquarie). She was involved with Osborne Ladies' College for 36 years and was the only person to have been with the college for its entire existence in Blackheath, so it is sad that her huge contribution was largely unacknowledged (e.g. see Hanstock 2005, p.44).

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the Mount Victoria Historical Society for permission to use the photographs in the Osborne collection. Staff of the Blue Mountains City Library, Dr Ann-Marie Conde of the Australian War Memorial and Dr Robyn Hanstock kindly provided useful information and discussion. David West is thanked for his assistance in preparing the photographs for publication.

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Abbreviations

AWM	Australian War Museum
BMHS	Blue Mountains Historical Society
CoT	Certificate of Title
NSW BD&M	NSW Registry of Births, Deaths & Marriages
MV&DHS	Mount Victoria & District Historical Society

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A LONG-TIME RESIDENT OF MEDLOW BATH: CORNWALLIS WADE-BROWNE (1837-1922).

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Abstract

After a privileged early life, Cornwallis Wade-Browne arrived in Australia in 1865 aged 28. For two years he went droving and then he settled in Queensland with involvement in a cattle property and a sugar mill. At the age of 57 he moved to Medlow where he 'farmed' but the income from his orchard was unimportant as he had independent means from business dealings that are obscure. His first wife died in 1893 and for the next seven years he raised their son to adulthood but when aged 63 he re-married. From 1900 until 1922, the new couple participated in events of the village but their holiday home at Bayview, with a view down Pittwater, was important in their lives.

Key Words: Cornwallis Wade-Browne, Medlow, Bayview, Mackay, Blue Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1. Cornwallis Wade Browne [1837– 1922] (Anonymous 1912b, p.15)

Medlow Bath differs from most other villages in the Blue Mountains in that the mere mention of the name of a single individual instantly brings an association with that locality. Mark Foy was the man who had such immense wealth that he could, and did, purchase properties and land parcels at will, by far the best known of them being the Hydro Majestic Hotel with which his name is essentially 'synonymous'. But lurking in his 'shadow' there were other pioneers amongst whom the names of Hargraves, Pain, Cliff, Flanagan, Foley, Kirkland, Nimmo, Robb, Robertson, Tucker and Uniacke easily spring to mind.

Another was Cornwallis Wade-Browne and with such an imposing name it was only to be expected that there was a fascinating history to this Medlow resident. For the present we will give a brief outline of his pre-Australian life (this being the specialty of HSB - the last relative; Browne 2007) and focus rather more on the latter years of his life in Australia from 1865 to 1922.

[Note that the village of Medlow was renamed Medlow Bath from 1 October 1903 (Kaldy 1983, p.6) and the Railway Station was given that name from 1 November 1903 (Anonymous 1903) following a request by Mark Foy (Wylie & Singleton 1958, p.52).]

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Lineage

By marrying heiresses, the Wade-Browne family rose from the merchant class to the minor gentry in two generations. The appurtenances followed: Eton, Cambridge, the Temple, and the Army. With his first wife Anne (née Pennefather), Wade Browne sired Rhoda Susan Browne (1832-1900), Anne Georgiana Browne (1834-1898), Edward Pennefather Browne (1835-1904) and Cornwallis Wade Browne (1837-1922) (*the hyphen came later*) and with his second wife, Selina Matilda Caroline Eardley (née Wilmot), he sired Eardley Smith Wade Browne (1845-1855), Alice Catherine Wade Browne (1849-1933), Trevor Wade Browne (1850-1913), Selina Caroline Wade Browne (1850-1934) and Ursula Gertrude Wade Browne (1851-1907) (Browne 2007, pp.96, 98). None from the second marriage had issue, but from the first marriage Edward had three children and Cornwallis had one child but all of these offspring died without issue so those lines terminated.

England

Cornwallis Wade-Browne (Figure 1) was born on 6 September 1837, at Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire, about 5 km east-north-east of Bath, Somerset (family details are in the Appendix). His mother Anne died soon afterwards on 29 September 1837 so he was brought up by his father Wade Browne (30 April 1796 - 2 August 1851) with the assistance of eight to nine servants. Brother Edward and half-brother Trevor both went to Eton (Browne 2007, pp.104 & 100, respectively) so in all probability that is where Cornwallis was educated.

Military Service

At the age of 19 Cornwallis Wade-Browne purchased a commission in the Army for £450 and was appointed Ensign in the 11th Foot Regiment in 1855 in place of "Kinahan, who retires" (Browne 2007, p.108; Anonymous 1855a,b) (Table 1). A year later he purchased a Lieutenancy in the 48th Foot Regiment in place of "Pennington, who retires" (Browne 2007, p.109; Anonymous 1856a,b) and was sent to Corfu. In 1857 he was moved to Malta, in 1858 to Gibraltar, in 1860 to the East Indies, and finally in 1861 to India and there he stayed until ordered home in 1865. He must have returned to England early that year in order to have sold his commission to Ensign William Bell Beatty on 14 February 1865 (Anonymous 1865a).

Year	Service Year	Service Rank	Date of	Regiment Location	Notes
1855	1	Ensign: formally appointed 11 May 1855	Ensigncy in the 11th Foot (Devonshire) Regiment: - sought purchase from 'Kinahan' for £450 completed 24 May 1855	22 February 1855 Embarked for Corfu without CWB	24 April 1855: then asked for it to be "granted without purchase" but was refused!
1856	1	Ensign then Lieutenant	12 Dec.1856 - £250 purchase of Lieutenancy from "Pennington, who retires". 12 Dec 1856 "sale of Ensigncy to Robert Gallop Stokes of Belfast" for £250	Eastern Army: Depôt; Parkhurst, Isle of Wight.	Transferred to the 48th Foot (Northampton) Regiment no date but post 12 Dec. 1856
1857	2	Lieutenant		HQ Malta:	Depôt; Fermoy
1858	3	Lieutenant		HQ Gibraltar:	Depôt; Fermoy
1859	4	Lieutenant		HQ Gibraltar:	Depôt; Fermoy
1860	5	Lieutenant		East Indies:	Depôt; Cork
1861	6	Lieutenant		Allahabad:	Depôt; Fermoy
1862	7	Lieutenant		Seetapore:	Depôt; Cork
1863	8	Lieutenant		Lucknow:	Depôt; Cork
1864	9	Lieutenant		Lucknow:	Depôt; Cork
1865	10	Lieutenant	Retired by sale of commission, 14 Feb 1865	Lucknow:	Ordered Home

Table 1. Service Record of Cornwallis Wade Browne

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A spanner in this story is the account in an 1864 legal document of

> "Cornwallis Wade Browne, now residing at Cork, in the Kingdom of Ireland, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's 48th Regiment of Foot; " (Lambert and Son 1864).

Victoria

Cornwallis Wade-Browne did not stay in England for long before emigrating to Australia on the *S.S. London* (PROV 2009), leaving London on 4 June 1865 and arriving at Melbourne on 4 August 1865 (Anonymous 1865b) after an eventful voyage (Anonymous 1865c). A newspaper account (Anonymous 1865b) only listed the names of the First Class passengers, and Cornwallis was not one of those, so evidently he was one of the un-named 115 in second and third class cabins. He would have been almost 28 when he landed in Australia.

Initially he went droving in the Eastern States of Australia for about two years, but was back in Melbourne early in 1868 when he wrote the Preface to his fairly authoritative book **'***Overlanding in Australia***'** (Wade-Browne 1868) that was favourably reviewed in February 1868 (Anonymous 1868).

Queensland

Hence most probably it was in 1868 (month not known; note MFHS 2009, p.94 stated 1867) he moved to the Mackay district (c.810 km north-north-west of Brisbane) and

> "He bought Bolingbroke station, 70 miles (*113 km*) from Mackay, and stocked it with cattle, ..." (Anonymous 1922a,b,c).

Actually it would seem that he entered into a partnership:

> "Messrs. C. Wade Brown and John Harney (of the firm of Wade Brown and Harney) arrived in Mackay in 1868, taking over Bolingbroke Station where they resided for about 12 years, ..." (Anonymous 1912b, p.15).

He took the oath to become a Justice of the Peace on 16 May 1872 (Index no date) and became a Magistrate (Anonymous 1872). That was a powerful position at that time so to achieve it in four years seems abnormally quick for usually it would have taken some considerable time to become adequately respected in the district to be so admitted. However the exploits of Cornwallis in that decade do not appear to have been sufficiently interesting for the newspapers to record until he was fêted in Mackay in April 1880 prior to departing for England (Anonymous 1880) - but such a function suggests that he must have prospered. He sold Bolingbroke Station to Mr. Graham Turner in 1879 (Perry, 1944; MFHS 2009, p.94) for

> "... a high figure and returning to England" (Anonymous 1922a,b,c).

Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)

At the age of 43, and en route to England, he married Endora Mary Anne Braine in Candy, Ceylon, she being ten years younger. There was a family connection with that country as his mother's brother

> *"*... , Richard Theodore Pennefather was auditor-general of Ceylon in the late 1800s." (Browne 2007, pp.107, also see 111-112, 117).

This marriage was fifteen years after Cornwallis had left India so he may have travelled to Ceylon a few years prior to the marriage in order to have been sufficiently acquainted with the bride that he 'collected' in 1880.

England Again

Both Cornwallis and Endora were listed in the March 1881 Census of England as being resident at 35 Pembroke Rd, Kensington (Census 1881), a house owned by his father-in-law, Mr. Charles Joseph Braine, a merchant. Whilst residing in Surrey in 1882, their only son John Pennefather was born (Browne 2007, p.110) on 29 April (MFHS 2009, pp.94-95).

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Queensland Again

After being in England for six years Cornwallis took his family to Queensland (Anonymous 1912b, p.18) and he was next recorded on 14 October 1886 as being a signatory to the 'Articles of Association of The Racecourse Central Sugar Company Limited' (Hall 2006) when he was said to have been from 'Pennleigh'.*

"He resigned as a director late in 1889." (MFHS 2009, p.95) as "His wife's health failed, ... " (Anonymous 1922a,b,c).

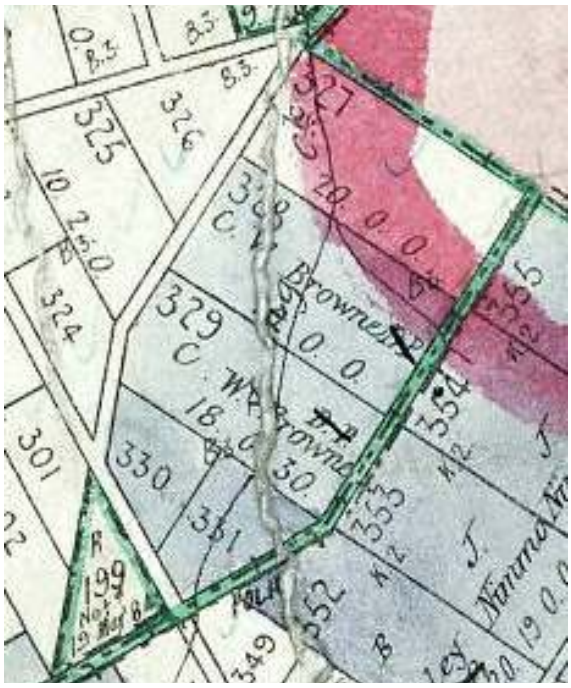
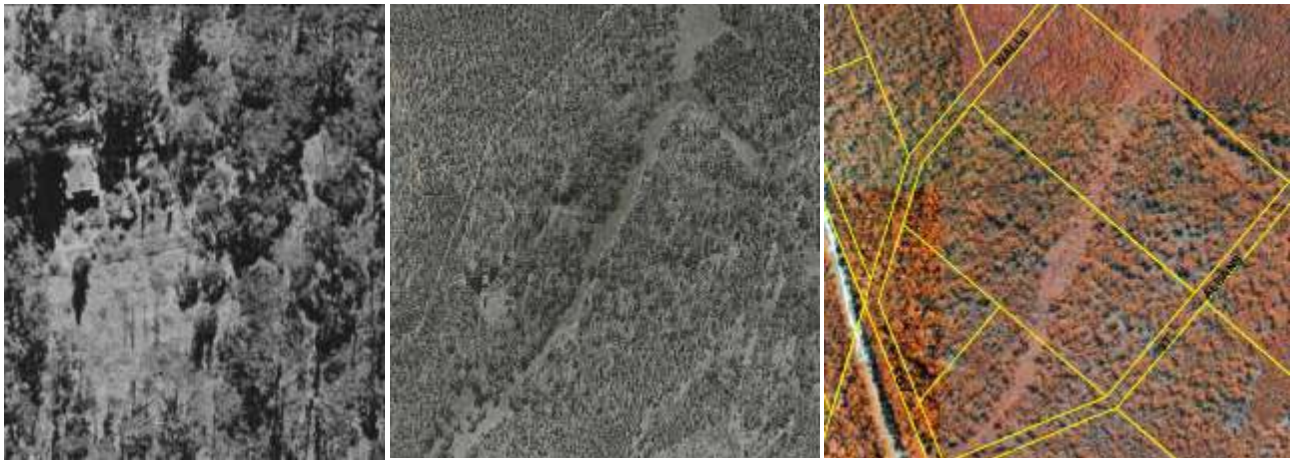


Figure 2. Wade Browne portions, Medlow (Department of Lands 1890)**.

New South Wales

It was in this period that a move to New South Wales was contemplated and in June 1889 Cornwallis returned to Queensland on a coastal vessel (Anonymous 1889) from what may have been a journey to inspect land at Medlow prior to the second Crown Land sale on Saturday 28th December 1889 (Richardson & Wrench 1889). He engaged an agent to bid at that auction but no purchase was made! Eventually at the third sale on 26 April 1890 (CoT 1890a,b,c,d) an acceptable price was struck for Portions 328-331 on the north-west side of Medlow (Figure 2). The advertised upper upset price dropped only by £5 between 1889 & 1890 so by delaying the purchase by an extra few months it is likely that very little would have been saved (Richardson & Wrench 1889, 1890). In fact for Pors. 328-331 of differing areas of 20a, 18a 30p, 5a 1r 11p and 7a (*8.1, 7.36, 2.15 & 2.8 ha respectively*), "Cornwallis Wade Browne of Wentworth Falls, Gentleman" paid £80, £73, £35 and £45 respectively (CoT 1890a,b,c,d).



(LEP 2002 def08_a3)

Figure 3. *Oriel Farm* - Medlow

A House 1943 **B** Pors. 328 (NE) - 331 (SW) **C** Infra Red 1999

His 50 acre farm was named *'Oriel'* and consisted of Pors. 328-331 at the eastern end of St. Albans Road, the house (Figure 3A) being located adjacent to the south-west boundary of Por. 330. *Oriel Farm* was well watered by Young Creek, and a tributary which formed part of the north-east border of the property; the creeks are the cleared areas in the infra-red image (Figure 3C) and the blue-white line in the south-west is a modern power line.

* The location of Pennleigh in Queensland has not been established.

** An inset on the 1890 Parish Map lists Pors. 330 & 331 as being owned by CWB yet Pors. 328 & 329 are omitted which is curious for on the map his name is written over those parcels of land (Figure 2).

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In 1947 the new Council of the City of Blue Mountains decided to acquire land in the vicinity of Beaufort Avenue and Edward Street for inclusion in the Blackheath Water Catchment (Anonymous 1947, col.4); so the Wade-Browne area was resumed in 1950 and at present it is strictly off limits being in the Sydney Water Catchment Area. At the time of Cornwallis' death, *Oriel Farm* was valued at £650 (Anonymous 1922d; Nott & Son 1922, p.1; Wade-Browne 1922) but the value had dropped to £625 when in 1933 the Public Trustee administered the estate of his widow Elizabeth (Public Trustee 1933, Item 7).

Quite when Cornwallis took up residence in the area is uncertain. In April 1890 he was said to be living at Wentworth Falls (CoT 1890a,b,c,d) but entry no.2482 in the 1890-1891 Hartley/Penrith electoral roll is

"**Name**	**Qualification**	**Residence:**
Brown Charles	residence Katoomba	Katoomba"

so that person would have been renting at that time - but was it Cornwallis Wade Browne?; there was no such entry in subsequent rolls. The 1891-1892 Hartley/Penrith electoral roll is the earliest in which CWB is definitely listed (no.2635), but as Charles Wade Brown, freeholder at Medlow, which concurs with his land purchase; the given name was not corrected to Cornwallis until the 1893-1894 roll (no.2741). In the Hartley/Katoomba electoral rolls from 1894 (no.656)-1900 (no.611) he was listed as a 'farmer' but one has to wonder what he produced for sale in those early years, and indeed how soon he had a house constructed. At the time of Cornwallis' death the property was described as having:

> "... an area of 50 acres, 49 of which is scrub land and the balance cleared for cottage and orchard. On the clearance is erected a weatherboard cottage on wooden piles, roof of iron, containing 8 rooms and kitchen." "At the rear is an all iron shed used as laundry, workshop and fuel shed. The orchard is planted with apple trees, ..." (Nott & Son 1922, p.1).

Women in Australia did not have the right to vote in the nineteenth Century, so Endora could not be listed in electoral rolls, hence the first mention of her at Medlow was when aged just 46 she died of carcinoma on 1 August 1893 (NSW BD&M 1893; Browne 2007, p.108). She was buried in Blackheath Cemetery (Church of England, Row 1, No.11) in a grave that was then unmarked (BMFHS 1989, p.95). This sad event left a middle-aged Cornwallis (then almost 56) with an eleven-year-old son to raise through teenage for John was an adult when his father took a second wife seven years later.

Cornwallis' name crops up in the early records of activities associated with the Cave Church which was located below the Hydro Majestic Hotel (Rickwood & Fox 2011) at Medlow, its earliest known use being in 1893 (Isbister et al. 2011, p.16). In 1894 CWB was one of the signatories to a petition to "S.H. Lambton, Esqr., Deputy Postmaster General" regarding the proposed removal of the Post Office from Medlow (Sharpe 1987, pp.11-12) and on a letter in 1899 to the same person declaring that:

> "... the undersigned Residents of Medlow have not any complaint to make Against Mrs. Smith in The position she occupies as Post-Mistress of Medlow." (Sharpe 1987, p.28).

During the latter part of the 1890s Cornwallis was an active worshipper in the Church of England, at times being a lay preacher as on 17 June 1900 (Isbister et al. 2011, p.19).

Second Wife

Elizabeth Reed came from an impeccable family, both her father Howard, and her mother Sarah Elizabeth, had worked at the *Sydney Mail* (Anonymous 1875, 1911b) which no doubt is where they met. Howard was already well established when he died at the age of 48 in 1875 (Anonymous 1875); his daughter Elizabeth then still being a teenager. Thereafter his enterprising widow, Sarah Elizabeth (Anonymous 1911a), forged a career of her own (Anonymous 1911b) and as a single parent nurtured the family.

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How they met is unknown but on 11 August 1900 Cornwallis married Elizabeth Reed (Anonymous 1900) at Bowral, NSW, when he was 63 years old and she 44 (NSW BD&M 1900). Together, the newly married couple actively participated in religious services in Medlow and contributed towards planning for the construction of a church which eventuated in 1902. Elizabeth Wade-Browne taught Sunday School before the St. Luke's Church had been completed, as is indicated by the inscription in a Book of Common Prayer that was given as a prize to Master Osmund Pain in 1902 at the opening ceremony of the Church so he would have earned it whilst services were conducted in the cave and in private houses (Isbister et al. 2011, pp.18-19).

Cornwallis ("independent means") and Elizabeth ("home duties") are listed in the 1903 Parramatta/Blackheath electoral roll (nos.215/216) as residing at Medlow Bath. But shortly thereafter the health of Cornwallis cannot have been very good for late in 1904, when he was 67, he had unspecified surgery in Sydney yet it cannot have been that effective for soon he was "... again confined to his bed." (Anonymous 1904). However he recovered and in the following year Cornwallis bought land at Bayview and built a holiday house (Figure 6) where he and Elizabeth were in residence in 1908 and 1909 and were enrolled in the Division of North Sydney, Sub-division of Manly electoral district (nos.4597/4598 & 4939/4940 respectively). They went to Bayview again for extensive periods in the autumn of 1917 and in May 1919 but no doubt also for unrecorded shorter durations of holiday.

Meanwhile in 1909 their son was in residence at Medlow Bath and the electoral roll (Nepean/Blackheath) for that year recorded

> "353 Wade-Brown, Thomas Pennifather (*sic* but surely John Pennefather), Medlow Bath, orchardist, M."

But his sole occupancy of *Oriel Farm* was short lived for the elders returned to Medlow Bath and are recorded in the next roll in 1913 (Macquarie/Blackheath nos.465/466) and then in every subsequent roll including 1922 (nos.678/679), the year that Cornwallis died. Records of payments of Rates on Pors. 328-331 by C.W. Browne exist from 1914 to 1919 (e.g. Medlow Bath Rates Records 1914-1916) with a postal address of "Bayview, Pittwater" so clearly they retained their coastal refuge even though their official residence was at Medlow Bath.

In his seventy-ninth year Cornwallis was still participating in community events. Thus he was a supporter of a presentation to Mr. & Mrs. A.W. Tucker in March 1916 on their departure from Medlow Bath and

> "Mt. (*sic*) Wade-Brown kindly referred to the work he did in connection with the church debt." (Anonymous 1916a).

At another presentation in September 1916 to

> "Sergt. Clifford Johnstone ... before his departure for the Front" "The presentation was made by Mr. Wade-Brown, a Crimean War veteran***, who made an excellent speech" (Anonymous 1916b).

Sadly, news of the death of Sgt. Johnstone came less than a year later in July 1917 (Anonymous 1917c).

The Wade-Brownes were friendly with the successive Rectors of St. Aidan's Church, Blackheath, who conducted services at St. Luke's, Medlow Bath. In April 1917 the Wade-Brownes hosted a 'complimentary evening' in their house for Rev. Rubie Connell and his wife when a monetary donation was presented to show the appreciation of parishioners (Anonymous 1917a). But in the autumn of 1917 the Wade-Brownes temporarily left Medlow Bath preferring the winter climate of 'North Sydney' (Anonymous 1917b) - that then being the electoral division for their holiday home at Bayview.

They had returned to Medlow Bath by 3 December 1917 when 80 year-old Cornwallis chaired a function at which the parishioners of St. Luke's Church made a second monetary presentation to the

*** Untrue; Cornwallis Wade-Browne transferred to the 48th Foot Regiment after the Crimean War had ended in February 1856

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Rev. R. Connell after his brother had been killed in action in WWI (Anonymous 1917d). However in May 1919 the climate again caused them to leave

"to spend the Winter months at their seaside home at Bay View." (Anonymous 1919).

Cornwallis (Figure 4) must have been a kindly man for in 1918 an ailing 68 year-old Tom Pain, who was residing in a nearby house '*Llanover'* at the eastern end of St. Albans Road, wrote to his daughter Mizpah:

"Mr. Wade Brown brings our letters and paper every morning." (Pain 1918).

and that when Cornwallis was aged 80!

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Death

Figure 4. Cornwallis Wade Browne (Anonymous 1922a).

Aged almost 85, Cornwallis Wade-Browne died at his farm *Oriel* on 8 July 1922 (NSW BD&M 1922) of cardiac syncope, arteriosclerosis (senile) and auricular fibrillation (Browne 2007, p.108). The funeral procession included a two-horse hearse, one carriage and one car (Wood Coffill 2004) and at Blackheath Cemetery the old unmarked grave of his first wife Endora was reopened to bury him (Figure 5A).

Four years later in 1926

"... the Rev H.A.C. Rowsell dedicated a magnificent oil painting and tablet to the memory of the late Mr. Cornwallis Wade-Brown, a devout churchman and a staunch supporter of St. Luke's. Mr. John Wade-Brown, only son of the deceased gentleman, unveiled the painting, which he purchased in Italy. The subject was "The Shell," portraying Our Lord and St. John the Baptist, after the famous painting by Murillo. The brass tablet was engraved "To the Glory of God and in Memory of Cornwallis Wade-Brown, who worshipped in this church from 1902-1923." ... St. Luke's is perhaps the prettiest of the small churches in the Blue Mountains." (Anonymous 1926).

The latter date is inaccurately reported as CWB died on 8 July 1922 and that is the year engraved on the plaque (Figure 5B)!

Photos: Peter Rickwood

Figure 5A **Figure 5B**

A The grave of Cornwallis (1837-1922) and Endora Mary Anne Wade-Browne (née Braine) (1847-1893), Blackheath Cemetery, Church of England, Row 1 No. 11.

B The Cornwallis Wade-Browne memorial plaque, now in St. Aidan's Church, Hat Hill Rd., Blackheath.

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Following the closure of St. Luke's church at the end of 2004, the plaque was relocated to the southern wall of St. Aidan's Church at Blackheath and above it is a small plate specifying that it had originally been installed in St. Luke's at Medlow Bath; the painting was given to the former organist and Church Warden, Mrs. Joan Dempsey (Isbister et al. 2011, p.28).

In the will of Cornwallis Wade-Browne (Browne 2007, p.109) his second wife Elizabeth inherited *Woodside* at Bayview and son John *Oriel Farm* at Medlow Bath; both also received distributions from the proceeds of the sale of stocks, annuities, etc. valued at £3996-16-2 (NSW Department Stamp Duties 1922). But these inheritances came with impositions for at that time other valuers stated that in the Bayview house

"Some of the rooms are affected with white ants." and of the Medlow Bath farm house

"The whole of the building is in need of renovation." (Nott & Son 1922).

Brother-in-law Andrew Reed (said to be from Medlow !) and sister-in-law (Marian from Sydney and previously from Bowral) were awarded £200 each (Browne 2007, p.109).

There had been a caveat on Por. 330 dated 19 January 1892 but it was deemed to have lapsed when the widow and the son became the co-owners (CoT 1890c). Seemingly at variance with his will, the transferral (No.4917664) of the four blocks at Medlow Bath to

'Elizabeth Wade Browne of Bayview, widow, and John Pennefather Wade Browne of Sydney, Bank Teller', (CoT 1890a,b,c,d)****

was sought on 9 March 1923 and entered on 22 May 1923. But on 6 February 1923 Elizabeth had already transferred (No. 4917665) her portion to John Pennefather Wade Browne and he retained them for 27 years until following compulsory purchase for Blackheath Water Catchment (see below) they were transferred (F 270483) to the Council of the City of Blue Mountains on 28 March 1950 (CoT 1890a,b,c,d).

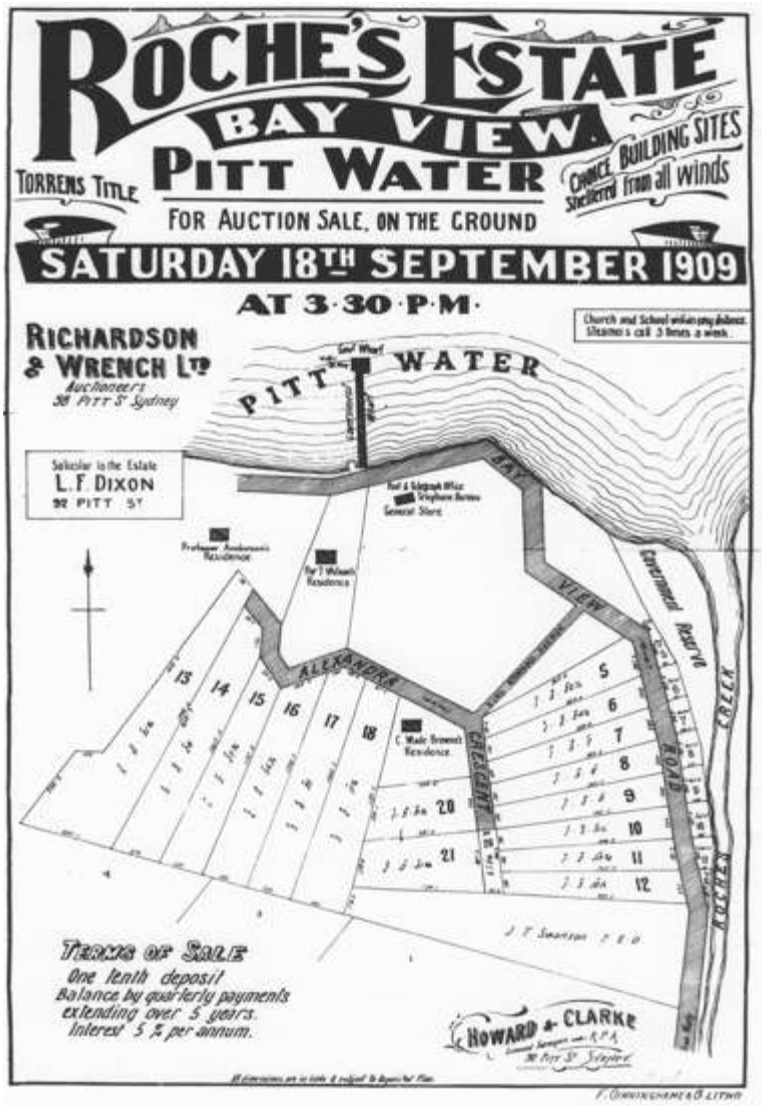

Figure 6. Poster for Roche's Estate 1909 Auction (Howard & Clarke 1909).

John Pennefather Wade-Browne

There is a gap in the existing rates records for Medlow Bath, but from the re-start in 1931, the rates on *Oriel* were paid by *Wade-Brown J.T.* which is the first existing rate record after he would have inherited in 1923 (Medlow Bath Rates Records 1914-1950). John continued to pay those rates until 1950 when the land was compulsorily purchased and then he became the rate payer of *The Cedars*, Lot 8, 111 Cleopatra Street, Blackheath, from at least 1951-1954; his estate paid in 1955, the year in which he died, and the house was sold (Blackheath Rates Records 1951-1955). He is not on the 1925-1955 electoral rolls for the Macquarie/Blackheath area so must have been based, and registered, elsewhere; at death his residence was Cliveden Flats, Roslyn Street, Darlinghurst (Browne 2007, p.110).

**** J.P. Wade Brown was listed as a Bank official as early as 1912 (Anonymous 1912a).

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Photos: Peter Rickwood

Figure 7. The Bayview holiday home.

A. 11 Alexandra Crescent viewed from the west showing its position close to the top of the street.

B. Street Level view at the top of Fermoy Avenue and c.35 m to the west of 11 Alexandra Crescent, but approximately that seen from the residence before houses were built across the road.

John Pennefather Wade-Browne died of cardiac failure following malnutrition (Browne 2007, p.110) on 27 March 1955 aged 73 (NSW BD&M 1955) at Rothesay Private Hospital (3 Cranbrook Road, Rose Bay); he was cremated on 30 March 1955 at the Eastern Suburbs Crematorium.

The Bayview residence

Part of the original land grant to Benjamin Crew (Por. 29) was subdivided into Roche's Estate (DP 4010; Department of Lands 1913). In two transactions,

> "Cornwallis Wade Browne of Medlow Park, Freeholder" (CoT 1889)

bought Lot 19 from Katherine Mary Roche; the western part on 7 October 1905 (transfer no. 418002) and the eastern part on 27 September 1906 (transfer no. 444298). Lot 19 is on the southern side of Alexandra Crescent (Figure 6) at an elevation of 32 m (CMA 1978) and very nearly at the crest the Crescent (Figure 7A); it is about 350 m from the sea and up a modest slope and so it must have been chosen not for the immediacy of the water but for the stunning view of Lion Island framed by the cliffs of Pittwater (Figure 7B)

Subsequently Lot 19 was subdivided into Lots 3 and 4 of DP22069, these now being house numbers 11 & 9, respectively. The Wade-Browne house was built on the higher ground (now No. 11) probably between 1905 and 1908 as the owners were enrolled in the Manly electoral district in 1908 (nos.4597/4598) and the house is clearly shown on the 1909 land auction map (Figure 6). Later the property was described as being:

> "... an area of about one and three quarter acres of virgin land. On the block is erected a weather-board cottage on wooden piles and roof of iron containing 7 rooms and kitchen." (Nott & Son 1922).

Rates records that have survived commence in 1909 when Lot 19 was in the name of Cornwallis Wade-Browne and the UCV was £120; two decades later the UCV was £400 (Bayview Rates Records 1909-1929).

After the death of Cornwallis, these land portions were inherited by

> "Elizabeth Wade Browne of Bayview, Widow, and John Pennefather Wade Browne of Sydney, Bank Teller" "produced 9th March 1923" (CoT 1905a,b)

but seemingly the son had already transferred his part to his mother on 6 February 1923 (recall that the reverse transferral occurred in relation to the Medlow Bath property); both records being entered on 22 May 1923. At the time of Cornwallis' death the Bayview property was valued at £700 (Anonymous 1922d;

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Best 1922; Nott & Son 1922, p.2) but by 1933 it had dropped to £625 (Public Trustee 1933, Item 7; Kessell 1933, Item 4).

Elizabeth Wade-Browne died intestate at St. Ronan's Private Hospital (17 Osborne Road, Manly) on 25 July 1929 (NSW BD&M 1929a) aged 72 - Anonymous (1929). This led to a convoluted set of legal actions starting on 14 October 1929 when her brother Andrew Reed was granted the right to settle her affairs (Registrar 1933), however Andrew did not complete the task before he died on 14 August 1932. His widow Katherine Reed applied on 30 January 1933 to succeed Andrew as Executor of the will of Elizabeth Wade-Browne (Reed 1933a,b) and Andrew's sister, Marion Mulligan, being the sole remaining beneficiary, consented to the Public Trustee taking charge (Mulligan 1933), formal application being made on 13 June 1933 (Administrator 1933).

Eventually "Katherine Reed of Bay View near Sydney, Widow" acquired the land on 9 July 1934 but she only kept it for two years until on 17 June 1936 she sold both lots to Herbert Fabian Alsop, a medical practitioner (CoT 1905a,b), and the property went out of family hands.

House Name Puzzle

The name *Woodside* first appeared in the Bayview Rates Records for Lot 19 in 1918 (Assessment No.4144, Reel 4) and continued to be stated in the 1921-1923 rates but then was struck out (Assessment No.4475; Reel 5), presumably after the death of CWB. When he signed his will on 29 August 1919, Cornwallis stated his residence to be *Woodside,* Bayview (Anonymous 1922d; Browne 2007, p.109) - clearly the house now 11 Alexandra Crescent (Wade-Browne 1922). There is a puzzling similarity of house name to that of *Woodlands* which was printed in the death notice of his wife Elizabeth (Anonymous 1929) yet her residence, although not named, was stated by Sands (1926, p.784; 1927, pp.813 & 1961; 1928, pp.847 & 2050; 1929, pp.887 & 2100 and 1930, pp.899 & 2117) to be in "Furmoy (*sic*) Avenue, off Bay View Road" (Sands 1929, p.887 & 1930, p.899), but today there is no house in Fermoy Avenue with that name! John Mulligan, the husband of Elizabeth's elder sister Marian, was not mentioned in Elizabeth's death notice (Anonymous 1929) so Marian was probably widowed, separated or divorced by then. Six years later, Marian was a widow when she died on 18 October 1935 "... at her residence *Woodlands*, Bayview, ..." (Anonymous 1935) so maybe she had moved in with her sister after Cornwallis died in 1922.
So was there in the possession of the family one house in Alexandra Crescent and another in Fermoy Avenue?

After Cornwallis' death (Bradley et al. 1922) only one property at Bayview is mentioned – Lot 19 DP 4010 and in the probate jurisdiction of the will of Elizabeth Wade-Browne dated 7 June 1933 (Public Trustee 1933, Item 7) only one property at Bayview is mentioned that too being Lot 19, DP 4010.

(a.) Electoral Rolls

In 1922, the year in which Cornwallis died, both he and Elizabeth Wade-Browne were listed in the Macquarie/Blackheath electoral roll (nos.678/679) as residing at Medlow Bath. However, the widow soon moved to the coast for the next electoral roll for the Warringah/Manly district after this death, i.e. 1925 there is listed :

"17879 Wade-Browne, Elizabeth, Bayview, Pittwater, home duties, F."
and also
"14359 Reed, Andrew, Bayview, Pittwater, retired, M."

Thus she was sharing a house with her brother - almost certainly her inherited property now no.11 Alexandra Crescent, although that is unstated in the rather vague residence that is recorded. Those residents are also recorded in the 1926 and 1928 rolls (nos.17412/13948 & 18122/14516 respectively). But as Elizabeth died in 1929 she does not appear in the 1930 Warringah/Narrabeen roll, instead are recorded:

"5190 Reed, Andrew, Bayview, Pittwater, retired, M.
5191 Reed, Katherine, *Woodlands,* Pittwater Bayview, home duties, F."

for Andrew had married Catherine (elsewhere Katherine) Elliott at Manly in 1929 (NSW BD&M 1929b). The exact date of the marriage has not been established but it was probably after the death

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of his sister on 25 July 1929 when both bride and groom were of an advanced age! It is strange that their addresses differ so might this indicate that they occupied separate houses? Andrew died in August 1932 and the property at 11 Alexandra Crescent was transferred to Katherine Reed on 9 July 1934 and she is listed as residing at "Woodlands, Pittwater Bayview, home duties, F" in the Warringah/Narrabeen electoral roll (1933, no. 6111) through to that in 1936 (no. 7169) when mid-year she sold the property (CoT 1905a,b). There is no electoral roll entry for Mrs. Marian Mulligan in this area between 1922 and 1938 so at the time of her death in 1935 she must have been registered elsewhere, despite supposedly living in *Woodlands* at that time with her sister-in-law!

(b.) Rates Records

The Rates records for Fermoy Avenue (Bayview, A-Riding; Bayview Rates Records 1909-1929) in 1927-1929 (7822-7831, 7833-7836, and 7857-7864) reveal no owner named Wade-Browne, nor Reed, nor Mulligan so if the family did use a property in Fermoy Avenue then it seems likely that the property was rented, during Elizabeth's lifetime at least. Moreover that pattern continued back to the first mention of Roches Second Subdivision in 1913 (Assessment No. 3098, Reel 2). Unfortunately, no rates notices for the 1930s have been located.

(c.) Fermoy Avenue

The name Fermoy Avenue was written into the 1915 Bayview Rates Records (see Assessment No.2926, Reel 3) so it must have been proposed by the end of 1914. Fermoy Avenue (Figure 8) was constructed to the north of Lot 18 (Roche's Estate - Figure 6) and although it had been drawn on the Fifth Edition of the Parish Map (Department of Lands 1913) after publication, that map was in use until 1924 so all that can be concluded is that construction occurred between 1914 and 1924.

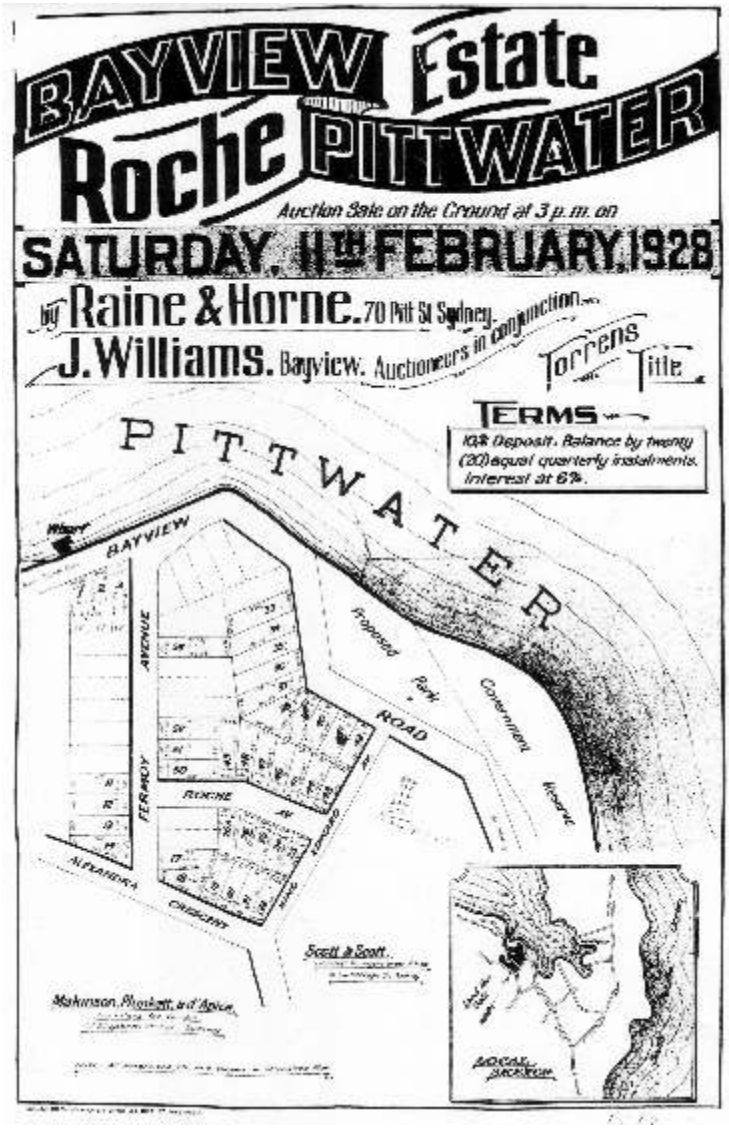

Figure 8. Poster for Roche's Estate 1928 Auction (Scott & Scott 1928).

However that date was possibly between 27 March 1920 and 12 November 1921 if successive auction plans of Bay View Wharf Estate (Hardy & Busby 1920; Hardy, Busby & Norman 1921) can be believed. At that time CWB was still living (he died 8 July 1922) which is significant for the name Fermoy was that of one of the Depôts of the 48th Foot regiment in which Cornwallis purchased a Lieutenancy in 1856 (Browne 2007, p.109; Table 1). The Depôt and its name moved to wherever the regiment was sent so Fermoy was in Malta in 1857, Gibraltar in 1858 and Allahabad in 1861. Clearly the naming of the Avenue in Bayview is likely to have been the result of the influence of Cornwallis Wade-Browne.

There would appear to have been no buildings in Fermoy Avenue by 21 November 1921 (Hardy, Busby & Norman 1921) yet by 1927 eight Lots of Roches Estate No.2 in that street had been sold (Bayview Rates Records 1909-1929) and by February 1928 twelve (Figure 8). None were in the name of Wade-Browne nor Reed nor Mulligan!

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(d.) Deduction

Hence, there is no evidence to suggest that any family member ever owned property in Fermoy Avenue so the records in Sands' directories seem to be incorrect. The use of two names for the family house appears to be merely one of confusion so one wonders if there was ever a name board at the Alexandra Crescent residence.

Abbreviations.

BMFHS	Blue Mountains Family History Society
CoT	Certificate of Title
CWB	Cornwallis Wade-Browne
MFHS	Mackay Family History Society Inc
NSW BD&M	NSW Registry of Births, Deaths & Marriages
PROV	Public Record Office Victoria

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[Note that incorrect dates have been listed in the index at this **website]**

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APPENDIX
b = birth; m = marriage; d = death

CORNWALLIS WADE-BROWNE (1837-1922).

Biography b. 6 September 1837, at Monkton Farleigh, Wiltshire; parents Wade & Anne (née PENNEFATHER) BROWNE

Departed*:* from London, England on 4 June 1865 on the *S.S. London* (Anonymous 1865a; 1922a,b,c).

Arrived*:* Melbourne, Australia on 4 August 1865 on the vessel *S.S .London* (PROV 2012).

Marriage m1. Cornwallis WADE-BROWNE to Endora Mary Anne BRAINE in Candy, Ceylon 1880; ages 43 and 33 (Browne 2007, p.108).

b. Endora Mary Anne BRAINE 1847?, Madras; parents Charles Joseph & Endora Marriott (Browne 2007, p.108).

Progeny: b. John Pennefather WADE-BROWNE 29 April 1882, Surrey, England (MFHS 2009, pp.94-95) parents Cornwallis. and Endora

d. John Pennefather WADE-BROWNE 27 March 1955, Rothesay Private Hospital, Rose Bay aged 84 (NSW BD&M 1955) parents Cornwallis. and Endora.
cremated 30 March 1955 Eastern Suburbs Crematorium.

d. Endora Mary Anne WADE-BROWNE 1 August 1893 at Medlow (NSW BD&M 1893) aged 46 years.
buried: August 1893 Blackheath Cemetery, Church of England, Row 1, No.11. in a grave that was then unmarked (BMFHS 1989, p.95).

Marriage m2. Cornwallis WADE-BROWNE (aged 63) to Elizabeth REED (aged 44) (Anonymous 1900) 11 August 1900 at Bowral (NSW BD&M 1900).

b. Elizabeth REED 1856?.

[elder sister Marian (*sometimes Marion*) MULLIGAN (née REED), husband John (m. NSW BD&M 1911); d. 18 October 1935 Bayview (Anonymous 1935) (NSW BD&M 1935; parents: Howard and Carina REED):
brother Andrew H. REED, wife Catherine (or Katherine) (née ELLIOTT) (m. NSW BD&M 1929b Manly); d. 14 August 1932 (NSW BD&M 1932; parents: Howard and Cynthia)]

d. Elizabeth WADE-BROWNE 25 (*Probate*) July 1929 of *Woodlands*, Fermoy Avenue, Bayview in St. Ronan's Private Hospital, Manly; (NSW BD&M 1929a; parents: Howard and Careena A. REED); aged 72 years (Anonymous 1929)

d. Cornwallis WADE-BROWNE at *Oriel Farm,* Medlow Bath on 8 July 1922 (NSW BD&M 1922); aged 84 years.
buried: 9 July 1922 Blackheath Cemetery, Church of England, Row 1, No.11 (BMFHS 1989, p.95; Browne 2007, p.108). [Figure 7A].

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BENJAMIN ROBERTS: ONE OF LAWSON'S PIONEERS

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Abstract
Benjamin William Roberts (1836-1899) had a brief period in California and arrived in Australia c.1878 when 42 years old. In 1882 he was employed by the Railways of New South Wales (as it was called at that time) as a pumper being based at Lawson and he remained in that job until 1888. He bought three portions of land on the north side of the railway line at Lawson and on his Portion 30 there is a waterfall that was named Frederica Falls after his baby daughter. He did not develop these three portions of land, but on the southern side of the railway line he purchased a small lot on the north-eastern side of Honour Avenue in 1887 and constructed *Alameda House*, a boarding house that became *Alameda Hotel* when he obtained a Publican's licence in 1892. He ran that hotel for five years after which the new owner renamed it the *Grand Hotel*. In 1889 he bought land on the south-western side of Honour Avenue on which he built a general store but in 1894 health issues forced him to move to the Penrith area and he died thereabouts in 1899.

Key Words: Benjamin Roberts, Alameda Hotel, Grand Hotel, Frederica Falls, Lawson, Blue Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

Adelina Falls (a well known tourist sight on the south side of Lawson), and Adelina Street (Woods 1997, p.4) were both named after Adelaide (Adelina) Mary Wilson, the second daughter of Henry and Sarah Wilson, (Fox 2010). But who was the Frederica whose name was given to Frederica Falls (on the north side of Lawson), Frederica Falls Creek and Frederica Street ? That person was Effie Alice Frederica Chilvers Roberts (1882-1935) daughter of Benjamin and Alice Roberts and this account relates to that family.

Arrival

Benjamin Williams Roberts was born to Richard Williams-Roberts* and Mary Roberts in 1836 on the Isle of Anglesey, North Wales (Anonymous 1899a,b). Benjamin was a farmer who immigrated to California to continue in the cattle trade (Anonymous 1899a) but subsequently migrated to Sydney in c.1878 no doubt hoping to continue farming. Nothing more is known of his first 42 years nor of his activities in the first four years of his life in Australia.

On 30 May 1881, at Newtown, Sydney, he married Alice Taplin (NSW BD&M 1881) whose family resided at Rooty Hill (Anonymous 1899a). Thereabouts, and approximately between the years 1882 and 1888, Benjamin was employed by Railways of New South Wales (renamed Railways & Tramways of New South Wales in 1885) as a pumper based at Lawson Railway Station (Anonymous 1899a) and his connection with the Blue Mountains began. At that time, Lawson was the next watering place for the railway engines westward of Glenbrook (Forsyth 1959, p.140). On the north-west side of Lawson Railway Station, at the present site of the Lawson Swimming Pool, an earth dam had been built across a creek and water was pumped up to a reservoir at the station at a higher elevation of 53 m (175 feet). Benjamin was employed to maintain, and use, an 8 hp *Tangye* horizontal duplex geared pump and two vertical 10 hp and a 12 hp boilers.

* It is only on the Death Registration Transcription that his name is hyphenated, Williams-Roberts.

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Figure 1. Parish of Woodford, County of Cook. Survey Plan C773-1507 dated 22 October 1878 (Pitt 1878).

Benjamin Roberts

Benjamin was to stay at Lawson "for about 14 years, subsequently leaving there for the benefit of his health." (Anonymous 1899a).

While still being employed as a pumper, Benjamin William Roberts obtained a Conditional Purchase of Portion 30 (CP 81/21) on 18 August 1881 (Pitt 1882) but he held it only briefly for in 1883 the Conditional Purchase was revoked and the land was set aside as public reserve. In August 1887 for £88-10 he purchased Portions 11 and 12 (Figure 1) on the northern side of the railway line (Figure 2). But Roberts apparently did not develop either Portion 11 or Portion 12 before he sold them in 1895 (Table 1).

A month after purchasing Lots 11 & 12 on the northern side of the line he turned his attention to the village on the southern side and on 29 September 1887, Benjamin purchased from Joseph Slade the southern part of Town Lot 12, Section 1 (33¼ perches (840.9 m^2)), that faced Douglas Place** and Broad Street (later Honour Avenue). A fortnight previously, on the 15 September 1887, the Congregational Union of NSW had purchased the northern part of Lot 12 (23¾ perches (600.7 m^2) now facing Yileena Avenue) for £50.

Construction of both the church and, on its south-west side, Roberts' guest house proceeded concurrently (Figure 3) and the Centennial Congregational Church was opened on 26 January 1888 (Bentley 1986, p.41). By 1888 Roberts had constructed a two-storeyed weather-board guest-house and a general store (Anonymous 1888) to provide income when he left the Railways & Tramways of New South Wales. The guest house was named *Alameda House* - possibly after Alameda Island (close to Oakland on the north shore of San Francisco Bay) in California where Benjamin is thought to have lived prior to immigrating to Australia. He advertised it as,

> "Private accommodation for tourists and visitors.... civility, is the principal of the establishment." (Roberts 1888).

Benjamin was a man of vision and to expand his business he needed to change the status of his boarding house to a licenced establishment, so he applied for a Publican's Conditional Licence in June 1892 (Roberts 1892a); it was granted on 26 July 1892 (Anonymous 1892b) and the premises were renamed *The Alameda Hotel* (Roberts 1892b; Figure 4). On 1 November 1892 Benjamin received his Publican's Licence (Anonymous 1892c) and so ran the hotel until 12 November 1897 when he sold it to William Challenger Wormald (Certificate of Title 1887d).

William Wormald changed the name to the *Grand Hotel* (Figure 5), probably to exemplify all that is large and impressive, a cut above the rest, something that is rich and sumptuous, but it could be merely so called because it fronted what had formerly been called Grand Avenue (Russell 1882, map opposite p.28) which became Broad Avenue and in turn Honour Avenue. In mid 1900 it was reported that Wormald sold the hotel to William Houston Lang of Sydney (Anonymous 1900) but in fact he only leased it to Lang and he reclaimed it in June 1905 and proceeded to extend the bar, increase the accommodation, and make other minor improvements to the premises (Anonymous 1905). Subsequent operators of the hotel are listed in Table 2.

** Douglas Place is used on most maps but "the correct name, Douglass Square, has been discovered [actually re-discovered] by Brian Fox and Betty King." (Mollenhauer 2006, p.38; 2008, p.55).

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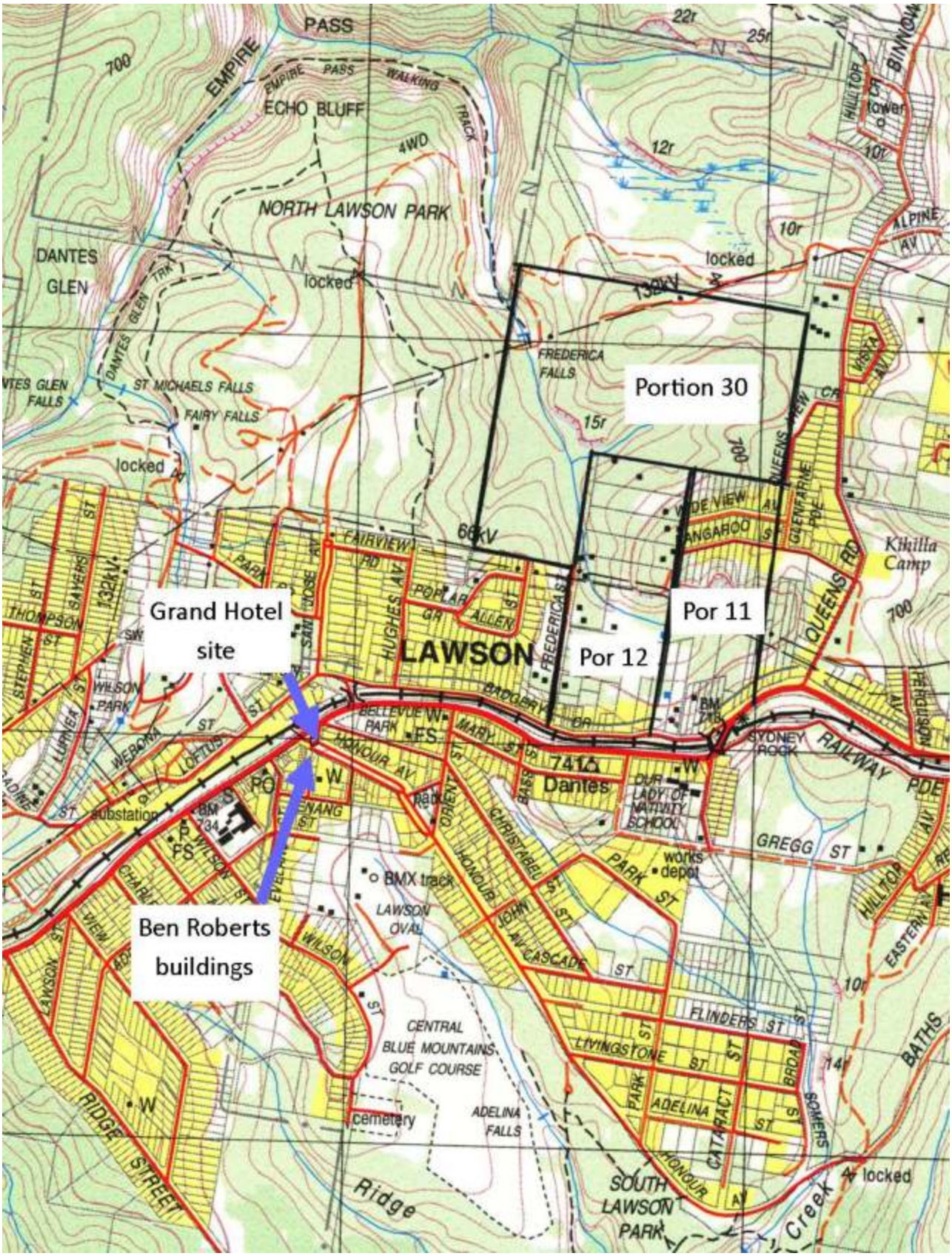

Figure 2. Annotated extract from the Katoomba 1:25000 topographical map (LIC 2000). Scale: 1 km between grid lines.

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Table 1. Benjamin Roberts' Land Ownership. North side of the Village of Lawson Parish of Woodford, County of Cook

Portion	Area	Purchase Date	Purchase Price	Sold	Survey Plan	Certificate of Title
30	92 ac (37.23 ha)	18.8.1881 Conditional			C1062-1507	
30	92 ac (37.23 ha)	1883 Conditional Purchase revoked. Crown Land			C1062-1507	
30	150 ft (45.7 m) wide	*Government Gazette* 4.12.1959 Easement for Electricity line				Raymond (1957); NSW Department of Lands (1970)
30	92 ac (37.23 ha)	18.5.2010 Converted into Lots 7309 and 7310 remaining Crown Land			DP1152 474	
11	44 ac 3 r. (17.81 ha)	25.6.1879 Auction: no bid			C773-1507	
11	44 ac 3 r. (17.81 ha)	8.3.1887	£88-10 with Lot 12			CoT (1887a,c)
11	44 ac 3 r. (17.81 ha)			19.9.1895 to George John Wells		CoT (1887c)
11	44 ac 3 r. (17.81 ha)	Subdivided into 17 Lots (1-8 & 22-30) 27.4.1897			DP3382	
11	44 ac 3 r. (17.81 ha)	currently 53 house lots				
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)	25.6.1879 Auction: no bid			C1062-1507	
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)	8.3.1887	£88-10 with Lot 11			CoT (1887b, 1888)
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)			21.8.1895 to George John Wells		CoT (1888)
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)	Subdivided into 14 Lots (9-21 and one excised) 27.4.1897			DP3382	
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)	19.5.1916 19 Lots			DP8777	
12	43 ac 3 r. (17.41 ha)	currently 28 house lots				

Just over a year into William Wormald's ownership of the Grand Hotel, the H. Samuel Edward Lees, Member for Nepean in the NSW Legislative Assembly, used these premises to promote the Federation of Australia (Anonymous 1899c). Another political event occurred towards the end of Wormald's ownership, when the Grand Hotel played host to Australia's Acting Prime Minister, Earle Christmas Grafton Page who is renowned for holding that office for the shortest period of time, just 28 days (Anonymous 1924).

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Figure 3. Congregational Church under construction in late 1887 with the partly constructed *Alameda Hotel* next door.

Figure 4. *Alameda Hotel* c.1894 previously called *Alameda House* (Roberts 1892b). Note that this is a montage to show the whole of the hotel.

Figure 5. *The Grand Hotel* after the front balcony had been blown off in early August 1921. View to SSE.

Sidney Martin Challenger Wormald, the son of the proprietor, was one of the first recruits from Lawson to leave for the First World War. He was involved in the Gallipoli campaign and was evacuated to Egypt for three weeks before being sent to France and the front trenches, but survived! In 1938 he was the sole owner of the land title but sold in 1945 (Anonymous 1916a) and lived on until 1963.

The Grand Hotel was destroyed in a fire in the early hours of 12 October 1932 (Anonymous 1932b,c) and after the remains had been cleared the land remained vacant (Figure 7). When in 1954 the Kings bought the land their intention was to construct a building for medical and dental purposes, and a second floor to be used as a flat. However the bank manager would not approve a loan and there was opposition from Council to a commercial premises being built as it did not fit in with the north side of Honour Avenue (pers. comm. Mrs. E. King 23 January 2011). Consequently the land at 4 Honour Avenue has remained vacant and is now designated as the 'Grand Hotel-archeological site' (BMCC 2005).

Figure 6. *The Grand Hotel* restored with a new and enlarged verandah c.1922. View to E. The horse trough (lower left corner) was installed in 1921.

Photo: Peter Rickwood, 2013

Figure 7. The remains of the foundations of *The Grand Hotel*.

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Table 2. Successive Owners, Proprietors and Lessees of the *Alameda*/*Grand Hotel,* Lawson.

Definitions:

Owner: Named person on the Certificate of Title
Lessee: Person leasing the premises from the owner
Proprietor: Operator of the business, possibly just a Manager
Licensee: Person granted a Publican's Licence by the Licensing Court
(A Licence was also needed to operate Billiard Tables and a Permit to have music played! e.g. Anonymous (1913a))

Table 2a. Successive Owners of Lawson Town Lot 12, Section 1 - the hotel site.

Owner	Date	Certificate of Title
Joseph Slade	25 March 1885	CoT (1885)
subdivided into N (23¾ perches (600.7 m^2)) & S (33¼ perches (840.9 m^2)		
Benjamin William Roberts bought the S part (33¼ perches (840.9 m^2))	29 September 1887	CoT (1885, 1887d)
William Challenger Wormald †	12 November 1897	CoT (1887d)
Anna Margarita Wormald ††, and sons Henry James Challenger Wormald & Sidney Martin Challenger Wormald.	23 September 1925	CoT (1925)
	Destroyed by fire 12 October 1932	Anonymous (1932c)
Henry James Challenger Wormald and Sidney Martin Challenger Wormald	11 October 1933	
Sidney Martin Challenger Wormald	27 April 1938	CoT (1925)
Esther Jane Moon	2 October 1945	CoT (1925)
John MacLaren Howard Soper	22 March 1950	CoT (1925)
Keith Laurence King	2 April 1954	CoT (1925)
Laurence Browning Pty Ltd. (aka Dr & Mrs. King)	6 June 1980	CoT (1980)
19.7 m^2 (Lot 4) on the Great Western Highway side was resumed by The Commissioner for Main Roads on the 9 May 1967 and the rest became Lot 10.		DP1077933
Lot 10, 834.4 m^2 (4 Honour Avenue) sold to Hassan and Youmna El-Dirani	28 February 2006	DP1077933
4 Honour Avenue designated as Grand Hotel archeological site.		The Blue Mountains Environmental Plan 2005; Schedule 6, Part 1, LN078
† died 3 January 1924, aged 73 †† died 26 May 1933, aged 70		

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Table 2b. Hotel proprietors and lessees (who were neither the owners nor the licensees)

Name	Position	Reference
William Goodland Burney	employee	Anonymous (1901)
Emily Barlow	Leased 11 February 1914	CoT (1887d); Anonymous (1916b,c)
Albert James Carter	Renewal of Billiard Licence	Anonymous (1915)
R. Mack	Used Grand Hotel as his postal address to purchase grocery business	Anonymous (1920)
Michael Norbert Jordan	Proprietor 1921	Bentley (1986, p.28)
Henry Perle	Proprietor 1922	Anonymous (1922)
Frank J. Sterling	Proprietor 1924	Wilson Publishing Co. (1924), p.698.
Mrs. E. Hendry	Proprietress 1925	Wilson Publishing Co. (1925), p.688.
Herbert Frederick Jeans	Leased 1 September 1925	CoT (1887d)
Albert Edward Lyndon	Proprietor 1926	Anonymous (1926)
Syd. Wilson	Proprietor 1926	Letterhead, The Grand Hotel, Lawson, dated 7 March 1926.

Table 2c. Holders of the Publican's Licence at the *Alameda Hotel* and the *Grand Hotel*

Licensee	Date	Reference
Benjamin William Roberts	26 July 1892	Anonymous (1892b)
Benjamin William Roberts	1.11.1894 – 31.10.1895	*Government Gazette*, 20.11.1894, p.7386.
John Webster	1.11.1895 – 31.10.1896	*Government Gazette*, 22.11.1895, p.7637.
George Webster	1.11.1896 – 31.10.1897	*Government Gazette*, 15.12.1896, p.9034.
William Challenger Wormald	1.11.1897 – 31.10.1898	*Government Gazette,* 23.11.1897, p.8489.
William Challenger Wormald	1.11.1898 – 31.10.1899	*Government Gazette,* 18.11.1898, p.9018.
William Challenger Wormald	1.11.1899 – 31.10.1900	*Government Gazette,* 17.11.1899, p.8666.
William Houston Lang ‡	1.11.1900 – 31.10.1901	*Government Gazette,* 19.11.1900, p.9063.
William Houston Lang	1.11.1901 – 31.10.1906	*Government Gazette* Licensee, 1901-1906.
William Challenger Wormald	1.11.1907 – 30.10.1910	*Government Gazette,* 20.11.1907, p.6335; Anonymous (1908, 1909)
Kenneth Carmichael ‡	31.10.1910 – 30.10.1912	Anonymous (1910c); ‡ CoT (1887d)
Charles William Ferris	31.10.1912 – 30.10.1913	Anonymous (1913a)
Charles Endicott	31.10.1913 – 30.10.1914	Anonymous (1913c) but ownership did not change (CoT 1887d) only the Publican's Licence; Anonymous (1913d)
Albert James Carter	31.10.1914 – 30.10.1916	Anonymous (1914)
William Challenger Wormald	31.10.1916 – 30.10.1917	*Government Gazette,* 24.11.1916, p.6955.
William Henry Patrick Cherry	31.10.1917 – 30.10.1920	*Government Gazette* Licensee, 1917-1919.
Frederick Murray ‡	31.10.1920 – 30.10.1921	*Government Gazette,* 22.10.1920, p.6213; ‡ CoT (1887d)
Michael Norbert Jordan	31.10.1921 – 30.10.1922	*Government Gazette,* 18.11.1921, p.6599.
Albert Edward Lyndon	1928	Anonymous (1928)
Annie Edith Mears	1929	Anonymous (1930a,b)
Edgar Horrie Vears ‡	1930 – February 1932	
Emma Vears ‡	February 1932– October 1932 Grand Hotel destroyed by fire 12 October 1932. The land was cleared and remained vacant.	Anonymous (1932a,b,c)
‡ also held the hotel lease.		

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Joseph Hay's Lawson Town Sec 2, Lot 2 of 2 rods 36 perches (2934 m^2) (Potter 1882; CoT 1884), which is located on the southern side of Broad Street (Honour Avenue), was later subdivided into four Lots (Campbell 1884). On 28 August 1889 Benjamin Roberts purchased from Joseph Hay these new Lots 2, 3 and 4 of 26 perches, 23¼ perches and 38 perches respectively. Various mortgages were involved and some land sold, leaving Lot 3 and parts of Lots 2 & 4 with a total area of 38 ¾ perches (980.1 m^2) (CoT 1907).

Table 3. Benjamin Roberts' Land Ownership. South side of the Village of Lawson Parish of Linden, County of Cook

Portion	Area	Purchase Date	Sold	Survey Plan	Certificate of Title
Southern part of Sec.1, Lot 12	33¼ perches (840.9 m^2)	29.9.1887	12.9.1897 sold to William Challenger Wormald		CoT (1885, 1887d)
Sec.2, Lot 2	2 rods 36 perches (2934 m^2)	28.8.1889			CoT (1884)
Sec.2, Lot 3 and parts of Lots 2 & 4	38¾ perches (980.1 m^2)	resurveyed 26.9.1907	3.2.1909 sold to Joseph Walter Brown	DP1317 (Lot 3) DP456271 (Lots 2 & 4)	CoT (1907)

Benjamin Roberts' holdings of land on the southern side of Lawson are recorded in Table 3.

On Sec.2, Lot 3, Benjamin had constructed two 'mirror image' brick buildings one behind the other, by 1890. The front one was a general store, with a residence upstairs. However in February 1892 he sold this business to William Hart, of Wollongong (Anonymous 1892a), who took the good will and stock to a large brick building a few doors further up the street. Benjamin made his premises into (9a) fronting Broad Street called '*St. Helens*' for the purpose of a store and bakery and a smaller one at the rear (9b) called '*Edgeroi'* (Mollenhauer 2006, p.36; 2008, pp.51-52) facing what is now Blind Street.

The land was sold to Joseph Walter Brown on 3 February 1909 and when he died it passed to his sons Harry Frank Brown and Walter Frank Brown on 20 January 1922 (CoT 1907). On 1 July 1922 the Browns sold to Hilton Royal Hutson and when he died in 1955 the land was passed to his sons Walter Royal Hutson and Frederick Thomas Hutson (CoT 1959). On 10 December 1963 the Hutsons sold to Keith Laurence King (Medical practitioner) and his wife Elizabeth Browning King and seventeen years later on the 6 June 1980 the Kings registered their Title as Laurence Browning Pty Ltd. (CoT 1959). Carolynne Skinner Pty. Ltd. purchased it on 3 August 2005 (Mollenhauer 2006, p.36; 2008, p.52; pers. comm. Carolynne Skinner 4 May 2013).

Over the years the premises have been leased by various people pursuing various trades, e.g. by Ernest Walter Miller, Bootmaker (Mollenhauer & Neall 2010, p.78). Dr Keith King occupied 9a Honour Avenue from 1963 until his retirement in 1988, and his son Max (Mollenhauer 2006, p.36, 2008, p.52; Mollenhauer & Neall 2010, p.80) operated the dental surgery from 1976 until 1991. This building facing Honour Avenue was officially opened by The Hon. R.O. Healey, M.L.A., Minister for Health, on 22 November 1975 and was known as Lawson Community Health and Medical Centre.

Subsequently there have been various lessees whilst it remained in the ownership of the Kings until 2005. In 2013 the eastern building is 'Skinner's Hardware' (Figure 8) having opened on 25 August 2006 (Mollenhauer & Neall 2010, p.80) and the rear premises, constructed in 1890, is 'Ben Roberts Café' (Figure 9) having opened on 1 December 2007 (pers. comm. Carolynne Skinner 1 May 2013), both being owned by Carolynne Kiku Skinner.

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Photo: Brian Fox 2011

Figure 8. 9 Honour Avenue, Skinner's Hardware formerly the site of the Medical Practice of Dr Keith King.

Photo: Brian Fox 2013

Figure 9. Ben Roberts Café, Blind Street

Community Activities

In 1893, Benjamin Roberts was elected a Committee member of the Lawson Progress Committee (Anonymous 1893a,b). One of the Committee's first acts was to request the Inspector-General to provide more adequate police protection (Anonymous 1903), and that resulted in a mounted police-man being appointed with instruction to patrol Lawson. Next on their list was a deputation to the Minister for Public Instruction, to seek a rent allowance for the school teacher, but the members also pleaded for improvement of the public roads (Anonymous 1893b). In 1894 the Committee agitated for the addition of a postman to their staff. Eventually it was agreed to engage a local youth to carry out a delivery, for the five months of the year when the tourist season was on, at a salary of ten shillings per week (Bentley 1986, p.35).

Benjamin was also involved in the local Lawson Cricket Club, at one time being one of the seven vice-presidents (Anonymous 1894a).

Benjamin was a very highly respected member of his local community and when he left in October 1894, suffering from pleurisy and congestion of the lungs, the newspaper also recorded,

"... Lawson can ill – afford to lose such an energetic man." (Anonymous 1894b).

He moved down to the warmer climate of Penrith and then, in 1896, Benjamin and his wife Alice resided on Frank Judge's farm at Castlereagh, where until his death in 1899 he was involved in farming (Anonymous 1899a). But for much of those latter years he retained land at Lawson only selling his last holding on 12 September 1897.

Benjamin Roberts died on 27 March 1899 (NSW BD&M 1899; Anonymous 1899a,b) at Cranebrook aged 62 after 12 days of illness; on his death certificate the occupations of both he and his father are written "farmer" and the cause of death "acute lobar pneumonia, asthenia" (Rowan 2011). Benjamin was buried on 29 March 1899 in the Presbyterian Section of the General Cemetery at St. Marys (Anonymous 1899a; Rowan 2011), but the grave is unmarked.

Benjamin Roberts' life was one of diversity of interests and skills. He had been a farmer, an engineer, owner of a general store, a boarding house keeper and a publican. To add to that list he was a person prepared to leave his own country and carve out a new lifestyle. He was a family man who actively took part in his local community, yet was also an astute business man. A person both with physical and intellectual prowess, a person prepared to roll up the sleeves and get on with the job no matter what it was.

The Roberts Family

Benjamin's wife, Alice (née Taplin) was born on 15 April 1851, at Cobbity, NSW to parents Frederick & Elizabeth (née Chilvers) **(**Camden Pioneer Register**;** NSW BD&M 1851**)** and died at Rockdale in 1938 (NSW BD&M 1938)**.**

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They had four children:
1. Effie Alice Frederica Chilvers ROBERTS, born 25 April 1882 at Cobbity, Camden (NSW BD&M 1882; IGI 2003). What a mouthful for any child to be lumbered with!; all the legal documents record this four barrelled given name, but the 'flesh on the bones' newspaper articles report her as just, Frederica. Can we speculate that it was the father who chose the first two names and the mother who chose Frederica (the female version of her father's given name, Frederick) followed by her own maiden name? Frederica married Stephen Charles WATSON on 15 May 1912 at the Congregational Church, Lawson (NSW BD&M 1912a; Anonymous 1912) and judging by the consecutive certificate numbers her sister Edwina must have married shortly after. Frederica and Stephen had two children, Clive Tasman WATSON who was born 27 August 1913 (NSW BD&M 1913a) and died 30 August 1913 aged four days (NSW BD&M 1913b; Anonymous 1913b) and Philip Gainsford WATSON born in 1914 (NSW BD&M 1914). Effie WATSON died 3 February 1935, aged 53 (NSW BD&M 1935) and was buried in Lawson Cemetery on 5 February 1935. Stephen Charles WATSON died in 1955 at Auburn aged 71 (NSW BD&M 1955).

2. Richard Frederick ROBERTS**,** born in 1884 in the District of Penrith (NSW BD&M 1884) and he died in that district in 1925 (NSW BD&M 1925) never having married. In the 1914 Electoral Roll (Blue Mountains Council 1914), he is listed as "carpenter, Lawson".

3. Arthur John Augustus ROBERTS, born 1886 in the District of Penrith (NSW BD&M 1886).
He married Ada Catherine Williams WHITE in 1913 (Queensland BD&M 1913) and was listed as carpenter, Lawson. Arthur died in 1941 (Queensland BD&M 1941) and his wife in 1954 (Queensland BD&M 1954), her father having been Edward Joseph WHITE and her mother Christiana MULLER.

4. Edwina Mary Lucy Ann ROBERTS, born 1889 in the District of Springwood (NSW BD&M 1889). She married Ernest Albert SMEE in 1912 (NSW BD&M 1912b) and judging by the consecutive certificate numbers it was not long after her sister Effie had been married.
They had three children;
Arthur Ernest SMEE born 1912 (NSW BD&M 1912c) and died 6 January 1991 at St George Hospital, Hurstville aged 78 (Anonymous 1991),
Roy Albert SMEE born 1916 (NSW BD&M 1916) who died aged 96 and whose funeral was on 7 November 2012 at St. Michaels Catholic Church, Lane Cove then proceeded to the Northern Suburbs Crematorium (Anonymous 2012) and
Bruce Allan SMEE who died in Johannesburg 20 August 1984 (Anonymous 1984a,b) and was cremated at the Northern Suburbs Crematorium on 28 August 1984.
Their father Ernest Albert SMEE (formerly of the Royal Marines & Australian Railways) died in hospital on 29 September 1967 aged 79 (Anonymous 1967) and their mother Edwina Mary SMEE died 1 December 1968 at Katoomba (NSW BD&M 1968; Anonymous 1968).

Features named after Effie Alice FREDERICA Chilvers Watson (née ROBERTS)

Frederica Falls, Lawson (Figure 10)
These falls are on the eastern side of the North Lawson Park and are accessed via a long walk along the Empire Pass Walking Track from St. Bernards Drive (c.2.7 km) or the fire trail from the end of San Jose Avenue (c.1.63 km) or an unmarked track to the right off the end of Hughes Avenue, (Painter 2004, pp.25-26)(c.0.750 km), or by a fire trail commencing from the western side of Queens Road opposite Alpine Avenue (1.28 km) (see Figure 1). The 132kV electricity transmission line crosses both Frederica Falls Creek, and the fire trail, close to Frederica Falls.

The earliest known use of the name **Frederica Falls** is on 1 March 1895 (Anonymous 1895) but that source did not give the origin. That came in April 1910 (Anonymous 1910a) and again in November 1910:

> "The new path between Dante's Glen and the beautiful Frederica Falls is attracting many visitors. It is considered to be one of the prettiest of many walks in the neighbourhood. It is not generally

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known that the Frederica Falls are named after Miss Frederica Roberts, a popular resident of Lawson, whose father owned the property many years ago. Miss Roberts was at the time was an infant in arms." (Anonymous 1910b).

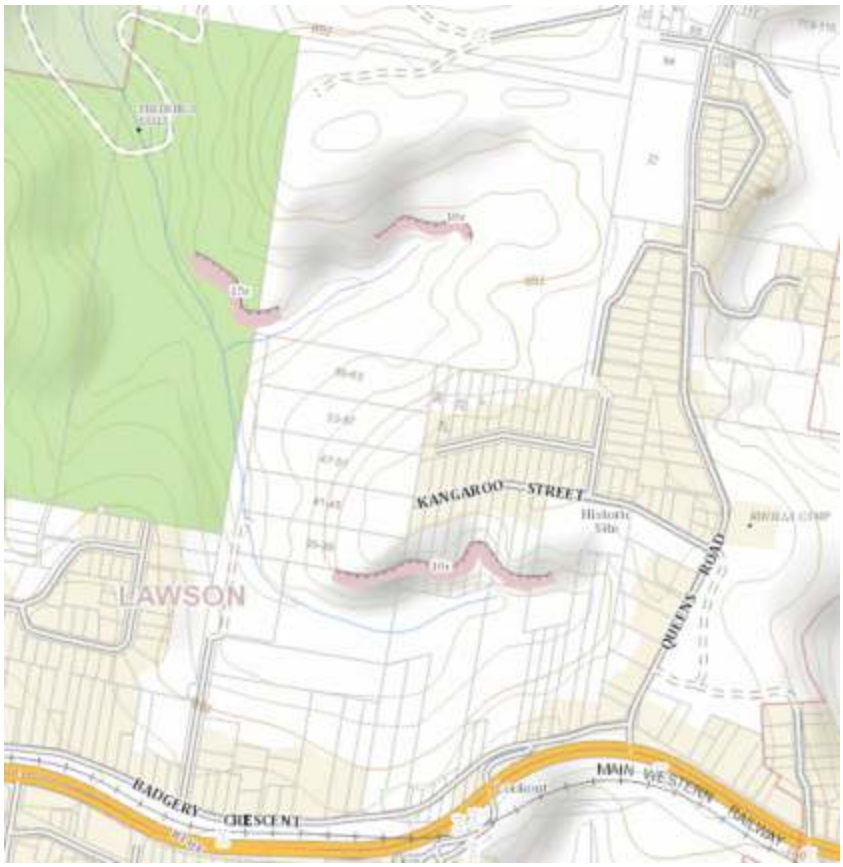
Photo: Harry Phillips, reproduced by permission of the BMCC Local Studies Librarian.

Figure 10. Frederica Falls, Lawson. The girl is thought to be seven year old Isabella May Phillips

Photo: Brian Fox 2011

Figure 11. Tourist china: teapot with Frederica Falls incorrectly spelled.

From that description Effie Alice Frederica Chilvers Roberts would have been about one year old which suggests that the name was assigned in 1882 or 1883, the years when her father had a Conditional Purchase of Portion 30 in which Frederica Falls are located (Figure 1).



SixMaps © Land and Property Information (2013)

Figure 12. Map of North Lawson with Frederica Falls. [Unlabelled are Frederica Street, which runs northwards from the word Badgery and is the western boundary of Por. 12 on Figure 2, and Frederica Falls Creek the main watercourse].

Frederica Street, Lawson

A short, no through, road on the northern side of the railway running north off Badgery Crescent that was first surveyed on 27 April 1897 as a 66 ft (20 m) wide road, but no name was assigned at that time (Parrott 1897). It was recorded as Frederick Street on a survey plan, dated 11 March 1910 (Rygate 1910) but as "F Falls Rd" in Lawson Rates Records (1910-1913). The first survey plan to have the current correct spelling 'Frederica Street' was dated 5 September 1988 (McDonald 1988).

Frederica Falls Creek, Lawson

This creek rises in Portion 11 between Frederica Street and Queens Road, and between Kangaroo Street and Badgery Crescent (Figure 12) and flows generally NNW and NW for 2.1 km before joining Dantes Glen Creek.

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The Empire Pass Walking Track follows the lower section of Frederica Falls Creek up to the falls (Painter 2004, pp.16 & 18-19).

Conclusion

Our villages have had many hardworking, community minded, people who paved the way for better infrastructure and gave future children a lasting legacy. The Roberts family of Lawson is just one of the thousands of such pioneers across our land, but no hand written notes or photos have been unearthed to highlight the personal side of their story – just the dry legal, official papers. We get just a small glimpse of their personal side from the naming of a street, a creek and a waterfall after one child, Frederica. Our communities need to give thanks to our long forgotten early pioneers; I welcome the opportunity to do so in this paper and Carolynne Skinner thought highly enough of Ben Roberts to call her shop, the Ben Roberts Café.

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I thank LPI – NSW Department of Finance and Services 2013, Panorama Avenue, Bathurst 2795 for permission to publish Figure 1.

Abbreviations

BMCC	Blue Mountains City Council
CoT	Certificate of Title
IGI	International Genealogical Index
LIC	Land Information Centre
NSW BD&M	NSW Registry of Births, Deaths & Marriages

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CROSSING THE NEPEAN RIVER AT PENRITH

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Abstract
This paper seeks to examine the various crossings on the Nepean River and some of its tributaries in the vicinity of Emu Plains and Penrith, from colonial times through to today. It considers the context and setting of the River and early settlement, and reviews the various means of achieving movement over and near the waterway, as dictated by climate and the seasons, available resources in labour, expertise and materials, and how this related to the development of the colony through road and rail transport.

Key words: Nepean River, Penrith, Emu Plains, crossings, bridges, Blue Mountains

INTRODUCTION

The Nepean River (Figure 1) presented a significant physical barrier to the expansion of the fledgling colony of New South Wales. Its headwaters are to be found near Menangle, and it flows through to the Grose River entrance near Agnes Banks, north of Penrith, from where it is called the Hawkesbury River. It stands to reason that the waterway had been traversed for hundreds of years by the Aboriginal people, who chose the few low level and narrow places to negotiate. Their burdens were minimal and they crossed from necessity only.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 1. The Nepean River: view upstream to the South.

These Aboriginal crossing places would have been utilized at first by Europeans, but settlers sought to open up the western lands for agriculture and food production, so their eventual crossings would always need to be more substantial. The construction of a road was a prerequisite, to accommodate horses, carts and carriages to transport materials and passengers in great numbers. Despite the variable terrain, the number of crossing locations grew over time and encompassed punt, ferry, road bridges and railway bridge. This article seeks to canvas a small selection of those crossings in the Penrith valley, with a view to further research at a later date on more specific aspects of the subject and on the crossings of the Hawkesbury River.

1. The Physical Barrier.

The Aboriginal people had been crossing the Nepean River at Emu Ford for time immemorial. The river environs provided gravel beds for obtaining stone for tool manufacture, and the river linked Aboriginal groups from east to west, and from north to south.

The Nepean River was originally discovered by Europeans in 1789 by Watkin Tench, whilst in a party on an exploration expedition. They described the Nepean River (named for Evan Nepean by Governor Phillip – Nepean was the Undersecretary to Lord Sydney in the Home Office, and had worked on many of the details of the planning of the First Fleet) as

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> "… nearly as broad as the Thames at Putney, and apparently of great depth, the current running very slowly in a northerly direction." (Tench 1793a, pp.24-25; Flannery 2009, p.111).

The Hawkesbury River was discovered entering Broken Bay earlier in the same year and named by Governor Phillip in June 1789, and about three years later it was recognised as being a seaward extension of the Nepean River (Thorpe 1986, p.12). Tench (1793b) provided the chart "A Map of the hitherto explored Country, contiguous to Port Jackson" in 1793, which displayed the state of the colony at that time.

The Nepean River flows around the edge of the Cumberland basin some 63 km (*39 miles*) west of Port Jackson and it defined the western boundary of the colony of New South Wales for many years after settlement. The colony was commenced with much enthusiasm following the decision to bypass Botany Bay, where fertile lands and fresh water were insufficient. The Nepean-Hawkesbury river system provided fertile flats for food production, but after only a short period it was realized that the soils of the Sydney area were also lacking in sufficient substance to feed a quickly growing population (Thorpe 1986). The climate and the unfamiliar vegetation, made providing for such a diverse cultural group an increasing challenge as time went on. With delays in the arrival of subsequent supplies, and then the coming of further ship loads of convicts, the local leaders began looking further west and toward the mountains which had been named the Carmarthen Hills. Many attempts had been made to penetrate them and Lieutenant Dawes led a party in 1789, and

> "… Having discovered a ford in the river, they passed it, and proceeded in a westerly direction." (Tench 1793a, p.28; Flannery 2009, p.116).

After a few days they were unable to proceed into the hills due to their rugged nature, and they turned back. Following many subsequent attempts following the valleys, the mountains were eventually crossed utilizing the ridges (Taylor 2008, p.17).

2. The Fords.

Numerous expeditions in the following years also commenced from the Emu Ford (painted by John Lewin c.1815). There were other low crossing points along the Nepean River such as Jacksons Ford (c.2.7 km downstream; Figure 2), and Blaxland's Ford (c.20.5 km upstream; photograph - Stacker 2002, opposite p.1) at Wallacia which served John Blaxland's property on the western side of the river (Anonymous 2011). The Hawkesbury River could also be crossed at low places downstream at Yarrramundi (c.18 km downstream of Emu Ford) and even further on at Richmond.

The Governor, in an attempt to limit the need to cross the river, and to prevent unauthorized take up of land, in April 1812 made a Government order that directed

> "... no persons whatever (excepting the families of Messrs M'Arthur and Davidson, their shepherds and

Figure 2. Location Map (Land Information Centre 2000; Land & Property Information NSW 2001).

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servants) shall pass or travel west of the Nepean River, unless with a written pass from His Excellency" (Ellis 1979, p.253).

From the early discovery of the river system, it became obvious that the river was a treacherous mistress. Although the frequent floods increased the fertility of the river flats, they would sweep all before them as the high water flowed through. This also limited exploration. Tench noted

"... scarcity of provisions, joined to the terror of a river at our back, whose sudden rising is almost beyond computation, hindered us from exploring." (Tench 1793a, p.87; Flannery 2009, p.199).

The years 1790-1791 were dry, but afterwards the river flooded on a regular basis and settlement along the river was a tenuous existence. By 1809 the regular flooding meant a move away from the river, and settlement occurred on topographic 'islands' connected by the swollen river during floods.

When Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth set off in May 1813, they too, crossed at Emu Ford (Figure 3) as did surveyor George Evans later the same year. In 1814 William Cox was commissioned by Governor Macquarie to construct a road from Emu Plains to the Bathurst Plains (Powell 1995, p.80), following the line established by Evans (Cox 2012, p.104). This too commenced at Emu Ford. The road was constructed by a team of 30 convicts (with guards) to Macquarie's specification in six

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012.

Figure 3. Emu Ford today

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 4. Knapsack Creek.

months, a significant feat in light of the circumstances. Cox noted in his diary on 18 July 1814 that he found "… , the banks very steep on the east side." (Mackaness 1965, p.34) but that sufficed for the original construction was only intended to be a simple stock and cart road.

Once Cox moved away from the river precinct he then had to construct a bridge over the Jamieson Creek (also known as Knapsack Creek - Figure 4) before he could head off up the mountain. On 23 July 1814 he fixed the place where they would cross the creek, and on 25 July he recorded:

"Finished a crossing-place over the creek, and worked from the creek to the crossing-place where you ascent the mountain." (Mackaness 1965, p.35).

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 5. Culvert in Hollier Reserve.

A map by H.E.C. Robinson (Sheet 127 in Robinson 1915?) shows the remains of this bridge still in place in 1915 in what today it would be the Hollier Reserve. A recent site inspection shows the crossing location to be in the vicinity of where the M4 crosses the creek at the northern end of the Hollier Reserve (Figure 5), therefore it is unlikely that any remains of the original bridge are to be found.

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Upon his return from this epic construction work in 1815, Cox constructed a depôt on the eastern side the Nepean River above the flood line in the vicinity of what is now Weir Reserve. This was his base for the subsequent construction of the road back toward Sydney; it had both a guard house and a military depôt which later became a court house.

Even though the mountains had been conquered, Governor Macquarie still tightly controlled settlement west of the Nepean River but in 1818 he commenced the settlement of Bathurst with the granting of the first ten holdings to settlers deemed prominent and worthy (Dillon & Butler 2010, p.241).

T.L. Mitchell. State Library of NSW – C 331/12

Figure 6. Eastern portion of the 'Survey of part of Emu Plains' (Mitchell 1832) showing the position of the ferry. [N.B. The map has been rotated to place North at the top.]

In 1819 Macquarie set a Government boat to ferry passengers across the river (Figure 6), and a wharf was built. The Governor formed a new settlement on the western side of the river at Emu Plains and it commenced as a penal settlement, but became a site of significant food production for the colony. A wide range of people became located in the area, from convicts and ex-convicts, military officers, civil officers, soldiers, sailors, missionaries, and free men and women. Ex-convicts such as Lieutenant Thomas Reibey settled alongside the Hawkesbury River, (Pullen 1975, p.155) and John Jamieson settled by the Nepean River. The Emu Plains settlement was often isolated by floodwater.

Macquarie set off on 9 September 1820 to inspect this agricultural settlement for himself, crossing the Nepean River in the Government boat. He also visited John Jamieson, crossing in Jamieson's boat, walking down to the ferry where the carriage crossed. So there was a variety of both government and private marine traffic plying trade of various kinds across the river at this time from Emu Ford through to the main ferry site (Macquarie 1820).

Following Macquarie's return to England, travel restrictions continued to be enforced throughout the 1820s under Governors Brisbane and Darling. In the following decade restrictions were eased by Governor Bourke.

Penrith City Library Photographic Collection.

Figure 7. *Regentville* 1835.

Judge Barron Field recorded in 1822:

"The difficulties of the travel commence at Emu Ford over the river Nepean, a branch of the Hawkesbury. Crossing this stream is always a work of such time and trouble, and sometimes of such difficulty and danger that the traveler should send forward his cart or baggage-horses, to overcome it, half a day before he rides or rows through it himself." (Mackaness 1965, p.119).

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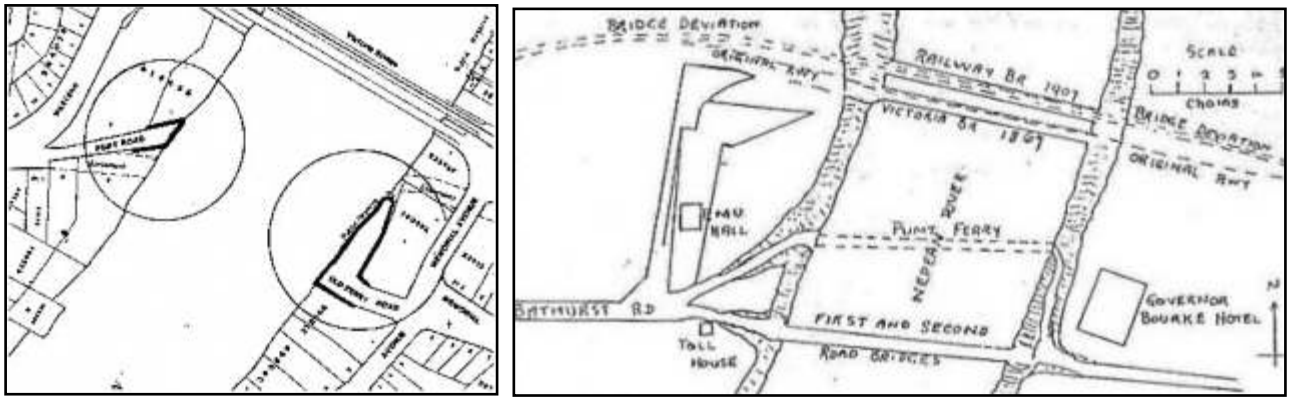

A Penrith City Council (2000) & Item NR-5 in Fox & Associates (1991)

B (Palmer 1971, p.4 - drawn by C.C. Singleton).

Figure 8. Plans of some bridges near Penrith.

It was not uncommon for passengers to have to forgo some of their possessions at the Ford, in order to obtain passage to Bathurst.

In 1823 a ferry or punt was put in place, but it was little more than a railed raft:

> "It consists of two large boats, assimilated to whale boats. Between the boats there is an opening of some yards; and upon both, a strong deck is raised. The Punt has a rudder which greatly assists the working of the boats; and from each side of the River, which may be about 200 yards across, there is a strong rope, by which one man is able to manage the apparently cumbrous machine." (Anonymous 1823).

It was located about a mile (*1.6 km*) south of Emu Ford adjacent to John Jamieson's *Regentville* (Figures 7 & 8A) and near the present day Victoria Bridge (Figure 8B). The deep rugged gullies to the north and south of Penrith made crossing anywhere else impossible without bridge construction
.

It was common practice, and considered safe and reliable (notwithstanding floods), to have provisions and passengers conveyed across on the punt or ferry, whilst horses and carriages were sent down to the ford. Cattle were swum across, whilst sheep were boated. Dignitaries travelling west would be invited to dine at *Regentville* before they proceeded on their journey. This included Governor Macquarie and his wife on their trip west in 1815 to inspect the road newly constructed by William Cox. Jamieson was often called upon to assist travellers isolated by floods, or delayed by inclement weather (e.g. Hawkins 1822, pp.104-105).

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 9. Emu Ferry – western approach today

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 10. Emu Ferry – eastern approach today.

The Punt Road and Old Ferry Road precincts in present day Penrith contain clear remnants of the location of the punt and the old bridge site, with a road formation on the western side of the river and concrete pavement sections on the east (Karskens 1988, pp.61-63), Figures 9 & 10 show these sites as they appear today.

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Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 11. *Emu Hall.* (Erected for James Tobias Ryan between 1851 and 1854 - Wikipedia 2013a).

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 12. Site of the former police station and lockup.

Nearby, opposite *Emu Hall* (Figures 8B & 11) and across the punt access road, is the site of the police station lockup (Figure 12) and residence of the 1830s, identified through interpretive signage and a few metal and brick artifacts lying about the site under the trees.

By 1824 a heavy toll was charged for the use of the ferry, yet

> "Very often a string of teams would be waiting to cross in their turn, and people in vehicles would be detained sometimes for days, even weeks." (Karskens 1988, p.61).

The toll was a severe hindrance to small farmers and landholders, so, at great risk, the ford crossing was often used to avoid the cost.

By 1836 the *Depôt Inn* (1824) had been constructed on the eastern side of the river at the ferry site and Penrith slowly developed as a small scattered town. About 1827 the inn that was replaced by the *Log Cabin Hotel*, otherwise known as the *Emu Ferry Inn* or *Wilson's Inn*, as Wilson ran both the inn and the ferry. It was a lucrative business where he could decide whether to run the ferry or not, depending upon the height of the water in the river. If he felt it was too high, passengers had no choice but to utilize his accommodation until the river level fell. The Inn was demolished in 1967 (Parr 2006).

In 1817 Major George Druitt, Inspector of Government Public Works, had a long list of engineering achievements in the colony, including 21 miles of road from Parramatta to Emu Ford with 43 bridges! (DMR 1976, p.21). Governor Macquarie progressed his road building program, mostly on the coast or out to the navigable rivers, with minimal land access such as to the Bathurst Plains. However,

> "Although the Macquarie era is renowned for its architecture, little lasting bridgework was completed… bridges are so vulnerable and so frequently have to be demolished when a new, larger, structure is built." (DMR 1976, p.18).

Bridges were also so susceptible to flood damage!

In 1825 a new land system was introduced, requiring the whole colony to be surveyed, townships to be laid out and parishes to be created. It also included provision for roads and infrastructure. This set the ground work for the issue of vast numbers of land grants. To the west, and thanks to people such as Mitchell, Lockyer, Collits and Hume, the steep pass down into the Hartley Valley was conquered with the opening of Victoria Pass in 1832. Upgrades were a frequent feature of all roads, with deviations constantly being undertaken where the road deteriorated so Mitchell was often reporting on another dilapidated section of the western road which had become impassible.

From time to time the Government levied tolls to provide funds for the repair of roads, bridges and ferries, applying charges for both stock and passengers. But what use was funding with the

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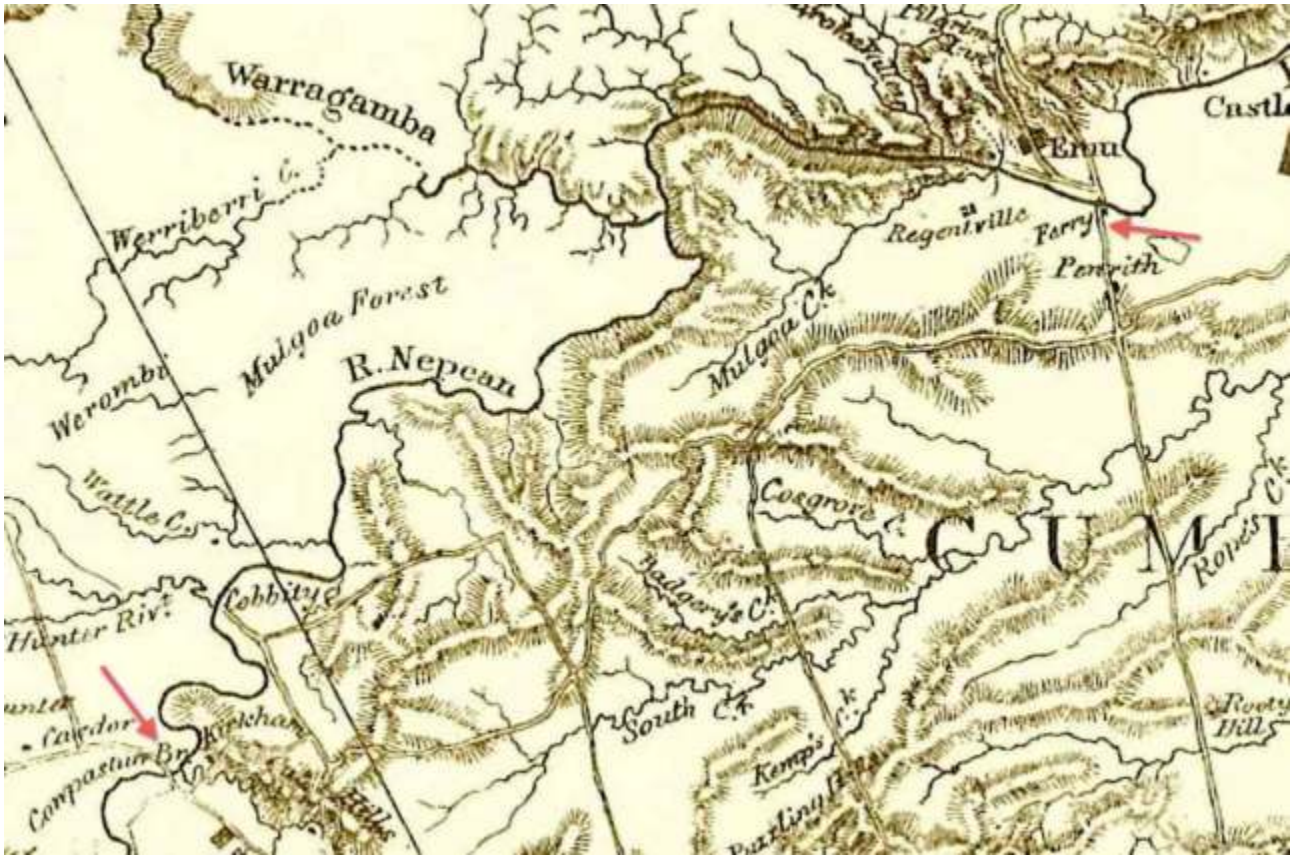

Figure 13. Extract from *'Map of the Colony of New South Wales',* (Mitchell 1834). [South and North are to the left and right, respectively].

diminishing access to labour? Moreover, roadworks continued all over the colony, but continually appeared to avoid the issue of crossing the Nepean River with a bridge at Emu Ford! Thus Surveyor Mitchell's map of the colony of 1834 (Figure 13) recorded a bridge at the Cowpastures but only the ferry/punt at Emu Plains.

Until the 1830s there were few stone masons and bridge builders in the colony. David Lennox arrived in the colony in 1823 and by 1833 he was Superintendent of Bridges. The Lennox Bridge at Glenbrook was built in the last week of June or the first week of July 1833 (Anonymous 1932). He became arguably the greatest bridge builder in the colony, with many edifices bearing testament to his skills in bridge building and the training of men for stone masonry.

In 1840 transportation to NSW came to an end but emancipation continued and that resulted in a dearth of labour. Getting public works done became a challenge and the continuation of the Macquarie era of engineering feats, gradually subsided. The economic depression of the 1840s also contributed to the already inadequate funding for maintenance and improvements (Fry 2001, p.231).

By 1851 the punt at Emu Plains was handling hundreds of people each day, as the gold rush kicked in, with people heading west in drays, carts and on foot.

> "… 'Mitchell wrote to the government in Sydney urging that a bridge of boats' be built over the Nepean to handle the heavy traffic." (Hill 2012, p.46).

But once again labour for road and bridge works had become scarce.

From the 1850s onwards communications became a significant element in the development of Penrith, Emu Plains and the western lands. Both road and rail flourished, albeit with mixed success. Agricultural, subdivision and social patterns changed, and the economy climbed out from the depression of the 1840s.

3. The first bridge project.

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From 1845, a number of options for a bridge were considered with a variety of construction designs. They were either too narrow, or the approaches inadequate, or the location was not suitable. Labour and materials were scarce and costly, but the demand was increasing.

In 1850 William Russell, the son-in-law of John Jamieson, sought an Act of Parliament to permit a bridge to be constructed from Regentville across to Emu Plains.

> "And whereas the only means of communication between the Bathurst Road and the Sydney Road over the River Nepean is the Government punt or ferry near the town of Penrith. And whereas the crossings of the said river at the said ferry is often attended with great danger and serious damage to drays horses sheep and cattle and is always accompanied with great delay and inconvenience to travellers upon the said roads. And whereas the tolls payable at the said ferry are very onerous…" (Fitz Roy 1850, p.176).

Within three years, William Russell was obliged to build a bridge no less than 25 feet wide (*7.6 m*), for the use of which he was to be able to apply reasonable tolls. But he delayed the start and in 1853 he applied to the Legislative Council for an extension of the time for completion as he had:

> "procured abundance of materials from England, and now was in a position to begin the erection of the bridge" (Anonymous 1853)

- but it was denied on the vote so he lost the right to build a bridge.

Meanwhile in 1851 another Act of Parliament was passed to incorporate "The Penrith Nepean Bridge Company" who were to build a bridge further north

> "in direct continuation of the present line of the Great Western Road" (Anonymous 1851),

its inception being due to people including William Christopher Bennett, who became Commissioner for Roads and Bridges in 1862. The construction specifications were similar to those imposed on William Russell and tolls were set so that a charge could not be demanded from a person more than once a day and no double tolls were to be levied on a Sunday. The bridge was to remain under the ownership and control of the Company for 30 years, during which time the Company had to carry out the maintenance (Anonymous 1854), but subsequently it was to become a public bridge.

The gold rush resulted in a rapid change in the local economy (Hill 2012) due to the large number of people passing through Penrith but it had its downside. Thus construction of the first bridge was delayed through workers continually leaving the work site to head for the gold fields, but eventually it was opened on 1 January 1856 with a commemorative ball being held on the bridge itself! This first bridge served to increase the value of land on both sides of the river.

Stereophotograph: William Hetzer.

Figure 14. Bridge over Nepean River, c.1859 (Barker 2008).

Surveyor David McBeath designed this wooden bridge with a 700 foot (*213 m*) span over a water depth of 10-15 feet *(3 to 4.5 m*) and much controversy occurred in regard to the appropriateness and adequacy of the design. All the years of planning were to no avail as less than two years from the opening the piles had become unstable and the centre of the bridge was washed away in a flood on 29 June 1857 (Stacker 2002, p.16). Once again the punts came into use and two were employed to take up the traffic. The bridge was rebuilt (Figure 14), but in 1860 it too was washed away (Singleton 1956, p.122), and yet again the punts were re-introduced but they were lost in the 1867 record flood (Anonymous 1867a,b; Wylie & Singleton 1958, p.40).

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4. Colonial Bridge Building.

From 1857, roads, railways and telegraph were controlled by Ben Hay Martindale (formerly a Captain in the Royal Engineers) the Chief Commissioner for Railways and Executive Head of the Department of Lands and Works. From 1857 to 1860 Martindale produced four reports which included many recommendations on how to improve land transport (Kass 2006). He

> "… believed that there was not a sufficiently large population to warrant an extended system of railways and he recommended that the cheapest form of road (relative to its use) should be adopted as being adequate for the further development of the resources of the colony. The type of road Martindale had in mind for use in the less populous areas of the State was of common earth…" (DMR 1976, p.40).

However, although he suffered from a lack of funding, he concentrated on having rivers and creeks bridged. The Land Act of 1861 enabled further opening up of the interior, resulting in a greater pressure to address transport and communication beyond the Cumberland Basin, and reinforcing with the authorities that something had to be done at the Nepean River.

Low level bridges were constructed across many creeks and rivers in the region over time as the construction of high level bridges was costly and often impractical. Although overseas experience showed that steel construction was the most economical in the long run, the first bridges in NSW were wholly timber, especially on the coast where hard native ironbark was found to be remarkably strong and durable. Government decree in 1861 formalised the use of timber, led to the high cost of the bridges at Penrith, Menangle and Goulburn. However the cost of transporting timber by road or rail to regional areas was often prohibitive.

Many early roads and bridges were financed through public subscriptions or as private ventures, particularly when tolls could be charged. New research led to the variation of standards over time, and the early timber beam bridges, supported by driven timber piles, were replaced by timber truss construction. Subsequently this became composite construction with timber and steel, and eventually complete steel construction when the first such bridge in NSW was built over Wallis Creek at Maitland. Only bridges with high technical merit were approved until the economic recovery of the late 1890s.

5. The Victoria Bridge.

In the meantime rail was on its way to the Penrith Valley, the extension from Blacktown to Penrith being completed in 1863. Rail changed the way of travel in the colony, not just physically, but because it was safer and cheaper than journeys by road. Planning had been underway for a combined rail and road bridge since about 1860, it being seen as "… the permanent way…" (Broomham 2001, p.62). Traversing the mountains required easier grades than a road, so the task of building a railway line over the Blue Mountains was a challenging one (Singleton 1956, p.122; Wylie & Singleton 1957, p.85; 1958, p.40; Anonymous 2013b).

The contract for the earthworks for a rail bridge across the Nepean River was secured by William Watkins in 1864, but only for the piers of the Victoria Bridge. The Bridge itself was built in 1867 by John Whitton, formerly the Engineer for the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincoln railway in England, who came to Sydney (via Melbourne) in December 1856 to be the engineer-in-chief to lay out and to superintend the construction of railways in New South Wales (Singleton 1976). At the time, John Whitton was responsible for railway bridges, and W. Bennett and John McDonald were mostly responsible for the road bridges in the colony. Whitton successfully asserted the need for large, iron bridges to carry the heavy steam locomotives at a level above maximum floods. Until this time, metal bridges in the colony had been mostly of British design and construction but for the Nepean River crossing Whitton (Figures 15 & 16) designed a wrought iron girder bridge based on British bridge technology (Fraser 2003).

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Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 15. Whitton Monument, Emu Plains.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 16. Whitton Monument, Emu Plains.

Whitton is given credit for understanding the power of the river flow in flood times, and its potential devastating impacts. Even before construction of the Victoria Bridge was commenced, severe flooding on the river indicated that the deck levels had to be higher than originally proposed, and the design was sent back to England for checking, and adjusted accordingly. The builders were to be William Watkins for the piers and Peto Brassey and Betts for the main superstructure.

Supporting the Victoria Bridge are huge sandstone piers (Figure 17) with elegant corbel detailing to the top of the girders. The bridge consists of three spans, each of 198 feet (*60 m*) (Figures 18 & 19)

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 17. Victoria Bridge – rail and road supports.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 18. Victoria Bridge – rail.

but since the 1930s the deck and the abutments have been concrete (Figure 20). The bridge was constructed at that interim period when it was expected to cater for all traffic from horses and carriages through to motor vehicles.

> "The road section of the bridge had a timber surface with inlaid wheel guides to keep the animal drawn traffic from diverging from a straight course. With only a single lane vehicles had to make way and wait their turn. Horses were liable to be upset by the noisy passing of the train in the enclosed space and drivers tried to time their crossing to avoid trains. In 1883, …a galvanised iron fence was placed down the centre of the bridge to separate road and rail traffic and subsequently,

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a warning bell system was introduced to warn road traffic of the train's approach." (NSW Environment & Heritage 2009b).

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

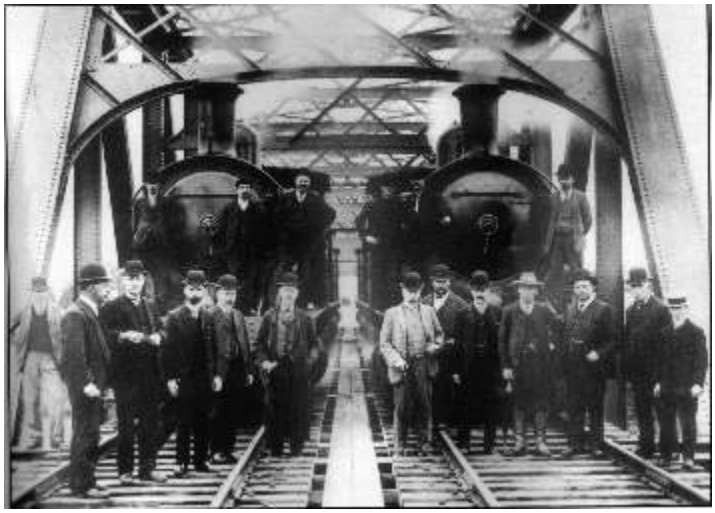
Figure 19. Victoria Bridge.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 20. Victoria Bridge – road pavement.

Soon after completion, the highest flood on record occurred in June 1867 (Penrith City Council 2006, p.4), about 50 feet above the normal river level, debris collected against the piers and the flood carried away the western timber approaches! The punts moored nearby had washed against the piers causing the deck to sink so the bridge was out of full service for some time. Rail traffic continued, but road traffic reverted to the ferry service and once the water had subsided the ford was also brought into use again.

An iron span of 135 feet (*41 m*) was added soon after the flood of 1867 and the bridge was finally completed to cater for both road and rail (Anonymous 2013a). Although it was built for a double rail track, it was only ever used a single track with the other side being used for road traffic. The construction of this first major bridge across the Nepean River had a significant impact upon both the growth of Penrith and the development of settlement beyond Emu Plains. The coming of the rail line had brought the establishment of inns etc. to serve traffic moving west, but once the bridge was built Penrith lost some of this tourist traffic and the Blue Mountains developed as the next tourist destination.



Penrith City Library Photographic Collection; also Stacker (2002, p.47).

Figure 21. Railway bridge opening 1907.

6. The Rail Underbridge.

The design had allowed for rail duplication on the Victoria Bridge, but the second line was utilized for road traffic. By the end of the 1800s the Victoria Bridge was starting to show signs of stress from the heavier loads imposed by newer locomotives on the line (NSW Environment & Heritage 2009c).

The logistics of building new bridges for road and/or rail was resolved through the construction of a new rail bridge, so allowing the old Victoria Bridge to be completely used by vehicular traffic. In 1907 the Nepean River Underbridge (Figure 21) was constructed about sixty feet (*18 m*) to the north of the Victoria Bridge (Figure 8B), and was one of the largest steel truss bridges in NSW. Now it is the oldest truss bridge in use in the Sydney metropolitan area.

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Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 22. Plaque on railway Bridge - 1907.

It is an example of a Pratt truss railway viaduct construction, adapted from American bridge technology, moving away from the previously preferred British railway technology. It is located adjacent to the 1867 Whitton railway bridge (Penrith City Council 2008a), and was designed by James Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the NSW Railways, and constructed by local firm R. Tulloch & Co, (Figure 22) with the intention of allowing for the future. The new bridge had a double track, and the old bridge, the Victoria Bridge, reverted to two-way road traffic, as it remains today.

Flood mitigation was achieved when a concrete gravity overflow weir was built (Penrith City Library 2008b) (commenced 1902 (NSW Environment & Heritage 2000) and completed 1908 (NSW Environment & Heritage 2003?)), together with a pumping station (Figures 23 & 24). This, in addition to the construction of the Warragamba Dam in 1960, has greatly reduced the impacts of flooding through the Penrith Valley.

Penrith City Library Photographic Collection.

Figure 23. Nepean Weir, Penrith circa 1910.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 24. Nepean Weir, Penrith.

7. Peach Tree Creek Bridge.

Although this bridge does not cross the Nepean River, it is significant to the management of traffic in the vicinity, as Peach Tree Creek (Figure 2) enters the Nepean River quite close to Emu Ford. The steep banks of Peach Tree Creek impeded travelers moving to and from the river.

The construction and placement of the crossings over Peach Tree Creek is intimately related to the changes in crossings of the Nepean River and the successive road alignments which served this major crossing. A bridge of sorts must have existed prior to 1879 when tenders were called for "Re-planking Peach-tree Creek Bridge" (Anonymous 1879).

Its realignment construction was considered by Penrith Council at a meeting on 11 May 1915, to allow fourteen weeks for completion of the work (Anonymous 1915, col.1). In 1927 the crossing was on the alignment which served the punt. A wider bridge over the creek was preferred in the 1930s and the road was realigned to enable a smoother approach to Victoria Bridge. This meant the demolition of the stone gatehouse that stood on the eastern end of Victoria Bridge, the stone from that building being reused in the construction of the abutments of the Peach Tree Creek Bridge. Changes occurred over time, with the northern section being constructed in 1940. A footway was added in 1977 (NSW Environment & Heritage 2009a).

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The development of the use of reinforced concrete had huge social, economic and environmental impacts. Concrete and steel had first been utilized by Joseph Monier, a gardener in France. He made cement flower pots strengthened by wire mesh being imbedded in the concrete and he obtained a patent in 1873 for the construction of a footbridge. The first reinforced concrete vehicular bridge was constructed in France in 1875 and in the USA the first such bridge was constructed on 1889. People such as Spencer Dennis and W.J. Baltzer sought to have reinforced concrete bridges accepted in Australia, but it was an arduous process. Baltzer was a German working in NSW Public Works. He went to Germany in 1890 to obtain information about the construction process, and came back seeking to interest the NSW Government.

The Peach Tree Creek bridge is a good example of an early reinforced concrete structure (Figures 25 & 26), modified to reflect the changing demands of the local road system. The bridge piers were constructed at different angles for the two stages of bridge construction. The banks were found to be quite steep for early travelers, and the original alignment met the punt crossing of the Nepean River.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 25. Plaque on Peach Tree Creek Bridge - 1940.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 26. Peach Tree Creek Bridge.

8. The Regentville Bridge.

The Great Western Highway continues to be used to today however the main route west changed after the construction of the M4 Western Motorway, a 40 km route from Concord to Lapstone that initially was tolled. Its operation was given over to the NSW Government in 2010 by the construction consortium, and the toll removed.

The M4 was constructed in stages between the 1960s and the 1980s. The planning for the works commenced in the 1947 under the County of Cumberland Planning Scheme, and the road route reserved in 1951. It had been proposed to start the road in the Sydney CBD and finish at Blaxland, however due to community pressure it was finished at Lapstone to avoid the historic Lennox and Knapsack Bridges. At the eastern end, lack of finance under the Wran government in 1985 led to the sell-off of land between Strathfield and Pyrmont to developers. The M4 was constructed in a reservation wide enough for eight lanes but originally there were only four lanes, but those were progressively increased to six between 1998 and 2000. There are numerous interchanges, and a speed restriction that varies from 90 to 110 kph. A little further west, the bypass to Knapsack bridge was opened in 1993 (Ozroads 2013; Wikipedia 2013b,c).

The Nepean River is crossed by the M4 at Regentville (Penrith City Library 2011; Figure 2), and the Regentville Bridge (Figure 27) was officially opened on 11 October 1971 (Kass 2006, p.90).

1983 saw the extension of the freeway as a four lane route from Mulgoa Road to Lapstone, which included duplication of the Regentville Bridge, which finally opened in August 1986. It is an elegant reinforced concrete structure (Figure 28).

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Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 9 August 2012

Figure 27. Regentville Bridge.

Photograph: Patsy Moppett, 29 March 2013

Figure 28. Underside of the Regentville Bridge.

9. Nepean River Green Bridge.

In 2012 the NSW Government announced its commitment to build a new walking and cycling bridge across the Nepean River, thus opening the next chapter in the story of the crossings of this significant waterway. That bridge would be a stand-alone structure to minimize impacts on the existing bridges, particularly the Victoria Bridge and its historical significance. A site

> "… 200 metres south of Victoria Bridge between Punt Road, Emu Plains and Old Ferry Road, linking up to Memorial Avenue and High Street, Penrith. This location best meets the safety, function, community benefit and cost issues. …. All options require piers in the water for structural reasons." (RMS 2012, p.2.).

That is roughly between the circled locations on Figure 8A. Following community feedback, construction of the bridge is expected to commence in 2014.

CONCLUSION

Crossing the Nepean River at Penrith was always going to be a challenge as the nature of the topography both north and south means that large amounts of water passes through the valley when a flood hit. A bridge was always going to be an expensive option, both during construction and once it was operational. So it is no wonder that for over 40 years the Governments of the time were content to have the main road west use the Emu Ford or punts to cross this most unpredictable waterway. It was not until the Government was galvanized into action by the community that a bridge was considered, and legislation passed which allowed this to happen. Government priorities within their road building program also limited the drive for a bridge, until decisions to extend both rail and road transport were based on population numbers.

Without far-seeing experts such as John Whitton, we may have been struggling for a lot longer in band aid attempts to cross the Nepean River. Whilst most engineers of his time were happy to work with timber (it being locally available in the form of cheap and durable Australian hardwoods), Whitton had an instinctive and educated feel for the destructive power of the river during flood times so he advocated embracing British technology of the time by using iron.

Subsequent engineering advancements led to the use of concrete and steel, as reflected in the Regentville bridge, and the crossing of the river for road and rail. It would be understandable if strategic transport planning accounted for efficient and effective duplication in the future, as populations, development and urban centres shift and change both east and west of the river.

Abbreviations

DMR Department of Main Roads, New South Wales
RMS Roads & Maritime Services, NSW Government.

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Acknowledgements
Ms Lorraine Stacker is thanked for advice over the 1850s Acts related to the construction of bridges.

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POSTSCRIPT: PROFESSOR CHILDE'S DEATH

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Key Words: Childe, Govetts Leap, Blackheath, Blue Mountains.

A paper in the 2012 issue of the *Blue Mountains History Journal* (3: 35-51) by Peter Rickwood was entitled 'Forensic history: Professor Childe's death near Govetts Leap - revisited.' The author concluded that:

- The remains found in 1957 were undoubtedly those of Gordon Childe,
- The location of his death was Barrow Lookout and not Luchetti Lookout (the latter is cited on Childe's death certificate and in the coroner's report),
- The owner of the bones and associated items found in 1959 is unknown, but it was not Professor Childe.

Recently (September 2013) I spoke to Malcolm Longton who discovered the body of Professor Childe in 1957. When I asked him to describe the body's location, he told me that he found it on a ledge under the first lookout beyond the falls, about 60-70 feet (*18-21 m*) past the water crossing. This description fits with the lookout now known as Barrow and confirms Peter Rickwood's conclusion. Mr. Longton is familiar with Luchetti Lookout and firmly rejected this as the location.

I was also able to contact the examining medical practitioner at the time, Dr Stephania Siedlecky, now aged 92. She indicated to me that she doesn't remember noticing that Childe's body was missing any parts and that, had it been, this would have been mentioned in her report. Her comments support Peter Rickwood's contention that the bones found in 1959 were not those of Professor Childe.

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