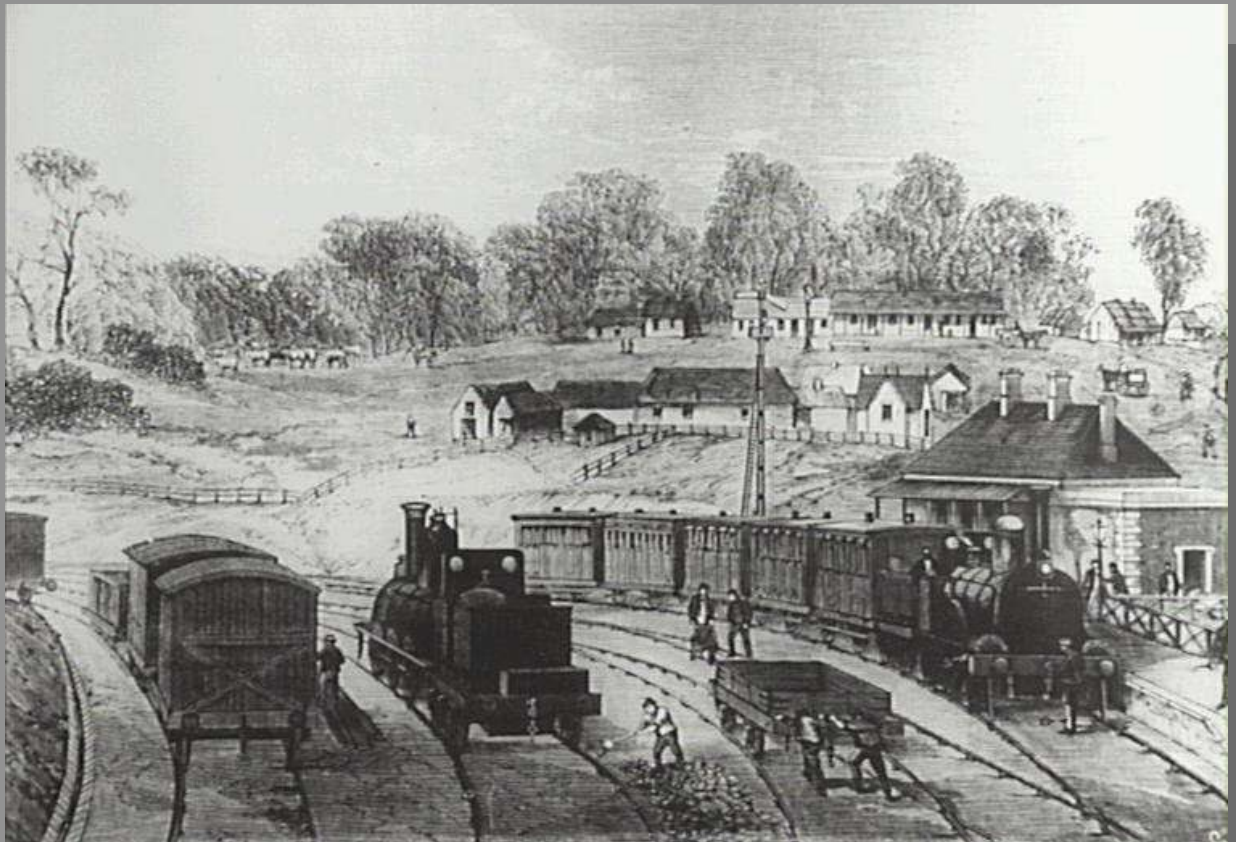


# BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations



Issue 9

November 2019

**Cover Picture**

*Courtesy BMCL Local Studies Collection, PF 753*

Mount Victoria in the early 1870s, with the One Tree Hill Hotel at the top right.

## Blue Mountains History Journal

Editor  
Dr Peter Rickwood

Editorial Board  
Associate Professor Carol Liston AO  
Dr Peter Stanbury OAM

Design  
Mr Peter Hughes

**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.

Hard copies of all published articles are to be archived in the National Library of Australia, the State Library of NSW, the Royal Australian Historical Society, the Springwood Library, the Lithgow Regional Library and with the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.



# BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

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

(A publication of the *BLUE MOUNTAINS ASSOCIATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ORGANISATIONS INCORPORATED*)

---

ISSUE No. 9

NOVEMBER 2019

ISSN 1838-5036

---

## CONTENTS

<b>Editorial</b>	Peter C. Rickwood	<a href="#">v</a>
Travelling to Wonderland: the Emergence of Coach Services from the Blue Mountains to Jenolan Caves in the Pre-Motor Era	John Low OAM	<a href="#">1</a>
Caves House, Jenolan Caves: The Evolution of the Cultural Landscape from First European Settlement to the Present Day	Chris Betteridge	<a href="#">23</a>
Henry Rienits: Amateur Geologist and Principal of The School at Mt Victoria	Peter C. Rickwood & Joan E. Steele	<a href="#">43</a>
George Kitch (1843-1914): Katoomba Photographer and Businessman (1889-1914) – Part 2	Ted Szafraniec	<a href="#">67</a>
Associate-Professor R. Ian Jack (1935-2019)	Peter C. Rickwood	<a href="#">109</a>
Professor Barrie G.R. Reynolds (1932-2019)	Peter C. Rickwood	<a href="#">111</a>
<a href="#">Cumulative Index</a>		<a href="#">113</a>

## EDITORIAL

First news of three of our principal members.

I need to report sad news concerning two of them:

- our President, Associate-Professor R. Ian Jack died on 5 September;
- and our initial Secretary, Professor Barrie Reynolds died on 3 November

Appreciations are given at the end of this issue.

On a happy note our Correspondence Secretary Jan Koperberg, who for a long time was Secretary and even Treasurer, is to be congratulated as it was announced in the Queen's Birthday Honours list that she had been awarded an OAM

Issue 9 of **The Blue Mountains History Journal** contains four papers; two are on different topics relating to the Jenolan Caves, the third concerns a 19th and early 20th Century resident of Mount Victoria and the fourth is the second part of a review of the activities of a photographer and former mayor of Katoomba.

John Low has tackled the history of the ways that were used in earlier times to get to the Jenolan Caves. This paper reveals the hardships that 19th Century tourists had to undergo in order to get there and even after the train started to operate to Mount Victoria, and then to Tarana, there still was a lengthy horse drawn vehicle journey often terminating with a walk down to Jenolan. Not for the faint hearted and nor were the cave inspections in those years.

While some of that travel is mentioned by Chris Betteridge his main topic is the development of the 'village' and specifically Caves House and gardens. His account of the sequential growth of Caves House, is followed by a description of the severe damage caused by a flood, and then the recovery and development of what is there today. With the eye of a heritage consultant versed in botany, Chris has revealed the importance of the gardens to the setting of the village.

Mount Victoria has had a number of residents who became well known and a number of buildings that became heritage listed. The third paper relates to Henry Rienits - a neighbour of the more well known John W. Berghofer - and to his private educational establishment for boys with the curious name *The School* which was opened in 1885 almost two decades after the village became the rail head and gained importance. Herein is presented new investigative research of this second phase of the life and activities of Henry Rienits.

In Issue 8 Ted Szafraniec introduced readers to the work of the renowned Blue Mountains photographer George Kitch and now he has provided the sequel. This second part concentrates on the images that still exist and the methods that had to be used to produce them. As such it is a most valuable insight into Kitch's photographic work and his associated business activities and is likely to become regarded as the most significant account of the photographic work of George Kitch.

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 to 8.

Extracts from this publication may be reproduced provided that the source is fully acknowledged.

Dr Peter C. Rickwood,  
Editor

# TRAVELLING TO WONDERLAND: THE EMERGENCE OF COACH SERVICES FROM THE BLUE MOUNTAINS TO JENOLAN CAVES IN THE PRE-MOTOR ERA

**John Low**

7 Church Street,

Portland, NSW 2847

[grizzlybear3au@yahoo.com](mailto:grizzlybear3au@yahoo.com)

## Abstract

During the second half of the nineteenth century, an age when the horse was a central feature of social and economic life, the far-flung Fish River (Jenolan) Caves became the ‘jewel in the crown’ for the emerging Blue Mountains tourism industry. From their European ‘discovery’ and early visitation, through the gradual development of improved road access, this article tracks the growth of regular horse coach services to the Caves from the upper Blue Mountains (with an emphasis on Mount Victoria), reaching maturity in the 1880s and 1890s and then declining in the early twentieth century under the impact of the internal combustion engine, an innovation which brought to an end the long era of human dependence on the horse.

**Key Words:** horses, coaching, Jenolan Caves, Blue Mountains.

## INTRODUCTION

To begin, we must set the scene: It’s the Upper Blue Mountains during the closing decades of the 19th century, a time when the arrival of the railway is a recent memory and the horse is still an integral thread in the fabric of daily life; local government is minimal and towns like Katoomba, Blackheath and Mount Victoria are still in their formative years.

But the population of the region is increasing and a new tourist ‘industry’ is emerging in response to the growing numbers of local, inter-state and international visitors wishing to see the picturesque views, ferny gullies and waterfalls being popularised in the press and railway guide books (e.g. Anonymous 1886a). And, among these wonders, it is the subterranean limestone world of the Fish River Caves (officially named

Jenolan in 1884) that quickly assumes a principal place in travel itineraries.



*BMCL Local Studies Collection, PF 638*

**Figure 1.** Katoomba ca.1900.

We often speak of this period as the ‘pre-motor age’ or the ‘horse age’ but with little real sense of how completely that world - its sights, sounds and smells - has vanished. In the towns and villages of the Blue Mountains an array of both private and public horse-drawn vehicles plied the streets (Figure 1), while livery stables, blacksmiths, harness and saddle makers, wheelwrights and coachbuilders were all features of the urban landscape.

With tourism dependent on good horses and well-maintained vehicles, it is the emergence of regular horse coach services to the Fish River/Jenolan Caves (with a special emphasis on Mount Victoria) that I wish to explore in this paper.

## Early Access to the Caves

While Gundungurra legends and stories – for example, ‘Gurangatch & Mirragan’ (Stockton 1993, pp.111-113) and ‘Walga the Sparrowhawk’ (Mathews 2003, p.29) - suggest that the Caves (‘Bin-noo-mur’) were familiar and important to the indigenous inhabitants of the





SLNSW, V1B/Blu M/13a

**Figure 2.** The Devil's Coach House, wood engraving, 1880s.

region, knowledge of them was slow to filter out to the new settler community.

As late as the 1850s their presence was still said to be “very imperfectly known” (Anonymous 1856) and, while visitation was increasing by the end of that decade (Whiting 1860), to visit them at this time was not an easy matter, involving cross-country treks through rough country on horseback and dependence on local settlers for guidance. Horses were hobbled in McKeown's Valley and camp was made in one of the larger open caverns (Figure 2; ‘A Constant Reader’ 1848).

Access to the Caves in this early period was usually from Bathurst but there were exceptions. The Hon. John Lucas MLA, an early Caves enthusiast and campaigner for their preservation, made several trips from Sydney in the early 1860s, leaving the Western Road near Bowenfels and approaching the caves via Lowther and the Binda Pinch to the farm of Charles Mylecharane

who joined him as guide. Lucas's published account (Lucas 1863) clearly describes a difficult horse ride across unforgiving (though beautiful) country and, while he would have made use of cart roads and tracks where they existed among the outlying settlements and farms, his description of the shredding of his and his companions' clothes suggests a considerable ‘off-track’ component to his journey.



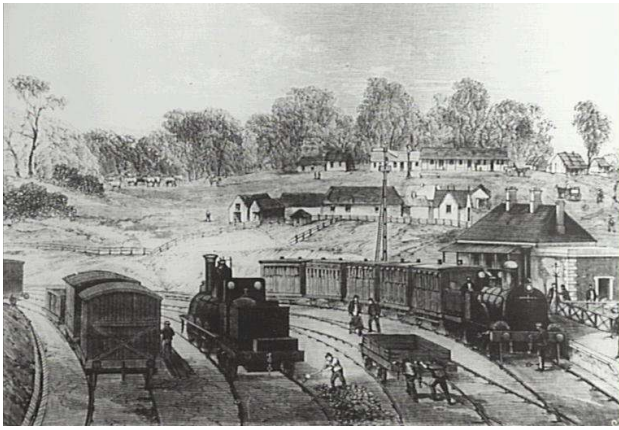
JCH&PS

**Figure 3.** Jeremiah Wilson's coach at the Caves

There is a misleading footnote in the 1886 edition of *The Railway Guide to New South Wales* (Anonymous 1886a, fn. p.144) which implies that “a good road” from Mount Victoria to the Caves had existed from the time the Lucas party made their journey. It is an idea that has been repeated in subsequent local histories. But, while a ‘parish road’ was apparently opened between Hartley and Oberon via Binda in 1867 (Havard & Dowd 1936, pp.28-29), there is no evidence of a direct, serviceable carriage road linking Mount Victoria with the Caves until the 1880s.

By 1872 the railway, offering speedier and more comfortable travel, had reached Mount Victoria (1868) and been extended to Tarana, where ‘Keeper of the Caves’ Jeremiah Wilson's coach (Figure 3) met visitors off the train and carried them to their destination via Oberon (Wilson 1872). From 1879 the necessity to complete the final section of this journey by horseback was removed when the road was extended down the Two-Mile Hill.





*BMCL Local Studies Collection, PF 753*

**Figure 4.** Mount Victoria in the early 1870s, with the One Tree Hill Hotel at the top right.

### **Mount Victoria, Moves to Establish a Caves Road and the Arrival of Percy Whittall**

With Tarana established as the preferred embarkation point, traffic to the Caves from Mount Victoria (and indeed the other Upper Mountains centres) during the 1870s became mostly ‘through traffic’, the attention of local hoteliers concentrated on more proximate attractions. At this stage the Fish River ‘Wonder’ was not prominent in their advertising. Nevertheless, they all kept good stables from which any adventurous visitors could be supplied with suitable horses and guides if they wished to follow in the steps of the Hon. John Lucas.

For example, by 1869 the Royal Hotel (est.1868) already possessed a large stable - “10 stalls, 3 loose boxes, hayloft etc.” (Richardson & Wrench 1869) - and its licensee, W.G. Orbell, was advertising

“saddle horses and buggies always ready for the accommodation of visitors”

wishing to view the “splendid scenery” (Orbell 1869). Nearby, William Avery’s One Tree Hill Hotel (Figure 4), opened in 1867 in anticipation of the railway, also boasted that its “stabling is second to none” (Avery 1867) and, following extensive “alterations and improvements” (Perry 1872) under John Perry in the early 1870s, offered comfort and convenience to “fully 100 visitors”, with access to some of the “most magnificent scenery in New South Wales” (Perry 1876).

It was not until the early 1880s, when Caves visitation was increasing dramatically, that Mount Victoria began to give more serious thought to what could be done to gain a share. The town’s tourist accommodation had also expanded to include the Imperial Hotel (est. 1878) and the Manor guesthouse (c.1883) and it was at this time, too, that an exotic, though now largely forgotten, Turkish-born Englishman arrived on the scene.

Born in Constantinople in 1854, into an English merchant family, educated in England, multi-lingual and employed by the large Far East trading company, Jardine, Matheson & Co., Percy George Whittall (Figure 5) seemed an unlikely character to have turned up in Mount Victoria. But in 1879 turn up he did and, while the circumstances of their meeting are unknown, he married Grace Perry, the daughter of John and



**Figure 5.** Percy George Whittall, (Darlinghurst Gaol, 1894).

Annie Perry of Perry's Hotel, in a ceremony at the local Church of England (Anonymous 1879).

Within a year or two, as his ultimately large family began to be born and following the death of his father-in-law John Perry in 1880 (Anonymous 1880), Whittall gave up international trade and focussed his attention on Mount Victoria. He now assisted his mother-in-law, Annie, in running her hotel and, sensing the opportunities the Mount offered, began involving himself in town activities, eventually becoming a member of the cemetery trust, public school board, progress association, reserves trust and school of arts.



*Author's Collection*

**Figure 6.** Imperial Hotel, Mount Victoria, 1880s.

By September 1883, the Perry family business was doing well enough for Annie Perry to contemplate expansion and, while continuing to operate her smaller premises, she purchased the Imperial Hotel across the road (Mrs. Perry 1883). It was an opportune moment, for the previous year a consortium of private Mount Victoria citizens, headed by George Atkin (who had - or would soon - open the old Fairfax home, 'The Manor', as a guesthouse) in company with other local businessmen had organised the clearing of "a track sufficiently good for vehicular traffic ... through the bush" (Anonymous 1883a) to the top of a steep descent overlooking the Caves.

Running via Hartley and Lowther, linking and extending the network of pre-existing tracks, this rough but defined buggy road could now be promoted as the shortest route for those coming



**Figure 7.** The Allen Family's 'Pickwick Corresponding Club' Excursion to the Caves in 1886, (PickwickCorresponding Club 1886).

from Sydney and, significantly, by April 1883 a coach was reported as operating weekly from Mount Victoria (Anonymous 1883b,c). Caves visitors now had a viable choice and the new route soon attracted a share of travellers.

A little over two years into her proprietorship of the Imperial Hotel (Figure 6), Annie Perry stepped aside in February 1886 and placed her son-in-law in charge. Through advertisements he placed in the Sydney press he made it clear that excursions to "the far-famed Fish River Caves" were now an important focus of the new management, with parties of two or more catered for at any time and a regular weekly service by "four-in-hand drag" departing the hotel every Friday morning and returning on Sunday (Whittall 1886).

When Sydney's Lord Mayor, John Young, after travelling out via Tarana in June 1886, made his return journey he walked up the "stiff pull up" from the Caves and boarded one of Whittall's four-in-hands. The road, he said, was "fair" and though

"a little rough at places, was generally very good, and a more pleasant ride could scarcely be obtained through the grand forest of Binder (*sic*)." (Young 1886).

#### **Katoomba's Response – the Six Foot Track**

Meanwhile, Katoomba's men of commerce, influenced no doubt by the appearance of the new Mount Victoria route, had made their own bid for a slice of the Fish River traffic by opening a



bridle track to the Caves in 1884, via Nellie's Glen, Cox's River, Black Range and connecting at the Caves end with the new Mount Victoria track. Despite attempts, however, to give 'The Six Foot Track' the lustre of aristocratic patronage by inviting Lord and Lady Carrington to use it in 1886, its failure to deliver the hoped for bonanza soon led to disappointment (Smith 1985).

Passing through beautiful but difficult country that resisted improvement, the track remained the choice of an adventurous few (Figure 7). Even when a buggy option from the Black Range to the Caves was initiated in 1889, by the irrepressible guide Sid Bellingham (Anonymous 1889d; Anonymous 1889f), the situation did not change. By then, anyway, events had moved even further in Mount Victoria's favour.



**Figure 8.** "Road to Fish River from Mount Victoria" (Caney ca.1886)

#### **'A Good Macadamised Government Road'**

Though the 1882 Mount Victoria route was counted a success, Mayor Young's choice of words quoted above hinted at room for improvement. Shorter and offering "splendid views" and "magnificent [scenery]" (Woolcott 1886), both the roughness of the track – described by P.C. Glover in 1884 as

"a grassy bush track winding wonderfully, guided only by 'blazes' or marks axed in the gum-trees at varying intervals" (Smith 1985, p.7)

- and the necessity to walk the steep final approach to the Caves still deterred many in favour of the Tarana route. Despite this, growing suggestions that

"the track could easily and cheaply be made into a good road" (Anonymous 1884) gathered strength, leading ultimately to an historic meeting of the Progress Committees of Mount Victoria, Blackheath and Katoomba on 22 September 1886. This was a significant coming together of the three Upper Mountains towns. With no practical alternative, the businessmen of Katoomba and Blackheath realised that, if they wanted a share of Caves tourism, they would have to embrace their neighbour's enterprise.

At the meeting Percy Whittall put the case clearly, stating that while the government had spent some money

"he and others had put men on at their own expense to make the route passable; and at the present time he was maintaining a man at his own expense."

He went on to say that

"as this was the nearest vehicular route, and was used by visitors from Katoomba and Blackheath, as well as Mount Victoria, the part from Hartley to the Caves should receive attention." (Anonymous 1886b).

A delegation to the Minister for Works was formed and by November 1886 its lobbying had resulted in what one letter-writer to the *Sydney Morning Herald* described as "a good macadamised Government road" (Figure 8) that, while "still under alteration", was now "regularly maintained and in excellent order" (Anonymous 1886c). The impact was enormous. With a good road, albeit still stopping some distance short of the Caves, Mount Victoria's hotels prospered. Writing to the *Nepean Times* the Mount Victoria correspondent left his readers in no doubt as to who he thought was the principal "guiding spirit" behind this – the now forgotten Percy George Whittall (Anonymous 1889c)..

At the Imperial Hotel, Whittall spent heavily. In 1888, to service guests on his now daily runs to the Caves, he built "a spacious weather board" (Anonymous 1888b) half-way house (Figure 9) at Upper Run (re-named Hampton in 1892) where he established his brother Fred's family and, when this burned down in June 1889 (Anonymous 1889e), quickly replaced it.

At the same time he was improving the size and quality of his hotel's stables. It was Whittall's coaches that carried Lord and Lady Carrington on their second visit to the Caves in April 1889 (Anonymous 1889b). No primitive bridle path for them this time. His horses, too, were being praised for their condition, speed and stamina. When a small party of guests "hard pressed for time" in January 1889 were delivered to the Caves in record time they were so impressed they acclaimed him in the *Freeman's Journal* as possessing "the best teams on the mountains" (Anonymous 1889a).

By 1890 the *Illustrated Sydney News* was describing Whittall as "the proprietor of the leading hotel" in the town. "During the season", it said,

"no less than fifty horses are employed here, and the establishment contains the largest livery stable, next to Messrs. Cobb and Co., to be found in the Western District."

As well as servicing the local sights, with

"four-in-hand drags and carriages always ready for the use of visitors", his coaches ran daily to the Caves, "starting at nine o'clock in the morning, and arriving at about two o'clock in the afternoon, in time for the afternoon inspection." (Anonymous 1890a, p.21, col.2).

### Coaching Services at Katoomba and Blackheath

For Katoomba and Blackheath as well, despite the extra distance that had to be covered and charged for, the advent of a vehicular road to the Caves from Mount Victoria offered new commercial possibilities. The livery stables of these centres could now think beyond their local sights and, in Katoomba's case, those adventurous enough to tackle the Six Foot bridle track.

The growth of the livery stable sector at this time has received little attention from local historians. In Katoomba, by the end of the 1880s, livery stables had been opened by Peckman Brothers, Esgate Brothers and David Thomson; soon followed by a spate of others throughout the 1890s, including Robert Esgate (on his own), John Barry, John & Elizabeth Blakey, John Hudson, Thomas Wallace, Percy Hammon, John Francis Tabrett and Walter & Henrietta Hardy.

David Thomson, the licensee of the Katoomba Hotel (later the Family Hotel) on the corner of Parke and Main Streets whose large livery stables were run in conjunction with his hotel, decided that the best approach to Jenolan Caves would be to work with one of the Mount Victoria operators. To this end, in 1888, Thomson negotiated an agreement with Percy Whittall that enabled his clients to travel from Katoomba to Jenolan via Mount Victoria in approximately six hours "at moderate charges" (Anonymous 1888a).

Others simply expressed their willingness and ability to convey visitors to *all* the popular sights or provide them with suitable horses and vehicles to do so themselves. While John Blakey offered "Private Sociables and Four-in-Hand Drags on any day for the Fish River Caves or elsewhere" (Blakey 1892),

**PECKMAN BROS.,**  
**Blue Mountain Livery Stables,**  
**KATOOMBA, N.S.W.**

---

**COACH TO THE FAR-FAMED JENOLAN CAVES**

In good old Stage Coach fashion.  
**CHANGES OF HORSES. A DELIGHTFUL TRIP**  
**SUNSHINE ALL THE WAY.**

"Oh! Come to Jenolan, where Nature smiles, painting  
The home of the Gods with a pencil of lime  
In Caves dark and still, where her hand in past ages  
Has woven a garland of beauty sublime."

**FIRST-CLASS VEHICLES AND SADDLE HORSES.**  
**STATE CARRIAGE AND PAIR, AND FOUR HORSE DRAG.**  
**UNDER VICE-REGAL PATRONAGE.**

TRIPS ARRANGED, BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, TO ALL THE SIGHTS  
OF INTEREST ON THE WORLD-RENOWNED BLUE MOUNTAINS—

"Where balmy zephyrs softly kiss  
The blossoms sweet and tender;  
And famed Hygeia reigns supreme  
O'er wild blue mountain splendour.  
What are the grandest scenes elsewhere  
That human eye beholdeth,  
Compared to fair Katoomba's sights,  
Where Paradise unfoldeth?"

---

**PARTIES CONVEYED ON SHOOTING EXPEDITIONS—**

"Where through the green valleys the wild kangaroo,  
Goes bounding along in those bright shades of blue."

**AGENTS.—THOS. COOK & SON, 4 Hunter St., Sydney.**  
**Address: PECKMAN BROS., KATOOMBA.**

Figure 10. Peckman Bros. Advertisement ca.1894 (Low & Smith, 1993, p.5).



the Esgate Brothers declared their capacity to respond with appropriate conveyances and drivers to requests to visit “any part of the Blue Mountains” (Esgate Brothers 1889). When the Esgate partnership dissolved after only a year and Robert continued as sole proprietor, his advertising maintained this ‘generalist’ approach.

Henry (‘Harry’) & John (‘Jack’) Peckman, on the other hand, who claimed to be the earliest stable operators in Katoomba (Peckman Bros. 1893) and were pioneers of the Six-Foot Bridle track (they were the guides and provided the horses for the Carrington trip), cast fortune to the wind and in 1889 launched their own (and Katoomba’s first) regular, daily coach service to the Caves via the Mount Victoria, Hartley route.

The Peckmans were local-born and knew the Blue Mountains region better than most, Harry (Low & Smith 1993) having worked as a driver and general ‘useful’ in the 1860s for John Louis Meads in the Hartley Valley. He drove a coach for Meads between Penrith and Hartley and, later, worked at the Royal Hotel in Mount Victoria when Meads had the license there during the 1870s.

On the morning of 4 November 1889, when Harry’s bugle sounded the departure of the inaugural Peckman coach, Katoomba had just (five days earlier) been declared a municipality and optimism was high. Lunch was taken at Upper Run, at Michael Kelly’s Half-way House, where the passengers transferred to a coach driven by J.V. Wilson, Jeremiah’s son, for the final section of the nine-hour journey (Anonymous 1889g).

The Peckman service (Figure 10) to the Caves – “in good old stage coach fashion” and with “sunshine all the way”

– continued as a core part of their business for many years (Low & Smith 1993, p.5). By 1893 they were billing themselves as

“the largest [stables] on the Blue Mountains”  
with “30 horses on hand” and drivers  
“conversant with all the charming sights”  
(Peckman Bros. 1893).

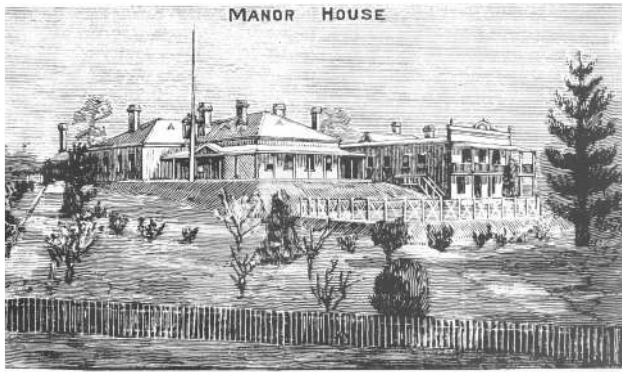
By the end of the 1880s a number of livery operations had also been established in Blackheath. Thomas Esgate operated a “buggy

Figure 11. ‘Whittall’s Pioneer Line Coaches’, Advertisement (Whittall 1892).

business” for a short time before selling out in October 1889 (Spring 1889), John Francis Cripps at the Hydora Hotel was offering

“Buggies, horses etc. for visitors to the Mountain Resorts” (Cripps 1889)

by May 1889, while local baker William McCall had also established a livery stable and, indeed, later claimed to have been the first to run a coach from Blackheath to the Caves (Yeaman 1976, p.347). They were quickly followed in the early



Hotel, with Additions, 1890.

*Jim Esgate collection*

**Figure 12.** The Manor, Mount Victoria with 1890 additions

1890s by Thomas Williams, Robert John Rolfe and George Robinson.

As in Katoomba, emphasis initially seemed to rest on providing whatever excursion service, fully catered or do-it-yourself, was requested. When Robert Rolfe, proprietor of what was to become perhaps the best known and longest running of the Blackheath coaching firms, began advertising in the *Katoomba Times* towards the end of 1891 his commitment was simply to

“convey visitors to all the principal sights at reduced fares” (Rolfe 1891).

As his business grew, however, the emphasis shifted with demand and by the new century a regular time-tabled coach service to Jenolan, incorporating a return trip that took in Govetts Leap, Leura Falls and Wentworth Falls (where the Sydney train was met), had become a principal focus of his advertising (Blackheath Progress Committee, 1903, p.85).

### The Downfall of Percy Whittall

Back in Mount Victoria, Whittall’s ‘golden years’ were about to come to an abrupt end. With the new decade hardly begun, he ran into trouble. Most likely, having borrowed heavily he was consumed by the financial collapse of the early 1890s. By mid-1890 it was all over and a Sydney finance company was advertising for a new “first-class man to MANAGE the Imperial Hotel” (Colonial Finance Company 1890).

Forced to relinquish his hotel, he nevertheless seems to have been thrown a life-line and in early 1892 advertisements for ‘Whittall’s Pioneer Line Coaches’ began to appear in the press (Figure

11), offering as before a daily service to the Caves guaranteed to arrive in time for the afternoon inspection. These new advertisements were large, wordy and forcefully emphasised his past experience and reputation. He was, they made clear, the “Pioneer” of the Jenolan run.

The Whittall coaches now departed from George Hubbard Cooper’s Manor House (Figure 12). Cooper had purchased this as a guesthouse in 1887, added extensions and in October 1890 reopened it as a licensed “first-class hotel” (Anonymous 1890b). Though promotion of the ‘Pioneer Line Coaches’ did not begin until early 1892, it is possible that Whittall had entered an arrangement with (or even been employed by) Cooper at this time of the Manor’s rebirth, when



*MV&DHS framed photograph*

**Figure 13.** Cooper’s Coach Line.

potential guests were being advised that

“coaches [run] daily to Jenolan Caves and principal sites (*sic*) on the mountains” (Cooper 1890).

A good stable and coaching plant was essential to a first-class hotel and acquiring the ‘goodwill’ and expertise of a ‘pioneer’ like Whittall would have been invaluable. Whatever the relationship, Whittall was certainly responsible for the “management of the coaching arrangements” for important guests like Lord Jersey and the Duchess of Buckingham & Chandos who visited the Caves in January 1893 (Anonymous 1893).

Even with Cooper’s support Whittall still, nevertheless, faced strong competition in his efforts to regain his position as leading coach proprietor in the Mount. Not only were the Royal



and the Imperial Hotels running services to the Caves, but the management of his old hotel was now in the hands of John Francis Tabrett, an experienced horseman and businessman who would later establish a major coaching operation in Katoomba. In the short time Tabrett was at the Imperial he aggressively re-established that hotel's reputation. "The Imperial is forging ahead", reported the press in June 1891, and

"A fair amount of passengers are daily carried through to the Caves by the Imperial coaches" (Anonymous 1891b).

Tabrett re-opened the temporarily closed Imperial Half-way House at Upper Run (Anonymous 1891a) and in November 1891 launched an advertising campaign to promote a refreshed and re-named "Imperial Line of Coaches" (Tabrett 1891). It is more than likely that the almost simultaneous 'birth' and promotion of Whittall's 'Pioneer Line' in January 1892 was a direct response. The impression is of a robust rivalry. When Tabrett departed the



BMHS P517

**Figure 14.** Coach at Grand Arch, post 1896.

Imperial Hotel at the end of 1892 the large 'Pioneer' advertisements soon ceased.

In the end, however, Whittall's attempt to re-establish himself was not successful and though his departure from Mount Victoria went unreported in the press, he had left by November 1894. Almost certainly, his leaving was precipitated by the issue of a warrant for his arrest on a charge of



SLNSW: FL1701632  
[archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110310145](http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110310145)  
 <Accessed 18 May 2019>

**Figure 15.** Coach outside Caves House, post 1896

"forging an order for the insertion of an advertisement in *Cook's Australian Travellers' Gazette*"

with intent to defraud and his subsequent conviction at the end of September 1894 (Anonymous 1894, col.4; Darlinghurst Gaol 1894). I don't know the precise circumstances surrounding his crime – what motivated him etc. - but it was an unfortunate farewell for a man once lauded by his fellow citizens as having

"done much for the advancement of Mount Victoria, and the Blue Mountains generally" (Anonymous 1890c)

Whittall, however, escaped prison, being sentenced to "good behaviour" in lieu of gaol. Declared a bankrupt in 1895 (Anonymous 1895),



JCH&PS

**Figure 16.** On the Causeway (De Burgh's Bridge), 1908.



BMHS P34

**Figure 17.** Tabrett's Mountain Coaching & Motoring Co.

he and his family (less his mother-in-law who had died in Mount Victoria in August 1892) spent the next decade and a bit in Sydney before, prior to World War I, finding their way to a dairy farm at Mullumbimby. After an active involvement in local community affairs, he died there in April 1920 (Anonymous 1920).

On Whittall's departure, in November 1894 George Cooper began advertising the coach service from the Manor House under his own name (Cooper 1894). Did he purchase the business from Whittall or had it always been his, enhanced by the Whittall name and reputation? A question yet to be answered. Whatever had occurred, in the ensuing years and with a stable of eighty horses at its peak, Cooper's coach service prospered (Figure 13), especially after any advantage Tarana still held was removed when the Caves Road from Mount Victoria was at last extended "over the handsome stone causeway" at Jenolan (E.D.H. 1896, p.1246, col.4; Hallinan 2013, p.109) and through the Grand Arch in 1896 (Figures 14 & 15).

Ironically, it is George Cooper who is now remembered as the pioneer coach proprietor of Mount Victoria. You will be hard pressed to find any mention of Percy Whittall in any of our local histories. With no disrespect to the achievements of George Cooper, Whittall's own claim to be the pioneer of the Mount Victoria coach route to the Caves, in my view, possesses considerable truth and his absence from our communal memory is a significant and unfortunate erasure.



BMCL Local Studies Collection, PF 1069

**Figure 18.** Harry Peckman and his Aging Coach and Pair outside the Balmoral Guesthouse, Katoomba.1927.

### The Advent of the Motor Car (Figure 16)

After several trial runs, in September 1903 Thomas Rodriguez of the Ivanhoe Hotel in Blackheath established 'The Mountain Motor Car Company' and launched the first motor service to the Caves (Anonymous 1903). The bell now began to toll for the horse drawn coaches and, while the larger hoteliers and livery proprietors generally adjusted to the changing times, many smaller operators simply battled on



BMCL Local Studies Collection, PF 2994

**Figure 19.** Symbol of a Bygone Era: Unidentified Coach with a Splendid Team of Horses Approaching Jenolan Caves.

to an inevitable demise.

George Cooper, at Mount Victoria, initially considered the future of the motor car as uncertain and, indeed, had scoffed publicly at the initial trial in June 1903 conducted by Rodriguez's friend Mark Foy (Cooper 1903) and in which Rodriguez himself was said to have been involved (V.M.C. 1938 col.2). By the end of the decade, however, when it was clear that the



car was here to stay, Cooper capitulated and in May 1912 placed the “major part of his fine coaching plant” up for auction. “In this age of speedy transit”, the press reported,

“Mr. Cooper finds that the coach and drag is being superseded by petrol power and he is disposing of his sturdy steeds and vehicular plant.” (Anonymous 1912).

Nevertheless, he did keep some of his horse coaches in service and it may have been one of these that plied the last regular horse coach run to the Caves in 1917 (Dunkley 2007, p.72; G.B. 1930, col.7).

Like Cooper, John Tabrett and Robert Esgate in Katoomba and Robert Rolfe in Blackheath also eventually adjusted to the new reality. Tabrett, who towards the end of the 1890s had established a coaching plant in Katoomba that housed at its peak over 30 horses and who was known as a committed horseman, re-branded his business as “M.C. and M. Co.” (Anonymous 1910, col.1) [i.e. ‘The Mountain Coaching & Motoring Co.’]. His horse coaches survived alongside a growing fleet of motor vehicles (Figure 17) until they finally went under the hammer in November 1919 (Inglis 1919), two months after his death. Robert Rolfe introduced his first car in 1908 (Yeaman 1976, p.360) and Robert Esgate, though reportedly despondent when compelled to sell his horses (Anonymous 1934), eventually became President of the Katoomba Motor Hirers’ Association (Esgate & Collins 1926).

By the early 1920s several of the pioneers of Caves coaching were dead – John Peckman, George Cooper and John Tabrett all died in 1919, while Percy Whittall went in 1920.

The Peckman brothers did not embrace the motor car. While John died in the ‘flu pandemic following World War I (the partnership with his brother had ended in 1903), Henry persisted (Figure 18), servicing the local sights with aging coach and horses almost until his death in 1934; he was always the showman, even as he aged, the ‘poetic whip’ who was as popular an attraction as the sights to which he transported his passengers (Low & Smith 1993). Harry, more than any, symbolised the romance of the earlier era and perhaps it was his death that finally laid that era to rest.

With the advent of the motor car, Mount Victoria’s reign as the premier Mountain resort from which to launch a Caves excursion came to an end. Speed and comfort negated any disadvantage Katoomba and Blackheath might previously have experienced from the extra distance their visitors had to cover. The ‘playing field’ was now an equal one. The era of the horse was brought to a close (Figure 19).

### **Acknowledgements**

Though some corrections and amendments to the text have been made, this essay was originally presented as the Blue Mountains Historical Society’s Annual McLaughlin Address at the Wentworth Falls School of Arts, 4 March 2017. The BMHS’s invitation to speak on that occasion was greatly appreciated.

I am particularly grateful to Jim Esgate for generously sharing his own interest and research in coaching history and for accompanying me (and driving) on relevant site inspections.

I also thank Valda Low, Keith Painter and Jim Smith for their valuable contributions and acknowledge research assistance and use of photographs from the following institutions: BMHS (Wayne Hanley, Stefan Indyka, Peter Rickwood, Ted Szafraniec), MV&DHS (Jean Winston, Stephen Davis) and JCH&PS (Kath Bellamy, David Cook, Gordon Mills), SLNSW and the Local Studies Sections of BMCL (John Merriman) and Lithgow Library (Kay Shirt, Robert Lindsay).

### **Abbreviations**

BMCL	Blue Mountains City Library
BMHS	Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.
JCH&PS	Jenolan Caves Historical & Preservation Society
LL	Lithgow Library
MV&DHS	Mount Victoria & District Historical Society
SLNSW	State Library of NSW

## REFERENCES

- 'A Constant Reader' (1848) Original Correspondence. Bathurst Advocate, 30 December 1848, p.2, cols.3-4).
- Anonymous (1856) The Abercrombie and Fish River Caves. Bathurst Free Press & Mining Journal, 13 December 1856, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1879) More Than Usually Interesting Wedding. Singleton Argus & Upper Hunter General Advocate, 17 December 1879 Supp. p.1, col.1.
- Anonymous (1880) Deaths. Sydney Morning Herald, 7 October 1880, p.9, col.2.
- Anonymous (1883a) The Fish River Caves. Evening News, 24 March 1883, p.3, col.7.
- Anonymous (1883b) no title. Nepean Times, 28 April 1883, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1883c) no title. Sydney Mail & NSW Advertiser, 28 April 1883, p.809, col.4.
- Anonymous (1884) Three Routes to the Fish River Caves. Sydney Morning Herald, 1 December 1884, p.4, col.5.
- Anonymous (1886a) The Railway Guide to New South Wales (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). Sydney: Govt. Printer, 148pp.
- Anonymous (1886b) Road to Jenolan Caves. Lithgow Mercury, 25 September 1886 – a clipping pasted into the Minute Book (1885-1889) of the Katoomba Progress Association held in the archives of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.
- Anonymous (1886c) The Jenolan Caves. Sydney Morning Herald, 1 November 1886, p.9, col.1.
- Anonymous (1888a) Katoomba. Nepean Times, 15 September 1888, p.4, col.4.
- Anonymous (1888b) Mount Victoria Jottings. Nepean Times, 10 November 1888, p.4, col.4.
- Anonymous (1889a) General News. Freeman's Journal, 12 January 1889, p.9, col.3.
- Anonymous (1889b) Visit of Lord Carrington to the Jenolan Caves. Sydney Morning Herald, 16 April 1889, p.7, col.6.
- Anonymous (1889c) Mount Victoria. Nepean Times, 20 April 1889, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1889d) Katoomba. Nepean Times, 1 June 1889, p.10, col.2.
- Anonymous (1889e) Mount Victoria. Australian Town & Country Journal, 22 June 1889, p.15, col.3.
- Anonymous (1889f) Katoomba. Katoomba Times, 29 June 1889, p.2, col.1.
- Anonymous (1889g) Katoomba to Jenolan Caves, First Trip of the Daily Coach. Katoomba Times, 9 November 1889, p.2, cols.2-4.
- Anonymous (1890a) Our Holiday Resorts. The Last of the Caves. Illustrated Sydney News, 23 January 1890, pp.19-21.
- Anonymous (1890b) Mount Victoria – The Opening Ceremony'. Nepean Times, 8 November 1890, p.6, col.3.
- Anonymous (1890c) Banquet at Mount Victoria. Katoomba Times, 22 November 1890, p.2, col.6.
- Anonymous (1891a) Imperial Hotel. Katoomba Times, 14 February 1891, p.3, col.1.
- Anonymous (1891b) Mount Victoria. Katoomba Times, 6 June 1891, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1893) A Vice-regal Visit. Evening News, 12 January 1893, p.5, col.6.
- Anonymous (1894) News of the Week NSW. Maitland Weekly Mercury, 6 October 1894, p.14, cols.3-4.
- Anonymous (1895) In Bankruptcy. Evening News, 6 August 1895, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1903) Blackheath. Mountaineer, 2 October 1903, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1910) The Automobile Touring Company. Blue Mountain Echo, 30 April 1910, p.10, cols.1-2.
- Anonymous (1912) Local & General. Horse Sale at Mt. Victoria. Blue Mountain Echo, 10 May 1912, p.4, col.4.
- Anonymous (1920) Obituary. Mr. Percy G. Whittall. Mullumbimby Star, 22 April 1920, p.2, col.4.
- Anonymous (1934) Personal. Katoomba Daily, 7 August 1934, p.2, col.4.
- Avery, W. (1867) One-Tree Hill Hotel. Bell's Life in Sydney & Sporting Chronicle, 17 August 1867, p.3, col.4.
- Blackheath Progress Committee (1903) Blackheath, Blue Mountains, N.S.W., Described and Illustrated. 102pp. Price Ninepence. Printed by Marchant & Co., 289, Pitt Street, Sydney. [Reprinted in a facsimile edition by Rotary Club of Blackheath in 1975].

- Blakey, J. (1892) Advertisement. *Katoomba Times*, 4 November 1892, p.3, cols.5-6.
- Caney, E.E. (ca.1886) Road to Fish River from Mount Victoria (Photograph). [McBroom Album, BMCL Local Studies, collection - <https://flic.kr/p/vkyT6Z> <Accessed 18 May 2019>]
- Colonial Finance Company (1890) Advertisement. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 May 1890, p.12, col.4.
- Cooper, G.H. (1890) Advertisement. *Blue Mountains*. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 November 1890, p.2, col.4.
- Cooper, G.H. (1894) Advertisement. *The Mountaineer*, 2 November 1894, p.3, col.2.
- Cooper, G.H. (1903) The Recent Motor Trip (Letter). *Lithgow Mercury*, 23 June 1903, p.2, col.7.
- Cripps, J.F. (1889) Advertisement. *Katoomba Times*, 25 May 1889, p.1, col.1.
- Darlinghurst Gaol (1894) Entry Book, Entry No. 6068 dated 29 September 1894, p.103 [Accessed on-line through Ancestry].
- Dunkley, J.R. (2007) *Jenolan Caves: Guides, Guests and Grottoes*. Parkville, Vic: Australian Speleological Federation, 73pp.
- E.D.H. (1896) Round about the Mountains. *Sydney Mail & NSW Advertiser*, 12 December 1896, pp.1246-1247.
- Esgate Brothers (1889) Advertisement. *Katoomba Times*, 7 September 1889, p.4, col.3.
- Esgate, R.H. & Collins, J.W. (1926) Letter. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 5 November 1926, p.3, col.4.
- G.B. (1930) The Manor House. *Blue Mountain Star*, 3 May 1930, p.6, cols.5-7.
- Hallinan, M. (2013) *Jenolan Caves, the Complete Guide*. Brisbane: Critical Concepts, 268pp.
- Havard, W.L. & Dowd, B.T. (1936) *Historic Glenroy, Cox's River, Hartley NSW*. Wallerawang, NSW: Blaxland Shire Council, 32pp.
- Inglis, W. (1919) Advertisement. *Lithgow Mercury*, 7 November 1919, p.3, col.1.
- Low, J. & Smith, J. (1993) *The Prince of Whips: the Life and Works of the Blue Mountains Pioneer Harry Peckman*. Wentworth Falls NSW: Den Fenella Press, 112pp.
- Lucas, J. (1863) A Visit to the Binda Caves. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 June 1863, p.3, cols.1-4.
- Mathews, R.H. (2003) *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe*. Wentworth Falls NSW: Den Fenella Press, 60pp.
- Mrs. Perry (1883) Advertisement. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 September 1883, p.12, col.4.
- Orbell, W.G. (1869) Royal Hotel, One-Tree Hill, Mount Victoria (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April 1869, p.1, col.5.
- Peckman Bros. (1893) Blue Mountains Livery Stables (Advertisement). *Katoomba Times*, 29 December, 1893, p.3, col.5-6.
- Perry, J. (1872) Perry's Hotel Mount Victoria (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 Sept. 1872, p.9, col.2.
- Perry, J. (1876) Mount Victoria (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1876, p.10, col.6.
- Richardson & Wrench (1869) Positive Sale (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June 1869, p.11, col.2.
- Pickwick Corresponding Club (1886) *A Correct and Faithful Account of a Journey to the Fish River Caves*. Unpublished Journal, BMCL Local Studies, collection; published in a limited edition in 2012 by Den Fenella Press Wentworth Falls, with authorship attributed to Alfred Allen and edited and with commentary by Jim Smith, 78pp.
- Rolfe, R. (1891) Advertisement. *Katoomba Times*, 11 December 1891, p.3, col.2.
- Smith, J. (1985) *From Katoomba to Jenolan Caves: the Six Foot Track*. Katoomba NSW: Second Back Row Press, 167pp.
- Spring, G.W. (1889) Blackheath Buggy Business (Advertisement). *Katoomba Times*, 19 October 1889, p.3, col.5.
- Stockton, E. ed. (1993) *Blue Mountains Dreaming: the Aboriginal Heritage*. Winmalee NSW: Three Sisters, 160pp.
- Tabrett, J.F. (1891.) Jenolan Caves and Mt. Victoria. (Advertisement). *Katoomba Times*, 13 November 1891, p.3, col.3.
- V.M.C. (1938) Transport to Jenolan Caves. *The Sydney Mail*, 27 April 1938, p.48, cols.2-3.

- Whiting, G (1860) Interesting and Extraordinary Discovery in the McKeon's Caves near the Duckmaloi River. *Bathurst Free Press & Mining Journal*, 11 January 1860, p.2, cols.6-7.
- Whittall, P.G. (1886) Perry's Imperial Hotel (Advert). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 February 1886, p.3, col.4.
- Whittall, P.G. (1892) Advertisement. *Katoomba Times*, 26 February 1892, p.3, col.4.
- Wilson, J. (1872) Binda Caves (Advert). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1872, p.4, col.5.
- Woolcott, W.C. (1886) To the Editor of the Herald. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 1886, p.7, col.5.
- Yeaman, J. (editor) (1976) *Historic Blackheath*. A community service project of the Rotary Club of Blackheath 1975: 1976. Blackheath: Blackheath Rotary Club, 382pp.
- Young, J. (1886) The Jenolan Caves. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 June 1886, p.3, col.5.







# CAVES HOUSE, JENOLAN CAVES: THE EVOLUTION OF THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE FROM FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT DAY.

**Chris Betteridge.**

42 Botany Street,

Kingsford, NSW 2032

[musccape@accsoft.com.au](mailto:musccape@accsoft.com.au)

## **Abstract**

The tourist hotel Caves House at Jenolan Caves, is situated within the Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve (JKCR) and the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area (GBMWA). Replacing earlier more modest accommodation provided at Jenolan from the 1880s, the present Caves House, owned by the NSW Government, was designed by three successive NSW Government Architects (Vernon, McRae and Blair) and built in four stages between 1896 and 1923-24. At the time of writing it is operated by the Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust (JCRT). As a state-run establishment it may well be amongst the first example of attempts by a government authority to promote and regulate tourist development at an area of acclaimed heritage value.

As part of the preparation for an upgrade of visitor facilities at Jenolan, the author has studied the connections between Jenolan Caves and the Royal Botanic Garden Sydney including the involvement of the Director Joseph H. Maiden and the plant collector and botanist William Blakely in the development of the cultural landscape around Caves House. This paper chronicles the evolution of the setting of this iconic Blue Mountains accommodation house from the first European settlement of the area to the present day.

## **Key words:**

Jenolan Caves, Caves House, gardens, landscape, tourism, Maiden, Blakely, Vernon, McRae, Blair.

## **Acronyms**

GBMWA Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area  
ICOMOS International Council on Monuments and Sites

JCHAPS Jenolan Caves Historical and Preservation Society  
JCRT Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust  
JKCR Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve  
NSW New South Wales  
UNESCO United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

## **INTRODUCTION**

Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve, which includes Caves House and its landscape setting, is part of the listing of Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area on the UNESCO World Heritage List (Listing No. 917) inscribed in the year 2000 primarily for its natural heritage values. The Reserve was included on the National Heritage List in 2007. A smaller area, the Jenolan Caves Reserve has been listed on the State Heritage Register since 2004 (NSW State Heritage 2004), primarily for its natural values but the listing does include Caves House for its historic, associational and aesthetic values. Caves House, with curtilage of Lot 39, DP728896, is listed as a local item of environmental heritage I11 on Schedule 5 of the Oberon Local Environmental Plan 2013 (Oberon Shire Council 2013). The Jenolan Caves Reserve is listed as a Landscape Conservation Area (Listing No. 3164) on the Register of the National Trust (National Trust of Australia (NSW) 1995) which includes geological formations, flora and fauna, Caves House and other buildings and landscape features.

The primary significance of the Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve is embodied in the karst system itself and the flora and fauna that the reserve supports. However, the human-modified landscape comprising the access roads and walking tracks, the numerous buildings and their

landscape settings, the developments within the caves and the movable heritage including building contents and historical archives are also items with varying levels of heritage significance.

Caves House is set in a dramatic limestone landscape and is part of a complex assemblage of built elements that also includes various cottages, day visitor facilities, a hydro-electricity plant, boiler house, former post office and once Jenolan had its own school, police station and farm. This NSW Government-owned tourist hotel, designed by three successive Government Architects and built in four stages between 1896 and 1924, replaced a group of earlier accommodation houses developed from as early as the 1880s. At the turn of the 20th century mass tourism arrived at Jenolan Caves, partly due to the increasing availability of motor transport. There was still scientific analysis of the caves, but the focus was on tourism. The increasing number of visitors and demand for new experiences other than visiting the caves gave way to the development of new visitor accommodation, as well as service infrastructure and staff quarters (Dunkley 2007, p.47). Caves House may well be amongst the first examples of attempts by a government authority to promote and regulate tourist development at an area of acclaimed heritage value. It is certainly the first such attempt in Australia (Moore 1988, pp.40-41).

The development of Caves House within colonial society in Australia in the Victorian period is unusual, as first class hotels throughout the British Empire were normally the province of private enterprise. Some other cave sites in Australia e.g. Wombeyan Caves, Yarrangobilly Caves, Yallingup Caves still have, or in the past have had, onsite accommodation, although not as grand or iconic as Caves House.

Jenolan Caves has been a popular NSW tourist destination for over 130 years and in that time, despite a few periods of downturn, annual visitation has grown from 1,829 visitors in 1888 to 80,000 in 1951 and to more than 250,000 in 2018. In her book *Australia's greatest landmarks & locations*, Virginia Grant (Grant 2014, p.15) identified Jenolan Caves as a key sight in the 'sightseeing wonderland' of the Blue Mountains.

Updating an earlier Conservation Plan (Moore 1988) are an Inventory of Movable Heritage (Musecape 2017a) and a draft Conservation Management Plan for Caves House (Musecape 2017b). The author also contributed the landscape input to a Conservation Management Plan for the JKCR (Urbis 2017).

### **Pre-European Occupation Of The Jenolan Caves Area.**

This section is based on information on the Jenolan Caves website (Gundungurra Tribal Council 2019) written in conjunction with the Gundungurra Tribal Council.

Jenolan Caves are in the lands of the Burra Burra people, a clan group of the Gundungurra Nation, with boundaries stretching from the Fish River and Campbell River to the east and north and from the Cox River and Kowmung River to the west and south. For tens of thousands of years, Jenolan has been part of the culture of the local Aboriginal people. This beautiful and mysterious place holds special significance to the Gundungurra people who knew it as 'Binomil', 'Bin-oo-mur' or 'Binoomea', meaning "dark places".

According to Gundungurra Elder, Old Jimmy Lynch, who until his death in 1913 lived the latter part of his life in the Gully in Katoomba,

"The old natives knew the caves. They penetrated them as far as the subterranean water, carrying sick people to be bathed in this water, which they believed to have great curative powers. Sick people were carried there from considerable distances." (*ibid.* 2019).

### **European 'Discovery' Of Jenolan Caves.**

In 1815, after the completion of Cox's road, European settlers began to cross over the great natural barrier of the Blue Mountains. As more and more settlers arrived in the rich grazing lands around Tarana and Oberon, the dispossession of the original inhabitants' land gathered momentum.

The area and formations known today as Jenolan Caves are recorded as having been used by ex-convict and possibly outlaw, James McKeown, as shelter during the late 1830s. The first

European discovery, in 1838 or 1841 (depending on the source) is attributed to Charles Whalan or his elder brother, local pastoralist, James Whalan (c.1806-1854), owner of Gingkin Station about 12 kilometres to the west (Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.56). Whalan came across the caves while searching for McKeown, who had allegedly stolen some of his stock. The first gardening of any sort in the Jenolan Caves area may have been carried out by McKeown, who was listed in Bathurst court records as a 'K[itche]n Gardener'. McKeown stole a pair of bullock bows and a horse, presumably to plough land and grow a crop (possibly maize) at his secluded campsite in the valley at Jenolan which now bears his name.

Known first as McKeown's Caves, and later as the Fish River Caves, they were explored by James Whalan, and his brothers Charles Jr. (c.1811-1885) and Edwin, who led guided visits to the area during the next three decades. The *Elder Cave* was discovered in 1848 (A Constant Reader 1848; Low 1991, p.99) and was the first "dark cave" to be explored. In 1860, the *Lucas Cave*, the largest of the current show caves, was discovered by Nicholas Irwin and George Whiting (Whiting 1860, col.7; Low 1991, p.99). Word of the wonder and excitement of the caves spread throughout the district by being written about in the *Bathurst Advocate*, and news of the caves eventually found its way to Sydney.

In her thematic history of Oberon Shire, Gemmell-Smith (2004, p.57) claimed that

"Jenolan Caves is regarded as Australia's first tourist attraction outside Sydney. Charles Whalan acted at first as honorary guide and later his sons took over. Visitors for many years stayed at his farmhouse at "Glyndwr", Oberon, sometimes parties of up to 25 arriving without notice'

'as hospitality was unbounded, friends and strangers were all treated alike. Many a matrimonial match was made during these excursions'

wrote one of Charles Whalan's daughters"

[probably Sarah, in Alan Brown's Historical Notes, *Oberon Review* 21.10.1987, from the 1949 booklet *Pioneers* Hughes and Whalan p.29, footnote 257 in Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.57].

"The women would be accommodated in the house, three to a bed, and the men would camp, often in Whalan's flour mill (Whalan & Benton 1968, p.56, footnote 258 in Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.57). Compared to most early settlers houses around Oberon "Glyndwr" was luxurious: constructed of milled weatherboard with a shingled roof, wooden floors, plastered interior walls, large rooms, brick chimneys and 'the many windows contained glass'" (Whalan & Benton 1968, p.67, footnote 259 in Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.57).



Mitchell Library: ML 1396; IE Number: IE3241973; File Number: FL3241981.

**Figure 1.** The entrance, (Grand Arch) Fish River Caves, 1861, by George Pickering.

The significance of the Caves as a natural phenomenon prompted the gazettal of the Fish River Caves Reserve in 1866 as a means of providing for their protection, and a stalactite was donated to the Australian Museum (Anonymous 1866). An early watercolour of the Fish River Caves shows three human figures inside the Grand Arch (Figure 1). The caves were renamed the Binda Caves (after the Parish of Binda had been created) and a local farmer and cave enthusiast, Jeremiah Wilson (c.1839-1907) was appointed the first Keeper of the Caves on 12 January 1867 ('Jenolan Names', JCHAPS website), remaining in that role till 1896 when he became known as Official Explorer until his retirement in 1900 ('Keepers of the Caves' JCHAPS website). During his time, access to cave entrances was constructed by cutting steps into the natural stone and attaching wire rope to iron stanchions. In steep places, wooden, and later iron, ladders were used but inside the caves there was little personal protection on the steep descents and on slippery surfaces.





Photo: Scan from original at Jenolan Caves.

**Figure 2.** Former Jenolan Caves Guide David Hay re-enacting the role of Lieutenant Colonel E.G. Cracknell, Superintendent of Telegraphs, and holding a reproduction of Jeremiah Wilson's candleholder.

Jeremiah Wilson was entrepreneurial, offering accommodation for visitors and providing matches, candles, magnesium wire and even feed for horses. He supplied 'cave costume' clothing for hire and provided sandshoes, belts, cigars, tobacco and sold temperance drinks. To reduce the build-up of candle wax on the formations and cave floors, he designed a candle holder, similar to that in [Figure 2](#), for visitors to use to light their way and view the cave features; it was distinguished by a wide, shallow bowl which prevented wax from dripping onto the limestone.

### Early Accommodation At The Caves, 1867 – 1886.

From 1867, prospective visitors to the caves would write to the 'Keeper of the Caves', Jeremiah Wilson, advising him of their intention to visit. Meeting them at Tarana railway station, he would take them by buggy through Oberon and walk them down the last two miles (3.2 kilometres) into the Jenolan Valley, because the descent was too steep and unsuitable for a horse-drawn vehicle. The nights would be spent

camping in the Grand Arch - ladies on one side, gentlemen on the other. Smoke from their camp fires can still be seen on the stalactites in the Woolshed Chamber of the Imperial Cave. In 1869 a timber dance floor and sleeping platform were erected in the Grand Arch where the natural surface was rocky and uneven.

Despite government control, the caves initially enjoyed little protection. In the early years, visitors were free to break formations and take souvenirs from the caves. It was not until 1872 that this practice became illegal, thanks largely to the efforts of John Lucas, the local member of NSW Parliament. Damage is visible today, in caves including the *Elder Cave* and the *Lucas Cave* which bears his name to commemorate his part in the preservation of this fragile and irreplaceable environment.

The railway over the Blue Mountains had reached Mt Victoria by 1868 (Low 1991, p.99) and Tarana by 1879 (Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.34). In 1878 the Oberon Road was surveyed and the following year a road from Tarana to a point close to Jenolan Caves was completed and the narrow passageway to the Grand Arch was widened. Inside the caves safety was improving. Following a visit to the caves in 1878 by C.S. Wilkinson (1843-91), Geological Surveyor, the large chasm inside the Exhibition Chamber of the *Lucas Cave* had been spanned by an iron bridge, connecting the cliffs on either side. He recommended that for added protection, iron gates be installed at the entrances to caves and visitors only admitted in the company of Wilson and his guides. Other improvements included the widening of passages, stone stairways cut into the stone, handrails and iron ladders.

In 1880, the Department of Mines, which at the time managed the caves, provided Mr. Wilson with materials to erect a timber building, 40 feet long by 14 feet wide (approximately 12.1 m x 4.3 m) and covered with corrugated iron. This first accommodation building ([Figure 3](#)), on the site of part of the present Caves House, was white-washed to provide some sealing from the weather; it contained 5 bedrooms, a dining / common room and a verandah (Low 1991, p.103). The kitchen was separate, in case of fire - a common risk at the time. During the 1880s, a





Photo: H. King, Sydney' courtesy of JCHAPS ('376 Cave House)

**Figure 3.** Archival photograph of the Wilsons' first house and outbuildings, showing drystone walls, timber stock enclosure, a dog, chickens and a partly cleared hillside. The creeks have been turned into culverts by the construction of stone walls.

kitchen and attached dining room, stables, gardens and sheds were progressively added with outhouses on the other side of the creek (Low 1991, p.103).

By 1883, increasing numbers of visitors to the caves necessitated additional accommodation. It was reported:

“It is evident that increase of accommodation at the caves is necessary, at least during holiday times. On examining the visitors' book from January 1 to March 20, 1883, the names of 158 visitors are entered, and during the few days we were there, inclusive of ourselves, the number increased fully 50 more, a well-known contributor to the Sydney papers being among the number. There should then be better accommodation.” (Anonymous 1883).

The name Jenolan Caves (from an Aboriginal word ‘Jenolan’ meaning ‘high mountain’) was adopted in 1884 and a route 45 km long from Katoomba across the Megalong and Cox’s River valleys was surveyed by W.M. Cooper and constructed, becoming known as the Six Foot Track because of its width (Hallinan 2014, p.105; Low 1991, p.99).

In 1885, James Carvosso “Voss” Wiburd (c.1867-1942) was appointed to the guiding staff at Jenolan and would later become the long-

serving Superintendent of the Caves, from 1903 to 1932 (‘Jenolan Names’, JCHAPS website; Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.59). In the following year a road was constructed from Mount Victoria to the Jenolan Valley, known as the Five Mile it terminated half a mile (800 m) from the caves so the last part of the journey had to be made on foot. Alderman John Young, Mayor of Sydney, visited Jenolan Caves from 1 to 3 June, 1886 and recommended a survey of the caves, improved facilities and stricter controls on visitors (Anonymous 1886).

As the fame of the caves spread, visitors came in ever increasing numbers, especially when the roads into the valley had been completed. Jeremiah Wilson was flooded with requests for accommodation and the initial accommodation quickly proved inadequate, so extensive building work needed to be undertaken. Wilson and his wife Lucinda probably grew vegetables to support their operations at Jenolan in the 1880s. Photographer Joseph Rowe, who worked for a time as a cook for the Wilsons, may also have carried out subsistence gardening at his cottage in McKeown’s Valley.

In his study of the flora and fauna of the Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve, Ian Eddison described the changes to the vegetation cover of the area around Caves House since European occupation as being from

“fairly dense floristic habitat within the valley” to “very open woodland surrounding the Caves House area”.

He reminded us that

“one should consider that for breakfast, lunch and dinner and any washing, meant a fire was required and water boiled. Hence the depletion of the nearby timber and opening up of the hillsides had occurred.” (Eddison 2008, p.56).

### Cave House

By 1887 a road had been built to within half a kilometre of the cave entrances. Wilson’s new two-storey timber-framed, weatherboard-clad hotel was built on the site now occupied by the Second Wing of Caves House and was known as Cave House. It catered for 30 visitors, among whom in its first year were NSW Governor Lord Carrington and his wife Cecilia who traversed

the new Six-Foot Track from Katoomba via the Megalong Valley and spent two nights at Jenolan. A steam-driven dynamo was installed in the Grand Arch to produce electricity to illuminate the *Imperial Cave* – the first time that caves had been electrically lit anywhere in the world. Some of this equipment was imported from Chicago and was intended to produce ‘a grand effect in the chambers’. The first reservoir at Jenolan was also constructed.

In 1888, 1,829 visitors arrived (Leigh 1888, p.201; Eddison 2010, p.8), making further expansion of the accommodation necessary. So, in 1890, an additional two-storey timber structure was erected, alongside the original Cave House, replacing the 1879 kitchen. The two accommodation buildings, various outbuildings and landscaping are shown in [Figure 4](#). In 1889, the steam dynamo was replaced with a water driven Leffel wheel which harnessed water power from the Jenolan River, thought to be the first on-going use of hydro-electricity in Australia.



JCHAPS

**Figure 4.** Cave House, comprising two two-storey timber accommodation buildings on the site now occupied by the first and second wings of Caves House, photographed between 1890 and 1895.

Unfortunately, in 1895, fire destroyed the old dining room, kitchen and the second two-storey accommodation building. Jeremiah Wilson couldn't afford to rebuild, and his lease was resumed by the NSW Government which redefined the operation of this increasingly popular tourist attraction.

The first Cave House building was dismantled in 1896 and re-erected on piers over Camp Creek at the rear of the First (Vernon) Wing of Caves House. It incorporated the old laundry in its basement. It was demolished circa 1918-1920.

### **Early Connections Between Sydney's Botanic Gardens & The Jenolan Caves Landscape**

Under the directorship of Scottish-born Charles Moore (1820-1905), the influence of the Botanic Gardens Sydney on the cultural landscape of NSW became increasingly wide. Originally appointed in 1848

“to direct the affairs of the Botanic Gardens and the Domains, Moore also became associated with the Hyde, Victoria and Wentworth Parks, a succession of intercolonial and international exhibitions, the grounds of Government House, Admiralty House, Garden Island, Sydney University, various gaols and courthouses and the gardens of stations along the rapidly-expanding railway system” (Aitken & Looker 2002, p.416).

The practice of providing advice, and dispatching plant material from the Botanic Gardens to Government institutions, parks and gardens and private individuals, expanded during Moore's directorship and was to continue under his successor.

The Department of Mines records for 1888 show that gardens at Jenolan Caves had been developed by that time:

“Great improvements have been carried out at these caves in the way of making the outside surroundings attractive to visitors. Plantations and walks have been tastefully laid out and suitable trees, shrubs, and flowers planted. Altogether, it is intended to make the cave surroundings as attractive and pleasing to the eye as possible, in order that visitors, when not engaged exploring the caves, will be able to pass their time pleasantly in viewing the scenery and vegetation around. The improvements at the bathing-hole have been greatly appreciated, and consequently taken advantage of by the visitors.” (Leigh 1888, p.201).

Those improvements would have been seen by Lord and Lady Carrington (accompanied by the Earl of Onslow) who were welcomed ([Figure 5](#))



*Hamilton-Smith Collection, courtesy of JCHAPS*

**Figure 5.** One half of a stereoscopic pair of photographs (probably by Henry King) showing the entrance to Jeremiah Wilson's Cave House with a welcome sign for the first vice-regal visitors to Jenolan Caves in 1889. The entrance ramp over the creek and the adjoining garden are bounded by an acorn pattern timber picket fence.

on the weekend of 13-14 April 1889, the first vice-regal visit to Jenolan Caves.

In the same year Bruck (1888) identified Katoomba and Mount Victoria as two of the resorts where those suffering from 'general debility, nervous affection or liver complaints' could find relief. Recommended as part of the treatment at both resorts were excursions to Jenolan Caves where the 'bracing atmosphere', 'invigorating climate' and 'the grandeur of scenery' would be of benefit to sufferers (Bruck 1888, pp.50, 64-65).

On 9 September 1891, the Botanic Gardens Sydney sent a consignment of 60 trees and 230 shrubs for planting at Jenolan Caves (NSW State Archives 1891). It is frustrating that the records so far researched by this author of plants

despatched to Jenolan from the Botanic Gardens do not identify the species. Identification has had to be based on analysis of archival photographs and those trees, shrubs and other plants that have survived. One significant tree, a walnut possibly from this consignment and presumably planted late 1891 or early the following year, became a feature in a children's book *The Wizard of Jenolan* (Mass c.1993; Eddison 2010, p.10). This tree, planted between Jenolan Caves Road and Caves House survived for 90 years to become a huge specimen before being uprooted in a storm in 1982 and despite considerable efforts, it could not be saved. However, its significance to the Jenolan community was such that some of the timber from the tree was milled, dried and crafted into a reception desk for Caves House (Eddison 2010, p.10).

An article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* highlighted the improvements made at Jenolan Caves which had by then come under the 'paternal care' of the NSW Government (Anonymous 1891). Even though the Caves and the surrounding area were by this time a reserve, visitors could still take home examples of native plants. It must be remembered that this was also a time when the Government sanctioned employees raiding natural bush and rainforest for plants to grow on railway station gardens.

"The only man about the place who lays claim to learning is the boots, who has a penchant for botany, and can tell you the proper name of every flower and fern, tree and shrub, within a radius of half a dozen miles. Away down the gully, where the four streams meet and form a gurgling rippling torrent, he has a little plantation of his own, and here the favoured are shown rare ferns and orchids gathered from the neighbouring bush. For those who are fortunate enough to win his good graces, he will cunningly pack ferns in straw envelopes, so that they may suffer but little during their transport to the city" (Anonymous 1891).

A room at Caves House was devoted to 'Boots' and presumably the employee who looked after boots, which could be hired for bushwalks and cave inspections, is referred to above as 'boots'.

After lamenting the visual impact of the exposed pipes carrying water to the Leffel wheel



electricity generating plant, and the over-bright illumination in some of the recently lit caves, a writer went on to describe the landscape around Caves House and compare it with similar European alpine resorts.

“Many other improvements have been recently made at Jenolan, some of which are of a distinctly ornamental character. All the old buildings surrounding the Cave House have been cleared away, and the space neatly fenced off into gardens. The little settlement nestling under the hills has a cleanly, well-kept appearance, and is strikingly reminiscent of those Swiss villages one so often comes across during an Alpine ramble. Everything is peaceful and quiet and happy, and life flows on evenly from day to day” (Anonymous 1891).

### **The Need For A New Caves House**

In 1895 fire destroyed most of Jeremiah Wilson’s accommodation buildings at Jenolan, including the old dining room, kitchen and one of the two-storey accommodation houses. The 1887 house, slab buildings and the photographer’s kiosk survived (Hallinan 2014, p.110). Wilson’s lease was terminated by the Minister for Mines but Wilson was appointed explorer (Karskens 1988).

In the following year, a limestone arch bridge designed by civil engineer Ernest Macartney de Burgh (1863-1929), was built to carry Jenolan Caves Road over Jenolan Creek and the road was extended through the Grand Arch, linking it with the Oberon Road (Low 1991, p.102). Foundations were laid for the first wing of a new Caves House, designed by the then NSW Government Architect Walter Liberty Vernon (1846-1914). English born architect and soldier Vernon had migrated to Sydney with his wife in 1883 and worked in private practice until 1890 when he was appointed Government Architect in the new Government Architect’s Branch of the Department of Public Works. Vernon saw major city public buildings as ‘monuments to Art’, large in scale and finely wrought in stone (as in the main facade of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1904-1906); suburban buildings took on the scale and character of their surroundings (e.g. Darlinghurst Fire Station, Federation Free Style, 1910); and country buildings were designed with cross-ventilation, shady verandahs and sheltered

courtyards (e.g. Bourke Court House, Federation Free Style, 1900). His first wing of the new Caves House was designed in the Arts and Craft architectural style and constructed of local limestone quarried from a nearby site.

*The Australian Town and Country Journal* (Anonymous 1898e) provided a glowing description and photographs of the new Caves House:

“.....the Government Architect ..... has designed a building which not only gives the accommodation required, but also adds considerably to the artistic effect of the surroundings. ....The [new] building presents a striking and picturesque appearance, both from its unique position in a gully at the foot of the hills, which rise from the hotel about 1700ft to the up lands, and its close proximity to the Grand Archway to the main caves” (p.30) .....

It is “erected in coursed pitch-faced mountain limestone, and is understood to be the only building of its kind in the colony. The red roofing completes its general picturesque appearance, and the whole reminds the visitor forcibly of those comfortable and well-known tourist hotels in the Highlands of Scotland, the Lake district of England, and the west coast of Ireland.

The grounds, although necessarily very limited in extent, on account of the steep declivities surrounding the hotel, are now being completed, and amongst the trees (of which some choice specimens are already well grown), there are small rustic, detached buildings for post-office purposes, cyclists, sale of photographs, etc., and generally with the idea of adding to the comfort of visitors’.” (p.31).

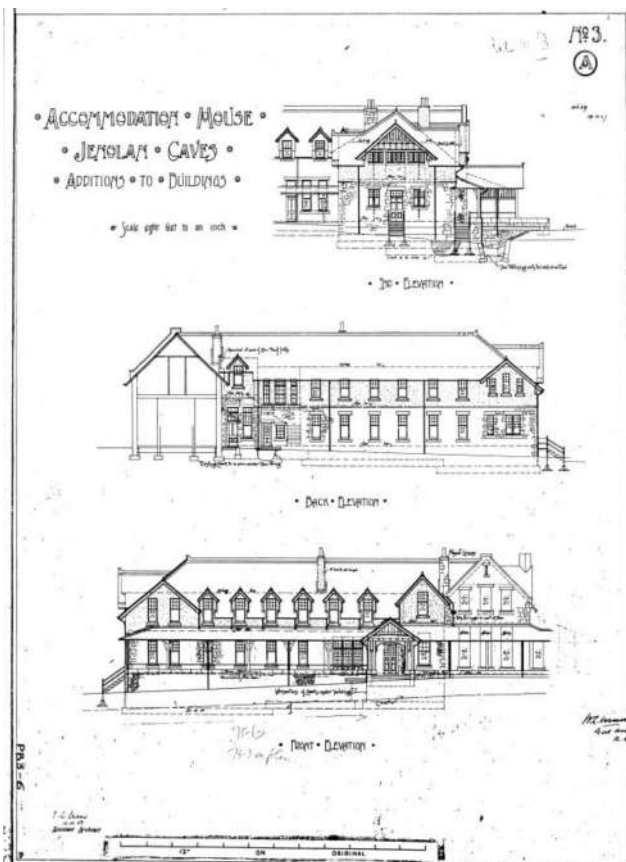
The design of Caves House as we see it today is the work of three successive NSW Government Architects and was built in four stages over 27 years between 1896 and 1923-24 although it

“shows a remarkable degree of stylistic continuity” (Moore 1988, p.40).

The First Wing is known at Jenolan as the Vernon Wing and [Figure 6](#) is a photograph taken soon after construction; it shows a limestone edged



*Archives Office of NSW, 4481\_a026\_000834.*  
**Figure 6.** The First 'Vernon' Wing of Caves House built in 1896, with the detached Billiard Room (right) connected to the hotel by a covered walkway. In front of the verandah is a bed of tree ferns.



*Public Works Plan Room PB3\_6*  
**Figure 7.** Elevations of the Second Wing of Caves House signed by W.L. Vernon, Government Architect on 12 November 1907.

garden bed planted with tree ferns, probably *Dicksonia antarctica* (Soft Tree Fern) interspersed with shrubs.

The Second Wing was designed by his Assistant Architect, with the plans and elevations (Figure 7) signed off by Vernon in 1907. Construction was completed by his successor who extended the building eastwards towards the Grand Arch.



*NSW State Archives, 4346\_a020\_a020000280.jpg*  
**Figure 8.** Entrance to the new Third Wing of Caves House circa 1916, showing limestone dwarf walls either side of the entrance porch and estate fencing along the edge of the road. The balcony behind the entrance porch was unroofed until 1920.

Oliver Trickett wrote that the 1914 Third Wing (Figure 8)

“was constructed from the designs of the late Colonel Vernon” (Trickett 1915) under the supervision of George Macrae.

The Fourth Wing, constructed under the tenure of Gorrie McLeish Blair, also respected Vernon’s earlier plans. The limestone northern gable end and the ground floor external walls contrast with the roughcast rendered finish of the upper level of the Second Wing and the exterior of the Third and Fourth Wings. The external walls of the third



floors of the Third and Fourth Wings feature timber battens in the English Domestic Revival style. Deep copper-clad bays project from the northern elevations on the first and second floors of the Third and Fourth Wings.

[W.L. Vernon was succeeded as Government Architect in 1912 by George McRae (1858-1923). Scottish-born and trained McRae had arrived in Sydney in 1884 and was appointed Assistant Architect in the Sydney City Architect's office, becoming City Architect and City Building Surveyor in 1889, a position he held until 1897 when he was appointed Principal Assistant Architect to Vernon in the NSW Government Architect's Branch. McRae died in office in 1923 and was succeeded as Acting Government Architect by another Scot, Gorrie McLeish Blair (1862-1926), who had entered the NSW Government Architect's Branch in 1895 as an architectural draughtsman. By 1912 he had become First Class Assistant Architect in charge of the drawing office, and by 1916 Principal Designing Architect. He was promoted to Government Architect in 1926 but died that same year.]

Henry ('Harry') Curzon Smith (1861-1913), born in Canada to British parents, arrived in Australia in 1879/80. As a commercial salesman for his father's domestic and industrial products, Harry saw the opportunities to be made in providing refreshment for railway travellers. He began acquiring leases of Railway Refreshment Rooms from the NSW Department of Railways and by 1894 was operating sixteen such centres, including those at Sydney Terminal, all of those north of Singleton, and those on the Narrabri line. After securing the lease to operate Caves House in 1898 (Anonymous 1898a), Smith continued to run the accommodation at the caves until his death in 1913.

### Possible Architectural Influences On The Design Of Caves House

Vernon's experience in various architectural practices and in the military, together with his extensive travels in the United Kingdom, Europe and Malta, meant that he had been exposed to a wide variety of architectural styles and new design trends which he was able to draw on in his designs for buildings in Australia. In the 1988 Conservation Plan for buildings at Jenolan Caves, Robert Moore & Associates cited a number of buildings which may have influenced the design of Caves House (Figures 8 & 9).



Google Maps Streetview, image capture March 2010, ©2019 Google

**Figure 9.** Caves House as viewed from the roadway between the Grand Arch and the building – the first view of Caves House most visitors see if they arrive by Jenolan Caves Road.

Although all are domestic examples rather than commercial accommodation buildings, they represent the work of some of the major proponents of the Arts and Craft and English Domestic Revival styles popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. They include *Standen House*, near East Grinstead in West Sussex, England, a country house designed by architect Philip Webb (a leading figure in the Arts and Crafts movement in Britain) and built for the intellectual and cultured Beale family 1891-1894 (National Trust *no date*). Other possible influences were architect George Devey's *St. Alban's Court* at Nonington in Kent (Devey 2018) and *Ascott House*, Bedfordshire (Wikipedia 2018). *Avon Tyrell*, in the New Forest, near Christchurch, Hampshire designed by architect William Richard Lethaby and built in 1891 for the 3rd Baron Manners, features two-storey projecting window bays very similar to those on the later two wings of Caves House.

Perhaps closest in style and certainly in setting to Caves House is *Cragside* (Figure 10) near Rothbury, in the heart of Northumberland, England. Described in 1880 as "a palace of the modern magician", *Cragside* was the family home of Lord Armstrong, Victorian inventor, industrialist and landscape enthusiast (National Trust 2017).



National Trust (2017)

**Figure 10.** *Cragside*, near Rothbury, Northumberland is similar in style and massing to Caves House and is situated in an equally spectacular setting.

### Joseph Maiden & The Jenolan Caves Landscape

After his appointment as Director of Sydney's Botanic Gardens in 1896, Moore's successor, London-born Joseph Henry Maiden (1859-1925), aided by other staff of the Gardens, worked hard to collect plant material to enhance the herbarium collection which had become sadly depleted. Maiden's output on 'journeys', meetings, correspondence, publications and research was prodigious. In just one year, 1898, Maiden went on botanical collecting trips to many places including Mount Kosciuszko (January), Jenolan Caves (February and later), Lord Howe Island (March-April), Melbourne Herbarium (June), Dubbo and Narromine; Appin and Clarence Siding in the Blue Mountains (September); 'Shoalhaven gullies, King's Tableland and Burragorang (October); and the Tenterfield district (Gilbert 1986, p.120; Gilbert 2001, p.125).

Maiden's biographer, Lionel Gilbert, contacted in 2002 by Edwin Wilson, author, long-time education officer and director of guides at the Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, expressed the opinion that Maiden had 'his fingers in many pies' including the Rookwood [Necropolis] Trust and the Lord Howe Island Board, etc. Maiden was also good friends with the geologist, Edgeworth David and both their families holidayed in the Blue Mountains. Gilbert thought it easy to imagine that Maiden could also have gone with Edgeworth David to the Jenolan Caves where presumably they would have found much of botanical and geological interest

(Eddison 2010, p.8). Maiden's involvement with Jenolan was soon to become official.

At the direction of Sydney Smith, Minister for Mines and Agriculture (Smith 1898), tenders were invited for the leasing of the accommodation house, outbuildings and land at the Jenolan Caves for a period of ten years from 1 July 1898, with tenders closing on 31 May that year. Copies of the conditions, plans, etc. could be inspected at the Department of Mines and Agriculture in Sydney and at the caves.

Two entries in the Department of Mines records for 1898 (Eddison 2010, p.8) state:.

"In order to add to the beauty of the surroundings of the caves, Mr. Maiden, Curator of the Botanic Gardens, has been authorised to lay out new plantations" and "Garden seats were placed in suitable places" (Trickett 1898, p.192).

A reporter for the *Lithgow Mercury* was very impressed by the new works at Jenolan Caves when he visited in June 1898. He expressed surprise to see the changes and improvements that had been made during the previous twelve months under the superintendence of Mr. Trickett, the inspector.

"From a scene of rugged grandeur, the place, after passing through the Grand Arch, has been converted into quite a sylvan beauty spot. Since the completion of the Caves House, everything that human hands could do has been done to make the surroundings as charming as possible. Around and in front of the house, gardens have been laid out and

planted with shrubs and flowers in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on the taste of Mr. J. H. Maiden and Mr. W. Blakeley. Anyone who had visited the Caves three years ago could not realise without seeing them, the changes which have been made. The surroundings now are simply lovely, and make one wish to spend an unlimited time there” (Anonymous 1898b).

On 4 August 1898, the Sydney Botanic Gardens despatched 500 trees and 452 shrubs to Jenolan Caves (NSW State Archives 1898, p.419) and a further 20 trees and 96 miscellaneous plants were sent on 20 September that year (NSW State Archives 1898, p.440). Unfortunately, the records do not specify the plant species dispatched.

A local newspaper correspondent reported:

“The director of the Botanical Gardens, Mr. J.H. Maiden, accompanied by two assistants, arrived here [at Jenolan] on Saturday. With the exception of about a dozen trees they made a clean sweep of the gardens, cutting everything else out. They brought 10 cwt. [*approximately 0.5 tonne*] of small shrubs and plants to replace the others, so now the gardens will be thoroughly in keeping with the other improvements effected here. An iron fence is being erected to replace the wooden pickets around the gardens.” (Anonymous 1898c; also see Anonymous 1898f).

and

“Mr. J.H. Maiden, and two assistants of the Botanic Gardens, have been busy at the Jenolan Caves making alterations in the gardens, which are now artistically arranged” (Anonymous 1898d).

In the ‘Government Domains’ section of the Botanic Gardens Sydney Annual Report for 1898, (p.25) it was noted:

“The most important outside works undertaken during the past year are the Court-house grounds at Newcastle and the grounds adjacent to the Caves house at Jenolan”.

In May 1899 J.H. Maiden (Director of the Botanic Gardens), Mr. J. Davis (Engineer for Sewerage) and Mr. O. Trickett (Inspector of Caves) visited Jenolan Caves to inspect ‘the

different departments’ (Anonymous 1899), following which in August of the same year, the Botanic Gardens Sydney sent three consignments, each of 36 trees, for planting at Jenolan Caves (NSW State Archives 1899). In the Department of Mines records for 1899 (Eddison 2010, p.8) it is stated that:

“Considerable progress has been made by Mr. Maiden, Director of the Botanic Gardens, in forming and planning the area surrounding the Caves House. In connection with this work, W. Blakely was gazetted as gardener on the 25th August, 1899. For the protection of the plantations, wire netting has been erected, and active steps have been taken to prevent the trespass of stock. Hose and hose-reels have been supplied.” (Trickett 1899, p.200).

The author of a book on Jenolan Caves referred to the landscape in the late 1890s thus:

“Between cave inspections, visitors strolled in the luxurious gardens or ‘took tea’ at the kiosk. The gardens set the scene of an English country manor house, complete with northern hemisphere deciduous trees.” (Hallinan 2014).

Curators of Australia’s major tourist cave systems often saw the development of gardens, sometimes incorporating picturesque grottos and rockeries, as an extension of the caves themselves (Aitken & Looker 2002, p.131). The bridge leading into the Grand Arch, the road tunnel through the Grand Arch constructed in the 1890s, and the Caves House built of local limestone by day labour and completed in 1898, are identified as significant sites in the history of public works in NSW (AONSW, PWDAR 1897-98 cited in Coltheart & Fraser (1987, pp.176, 183).

Ellison (2010, p.11) cited The Department of Mines records for 1900 which state:

“The plantations having been completed during September, under the supervision of the Director of the Botanic Gardens, they were handed over to the lessee of the Caves House in terms of his lease (M. 00/21,372). *Irrespective of the attractions found in the Caves, the picturesque little valley in which the Caves House is situated is now one of the most beautiful spots in Australia.*” (Trickett 1900, p.197).



At Jenolan in early winter 1900:

“The total rainfall for the month amounts to 401 points [nearly 140mm]. During the last few weeks visitors have been few and far between, which is only to be expected in view of the weather. The weather up to the time of writing is fine, but threatening. Many plants in the gardens show evidence of the late rain, owing to the absence of frost.” (Anonymous 1900a).

Later in 1900:

“During the past week visitors have been more numerous than of late, and, included among the Sydney visitors were Messrs. B. D. Millen and Reginald Black, Ms. L. C. and visitors from the other colonies, Canada, Europe, India, and England. His Excellency Earl Beauchamp arrived on Friday, and on Saturday the Rev. Father Curran, accompanied by a party of geological students, numbering about 30, arrived on a visit for a few days. Mr. W. F. Blakely, who has had charge of the Government Gardens for about 18 months, has returned to the Botanical Gardens, Sydney. His work has been most creditably performed, the gardens never having looked better.” (Anonymous 1900c).

Early in his life William Faris Blakely, born at Wellington Vale, Tenterfield, NSW, developed interests in the bush and in agricultural and pastoral matters, and he further developed his botanical knowledge while working at Jenolan where he had been appointed in 1898 (Aitken & Looker 2002, p.92).

In 1900, J.H. Maiden went on leave to attend the International Botanical Congress in Paris and to inspect botanic gardens, parks and herbaria in the United Kingdom and Continental countries. George Harwood took over as acting director of the Sydney Botanic Gardens and during Maiden’s absence overseas, Harwood arranged the transfer to the Gardens of William Faris Blakely (1875-1941), gardener at Jenolan Caves (Gilbert 1986, pp.118-123). In his report on activities in the ‘Government Domains’ for 1900 (Botanic Gardens Sydney Annual Report for 1900, p.24), James Jones, Overseer, reported that:

“The Jenolan Caves grounds have been visited, and arrangements made for the

maintenance of the numerous trees and shrubs already planted there.”.

“Many improvements have been made in the grounds about Jenolan Caves. Various kinds of ornamental and fruit tree, vines, and plants have recently been put in ..... As an indication of the wealth of the flora about the caves, it may be mentioned that over 400 different specimens of trees and plants have been sent to the Government Botanist for classification. The number includes over 40 ferns and 27 orchids. The wild flowers are now bursting out, and the mountains are commencing to look radiant with the yellow dahlias, wattle blooms, etc.”. (Anonymous 1900b).

It is not clear whether the reference to dahlias is to exotic ornamentals around Caves House or to native species or to introduced weeds misidentified as dahlias.

Maiden resumed duty in 1901, thankful for his good fortune ‘in possessing a loyal, intelligent and hard-working staff’. Eddison (2010, p.12) cited the Department of Mines records for 1905 in which it is stated:

“One hundred ornamental trees, supplied by the Director, Botanic Gardens, were planted by the guides on the slopes in the vicinity of the caves.” (Trickett 1905).

Eddison (2010, p.8) postulated that these plantings could have included *Acer pseudoplatanus* (Sycamore), an invasive species which by 2010 covered more than 50 hectares within the Reserve and is the subject of a major multi agency weed eradication program with the aid of volunteers.

The first significant attempt to catalogue the flora of the Jenolan Caves reserve was performed by James Carvosso Wiburd and W.F. Blakely in 1901 (Wiburd & Blakely 1901). Their list is mainly of native species but includes some introduced plants which had already become, or have since become, invasive namely *Centaurium erythraea* (Pink Stars), *Cirsium vulgare* (Spear Thistle), *Conyza bonariensis* (Flax-leaf Fleabane), *Galium aparine* (Goose Grass), *Hypericum adrosaemum* (Tutsan), *Hypericum japonicum* (Matted St. John's Wort), *Hypochaeris radicata* (Flatweed), *Ilex aquifolium* (Common Holly), *Marrubium*





Photo courtesy of JCHAPS

**Figure 11.** Tourists in a horse-drawn vehicle outside Caves House circa late 1890s.

*vulgare* (Horehound), *Rosa rubiginosa* (Sweet Briar), *Rubus fruticosus* (Blackberry), *Sonchus oleraceus* (Common Sow Thistle) and *Taraxacum officinale* (Dandelion).

Figure 11 shows the garden between Caves House and Jenolan Caves Road considerably more developed than in Figure 9. Estate fencing with mesh panels has been constructed between the road and the building. An arched wirework arbour over the pedestrian entry to the building supports a climbing plant and benches have cast iron ends and timber seats and backs

Figure 12 shows the hillside around the Engineer's House largely cleared whereas it later was planted with tall-growing, dark-foliaged conifers, and more recently, with cypresses. In the 1890s there was a fenced garden, apparently planted with flowering plants and possibly



Kerry and Co. Image no. 630, Elerly Hamilton-Smith collection, courtesy of JCHAPS.

**Figure 12.** View of Caves House and other buildings at Jenolan Caves possibly soon after the Engineer's House was completed in 1898.

vegetables, on the slope below the house. The gardens around Caves House, presumably including some of Maiden's work, already had mature specimens of *Pinus* sp., probably *Pinus radiata* (Radiata Pine, Monterey Pine) which has become a serious invasive species in the Blue Mountains.

A panorama view (Figure 13) shows the road between the Grand Arch and Caves House, bounded by metal estate fencing, and with an extensive Gardenesque landscape of clipped shrubs, tree ferns and ornamental trees on either side. The tree plantings on the hillsides include many dark-foliaged conifers, probably including *Pinus radiata*, some of which survive at Jenolan today.

The models of the vehicles in Figure 14, and the fact that they are driving towards the Grand Arch, suggest a date after 1903 (when the road was



Jenolan Caves website

**Figure 13.** Panorama (circa 1907-1913) showing the area between the Grand Arch (left) and Caves House and the extent of formal gardens along the way.



*Mitchell Library, Small Picture file PXA1030-3-15*

**Figure 14.** Early motorists visiting Jenolan Caves.

pushed through the Grand Arch) but before 1907 (when the timber two-storey part of Jeremiah Wilson's hotel was demolished to make way for the Second Wing of Caves House).

In 1907 the NSW Department of Intelligence took over responsibility for the caves from the Mines Department (Trickett 1907).

The image in [Figure 15](#) was captured after 1907 when the Second Wing had been built; it shows well-established plantings around Caves House and beside the approach road from the Grand Arch, as well as the use of tree ferns as ornamentals, a practice continued to the present day. The conifers on the slope around the Engineer's House above Caves House had grown taller than in [Figure 12](#).

In 1915, Oliver Trickett, who first surveyed the Caves system, gave a fulsome description of Caves House:

“This building is of attractive appearance, solidly built of the Caves lime stone. It contains a dining room capable of seating 120 guests and has a detached billiard –room.



*Hamilton Smith postcard collection, p.6, courtesy of JCHAPS*

**Figure 15.** ‘Caves House, Jenolan 1435 K[erry] & Co.’

There are hot and cold water bath – rooms, and an ample water supply from two reservoirs a short distance up the camp creek. A bathing place is also available in the Jenolan River, below the Grand Archway, at the Fish Hatchery”.

“The Caves House is surrounded by tastefully laid-out gardens and is reached by first class roads constructed by the government at very large expense. Visitors may rely on being as comfortably housed as at any resort for holiday makers in the mountains.” (Trickett 1915).

In 1906, the State Nursery at Campbelltown distributed plants to twenty miscellaneous institutions including Jenolan Caves (Botanic Gardens Annual Report for 1906).

“A further supply of trees and shrubs was received from the Director, Botanic Gardens. They have been planted by the guides on the slopes running down to the road between Caves House and the Grand Archway.” (Trickett 1906).

Not content with providing visitors with the experience of the natural wonders of Jenolan Caves, the NSW Government felt that trout fishing would be a good addition to the activities available in the reserve. In an article headed ‘Jenolan Troutlet Lake:

“The trustees of the Jenolan Caves’ reserve have set aside a portion of the reserve for the making of a trout pond, in which breeding fish may be caught. Tenders have been called for the construction of a concrete wall across the Caves’ stream, so as to dam the water back



into a small lake. The site is about a mile below the Caves House, near the old garden, where the black snakes do sentry go daily.” (Anonymous 1906).

In 1907 the State Nursery, Campbelltown supplied 21 consignments of plants to miscellaneous institutions including Jenolan Caves (Botanic Gardens Annual Report for 1907) and on 20 July 1909, the Botanic Gardens dispatched a consignment of 40 shrubs and 325 miscellaneous plants to Jenolan Caves (NSW State Archives 1909).

Figure 16 shows that Surveyors Creek had been converted to a culvert with a stone retaining wall. Ornamental plantings are in the bed between the creek and Jenolan Caves Road, edged with estate fencing.



Photo: JCRT

**Figure 16.** View circa 1910s looking west towards the entrance porch of the 1907 Second

In 1915 it was reported that the NSW Government had appointed Mr. Edwin Francis Hellyar, (21 May 1880-20 September 1962) “as a gardener at the Jenolan Caves in connection with the Immigration and Tourist Bureau” (Anonymous 1915).

“The Jenolan Caves are known wherever Australia is known”

- so went a 1916 article and its’ description of the Caves area included the following:

“Immediately on emerging the tourist finds himself in front of the fine accommodation house built by the Government and known as the Caves House (2,650 feet above sea level),

which, with its well-laid-out gardens, almost fills the small valley, locked in the folds of high hills. In this sequestered spot one seems shut out from the worry and bustle of the busy world.

The house offers homely comforts and every convenience for 150 guests at a time. The cuisine is excellent, though the tariff is only 12s. a day. It is within a few hundred paces of practically all the caves' entrances, it is a delightful country home. There are many charming walks round about, the track by the Jenolan River affording access to a succession of sylvan glades and shady nooks.” (Anonymous 1916).

*The Land* columnist wrote:

“There are a few houses perched on the hill side, and more-official-right in the gully with strips of beautiful flower gardens about them and ivy climbing over them; and towering majestically above all is the great lime stone arch, the "Grand Arch," up the rocky sides of which are cut innumerable steps - the entrance to the caves.” (Muriel 1918).

Not all of the gardening at Jenolan at this time was ornamental. In January 1918 it was reported that a farm was being developed on the banks of the river

“to provide vegetables and poultry for the guests at the Jenolan Caves House” (Anonymous 1918).

This was the idea of the acting superintendent of the NSW Government Tourists’ Bureau, Mr. E.H. Palmer and was intended to reduce what we would today call the ‘food miles’ in provisioning for as many as 300 people who could at the time be accommodated at Jenolan. A few acres had been cleared beside the river which could provide water for irrigation of the crops which included peas, beans, cabbage, tomatoes, beetroot and strawberries, all of which were of “fine quality and size” (*ibid.*). It was intended to grow apple and other fruit trees along the steeper hillsides further from the river. Turkeys were “being kept successfully” and it was intended “to make poultry a feature of the undertaking” (*ibid.*). Pig-raising had also proven very satisfactory, with 20 or so animals purchased as weaners thriving in the pasturage along the banks

of the creek to become “fine porkers and baconers” (*ibid.*).

### After The Deluge

In 1919, a deluge in the Jenolan catchments resulted in disastrous flooding of Caves House and the surrounding area. While the newspaper accounts of the flood (e.g. Anonymous 1919a) provide little detailed information about the damage to the gardens around Caves House, it is likely that many of the ornamental plantings, at least at ground floor level would have been washed away or damaged. Parts of large trees can be seen among the debris in [Figure 17](#). Most of the furniture on the ground floor of Caves House, including the grand piano, was destroyed and much ended up as piles of matchwood near the Grand Arch and in the river (Anonymous 1919b). *Pomona Grove Farm*, on the northern bank of the Jenolan River, had been developed since the 1890s and had become an integral part of the tourism support enterprise at Jenolan. It is reported to have survived to “at least 1919” but it is likely that the farm would have suffered badly in the 1919 flood. In the 1970s the farm site was converted to a campground and what remains of *Pomona Farm* includes the former piggery, the slaughter house, and remnant terracing for the orchards and market gardens (Urbis 2010, p.31)

J.H. Maiden retired as Director of the Botanic Gardens in 1924 but the Gardens continued to provide plants for Jenolan, at least for a while.



JCHAPS

**Figure 17.** Debris from the valley above Caves House swept through the building during the flood in 1919, destroying trees and sending smashed furniture and transported some guests' belongings deep into the Grand Arch and beyond.

On 21 January 1930, they sent a consignment of 126 miscellaneous plants to Jenolan Caves (NSW State Archives 1930).



JCHAPS

**Figure 18.** Postcard of Caves House and the Engineer's House and their surrounding landscape.

[Figure 18](#) shows an established landscape with mature conifers growing on the slope to the south and west of the Engineer's House and trees with light-coloured foliage, probably autumn leaves at the eastern end of Caves House and on the slopes in the background.

Roberta and Bob Betteridge were on their honeymoon in late September 1931 and the couple took a day trip by car from the Carrington Hotel, Katoomba to Jenolan Caves, where they visited the *Orient Cave* and lunched at Caves House. Bob took a photo of his wife ([Figure 19](#)) outside Caves House that shows that ornamental plantings and the estate fencing along Jenolan Caves Road had obviously been replaced after the damage caused by the 1919 deluge.

At the end of the 1934 annual conference of the Australian Provincial Press Association, held in Sydney, delegates and their wives were invited to Jenolan Caves. It would have to be a very jaded journalist who would not be impressed by the grandeur of the place, the immense arches and grottoes, the spectacular limestone caves and the dramatic setting of the accommodation. A reporter identifying him or herself as ‘One who was there’, waxed lyrical about ‘The Marvels of Jenolan Caves: Tourist attractions of the Blue Mountains’ including the gardens.

“The Grand Archway is the visitor's sensational introduction to Jenolan. Turning a





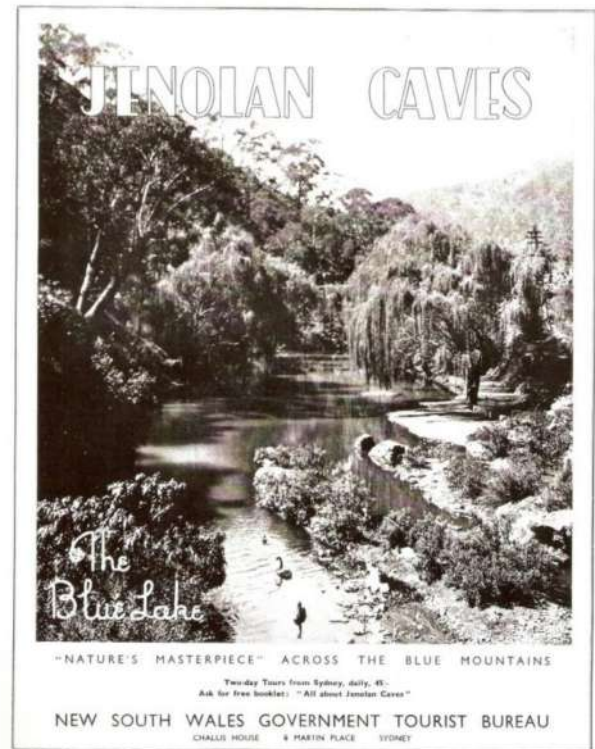
Photo: A.R. Betteridge, September 1931.

**Figure 19.** Photograph of the author's mother, the late Roberta 'Bobbie' Betteridge outside Caves House.

corner suddenly, he is confronted with the willowed banks of the Jenolan River, beyond which yawns the mouth of this natural tunnel. Before he realises it, the car enters the semi-darkness and he emerges on the other side of the spur in the beautiful gardens of Jenolan Caves House." (Anonymous 1934).

A feature article on Jenolan Caves in the magazine *Walkabout* included an illustration (Figure 20) which shows black swans on the Blue Lake which was fringed by weeping willows (Anonymous 1935). As in many parts of NSW, the introduction of exotic willows along creeks and rivers proved disastrous. Unlike most other vegetation, willows spread their roots into the bed of a watercourse, slowing the flow of water and reducing aeration. They form thickets which divert water outside the main watercourse or channel, causing flooding and erosion where the creek banks are vulnerable. Willow leaves create a flush of organic matter when they drop in autumn, reducing water quality and available oxygen, and directly threatening aquatic plants and animals. This, together with the amount of water willows use, damages stream health (Australian Government 2003).

Figure 21 shows the rock terraces at the western end of Caves House and clipped shrubs and trees in the garden either side of Surveyors Creek. The exterior colour scheme at this time featured dark-painted timber battens on the fourth floor, more in keeping with traditional colour schemes on English vernacular buildings. Images such as this provide good photographic evidence for possible reconstruction of the landscape in this



*Walkabout* 1 June 1935

**Figure 20.** View of the Blue Lake at Jenolan Caves.

part of the site. The section of *Abelia x grandiflora* hedge that survives today may be a remnant of the clipped shrubs inside the arris rail fence visible in Figure 21.

### Post-World War II

The willows visible in Figure 20 have since been removed, as have the very tall conifers on the hillside near the Engineer's House and they have



*Framed photograph, Caves House*

**Figure 21.** Caves House circa 1940s viewed from the west after the

been replaced by cypresses. The scene in Figure 22 is dominated by a large tree, probably the specimen of *Juglans regia* (Walnut) that came down in a storm in 1982. By the mid-1970s, the earlier estate fencing around garden beds had



*C.H. Green collection, JCHAPS*

**Figure 22.** View of Caves House and the Engineer's House prior to 1982.

been replaced by galvanised steel pipe fencing with mesh panels.

During the 1990s, a decision was taken to have a plan for the restoration of the gardens around Caves House drawn up by staff from Centennial Park. Considerable progress was made, including the re-discovery of the original ornate light poles, but the

“contract was terminated and a new plan was developed and implemented, destroying almost the whole of the plantings which were virtually immediately adjoining Caves House” (Hamilton-Smith 2010).

Throughout the 20th century, as new caves were opened, improved methods of lighting them were introduced. A significant development came in 1954 with the creation of a tunnel providing easy access to the *Orient Cave* and the *Temple of Baal*, but the negative effect of the drilling operation on the cave formations led to experimentation with steam cleaning techniques. Eventually, equipment was located during the 1960s which enabled this to be done better. More recently, sophisticated 21st century technology has replaced much of the old equipment through routine upgrades and new capital works, at the



*Photo: Peter Phillips, (Orwell and Peter Phillips Architects)*

**Figure 23.** View east along the northern side of Caves House in September 2008.

direction of the Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust (established 1989) which administers Jenolan Caves on behalf of the NSW Government. In 1989 the NSW Government leased out Jenolan Caves House and some other buildings to Peppers Hotel Group and on 1 January 1995 a 99 year lease was issued to Archer Field's company Jenolan Caves Resort at \$42,000 per month (Gemmell-Smith 2004, p.59).

After 10 years, Jenolan Caves Resort went into receivership in 2005 with a debt of \$6.5 million to St. George Bank (Anonymous 2014). The NSW Government then took over the operation of the tourist accommodation and caves tours at Jenolan. By 2008, the gardens around Caves House (Figure 23) were much reduced from what they had been in the past and there were few resources available for garden management.

By 2008 the verandah of the First and Second Wings had been extended over Surveyors Creek. Since then, the plantings outside the Fourth Wing have become much more dense and the old wisteria (Figure 24) growing along the front of the verandah of the Vernon Wing now provides a fine display of blossom in spring, welcome shade in summer and autumn colour.

### **The Importance Of Setting**

The setting of a heritage item is often a critical component of its significance, providing its environmental context and reflecting the reasons for its siting in a particular location and with a particular aspect. Recognition of the importance of setting is given added emphasis in the latest





*Photo: Chris Betteridge, 2 February 2017*

**Figure 24.** The wisteria along the verandah of Caves House, with some late blossom in February 2017.

edition of the Australia ICOMOS ‘Burra Charter’, which sets out the principles and guidelines for heritage conservation adopted by practitioners in this country. Statutory protection of a curtilage around a heritage item also recognises the fact that it is not just a building that may be significant but also its historic property boundaries and or its visual setting. Buildings are often sited to take advantage of views out into the surrounding countryside and many are also sited so that they can be appreciated in views from the public domain. Caves House is no exception. Although there were numerous proposals in the past to build accommodation on the high ground above the caves, the NSW Government persevered with the current site. Caves House affords views to the surrounding steep slopes but also presents a spectacular site when viewed from various points in the vicinity, particularly from the Carlotta Arch track (Figure 25) and from the Oberon Road near Car Park 1 (Figure 26).

### Gardens As Settings For Tourist Accommodation

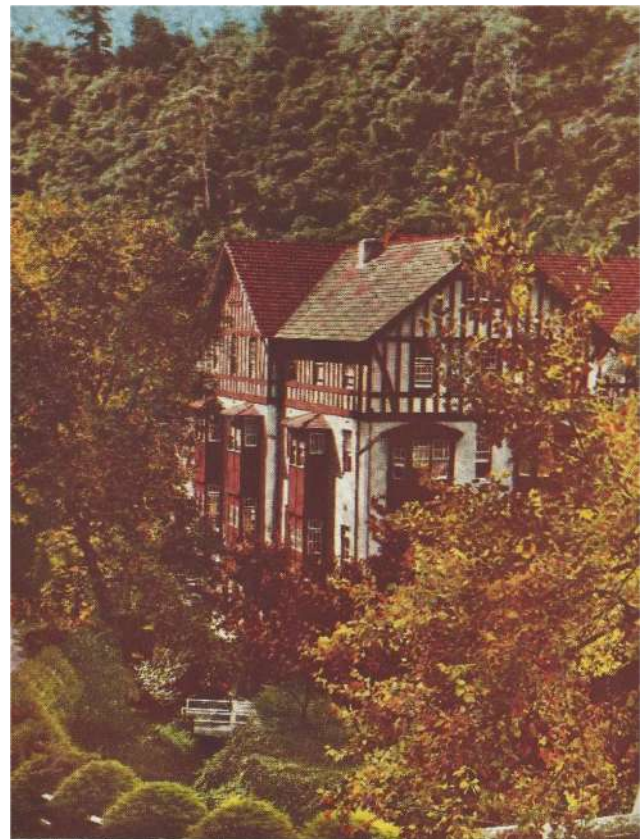
In the latter part of the 19th century, gardens emerged as an important setting for coastal and mountain accommodation establishments (Spearritt 2002). While the grand city hotels might be located opposite public parks or gardens, they rarely had their own garden settings. Many large Victorian and Edwardian guesthouses such as Erskine House (Lorne, Victoria), Greenmount (near Coolangatta, Queensland), Mount Buffalo Chalet (Victoria)



*Photo: Chris Betteridge, 13 January 2016*

**Figure 25.** Distant view to Caves House from Carlotta Arch track.

and Caves House at Jenolan all had spectacular



*Photo: Chris Betteridge, 31 March 2017*

**Figure 26.** View east to Caves House from the

settings and carefully planned gardens. In the case of caves and alpine areas, Spearritt (*ibid.*)

argued that the scenery was considered the primary attraction for visitors, so the gardens and vegetation complemented the accommodation complex. This view is certainly borne out by the many newspaper accounts of visits to Jenolan Caves. Many column ‘inches’ are devoted to

highly detailed descriptions of the cave interiors, their formations and illuminations but Caves House and its setting also get a favourable mention in a number of accounts.

### **The Future**

Under the by-line 'Jenolan Caves continues to surprise', a post includes the following:

"Heading into 2015, ongoing restoration work to the terraced gardens around Caves House intends to bring back a unique aspect to Jenolan's heritage. The gardens were originally designed by Joseph Henry Maiden, who also designed the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney. With the absence of any gardener, the gardens had become overgrown in recent years." (Blue Mountains News 2014).

The heritage management documents commissioned by the JCRT since 2014 will inform and guide the ongoing conservation of the JKCR, Caves House and its landscape setting. As can occur almost anywhere, plants historically introduced as ornamentals with the best of intentions, can become 'weedy' and may need to be eradicated or strictly controlled, particularly in areas of exceptional nature conservation value such as the GBMWA. The JCRT, NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service and community groups such as Jenolan Caves Landcare Group are working together to control invasive species in the Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve.

Since 2008 there has been an innovative and comprehensive Jenolan Environmental Monitoring Program which allows scientists to check that everything remains within an acceptable range, including temperature, carbon

dioxide, pH levels and several other indicators of environmental health. This ensures the geodiversity and biodiversity of Jenolan Caves will remain protected for many generations to come.

On 24 April 2018 Deputy Premier, Hon. John Barilaro (Member for Bathurst) and Hon. Paul Toole MP announced at Jenolan Caves that \$8.5 million would be made available from the NSW Government's Regional Growth Environment & Tourism Fund for upgrades at Jenolan Caves. This will provide for a new educational visitor centre and field studies centre, upgrades to paths, additional walking tracks and an enhanced Blue Lake experience, including a viewing platform.

The JCRT appointed a new general manager at Jenolan in 2018 and in May, a new Caves Café was opened on the ground floor of the Second Wing of Caves House as part of a \$1.9 million upgrade of guest and visitor services. Jenolan Caves management is also investigating and costing plans to make long-awaited improvements to Caves House that will provide a sympathetic balance between heritage conservation and provision of updated visitor facilities.

### **Acknowledgements**

The author would like to thank members of the following organisations for their kind assistance in providing information for this article: Jenolan Caves Historical & Preservation Society; Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust; National Parks and Wildlife Service; Royal Botanic Garden Sydney; State Archives and Records NSW.



## REFERENCES

- A Constant Reader (1848) To the Editor. *Bathurst Advocate*, 30 December 1848, p.2, cols.3-4.
- Aitken, R. & Looker, M. (eds) (2002) *The Oxford Companion to Australian Gardens*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press and the Australian Garden History Society. 697pp. [State Reference Library G 2014/90]
- Anonymous (1866) List of Donations to the Australian Museum During January, 1866. *Empire*, 17 February 1866, p.5, col.6.
- Anonymous (1883) A Visit to the Fish River Caves. *The Australian Town & Country Journal*, 7 April 1883, p.32, col.3.
- Anonymous (1886) The Jenolan Caves. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 June 1886, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1891) The Jenolan Caves. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 May 1891, p.5, cols.3-4.
- Anonymous (1898a) Jenolan Caves Accommodation House. *Lithgow Mercury*, 1 June 1898, p.8, col.7.
- Anonymous (1898b) Improvements at Jenolan Caves. *Lithgow Mercury*, 9 June 1898, p.3, col.2. cited in [http://members.optusnet.com.au/rawhyte/newspaperclippings\\_lmjune09\\_1899.htm](http://members.optusnet.com.au/rawhyte/newspaperclippings_lmjune09_1899.htm) < Accessed 3/3/2019 >
- Anonymous (1898c) Jenolan Caves. *Lithgow Mercury*, 12 August 1898, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1898d) Brevities. *Sydney's Evening News*, 16 August 1898, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1898e) The Jenolan Caves. *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, 20 August, 1898, pp.30-31.
- Anonymous (1898f) Mount Victoria. *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 20 August 1898, p.476, col.2.
- Anonymous (1899) Government Officials Visit. *National Advocate*, 31 May 1899, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1900a) Jenolan Caves. *The Mountaineer*, 22 June 1900, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1900b) Jenolan Caves. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 September 1900, p.4, col.1.
- Anonymous (1900c) The Jenolan Caves. *National Advocate*, 1 October 1900, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1906) Jenolan Trout Lakelet. *The Referee*, 11 April 1906, p.9, col.1.
- Anonymous (1915) Jenolan Caves. *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 8 April 1915, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1916) The Jenolan Caves. *Daily Commercial News and Shipping List*, 19 December 1916, p.2, col.2-5.
- Anonymous (1918) On the land. Farm at Jenolan. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 1918, p.5, col.5.
- Anonymous (1919a) Jenolan Caves Deluge. *Evening News*, 28 February 1919, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1919b) Caves House Suffers. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 February 1919, p.6, col.4.
- Anonymous (1934) The Marvels of Jenolan Caves. *Port Macquarie News and Hastings River Advocate*, 14 April 1934, p.2, cols.4-5.
- Anonymous (1935) Jenolan Caves: Nature's Masterpiece Across The Blue Mountains. *Walkabout* 1 June 1935. [Mitchell Library Q980/W]
- Anonymous (2014) Megalong Valley History. <https://megalonghistory00.wordpress.com/2014/02/25/jenolan-caves-house-2> < Accessed 3/3/2019 >
- Australian Government (2003) Weeds of national significance: weed management guide. <https://www.environment.gov.au/biodiversity/invasive/weeds/publications/-wons> <Accessed 3/3/2019>
- Blue Mountains News (2014) Jenolan Caves Continues to Surprise. <http://www.bluemts.com.au/news/jenolan-caves-continues-to-surprise> <Accessed 26 December 2014>
- Botanic Gardens Sydney, Annual Reports, 1898, 1900, 1906 & 1907. [Royal Botanic Garden Sydney Library]

- Bruck, L. (1888) *Bruck's guide to the health resorts in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand*. Facsimile edition 2002. Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society. 183pp. [Mitchell Library 613.12209/1]
- Coltheart, L. & Fraser, D. (Eds) (1987) *Landmarks in public works: Engineers and their works in New South Wales 1884-1914*. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger. 144pp. [Mitchell Library Q620.009944/1]
- Devey, G. (2018) <http://www.voysey.gotik-romanik.de/Devey, Thumbnails/Thumbnails.html> <Accessed 3/3/2019>
- Dunkley, J.R. (2007) *Jenolan Caves: guides, guests and grottoes*. Australian Speleological Federation Inc. in association with Jenolan Caves Historical and Preservation Society, Parkville, Victoria. 73pp. [Mitchell Library Q919.44504/6]
- Eddison, I. (2008) *Flora and fauna of the Jenolan Caves Karst Conservation Reserve*. Jenolan Caves, N.S.W. : Ian Eddison, 2008. 60pp. [Mitchell Library Q333.78309/219 DISC]
- Eddison, I. (2010) *Historical Gardens Jenolan Caves NSW*. Jenolan Caves: the author. [pdf JCHAPS [http://sites.google.com/site/jenolancaves\\_historical\\_society](http://sites.google.com/site/jenolancaves_historical_society)]
- Gemmell-Smith, P. (2004) *Thematic History of Oberon Shire*. The Oberon Council, Oberon. 121pp. <https://www.oberon.nsw.gov.au/sites/oberon/files/public/images/documents/oberon/mig/FinalReport-HeritageStudy16.3.1427-04-ThematicHistory.pdf> < Accessed 4 June 2019>
- Gilbert, L. (1986) *The Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney: A history 1816-1985*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. 210pp. [State Library of NSW 580.7449441/1]
- Gilbert, L. (2001) *The little giant: The life & work of Joseph Henry Maiden 1859-1925*. Armidale, N.S.W. : Kardoorair Press Ltd, 2001. 429pp. [Mitchell Library 920.71/71]
- Grant, V. (2014) *Australia's greatest landmarks & locations*. North Sydney: Random House: 186pp. [Mitchell Library HQ 2014/2479]
- Gundungurra Tribal Council (2019) *Jenolan Caves*. <https://www.jenolancaves.org.au/about/aboriginal-culture/> <Accessed 3/3/2019>
- Hallinan, M. (2014) *Jenolan Caves: The complete guide*. Brisbane: Critical Concepts Press. 268pp. [Mitchell Library H 2014/418]
- Hamilton-Smith, E. (2010) The Maiden Gardens: A case for restoration. p.3 in Eddison (2010). JCHAPS website Jenolan Caves Historical & Preservation Society 'Keepers of the Caves'. [http://sites.google.com/site/jenolancaves\\_historical\\_society/cave-keepers](http://sites.google.com/site/jenolancaves_historical_society/cave-keepers) <Accessed 4/3/2019>
- Karskens, G. (1988) Analysis of documentary evidence, chronology and contribution to statement of significance. p.48 in Moore (1988).
- Leigh, W.S. (1888) Appendix No.7. New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1888. pp.200-203.
- Low, J. (1991) *Blue Mountains pictorial memories. (First Edition)* Crows Nest: Artrand Pty. Ltd. 135pp.
- Mass, N. (c.1993) *The wizard of Jenolan*. Chatswood: Just Solutions. 60pp. [Mitchell Library Q823.914/M414.1/1]
- Moore, R. (1988) *Conservation Plan (Built Environment) for the Jenolan Caves Reserve*. 2 volumes. Report prepared for the Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust. Robert Moore & Associates 1988.
- Muriel (1918) Jenolan Caves. *The Land*, 24 May 1918, p.20, cols.2-3.
- Musccape (2017a) *Jenolan Caves Inventory of Movable Heritage*. Report prepared for Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust. Randwick: 5 volumes.
- Musccape (2017b) Caves House, Jenolan Caves, NSW, Conservation Management Plan. Report prepared for Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust. Randwick: 381pp.
- National Trust of Australia (NSW) (1995) National Trust Jubilee Register 1945-1995. The Trust, Sydney.
- National Trust (2017) *Cragside*. <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/cragside> <Accessed 4 March 2017>

- National Trust (*no date*) *A History of Standen*. <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/standen-house-and-garden/features/a-history-of-standen> <Accessed 5 June 2019>
- NSW State Archives (1891) NRS 13121 [19/17206] Registers of plants sent away ex Botanic Gardens 1870-1917. <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/series/13121>
- NSW State Archives (1898) *Seeds and plants distributed from Botanic Gardens, July 1892 to December 1898*. NRS 13121 [19/17207] Consignment 2517/98, recorded 11 August 1898.
- NSW State Archives (1899) *Plants distributed by the Botanic Gardens between 1899 and 1911*. NRS 13121 [19/17204] Consignment 3522/99, 11, 15 and 24 August 1899.
- NSW State Archives (1909) NRS 13121 [19/17204] Consignment 3257/09 sent 20 July 1909, p.370
- NSW State Archives (1930) *Plants distributed from the Botanic Gardens Sydney, 3/1929 to 1/1930*. NRS 13121 [19/17205] Consignment 4351/29, p.21.
- NSW State Heritage (2004) NSW State Heritage Register (Listing No. 01698) Jenolan Caves Reserve. Date significance updated: 15 June 2004.  
<https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5051578>  
<Accessed 4/3/2019>
- Oberon Shire Council (2013) *Oberon Local Environmental Plan 2013*.  
[https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/~/\\_/view/EPI/2013/713](https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/~/_/view/EPI/2013/713) < Accessed 2/4/2019 >
- Smith, S. (1898) Accommodation House, Jenolan Caves. *NSW Government Gazette*, 3 May 1898, p.3416, col.2.
- Spearritt, P. (2002) Resort gardens. p.505 in Aitken & Looker (eds) (2002).
- Trickett, O. (1898) Appendix 31. Caves. pp.192-193 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1898*.
- Trickett, O. (1899) Caves. pp.200-212 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1899*.
- Trickett, O. (1900) Progress and other Reports on the Limestone Caves for the year 1900. pp.196-199 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1900*.
- Trickett, O. (1905) Caves. p.158 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1905*.
- Trickett, O. (1906) Limestone Caves. p.173 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1906*.
- Trickett, O. (1907) Limestone Caves. p.174 in *New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Report for 1907*.
- Trickett, O. (1915) *Guide to the Jenolan Caves New South Wales. 3rd edition*. Sydney: Government Printer. 82pp. [Mitchell Library Q551.44/T ]
- Urbis (2010) Draft Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve Conservation Management Plan Volume 1, Urbis Pty Ltd [consultant report prepared for the Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust and the Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water NSW.  
<https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/parkmanagement/090046JenolanDrCMPv1.pdf> < accessed 3/4/2019 >
- Urbis (2017) *Draft Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve Conservation Management Plan*. Volume 1: 242pp.; Volume 2: 520pp.; Volume.3: 449pp. Urbis Pty Ltd; report prepared for the Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust.
- Wiburd, J.C. & Blakely, W. (1901) *The Jenolan Guide: Jenolan flora*.  
<http://members.optusnet.com.au/rawhyte/flora.htm> <Accessed 3/3/2019>
- Wikipedia (2018) *Ascott House*. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ascott\\_House](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ascott_House) <Accessed 3/3/2019>
- Whalan R.F. & Benton, S.G. (1968) *The Whalans in Australia 1791-1969*. Liverpool. 80pp. [Upper Lachlan Shire Library Service, 929.2 WHA]
- Whiting, G. (1860) Interesting and Extraordinary Discovery in the McKeon's Caves, near the Duckmalloy River. *Bathurst Free Press*, 11 January 1860, p.2, cols.6-7.







## HENRY RIENITS, AMATEUR GEOLOGIST AND PRINCIPAL OF *THE SCHOOL AT MT VICTORIA.*

**Peter C. Rickwood**

BEES, University of New South Wales,  
Sydney, NSW 2052

[p.rickwood@unsw.edu.au](mailto:p.rickwood@unsw.edu.au)

&

**Joan E. Steele**

20 Nelson Avenue,  
Wentworth Falls, NSW 2782

[gsteel1@bigpond.net.au](mailto:gsteel1@bigpond.net.au)

### Abstract

Henry Rienits was a prominent resident of Mount Victoria from 1880 until 1928. He is remembered mostly for educating boys in his privately run establishment called *The School*. Herein particular attention has been directed to ascertaining the opening and closing dates of *The School* and the demise of the buildings; an additional aim has been to determine the location of the Rienits family home called *The Lindens*. Henry Rienits was well known for having created a large cabinet containing, in order, samples of the rocks collected on the ascent from Hartley to Mount Victoria; after existing for about seven decades it seems not to have been preserved.

**Key words:** Mount Victoria, School, Rienits, *The Lindens*, Blue Mountains, Geology

### INTRODUCTION

The early years of Henry Rienits (Figure 1) were mentioned by Gibson (1973) and Isles (1988, p.15) much of which was paraphrased by Davis (2018, pp.1-4).



*Mr. Henry Rienits.*

Anonymous (1928b)



c.1924; Courtesy of Mrs. Mary Mills (née Rienits)

1A

1B

**Figure 1.** Henry Guenther Rienits (8 August 1851 - 24 June 1928).



Helen Gibson indicated that her detailed account of Rienits' early life, and his early teaching experiences in public schools, had been based on material held by NSW State Archives (Gibson, 1973, p.22); those sources are still available for checking, so what she wrote (Gibson 1973, pp.22-26) is highly plausible. She used a 'prospectus', that had been prepared for the parents of prospective pupils, to gain information about the costs and activities within *The School* (Rienits 1902-1903); a copy, of the third of four known versions, is held by the Mount Victoria Historical Society so those facts can be checked as well. But NSW State Archives do not hold information relating to Private Schools so for the second phase of Rienits' teaching career Gibson mostly depended on family lore and recollections (Gibson, 1973, p.22) that were essentially unsubstantiated; hence her small account of the latter half of his life (Gibson 1973, pp.26 (col.2) - 27) is less reliable. In this paper we have attempted to provide information on his life in Mount Victoria, and particularly in relation to the starting and closure of his private school, that can be substantiated in the sources named.

### The Personal Life of H.G. Rienits

Born on 8 August 1851 in Oldenberg, North Germany, and baptised Heinrich Guenther Rienits (Gibson 1973, p.22), he had a surname that was doomed to be misspelled by Australians and has been variously written e.g. Rienits, Rienitz, Reinits, Reinitz, Renits, Rienets etc. which makes for difficulties when searching for information about him. His mother

"accompanied her husband to Melbourne in 1853 where the latter took out papers of nationalization (*sic*) in the same year" ... "By my father's action in 1853 when I was two years old I became a British subject by parentage in the same year. In 1894 I was informed that naturalization in the Colony of Victoria did not hold good in NSWales. In consequence I took out naturalization papers in 1894 for the Colony of NSWales." (Rienits 1921).

That letter, submitted to the NSW court in respect to his mother's nationality, is not precisely worded in relation to himself and gives the impression of differing significantly from the account given by Gibson (1973, p.22) in which Henry was said to have been left behind in

Germany when his parents emigrated and did not follow until 1863 when he was aged 11. It is possible that his mother returned to Germany to collect Henry for a Mrs. Rienits is recorded as arriving back at Melbourne on the barque *Scharnhorst* on 2 September 1863 (Anonymous 1863) - but there was no mention of her son. Another concern is that Gibson (*op cit*) wrote "He disembarked at Sydney from the sailing ship *Rangatira*\* and boarded a coastal vessel for Eden."

seemingly conveying that mother and son travelled separately.

Towards the end of 1872 Henry did well in University Public Examinations (Anonymous 1872), particularly in English and Modern Languages. But where he lived has not been ascertained as his parents did not arrive in Newtown until 1873 and from electoral rolls he was only living with them in 1873-1874 & 1874-1875.

At least by the time of his marriage in 1874 (Anonymous 1874) he had anglicised his first name to Henry but the family surname was retained. Similarly, his mother was born Christina but in Australia she used Christine from at least 1891 (Rienits 1891) and in her handwritten will she named herself as "Christine Wilhelmine Caroline Rienits, née Nienaber" (Rienits 1892).

[Confusingly, after women were given the right to vote, Mrs. Rienits senior was recorded in NSW Electoral Rolls (1903-1909) as Christina but in NSW Electoral Rolls (1913 to 1919) as Wilhelmine Caroline Christine].

In Mudgee on 8 July 1874, Henry Guenther Rienits married Kate Terry (Anonymous 1924a; Marriage Registration 3029/1874; [Figure 2](#)) who had been born on 23 October 1849 and died on 27 September 1924 (Anonymous 1924b; Death Registration 17895/1924) aged 74. Both Henry and Kate are buried in the Mount Victoria Cemetery, row 1, plot 4.

\* correctly *Rangatira* (Anonymous 1859).



Mitchell Library PXE 1319/Box 1/ Album 1

**Figure 2.** “Mrs. Rienits”  
(almost certainly Mrs Kate Rienits)

They produced five children.

1. Oswald Guenther Rienits (1 April 1875 (Birth Registration 8310/1875) - 10 September 1937 (Anonymous 1937c; Death Registration 15830/1937; NSW State Archives: Probate Package4-225580
  - On 18 June 1902 he married Marion E.M. Cramp (Marriage Registration 4374/1902) and they had two boys and a daughter; the parents were divorced in June 1922 (Davis 2018, p.16).
  - In 1923 he married Grace M.O. Hopkins (Marriage Registration 3682/1923) and they had one son - Oswald. Before WWI Oswald became a prominent photographer in Wollongong (Davis 2018). He died on 10 September 1937 and is buried in the Mount Victoria Cemetery, row 1, plot 8.
2. Carl Guenther Rienits (1876 (Birth Registration 8685/1876) - 1876 (Death Registration 5133/1876)); *infant death*.
3. Crystal Charlotte Renits (*sic*) (13 August 1878 (Birth Registration 16837/1878)-1942).  
In 1898 she married Percy A.C. Bates (Marriage Reg.8025/1898) and they

- produced three daughters. She died as Crystal Charlotte Bates (Death Reg.5319/1942) on 12 February 1942.
4. Lena Kate Rienits (13 January 1881 (Birth Registration 17182/1881) - 20 November 1952). She married George Thomas Macfarlane on 22 May 1909 in London; they had one daughter.
  5. Annie May Rienits (15 March 1887 (Birth Registration 23237/1887) - 8 January 1973 (Anonymous 1973a; NSW State Archives: Probate Package 4-773661); she never married.

[A more detailed account of the family tree - researched & written by Joan Steele - is in Appendix 1 & has been lodged at BMHS F201 Rienits.]

### *The School* (Figures 3A & 3B)

(a.) Opening

From July 1880 Henry Rienits taught at the Public School in Mount Victoria (Gibson, 1973, p.24) from which he resigned

“effective from 14th May, 1885” (Gibson 1973, p.26).

But on the previous day he had published an advertisement stating that he

“has opened, under the above name (*viz: The School*) a Private Boarding School for Boys, and will now be able to devote all his attention to the Resident Pupils.

Commodious buildings are in the course of erection, and will be ready for occupation after the Midwinter vacation.” (Rienits 1885a).

So H.G. Rienits ‘jumped the gun’ for that advertisement is clearly wrong in stating that *The School* “has opened”. In June 1885 another advertisement announced that *The School* would open on 13 July 1885 - a very firm date (Rienits 1885b). Furthermore, in July he advertised for investors in “a new discovery of Coal in this neighbourhood” (Rienits 1885c) giving his address as “The School, Mount Victoria”, and in December in another advertisement he used the phrase “Reopens 11th January” (Rienits 1885d) so confirming that *The School* had been operating earlier in 1885. Hence Gibson’s (1973, p.27) contention that opening occurred

“At the beginning of the following year” (i.e. 1886)

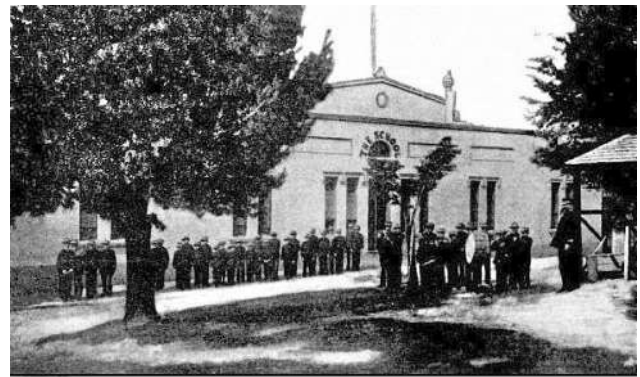
cannot be correct. But her claim that

Rienits (1898, fold-down opp. p.103)



Rienits (1898, fold-down opp. p.103)

3A



MIL. H. G. RIENITS'S SCHOOL, MOUNT VICTORIA.

Oreinos (1898, p.35, cols 2-3)

3B

Figure 3. *The School*, Mount Victoria

“At first he rented a house near the Toll Gate House, but within months a permanent building had been erected ...”

has neither been confirmed nor refuted. Bellingham (1997, p.4) wrote

“he rented an old inn, (formerly The Welcome Inn), on the Bathurst Road (now Great Western Highway), next to the Toll Bar Cottage.”

But those claims seem likely to have been confusions with “The Ladies’ College” which Albert Kunz opened in 1891 (Kunz 1890),

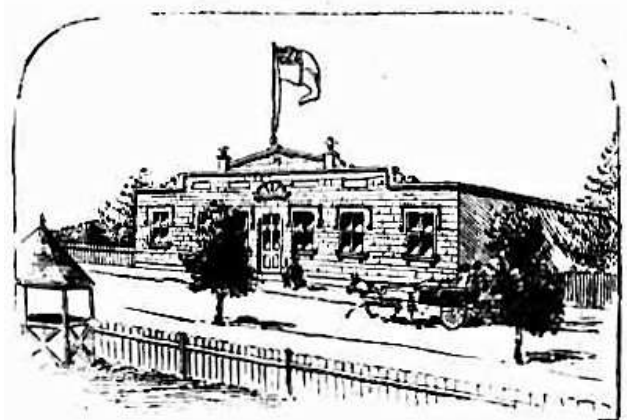
“... at the bottom of One Tree Hill” (Anonymous 1981, p.27; Isles 1982)

and Dalziel (1954, p.3) wrote that it had been Shephard’s (or Shepherd’s) Hotel “adjoining Toll Bar”.

Advertisements for *The School* were usually brief (e.g. Figure 4), the exceptions being one in a tourist book (Rienits 1887b) and another aimed at country folk (Rienits 1896), both of which had details that may well have come straight from the first (Rienits 1887a) and second (Rienits 1902) versions (but neither have been seen) of a ‘prospectus’ of which four versions are known. At times his advertisements specified meeting places in Sydney where the principal could be “consulted” (e.g. at the Royal Hotel, Sydney; Rienits 1886) or may be “interviewed” by the parents of potential pupils (e.g. “at Mr. J. Thompson’s Book Shop, 38 Erskine Street” (Rienits 1899)) or where they could meet Mrs. Rienits to get details (Rienits 1904).

(b.) Closing

The last known advertisements for *The School* appeared in October 1909 (e.g. Rienits 1909) so it seems likely that teaching ceased at the end of that year. From 1885 to 1909, it was Rienits’ practice to advertise *The School* often, and for newspapers to report on the activities of its pupils from time to time (e.g. Anonymous 1886, 1891, 1902a). So if *The School* was still functioning as an educational establishment in 1910 it is to be expected that this practice would have continued for it would be quite out of character for Rienits to have ceased advertising. *Trove* reveals several hundreds of articles that mention ‘Rienits’ and



**“THE SCHOOL,”**  
**MOUNT VICTORIA, BLUE MOUNTAINS.**  
**A SCHOOL FOR BOYS.**  
 Commercial Education.  
 Terms, £11 11s. a Quarter.  
**H. G. RIENITS - - - - PRINCIPAL**  
 Assisted by efficient teachers.

Rienits (1889)

Figure 4. A typical advertisement for *The School*.



which were published in newspapers etc. in the 1910-1912 interval, but not one is an advertisement for teaching at *The School* and not one mentions an activity of pupils so it is most improbable that *The School* was still functioning as a business to educate boys after 1909.

Indeed, in August 1910 an activity was reported that would have clashed with teaching had that been happening still, viz:

“the sewing class, which is held each Wednesday afternoon at “The School”....”  
(Anonymous 1910a)

That seems to be an ominous sign that education had ceased but in December 1910 the premises were put to a use that just might not have interfered with teaching had the Christmas vacation started

“One of the Church of England homes has secured Mr. Rienits’ premises, “The School,” for some weeks, and forty-five children are at present enjoying a holiday there.”  
(Anonymous 1910b).

Soon afterwards came the following advertisement :

“FOR LARGE PARTIES.–THE SCHOOL, Mt. Victoria, available 1st Jan., 30 beds. H. G. Rienits.” (Rienits 1910).

so the intended use of the building was different in 1911. Moreover, on 1 May 1911 H.G. Rienits sailed on the *Makambo* for the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu) (Anonymous 1911) which he surely would not have done had he been needed in his school to teach pupils.

In 1912 *The School* building was a venue for meetings of committees that H.G. Rienits chaired (Anonymous 1912a,b), and similar meetings were held there in later years. Without doubt *The School* must have been closed by mid 1915 when the buildings were offered to the Government for use as a convalescent home for wounded soldiers (Anonymous 1915) - a long term commitment.

The closing year given by Gibson (1973, p.27) and Bellingham (1997, p.4) was 1913 but neither gave their source for that information. Possibly it was obtained from the affidavit submitted by Henry Rienits’ daughter Annie, executrix of his estate, when she applied to the court for permission to administer his will (Rienits 1928).

Some other writers (e.g. Isles 1988, p.15; Anonymous 2000, 2017) have stated 1916 to be the year in which *The School* closed, that year supposedly being due to “enlistment of staff in World War I” (Anonymous 2000) or due to public support for internment of residents born in Germany (Anonymous 2017). But a contemporary resident of Mount Victoria claimed that the reaction against men of German birth

“was not fair to men like Mr. Berghofer and Mr. Rienits.”

and another resident stated

“There is no one more loyal than Mr. Rienits.”  
(Anonymous 1916b).

Neither were interned but J.W. Berghofer was the less fortunate of the two having been persistently hounded by the press and individuals for a while (e.g. Anonymous 1916a).

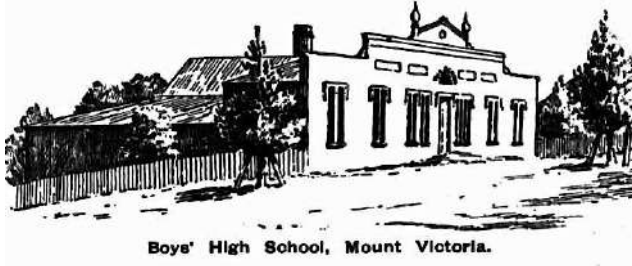
In summary, nothing has been found to support the contention that *The School* was still open for teaching beyond 1909.

#### (c.) Premises

*The School* was situated right at the kerbside of the north-west corner of Montgomery Street close to the junction with Burwood Road ([Figure 9](#) and [Figures 3A & 3B](#)). Henry Rienits acquired that land (designated Section 2, Lots 13-16 (CoT 1885) and now numbered 53-57 Montgomery Street) from John Bennett on 10 September 1884 (CoT 1876) together with lots 22-25 which also fronted Monmouth Street. It has been reported that at the time of purchase of that property (viz. Lots 13-16) there was already a building on it which was said to have been constructed by the father of poet Henry Lawson (Bennett 2019) although Gibson (1973, p.26) claimed that such had not yet been built (see above) and Rienits (1885a) himself indicated that building was in progress in July 1885.

Commonly, it was the impressive facade of the building that was shown ([Figures 3 & 4](#)) but Peregrine (1892) used a sketch ([Figure 5A](#)) that revealed the less splendid extensions out the back as does a photograph of the SE side ([Figure 5B](#)). Both images show the steepness of the slope and the caption to that sketch uniquely called the building the “Boys’ High School”.

Under the direction of H.G. Rienits, pupils planted 36 pine trees along Burwood Road in c.1891; and by the turn of the Century those trees made an impressive avenue leading to the school (Rienits 1902-1903, p.9) and by 1943 they had grown to huge sizes (Figure 6A). But in 1951 the



Boys' High School, Mount Victoria.

Peregrine (1892)

**5A**  
Sketch of *The School* showing the SW side.



MVHS File 008

**5B**

Photograph of the SE side with the dome topped well.

**Figure 5.** *The School* side views.

Blue Mountains City Council determined that those pines should be removed and that decision to end c.sixty years of growth brought forth protests from former pupils and others prior to the inevitable destruction (Anonymous 1951a,b). Maybe some pines were replaced and are those growing today along the southern side of

Burwood Road between the Great Western Highway and Montgomery Street.

(d) Pupils

“Pupils came to him from all parts of Australia, and even from Thursday Island and New Caledonia ... ” (Anonymous 1928a).



1943 AUSIMAGE © Jacobs Group (Australia) Pty. Ltd.

**6A** 1943



SixMaps © Spatial Services (2018)

2018 **6B**

**Figure 6.** 1943 Aerial Photograph of *The School* grounds.



JR 368 DEPARTMENT OF THE VALUER GENERAL, N.S.W. - VALUATION LIST.

VALUATION DISTRICT OF BLUE MOUNTAINS WARD OR DIVISION A VALUATION NO. 379 D. H. PARKER, GOVT. PRINTER

OWNER'S NAME: Rienits, Oswald Guenther Dec'd.  
 OCCUPATION: "The Bindery" Mount Victoria  
 of Mrs. O. A. Rienits, 12 Burwood St. Monmouth

ADDRESS: Montgomery St. SIDE N.

VALUES: UNIMPROVED £ 120. IMPROVED £ 575. AMOUNT ADDED £ 47.

DATE VALUED 7.2.39

SECTION 2 LOTS 14/16 & 21/25

VALUES: T.I.A. & I.A. WATER SUPPLY AREA  
 General Main Roads St. Lighting E.W. Loan 5 Improvement  
 Fire Bde  
 Here Burwood Rd. & West End.

Figure 7. BMCC Mt. Victoria 1939 Rate Record for Section 2, Lots 14-16 & 21-25, Mount Victoria - north side of Montgomery Street to Monmouth Street.

The boys attending *The School* had to wear a “blue and silver” (Rienits 1902-1903, p.8) military style uniform (Figure 12B) there being a total of 39 pupils on that occasion in 1898 when they assembled with a band. At another time

“a fine body of The School cadets, numbering between 70 and 80” was paraded (Anonymous 1890a)

and “50 to 60” on another occasion (Anonymous 1890b). In the 1898 photograph (Figure 12B) the Principal is on the extreme right of the band and he too is in a uniform which seems to be the same as the one he wore when a large group of “Blue Mountains Identities” were assembled for a photograph in 1890 (Bursle 1890). But despite a detailed investigation, the reason for Henry Rienits having acquired, and wearing, a uniform on those occasions is not known for certain (Steele et al. 2019).

The 1891 New South Wales Census record (p.10) reveals that “all under one building” there was space for 72 boys in four places (? ‘dormitories’) each holding 18 pupils and another place with space for four (? staff accommodation). Those ‘spaces’ were for boarders as for Census purposes the day boys would have been recorded separately at their homes. The fees charged and

arrangements for the care of pupils are explained in the promotional booklet or prospectus (e.g. Rienits 1902-1903, pp.2 & 4). Details of the internal layout of the school buildings, listings of the names of enrolled day pupils and boarders, subjects taught, and activities within and for the school, are beyond the scope of this paper.

(e) Subsequent use of the buildings

After teaching had ceased, at times the school building was used for meetings, even as late as November 1920 when Henry Rienits presided at a meeting of the Mount Victoria Progress Association in *The School* (Anonymous 1920b).

Individual house names were not given on the 1914-1916 Rate records and the 1917 Rate records are not available. So they first are known from the BMCC Mt Victoria 1918 rates (Vol.63, Fiche 1, Valuation Nos.109-112) which list four houses along Burwood Road on parts of Lots 15 & 16, Section 2, they being named *The Camp*, *Sycamore*, *Elder* & *Tiny Cot*; being on school land those must have been small out-buildings, possibly dormitories. In Montgomery Street *Juniper* was stated to be on Lots 13-14 (Vol.63, Fiche 3, Valuation No.281) and *Elmtree* on Lot 12 (Vol.63, Fiche 3, Valuation No.280).



ST 400-2  
321  
DEPARTMENT OF THE VALUER GENERAL, N.S.W.—VALUATION LIST  
BLUE MOUNTAINS  
WARD OR RIDING "A"  
VALUATION NO. 332  
D. E. FASSETT, GOVT. PRINTER

VALUATION DISTRICT OF  
OWNER'S NAME  
OCCUPATION  
ADDRESS

Rienits, Oswald Guenther (Est. late)  
of Mrs. G. M. Rienits, 12 Housgrave Street, Crossman  
"The Lindens" Mt. Victoria.  
9/8

TOWN OR VILLAGE  
COUNTY  
RESID. REF. NO.  
TO TITLE BR. NO.  
STREET  
PARISH  
OTHER }  
TENURE }  
MATERIAL OF IMPROVEMENTS  
LOCALITY OR ESTATE  
HOUSE NO. OR NAME

618 61 248  
3321 No. 107 P.P. 569  
Main Western Highway  
SIDE N.  
"The Lindens"

DATE VALUER TAKE EFFECT IN VALUATION ROLL.	PORTION	SEC.	LOT	AREA OR DIMENSIONS	VALUER			REMARKS
					UNIMPROVED £	IMPROVED £	ADDED ANNUAL £	
9.2.39		1	12/11 & Pts. 10/8	102' x 160' & 90' x 80' at 114' Post	70	550	59	<p>General Main Roads St. Lighting E.W. Loan &amp; Improvement Fire Bde</p> <p>WATER SUPPLY AREA T.I.A. &amp; L.A.</p> <p>Handwritten notes and signatures: 12/16, 14/16, 15/16</p>

Figure 8. BMCC Mt. Victoria 1939 Rate Record for Section 1, Lots 11 & 12 and parts of Lots 8-10, Mount Victoria - south side of Montgomery Street to the Main Western Highway.

In 1939 the buildings on lots 14-16 were grouped under one name "The Motor Camp" (Figure 7) which conveys a likely use for them. *Elm Tree* and *The Hut* were listed on Lots 12-13 (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1939 Valuation No.378) all those named buildings being on the land previously owned by H.G. Rienits (unstated but for *The School*) (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1914-16, Vol.56, Fiche 7, Valuation No.219).

After the death of his father, Oswald Rienits inherited *The School* and promptly sold the contents (Rienits 1929). A local journalist wrote "What a splendid School of Arts the Reinitis School would make for Mt. Victoria. Situated in Montgomery Street, it could be remodelled at a small cost. Mt. Victoria certainly needs an institute." (Anonymous 1929c). But it never happened.

*The School* finally passed out of the Rienits family on 3 September 1946 when Grace Malvina Octavia Rienits (second wife of Oswald Rienits) sold it to Frank Joseph Minty (CoT 1885). The land was split up into  
Section 2, Lots 14/16 & 21/25 (later assigned Nos.55-59);  
Section 2, Lots 12/13 (later assigned Nos.51-53) on which were 'cottages' named *The Hut*

and *Elm Tree* (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1954 Valuation No.560);  
Section 2, Lots 8/11 and part of Lots 1/3 (later assigned Nos. 43-49) with *Fern Cottage* which was renamed *The Maples* in 1955 (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1954 Valuation No.559).

The main building was renamed *Glen Ogie*, (a sailing barque of that name is in shipping lists e.g. Anonymous 1901 and that name first appeared in the owner's address on the BMCC Mt. Victoria 1960 Rate record, Valuation No.4509) and a 'Tourist Cabins' business was started which commenced to advertise on 24 March 1948 (Anonymous 1948) and continued until AT LEAST 1 July 1972 (Anonymous 1972). Goodacre (1950?) listed 8 cabins named *Roll In, Step In, Tumble In, The Dell, Tiny Cot, The Hut, Sunnyside, Elder* and 6 'Flatettes' named *Poplars, Fairview, Juniper, Sycamore* plus two mysteriously called 'Electric'. [Thompson (no date) indicated that *Juniper, Sycamore & Poplar* had been dormitories for *The School*]

Early in 1973 demolition was announced (Anonymous 1973b) and the notice caused angst amongst local residents (e.g. Neville 1973); nevertheless documents in the Mount Victoria

Historical Society files state that it did occur later that year (e.g. Bellingham 1997, p.2). That seems to conflict with information on the 1974 Blue Mountains City Council Rate record; thus on 19 December 1974 that land was formally sub-divided into three lots but site clearance must have been slow for subsequently the 1974 rate record was annotated “dilapidated and unsightly Buildings” and a defect notice was issued on 10 April 1978 (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1974 Valuation No.191). Demolition had been done by the time the 1982 rates were issued and multiple houses are now (2019) on the original school site.

### The Rienits Residence

Isles (1988, p.11) wrote

“Rienits built a number of cottages in Montgomery Street and on the Western Road. The cottages were to house his family, his parents, and some of the staff.”

But exactly who occupied what has yet to be established.

On Census night 5th April 1891, Henry Rienits’ father, Diedrich, was still alive and living with his wife on their own at Mount Victoria (Census 1891, p.9) in a building which has not been established; from 1873 to 1888 he had been a tobacconist in Newtown (Sands 1873, p.469; Sands 1888, p.970). Diedrich died on 14 November 1891 and subsequently his wife lived with her son and his family (Census 1901, p.63).

The Rienits residence was called “*The Lindens*” (Anonymous 1928c) and was located somewhere on Section 1, Lots 11 & 12 and parts of Lots 8-10 that then were considered to front the ‘Main Bathurst Road’.

The 1939 rates records list:

Section 1, Lots 11/12 & part 8/10 held *The Lindens* which was listed as “2 flats” [No.70] (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1939 Valuation No.332) (Figure 8). The Certificates of Title specify that large land parcel but give no guide as to where the building was located.

Section 1, part Lots 9/10 held *Planetree* [No.72] (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1939 Valuation No.333)

Section 1, part Lots 8/9 held *Safrano* [No.74] (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1939 Valuation No.334)

and those names persisted on rates issued up to and including 1965.

In 1960 that land (viz. Lots 8-12) was addressed as 70 Great Western Highway (BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1960 Valuation No.4339) but currently the BMCC regard it as fronting Montgomery Street with numbers 40-46 (BMCC map 2019).

The dwellings existing in 1913 were drawn on a sales map for the York Estate (Richardson & Wrench 1913) which has proven to be acceptably accurate; an extract (Figure 9) shows a large building (circled and found to be straddling Lots 8 & 9) that corresponds with the position of 42 Montgomery Street. Of the many buildings now on Lots 8-12 and facing Montgomery Street it is the most imposing structure and seems most probably to have been the Rienits’ residence named *The Lindens*.



ex Richardson & Wrench 1913

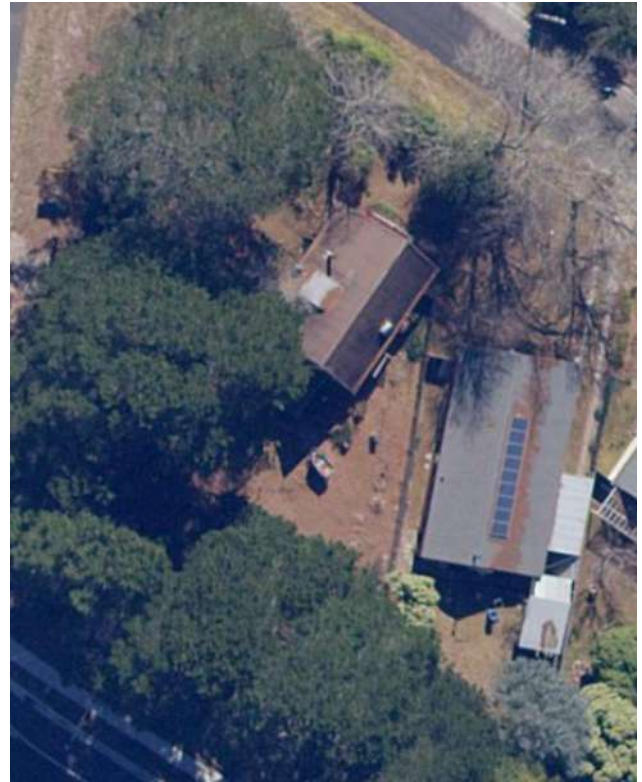
**Figure 9.** Buildings along Montgomery Street and the Bathurst Road, Mount Victoria, in 1913.



1943 AUSIMAGE © Jacobs Group (Australia) Pty. Ltd.

10A

1943



SixMaps © Spatial Services (2018)

2018

10B

**Figure 10** Aerial photographs of 44-46 Montgomery Street, Mount Victoria

Note that on that 1913 map (Figure 9) no building is drawn at the SW corner of Montgomery Street at the intersection with Burwood Road, the location of today's No.44-46 Montgomery Street, and an old aerial photograph (Figure 10A) confirmed that the land in that corner continued to be vacant until at least 1943. Indeed, the present corner house (Lots 11 & 12, 44-46 Montgomery Street; Figure 10B) appears to have been built over an old tennis court which is known to have been associated with *The Lindens* (Anonymous 1902b).

The appearance of the original building of *The Lindens* is not known but a photograph taken c.1924 shows the eastern side of that residence (Figure 11A), however from that general direction the house looks quite different now (Figure 11B).

As seen in Figure 11A, the row of pine trees on the eastern side of Burwood Road are a considerable distance from the house and in the background of the front garden of *The Lindens* are unusually narrow windows (Figure 12A) that match those on *The School* (Figure 12B), a

building that is on the opposite side of Montgomery Street and at a lower level. For those windows in *The School* and the front of Rienits' house to be so angularly related, the position of the house has to be that of 42 Montgomery Street (Figure 13), i.e. so proving that the large building in Figure 9 is *The Lindens*. The approximate location of the photographer of Figure 11A was in Lot 7 (Figure 13).

Comparing Figure 11A with the 1943 aerial photograph (Figure 14A) it is evident that between 1924 and 1943 there had been extensive modifications in readiness for use as a guest house (see below), most probably after Henry Rienits had died in 1928. In 1937 it was said to contain five bedrooms and three other rooms (Valuer General 1937). At least one more set of structural changes occurred between 1943 and 2018 (Figure 14B).

### Henry Rienits - His Public Life and Inheritors

Apart from involvement with *The School* (e.g. Anonymous 1900), Henry Rienits was very



active in the social life of Mount Victoria, amongst other roles being

- In 1886 a member of the Masonic Mount Victoria Lodge and Secretary of the Oddfellows Mt. Victoria Lodge (Anonymous 1930a).
- In 1896 appointed a Justice of the Peace (Anonymous 1896),
- appointed a 'Peoples Warden' of the St. Peter's Church (Anonymous 1898),
- appointed a Trustee of the Mount York Recreation Reserve (e.g. Anonymous 1888, 1893) and
- President of the Mount Victoria Progress Association continuously for about 30 years (Anonymous 1920a).
- Treasurer of 'The Crossing of the Blue Mountains Centenary Celebrations Fund' during 1912 (Rienits 1913) and
- In 1913 he presided at the meeting of Mount Victoria residents to determine in what manner the village would be decorated for the commemoration of the Centenary of the Crossing of the Blue Mountains (Anonymous 1913).

When that commemoration was all over Salmon (1913) wrote

".. the three men who got up the celebrations are worthy of present-day admiration, for they worked indefatigably against great opposition and apathy to bring about the extraordinarily successful festival that took place on Wednesday. Messrs. Walker, Berghofer, and Rienits will always be remembered as the three who veritably fought the battle for the

Centenary Celebration of the First Crossing of the Blue Mountains, ..."

"After an illness extending over several months .." (Anonymous 1928a)

Henry Rienits died at *The Lindens*, on Sunday 24 June 1928 aged 76 (Anonymous 1928c,d) and as a memorial his portrait was hung

"in the local Public school" (Anonymous 1929b).

With no other family member residing in Mount Victoria in 1928, it is conjectured that his spinster daughter Annie Rienits may have cared for her father in his last days.

The revenue from teaching

(and maybe from his coal mine (Rienits 1885b) although it was his son Oswald that exploited the seam (Anonymous 1903) and the mine (Figure 15) is thought to have been a failed enterprise (pers. comm. Brian Fox, 18 May 2019)) [Mount Wilson Topographical Map MGA94: 248800 E 6279740 N]

must have been substantial for at the time of the death of H.G. Rienits on 24 June 1928 he had accumulated a portfolio of 13 properties in Mount Victoria and others in Newtown, Paddington, Petersham and Woollahra plus 1 acre 2 roods of land in Western Australia (Rienits 1928); officially his estate was valued at £15, 854 (Anonymous 1928e).

After that valuation (Anonymous 1928e), and the granting of probate, his properties in Mount Victoria (and parcels of land in Blackheath and Western Australia) passed to his son Oswald (Rienits 1925); his daughters Crystal and Lena received paintings. Annie was entrusted to sell his Real Estate located elsewhere and to give 30% of the proceeds of the sales to each of her



Courtesy Mrs. Mary Mills (née Rienits)

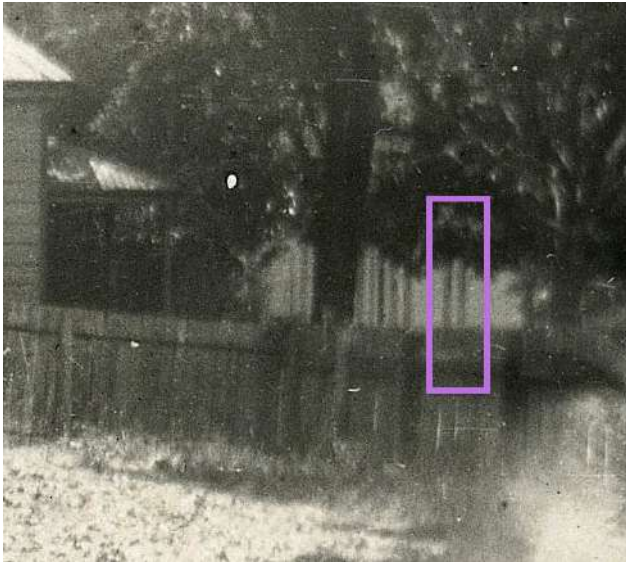
11A *The Lindens* c.1924, east side.



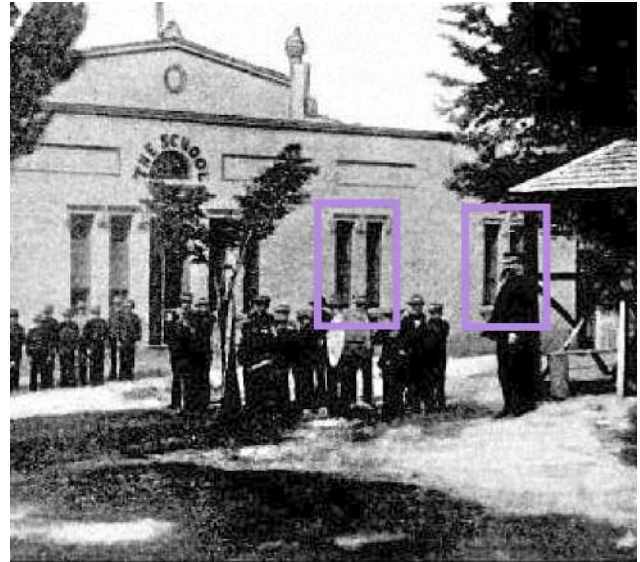
Photo: PCR March 2019

House formerly called *The Lindens*, east side. 11B

Figure 11. 42, Montgomery Street, Mount Victoria.



12A Enlargement of part of Figure 11A.



Enlargement of part of Figure 3B.

12B

Figure 12. Identification of the feature seen in the background of Figure 11A.

sisters and to keep 40%, but in addition Annie inherited some furniture and a lot of household items plus “the residue of my Personal estate”.

Oswald Rienits was working for the Lands Department when his father died in 1928 and he was residing in Wagga Wagga (Davis 2018, p.4). In March 1929 Oswald was transferred to the Head Office in Sydney (Anonymous 1929a) and in 1932 to Forbes (Anonymous 1932). So for many years he was residing at considerable distances from his inheritances in Mount Victoria which meant that he would have had little direct control over those. During his ownership *The Lindens* seems to have been a guest house of

sorts for Silvey (1996, p.111) recorded that there was accommodation available from 1932-1933 at “Linden Montgomery Street” although the ‘Manager’ was listed as “unknown”. Oswald did return to *The Lindens* when he retired in early 1937 (Anonymous 1937a,b) although he did not enjoy the family home for long as he died there on 10 September 1937 when aged only 61 (Anonymous 1937c).

On 4 July 1929 *Ivy Cottage* (on the NW corner of the intersection of Burwood Road with the Great Western Highway; BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates, 1939 Valuation No.331) was transferred from Oswald to his sister Annie (CoT 1889) - whether as a gift or for a purchase is not known. A columnist announced that Annie,

“is selling her property at Mount Victoria ... to reside in Sydney” (Anonymous 1930b).

and Annie did move to Sydney where she led a full social life, amongst other things being involved with musical events at the *Lyceum*. But she did not part with *Ivy Cottage* until 4 June 1945 (CoT 1889) when she sold it to Harold Holden.

### Rienits’ Rock Column

By 1895, Henry Rienits was known to be an amateur geologist (M.D.A.J. 1895, col.2), who had been donating minerals, fossils and rocks to the NSW Department of Mines in 1893-1896\*\*, and who taught the subject to the pupils attending his school. \*\*\*



Figure 13. Reconstruction of sight lines.

**Red line** - direction of the photographer of *The Lindens* (Figure 11A);

**Blue line** - alignment of *The School* to *The Lindens* to generate Figure 12A.





1943 AUSIMAGE © Jacobs Group (Australia) Pty. Ltd.

14A

1943



SixMaps © Spatial Services (2018)

2018

14B

**Figure 14.** Aerial photographs of 42 Montgomery Street, Mount Victoria

“Mr. Rienits, proprietor of "The School," Mount Victoria, has prepared a unique section showing the structure of Mount Victoria, on a scale of 15 feet to the inch. This gentleman has constructed a cabinet, the central compartment of which is made up of a column, representing in their true position the rocks from the granite of Hartley Bridge to the Hawkesbury Sandstone of Mount Piddington. Each bed in this column is represented by a slab of stone taken from the actual bed itself, and shows every lithological variety of shales, sandstones, cherts, conglomerates, etc., that

are known to exist in the natural sections exposed in the Blue Mountain ravines. On either side of this column is a series of compartments, those at one side being reserved for the fossils characteristic of each formation, while on the other side are exhibited the minerals, inorganic products, etc., of the various beds. Mr. Rienits, proprietor and head master of “The School” is, with a true scientific spirit, always ready to show this unique and valuable cabinet to visiting geologists.” (Curran 1899, pp.334-335).

It must have been a very heavy piece of furniture.

A photograph of the contents of the Rienits’ cabinet is in the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. photograph collection (BMHS P1075; [Figure 16A](#)) and it was used within two books published by Harry Phillips, the well known Blue Mountains photographer of the early 20th Century. The complete image is in Phillips



*Photo: Brian Fox, 10 July 2019*

**Figure 15.** The Rienits Coal Mine, Mount Victoria

\*\* New South Wales Department of Mines and Agriculture, Annual Reports for 1893, p.128; 1894, p.148; 1895, p.185; 1896, p.1.

\*\*\* Henry Rienits published a map with one of his pupils (Curran et. al., 1899), Lionel Clive Ball, who in 1934 became Chief Government Geologist for Queensland (McCarthy 2018).





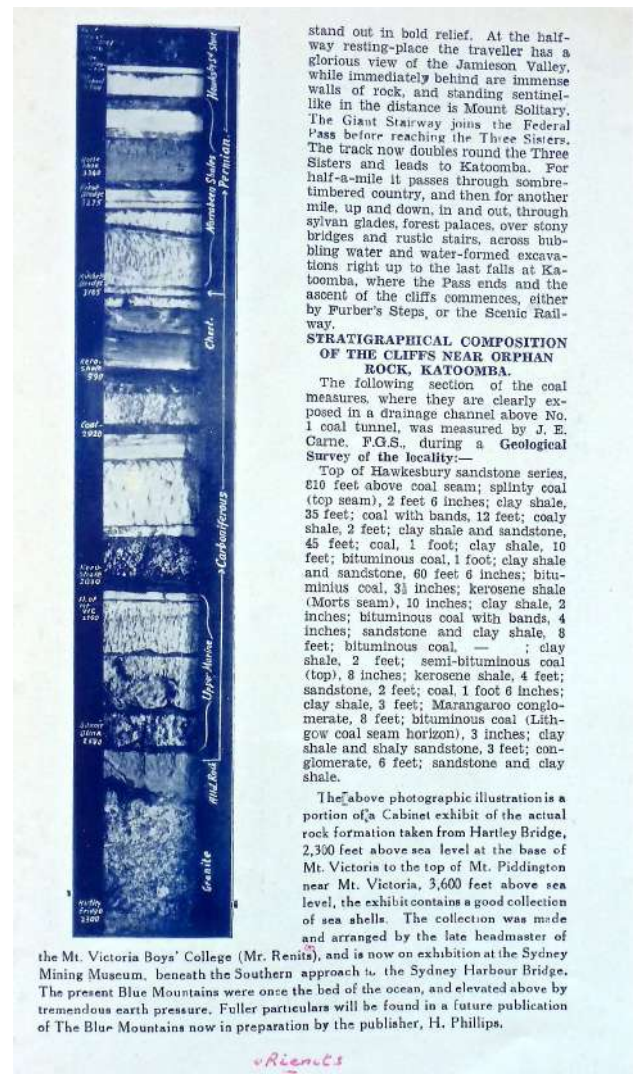
BMHS P1075z

16A

Figure 16. The Rienits' sequential Column of Strata from Hartley to Mount Victoria.

(post-1931, p.74) and just the central column was used in Phillips (post-1936) (Figure 16B), the pages of which are not numbered but it is on the right hand side of the centre pages.

PCR recalls that in the early 2000s he saw a photograph of the cabinet, mounted on a stand, with the doors open to reveal its contents; that picture was in a very battered book (roughly square and of small size c. 8 x 8 cm) that was kept in a BMHS vertical filing drawer. Some years later a thorough search was undertaken for that book but it was not found; because of its poor condition it is feared that an eagle volunteer may have sent it for recycling !



ex Phillips, H. (post-1936, not paginated)

16B

On the death of Henry Rienits in 1928 that cabinet and his collection of fossils was presented to the Sydney Mining Museum (Anonymous, 1928d; Davis 2018, p.2). In the 1970s PCR visited Denis Rice (lately an Upper Blue Mountains resident) at the Mineral Resources Development Laboratory, Lidcombe (which previously had been located in the Sydney Mining Museum) and asked about the Rienits cabinet. Some members of his staff recalled the 'rock column' having been there – 'housed in a fancy wooden cabinet' - but thought it had been disposed of. It was not known at the Core Library (that is now called the W.B. Clarke Geoscience Centre and is located at 947-953 Londonderry Road, Londonderry) when PCR worked there in the summer of 2004-2005.

### Acknowledgements

We thank Peter Arditto for enquiring about the location of *The School* and thereby prompting us to renew the research that we had set aside several years ago; Peter has greatly assisted with aspects of this paper. Mrs. Mary Mills (née Rienits) most generously supplied scans of two of the photographs in her family album and has allowed us to use them (Figures 1B & 11A). Brian Fox kindly allowed us to use his recent photograph of the interior of Rienits Coal Mine (Figure 15) and he provided details of its location and access. Roy Bennett and Mary Mills are thanked for having shared information and given guidance, and we are particularly grateful to Stephen Davis for providing scans that have been invaluable, all three being members of the Mount

Victoria & District Historical Society Inc. Also acknowledged, but not named, are several of our colleagues, and fellow volunteers, at the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. who provided relevant information and criticism.

### Abbreviations

BMCC	Blue Mountains City Council
BMHS	Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.
CoT	Certificate of Title
MVHS	Mount Victoria & District Historical Society Inc.
Reg.	Registration
SMH	Sydney Morning Herald

### REFERENCES

- Anonymous (1859) The Rangatira. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 November 1859, p.4, col.1.
- Anonymous (1863) Shipping. September 2. *The Leader (Melbourne)*, 5 September 1863, p.16, col.1.
- Anonymous (1872) University Public Examinations. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 November 1872, p.5, cols.3-4.
- Anonymous (1874) Marriages. Rienits-Terry. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1874, p.1, col.1.
- Anonymous (1886) Banquet to Mr. W.S. Targett, M.L.A. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 December 1886, p.8, col.3.
- Anonymous (1888) Government Gazette. Trustees. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 March 1888, p.5, col.3.
- Anonymous (1890a) Mount Victoria. The Rifle Reserves Entertainment. *Katoomba Times*, 15 February 1890, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1890b) Mount Victoria. *Katoomba Times*, 31 May 1890, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1891) Cricket. *Katoomba Times*, 11 April 1891, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1893) Government Gazette. Land Trustees. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 November 1893, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1896) Mount Victoria. *Mountaineer*, 8 May 1896, p.3, col.2.
- Anonymous (1898) Easter Vestry Meetings. Country. *The Daily Telegraph*, 20 April 1898, p.10, col.8.
- Anonymous (1900) Mount Victoria. [From Our Own Correspondent] *Lithgow Mercury*, 22 June 1900, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1901) Maritime Record. *Australian Star*, 21 September 1901, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1902a) Cricket. Katoomba v. "The School", Mount Victoria. *Mountaineer*, 21 March 1902, p.3, col.2.
- Anonymous (1902b) Mount Victoria Tennis Club. *Katoomba Daily*, 1 September 1902, p.5, col.5.
- Anonymous (1903) The Coal Seam on the Mountains. *Lithgow Mercury*, 28 August 1903, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1910a) Mount Victoria. Meeting of the P.A. *Lithgow Mercury*, 31 August 1910, p.1, col.3.
- Anonymous (1910b) Mount Victoria. *Lithgow Mercury*, 9 December 1910, p.3, col.4.
- Anonymous (1911) Makambo for the New Hebrides. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1911, p.10, col.6.



- Anonymous (1912a) Blue Mountains Crossing. *Lithgow Mercury*, 26 August 1912, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1912b) Mount Victoria P.A. *Lithgow Mercury*, 16 September 1912, p.3, col.2.
- Anonymous (1913) Preparing for the Centenary Celebrations. *Lithgow Mercury*, 19 May 1913, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1915) Offer of a Convalescent Home. (From our Mount Victoria Correspondent) *Lithgow Mercury*, 16 July 1915, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1916a) Seat on Shire Council. Refuses to Resign. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 March 1916, p.7, col.7.
- Anonymous (1916b) War Census Committee. *Lithgow Mercury*, 13 May 1916, p.1, col.1.
- Anonymous (1920a) Mt. Victoria Progress Association. *Lithgow Mercury*, 16 July 1920, p.3, col.4.
- Anonymous (1920b) Mount Victoria P.A. *Lithgow Mercury*, 26 November 1920, p.3, col.2.
- Anonymous (1924a) Golden Weddings. Rienits-Terry. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 July 1924, p.8, col.1.
- Anonymous (1924b) Deaths. Rienits. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 September 1924, p.8, col.2.
- Anonymous (1928a) Mr. H.G. Rienits dead. Mt. Victoria's most prominent citizen. *The Lithgow Mercury*, 25 June 1928, p.2, col.7.
- Anonymous (1928b) Late Mr. Henry Rienits. Scholastic Career. *The Sun*, 25 June 1928, p.10, col.2.
- Anonymous (1928c) Deaths. Rienits. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1928, p.10, col.1.
- Anonymous (1928d) Mr. H.G. Rienits. Death of Veteran Educationist. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 June 1928, p.12, col.4.
- Anonymous (1928e) Left £15, 854. *The Sun*, 15 August 1928, p.13, col.3.
- Anonymous (1929a) Personal. *Canberra Times*, 14 February 1929, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1929b) Late Mr. H.G. Rienits. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 March 1929, p.14, col.8.
- Anonymous (1929c) *no title*. *The Blue Mountain Star*, 21 September 1929, p.9, col.4.
- Anonymous (1930a) In the Days of 1886. *Lithgow Mercury*, 13 January 1930, p.4, cols.4-5.
- Anonymous (1930b) Popular Resident. To Leave District. *The Blue Mountain Star*, 2 February 1930, p.4, col.7.
- Anonymous (1932) Mt. Victoria. *Lithgow Mercury*, 2 June 1932, p.6, col.7.
- Anonymous (1937a) Departure. Mr. O.G. Rienits Honored. *Forbes Advocate*, 8 January 1937, p.1, col.6.
- Anonymous (1937b) Mt. Victoria. A News Budget. Personal and Other Items. *Lithgow Mercury*, 24 March 1937, p.4, col.7.
- Anonymous (1937c) Deaths. Rienits. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 September 1937, p.16, col.2.
- Anonymous (1948) Glen-ogie. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 March 1948, p.13, col.9.
- Anonymous (1951a) Mt. Victoria's Pine Trees to Go Despite Protests. *Lithgow Mercury*, 5 September 1951, p.4, cols.4-5.
- Anonymous (1951b) Mt. Victoria Pines. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 September 1951, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1972) Mt. Victoria (Blue Mountains). *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 July 1972, p.47, col.7.
- Anonymous (1973a) Deaths. Rienits. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 January 1973, p.64, col.4.
- Anonymous (1973b) Notice. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 February 1973, p.36, col.4. (cited by Bellingham (1997, p.3) but not found)
- Anonymous (1981) Society Collecting Village History. *The Blue Mountains Gazette*, 16 December 1981, p.26, cols.2-4; p.27, cols.1-2.
- Anonymous (2000) *The School Site*. 53-57 Montgomery Street, Mount Victoria. Blue Mountains Heritage Inventory SHI 1170358 Dated 23/03/2000
- Anonymous (2017) Request for Information - Mt. Victoria & District Historical Society. *Heritage*, 50 (May-June), p.19.
- Bellingham, S. (1997) Glen Ogie formerly The School, 55-57 Montgomery Street - Mount Victoria. Heritage Inventory Number MV20 - Glen Ogie Archival Recording. Shirley Bellingham for I. & C. Fitzgerald. 10th February 1997. Typescript: 10pp. [Mount Victoria Historical Society]



- Bennett, R. (2019) Henry Lawson. <https://mountvictoria.nsw.au/our-great-places/henry-lawson-in-mt-victoria/> <Accessed 19/2/19>
- BMCC map (2019) <http://emapping.bmcc.nsw.gov.au/connect/analyst/mobile/?mapcfg=Locality - /main?mapcfg=Locality> <Accessed 4/3/2019>
- BMCC Mt. Victoria Rates Records. 1914-16 Vol.56 to 1965 on microfiche; 1939-1982 pdf files on CD. [Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc., Wentworth Falls]
- Bursle, W. (1890) Blue Mountains Identities, 1890. Photograph. [BMHS P147 & <https://flic.kr/p/5Vsyax> ]
- Census (1891) County Cook, Census District No.27, Hartley, Sub-district B, Mount Victoria. [https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1733/32094\\_223338-00272/48418?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return](https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1733/32094_223338-00272/48418?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return) <Accessed 14 May 2019>
- Census (1901) County Cook, Census District No.34, Hartley, Sub-district H, Mount Victoria. Householder Schedule 43. [https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1738/32095\\_223837\\_0002-00208/226704?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return - ?imageId=32095\\_223837\\_0002-00208](https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/1738/32095_223837_0002-00208/226704?backurl=&ssrc=&backlabel=Return - ?imageId=32095_223837_0002-00208) <Accessed 14 May 2019>
- CoT (1876) Certificate of Title, Volume 262, Folio 67, 17 July 1876.
- CoT (1885) Certificate of Title, Volume 719, Folio 59, 30 October 1885.
- CoT (1889) Certificate of Title, Volume 940, Folio 82, 7 September 1889.
- Curran, J.M. (1899) *The Geology of Sydney and the Blue Mountains: A Popular Introduction to Geology*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 391pp.
- Curran, J.E., Ball, C.L. & Rienits, H.G. (1899) Geological Map of Mt. Victoria, Blackheath, Hartley and the Kanimbla Valley. Foldout map after p.391 in Curran (1899).
- Dalziel, H.C. (1954) Mount Victoria. Blue Mountains Historical Society. (typescript, 8pp.) [BMHS F101 Mount Victoria]
- Davis, J.L. (2018) *The Life of Wollongong Photographer Oswald Guenther Rienits*. University of Wollongong: 19pp. [https://www.academia.edu/37779298/THE\\_LIFE\\_OF\\_WOLLONGONG\\_PHOTOGRAPHER\\_OS\\_WALD\\_GUENTHER\\_RIENITS](https://www.academia.edu/37779298/THE_LIFE_OF_WOLLONGONG_PHOTOGRAPHER_OS_WALD_GUENTHER_RIENITS) <Accessed 19/2/19>
- Gibson, H. (1973) A Teacher to Remember. *Inside Education*, 67(7): 22-27. [NSW State Reference Library Q370.5/20]  
reprinted (1992) *Hobby's Outreach*, 3(3): 3-6 & 3(4): 5-6.  
reprinted (2016) *Hobby's Outreach*, 28(1):4-9  
[BMHS F721 Private Schools, Mt. Victoria]
- Goodacre, E. (1950? - see Bellingham 1997, p.9) Glen-ogie Flatettes and Cabins. (Tariff and Conditions.) 2pp. [Mount Victoria & District Historical Society]
- Isles, E. (1982) Misprint in school's name. *The Blue Mountains Gazette*, 13 January 1982, p.4, cols.1-3.
- Isles, E. (1988) *Mount Victoria*. Mount Victoria & District Historical Society. 21pp. [Blue Mountains City Library: LS 994.45 ISL]
- Kunz, Mr. & Mrs. (1890) The Ladies College. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 December 1890, p.12, col.1.
- M.D.A.J. (1895) Geology. The Hawkesbury Sandstone. *The Sydney Mail*, 31 August 1895, p.440, cols.2-3.
- McCarthy, G.J. (2018) Ball, Lionel Clive (1877-1955). *Encyclopedia of Australian Science*. Created: 20 October 1993, Last modified: 2 March 2018. <http://www.eoas.info/biogs/P000035b.htm> <Accessed 19/6/2019>
- Neville, B. (1973) Hamlet bristles. *Blue Mountains Advertiser*, 1 March 1973, p.2, cols.6-7.
- NSW Electoral Roll (1903) Parramatta / Mount Victoria No.116 [State Reference Library LG2 REF10; microfiche]
- NSW Electoral Roll (1909) Macquarie / Mount Victoria No.132 [State Reference Library LG2 REF10; microfiche]

- NSW Electoral Rolls (1913) Macquarie / Mount Victoria No.157 [State Reference Library LG2 REF10; microfiche]
- NSW Electoral Rolls (1919) Macquarie / Mount Victoria No.144 [State Reference Library LG2 REF10; microfiche]
- Oreinos (1898) The Blue Mountains. IV-Mount Victoria. *Australian Town & Country Journal*, 10 December 1898, p.35, cols.2-3.
- Peregrine (1892) Mount Victoria. *The Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 April 1892, p.31, cols.1-4.
- Phillips, H. (post-1931) *Phillips' Illustrated Blue Mountains Guidebook of Lawson, Wentworth Falls, Leura, Katoomba, Medlow, Blackheath, Mount Victoria, Mount York, Jenolan Caves*. Katoomba: H. Phillips. 90pp. [Tony Maher donation; BMHS Harry Phillips Books]
- Phillips, H. (post-1936) *Katoomba-Leura, Blue Mountains : illustrated guide*. Katoomba: H. Phillips. 32pp. [BMHS: Ref. D.P. 1001.8 & 1001.9] (post 1936 Cliff Drive see p.4)
- Richardson & Wrench Ltd. (1913) *York Estate, Mount Victoria. Auction on the Ground Easter Saturday 22nd. March 1913*. [NSW State Reference Library Z/TP/M6/19 (aperture card)]
- Rienits, A.M. (1928) Affidavit D & Statutory Declaration. Attached to application for administration of the estate. NSW State Archives: Deceased Estate Henry Guenther Rienits. PreA 035334 [20/1276]
- Rienits, C.W.C. (1891) Affidavit I (signed 11 December 1891). NSW State Archives: NRS 13660 [4-1858] Probate package Diedrich G. Rienits, Date of Death 14/11/1891.
- Rienits, C.W.C. (1892) A. Will and Testament (signed 13 June 1892). NSW State Archives: NRS 13660 [4-105303] Probate package Christine W.C. Rienits, Date of Death 15/12/1921.
- Rienits, H.G. (1885a) The School. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 May 1885, p.16, col.1. [a date of 18 July 1885 was reported by Anonymous (2017) and is a misreading of a blurred 13]
- Rienits, H.G. (1885b) The School. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1885, p.12, col.1.
- Rienits, H.G. (1885c) To Capitalists. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1885, p.2, col.6.
- Rienits, H.G. (1885d) The School. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 December 1885, p.13, col.3.
- Rienits, H.G. (1886) The School. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1886, p.3, col.5.
- Rienits, H.G. (1887a) The School, Mount Victoria. (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 June 1887, p.2, col.4.
- Rienits, H.G. (1887b) "The School" p.3 in Akhurst, W. (1887) *The Tourists' Guide to the Blue Mountains*. Issued by the Mount Victoria & Little Hartley Progress Committee. Walter Akhurst & Co., Printers, Kent Street, Sydney. 24pp. [The Local Studies Collection, Blue Mountains City Library, Springwood. LSQ VF-Tourist Brochures] [National Library: JAFp BIBLIO F12904 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-430904594/view?partId=nla.obj-431734114> <Accessed 2 April 2019>]
- Rienits, H.G. (1889) The School. *Illustrated Sydney News*, 3 October 1889, p.13, col.3.
- Rienits, H.G. (1896) "The School", Mount Victoria, N.S. Wales. *The Scrutineer and Berrima District Press*, 15 January 1896, p.3, col.2.
- Rienits, H.G. (1898) The School. fold-down opp. p.103 in *The "Mountaineer" Illustrated Tourist Guide to the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves, 1898-9*. The "Mountaineer" Office, Katoomba. 136pp. Price 1d. [Tony Maher donation; BMHS Library]
- Rienits, H.G. (1899) The School, Mount Victoria. *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 January 1899, p.10, col.7.
- Rienits, H.G. (1900) The School, Mount Victoria. (Advertisement). *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1900, p.1, col.7.
- Rienits, H.G. (1902-1903) "The School" Mount Victoria, Blue Mountains. A Boarding School for Boys. (Prospectus). 19 x 12 cm. Mount Victoria, 10pp. [Mount Victoria Historical Society, File 008 Buildings Residential] (Undated. Mention on p.6 of "Annual Sports are held on King's Birthday" means publication has to have been post the death of Queen Victoria on 22 January 1901; but publication was not necessarily in 1901, it could have been in a later year. One copy had a page of 'References' and another did not).
- Rienits, H.G. (1904) The School, Mount Victoria. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 January 1904, p.6, col.4.

- Rienits, H.G. (1909) The School, Mount Victoria. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 October 1909, p.1, col.6.
- Rienits, H.G. (1910) For Large Parties. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1910, p.25, col.2.
- Rienits, H.G. (1913) The Crossing of the Blue Mountains Centenary Celebrations Fund. *The Blue Mountain Echo*, 10 January 1913, p.7, col.5.
- Rienits, H.G. (1921) Letter to Messrs. McDonell & Moffitt re naturalization. 14-2-1921. NSW State Archives: NRS 13660 [4-153261] Probate package Henry G. Rienits, Date of Death 24/6/1928.
- Rienits, H.G. (1925) Will. 9-7-1925. NSW State Archives: NRS 13660 [4-153261] Probate package Henry G. Rienits, Date of Death 24/6/1928.
- Rienits, O.G. (1929) Sale at Mt. Victoria. *The Lithgow Mercury* 18 January 1929, p.4, col.7.
- Salmon, M. (1913) The First Crossing. Celebration of the Blue Mountains Centenary, Historic Function. *Sunday Times*, 1 June 1913, p.6, cols.3-4.
- Sands (1873) *Sands' (sic) Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1873. Fifteenth Year of Publication.* John Sands, Sydney. 570pp.
- Sands (1888) *Sands's Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1888. Twenty-Eighth Year of Publication.* John Sands, Sydney. 1024pp.
- Silvey, G (1996) *Happy days: Blue Mountains Guesthouses Remembered.* Kingsclear Books, Crows Nest. 134pp.
- Steele, J.E., Stacey, L. & Rickwood, P.C. (2019) A puzzling photograph of a curious set of Blue Mountains individuals. *Heritage*, 63: July-Aug. 2019, pp.11-13.
- Thompson, C.R. (undated) Estate of the late Henry Guenther Rienits of Mount Victoria. Valuation for Probate. NSW State Archives: Deceased Estate Henry Guenther Rienits. PreA 035334 [20/1276]
- Valuer General (1937) Schedule A. Valuation of Contents. NSW State Archives: Deceased Estate Oswald Guenther Rienits. PreA 116942 [20/2289]

## Appendix 1

Joan E. Steele

[Spellings are as recorded in the sources.]

[**Single digit superscript numerals** after given names specify which of the **Generations 1-5**]

[Double digit superscript numerals relate to sources.]

### Descendants of Dietrich Guenther Rienits

#### Generation 1

DIETRICH GUENTHER<sup>1</sup> RIENITS was born on 14 February 1814 in Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, Germany. He died on 14 November 1891 in late of Mount Victoria, formerly of Newtown where he was a Tobacconist<sup>10</sup>. He married CHRISTINA WILHELMINA CHARLOTTE NIENABER. She was born in 1832 in Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, Germany. She died on 15 December 1920 in "The Lindens", Mount Victoria.

DIETRICH GUENTHER RIENITS and CHRISTINA WILHELMINA CHARLOTTE NIENABER had the following child:

- i. HENRY GUENTHER<sup>2</sup> RIENITS was born on 8 August 1851 in Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, Germany and married KATE TERRY on 8 July 1874 in Mudgee, New South Wales<sup>11</sup>. He died on 24 June 1928 in Mount Victoria. She was born on 23 October 1849 in Ipswich, Suffolk, England and died on 27 September 1924 in Mount Victoria.



## Generation 2

HENRY GUENTHER<sup>2</sup> RIENITS (Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and KATE TERRY had the following three children:

- i. OSWALD GUENTHER<sup>3</sup> RIENITS was born on 1 April 1875 in Bourke. He died on 10 September 1937 at "The Lindens", Mount Victoria.
  - He married (1) MARION EVELYN MAY CRAMP on 18 June 1902 in Marrickville. She was born on 29 November 1881 in Marrickville, and died on 11 December 1925 in Dubbo, New South Wales.
  - He married (2) GRACE MALVINA OCTAVIA HOPKINS in 1923 in Tamworth, New South Wales. She was born on 16 September 1895 in Wyong and died on 2 August 1978 in Mosman, New South Wales.
- ii. CARL GUENTHER RIENITS was born in 1876 in Bourke<sup>12</sup>. He died in 1876 in Bourke<sup>13</sup>.
- iii. CRYSTAL CHARLOTTE RIENITS was born on 13 August 1878 in Mudgee<sup>14</sup> and baptised on 24 October 1878 in Parramatta<sup>18</sup>; she died on 12 February 1942 in Burwood. She married PERCY ALEXANDER CHARLES BATES in 1898 in Lithgow. He was born on 4 August 1869 in Paddington and died on 8 April 1949 in Strathfield.

LENA KATE RIENITS was born on 13 January 1881 in Mount Victoria<sup>15</sup>. She died on 26 November 1952 at "Loch Sloy", Green Lane, Northwood, Middlesex, England. She married GEORGE THOMAS MACFARLANE, son of George Thomas Macfarlane and Maria Susan Unknown, on 22 May 1909 in Sutherland Avenue Wesleyan Church, London, England<sup>16</sup>. He was born on 15 September 1870 in Amritsar, Punjab, India and died on 14 February 1939 in Lincolns Inn Fields, Middlesex, England.

ANNIE MAY RIENITS was born on 15 March 1887 in Lithgow<sup>17</sup>. She died on 08 January 1973 in London, formerly of Mount Victoria and Strathfield.

## Generation 3

OSWALD GUENTHER<sup>3</sup> RIENITS (Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and MARION EVELYN MAY CRAMP had the following three children:

- i. DONALD GUNTHER<sup>4</sup> RIENITS was born in 1903 in Katoomba<sup>20</sup> and died on 4 March 1973 (late of Ramsgate)<sup>21</sup>. He married ELVA DORIS ARCHER in 1926 in Wagga Wagga. She was born in 1904 in Wagga Wagga and died on 30 August 1968 (late of Collaroy).
- ii. PHYLLIS MACE RIENITS was born on 21 May 1905 in Wollongong<sup>23</sup> and died on 23 December 1906 at parents' residence in Dubbo<sup>24</sup>.
- iii. REX GUNTHER RIENITS was born on 17 April 1909 in Dubbo. He died on 30 April 1971 in at Westminster, London (late of Chelsea).
  - He married (1) VERA MARJORY DODWELL in 1928 in Wagga Wagga<sup>26</sup>. She was born on 23 September 1908 in Germanton, (Holbrook), New South Wales and died on 10 December 1943 in Wagga Wagga.
  - He married (2) JOSEPHINE ELLEN FRANCIS BALFE in 1933 in Lismore. She was born about 1909. She died on 24 January 1954 in London, England.
  - He married (3) DOROTHEA GILCHRIST in 1955 in Sydney<sup>27</sup>. She was born on 26 June 1919 and died on 10 January 2000 at the Joan Bartlett Nursing Home, London, England.
- OSWALD GUENTHER RIENITS and GRACE MALVINA OCTAVIA HOPKINS had the following child:
  - iv. KEITH GUENTHER RIENITS was born on 18 December 1924 in Wagga Wagga and died on 13 July 2009 in Hornsby. He married NANCY HOLROYDE GRAHAM in 1948 in Manly, New South Wales<sup>28</sup>. She was born on 16 March 1925 in Melbourne, Victoria and died on 18 March 2015 in Hornsby.

CRYSTAL CHARLOTTE<sup>3</sup> RIENITS (Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and PERCY ALEXANDER CHARLES BATES had the following children:

- i. LENA MARY<sup>4</sup> BATES was born on 10 September 1899 in St. Leonards<sup>19</sup>.
- ii. DORIS CRYSTAL BATES was born in 1900 in Annandale<sup>22</sup>.
- iii. JOAN KATHERINE BATES was born in 1913 in Burwood<sup>25</sup>.

LENA KATE<sup>3</sup> RIENITS (Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and GEORGE THOMAS MACFARLANE had the following child:

- i. JEAN CRYSTAL<sup>4</sup> MACFARLANE was born on December Qtr 1913 in Hendon, Middlesex, England.

#### Generation 4

DONALD GUNTHER<sup>4</sup> RIENITS (Oswald Guenther<sup>3</sup>, Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and ELVA DORIS ARCHER had the following child:

- i. BRUCE GUNTHER<sup>5</sup> RIENITS was born on 28 April 1927. He married CATHERINE *unknown* who was born on 11 September 1927.

REX GUNTHER RIENITS (Oswald Guenther<sup>3</sup>, Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and VERA MARJORY DODWELL had the following child:

- i. REX MAITLAND GUNTHER<sup>5</sup> RIENITS was born on 28 October 1928 in Australia and died on 12 March 2006 (late of Blackburn, Victoria).

He married RUTH ELLEN *unknown*. She was born on 16 December 1930 and died on 24 October 2002 in Victoria.

KEITH GUENTHER<sup>4</sup> RIENITS (Oswald Guenther<sup>3</sup>, Henry Guenther<sup>2</sup>, Dietrich Guenther<sup>1</sup>) and NANCY HOLROYDE GRAHAM had the following children:

- i. PETER GRAHAM RIENITS was born in 1949 in Australia.
- ii. MARY GRACE RIENITS was born on March Qtr 1950 in Birmingham, Warwickshire, England.
- iii. HELEN MARGARET RIENITS was born on June Qtr 1953 in Birmingham, Warwickshire, England.

#### Sources

<sup>10</sup> p.469 in Sands (1873) *Sands' (sic) Sydney and Suburban Directory for 1873*. Fifteenth Year of Publication. John Sands, Sydney. 570pp.

<sup>11</sup> NSWBMD, Marriage Registration Number: 3029/1874 District: Mudgee. Name: HENRY G RIENITS Spouse Name: KATE TERRY. Year: 1874.  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1780&h=1974566&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=UFi1374&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1780&h=1974566&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UFi1374&_phstart=successSource).

<sup>12</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 8685/1876 District: Bourke. RIENITS CARL GUENTHER. Parents: Henry Guenther Rienits & Kate. Year: 1876.  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?\\_phsrc=UFi1365&\\_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=carl&gsln=reinitz&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn\\_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1876&msbpn\\_ftp=Bourke&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913306&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=1](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=UFi1365&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=carl&gsln=reinitz&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1876&msbpn_ftp=Bourke&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913306&recoff=&ml_rpos=1).

<sup>13</sup> NSWBMD, Death Registration Number: 5133/1876 District: Bourke. REINITZ CARL G. Parents: Henry G. & Kate. Year: 1876.

- <sup>14</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 16837/1878 District: Mudgee. RIENETS CRYSTAL CHARLOTTE. Parents: Henry Guenther Rienets & Kate. Year: 1878.  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?\\_phsrc=UFi1368&\\_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=crystal&gsln=rienets&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn\\_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1878&msbpn\\_ftp=mudgee&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913304&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=1](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=UFi1368&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=crystal&gsln=rienets&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1878&msbpn_ftp=mudgee&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913304&recoff=&ml_rpos=1) .
- <sup>15</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 17182/1881 District:Hartley. RIENITS LENA KATE also registered as Guenther Lena Kate. Both registration numbers are the same. Parents: Henry & Kate Year: 1881.  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?\\_phsrc=UFi1362&\\_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=lena&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn\\_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1881&msbpn\\_ftp=hartley,%20new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msbpn=96154&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2913307&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=2](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=UFi1362&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=lena&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1881&msbpn_ftp=hartley,%20new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msbpn=96154&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=1&h=2913307&recoff=&ml_rpos=2) .
- <sup>16</sup> London, England, Non-conformist Registers, 1694-1931, City of Westminster, Sutherland Avenue. Marriage: GEORGE THOMAS MACFARLANE & LENA KATE RIENITS 22 May 1909 at Sutherland Ave. Wesleyan Church, Paddington, Middlesex, England.  
[https://www.ancestry.com.au/interactive/1906/31846\\_213197-00789?pid=53206&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=UFi1379&\\_phstart=successSource](https://www.ancestry.com.au/interactive/1906/31846_213197-00789?pid=53206&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UFi1379&_phstart=successSource).
- <sup>17</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Reigstration Number: 23237/1887 District: Lithgow. ANNIE M. RIENITS. Parents: Henry G. Rienits & Kate. Year: 1887  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?\\_phsrc=UFi1370&\\_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=annie&gsln=rienets&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn\\_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1878&msbpn\\_ftp=mudgee&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913305&recoff=&ml\\_rpos=1](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?_phsrc=UFi1370&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&indiv=1&dbid=1778&gsfn=annie&gsln=rienets&cp=2&msfng=henry&msmng=kate&msypn_ftp=new%20south%20wales,%20australia&msypn=30094&msbdy=1878&msbpn_ftp=mudgee&new=1&rank=1&uidh=ym3&redir=false&gss=angs-d&pcat=34&fh=0&h=2913305&recoff=&ml_rpos=1) .
- <sup>18</sup> New South Wales, Australia, St. John's Parramatta, Baptisms, 1790-1916, Vol 05, 1883-1916 (No 3603-7054). CRYSTAL CHARLOTTE RIENITS was baptised on 24 October 1878 in St. John's Church, Parramatta.  
[https://www.ancestry.com.au/interactive/60622/44132\\_1831101454\\_0704-00128?pid=18943&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=UFi1381&\\_phstart=successSource](https://www.ancestry.com.au/interactive/60622/44132_1831101454_0704-00128?pid=18943&treeid=&personid=&rc=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UFi1381&_phstart=successSource).
- <sup>19</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 24947/1899 District: ST LEONARDS BATES LENA M. Parents: Percy & Lena (should be Percy & Crystal) Year: 1899.
- <sup>20</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 30893/1903 District: Katoomba. DONALD G RIENITS Father: Oswald G Rienits, Mother: Marion E M. Year: 1903  
[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1778&h=3789640&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=UFi1378&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1778&h=3789640&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UFi1378&_phstart=successSource).
- <sup>21</sup> NSWBMD, Death Registration Number: 43694/1973 District: Kogarah. RIENITS DONALD GUNTHER Parents: Oswald Gunther and Maie. Year: 1973.
- <sup>22</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 29050/1900 District: Annandale. BATES DORIS C Parents: Percy A C & Crystal C. Year: 1900.



- <sup>23</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 19198/1905 District: Wollongong. RIENITS PHYLLIS M. Parents: Oswald G and Marion E M. Year: 1905  
&  
Sydney, Australia, Anglican Parish Registers, 1814-2011, St. Michael CoE, Wollongong. Phyllis Maie Rienits was born on 21/5/1905 Parents: Oscar Guenther & Marion Maie Rienits.  
[https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/61177/45578\\_wol%5Eba18641909-00244?pid=2710&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D61177%26h%3D2710%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26\\_phsrc%3DUFi1528%26\\_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=UFi1528&\\_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&\\_ga=2.10161072.404356785.1559273409-1311518926.1384575836](https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/61177/45578_wol%5Eba18641909-00244?pid=2710&backurl=https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv%3D1%26dbid%3D61177%26h%3D2710%26tid%3D%26pid%3D%26usePUB%3Dtrue%26_phsrc%3DUFi1528%26_phstart%3DsuccessSource&treeid=&personid=&hintid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=UFi1528&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&_ga=2.10161072.404356785.1559273409-1311518926.1384575836).
- <sup>24</sup> NSWBMD, Death Registration Number: 12369/1906 District: Dubbo. RIENITS PHYLLIS M. Parents: Oswald G and Marian E M. Year:1906.  
&  
Family Notices. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1906, p.4, col.1. Rienits, December 23, at her parent's residence, Dubbo, Phyllis Mace (Maie), youngest child of Oswald and Maie Rienits, aged 1 year and 7 months.  
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/14817552?searchTerm=rienits&searchLimits=l-availability=y||l-australian=y||l-state=New+South+Wales||l-decade=190||l-year=1906||l-category=Family+Notices||l-month=12>.
- <sup>25</sup> NSWBMD, Birth Registration Number: 16719/1913 District: Burwood. BATES JOAN K Parents: Percy A and Chrystal C. Year: 1913.
- <sup>26</sup> NSWBMD, Marriage Registration Number: 8516/1928 Dsitric: Wagga Wagga. RIENITS REX G and DODWELL VERA M. Year: 1928.
- <sup>27</sup> NSWBMD, Marriage Registration Number: 17053/1955 District: Sydney and Paddington. RIENITS REX GUENTHER and GILCHRIST DOROTHEA. Year: 1955.
- <sup>28</sup> NSWBMD, Marriage Registration Number: 7477/1948 District: Manly. RIENITS KEITH GUENTHER and GRAHAM NANCY HOLROYDE. Year: 1948.



## GEORGE KITCH: KATOOMBA PHOTOGRAPHER AND BUSINESSMAN

### (1889-1914) – PART 2

Ted Szafraniec,  
PO Box 4042,  
Warrimoo, NSW 2774  
[ted.szafraniec@gmail.com](mailto:ted.szafraniec@gmail.com)

#### Abstract

George Kitch, a longtime resident of Katoomba, was a successful photographer and businessman. His photographic company Kitch & Co. became an institution in the Blue Mountains between 1889 and 1914. Some 180 photographs by George Kitch, and later his photographic studio, have been located. *Carte de visite*, stereographs, cabinet and larger format card photographs, “real-photo” postcards, albumen prints, some large retouched portraits and a valedictory presentation album have been identified. Kitch was a very good photographer who won international awards and local acclaim. Ever interested in photographic opportunities he was also a travelling photographer and a publisher. George Kitch has left a small but important photographic legacy of the Blue Mountains and he was truly a significant NSW regional photographer. A brief overview of photographic practices is provided followed by a section analysing some of the photographic formats which shows the broad range of the work produced. [Figures 1 & 2](#) are in Part 1 of this paper; [Figures 3 to 20](#) are below.

**Key Words:** Kitch & Co., travelling photographer, publisher, postcards, Blue Mountains

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

George Kitch was considered to be a leading Katoomba townsman when he died in 1914 (Anonymous 1914b). Kitch ran a business that grew and evolved over the years (stationery, newsagency and fancy goods) but always included photography. His company Kitch & Co. became an institution in Katoomba. However it is photography that was central to his business activities.

George Kitch’s biography, some of his business activities, civic and community involvement, and

his personal interests and pursuits were outlined Part 1 of this account. Part 2 deals with his photographic business and his associated interests and activities in photography.

Virtually nothing has been written about George Kitch’s involvement in photography yet he left a priceless photographic record of Katoomba and the Blue Mountains region. Much of his photography details Katoomba’s early growth and development; indeed it is a remarkable historical legacy.

Kitch’s extant photographs that have been located are spread over numerous institutions and private collections in Australia. A small but significant collection of George Kitch’s photographs and publications exists in the collections of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. (NSW). Back in 1946 when the Society was formed there were members that knew about Kitch and appreciated his photographic work. For example Dorothy McLaurin (née Fletcher) who was a founding member of the Society, in her recollections of “Old Katoomba” in 1946 stated that

“Kitch was an excellent photographer...”  
(McLaurin 2016, p.16).

McLaurin was 7 years old when the Kitch’s settled in Katoomba in 1889 but probably she knew of him when she was around 15 or 16 by the time the Fletcher family left Katoomba (Rickwood 2017). Other Society members also would have been aware of Kitch’s photographic work such as Life Member Ralph Bennett (d.1973) who ran the Katoomba printing business Joseph Bennett and Son Pty Ltd (Tierney, 1996 p.40) and Arthur Manning (d. 1963) as a founder member of the Society and early honorary photographer between 1951-1956 (Tierney 1996, p.70), and who himself ran a photographic business in Katoomba between 1936 and 1946 (Barrie c.2002, p.111). But over



time much of Kitch's photographic legacy has been largely forgotten.

This Part 2 provides an opportunity to reassess George Kitch's photographic legacy to the Blue Mountains, and in particular some of his photographic work and practices. A brief chronological overview of Kitch's, and the Kitch & Co. Studio's, photographic and related business practices is provided followed by a more detailed section analysing some of the known photographic materials.

Information on the images reproduced in this paper are described in more detail in Appendix 1. Some technical photographic terms that were necessary to use are defined in a Glossary and in Appendix 2. Measurements are reported as traditionally used at the time, that is in inches rather than centimetres.

## **2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICES OF GEORGE KITCH AND HIS STUDIOS**

Little is known about George Kitch's actual photographic background or his early photographic practices. And nothing is known about where his interests in photography came from. However a good number of Kitch's, and his Studio's, photographs still exist and are accessible although they are not available in very large numbers and the images are spread widely over many locations. No significant archive of his work exists, and to date no negatives of his work have been found.

There were a number of upheavals during Kitch's early life in New South Wales following his emigration from England in 1872. At the same time considerable social and industrial progress was occurring in the colony (Alpin, Foster & McKernan 1987; Kingston 2006) and was often portrayed through the relatively new medium of photography (Newton 1988; Willis 1988b). Indeed, in 1879 Sydney held the International Exhibition which was quickly followed by the Melbourne International Exhibition in 1880-1881, and both were social phenomena (Proudfoot, Maguire & Freestone, 2000). At these exhibitions photography played an important role being part of the actual exhibits as well as in illustrating, promoting and providing

souvenirs of these events (De Lorinzo, 2000; Proudfoot, Maguire & Freestone 2000).

Kitch's, and his Studio's, photographic activities occurred in the period between the mid-1880s to late 1913 when he sold his business. During this whole period photographic equipment and image processing were undergoing continual change and improvement (Coe 1978; Newhall 1982, pp.126-130).

Around the mid-1880s, when Kitch started working in photography, it was likely that he would have been using dry glass plate negatives (dry plates) which were then in common use in Australia (Cato 1955, pp.62-64; Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.114). For commercial work it would have been the preferred medium of choice even though wet glass plates (wet plates) were still in use (Cato 1955, pp.29-33; Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.116).

In Australia dry plates were able to be manufactured in factories on a large scale, and were of a standard size and reliable (Cato 1955, pp.62-64; Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.114; Willis 1988b). Indeed an 1893 Australian photography catalogue states

“Messrs. T. Baker and Co. confidently recommend their ‘Austral’s’ as filling all the demands for a cheap, good, and reliable plate”

with special rapid plates being produced in Australia that were suitable for portraiture (Baker & Rouse 1893, p.21). Dry plates were also able to be imported. So they were readily available commercially, stable and most importantly did not require immediate processing and portable dark rooms as wet plates did. In Australia dry plates became particularly popular for landscape work (Cato 1955, pp.63-64). From these glass plates photographs were printed onto albumen paper initially but later onto various types of sensitised papers.

[Baker & Rouse was an Australian photographic supply company formed in 1887 and based in Melbourne with offices and agencies throughout Australia (Cato 1955, pp.62-63). It was taken over by Kodak (Aust) sometime in the early 1900s (Barrie c2000, pp.8-9).]

The commercially produced photographs were commonly mounted on stiff card (Baldwin &

Jurgens, 2009) and existed in various sizes and formats ranging from the small *Carte de Visite* to the mid-sized *Cabinet* and larger *Imperial* type as well as *Stereographs* (Welling 1976, pp.39-50; Waldsmith 1991; Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, pp.82-83). Information about some of these card photographs is provided in Appendix 2. There was often a Photographer Imprint on the front or the back of the card. Many photographs of this period such as albumen prints were also produced and could be mounted into albums. Most likely for a lot of his early photographic work, Kitch would have used a large format camera mounted on a tripod and he would have carried a supply of dry glass plates.

Over one hundred and eighty photographic images by George Kitch and his Studio have been located in Australia. They are in various national, state, institutional and local studies collections as well as in private hands, but for this paper, no attempt has been made to locate images that may be in overseas collections. Many of the actual images have been physically sighted by the author.

Kitch photographs often have inscriptions (such as titles, 'Kitch & Co.' or 'Copyright') and these were usually inscribed on the glass plate itself. This hand writing is distinctive and can be used to identify Kitch images but many of the early Kitch photographs bear unique photographer imprints and advertising. The photographs produced during the period when Kitch was active come in a variety of types and sizes ranging from individual paper prints, and prints mounted in albums, to prints mounted on stiff cards including stereographs. A small number of reproductions of Kitch images (probably less than 10%) that have also been identified are from unknown sources, images in various collections (like digital copies) for example\ or copied images with obvious Kitch or the Kitch Studio's markings or inscriptions. Because a significant number of Kitch photographs have been identified and physically sighted, some information can be determined about the photographic practices of Kitch and his Studio.

While some of the card photographs have dates inscribed in the image, others can be roughly dated (to within a few years of production) based

on existing research such as colour of mounts and the type and shape of the card (Tanre 1977, p.79; Welling 1976, pp.53,71); but specific dating and detailed analysis of the Kitch photographs is beyond the scope of this paper.

George Kitch's photographic practice can be best described over three distinct periods: the Sunny Corner Period (mid-1880s–1889) and two periods while he was in Katoomba (1889–1900) and 1901–1913).

### 2.1 Sunny Corner Period (mid-1880s–1889)

George Kitch's earliest photographic work appears to be from Sunny Corner, NSW and his activity as a photographer is first publically recorded there around the mid-1880s (see [Figure 2](#) in Part 1 of this paper).

Sunny Corner was a mining town, situated roughly halfway between Lithgow and Bathurst, producing silver and being most active from around the 1870s to the early 1900s (Parmenter 1961; Powys 1989, pp.vi-vii). The township itself survived but continued declining slowly into the 1960s (Parmenter 1961, pp.15-18) and now is almost a ghost town.

The background to Kitch operating a photographic business and studio in Sunny Corner was provided in Part 1 of this paper.

Several authors have placed George Kitch at Sunny Corner, NSW in the 1880s. Thus Parmenter (1961, p.21) mentions the photographer 'G D B Kitch' operating there and Powys (1989, p.163) has the 'Eclipse Photographic Company' and 'G.D.B. Kitch & Co.' operating in Sunny Corner from 1884 to the 1890s. Also Davies & Stanbury (1985, p.187) indicate 'George B. D. Kitch (& Co.)' operated in 'Sunny Corner, Mitchell, New South Wales' from 1888 to 1891 while Barrie (2002, p.86) lists 'George B. D. Kitch' being in Sunny Corner but also at Mitchell, Queensland from 1886 to 1894.

The strongest evidence that Kitch & Co. was operating in Sunny Corner (NSW) in the 1880s comes from a number of actual Kitch photographs of Sunny Corner. At the time Kitch & Co. was trading as The Eclipse Photo

Company, and George Kitch was the Manager of the Sunny Hill Gallery.

Of the eight Sunny Corner images known to exist only one has been physically sighted and can be definitively described. The “Hartley Vale brass band” is a *Cabinet* card format and has “Cabinet-portrait” printed on the left hand side of the front of the card (SLNSW SPG/145). An albumen photographic print has been pasted onto the front of the card that is typical of a standard *Cabinet* card of the time (Waldsmith 1991, pp.1-9; Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, pp.82-83; Lavédrine 2009, p.120). On the back of the card is the photographer’s studio imprint of “G. B. D. Kitch & Co., Sunny Corner” (similar to [Figure 4](#)) that is also typical of many cabinet cards of the period. The photograph is slightly larger than a typical photograph found on a cabinet card and appears to be roughly hand cut. Some other interesting information is also printed on the back of the card such as “... enlargements made to any size” which clearly indicates that enlarging photographs was also possible at the time. However the actual enlarging process used by Kitch remains unknown. The date range of “1886-1891” is given for the image in the SLNSW catalogue entry but is based on information provided by the donor and cannot be confirmed. It is not clear whether the photo actually was taken in Sunny Corner for Hartley Vale is a considerable distance from Sunny Corner (these days about 54 kms by road).

The State Library of NSW holds two other photographs by Kitch & Co. from Sunny Corner. One is a photograph by G.B.D. Kitch & Co. of the miner James Nicholls with his family and house at Sunny Corner that is dated around 1885 (SLNSW Call Number: At Work and Play – 05164). The second image is of a number of miners at the Pit Head, Sunny Corner, NSW and is also dated around 1885 (SLNSW Call Number: At Work and Play – 05165). Unfortunately these two images only exist as scanned copies and were part of the Library’s “At Work and Play” project in 1988 which itself was part of the Australian Bicentennial celebrations (Davies 1989). Dating of the images was by the State Library of NSW and no information is available about the actual photographs.

Further photographic evidence for Kitch & Co. (and The Eclipse Photographic Company) operating in Sunny Corner in the 1880s comes from a number of photographs in Powry’s book *Sunny Corner*. The earliest photograph identified in the book is dated 1884 (Powys 1989, p.9); it is titled “The Pacific smelter and shed, late 1884.” and Powys identified it as a

“Photo by Eclipse Photographic Company, courtesy Martin family, Dark Corner.”

While this date cannot be substantiated the actual date when the first smelter was operational is known and so this photo is the earliest known image in existence by Kitch & Co. (or The Eclipse Photographic Company). Powys reproduces an additional two photographs by either Kitch & Co. or the Eclipse Photo Company dated 1891 (Powys 1989, pp.28, 29) while another is dated around 1900 (Powys 1989, p.140). These dates are interesting as by 1891 Kitch was living and operating out of Katoomba. Incidentally the back of the Kitch photograph which is reproduced by Powys (2014) is the same as [Figure 4](#). However there is no information about the source of the photograph nor what the corresponding image was but most probably it was a card photo of some sort. Unfortunately all three images mentioned by Powys are from private collections and the originals could not be sighted or assessed.

Recently a *Carte de visite* by Kitch & Co. from Sunny Corner that surfaced in an antiquarian book catalogue was identified but could not be physically sighted (Personal Communication, Douglas Stewart Fine Books, 2018). No further



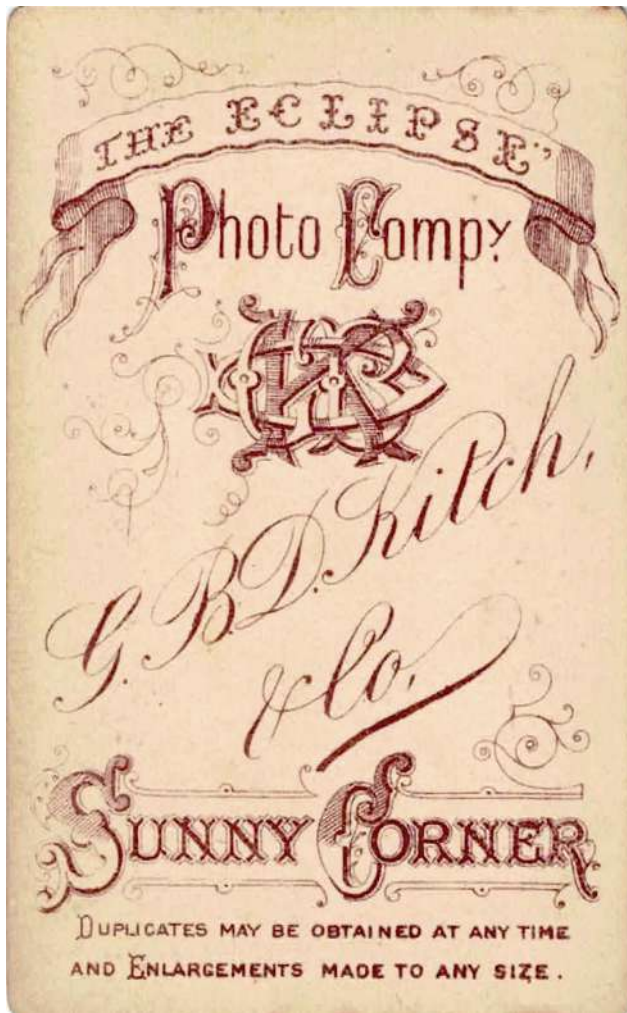
Courtesy of Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne Victoria  
**Figure 3.** The front of a *Carte de visite* from Sunny Corner in NSW by G B D Kitch & Co. (trading as “The Eclipse Photo Compy.”).



information could be obtained about this card except that the photographer's imprint was on the back (see [Figures 3 and 4](#)).

Intriguingly, around this time in Sunny Corner George Kitch seems to have adopted the extra initial 'B' in his name often signing as 'G. B. D. Kitch & Co' (for George Bosley David Kitch) although he was also known as George David Bosley Kitch! (Parmenter 1961, p.21). "Bosley" was his wife's family name. Compare also the photographer imprints on Kitch stereographs shown in [Figure 8](#).

There is one intriguing matter about Kitch's Sunny Corner period that requires explanation. Most of the authors place Kitch in Sunny Corner, NSW. However in their respective photographer directories, Davies & Stanbury (1985) indicate



*Courtesy of Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne Victoria*  
**Figure 4.** The back of a *Carte de visite* from Sunny Corner in NSW by G B D Kitch & Co. (trading as "The Eclipse Photo Compy.") that is shown in [Figure 3](#).

that 'George B. D. Kitch (& Co)' operated in Sunny Corner, Mitchell, New South Wales in the period 1888 to 1891 (Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.187) whereas Barrie lists 'George B. D. Kitch' being both in Sunny Corner, NSW and also Mitchell, Queensland from 1886 to 1894 (Barrie 2002, p.86).

So there is some misunderstanding about where Kitch's town of Mitchell actually was. The confusion surrounding the naming of the Sunny Corner/Mitchell location in NSW is discussed in Part 1. However Barrie (c.2002, p.86) has Kitch listed in his directory being also in Mitchell, Queensland. A small history of Mitchell in Queensland written in around 1959 does not mention George Kitch nor are there any photographs by him reproduced in the book published c.1959 (QCWA, n.d.). Also a search in Trove of the local newspapers around Mitchell (Mitchell did not have a newspaper but Roma and Charleville did) has not revealed a reference to Kitch. So the evidence points to Kitch not being in Mitchell, Queensland. Moreover it is clear that Kitch was active in Sunny Corner NSW during the 1880s and since Sunny Corner, NSW and Mitchell, Queensland are a long distance apart it seems Barrie's listing of Kitch in the Queensland town of Mitchell is unlikely.

## 2.2 Katoomba Period (1889–1913)

Kitch's photographic practices during his time in Katoomba can be conveniently divided into two time periods. The first, from 1889 to 1900, deals largely with his own personal photographic work and his early studio locations in Katoomba when he seems to have been very involved in photography. The second period from around 1901 to 1913 deals mainly with Kitch expanding his photographic studio business but relying more on a manager to run the studio and business.

### 2.2.1 1889–1900

Between the late 1890s and the turn of the century photographic equipment and the processing of images was continuing to rapidly change and improve so that cameras became less bulky, lenses were better (sharper focussing and more specialised e.g. portrait, landscape and wide angle types) and the processing of photographs improved considerably (Coe 1978;

Newhall 1982, pp.126-130). All of this added up to quicker exposures and faster processing.

George Kitch set himself up initially as a general photographer mostly doing landscape work (or as it was called at the time 'view work') but he also did portraits as well. The earliest known advertisement from Katoomba appeared in May 1889 (see [Figure 5](#)) and states that Kitch's studio is

"prepared now to take photographs of a high class character" including "views of the most important places on the Blue Mountains will be taken and sold at reasonable prices" (Kitch & Co. 1889a).

Furthermore it states

"Upon receiving orders, we shall call upon patrons at their own homes, and take their pictures, or views of premises".

Indeed this is what he did including taking photos of the Mullany and Co. store and Mr. Duff's house and members of his family (Kitch & Co. 1889a). These images are now lost but this approach may have been common practice as a

number of images in the Blue Mountains Historical Society and other collections show various persons and groups posing at residences or at business premises.

In a later newspaper advertisement of August 1893, Kitch & Co. provided prices for *Cabinet* cards and *Cartes de visite* (Kitch & Co. 1893c). So these types of photographs were definitely produced by him and most likely were the stock-in-trade work of Kitch at that time. However another advertisement later in the same year includes an offering of *Large Imperial* and *Small Imperial* in addition to the *Cabinets* and *Cartes de visite* (Kitch & Co. 1893e) and again in May 1894 (Kitch & Co. 1894) (see [Figure 6](#)). The *Imperials* were photographs mounted on large cards (Baker & Rouse 1893, p.34) but no *Imperial* formats by Kitch have been located.

[see [Appendix 2](#) for further details on card terminology.]

THE ECLIPSE  
**Photo Company.**  
KITCH & CO.,  
ARTISTS.

WE have OPENED a STUDIO in Katoomba, and are prepared now to take  
**PHOTOGRAPHS**  
OF A HIGH CLASS CHARACTER.

**VIEWS**  
Of the most important places on the Blue Mountains  
WILL BE TAKEN.  
And copies sold at Reasonable Prices.

Upon receiving orders, we shall call upon patrons at their own homes, and take their pictures, or views of premises.

**KITCH & CO.,**  
OPPOSITE ODDFELLOWS' HALL,  
KATOOMBA.

**Figure 5.** One of the first newspaper advertisements in Katoomba for Kitch & Co. (and The Eclipse Photo Company) in June 1889 (Kitch & Co. 1889b).

V. R.  
BY SPECIAL APPOINTMENT TO THE EARL OF JERSEY.  
**THE ECLIPSE PHOTO COY.,**  
KATOOMBA.

Views of Blue Mountain Scenery in all sizes and  
**PRICES LOWER THAN EVER.**

Large Imperial	...	27	0 per dozen
Small Imperial	...	13	6 per dozen
Cabinets	...	10	6 per dozen
Carte de Visite	...	5	0 per dozen

**G**UARANTEED never to FADE, but will last as a souvenir for ever of the grandest sights in the World.

ALSO STATIONERY, TOYS, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, &c.

Views by the new **PLATING-TYPE PROCESS.**

**KITCH and Co.,**  
Main Street, KATOOMBA.

**Figure 6.** A newspaper advertisement showing the types of card photographs (Large Imperials, Small Imperials, Cabinets and Carte de visite) offered for sale in 1894 by Kitch & Co. in Katoomba (Kitch & Co. 1893e).



During the period 1889-1900 Kitch actively promoted his photographic studio for portraiture too. And having dedicated photographic facilities in Katoomba would have helped as this required some specialist equipment both in terms of cameras and much larger glass plate negatives for work other than the stock-in-trade of *Cartes de visite* and *Cabinet* cards. As the photographic processes improved larger portraits became possible (Coe 1978, pp.189-198; Gilbert 1980, pp.95-103; Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, p.7). For example, outside the standard full glass plates (or whole plates which are approximately 8½ x 6½ inches) even larger commercial sizes of dry plates were available including 10 x 8 inches, 12 x 10 inches and 16 x 12 inches, while the Australian company Baker & Rouse even made a specially rapid plate of size 22 x 18 inches presumably for portrait work (Baker & Rouse 1893, p.21). So portrait cameras could be enormous at that time. However nomenclature and dimensions are known to vary slightly for glass plates produced in different countries.

During this period in Katoomba, Kitch also tried new photographic processes which were reported from time to time in the local newspapers. Thus in 1890 the *Nepean Times* reported

“Messrs G. Kitch & Co. had a very fine collection of photos at their stall [Katoomba Flower show and Industrial Exhibition] near the entrance. The splendid photo of the Leura Gap, by a new process, attracted a lot of attention and many of the visitors were surprised to see local beauties so well reproduced by art.” (Anonymous 1890b).

There is no information provided about the ‘new process’.

While in 1895 *The Mountaineer* printed the following report

“We have been shown some very artistic productions from the photographic studio of Messrs G. Kitch & Co. of Mountain scenery, one in particular, that of Weeping Rock, Leura Falls. It is executed by a new process known as platinotype, and certainly excels anything of its kind brought under our notice.” (Anonymous 1895a).

Davies & Stanbury (1985, p.115) stated

“Platinotypes are permanent paper prints using platinum salts, rather than silver”.

They can vary in tone from a hard black to a soft grey and have an extended tonal range. The process was difficult to undertake and the prints were expensive to make so it was not used routinely. However the report in *The Mountaineer* suggests that Kitch was familiar with using silver and alternative salts for printing images.

Kitch mentions using the platinotype process for his views in an 1894 advertisement (see [Figure 6](#)). Platinum prints are considered to provide permanent images (Gernsheim 1955, pp.282-283; Welling 1976, p.83; Lavédrine 2009, pp.156-160). Indeed Kitch made a point of his images not fading early on in his advertising (see [Figure 6](#)). This is an interesting point as albumen prints tended to fade so Kitch was using alternative processes and may have been using various printing papers as well. So he must have been confident about his photographic processing as bad processing may also lead to prints fading and deteriorating (Gernsheim 1955, pp.284-290; Welling 1976, p.81; Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, pp.29-30).

In this 1889-1900 period Kitch appears also to have done some commercial work, illustrating local advertisements. For example, in the small hand guide *The Mountaineer Illustrated Tourists' Guide of the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves 1897-8* there is a small pull out advertisement for Bronger Bros. and their Katoomba Aerated Water & Cordial Manufactory that contains two photographic half-tone images of the inside of their factory. They are titled in the images “Aerated Water Department” and “Bronger Cordial Manufacture” with the latter image being also inscribed (in the glass plate negative) “By G Kitch” (TMITGBM&JC, 1897-8, pp.84-85). There are many images used in local advertising around this time, and even after 1901, but such images by Kitch are hard to find because they are invariably cropped to suite the advert and often image inscriptions tended to be lost.

### 2.2.2 1901–1913

During the period 1901-1913 photographic equipment and image processing still continued to change at a rapid rate. Cameras became more portable, particularly the view cameras (Coe 1978, pp.99-110; Gernsheim 1955, pp.297-309),



and lenses even better (Coe 1978, pp.189-198; Zahorcak 2007, pp.157-176). While processing images evolved from using Printing-out Paper to Developing-out Paper and its associated chemical processing (Gernsheim 1955, pp.284-290; GS 2005). Flexible roll and celluloid film was becoming more readily available (Gernsheim 1955, pp.291-296; Newhall 1982, p.130) and artificial light (flashlight photography) allowed for stopping action and even doing nightwork (Coe 1978, pp.225-232; Gernsheim 1955, pp.314-322; CH 2005).

Personally for Kitch this period involved a new phase in civic life as well as gaining a new partner in his business Kitch & Co. The partner was his new son-in-law, Walter Leaney (Kitch 1900) who went on to manage the business as well as the photographic side of things including the photographic studio. While it appears that Leaney had some business experience (Anonymous 1900b,d) he seemed to have no experience in commercial photography. However he eventually gained a reputation for his photographic work (Anonymous 1911h).

Leaney's appearance was timely as Kitch was becoming more involved with his civic duties and in local issues. But as time went by Kitch started to experience more health problems (Anonymous 1909l, 1910d, 1912d).

Over the period 1901 to 1913, and in part while under the management of Walter Leaney, the Kitch & Co. Studio appeared to consolidate its photographic practice in the Upper Blue Mountains and continued to undertake general photography largely in the Katoomba area. The studio took photos of dignitaries: e.g. the Governor-General's party (Anonymous 1904b), the visit by men of the Dutch Fleet in 1910 (Anonymous 1910f) and local events: e.g. the opening of the Federal Pass in Katoomba (Anonymous 1900b,c) and the National Pass at Wentworth Falls (Anonymous 1908); social engagements (Kitch 1903) and community activities such as the opening of the Bowling Green (Anonymous 1912a) and the new Town Hall (Anonymous 1911a, 1912a). There were challenging photographic projects such as the solar eclipse in 1905 (Anonymous 1905a), and commissioned work such as weddings

(Anonymous 1901d) and presentation albums of views such as the valedictory social for Rev. Lavery (Anonymous 1903a).

In regard to the type of photography being undertaken and sold by the Kitch & Co. Studio there is some information available in local newspaper reports and various guides, but it is mostly available from advertising.

In late 1901 Kitch & Co. were advertising a wide variety of photographs for sale of the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves and in various formats including *Cabinets* (mounted and unmounted), *Souvenirs* (mounted) and Stereoscopic Photos (Kitch & Co. 1901) (see Figure 7).

In later advertisements mention is made of *Cabinets*, *Paris Panels* and Enlargements (Kitch & Co. 1905a) and in 1909 *Cabinets*, small *Panels* and *Midgets* (Kitch & Co. 1909b).

**KITCH & CO.,**  
**MAIN STREET, KATOOMBA,**  
 (Opposite Railway Station.)

**PHOTOGRAPHS**  
 of all the Beautiful Sights of the Blue  
 Mountains and Jenolan Caves.

**Price List:**

	Each.	½-Doz.	Doz.
Large Imperials (10 x 12) ...	2/0	11/6	22/0
Small Imperials.....	1/0	5/6	10/6
Cabinets (mounted).....	1/0	5/0	9/0
" (unmounted).....	9d	3/9	6/6
Souvenirs (5 x 4, mounted)..	9d	3/6	6/6
Carte-de-Visite .....	6d	2/9	5/0
Stereoscopic Photos .....	1/0	4/6	8/0

A Souvenir of the Blue Mountains—Six 5 x 4's  
 in a neat case, 3/6.

Toys, Fancy Goods and Stationery in Stock.  
 Agent for the *NEWSPAPER TIMES*, and Daily and  
 Weekly Papers.

**Figure 7.** A newspaper advertisement showing the types of photographs (including *Imperials*, *Souvenirs*, *Cabinets*, *Carte de visites* (sic) and Stereoscopic photos) offered for sale in 1901 by Kitch & Co. in Katoomba (Kitch & Co. 1901).

One interesting development in portraiture by Kitch & Co. early in this period was its use of 'The Gem', a postage-stamp-sized *Tintype* which provided an image on a thin metal plate which appears as a positive (Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.113). It is referred to as "fashionable and charming portraiture" and came in a number of unstated sizes (Kitch & Co. 1902). They were mostly used for portraits and could be processed immediately, were cheap to make and buy but often of poor quality; they are very hard to date in Australia (Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.113). *Tintypes* were available in various sizes from the smallest (the stamp-sized 'Gem') to a larger size of about 2½ x 3½ inches (Welling 1976, p3.1). There are no known surviving examples of *tintypes* by Kitch & Co.

In October 1904 Kitch & Co. opened a new photographic portrait gallery in Main Street Katoomba calling it 'The Carrington Gallery' (Anonymous 1904f). It was promoted as a new studio but it is not clear whether it was in addition to their then well established Emporium in the same street or a part refurbishment of their actual Emporium. In any case, the subsequent advertisements for the new studio promoted various image formats as well as enlargements (Kitch & Co. 1904). This indicates that there appears to have been several changes to their photography practice at that time. *Cartes de visite* were no longer produced, probably replaced by Gems. Quite large photos such as *Paris Panels* were now available. The other interesting feature offered by the new studio was routine enlarging. Also gone it appears was the earlier studio name "Eclipse Studio". By 1909 Kitch & Co. were advertising portraiture in the *Cabinet, Panel* (small), *Post Card* and *Midget* formats (Kitch & Co. 1909a).

One photographic process used by the Kitch & Co. Studio in this early 1900s period for which there is quite a bit of evidence is flashlight photography. Artificial light for photography was used from around the 1860s onwards (Gernsheim 1955, pp.314-322; Eder 1978, pp.528-533; CH 2005; Marien 2012, p.100) and generally involved the use of pyrotechnic chemicals. Initially in Australia flashlight was used for static work such as portraiture (Davies & Stanbury 1985, p.175), then later in mining

(Newton 1988, p.76) and lighting the insides of caves such as the Jenolan Caves in NSW (Newton 1988, p.83), and finally stopping movement altogether.

But it was dangerous work (Alfieri Jnr, n.d.). Most of the chemicals used contained magnesium compounds but by the 1900s improvements in chemical mixtures involved other compounds resulting in safer use (Gernsheim 1955, pp.315-317; Howes 1989, p.131; CH 2005). For example, in 1911 the *Blue Mountain Echo* in referring to Leaney of Kitch & Co. wrote

"A flash of calcium and a puff of light blue smoke announces that a banquet or moving panorama of dancers has been fixed for reproduction." (Anonymous 1911h)

but interestingly the newspaper distinguishes these flashlight images from the 'sun pictures' of presumably daytime scenery. However even then success by flashlight was not guaranteed (Anonymous 1909j).

Apart from the above references to flashlight photography there are a number of reports of the Kitch & Co. Studio successfully using it from 1909 onwards including to photograph a group of dancers (Anonymous 1909b), a ballroom scene (Anonymous 1909c), a fancy dress social (Anonymous 1911e), a masquerade ball (Anonymous 1911f) and by 1912 a skating carnival (Anonymous 1912a). So by around 1910 the Studio could arrest movement in its photographs.

### 3. TYPES OF PHOTOGRAPHS MADE BY GEORGE KITCH AND THE KITCH & CO STUDIO

A variety of photographic products were produced by George Kitch and later his Kitch & Co. photographic studio. Unfortunately no substantial archive of either Kitch's or his Studio's photographs or negatives have been located.

#### 3.1 Prints Mounted on Card

Most of these type of photographs relied on photographic prints being mounted onto cards of various shapes, sizes and colours which reflected the period and fashions of the day in photography. There were many different types of



Courtesy of the Blue Mountains City Council Local Studies Springwood and a Private Collector.

**Figure 8.** Left to Right (a)-(d): A sample of different types of Stereographic cards by Kitch & Co. Note the different coloured cards and the variety of Photographer Imprints used.

card formats but their use tended to vary between countries. Although there were some internationally ‘standard’ formats such as *Cartes de visite*, *Cabinets* and *Stereographs*, they still varied slightly in sizes. See Appendix 2 for a list and description of some of the more popular card types used in Australia and overseas.

### 3.1.1 Stereographic Cards

Kitch and his studio used a number of names for their Stereographic cards in advertisements, namely “Stereos” (Kitch & Co. 1892a) and “Stereographic views” (Kitch & Co. 1890) (as well as on the actual Stereographic cards) for the period up to around 1900 and then “Stereoscopic Photos” from about 1901 onwards (Kitch & Co. 1901). These days they are most often referred to as a “Stereograph” (Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, pp.82-83).

To date thirty nine *Stereographs* by Kitch (and his studio) from the Katoomba period (1889-1913) have been located and many of them physically sighted. Most of them are of landscape views and a few from the interiors of the Jenolan Caves. No *Stereographs* from the Sunny Corner period have been located.

Within this small sample of *Stereographs* a wide range of variations can be found. There are at least six types of cards some of which also have different formats. The fronts of the cards are coloured and the backs are usually brown. The various formats include: six different coloured cards (yellow, dark yellow, light blue, white, light

buff and buff); five cards have different imprints of the photographer or studio on the back while over half of them have no imprints on their backs; six have different types of photographer or studio imprints on the front of the card; and about half of the cards have a prominent or pronounced curve.

[The “curved” mount on a thicker card stock was introduced in 1882 as an improvement of the stereo effect (Waldsmith 1991, pp.28-29)].

All of the cards are roughly the same size. The condition of the *Stereographs* vary but most are in a good condition. Figures 8 & 9 show examples of the characteristics of some of the *Stereographs* described above.

Figure 8(a) is titled “Lilys Gap Leura” and the photographer’s name “Kitch Co” are inscribed in the bottom of the right hand side print. The photos are albumen prints. The *Stereograph* shown in Figure 9 is on a blue card with the photographer’s imprint on the right hand side; its title “Gap Lura (*sic*)” is inscribed in the bottom of the left hand side print and it is the same card that is shown in Figure 8(d). The photos are albumen prints as well. Figure 10 shows what is on the back of the stereograph shown in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows the back of one of the earliest *Stereographs* produced by Kitch & Co. Note the amount of advertising and other information provided, and especially the graphic image of a camera on a tripod set outdoors. Two Kitch & Co. local newspaper advertisements containing this identical graphic (and most of the advertising and information content on the above card) were





*Courtesy of a Private Collector.*

**Figure 9.** The front of an early stereographic card by G B D Kitch & Co. (trading as Eclipse Studio) titled “Gap Lura” (*sic*).

published in November 1891 (Kitch & Co. 1891) and January 1892 (Kitch & Co. 1892a). This advertisement did not appear again in this form. So this *Stereograph* can be confidently said to have been produced before 1892.

A *Stereograph* in the Local Studies Collection of the Blue Mountains City Council Springwood Library has an imprint of the NSW Coat of Arms on its back side with a specific reference to the Earl of Jersey, Governor of NSW (15 January 1891 to 2 March 1893; Clune & Turner 2009, pp.352-361). It is known that Kitch took photographs of the Vice Regal visit to Katoomba in April 1892 (Anonymous 1892a). A number of newspaper advertisements by Kitch & Co. (Eclipse Studio) in the *Katoomba Times* between August and December 1893 use the NSW Coat of Arms and the term

“By Special Appointment to the Earl of Jersey” (Kitch & Co. 1893c,d,e).

Therefore this stereographic card can be dated to around 1892 or later. However as late as 1894 newspaper advertising by Kitch & Co. was still using

“By Special Appointment to the Earl of Jersey”

and the Vice Regal Coat of Arms (Kitch & Co. 1894) (see [Figure 6](#)).

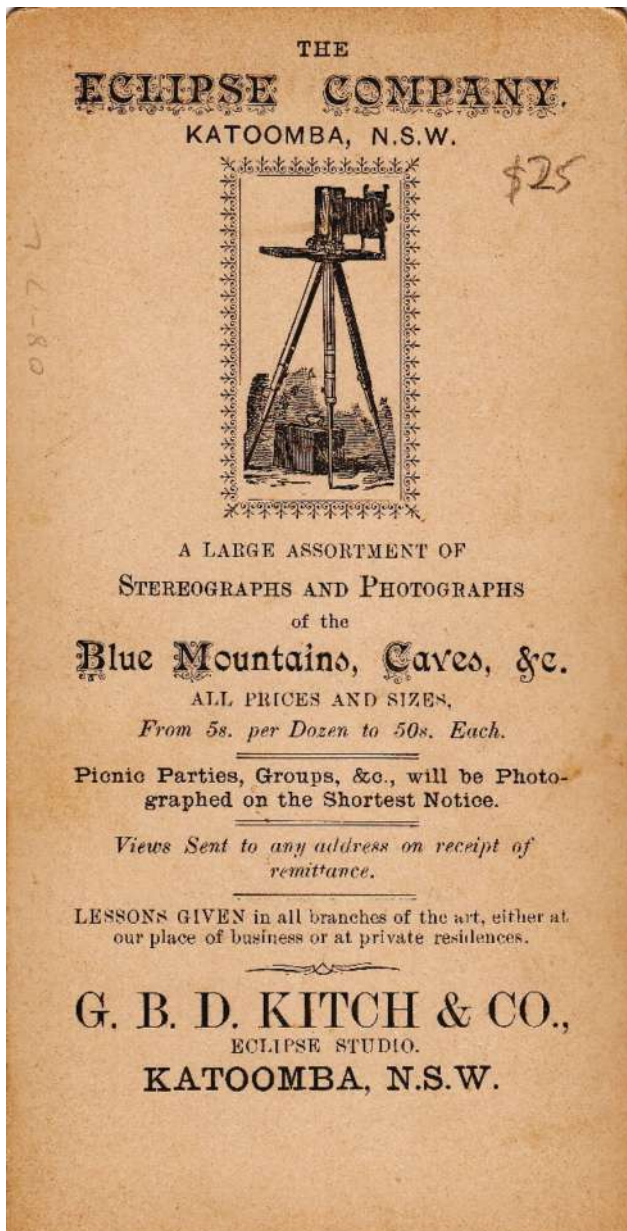
No *Stereographs* have been located from the Sunny Corner period (mid-1880s–1889).

### 3.1.2 Cabinet Cards

Eight *Cabinet* cards by Kitch and his studios likely spanning the whole Katoomba period (1889–1913) have been identified and sighted. Like the stereographs, the mounts of the *Cabinet* cards are in different colours (cream, dark mauve and buff) and the photographer’s imprint can be on either the front or the back. Unlike the stereographs the *Cabinet* cards have bevelled edges (usually in gold). Photographs were mounted onto cards in both landscape or portrait orientation and vary in size.

At least three Kitch & Co. *Cabinet* cards are considered to be of the period 1889-1900; all of those cards are of landscape views in a portrait orientation. One cream-coloured card is of Weeping Rock, Leura and the photograph almost covers the whole card (see [Figure 11\(a\)](#)). Note the title and photographer inscriptions “Weeping Rock Leura” and “Kitch” respectively on the albumen print. The photographer’s imprint on the back of the card is “G. B. D. Kitch and Co.” with the NSW Coat of Arms and the term “By Special Appointment to the Earl of Jersey” is present. However it is different from the “Lord Jersey” stereograph mentioned in [Figure 6](#) above





*Courtesy of a Private Collector.*

**Figure 10.** The back of an early stereographic card by G B D Kitch & Co. (and The Eclipse Company) that is the same as for Figure 9.

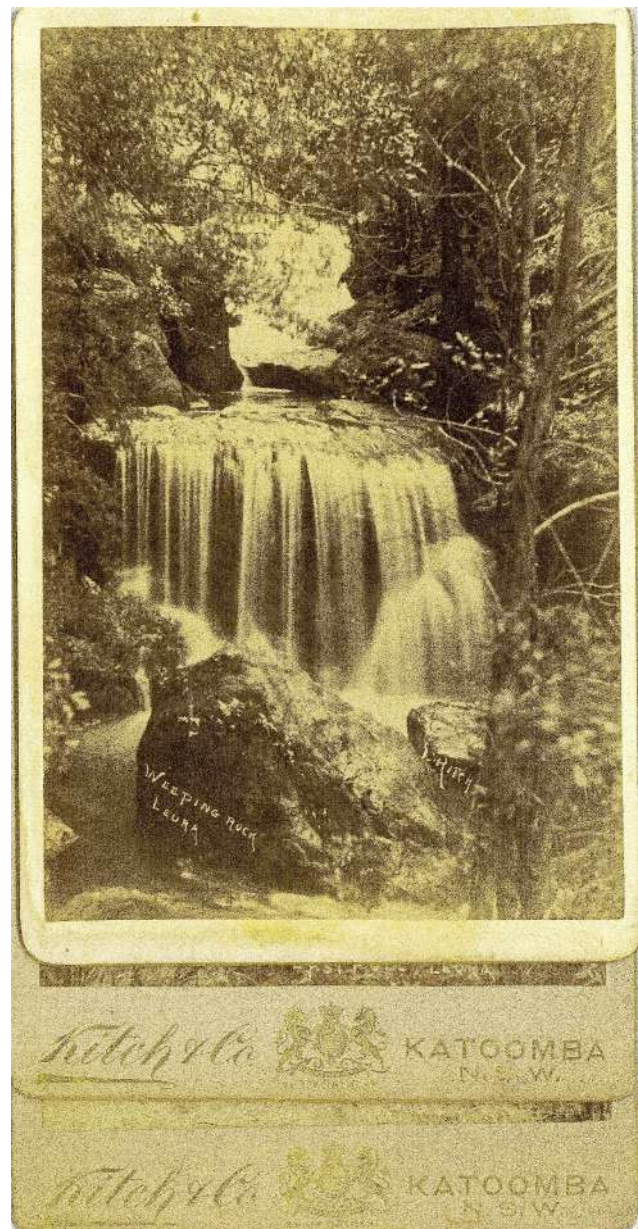
in that the initials "V." and "R." are missing from the Coat of Arms.

### 3.1.3 Cartes de Visite

To date only one *Carte de visite* by George Kitch has been found. It has been described already in the section on Sunny Corner located in this Part 2 and is shown in Figures 3 & 4.

### 3.1.4 Other Card Photographs

There are a number of other card photographs that have been identified which are larger than the *Cabinet* card formats (see Appendix 2). These cards are of varying sizes but none appear



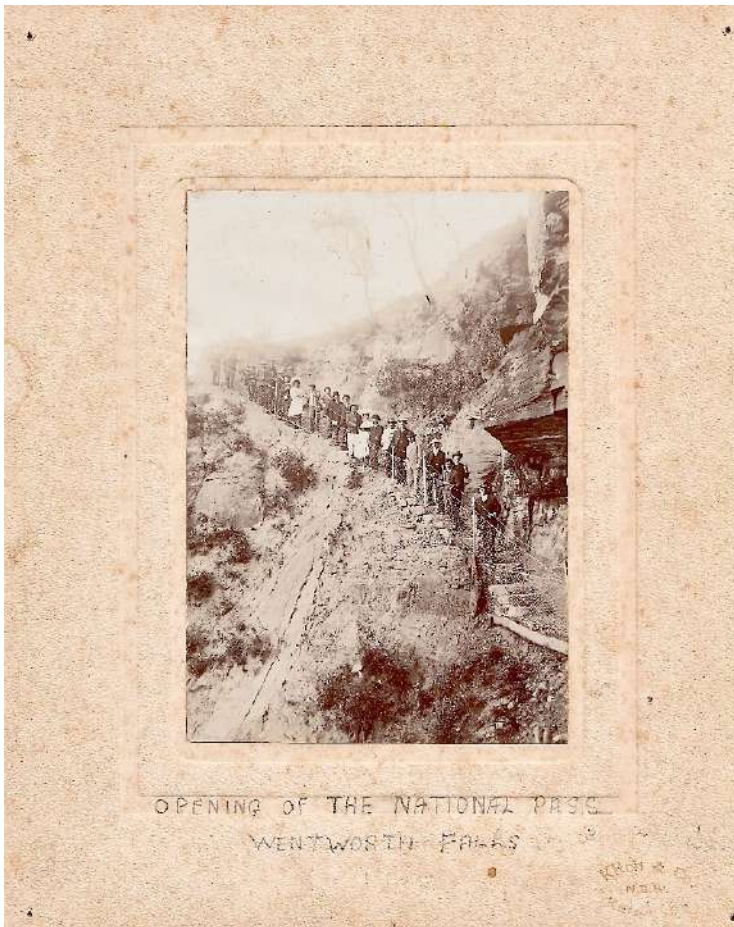
*Courtesy of the Blue Mountains City Council  
Local Studies Springwood*

**Figure 11.** Top to Bottom (a)-(c): samples of different types of Cabinet cards by Kitch & Co.

to be of any of the sizes that were commonly used by Europeans (Lavédrine 2009, p.120) nor those used by the Americans (Gilbert 1980, p.173). A number of these and larger formats have been found in various photographic collections.

In the Photographs Collections of the Blue Mountains Historical Society there are two other interesting card photographs of medium size that record the official opening of the National Pass at Wentworth Falls in March 1908 (Anonymous 1908). The photographs are on brown coloured mounts and one of the images is orientated in a portrait format while the other is in a landscape





**Figure 12.** A non-standard sized card photograph by the Kitch & Co. Studio of the official opening of the National Pass in Wentworth Falls in March 1908. Note the Photographer's faint wetstamp on the card mount in the bottom right hand corner.

format. The cards are of the same size and overall format. The images are gelatin silver prints rather than albumen prints, and there is a wetstamp of the Kitch & Co. Studio on the bottom right corner of both mounts. The card with the portrait orientated image is shown in [Figure 12](#). It is inscribed at the bottom of the mount in ink "Opening of the National Pass Wentworth Falls" that probably was added in a later contemporary hand.

### 3.2 Photographic Prints and Albums

A lot of Kitch's photographs taken in his Katoomba period up to around 1900 appear as loose leaved prints of various sizes but many are pasted into various photo albums or on stiff album sheets. All of these photographs and the albums appear to be souvenirs of visits to the Blue Mountains. Most of the images appear to be landscape views but a few portraits have

survived. Many of the photographs appear to be albumen prints that show signs of fading. Often the prints have titles and the photographer's name "Kitch & Co" inscribed on them while some are even dated.

Unfortunately only a small number of portraits seem to have survived. Since a lot would have been in the form of *Cartes de visite* and *Cabinet* cards or even larger prints, then these are most likely to be still hidden away in family albums. So far few actual complete albums by Kitch or his Studio have been located.

#### 3.2.1 Paper Prints

Few individual photographic prints by Kitch or his Studios have been found although there is evidence from loose photo album pages and reproduced images in various collections that plenty were produced. For example there are a number of copies and reproductions of Kitch & Co. prints in the Blue Mountains Historical Society Photographs Collections that are from unknown sources.

However by the mid-1890s albumen paper was being displaced by other more improved types of printing papers such as silver bromide, many of which were faster (in development) and more stable. Printing-out Papers were displacing albumen papers during the 1890s. In using Printing-out Papers

"the image is formed by the action of light alone and does not require chemical developing ... the image is contact printed in sunlight." and they "came pre-sensitised offering an advantage over albumen papers which had to be sensitised by hand before use" (Kennel, Waggoner & Carver-Kubik 2010, p.47).

Baker & Rouse in Australia were already advertising various makes of bromide photographic printing papers by 1893 (Baker & Rouse 1893, pp.35-36). Later as paper for printing photographs improved, contact printing was possible with artificial light such as gaslight (Gernsheim 1955, pp.286-7).



### 3.2.2 Albums

Most of the photographic prints by Kitch and his Studios have been identified from photographic albums. So far six albums containing such prints have been located in State and national collections, historical societies, private collections and even one in New Zealand. All but the New Zealand album have been physically sighted.

A presentation album in the Blue Mountains Historical Society collection was given to the Katoomba identity and local businessman George Peacock and his wife. To date it is the only album known that contains only Kitch prints and it was probably compiled by the Kitch Studio. It is described in more detail below.

The most comprehensive set of prints by Kitch & Co. is in a single album that was identified in 2013 by a Blue Mountains private art gallery. That album is of Blue Mountains views, 22 prints by Kitch & Co. and 32 of other scenes by various other photographers and all were exhibited and offered for sale (Day Fine Art 2014). Most of the Kitch & Co. images were identified by the gallery as having been taken around 1890 while two are dated between 1880 and 1890. Fortunately the gallery reprinted the images in the form of a catalogue and identified all of the images as albumen prints which have been physically sighted. They are of various sizes and are mounted on both sides of the stiff album cards (49.5 x 38 cm). Sizes of the prints varied considerably from 17.8 x 11 cm to 26.5 x 35.7 cm indicating that some enlargement of the images had taken place as the size of a whole glass plate negative is around 24 x 14 cm (8½ x 6½ inches).

### 3.2.3 Mr. & Mrs. Peacock Presentation Album and Other Testimonial Albums

Mr. A.L. Peacock was a Katoomba businessman and lessee of The Carrington Hotel from 1902 until about 1911 (Anonymous 1912c; Low 1991, pp.37-38). Among other local community involvement, Peacock was also a member of the Katoomba Liberal Reform Association and its President in 1911 (Anonymous (1911b)). By the time he left Katoomba in late 1911 Peacock was a well respected Blue Mountains identity having promoted the advancement of the Municipality (Rotary Club of Katoomba 1982, p.192;

Armitage 1998, p.40) and served on the Katoomba Municipal Council (Low n.d.).

In the Blue Mountains Historical Society collection there is a beautiful small album that was presented by Mr. Timbrell to Mr. Peacock on behalf of the Katoomba Liberal League on 28 February 1912 at a social event in Katoomba following their farewell from Katoomba in late 1911 (Anonymous, 1912i). Mrs. Peacock did not attend this event.

It is a specially produced album containing an illuminated address on the first inside page and then followed by 25 photographs of mostly scenic views of the Blue Mountains region. The album itself is of a medium size (22 x 19.5 cm) and has specially made hard black covers and contains 25 stiff cardboard leaves with one gelatin silver print to a page. The title page is inscribed in gold lettering

“Presented to Mr. & Mrs. Peacock, (Presidents). By The Members of Katoomba Liberal League. With Good Wishes.”



*Courtesy of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.*

**Figure 13.** The image “At the Carrington” from the Peacock Presentation Album containing photographs by Kitch & Co.

One of the photographs is a wonderful image of Katoomba people gathered in front of The Carrington Hotel for a group photo following “afternoon tea” especially given by the Peacocks (Figure 13). The photograph was taken on 18 October 1911.

There is evidence of other testimonial albums containing views produced by Kitch & Co. such

as the presentation album of views during the valedictory social for Rev. Laverty (Anonymous 1903a,b) and to Mr. A.J. Shipley (assistant operator at Katoomba Post Office) for his valedictory in May 1900 (Anonymous 1900a). However these testimonial albums have not been located.

### 3.3 Large Retouched Portraits of Katoomba Mayors

As the photographic processes improved around the world from the 1880s onwards larger portraits became possible mainly by enlarging (for example the *Cabinet* cards were followed by *Panel* cards and then *Imperial* cards; see also Appendix 2. These larger portraits then often required hand retouching work of negatives (Welling 1976, p.65; Gilbert 1980, pp.96-97). An extension of this process was the hand colouring of prints and other retouching work that began with the early photographic processes and continued on to silver gelatin prints in the early 1900s (Welling 1976, p.31; Baldwin & Jurgens 2009, p.52; Marien 2012, p.39). It is evident that these practices, especially for portraiture, also occurred in Australia (Newton 1988, pp.39 & 48; Willis 1988a, pp.47-48; Annear 2015, p.291).

A good example of retouching work undertaken by Kitch & Co. is shown in [Figure 1](#) (Part 1 of this paper). This is a large black and white photographic portrait of George Kitch that has been “touched-up” by the hand of an unknown colourist possibly involving pencil, chalk and maybe even guache. The print is unusual as it is in a large oval mount. The portrait is on thick hard board (possibly a ‘Bainbridge’ type board) over which is another heavy thick hard board with the oval mount. Unfortunately some degradation of the image has occurred over time. Despite this deterioration the work has been beautifully rendered in monochrome. Not much is known about this work nor the actual techniques used but it is part of a series of similar portraits of early Katoomba Mayors that were produced by Kitch & Co. Ten of them are held by the Blue Mountains Historical Society and each was produced in the same manner and size with dates ranging from 1890 (Councillor Goyder) through to 1907 (Alderman Duff).

The exact date of the execution of these portraits is unknown but the last of the 10 portraits has an inscribed date of 1907 (Alderman Duff). Except for that of George Kitch, the portraits have the same wetstamp “Kitch & Co” on the front of the bottom right corner of the mount and they are all mounted the same way so it is likely that they were all produced at the same time. The wetstamp is different to those shown in [Figure 14](#). Moreover it appears there is a reference to these portraits in the *Blue Mountain Echo* which reported on the opening of the new Katoomba Town Hall in January 1912 where it refers to the furnishing of the Council Chamber with portraits of past mayors of the Municipality of Katoomba (Anonymous 1912b). So it is likely these portraits were produced sometime between 1907 and 1911.

### 3.4 Other Types of Photographic Images

No lantern slides by Kitch or his Studio have been found yet, however quite early in his photographic career Kitch did contemplate giving lantern lecture tours to advertise the “sights of Katoomba” throughout the colony. He approached the Katoomba Municipal Council for some monetary support but was turned down (Anonymous 1895b).

No tintypes, negative glass plates nor negative celluloid film produced by Kitch or his Studio have been located to date.

## 4. OTHER RELATED PHOTOGRAPHIC ACTIVITIES BY GEORGE KITCH AND HIS STUDIOS

### 4.1 The Kitch & Co. Studio and Photographic Picture Postcards

In the early 1900s postcards became a favourite medium for the Kitch & Co. Studio and photographic picture postcards were produced in large quantities. These days much of Kitch & Co.’s photographic images are available only as postcards.

Postcards have been in use in Australia since the mid-1870s and closely followed the introduction of postal regulations in Britain, Europe and the USA (Cook 1986, pp.19-28; Klamkin 1974, pp.24-37; Range c.1980, pp.85-92). Early Australian postcards were issued by the separate

colonial state governments which had responsibility for postal activities and the printing of private postcards was not allowed until 1898 (Cook 1986, pp.25-26). The new Federal Government assumed responsibility for postal services in 1901 but did not actually issue Commonwealth of Australia stamps until 1913 (Breckon 2013).

In Australia postcards were initially used for brief and fast communication as postal delivery in the 1900s was provided at least twice daily including in the Blue Mountains region (TMITGBM&JC 1897-8, pp.126-127; Phillips n.d., p.58). Postcards were also used as a way of promotion by various government agencies such as state tourist offices. Later they were used widely for advertising. Postcards became cheap to buy and post (less than ordinary letters) (Cook 1986, pp.19-28).

Postcards of the Blue Mountains region have a particularly interesting history largely because of the tourism activity there. Most of the photographers active in the Blue Mountains during the early 1900s produced photographic-based postcards and the Kitch & Co. Studio was one of the leading providers.

Virtually from the outset of the legal use of “Divided-Back” postcards in Australia in 1905, the Kitch & Co. Studio started to promote the sale of them. The first advertisement of postcards by the Studio seems to appear, appropriately, in a guide produced by the The Katoomba & Leura Tourist Association (K&LTA 1905, p.xliv). Subsequently the company advertised them in the local newspapers (e.g. Kitch & Co. 1905b, 1909c), tourist guides (e.g. Kitch & Co., n.d.(a)) and directories (e.g. Wilson 1910-1911, p.70). By around 1909 and 1910 the Kitch & Co. establishment was calling itself the “Post Card Depot” (Wilson 1910-1911, p.70; Kitch & Co., n.d.(a), p.55).

Detailed information on postcard production, numbers and types by the Kitch & Co. Studio is not available but judging by what is in circulation today the Studio produced many of their own cards of Blue Mountains’ views, town scenes and events. Also it appears that all the Studio postcards are of the “Divided-Back” type as no

Undivided-Back types have been found (see Glossary). Most of the postcards are photomechanical reproductions such as half-tone prints that were printed overseas. However there are also a small number of real photographic cards (mainly gelatin silver prints). The postcards are mainly in black & white (or some other monochrome colour such as green or blue) but there are some that are printed in colour (chromolithography was commonly used) and a few are even hand coloured.

By around 1909 the Kitch & Co. publicity was stating the availability of

“Post Cards of every description: The Mountain View Post Cards a Specialty” (Kitch and Co. n.d.(a)).

However it is likely that the Studio also stocked and sold other photographer’s post cards as well as a Kitch & Co. wetstamp has been found on some post cards produced by other postcard makers (see [Figure 14](#)).

In the Blue Mountains there were many postcard producers competing with the Kitch & Co. Studio (Kay, 1985, pp.15-17), including local photographers such as Harry Phillips (Katoomba), Rogers Brothers or Rodgers Bros (Katoomba), Albert Fowler (Leura), Edward J. Cooke (Jenolan Caves) and Austin Cockerton (Lithgow) as well as publishers that were not photographers such as Shiptons (Katoomba) and



Courtesy of a Private Collector.

**Figure 14.** Two examples of Kitch & Co. Studio “Divided-Back” postcards on different postcard stock and different versions of the Kitch & Co. wetstamp.



possibly W. Lowden (Lawson). Also competing were non-local postcard publishers many of which were Sydney-based such as Kerry & Co., Swain & Co. and Hall and Co., as well as a number of publishers from elsewhere in Australia.

The Kitch & Co. postcards feature many subjects but the most popular appear to be of Blue Mountains' waterfalls and street scenes. Many of the Kitch & Co. Studio early photographic images (taken by George Kitch) were recycled on postcards (viz: using the identical photographic titles, Studio's name and sometimes the photographer's name) but the inscriptions on them were often selectively cropped out to suite the view required (e.g. [Figure 15](#)).

#### 4.2 Amateur Photography and the Supply of Photographic Material by Kitch & Co

From the very beginning of Kitch's commercial photographic practice in Katoomba he was offering lessons in photography too (see [Figure 10](#)). This continued into the Kitch & Co. Studio's period in Katoomba after 1901. So offering lessons was an important part of Kitch's and his Studio's photographic practice.

Worldwide there was a rise in interest in amateur photography following the availability of the gelatin dry plate and smaller hand held cameras from the 1880s (Gernsheim 1955, p.311). Popular photography gained momentum after the patent, and introduction, of the Kodak brand camera in 1888 followed by the development of flexible celluloid roll film in 1889 (Coe & Gates 1977, pp.16-21; Gernsheim 1955, pp.291-296; Newhall 1982, p.130). Kodak's famous "Brownie" model camera was released in 1900 followed by many models of other hand cameras by various producers (Coe & Gates 1977, pp.22-29) and the term "snapshot" was coined to describe this type of popular photography. This world-wide interest in popular photography was mirrored in Australia.

From the 1890s in Australia there was increasing interest and involvement in photography by amateurs leading to the formation of photographic societies and organised exhibitions particularly in the Capital cities (Newton 1988, pp.77-79). Although the Blue Mountains did not



*Courtesy of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.*

**Figure 15.** A “real-photo” postcard by the Kitch & Co. Studio of the NSW Governor Sir Harry Rawson at the Carrington Hotel, Katoomba in 1907. Note the title, date and the photographer's name inscribed on the image.

have a photographic society during the 1890s (nor even in the early 1900s) it was only a relatively short train trip to Sydney where such societies existed. Indeed sightseers from Sydney were attracted to the Blue Mountains where, at this time, there was a growing tourism industry particularly around the Jenolan Caves (Horne 1994; Hamilton-Smith 2010). At the same time the photographic views trade in the Blue Mountains was taken up by well known Sydney-based photographers such as Charles Kerry, Henry King and John Paine (Newton 1988, pp.78-83; Snowden 1988, pp.143-148; Hamilton-Smith 2010, pp.5-28).

A Kitch advertisement in November 1891 refers to

“LESSONS GIVEN in the Art either at our place of Business or at private residences.”  
(Kitch & Co. 1891)

and that also appears on a lot of his card photographs of the early 1890s. Obviously lessons continued to be given into the early 1900s as there is one reported instance in the Sydney newspaper the *Evening News* of an un-named pupil of Kitch & Co. winning a medal in the photographic section of the Blue Mountains Agricultural, Horticultural, and Industrial Society Show in 1901 (Anonymous 1901b).

In January 1899 Kitch was offering free use of dark rooms to amateurs as well as photographic goods (Kitch & Co. 1899a) and this was repeated a year later

“Photographic Goods for Amateurs.” as well as “A dark room supplied free to Customers.” (Kitch & Co. 1900).

The Kitch & Co. Studio also sold photographic equipment and an advertisement in December 1909 includes

“Agents for Baker & Rouse Photographic Material” (Kitch & Co. 1909c),

and a little earlier there are two adverts promoting photographic supplies (and equipment) (Kitch and Co. (n.d.)(a)): one for J.H. Squire & Co. in King Street, Sydney and the other for Harringtons & Co., Ltd. in Sydney. Another advert in May 1912 mentions that

“Australian Kodak Photographic Supplies stocked.” as well as “A Free Dark Room for Amateurs.” (Kitch & Co. 1912).

[Harringtons was also an Australian company and based in Melbourne but it had offices in most of the capital cities (Newton 1988, p.69).]

### **4.3 The Promotion of Kitch’s (and his Studio’s) Photography and Involvement in Exhibitions**

Throughout his lifetime, Kitch took the opportunity to display and promote his own, and his Studio’s, photographic work. It appears to have been a personal interest and was rarely instigated by his Studio. He had regular displays of his work in the windows of his various shops, in local shows and bazaars, and at International Exhibitions. It is unknown if he was involved in any photographic societies but he is very rarely mentioned in *The Australasian Photo-Review*, an Australian photographic journal of the time.

There were other ways by which Kitch and his Studio promoted their photography business. For example by using Vice Regal patronage and by having photographic images and advertising published regularly in various newspapers, journals and guides on the Blue Mountains.

From the very beginning of Kitch’s photography practice in Katoomba it appears that he was regularly involved in local, and international exhibitions showing his photographic work. He also received various forms of patronage which will be discussed in more detail below.

#### **4.3.1 Photographic Exhibitions and Awards**

Kitch was involved regularly in exhibitions at local shows, bazaars and events in the Blue Mountains partly for promotional purposes. These were sometimes non-competitive where he displayed both views and portraits (Anonymous 1901a), and which were widely reported in the press (Anonymous 1901b, 1901c, p.15). He often had displays at the annual Katoomba Show (run by the Blue Mountains Agricultural, Horticultural & Industrial Society in its various guises as the Flower Show and Industrial Exhibition, Blue Mountain A. H. & I. Society Show or just the Katoomba Flower Show) and of which he was an active longtime member (Anonymous 1890b, 1901a) and he also displayed work on less formal occasions such as local bazaars in Katoomba (Anonymous 1891b).

There is little information available on Kitch & Co. exhibiting in state, national or international exhibitions with the exception of the Art Society in London (1890), the Chicago World Fair (1893) (Anonymous 1898b) and possibly the Queensland Industrial Exhibition (1909). He had some success at some of these exhibitions (Anonymous 1893a; Anonymous 1898b).

Soon after he started in photography, Kitch quickly established a reputation as a photographer (mainly in the landscape work of the Blue Mountains region) both in Australia and overseas. For example, he won first and third prizes in the Chicago Exhibition (World’s Fair) in 1893 for his landscapes (Anonymous 1893a,b, 1898b). He was in esteemed company as other Sydney photographers who won awards at this Exhibition included Charles Kerry (landscapes), Hubert Newman (portraiture) and the NSW Government Astronomer H.C. Russell (for photographs of the moon and the stellar world) (Anonymous 1893a; Newton 1988, p.50). This success was also reported more widely in Australian newspapers (Anonymous 1893a,d).

Earlier in 1890 it was reported that in London Kitch won the Art Society’s gold medal (Anonymous 1898b). However it is unknown if Kitch or his Studio participated further in any other international exhibitions after Chicago in 1893. Nevertheless in a 1905 advert a claim is made by Kitch & Co. that they

“Have gained more Prizes than any other firm in the State for Mountain Views.” (K&LTA 1905, p.xliv).

Some time after the Chicago success there was a lot of publicity in the Blue Mountain’s press leading up to the Queensland Industrial Exhibition being held in 1909 but there is little further information about whether Kitch was actually involved in it (Anonymous 1909c,d,e). Kitch & Co. were interested in sending work to this exhibition (Anonymous 1909f) however Kitch was in Bellingen (in the NSW Northern Rivers region) in May, June and July of that year (Anonymous 1909a,d). Immediately following this trip he and his daughter visited Queensland in August/September 1909, supposedly for a month’s holiday (Anonymous 1909i), but that visit coincided with the duration of the Queensland Exhibition (held during August) so Kitch may have visited it at some stage.

Kitch also had photographic work placed in collections (or received testimonials for his work) including from Her Majesty Queen Victoria (Anonymous 1898a; Anonymous 1911g), Harvard University, Cambridge USA (Anonymous 1898a), The Burlington, Chicago (Anonymous 1911g) and Lord Jersey (Governor of NSW 1891-1893) (Anonymous 1898a).

#### 4.3.2 Vice Regal Patronage

Vice Regal patronage was another way by which Kitch and his Studio promoted their photography business. Little has been written about Vice Regal patronage and photography in Australia, however some recognised Sydney photographers such as Charles Kerry and Hubert Newman often used Vice Regal endorsements in their promotions and advertising.

Vice Regal patronage may have been assumed by photographers once photographs were taken of the various State Governors, Governor-Generals, Royalty or their entourage and respective parties. However it is more likely that some sort of official approval or appointment would have been required for the use of such prestigious endorsements. One Sydney-based photographer who advertised in the Blue Mountains newspapers with Vice Regal endorsements was

Charles Kerry. For example in 1890 the Kerry & Jones advert carried the endorsement

“By Appointment to His Excellency Lord Carrington.” (Kerry & Jones 1890)

while eighteen months later operating as Kerry & Co. their advert carried the endorsement

“(By appointment to His Excellency, the Earl of Jersey).” (Kerry & Co. 1892).

George Kitch’s, and his Kitch & Co. Studio’s, Vice Regal endorsements (in both newspaper advertisements and on their various card photographs) are spread over a considerable number of years. The first advert carrying such an endorsement appears in the *Katoomba Times* in April 1892 and states

“By Special Appointment to His Excellency the Governor of N.S.W. (the Earl of Jersey)” (Kitch & Co. 1892b).

Lord Jersey’s departure from Katoomba after spending a few days there was reported locally in the press on 1 April 1892. However what is interesting about the report is that it goes on to state

“Before he went away he appointed Mr. Kitch his photographer, and a little more, he gave a considerable amount of practical patronage to our local artist.” (Anonymous 1892a) (see also [Figure 6](#)).

Lord Jersey was the NSW Governor during 1891-1893 (Clune & Turner 2009, pp.352-361) and therefore can be considered to be an early Kitch patron.

The next Governor to visit Katoomba was Sir Robert Duff who came on at least two occasions. Firstly, in December 1893 (Anonymous 1893c) and then in February 1894 (Anonymous 1894). However no evidence has been found in Kitch’s photographic practices at this time referring to Duff or any Vice Regal appointment.

On other occasions prior to the 1900s Kitch & Co. used a different graphic in newspaper advertising indicating Vice Regal patronage. This was in the form of a ‘Royal Crown’ and under it either the following words

“By Special Appointment” (Kitch & Co. 1895) or

“By Special Appointment to His Excellency, the Governor” (Kitch & Co. 1896).



These particular crown graphics did not appear in advertising again after 1900.

The Australian Governor-General following Australia's declaration of Federation was the Earl of Hopetoun (Governor-General during 1901-1903; MacDougall 1996, p.3192) and in May 1904 he and his party visited Katoomba (Anonymous (1904a,b). While an endorsement by the Governor-General also does not appear on Kitch & Co.'s photographs or in advertisements of the time, reference by the local newspaper was made to the Governor-General and his party having a group portrait taken at *Lilianfels* by W M Leaney for Kitch & Co. (Anonymous 1904b).

It is also reported that in Queen Victoria's Jubilee year George Kitch sent a series of photographs of Blue Mountains' views to Her Majesty through Lord Jersey and received her thanks for the photographs (Anonymous 1898b).

#### 4.3.3 Photographic Images in Newspapers, Journals and Guide Books

It has been already mentioned that George Kitch and the Studio advertised regularly over the years in local newspapers and guide books on the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves. Both Kitch and his Studio also published their photographic work more widely, frequently in various state newspapers and Australian journals.

Kitch's photographs first appeared in journals and magazines probably because their weekly and monthly editions tended to use better quality paper and inks than newspapers. Often the images appeared with articles on the Blue Mountains usually promoting scenery and tourism. One of the first Kitch photographs so published was by the *Illustrated Sydney News* and it was of Minnie-Haha Falls, North Katoomba (Anonymous (1891a).

The first local newspaper photograph of Kitch's work appears in *The Mountaineer* in 1899 but the image is indistinct as there is considerable bleeding of the ink into the paper (Kitch & Co. 1899a); this image is the same as that reproduced in [Figure 16](#) which was produced in 1902. Blue Mountains Newspapers did not start to print Kitch photographs regularly until the early 1900s and improvement in the reproduction quality

continued to occur up to about 1910 (Anonymous 1909g,h) while some newspapers from other areas also printed them such as the Parramatta-based *The Cumberland Argus* (TCA&FA 1907). The culmination of Kitch & Co.'s newspaper illustrations occurred in the *Blue Mountain Echo's* Christmas Supplement of 1909 where 16 of their Blue Mountains' images were published together with a series of images on the Blue Mountains by a number of other well known Blue Mountains photographers (Kitch & Co. 1909c).

On the other hand the Kitch & Co. photographs that were reproduced in various souvenir publications and guide books published on the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves regions in the early 1900s are of a much better quality (e.g. Carrington Hotel, Katoomba (1903) and TMITGBM&JC 1897-8 and other editions).

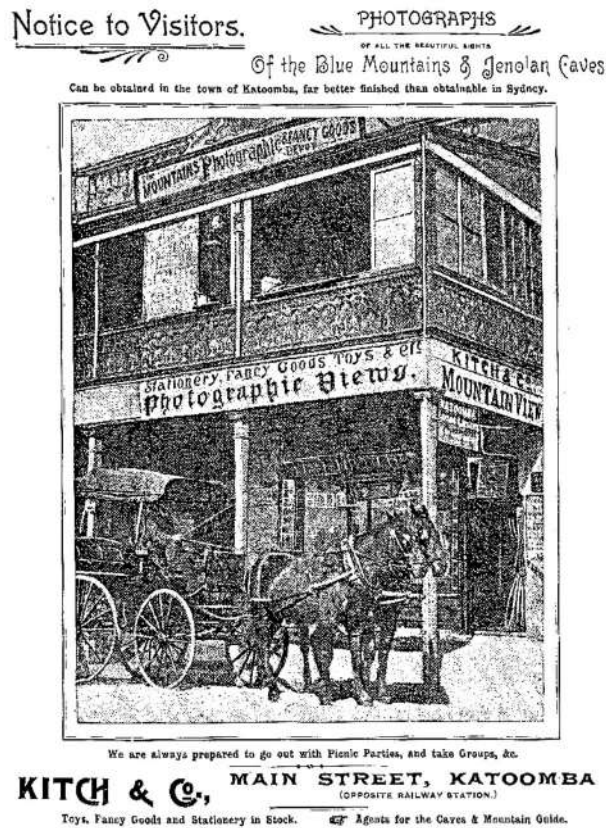
#### 4.3.4 Photographs Advertising the Kitch & Co. Studio Premises and Premises Locations

There are known to exist at least seven different photographic reproductions of the Kitch & Co. Studio shop front from advertisements printed over a ten year period dating from the late 1890s onward viz: TMITGBM&JC 1897-8, p.73; Kitch & Co. (1898); *Argus* 1902, p.29; K&LTA 1905, p.xliv; TK&BMTG n.d., p.54; Kitch & Co. 1909a, 1909c, p.3).

An example is shown in [Figure 16](#). These photographs provide some useful information about the business and premises used, and deserve closer research.

Commercial photography was always an important part of Kitch's early business activities in Katoomba. The first advertisement by Kitch & Co. (operating as The Eclipse Photo Company) appeared in *The Katoomba Times* on 25 May 1889 (Kitch & Co. 1889a) and stated that it was "opening a studio" and on 8 June a second advertisement (Kitch & Co. 1889b) stated that the studio had opened ([Figure 5](#)).

However there is no street information about the first location of The Eclipse Studio in the advertisements but it is known that it was opposite the Oddfellows' Hall (see [Figure 5](#)); based on an early undated and unidentified



Courtesy of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.  
**Figure 16.** An advertisement printed in 1902 for the Kitch & Co. Studio containing a halftone image of the Kitch & Co. shop in Main Street Katoomba.

tourist map, the Oddfellows' Hall in Katoomba was located in Cascade Street opposite Murri Street. There are also newspaper reports that place the Oddfellows' Hall at the top end of Cascade Street near Bathurst Road (later known as Main Street) (Anonymous 1889a; Municipal District of Katoomba 1890), and not far from Katoomba Station. While another newspaper report (Anonymous 1889b) seems to place the "Eclipse Photo Studio" (the newspaper type is indistinct) in Cascade Street Katoomba too.

Early in the operation of the photographic business, Kitch & Co. was also advertising itself as a stationery business (Kitch & Co. 1891) as well as a fancy goods repository (Anonymous 1891c) in Main Street Katoomba. However 1893 saw Kitch & Co. move into new more commodious premises in the Marsden's Buildings in Main Street (Kitch & Co. 1893b), opposite the railway station. In July 1899 Kitch & Co. opened a portrait studio (probably within the existing premises in the Marsden Building)

and it was called "The Eclipse Studio" (Kitch & Co. 1899c). The business was still called "The Eclipse Studio" in 1905 (The Eclipse Studio 1905a,b).

What is remarkable about Kitch's early business activities in Katoomba is that during the 1890s period when the business was just in its infancy it traded through a period of economic uncertainty including a major depression that hit the eastern states most severely and lasted until the mid to late 1890s (Clark 1981, pp.90-100; Murphy 1982, pp.99-100; Kingston 2006, pp.93-97). Certainly the Depression didn't go unnoticed in the Blue Mountains with the local newspapers reporting on it (e.g. Anonymous 1892b; Haynes 1892; Anonymous 1895c) but it is unknown what affect the Depression had on Kitch and his business.

There too is little information available about who worked in the Kitch photographic business during the 1890s, or how many employees there were. However in April 1899 Kitch & Co. advertised for a

"Boy, as apprentice to Photographic business" (Kitch & Co. 1899b)

which was around the time that their new portrait studio was opened. But it is very likely that during the greater part of this period only the Kitch family members were involved in the business.

By the time George Kitch offered Walter Leaney a partnership in Kitch & Co. the company was noted in Katoomba as being photographers, stationers and fancy goods dealers. In the Notice of Partnership in the newspaper *The Mountaineer* it is stated that there is a great demand on the business but also it stated that Kitch will

"be able to maintain his HIGH STANDARD OF PHOTOGRAPHS, and keep up with the science of the art." (Kitch 1900) (see [Figure 17](#)).

Leaney had a business background and previously ran a grocery business in the Sydney suburb of Darlington (Anonymous 1900d) but there is no mention of a background in commercial photography.

During the 1900s Kitch & Co. continued to diversify their business activities while

maintaining its previous photographic and other business activities. By September 1905 there were at least two shops as an advertisement stated

“Our Business Establishments are both in MAIN STREET” (Kitch & Co. 1905c).

In May 1911 Kitch bought the premises (the Marsden Building) and the land in Main Street Katoomba where he had been a tenant for the past 13 years and had

“carried on a successful newsagency, fancy goods, stationery and photographic business.” (Anonymous 1911c).

NOTICE OF PARTNERSHIP.  
**G. KITCH** intimates that he has taken into partnership **MR. WALTER H. LEANEY**, a gentleman of considerable business experience, and with his assistance will be able to comply with the great demand on his business. He will be able to maintain his **HIGH STANDARD OF PHOTOGRAPHS**, and keep up with the science of the art. Customers may rely on the stock of **TOYS, STATIONERY, FANCY GOODS, &c.**, being kept up-to-date, and patrons' requirements and conveniences fully met. All daily and weekly papers, **MOUNTAINEER, &c.**, delivered.  
**KITCH & Co.**  
 PHOTOGRAPHERS, STATIONERS,  
 FANCY GOODS DEALERS, &c.  
 Main Street, Katoomba.  
 N.B.—Special lines for the Festive Season.

**Figure 17.** Notice of Partnership offered to Walter Leaney by George Kitch in the *Katoomba Times*, 14 December 1900 (Kitch 1900).

However it is reported in 1914 that Kitch & Co., Ltd. under the management of Walter Leaney had a branch shop in Waratah Street, Katoomba where a Miss L Bogus was “hostess” (Anonymous 1914c). It is unknown if this shop was ever part of the original Kitch & Co. business prior to the business being sold in late 1913.

A few individual photographs, that are not part of any advertising, also have been identified showing the Kitch & Co. premises (with its shop front) and placing it in Main Street Katoomba; some date from the mid-1890s.

#### 4.4 Kitch as a Travelling Photographer and his Widespread Travelling

George Kitch travelled extensively and took numerous holidays away from the Blue Mountains, particularly after Walter Leaney had joined Kitch & Co. in 1901 and started managing the business. On many of his trips away Kitch was accompanied by his daughter Lavinia, his wife Eliza, or the both of them. The trips were often made largely for health reasons but also for pleasure and business.

Kitch travelled to Northern NSW and Queensland a number of times during the 1900s and he visited Bellingen at least three times. He first visited Bellingen in September/October 1902 when he made a business arrangement with the local newspaper *The Raleigh Sun* to accept orders for his photographs taken in the district (Kitch 1902). He also was reported to be away from Katoomba in September/October of 1903 although his exact whereabouts is not known (Anonymous 1903c,d).

In June 1904 he was reported going on

“his annual trip to the northern Rivers ... partly for pleasure and partly for business.” (Anonymous 1904c)

and was in Bellingen again during June and September of that year having taken numerous portraits as well as some local views (Anonymous 1904d). He was also working with the local photographer, a Mr. Piggott, where he exhibited his landscape work at Piggott’s studio in Bellingen and also undertook some portrait photography for the locals (Anonymous 1904e). Kitch continued to offer his pictures taken there for sale to the locals from a Mr. Murphy at the Exchange Hotel in Bellingen well after he had left the region (Anonymous 1904h). By this visit Kitch seems to have made a reputation as a photographer there as he was recognised by the newspaper *The Raleigh Sun* as

“...the well-known photographer...” (Anonymous 1904e).

He visited the NSW Northern Rivers region again in May and June of 1909 (Anonymous 1909a).

Interestingly Kitch & Co. appeared to have had a studio in Bangalow [c.10 km SW of Byron Bay] in 1908 where it is listed by the Sands Directory but



only for that year (Sands' 1908, p.10A-11A). Bangalow is also in NSW but c.190 km further north of Bellingen. Nothing else is known about this arrangement.

In June and July of 1910 Kitch and his daughter sailed to New Zealand and the South Sea Islands taking their cameras with them (Anonymous 1910a; Bloome 1910). This trip included visits to Fiji, Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand, and Kitch actually sent a postcard to Katoomba from Fiji (Anonymous 1910b). Kitch with his daughter wrote a lengthy article that was published in the local *Blue Mountain Echo* newspaper after their return home (Kitch 1910) and his photographic views went on display and sale at the Kitch & Co. Studio on their return to Katoomba (Anonymous 1910c). Sadly, none of the photographs of this trip have been located.

Queensland was also a popular destination that Kitch visited, first in 1909 (Anonymous 1909i) then again in July 1911 but this time to tour the coast as far as Cairns (Anonymous 1911d). In between these two visits the Kitch & Co. business was advertised for sale in Brisbane (Anonymous 1910e) so his visits may have been related to this. In June 1912 Kitch with his wife Eliza, and accompanied by their daughter Lavinia, travelled by ship to tour Queensland for a few months ostensibly for George Kitch to recuperate from illness (Anonymous 1912g,h) and in June 1913 Kitch and daughter were there again 'wintering in Queensland' (Anonymous 1913b).

Many of these trips were undertaken during the winter months and it appears Kitch was away from the Blue Mountains as much for his health as for taking photographic, civic and business opportunities. Health and illness seemed to have plagued him most of his life. He was discharged from the army in England for health reasons (British Army Service Records 1760-1915) and then in NSW he had an undisclosed serious throat ailment in the mid-1870s that required surgery (Anonymous 1914b). He seems to have been unwell for a lot of the early 1900s particularly towards the end of his life (Anonymous 1899, 1909k, 1912e,f, 1914a).

On occasions Kitch travelled for civic reasons. For example he visited Tasmania and Victoria in March 1913 (Anonymous 1913a). Although it appears that he was on holidays over there he was also visiting Launceston and Melbourne as part of a fact finding tour, gathering information on the tramway systems and the electricity arrangements of Tasmania and Victoria for Katoomba Municipal Council which was interested in installing an electrical system. There appear to be no reports relating to Kitch's photographic activities during these visits.

In regard to travelling photographers Kitch does not figure in the research directories compiled of photographers working in Tasmania (Long 1995), nor in South Australia (Robinson 2007), nor even in New Zealand (Knight 1971). This is not to say that he did not take images in these places, it just may mean that no such images have been found yet. However the lack of entries in the directories does imply that he was not considered to be specifically working as a photographer in those Australian states or New Zealand, and therefore was not identified as a travelling photographer.

In 1914 George Kitch, with his family, took what would be his final trip back to England and that for a lengthy stay after he had sold his business in December 1913 and retired from his civic duties in January 1914 (Anonymous 1914a). They sailed to England in March 1914 and on the return voyage back to Sydney George Kitch was taken ill and he died shortly later in a friend's home in the Annandale suburb of Sydney on 11 December 1914 aged 70 (Anonymous 1914b).

#### 4.5 Kitch's Publishing Business

After 1900 Kitch & Co. undertook a number of publishing projects that included a guide to the Blue Mountains and a view book of the Blue Mountains. These publications were the small photo view book called the *Souvenir of Our Visit to the Picturesque Blue Mountains N.S.W.* (Kitch & Co. n.d.(b), n.d.(c), n.d.(d)) (Figure 18) and a pocket-sized guide *The Katoomba and Blue Mountain Guide Tourist Guide* (Kitch & Co. n.d.(a)).

The small photo view book the *Souvenir of Our Visit* was likely to have been published around late 1902. At least three different versions of this book (all by different printers) have been identified but none provide a publication date. The most elaborate edition (Kitch & Co. n.d.(b)) has 23 halftone monochrome images (an off black colour) that are contained within a cover of dark burgandy crinkled-card wrapper tied with a ribbon at its spine. The size of the book pages are 12.4 x 18.6 cm with the images varying in size but are on average approximately 9.0 x 13.2 cm. Each image is printed one to a page. The book was printed by Mountaineer Print, Katoomba and photos are credited to Kitch & Co., Katoomba. *The Mountaineer* newspaper on 9 January 1903 reported

“The printing of a book of views of the Mountains issued by Messrs Kitch & Co., a work which was entrusted to this office, is everywhere highly spoken of. The views are printed in photo black on fine art paper.” (Anonymous 1903e).

However a few months later in the *Blue Mountain Gazette* an advert by Kitch & Co. stated

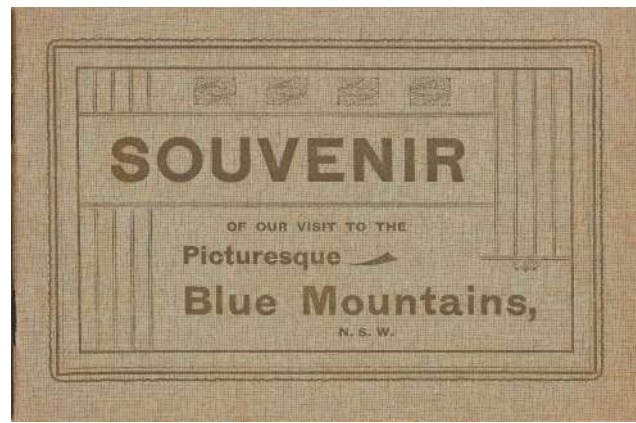
“Book of 24 (*sic*) Views, Souvenir of the Mountains, 1<sup>s</sup>[1 shilling]” (Kitch & Co. 1903).

So it is highly likely that *The Mountaineer* newspaper was referring to this more elaborate first edition and in addition stating

“... a work which was entrusted to this office...” (Anonymous 1903e).

Kay gave an approximate publication date of 1905 for this publication (Kay 1985, p.17) which is incorrect.

A second version of the *Souvenir of Our Visit* book (Kitch & Co. n.d.(c)) is the same size and has a light olive green wrapper (as a cover) with the same 22 images as in the above edition but image 23 from the above elaborate edition is absent from this edition. The images are printed in halftone black and white but are on both sides of the pages. It was printed by Blue Mountains Echo Print (presumably the *Blue Mountains Echo* newspaper). The third version of this view book (Kitch & Co. n.d.(d)) is again the same size as the olive-covered one but has a red wrapper cover instead. It still contains the same 22 halftone black and white images printed on both



*Courtesy of a Private Collector.*

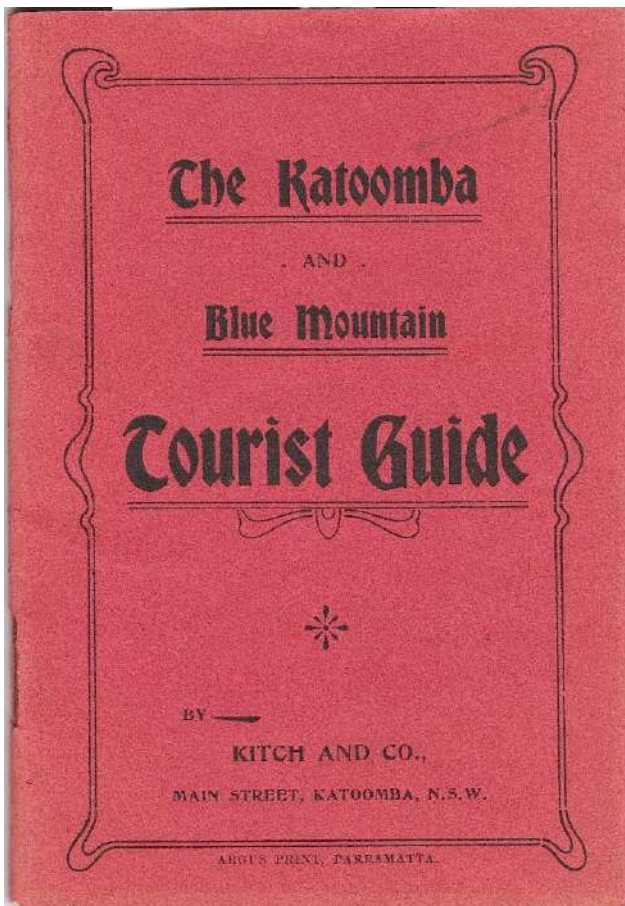
**Figure 18.** The cover of one of three known versions of the first photographic view book published by Kitch & Co. around 1902.

ides of the pages but this version was printed by “Cumberland Argus” Print, Parramatta.

The pocket-sized (13.5 x 9.0 cm) guide *The Katoomba and Blue Mountain Guide Tourist Guide* contains 63 pages and has information on train timetables and ticketing, tourist maps and upper Blue Mountains’ sights reproduced in halftone (see [Figure 19](#)). It contains numerous advertisements (including many for guest houses) and some photographs of sights. Kay gives a publication date of 1913 (Kay 1985, p.17) but based on the advertisements for guest houses (and their named managers) it was more likely that it was published sometime between 1908 and 1909.

Another view book often attributed to Kitch & Co. is *Kitch’s Mountain Views* that contains only six reproduction photos. It was not really a publication from the Kitch Studio but rather by another company. The view book of images is a much larger publication than the *Souvenir of Our Visit*. It will be discussed in more detail below under the section “Kitch & Co., Ltd.”.

George Kitch, as well as the Kitch & Co. Studio, had many images published by others in various guides and souvenir books of the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves regions. Some of these guides and books have already been mentioned, but other examples include: *A Mountain Souvenir .. Souvenir of the Blue Mountains NSW Australia* published by the Carrington Hotel in 1903 (Carrington Hotel, Katoomba 1903); *Blackheath Blue Mountains, N.S.W., Described and*



*Courtesy of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc.*

**Figure 19.** Cover of the 63 page pocket-sized *Tourist Guide* published by Kitch & Co. around 1908-1909.

*Illustrated* published by the Blackheath Progress Committee in 1903; and the *Official Guide to Katoomba and Leura (Blue Mountains)* published around 1911 or 1912 (KM n.d.).

Certainly early into the 20<sup>th</sup> century Kitch & Co. was paying as much attention to the local residents as they were to visitors and tourists, by encouraging visits to their premises to look at their “superb collection of views of Mountain scenery” for mementos or to send to friends overseas (Anonymous 1904g). Indeed in a review of the *Souvenir of Our Visit by the Blue Mountain Gazette*:

“The book contains 24 (*sic*) capitally-executed photographs of the world-famous Blue Mountains sights, and forms an interesting souvenir such as no visitor to this part should fail to obtain. Residents to whom the beauties of the district are everyday sights should take pity on their less fortunate friends residing elsewhere, procure a copy from Messrs. Kitch & Co., the Katoomba

photographers, and send it to them.” (Anonymous 1903f).

However Kitch had hit upon the idea of photographs as souvenirs well before the above *Souvenir of Our Visit* was published. In 1890 a “Souvenir of the Blue Mountains” in the form of six photos (each described) was available for purchase from Messrs. G B D Kitch and Co., of the Eclipse Gallery, Main-street, Katoomba which recommended it

“...As a present to friends at a distance, nothing could be more acceptable than the souvenirs, which include views of interest on the Blue Mountains...” (Anonymous 1890a).

It is unknown whether this folio was the same set of views or not but by 1901 “A Souvenir of the Blue Mountains” was a group of six 5 x 4 inch photos in a neat case (Kitch & Co. 1901). This description appears to be a play on words as in the same advert Souvenirs were actually offered for sale as a type of mounted card photograph. Neither of these packages of photographs seems to have survived.

But perhaps the Kitch & Co. Studio’s most successful publishing venture was their postcards, many of which are still in circulation today as collectables and a large variety still exist. Kitch & Co. postcards were published both in Australia and overseas.

Those published in Australia include some of Kitch & Co.’s own real-photo postcards that were issued on the local “Empire” card stock (produced in Australia by Harringtons). These appear to have been hand-printed in small runs (Cook 1986, p.166). Other postcards with Kitch photographs were published locally by Harding & Billings. The images were halftone reproductions (as black and white monochromes but sometimes also hand coloured). An example of postcards published overseas include those by an English company Ward Lock & Co. Ltd. (i.e. WL&CoL) who used their own card stock but printed in Germany (Cook 1986, p.157).

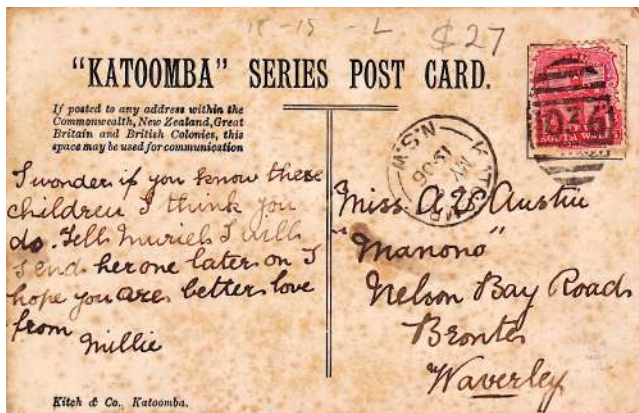
A few Kitch & Co. photographic postcards were even published locally in the Blue Mountains by Echo Print (which probably was the Blue Mountain Echo newspaper) (see [Figure 14\(b\)](#))



while another set was called the “Katoomba” Series Post Card with a “Kitch & Co., Katoomba” byline but the actual printer is unknown (see Figure 20). The postcard genre by Kitch & Co. is an area that deserves further research.

#### 4.6 Kitch & Co., Ltd. – Photography & Stationery Provider

The company Kitch & Co., Ltd. was only formed in early 1914 following the sale of Kitch & Co. at the end of 1913 and when the transaction was completed. The new firm was managed by the previous manager, Walter Leaney, (Kitch & Co., Ltd. 1914); Sands’ 1915, p.107A; Barrie 2002, p.99) and the business continued as a photographic studio and stationers.



Courtesy of a Private Collector.

**Figure 20.** An example of the back of a “Katoomba” Series Post Card published by Kitch & Co., Katoomba.

The local newspaper indicates that he still was in Katoomba at the end of 1917 (Goyder Bros. 1917) and Leaney stayed in Katoomba until about 1918. Meanwhile the Sands Directory listed W. Leaney (as a stationer) in its Katoomba section for 1918 but Kitch & Co., Ltd. is not mentioned (Sands’ 1918, pp.149A-150A). By 1919, and thereafter, W. Leaney was no longer listed in Katoomba by Sands (Sands’ 1919, pp.155A-156A) nor does the local newspaper mention him.

The view book of images called *Kitch’s Mountain Views* (20.1 x 23.5 cm) (Kitch & Co., Ltd. n.d.(a)) was actually published by the company Kitch & Co., Ltd. and two versions have been sighted. The copy in the Mitchell Library (Q981.5/8) contains only six halftone

reproduced black and white photographs (14.1 x 17.7 cm). On the soft cover is printed “KITCH & CO. LTD., KATOOMBA” under the title and it was printed by Boylan & Co. Ltd., Sydney. The font used for the title is quite unusual and even modern looking.

The second version (Kitch & Co., Ltd. n.d.(b)) is in a private collection but differs from the one above. It has the same six images as the Mitchell Library version but they are tipped-in onto limp brown cards of size 19 x 25 cm. The images are unusual in that they are glossy photographic high quality black and white reproductions (13.5 x 17.3 cm) of actual halftone images. To the naked eye they look like original photographs. The wrappers are brown with dimensions 21 x 26 cm and is tied by a ribbon at its spine. There is no publication date. The title, publisher and printer are the same as the Mitchell Library version.

The view books appear to have been published sometime between 1914 and 1918 as the Kitch & Co., Ltd. company was only formed in early 1914 and by the end of 1918 Leaney was no longer in Katoomba. Kay gives a publication date of 1910 for *Mountain Views* and attributes it to George Kitch both of which are incorrect (Kay 1985, p.17).

#### 4.7 George Kitch’s Photographer Contemporaries

Importantly, George Kitch kept up his interests in photography while competing with an increasing number of photographers (both local and from outside the region) who worked or came to work in the Blue Mountains. Many photographers came there as the Blue Mountains (and the nearby Jenolan Caves region) became popular tourist destinations. At the same time the Blue Mountains region continued to grow in importance largely due to mining activity (mainly coal and shale oil) and then later as a gateway through to the western parts of NSW. Over his 25 year period in Katoomba, George Kitch and his photographic company Kitch & Co., were very much involved in the region participating in the views trade, various local events, social activities and special occasions, and in the process recording the town’s and region’s development and history.

Kitch already had an established business well before the arrival of his more illustrious and better known compatriot photographer Harry Phillips who came to Katoomba in 1908 setting up a photographic, publishing and printing business in competition (Kay 1985, p.17). Moreover, even before the arrival of Phillips there were already a number of local photographers, as well as many of the more-established Sydney photographers, working in the Blue Mountains (Kay 1985, pp.15-17; Snowden & Lea 1985). However limited information is known about the work of photographers in the Blue Mountains during the period 1880 to 1914, and in particular, the locally based photographers (Kay 1985, pp.15-17; Snowden 1988) of whom Kitch was one.

Kay (1985, pp.15-17) wrote a good introductory overview of photographers working in the Blue Mountains between the 1880s and 1920s (both local and Sydney-based) with a paragraph on George Kitch. Snowden also provided some good historical overviews of photography in the Blue Mountains (Snowden & Lea 1985; Snowden 1988), but there is little about the local Blue Mountains' photographers although Kitch is briefly mentioned.

There were a number of locally based Blue Mountains' photographers working more or less contemporaneously with George Kitch and the Kitch & Co. Studio trying to make a living out of photography in the region. These local photographers competed with each other doing portrait work, recording events and town development, as well as competing more broadly for the views and tourist trade. And many of them produced postcards too. They were usually based in specific towns in the Blue Mountains (Davies & Stanbury 1985; Barrie c2002; Szafraniec 2014) and included:

Leura	A. Fowler (1906-1923).
Katoomba	W.M. Reynolds (c.1882-1889); W.H. Bursle (1889-1890); W. Leaney (1901-1918); H. Phillips (1909-1922); A. Mellor (1911); Rodgers or Rogers Brothers (1912-1913).
Blackheath	Neate Bros. (c.1906-1912); R. Bissett (1912).
Mount Victoria	E. Caney (1883-1887).
Lithgow	E. Caney (early 1880s); A. Cockerton (1907-1922); A. Mellor (1911).
Jenolan Caves	J. Rowe (1896-1897); E.J. Cooke (1900-1902).

However as with Kitch & Co. little is known about these local photographers with the exception of Phillips. For many of them photography appeared to be a sideline to other businesses, and some started as amateurs. Arguably Reynolds was the first local commercial photographer in the region operating in Katoomba during c.1882-1889 (Szafraniec 2014), and Caney appeared to be in business during 1883-1887 (out of Mount Victoria) and both photographers worked in the Upper Mountains before George Kitch arrived in Katoomba.

Today, a major difference between George Kitch and the Sydney photographers such as Bayliss, Kerry, King and Paine is that not only do most of these Sydney photographers have substantial photographic archives still extant (Millar 1981; Snowden & Stanbury 1983; Snowden, Lea & Ludlow 1984), but that they produced more images in far greater numbers and distributed them more widely than Kitch probably did. Consequently there are far less Kitch photographs surviving today.

## 5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

George Kitch established a viable and successful photographic business in Katoomba, the Upper Blue Mountains and surrounding region, in spite of active competition from both Sydney and local resident photographers. Kitch spanned both the Colonial and Federation periods during his 25 years or so in Katoomba from the late 1880s to 1914, which were periods of great change. He served the Blue Mountains community with

distinction, undertaking a long period of civic duty and community involvement. However he saw himself more as a stationer and businessman (see Part 1, p.27) rather than a photographer yet he left an important photographic legacy.

Little remains of George Kitch's photographic work today and at a conservative estimate thousands of images would have been produced by him and his company Kitch & Co. over their respective lifetimes. What is still extant of his photography is spread over various national, state, institutional and local studies collections as well as in private collections. Occasionally his images appear in galleries and at auction. Fortunately, in the early 1900s a lot of this work was reproduced as postcards which are still available today but now are becoming collectables. So we still do have some record of his photographic work. Around 1910 Kitch & Co. started to advertise itself as "The Pioneer Photographers of the Mountains" which perhaps best sums up the type of legacy that Kitch and his company of the Blue Mountains region left for posterity.

Over the time that Kitch was active as a photographer (from the mid-1880s to 1914) photography changed enormously: from glass-plate negatives to flexible film, glass-plate cameras to film cameras and from contact printing to the evolution of chemical developing processes. All the associated photographic equipment and processes also changed rapidly including lenses, shutters, printing papers and the use of flash just to mention a few. Kitch managed to cope with all of these changes.

Most of the images produced by George Kitch and his Studio that still exist today are landscape views with many relating to events occurring in the Upper Blue Mountains area and especially around Katoomba. In all likelihood these images were produced for both the local residents and visitors alike, and played an important role in promoting tourism to the Blue Mountains and the surrounding region. Few portraits by Kitch and his Studio have survived although most still are likely to be locked away in family albums and collections.

The majority of the surviving photographs are albumen prints that pre-date flexible film but

there are some silver gelatin prints too. In a small, but pioneering way, Kitch and his Studio were also early Blue Mountains' publishers of tourist guides and souvenir material such as view books and postcards.

George Kitch was a keen traveller and in the early 1900s he also worked regularly as a travelling photographer in the Bellingen area of northern NSW, and also quite possibly in Queensland which he also visited numerous times. So far, none of this work has been located by the author.

In conclusion, George Kitch was a multifaceted man – adaptive, resilient and a great traveller. He was first and foremost a regional photographer working mainly in the Upper Blue Mountains and surrounding region; as well as a travelling photographer; a promoter of Blue Mountains tourism largely through his photography but a supporter in other ways too; a keen promoter of photography in general; and finally a publisher and successful businessman. George Kitch was a very good photographer and his photography won international awards, as well as receiving state and national acclaim. He was certainly a photographer without peer in the Blue Mountains and deserves to be recognised as a significant NSW regional photographer. George Kitch's legacy is so significant.

#### **Acknowledgements**

I acknowledge Joan Steele and Lorraine Stacey for their additional research. My thanks to Viki Powys for allowing me to use some of her research, information and images; and Jim Smith for allowing me to view some of his collections. Peter Rickwood, John Low, Stefan Indyka, Max Hill, Gary Steele and Sherida Currie kindly helped in various ways. Special thanks go to the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc., John Merriman from Blue Mountains City Council Local Studies, Springwood and Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne for allowing reproduction of material from their Collections. To the staff of the Mitchell and NSW State Reference Libraries, the NSW State Archives and National Library of Australia; Donna Newton, Librarian of the the Royal Australian Historical Society; and the various private collectors for access to their collections. Finally use of *Trove* in researching this article has been invaluable.



**GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>Albumen print</b>	Thin positive paper prints coated with egg white commonly used throughout the nineteenth century. They were often cut to shape and pasted on cards such as <i>Cartes de visite</i> , <i>Cabinet</i> and into also albums. Albumen prints had to be sensitized with light sensitive nitrate salts and developed by a light source often being sunlight. Most albumen prints were contact printed from glass plates (both wet and dry glass plates). Colour of finished print can be a rich reddish to purplish brown but most early prints tended to fade to a yellowish brown colour mainly due to the processing used.
<b>BMCCCLSS</b>	Blue Mountains City Council Local Studies Springwood
<b>Bainbridge board</b>	A historically significant propriety board of various makes, thicknesses, colours, sizes and types (such as for mounting, presentation or illustration) used in the framing and arts field. A late nineteenth century propriety matboard used in framing. The business still exists to this day.
<b>Chalk</b>	A soft white substance usually made of calcium carbonate used for marking, writing, rubbing over or whitening.
<b>Card photograph</b>	A term applying to any standard-sized commercial formatted photographs of the nineteenth century that are mounted on cardstock of various shapes, thickness, sizes and colours. Most common being the <i>Carte de visite</i> and <i>Cabinet</i> cards. See also Appendix 2.
<b>Celluloid film</b>	An early name used for negative film that was made of flexible plastic backing (cellulose nitrate but later cellulose acetate). In the modern era it is just referred to as film. See also Negative (celluloid) film.
<b>Chromolithography</b>	Colour printing using multiple lithographic stones to produce prints with a range of colours.
<b>Collodion</b>	A commercial product (chemically a cellulose nitrate) was made from gun cotton, which was ordinary cotton soaked in nitric acid and sulphuric acid and then dried. The gun cotton was dissolved in a mixture of alcohol and ether to which potassium iodide was added. The resultant collodion was a syrupy mixture that was pored onto a clean glass plate. See Wet glass plate.
<b>Contact print</b>	A print that has been exposed by placing the negative in direct physical contact with the print material (as opposed to enlarging). The resultant image is the same dimensions as the negative. Nineteenth century prints on Printing-out Paper involve contact printing.
<b>Developing-out paper (DOP)</b>	Designed for the production of photographic prints from negatives by chemical development
<b>Divided-back postcard</b>	Postcards that have a divided back with one half for writing a posting address and the other half for a message. The front of these cards usually have an image. In Australia they were approved for use by

	the Post Office in 1905 and were cheaper than sending a letter. See also 'Undivided-back' postcard.
<b>DOP</b>	Developing-out Paper
<b>Dry glass plate</b>	An early form of negative in which the glass plate was coated with a dry light sensitive emulsion. Also existed as positive images. There were a number of forms from around 1871 with the early plates containing the less sensitive collodion as part of the emulsion. Later more sensitive plates used gelatin with silver nitrate salts instead of collodion. Glass plates came in various sizes including whole plate (8½ x 6½ in), ½ plate (6½ x 4½ in) and ¼ plate (4¾ x 3¼ in), yet even smaller.
<b>Enlargement</b>	The image passes from a negative to print material through a lens system (an enlarger). Most modern prints on Developing-out Paper are enlargements. However enlargements could also be done in the late nineteenth century.
<b>Gelatin silver print</b>	Papers coated with gelatin containing silver salts (silver chloride or silver bromide or both) for making black and white prints from negatives. They came into use with the introduction of dry plates in 1871. Gelatin silver paper became the most popular paper in the twentieth century for black and white photographs.
<b>Halftone</b>	A printed image in which the continuous tones of a photograph have been converted into a regular grid of high-contrast dots of variable size. See also photomechanical reproduction. It became popular at the beginning of the twentieth century and was commonly used to illustrate books and magazines and later in newspapers.
<b>Hand-coloured photograph</b>	To add colour by hand to black and white photographs by various means including watercolours, other paints and dyes. The practice started with the invention of photography and has continued ever since.
<b>K&amp;LTA</b>	Katoomba & Leura Tourist Association, NSW (formed in 1905).
<b>Lantern slide</b>	A 3¼ x 4 inch glass-plate positive made for projection.
<b>Gouache</b>	A flat opaque watercolour.
<b>n.d.</b>	no date
<b>Negative (celluloid) film</b>	A negative containing a light sensitive emulsion on a celluloid backing. Various celluloid backings has been used over the years including the fire prone cellulose nitrate and the safer cellulose acetate.
<b>Photomechanical reproduction</b>	This process includes techniques in which mechanical means are used to produce halftone reproductions of an originally photographic image such as collotype, photogravure, photolithography and letterpress halftone. Often used to produce large numbers such as for postcards, books or illustrated magazines..
<b>Platinotypes</b>	Permanent paper prints using platinum salts instead of silver. They tend to have a soft grey colour and extended tonal range. The paper was marketed overseas in 1880.
<b>POP</b>	Printing-out Paper

<b>Postcard</b>	Postcards everywhere were initially strictly controlled by postal authorities and images varied from comic to art reproductions and chromolithographed views. From c.1896 photographs started replacing the images. The current format 89 x 140 mm (3½ x 5½ inch) was allowed in Britain from 1899 with a pictorial image on one side and address on the other. Britain allowed in 1902 (and Australia in 1905) a postcard to be posted with a message and address on the same side and an image on the other. In Australia postcards were cheaper to post than a letter. From c.1905 individually printed ‘real photographs’ began to appear.
<b>Post Card</b>	The early name for a postcard. See Postcard
<b>Printing-out paper (POP)</b>	Designed for the production of photographic prints from a negative by the action of light alone on light-sensitive paper.
<b>Real photo postcards</b>	These were postcards where the image was an actual printed real photograph. Could be printed in short runs. Many different Australian stock cards were used with such trademarks as ‘Empire’ (Harringtons & Co.), ‘Austral’ (Baker & Rouse, and later Kodak Australasia) and ‘Crown Studios’ (Crown Studios) but often were without trademarks (commonly used by amateurs).
<b>Retouching</b>	Manual alteration of a print or negative. Most often used in portraiture to make cosmetic alterations such as blemishes. Materials commonly used include pencil, scraping knife, brushes, chalk and dyes.
<b>SLNSW</b>	State Library of NSW
<b>Stereograph</b>	Contains a pair of photographs that are arranged side by side on a support (such as a card or glass mount) that when viewed through a stereoscope designed for it, gives an appearance of a single image having three dimensions. The card stereographs of the late nineteenth century usually had albumen or gelatin silver prints. Also called Stereoscopic Photographs.
<b>Stock cards</b>	These essentially were cards of postcard size produced by various specialist postcard producers both in Australia and overseas (Britain, Germany, Prussia) used for printing real photographs (and other types of images). In Australia there were many producers each with their own imprints but two major producers were Harringtons & Co. (‘Empire’ trademark) and Baker & Rouse (with the ‘Austral’ trademark). Many Australian postcards were printed overseas particularly Germany prior to World War 1. The term cardstock is also used.
<b>Tintypes</b>	It is a collodion negative on a thin metal plate japanned black or brown that appears as a positive image. They were cheap to make and come in a variety of sizes although the most popular was the ‘postage stamp’ size “gem”. Often found inserted in a card or small album they are difficult to date but most appear in Australia after 1880.
<b>TMITGBM&amp;JC</b>	The Mountaineer” Illustrated Tourists’ Guide of the Blue Mountains



	and Jenolan Caves
<b>Undivided-back postcard</b>	By regulation postcards that had the backside only for writing a posting address and the front for imagery or a pre-printed message including advertising. Hand written messages were not allowed on these cards although many often have short written messages. In Australia they were in use before 1905. See Divided-back postcard..
<b>Views trade</b>	A term used in Australia to refer to the production and sale of selected photographic views of landscapes and cityscapes (particularly showing progress through built structures such as buildings and bridges) produced for the tourist trade during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Popular in places such as the Blue Mountains, NSW and the Jenolan Caves, NSW. The form of the views varied from photographic prints to view books and postcards.
<b>Wet glass plate</b>	A general term used for glass negatives that required making an emulsion containing collodion and pouring by hand onto the glass plate. The plate was immediately sensitised for a short time and then used wet in the camera. Once an image was taken the still wet plate had to be immediately processed. All this usually had to be done within about 15 minutes and before the plate dried out. Consequently a supply of glass plates and a portable darkroom with all the necessary chemicals had to be carried with the camera.
<b>Wetstamp</b>	An identifying mark made by a photographer (or collector, distributor, publisher or institution) by pressing an inked stamp onto a photograph (either the front or back), to assert authorship, ownership or copyright.

This glossary has been compiled and modified from a number of selected sources. Other terms that are in common use such as chalk are taken from the regular dictionary meaning. Selected bibliography used for this glossary include

- Baldwin, G. & Jurgens, M. (2009)
- Davies, A. & Stanbury, P. (1985)
- Kennel, S. (2010)
- Lenman, R. (Editor)(2005)
- Tanre, C. (1977)
- Willis, A-M. (1988a)

## REFERENCES

- Alfieri Jr., B. (n.d.) Flashlight Apparatus: (1) Powder & Bulbs. pp.736-737 in Stubbs et al. (n.d.).
- Alpin, G., Foster S. G. & McKernan, M. (Eds.) (1987) Events 1870 to 1890. pp. 85-107 in  
 Australians: Events and Places (Australians: A Historical Library) Broadway NSW: Fairfax, Syme  
 and Weldon Associates. [State Library of NSW Q994/83A SET].
- Annear, J. (2015) *The photograph and Australia*. Sydney, NSW: Art Gallery of NSW. 307pp.  
 [Mitchell Library HQ 2015/698]
- Anonymous (1889a) Cascade Street. *Katoomba Times*, 14 September 1889, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1889b) Katoomba Progress Committee. Monday, 7<sup>th</sup> September. *Katoomba Times*, 12  
 October 1889, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1890a) Blue Mountain Views. *Katoomba Times*, 15 February 1890, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1890b) From our own correspondent. Flower show. *Nepean Times* 15 November 1890,  
 p.6, col.1.
- Anonymous (1891a) The Minnie-haha Falls, near Katoomba. [Photograph]. *Illustrated Sydney  
 News*, 14 March 1891, p.15, cols.1-4.
- Anonymous (1891b) Wesleyan Church Bazaar. *Katoomba Times*, 13 November 1891, p.2, col.6.
- Anonymous (1891c) A Christmas Treat. *Katoomba Times*, 25 December 1891, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1892a) Mountain Mixtures. *Katoomba Times*, 1 April 1892, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1892b) Mountain Mixtures. *Katoomba Times*, 29 April 1892, p.2, cols.3-4.
- Anonymous (1893a) Special Telegrams. (The *Argus* London Agency.) The Chicago Exhibition.  
 Awards to New South Wales Exhibitors. *The Argus*, 15 September 1893, p.5, col.7.
- Anonymous (1893b) Death of Booming and Humbug. *Katoomba Times*, 22 September 1893, p.2,  
 col.2.
- Anonymous (1893c) The Governor's Visit to Katoomba. *Katoomba Times*, 22 December 1893, p.2,  
 cols.3-5.
- Anonymous (1893d) Cable Messages. Tasmanian Press Association – Copyright. The Chicago  
 Exhibition. Awards to New South Wales Exhibitors. *Launceston Examiner*, 20 September 1893,  
 p.5, col.4.
- Anonymous (1894) Mountain Mixtures. *Katoomba Times*, 9 February 1894, p.2, cols.4-5.
- Anonymous (1895a) Australian Federation. *The Mountaineer*, 1 February 1895, p.2, cols.2-5.
- Anonymous (1895b) Katoomba Municipal Council. Monday, May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1895. *The Mountaineer*, 10  
 May 1895, p.3, col.2.
- Anonymous (1895c) The Revival in America. *The Mountaineer*, 6 September 1895, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1898a) Messrs. Kitch and Company. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 26  
 November 1898, p.34, col.2.
- Anonymous (1898b) Messrs. Kitch and Company. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 26  
 November 1898, p.35, col.2.
- Anonymous (1899) Katoomba. *Lithgow Mercury*, 20 October 1899, p.4, col.5.
- Anonymous (1900a) Valedictory. *The Mountaineer*, 11 May 1900, p.2, col.5.
- Anonymous (1900b) The Federal Pass. Opened by the Premier. A successful function, and a great  
 day for Katoomba. *Lithgow Mercury*, 6 November 1900, p.2, cols.5-7.
- Anonymous (1900c) Official Opening of the Katoomba Federal Pass. A red-letter day for Katoomba.  
 A very successful function. Seventeen M's.P. present. *The Mountaineer*, 9 November 1900, pp.2-  
 3 & p.8.
- Anonymous (1900d) Wedding Bells. Kitch-Leaney. *The Mountaineer*, 16 November 1900, p.2,  
 col.7.
- Anonymous (1901a) The Blue Mountain A. H. and I. Society's Show. *Lithgow Mercury*, 15  
 February 1901, p.3, col.4.
- Anonymous (1901b) Katoomba Show. *Evening News*, 15 February 1901, p.7, col.4.
- Anonymous (1901c) Katoomba. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 23 February 1901, p.15,  
 col.4 - p.16, col.1.

- Anonymous (1901d) Wedding. *Alexandra and Yea Standard, Gobur, Thornton and Acheon Express*, 27 September 1901, p.3, col.1.
- Anonymous (1903a) Valedictory Social. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 17 April 1903, p.7, col.4.
- Anonymous (1903b) Mount Victoria. *The Mountaineer*, 17 April 1903, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1903c) Ex-Mayor Lewis Duff. Two Presentations. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 4 October 1903, p.6, cols.1-4.
- Anonymous (1903d) Town Talk. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 16 October 1903, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1903e) News in Brief. *The Mountaineer*, 9 January 1903, p.3, col.7.
- Anonymous (1903f) Souvenir of the Blue Mountains. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 9 January 1903, p.5, col.5.
- Anonymous (1904a) Town Talk. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 27 May 1904, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1904b) News In Brief. *The Mountaineer*, 27 May 1904, p.6, col.2.
- Anonymous (1904c) Town Talk. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 3 June 1904, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1904d) Bellinger (*sic*) Heads. *The Raleigh Sun*, 22 July 1904, p.2, col.4.
- Anonymous (1904e) Echoes. *The Raleigh Sun*, 19 August 1904, p.5, cols.1-3.
- Anonymous (1904f) News In Brief. *The Mountaineer*, 21 October 1904, p.4, col.1.
- Anonymous (1904g) Town Talk. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 18 November 1904, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1904h) [Notice] Photography. *The Raeleigh Sun*, 23 September 1904, p.5, col.4.
- Anonymous (1905a) News In Brief. *The Mountaineer*, 10 March 1905, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1908) The National Pass, Wentworth Falls. Official Opening. *Lithgow Mercury*, 1 April 1908, p.3, col.1.
- Anonymous (1909a) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 8 May 1909, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1909b) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 22 May 1909, p.2, col.3.
- Anonymous (1909c) Queensland Industrial Exhibition. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 22 May 1909, p.7, col.1.
- Anonymous (1909d) Advertising in the Mountains. Enthusiastic Meeting at Katoomba. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 5 June 1909, p.7, cols.1-3.
- Anonymous (1909e) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 June 1909, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1909f) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 3 July 1909, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1909g) [Photograph]. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 24 July 1909, p.8, cols.2 & 3.
- Anonymous (1909h) [Photographs]. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 14 August 1909, pp.10, 18, 20, 21 & 23.
- Anonymous (1909i) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 11 September 1909, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1909j) The Masonic Ball. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 25 September 1909, p.6, col.1.
- Anonymous (1909k) no title. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 October 1909, p.4, col.3.
- Anonymous (1909l) An Alderman's Mishap. *Lithgow Mercury*, 1 November 1909, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1910a) Local and General. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 11 June 1910, p.8, col.3.
- Anonymous (1910b) Social Gossip. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 16 July 1910, p.12, col.2.
- Anonymous (1910c) Island Views. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 July 1910, p.9, col.2.
- Anonymous (1910d) Pars About People. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 13 August 1910, p.9, col.2.
- Anonymous (1910e) [Advertisement] Business for Sale. *The Brisbane Courier*, 3 September 1910, p.2, col.1.
- Anonymous (1910f) The Dutch Squadron. The Men on the Mountains. Katoomba. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 24 September 1910, p.10, col.1.
- Anonymous (1911a) Village Fair at Katoomba. *Lithgow Mercury*, 31 March 1911, p.4, col.5.
- Anonymous (1911b) Katoomba. *Lithgow Mercury*, 28 April 1911, p.3, col.5.
- Anonymous (1911c) Private Enterprise. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 May 1911, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1911d) News in a Nutshell. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 21 July 1911, p.5, col.5.
- Anonymous (1911e) Fancy Dress Social. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 18 August 1911, p.5, col.3.
- Anonymous (1911f) The Masquerade Ball. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 15 September 1911, p.5, col.3.
- Anonymous (1911g) Photographic Art. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 15 September 1911, p.5, col.1.
- Anonymous (1911h) Pictorial Katoomba. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 15 December 1911, p.4, col.5.
- Anonymous (1912a) Concentrates. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 January 1912, p.5, cols.1-2.



- Anonymous (1912b) Opening of Katoomba's Town Hall. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 26 January 1912, p.5, cols.1-2.
- Anonymous (1912c) Presentation to Mr and Mrs Peacock. Under Liberal Auspices. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 8 March 1912, p.2, col.2.
- Anonymous (1912d) Concentrates *Blue Mountain Echo*, 15 March 1912, p.5, col.2.
- Anonymous (1912e) On the Mend. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 12 April 1912, p.5, col.2
- Anonymous (1912f) Katoomba Council. *Lithgow Mercury*, 26 April 1912, p.3, col.3.
- Anonymous (1912g) Adrift on the Pacific. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 14 June 1912, p.3, col.4.
- Anonymous (1912h) Concentrates. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 July 1912, p.5, col.3.
- Anonymous (1912i) Complimentary Social at Katoomba. *Lithgow Mercury*, 1 March 1912, p.4, col.7.
- Anonymous (1913a) Current Topics. Our Tramways. *Launceston Examiner*, 19 March 1913, p.4, col.6.
- Anonymous (1913b) Concentrates. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 20 June 1913, p.5, col.3.
- Anonymous (1914a) Final Pre-election Meeting. Aldermanic Felicitations. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 January 1914, p.6, col.4.
- Anonymous (1914b) Death of an Old Townsman. Vale Ex-Ald. Kitch. *The Blue Mountain Echo*, 18 December 1914, p.5, col.4.
- Anonymous (1914c) Concentrates. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 15 May 1914, p.5, col.4.
- Argus (1902) *The Jenolan Caves and the Blue Mountains [Illustrated.]*. The Blue Mountains [section p.29] Parramatta, NSW: Cumberland Argus Printing Works. 32pp.
- Armitage, A. M. (1998) *The Katoomba-Leura story*. Katoomba, NSW: Rotary Club of Katoomba. 192pp.
- Baker & Rouse (1893) *New Catalogue*. Abbotsford, Melbourne: T. Baker & Co. Bond Street. 52pp.
- Baldwin, G. & Jurgens, M. (2009) *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to technical Terms (Revised Edition)*. Los Angeles, US: The J. Paul Getty Museum. 92pp.
- Barrie, S. (c.2002) *Australians behind the camera. Directory of Early Australian Photographers, 1841 to 1945*. 192pp. [Mitchell Library Ref 1/Q770.2594/2A]
- Blackheath Progress Committee (1903) *Blackheath Blue Mountains, N.S.W., Described and Illustrated*. Sydney, NSW: Blackheath Progress Committee. 104pp. Printed by Marchant & Co., 289, Pitt Street, Sydney.
- Bloome, J. H. (1910) Sights of the South Seas. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 6 August 1910, p.3, cols.1-3.
- Breckon, R. (2013) *Kangaroo and Map: 1913-2013: an advertisement for Australia*. Melbourne: Australian Postal Corporation. 62pp.
- British Army Service Records 1760-1915  
<https://search.findmypast.com.au/record?id=gbm%2fwo97%2f1864%2f142%2f001&parentid=gbm%2fwo97%2f1864%2f485192&highlights=%22%22>
- Carrington Hotel, Katoomba (1903) *A Mountain Souvenir . Souvenir of the Blue Mountains NSW Australia*. Sydney: Hans Hertzog & Co. 67pp. (unpaginated).
- Cato, J. (1955) *The Story of the Camera in Australia*. (First Edition.) Melbourne; Georgian House. 187pp. [NSW State Reference Library Q770.9/1A1]
- CH (2005) pp.224-225 in Howes (2005).
- Clark, M.M.H. (1981) *A History of Australia*. Volume V. Carlton, Victoria: Oxford University Press. 448pp.
- Clune, D. & Turner, K. (Eds.) (2009) *The Governors of New South Wales 1788-2010*. Annandale, N.S.W.: The Federation Press. 666pp. [State Library of NSW 994.02092/30A]
- Coe, B. & Gates, P. (1977) *The Snapshot Photograph: The rise of popular photography 1888-1939*. London, England: Ash & Grant Ltd. 144pp.
- Coe, B. (1978) *Cameras: From Daguerreotypes to Instant Pictures*. London: Marshall Cavendish Editions. 240pp. [State Library of NSW EQ771.3/1A]
- Cook, D. (1986) *Picture Postcards in Australia 1898-1920*. Lilydale, Victoria: Pioneer Design Studio. 215pp.

- Davies, A. & Stanbury, P. (1985) *The Mechanical Eye in Australia. Photography 1841-1900.* Melbourne; Oxford University Press. 270pp.
- Davies, A. (1989) *At Work & Play: Our Past in Pictures.* Sydney: State Library of New South Wales. 128pp. [Mitchell Library Q779.9994/3]
- Day Fine Art (2014) *The Blue Mountains: Images of the Past. 19<sup>th</sup> Century Albumen photographs.* Blackheath, NSW: Day Fine Art. 49pp.
- De Lorinzo, C. (2000) *In and Out of Register: Images, Designs and the Garden Palace.* pp169-187 in Proudfoot et al. (2000).
- Eder, J. M. (1978) *History of Photography.* New York, US: Dover Publications. 860pp. [State Library of NSW N770.9/8]
- Gernsheim, H. (1955) *The History of Photography :From the Earliest Use of the Camera Obscura in the Eleventh Century Up To 1914.* Oxford, Great Britain: Oxford University Press. 481pp. [State Library of NSW TQ055105]
- Gilbert, G. (1980) *Photography: The Early Years.* New York, US: Harper & Row. 181pp.
- Goyder Bros. (1917) Auction Sale of Valuable Furniture [Notice]. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 14 December 1917, p.5, col.3.
- GS (2005) pp.360-362 in Saxby (2005).
- Hamilton-Smith, E. (2010) *Click go the Cameras at Jenolan Caves 1860-1940.* Jenolan Caves, NSW: Jenolan Caves Historical and Preservation Society. 40pp.
- Haynes, J. (1892) Important Facts For Country Readers. The Hungry Unemployed. *Katoomba Times*, 12 August 1892, p.2, cols.3-4.
- Horne, J. (1994) *Jenolan Caves: when the tourists came.* Crows Nest, NSW: Kingsclear Books. 72pp.
- Howes, C. (1989) *To Photograph Darkness: The History of Underground and Flash Photography.* Gloucester, UK: Alan Sutton Publishing. 330pp. [State Library of NSW T0362760]
- Howes, C. (2005) Flash photography. pp.224-225 in Lenman (2005).
- K&LTA (1905) *The Blue Mountains – Katoomba & Leura.* Sydney: The Katoomba & Leura Tourist Association, NSW. 22pp.(liii) [Mitchell Library: 981.5/K]
- Kay, P. (1985) *The Far-Famed Blue Mountains of Harry Phillips.* Leura: Second Back Row Press Pty. Ltd. 96pp.
- Kennel, S. (2010) *In the Darkroom: An Illustrated Guide to Photographic Processes before the Digital Age.* New York, US: Thames & Hudson. 96pp. [State Library of NSW N771.4/4]
- Kennel, S., Waggoner, D. & Carver-Kubik, A. (2010) *In the Darkroom: An Illustrated Guide to Photographic Processes before the Digital Age.* New York, US: Thames & Hudson. 96pp.
- Kerry & Co. (1892) [Advertisement] *Katoomba Times*, 13 May 1892, p.1, col.6.
- Kerry & Jones (1890) [Advertisement]. Blue Mountains Scenery. *Katoomba Times*, 13 December 1890, p.1, col.4.
- Kingston, B. (2006) *A History of New South Wales.* Melbourne, Victoria: Cambridge University Press. 299pp. [Mitchell Library 994.4/43A]
- Kitch & Co. (1889a) The Eclipse Photo Company. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 25 May 1889, p.2, col.4. (also see Local Jottings p.2, col.5.).
- Kitch & Co. (1889b) The Eclipse Photo Company. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 8 June 1889, p.3, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1890) [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 13 December 1890, p.4, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1891) [Advertisement]. Eclipse Studio. *Katoomba Times*, 13 November 1891, p.4, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1892a) [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 1 January 1892, p.3, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1892b) [Advertisement]. Chicago Exhibition. *Katoomba Times*, 8 April 1892, p.3, col.2.
- Kitch & Co. (1893b) [Advertisement.] *Katoomba Times*, 2 June 1893, p.3, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1893c) The Eclipse Photo Coy. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 18 August 1893. p.3, col.2.

- Kitch & Co. (1893d) [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 6 October 1893, p.1, col.5.
- Kitch & Co. (1893e) The Eclipse Photo Coy. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 15 December 1893. p.3, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1894) The Eclipse Photo Coy. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 18 May 1894. p.3, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1895) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 19 July 1895, p.1, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1896) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 10 April 1896, p.1, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1898) Kitch and Company, Photographers and Fancy Goods, Katoomba. [Photograph]. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 26 November 1898, p.33, cols.3-4.
- Kitch & Co. (1899a) The Mountain Photographic Studio. [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 20 January 1899, p.5, cols.5 & 6.
- Kitch & Co. (1899b) [Notice]. *The Mountaineer*, 21 April 1899, p.4, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1899c) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 28 July 1899, p.2, col.1.
- Kitch & Co. (1900) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 2 February 1900, p.6, cols.2 & 3.
- Kitch & Co. (1901) [Advertisement]. *Nepean Times*, 7 September 1901, p.8, col.1.
- Kitch & Co. (1902) [Advertisement]. The Gem. *The Mountaineer*, 19 September 1902, p.4, col.2.
- Kitch & Co. (1903) [Advertisement] *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 5 June 1903, p.8, col.4.
- Kitch & Co. (1904) [Advertisement]. *Blue Mountain Gazette*, 2 December 1904, p.3, cols.6 & 7.
- Kitch & Co. (1905a) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 13 October 1905, p.5, col.1.
- Kitch & Co. (1905b) [Advertisement]. *The Mountaineer*, 22 December 1905, p.3, cols.1 & 2.
- Kitch & Co. (1905c) [Advertisement] p.xliv. in K&LTA (1905).
- Kitch & Co. (1909a) Public Notice. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 October 1909, p.5, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1909b) *Blue Mountain Echo*: 25 December 1909. *Christmas Supplement*, 38pp.
- Kitch & Co. (1909c) The Mountain Photographers. *Blue Mountain Echo*: 25 December 1909. *Christmas Supplement*, p.3.
- Kitch & Co. (1912) [Advertisement]. *The Enterprise*, 17 May 1912, p.4, col.3.
- Kitch & Co. (n.d.)(a) *The Katoomba and Blue Mountain Tourist Guide*. Katoomba, NSW: Kitch and Co. (Not paginated) 63pp.
- Kitch & Co. (n.d.)(b) *Souvenir of Our Visit to the Picturesque Blue Mountains N.S.W.* Katoomba, NSW: Kitch and Co. (Not paginated) 48pp.
- Kitch & Co. (n.d.)(c) *Souvenir of Our Visit to the Picturesque Blue Mountains N.S.W.* Katoomba, NSW: Kitch and Co. (Not paginated) 24pp.
- Kitch & Co. (n.d.)(d) *Souvenir of Our Visit to the Picturesque Blue Mountains N.S.W.* Katoomba, NSW: Kitch and Co. (Not paginated) 24pp.
- Kitch & Co., Ltd. (1914) [Advertisement]. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 27 March 1914, p.3, cols.5-6.
- Kitch & Co., Ltd. (n.d.)(a) *Kitch's Mountain Views*. Katoomba, NSW: Kitch & Co., Ltd. 6pp. {Mitchell Library Q981.5/8}
- Kitch & Co., Ltd. (n.d.)(b) *Kitch's Mountain Views*. Katoomba, NSW: Kitch & Co., Ltd. 6pp.
- Kitch, G. (1900) Notice of Partnership. *The Mountaineer*, 14 December 1900, p.3, col.5.
- Kitch, G. (1902) Photography. [Advertisement]. *The Raleigh Sun*, 26 September 1902, p.5, col.4.
- Kitch, G. (1903) [Photograph] The Sanitarium at King's Tableland, near Wentworth Falls. The Official Opening on February 18. *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 25 February 1903, p.26, cols.1-3.
- Kitch, G. (1910) Through the South Sea Islands. Jottings on the Way. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 July 1910, p.12. cols.1-4.
- Klamkin, M. (1974) *Picture Postcards*. Melbourne, Victoria: Lansdowne Press. 192pp. [State Library of NSW NQ769.5/11]
- KM (n.d.) *Official Guide to Katoomba and Leura (Blue Mountains)*. Sydney: John Sands Ltd. (for Katoomba Municipality). 144pp.
- Knight, H. (1971) *Photography in New Zealand: A social and technical history*. Dunedin, New Zealand: John McIndoe. 196pp.



- Lavédrine, B. (2009) *Photographs of the Past: Process and Preservation*. Los Angeles, California US: Getty Publications. 352pp.
- Lavender, L. A. (2005) Postcards. p.518 in Lenman (2005).
- Lenman, R. (Editor) (2005) *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph*. New York, US: Oxford University Press. 769pp. [State Library of NSW Reference Shelves NQ770.3/4]
- Long, C. (1995) *Tasmanian Photographers 1890-1940: A Directory*. Hobart, Tasmania: Tasmanian Historical Research Association and Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. 130pp.
- Low, J. (1991) *Pictorial Memories: Blue Mountains*. Alexandria, NSW: Kingsclear Books. (Revised and Reprinted 2005). 135pp.
- Low, J. (n.d.) BMCC Alderman. Typed manuscript. [BMCC Library Local Studies, Springwood]
- MacDougall, V. B. (Ed.) (1996) *The Australian Encyclopaedia*. Volume 8: Thornbille to Zuttydorp. Terry Hills, NSW: Australian Geographic Pty Ltd. Sixth Edition. pp 2917-3328. [Mitchell Library Q039/A; State Library of NSW GQ 2013/2679]
- Marien, M.W. (2012) *100 Ideas That Changed Photography*. London: Laurence King Publications. 216pp. [State Library of NSW GQ 2013/254]
- McLaurin, D. M. (2016) *Old Katoomba: the 1860s to the 1900s*. Wentworth Falls, NSW: Blue Mountains Historical Society (Erik Halbert, editor). 34pp.
- Millar, D. P. (1981) *Charles Kerry's Federation Australia*. Darlinghurst, NSW: David Ell Press Pty. Ltd. 127pp.
- Municipal District of Katoomba (1890) Polling. [Advertisement]. *Katoomba Times*, 18 January 1890, p.2, col.6.
- Murphy, B. (1982) *Dictionary of Australian History*. Sydney, NSW: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 304pp.
- Newhall, B. (1982) *The History of Photography*. (5th edition) London: Secker & Warburg. 320pp.
- Newton, G. (1988) *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839-1988*. Canberra, ACT: Australian National Gallery and Sydney, NSW: Collins Australia. 218pp. [State Library of NSW NQ770.994/9]
- Parmenter, T.R. (compiler) (1961) *Sunny Corner Centenary Souvenir*. Sunny Corner, N.S.W.: Sunny Corner Centenary Committee. 48pp. [State Library of NSW 991.6/5A1]
- Peres, M. R. (Editor) (2007) *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*. Burlington, US: Focal Press (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). 846pp. [State Library of NSW Reference Shelves NQ770.3/5 DISC]
- Phillips, H. (n.d.) *Phillips' Illustrated Blue Mountains Guide Book*. Katoomba, NSW: "Printed and Published by H. Phillips at Katoomba Street, Katoomba." 90pp.
- Powys, V. (1989) *Sunny Corner: A silver town of the 1880s*. Bathurst NSW: Crawford House Press. 224pp. [Mitchell Library 994.45/45]
- Powys, V. (2014) Old Photos: Sunny Corner NSW. DVD/CD 2014 Self published.
- Proudfoot, P., Maguire, R. & Freestone, R. (Editors). (2000) *Colonial City Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879*. Crossing Press: Darlinghurst, NSW. 283pp. [State Library of NSW Q994.4031/3A]
- QCWA (n.d.) *History of Mitchell*. Queensland Country Women's Association. Mitchell, Queensland: Queensland Country Women's Association (Mitchell). 100pp.
- Range, T. E. (c.1980) *The Book of Postcard Collecting*. New York, US: E.P. Dutton. 171pp. [State Library of NSW NQ741.683075/1]
- Rickwood, P. C. (2017) Our First Researcher: Marion Dorothy McLaurin (née Fletcher)(1882-1972) – Part 1: Birth (1882) to Residing at Wentworth Falls (1934). *Hobby's Outreach*, 29(2), April-May 2017, pp 7-9.
- Robinson, J. (2007) *A Century in Focus: South Australian Photography 1840s-1940s*. Adelaide, South Australia: Art Gallery of South Australia. 232pp.
- Rotary Club of Katoomba (1982) *Old Leura and Katoomba. A Collection of Historical Background Articles*. Katoomba, NSW: Katoomba Rotary Club. (Reprinted 1986). 306pp.
- Sands' (1908) *Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1908. Forty-Eighth year of publication*. John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 1667pp.

- Sands' (1915) *Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1915. Fifty-Fifth year of publication.* John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2266pp.
- Sands' (1918) *Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1918. Fifty-Eighth year of publication.* John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2139pp.
- Sands' (1919) *Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1919. Fifty-Ninth year of publication.* John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2292pp.
- Saxby, G. (2005) Development of lenses. pp360-362. in Lenman (2005).
- Snowden, C. (1988) The Take-Away Image – Photographing the Blue Mountains in the Nineteenth Century. pp.137-156 in Stanbury (1988).
- Snowden, C. & Lea, A. (1985) *Health, Wealth and the Wilderness: The Camera in the Blue Mountains, 1860-1930 [Exhibition Catalogue].* The University of Sydney, NSW: Historic photograph Collection, Macleay Museum. June, 1985. 16pp.
- Snowden, C. & Stanbury, P. (1983) *Rediscovering Historic Photographs.* The University of Sydney, NSW: Historic Photograph Collection, Macleay Museum. May, 1983. 8pp.
- Snowden, C., Lea, A. & Ludlow, C. (1984) *John Paine Landscape Photographs c 1880. [Exhibition Catalogue].* The University of Sydney, NSW: Historic Photograph Collection, Macleay Museum. July, 1984. 16pp.
- Stanbury, P. (editor) (1988) *The Blue Mountains. Grand Adventure for All. Second Edition.* The Second Back Row Press, Pty. Ltd., Leura and the Macleay Museum, University of Sydney. 204pp
- Stubbs, S., Blaxland, G., Mortimer, F. J. & Malthouse, G. S. (Eds.) (n.d.) *The Modern Encyclopedia of Photography. Vol. 2.* London: The Amalgamated Press Ltd. 1350pp. [State Library of NSW N770.3/5]
- Szafranec, T. (coordinator) (2014) *The Big Picture: G Kitch & Early Photographers of the Blue Mountains.* Exhibition March 2014, Hobby's Reach, Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc., Wentworth Falls, NSW.
- Tanre, C. (1977) *The Mechanical Eye: A historical guide to Australian Photography and Photographers.* Sydney: The Macleay Museum & The University of Sydney. 128pp. [Mitchell Library Ref 770.990/1]
- TCA&FA (1907) *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate*, 10 July 1907, p.2, cols.4-5.
- Tierney, A. (1996) *Blue Mountains Historical Society: A Golden Jubilee History, 1946-1996.* Wentworth Falls, NSW: Blue Mountains Historical Society. 85pp.
- TK&BMTG (n.d.) [c1908-9] *The Katoomba and Blue Mountains Tourist Guide.* Katoomba, NSW: Kitch & Co. (Unpaginated) 63pp.
- TMITGBM&JC (1897-8) *The Mountaineer'' Illustrated Tourists' Guide of the Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves 1897-8.* Katoomba: The Mountaineer. 128pp.
- Waldsmith, J. (1991) *Stereo Views: An Illustrated History and Price Guide.* Radnor Pennsylvania US: Wallace-Homestead Book Company. 271pp.
- Welling, W. (1976) *Collectors' Guide to Nineteenth-Century Photographs.* New York, US: Macmillan Publishing Co. 204pp.
- Willis, A-M. (1988a) *Picturing Australia: a history of photography.* North Ryde NSW; Angus & Robertson. 304pp. [State Library of NSW 770.994/3B]
- Willis, A-M. (1988b) From Studio To Photo Factory (Chapter 4) pp.74-103 in Willis (1988a).
- Wilson (1910-1911) *Wilson's Sydney & Suburbs Street Directory & Blue Mountains Guide.* Sydney, NSW: Wilson's Publishing Company, Limited. 483pp.
- Zahorcak, M. (2007) Evolution of the Photographic Lens in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. pp.157-176 in Peres (2007).

**APPENDIX 1. DETAILS ABOUT THE PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER IMAGES USED TO ILLUSTRATE PARTS 1 AND 2 OF THIS ARTICLE**

FIGURE NUMBER <sup>1</sup>	PHOTOGRAPH DIMENSIONS <sup>2</sup>	MOUNT/CARD DIMENSIONS <sup>2</sup>	TYPE OF PHOTOGRAPH	COLLECTION	NOTES & REFERENCES
1	Oval ( 36 x 26.5 cm)	48 x 38.2 cm (18 7/8 x 15 1/16 inches)	Retouched monochrome print	BMHS	(1) Title on board 'Ald Geo Kitch 1905-6' (2) Catalogue No 0634
3	Unknown	Carte de visite format	Albumen print?	Private	(1) Carte de visite not physically examined (2) Ref: Personal communication, Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Melbourne 2018
4	See Figure 3 above	See Figure 3 above	See Figure 3 above	See Figure 3 above	(1) Carte de visite not physically examined (2) Imprint of photographer (back of Carte de visite) (3) for reference see Figure 3 above
8a (l to r)	7.3 x 14.9 cm (combined images)	8.9 x 17.7 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) 2 images in stereo format (2) card white colour (3) catalogue No 1514
8b (l to r)	7.9 x 14.5 cm (combined images)	9.1 x 17.8 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) 2 images in stereo format (2) card yellow colour (3) catalogue No 1513
8c (l to r)	7.3 x 14.9 cm (combined images)	8.9 x 17.8 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) 2 images in stereo format (2) card white colour (3) catalogue No 1516
8d (l to r)	7.6 x 15.1 cm (combined images)	8.6 x 17.7 cm	Albumen print	Private	(1) 2 images in stereo format (2) card light blue colour
9	7.6 x 15.1 cm (combined images)	8.6 x 17.7 cm	Albumen print	Private	(1) 2 images in stereo format (2) card light blue colour
10	Refer to Figure 9	8.6 x 17.7 cm	Refer to Figure 9	Private	(1) Photographer's Imprint & advertising
11a (top)	15.2 x 9.9 cm	16.5 x 10.7 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) card cream colour (2) catalogue No 1507
11b (middle)	14.3 x 9.7 cm	16.6 x 10.7 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) card buff colour (2) catalogue No 1510
11c (bottom)	14.1 x 9.8 cm	16.6 x 10.7 cm	Albumen print	BMCLSS	(1) card buff colour (2) catalogue No 1509
12	14.9 x 10.3 cm	25.3 x 20.3 cm	Gelatin silver print	BMHS	(1) card brown colour (2) catalogue No 3065
13	15.1 x 21.5 cm	21.1 x 28.6 cm	Gelatin silver print	BMHS	(1) Inscribed in image 'Mr G Peacock "At Home" The Carrington 18/10/11' (2) Album 1 (Peacock Presentation Album) / image No 3 & title inscribed on page 'At the Carrington' (3) catalogue No 4
14a (top)	13.9 x 8.9 cm	8.9 x 13.9 cm	Gelatin silver print	Private	(1) 'real-photo' postcard title 'Katoomba Falls' (portrait format) (2) Publisher Kitch (3) Printer unknown (4) "Empire" postcard stock
14b (bottom)	13.8 x 9.2 cm	9.2 x 13.8 cm	Halftone print	Private	(1) postcard: "Katoomba Falls" (portrait format) (2) Publisher unknown (3) Printer 'Echo Print'
15	9 X 13.8 cm	9 X 13.8 cm	Gelatin silver print	BMHS	(1) 'real-photo' postcard inscribed 'His Excellency Sir Harry Rawson at the Carrington Katoomba' (landscape format) (2) Publisher Kitch & Co., Katoomba (3) catalogue No 107
16	15.2 x 12.1 cm	24.5 x 17.6 cm (page size)	Halftone reproduction	BMHS	(1) image in the guide <i>The Jenolan Caves and the Blue mountains [illustrated]</i> (2) size of original photograph unknown Ref: Argus (1902) p.29
18	13.1 x 8.8 cm (portrait size)	12.2 x 18.5 cm	Halftone reproduction	Private	(1) View book (2) Publisher Kitch & Co., Katoomba (3) size of original photograph unknown Ref: Kitch & Co. (n.d.)(b)
20	9.0 x 14.0 cm	9.0 x 14.0 cm	Chromolithograph	Private	(1) No title [Street Children] (2) "Katoomba" Series Post Card (3) Publisher Kitch & Co., Katoomba

<sup>1</sup> Figures 2, 5, 6, 7, 17 and 19 are not photographs or images and have been excluded from this table; <sup>2</sup> all dimensions are Height (H) x Width (W)

**Notes:**

BMHS Blue Mountains Historical Society  
BMCLSS Blue Mountains City Council Local Studies Springwood (Library)



## APPENDIX 2. SELECTED LIST OF SOME EARLY CARD-BASED PHOTOGRAPHS

FORMAT NAME	MOUNT SIZE (EUROPE) <sup>1</sup>	MOUNT SIZE (USA) <sup>2</sup>	NOTES
<b>Carte de visite</b> <sup>3</sup>	110 x 69 (4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub> x 2 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> )	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> x 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> (108 x 64)	Australian use: 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> x 2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (104 x 63 in) (Baker & Rouse, 1893 p.33)
Victoria		5 x 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (127 x 89)	
Souvenir			Australian use: 5 x 4 in (127 x 101 mm) (Kitch & Co. [advert] 1901a & see also Fig 7 in Part 2)
<b>Cabinet</b>	165 x 110 (6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub> )	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> (165 x 114)	Australian use: 107 x 165 mm (4 3/16 x 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in) (D&S, p.113); Australian use: 6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> x 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> in (168 x 107 mm) (Baker & Rouse, 1893 p.33)
<b>Promenade</b>	205 x 110 (8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> x 4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>16</sub> )	7 x 4 (177 x 101)	
Panel		8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 4 (216 x 101)	
<b>Boudoir</b>	205 x 132 (8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>16</sub> x 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> )	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> (216 x 133)	Australian use: 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in (216 x 139 mm) (Baker & Rouse, 1893 p.34)
<b>Imperial</b>	330 x 190 (23 1/16 x 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> )	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> (241 x 174)	Australian use: 10 x 6 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (254 x 174 mm) (Baker & Rouse, 1893 p.34)
Imperial (Large)			Australian use: 10 x 12 in (254 x 305mm) (Kitch & Co., [advert] 1901 & see Fig 7)
Stereograph		3 x 7 (76 x 178)	Australian use: 7 x 3 7/16 in (178 x 88 mm) (Baker & Rouse, 1893 p.34)
Post Card (Postcard) <sup>4</sup>			International use: 89 x 140 mm (3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> x 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> in) (LAL, 2005 p.50)
<b>Midget</b>	67 x 45 (2 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub> x 1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> )		Australian use: 3 x 1 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>8</sub> in (76 x 41 mm) (Baker & Rouse, 1892 p.34)
Paris Panel			Australian use: 184 x 254 mm (7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>8</sub> x 10 in) (D&S, p.114)
Large Panel			Australian use: 265 x 430 mm (10 7/16 x 16 15/16 in)(D&S, p.114)
Grand Panel			Australian use: 350 x 580 mm (13 13/16 x 22 7/8 in) (D&S, p.114)

<sup>1</sup> European measurements in millimetres (mm) (Ref: Lavedine); <sup>2</sup> US (and England) measurements in inches (in) (Ref: Lavedine) but are not necessarily in the standard height x width measurements; <sup>3</sup> **Bold** indicates most common & standard sizes; <sup>4</sup> Postcards were initially produced on thin card stock but nowadays the name relates more to the image size.

Notes:

(i) Sizes for photos on mounts are not provided as these vary considerably but are usually smaller than the actual sizes of the mounts.

(ii) Converted measurements are in brackets.

(iii) Table compiled from a number of sources:

Lavedrine (2009) p.120

Davies & Stanbury (1985) pp.111-115

Baker & Rouse (1892) pp.33-34

Kitch & Co. (1901) [advert] & see also Fig 7 in Part 2

Lavender, L. A. (2005)



Ian Jack as a young man.



. Ian Jack at Coerwull House, November 2017.

## **Associate-Professor R. Ian Jack (1935-2019)**

Sadly, on 5 September 2019, BMACHO (the parent organisation of this Journal) lost its President who had held that office for under six months. Previously he had been Vice-President from 2006-2019 and during that time he was a strong supporter for the establishment of the *Blue Mountains History Journal* (along with John Leary OAM & Professor Barrie Reynolds) and from 2010 he has been a member of the Editorial Board. He published two papers in the Journal: on St Columba's Seminary and High School, Springwood (2010) and on The Paragon Café, Katoomba (2014).

Ian was educated at Glasgow and London Universities and emigrated to Australia in 1961 to become a Lecturer in History at the University of Sydney. His career blossomed and he was promoted to Senior Lecturer in 1965, Associate Professor in 1970 and Honorary Research Associate in 2002; subsequently he was awarded Honorary Fellowship of the University in 2016. He held many senior positions in the University during his employment.

His interaction with students increased when in 1979 he became the Wilson Fellow of St. Andrew's College and took up residence there; he was Senior Tutor 1982-1988, Hunter-Baillie Fellow in 1988, and Woodhouse Fellow 1992-1998; at the time of his death he was still exercising his right to reside in the college.

Ian became very active in professional organisations having joined the Royal Australian Historical Society in 1981, was a Councillor in 1990-1991 and subsequently served again from 1999-2014. He was Senior Vice-President 2000-2003 and then President from 2003 to 2011 - the longest Presidency in the history of the Society. He was awarded the title Fellow of The Royal Australian Historical Society in 2004. Ian was also instrumental in the formation of the Australian Society for the History of Engineering and Technology (ASHET) and was its founding President 2003-2012.

Ian's research interests were very broad. Despite having a Scottish upbringing his most well known work on UK history was entitled *Medieval Wales*, a book first published in 1972 that had four editions.

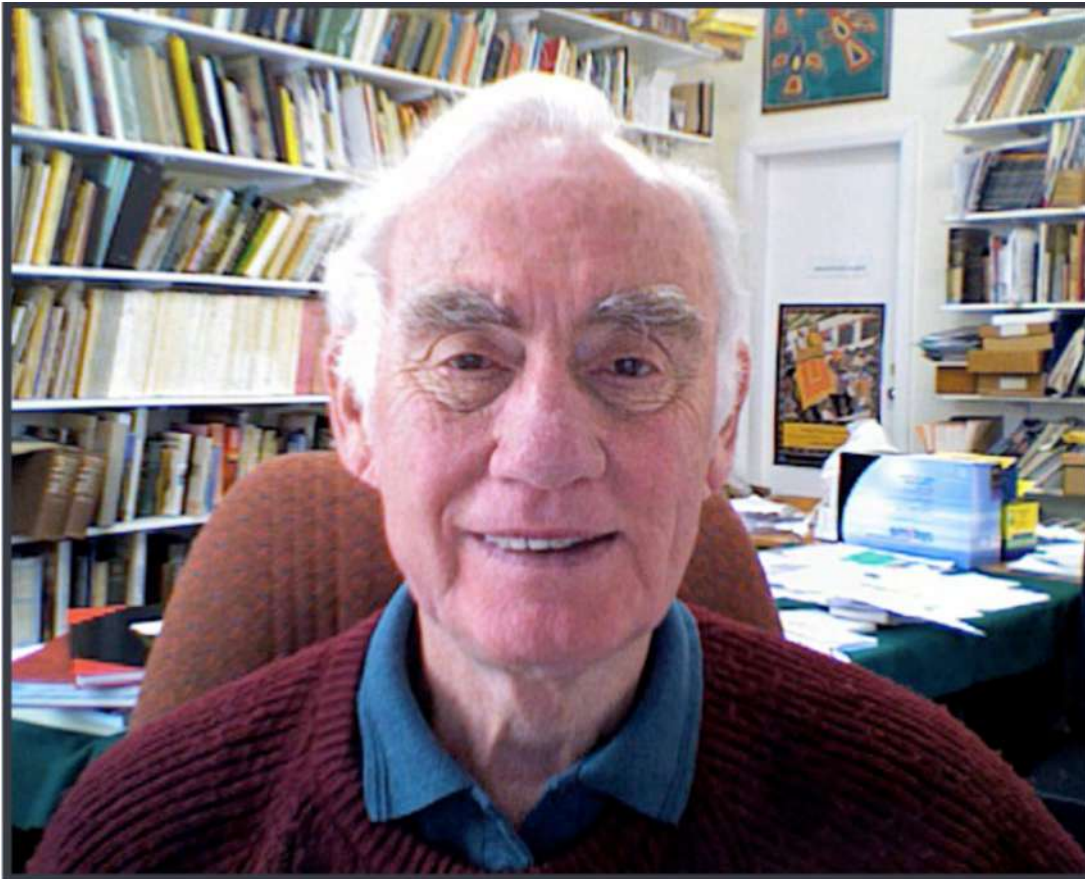
In Australia most of his studies were related to places and buildings in the Sydney Basin and adjacent areas. With students who went on to illustrious careers, he was involved with several archaeological digs that led to the publication of significant reports. For a long time he led teams that documented the heritage aspects of prominent buildings in each of the villages on the Blue Mountains - reports that are 'God sends' for those undertaking house histories. From time to time he engaged in industrial histories of places such as the Iron-works at Mittagong and both the Woollen Mill and the Blast Furnace at Lithgow. But in recent years a lot of his focus has been on the Hawkesbury area where he and his wife, Jan Barkly-Jack, have lived and researched and published, most notably on St. Matthew's Church at Windsor (2016).

Ian was very generous with his time and although he had historical knowledge and experience beyond that of local historians he was ever willing to give guidance. He often accepted invitations to give talks to Societies in the Blue Mountains and beyond, but what with residences at both Windsor and Sydney University that made for a lot of travelling.

Ian Jack will be greatly missed.

PCR





*ex The Millstone Nov-Dec 2007, p.2*

Barrie Reynolds in his home office at Hume Avenue, Wentworth Falls.

## Professor Barrie Reynolds (1932 - 2019)

Very recently news of the passing of Professor Barrie Gordon Robert Reynolds on 3 November was sent to our membership secretary by his daughter Jill. Barrie was the initial Honorary Secretary of BMACHO and was a strong supporter for the establishment of the Blue Mountains History Journal (along with John Leary OAM & Associate-Professor Ian Jack) and he has been a member of the Editorial Board ever since. In 2012 Barrie organised a workshop HERITAGE AND THE INTERNET which was held in May in the premises of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. in Wentworth Falls; the presentations were subsequently published as Occasional Papers No.1. He was particularly skilled at writing Grant Applications and submitted several on behalf of BMACHO in the early years. At that time he and his wife Ena were living in a large house on three titles of land (3474 m<sup>2</sup>) in Wentworth Falls that was given the address 40-44 Hume Avenue. Eventually the house and gardens became too much for them to manage so they relocated to an apartment in Glenbrook; that necessitated a lot of downsizing of his library ([Figure 1](#)) and thereafter Barrie almost ceased interaction with BMACHO.

In 1953, while still an undergraduate at Cambridge University, Barrie married a teacher Ena Margaret Foster; they had two children. From Cambridge University he gained a B.A. in 1954, an M.A. in 1958 and an M.Sc. in 1962 then Oxford University awarded him a D.Phil in 1968. For much of those formative years he was studying while working overseas; at the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Zambia as keeper of ethnography in 1955–64 and as director in 1964–66. Next he moved to Canada and became curator of the Centennial Museum in Vancouver (1968–69) followed by the position of chief ethnologist at the National Museums of Canada, Ottawa (1969–75). The family emigrated to Australia in 1975 when Barrie became Foundation Professor of Material Culture at James Cook University, Townsville, a position which he held for 22 years (1975-1997). His final post was as Adjunct Professor of Museums and Collections at Macquarie University in 1998.

Barrie had interests in a wide range of subjects and published extensively on the anthropology of Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia). He has written papers on the management of artefact collections in museums and in the 1990s he jointly authored two reports on the plight of Australian university museums. During his lifetime he held a number of positions in Societies, latterly as President of the Blue Mountains Historical Society (2001-2002) and as Honorary Secretary of BMACHO (2006-2010).

Barrie was a charismatic individual and ever a teacher who could give guidance on many topics. His hobby was numismatics and he had a significant collections of coins and publications on the subject. In 2004 he had published a paper on an Australian numismatist entitled “Walter Roth and the Missing Manuscript” and in 2006 another on “Ethnographic currency: Exotic and Conventional Forms of Money”.

The death of Barrie Reynolds aged 87 is very sad; he will be remembered for the significant contributions he made to BMACHO in its formative years.

PCR





**Cumulative List of Contents**

**Issue 1 - 2010**

Page

- |    |  |                 |
|----|--|-----------------|
| 1  | North Springwood in the Nineteenth Century:<br>the site of St Columba's Seminary and High School.          | Ian Jack        |
| 12 | Joseph Hay: One of Lawson's Pioneers.  | Brian Fox       |
| 22 | Dr William Bell (1815-1871): Experiences of a<br>19th Century Doctor on either side of the Blue Mountains. | Lois Sabine     |
| 36 | Aboriginal Prehistory of the Blue Mountains.   | Eugene Stockton |

**Issue 2 - 2011**

Page

- |    |  |                             |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| 1  | The Martindale Family and the Sketchbook of<br>Mary Elizabeth Martindale | John Low                    |
| 15 | Over a Century of Worship at Medlow Bath<br>& Peter Rickwood             | Clair Isbister, Robert King |
| 37 | A History of the Postal and Telephone Services<br>of Mount Wilson.       | Mary Reynolds               |
| 51 | A Secret Army in the Blue Mountains?                                     | Pamela Smith                |

**Issue 3 - 2012**

Page

- |    |  |                |
|----|--|----------------|
| 1  | The Blue Mountains: where are they?  | Andy Macqueen  |
| 26 | The Mystery of Linden's Lonely Gravestone:<br>who was John Donohoe?          | John Low       |
| 35 | Forensic history: Professor Childe's Death near<br>Govetts Leap - revisited. | Peter Rickwood |

**Issue 4 - 2013**

Page

- |     |  |                                   |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1   | The Imaginary Passage: George Caley's Unrequited<br>Blue Mountains Obsession.                                | Andy Macqueen                     |
| 19  | Hills, Pots and Gills: George Caley's Blue Mountains and<br>Yorkshire Place Connections.                     | Andy Macqueen                     |
| 33  | Osborne Ladies College, Blackheath and the Life and Times of<br>its Principal and Owner Miss Violet Gibbins. | Ron Brasier                       |
| 51  | A Long-Time Resident of Medlow Bath:<br>Cornwallis Wade-Browne (1837-1922).                                  | Peter Rickwood &<br>Howard Browne |
| 68  | Benjamin Roberts: One of Lawson's Pioneers.  | Brian Fox                         |
| 84  | Crossing the Nepean River at Penrith.  | Patsy Moppett                     |
| 102 | Postscript: Professor Childe's Death.  | Christine Cramer                  |

**Issue 5 - 2014**

Page

- |    |   |                                     |
|----|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1  | The Paragon Café, Katoomba.   | R. Ian Jack                         |
| 13 | Blackheath's Victory Theatre.   | John Lanser                         |
| 31 | A Meticulous Draftsman and Enigmatic Character:<br>Victor E. Coleman (1911-1976). | Peter C. Rickwood &<br>Brian K. Fox |
| 43 | An Appreciation of John Kenneth Leary OAM<br>(1 September 1934 – 10 July 2014).   | Jan Koperberg                       |

**Issue 6 - 2015**

Page

- |    |  |                                       |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1  | Assistant Surveyor Robert Hoddle's 1823 Excursion in the Gardens of Stone – and a Dark Secret? | Andy Macqueen                         |
| 12 | Woodford Academy, a Rare Treasure.   | Ken Goodlet                           |
| 23 | T.R. Rodriguez (1860-1929) – “Blackheath’s Father”.  | Peter C. Rickwood &<br>Joan E. Steele |
| 55 | Tuck’s Blue Mountains Oilette Postcards  | Erik Halbert & Ross Ellis             |
| 68 | Watering the Gee-Gees: A Survey of Blue Mountains’ Horse Troughs, Part 1.                      | John Low                              |

**Issue 7 - 2017**

Page

- |    |   |                   |
|----|---|-------------------|
| 1  | John Jingery, Gundungura man, and Robert J. O’Reilly, grazier, in the Burraborang Valley. | Diana Levy        |
| 11 | The Boulton Family of <i>Verna</i> , Wentworth Falls.                                     | Louise Wilson     |
| 21 | <i>Whispering Pines</i> – an H.P. Oser house with a Paul Sorensen garden at Blackheath.   | Chris Betteridge  |
| 35 | Soldiers Pinch, Blackheath: The history of its naming and development.                    | Peter C. Rickwood |
| 49 | Watering the Gee-gees: A Survey of Blue Mountains’ Horse Troughs, Part 2.                 | John Low          |
| 65 | Sandstone Caves in the Blue Mountains: their European Cultural Heritage.                  | John R. Dunkley   |

**Issue 8 - 2018**

Page

- |    |  |                           |
|----|--|---------------------------|
| 1  | A Blue Mountains House and its Owners: <i>Green Gables</i> at Wentworth Falls        | Jeff Warnock              |
| 23 | George Kitch (1843-1914): Katoomba Photographer and Businessman (1889-1914) – Part 1 | Ted Szafraniec            |
| 35 | Tuck’s Jenolan Caves Oilette Postcards   | Erik Halbert & Ross Ellis |
| 49 | Playground ‘Rockets’ reflect the Space Race Era                                      | Susan Jackson-Stepowski   |





