BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations

Issue 10 March 2021

photo courtesy of JCHAPS

Cover Photo: A Dind's of Katoomba parlour coach outside Hartley Courthouse *circa* 1962/63 with a group including JCHAPS member Kath Bellamy and her family..

Blue Mountains History Journal

Editor
Dr Peter Rickwood

Editorial Board
Associate Professor Carol Liston AO
Mr John Low OAM
Mr Andrew Macqueen OAM
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.

This project is supported by the Create NSW Cultural Grants Program, a devolved funding program administered by the Royal Australian Historical Society on behalf of the NSW Government

BLUE MOUNTAINS HISTORY JOURNAL

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

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

ABN 53 994 839 952

ISSUE10 **March 2021** **ISSN - 1838-5036**

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

Publication of Issue 10 of **The Blue Mountains History Journal** has been delayed due to various effects of COVID-19 but this is not the first time that issues have not been published in successive years.

Issue 10 contains four papers; one is about Blackheath in the early 19th Century, two are on topics relating to the late 19th and early 20th Century in Katoomba and Jenolan, and the fourth concerns early 20th Century memorials and events at Mount Victoria. They have been inserted in an order which is basically chronological.

The first paper relates to the Blackheath Stockade which was occupied from 1844-1849; it includes copies of the original plans for that small 'prison settlement' and of the *Superintendent's Quarters* - now the site of Blackheath Public Primary School. Not only is the work of the successive Superintendents discussed but also that of the successive medical men and the chaplains who cared for the needs of the convicts.

Brian Fox is a well known bushwalker with an extensive list of published books; his paper published here is the result of discoveries made during some of his walks. Herein he tackles the topic of the history of little known ways that intrepid miners used to reach their goals at the base of cliffs in the Katoomba area. One was a set of wire rope ladders that miners installed in c.1919 to reach a coal seam on the western side of Katoomba near Cahills Lookout. The second was a set of ladders constructed in c.1889 on the western side of Narrow Neck Plateau for John Britty North; they gave his employees reasonably quick access to the Glen Shale Mines in the Megalong Valley.

Chris Betteridge has followed on from John Low (Issue 9, pp.1-22) in tackling aspects of travel to the Jenolan Caves. The larger part of this account is of the motorised vehicles used in the early 20th Century, and of some of the potential hazards of the journey; it is well illustrated by photographs of identified vehicles. Also in this paper is a concise discussion of travel to, and over, the Upper Blue Mountains by trains such as *The Caves Express* and of the locomotives involved. It is a companion paper to the author's account of the development of Caves House and of the gardens at Jenolan (Issue 9, pp.23-42).

The last paper is by Harry Dillon and is a thoughtful reflection on the installations of monuments at Mount York in c.1913 to mark the centenary of the crossing of the Blue Mountains by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth. It includes details of the events held to accompany those installations. The author also evaluates the 1951 re-enactment of the 1813 crossing, and on the subsequent bicentenary events in 2013, at times of changed cultural values.

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 9.

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

Dr Peter C. Rickwood,
Editor

The Blackheath Stockade; the buildings and the occupants.

Peter C. Rickwood
BEES
University of New South Wales,
Sydney, NSW 2052
p.rickwood@unsw.edu.au

Abstract
Stockades were created in the Blue Mountains to house convicts while they were constructing roads, the first was at Woodford and then in 1844 the second opened at Blackheath where many buildings had been constructed. In addition to those for prisoners, there was a hospital of sorts and a house for the Superintendent. Closure in 1849 brought the need to relocate all of the prisoners and to sell the land, the buildings and various stores but sales continued for decades. Herein are copies of the original illustrations and descriptions of the principal buildings. In additon brief accounts of those who filled the positions of Superintendent, Surgeon and Clerk in the 1844-1849 interval have been compiled from primary sources. This paper is complimentary to the very different account of the Blackheath Stockade written by Siobhán Lavelle in 2005.

Key words: Stockade, convict, Bull, Rogers, Gledhill, Blackheath, Blue Mountains

INTRODUCTION

The Scotch Thistle Inn at Blackheath, which opened in 1831, remained the only building in the area until several dwellings were opened for the Stockade in 1844 (Figure 2).

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Sydney, 30th June, 1848.

BLACKHEATH STOCKADE.

HIS Excellency the GOVERNOR directs it to be notified, that the Stockade at Blackheath has been appointed a place at which male offenders, under order or sentence of transportation, or under any order or sentence passed in pursuance of the provisions of the Act of the Governor and Legislative Council, intituled, "*An Act to substitute other punishments for transportation beyond the seas,*" shall be detained and be liable to be kept to hard labor.

By His Excellency's Command,
E. DEAS THOMSON.

NSW Government Gazette, 4 July 1848, p.822.

Figure 1. Colonial Secretary's announcement.

Belatedly, explanations of the intended purpose of the Stockade at Blackheath were published four years after it had been opened and not long before it was closed. Thus in 1848 the Colonial Secretary (Thomson 1848d) issued a notice stating the Governor's directive (Figure 1).

Establishment

Construction of the Stockade seems to have started in 1843 for on 10 January 1844 Captain Bull of the 99th Regiment, then stationed at 20 Mile Hollow (i.e. Woodford), wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

> "Submitting Requisitions for Stores ... urgently required in consequence of erecting a new Stockade at Blackheath now in progress ... the Majority of Articles are wanted for the new Buildings at Blackheath ... my teams are fully engaged at Blackheath." (Bull 1844a).

To this was added a notation by an unknown person in the Colonial Secretary's office:

> "Captn Bull seems to have some expensive Buildings in contemplation - but I know of none that have been authorised. I cannot sanction the requisition without further Explanation.".

But writing from 20 Mile Hollow on 20 January 1844 Bull penned his explanation regarding his requisition:

> "I have the honor to State that in Compliance with Instructions received from Coll. Barney, previous to his departure from the Colony, I am now busily engaged in erecting a new Stockade at Blackheath where there are Seven Miles in length of a Road to make, and that in consequence of the distance from this place being 21 Miles, very little of the Materials of this Stockade can be removed especially the Iron Gang Boxes they are in such a dilapidated State, Some of them being upwards of nine Years in Use & the Bottom Timbers are rotten; I laid a plan of the Huts I am now Building for the Gang & Military etc., before Coll. Barney who approved of them, they being less expensive and more secure then the Boxes now used; for this Work and the repairs of hand Carts etc, the Nails were required." (Bull 1844c).

The notation made on the side of this letter indicates that the sum of £1106:17:6 had been allocated for the Blue Mountains Iron Gang for 1844 and was required to cover all expenses excepting rations and clothing for the convicts.

[The construction plans for these boxes were reproduced by Rosen (2006, p.152)].

But the perceived needs had not ended for Captain Bull wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 12 January 1844:

> "Applying for use of additional oxen to complete Stockade at Blackheath."
> "in consequence of the quantity of Logs, Slabs etc required to be drawn from the Bush a considerable distance to the site of the new Stockade now in progress at Blackheath... so as to have the Stockade ready for occupation in March next." (Bull 1844b).

By mid 1844 construction had progressed sufficiently for Bull to move his contingent from Woodford to Blackheath on 16 July 1844 leaving a soldier and a prisoner to protect the premises at 20 Mile Hollow from

> ".. being destroyed by the Bullock Drivers etc, which had been the case with other Government Buildings." (Bull 1844e).

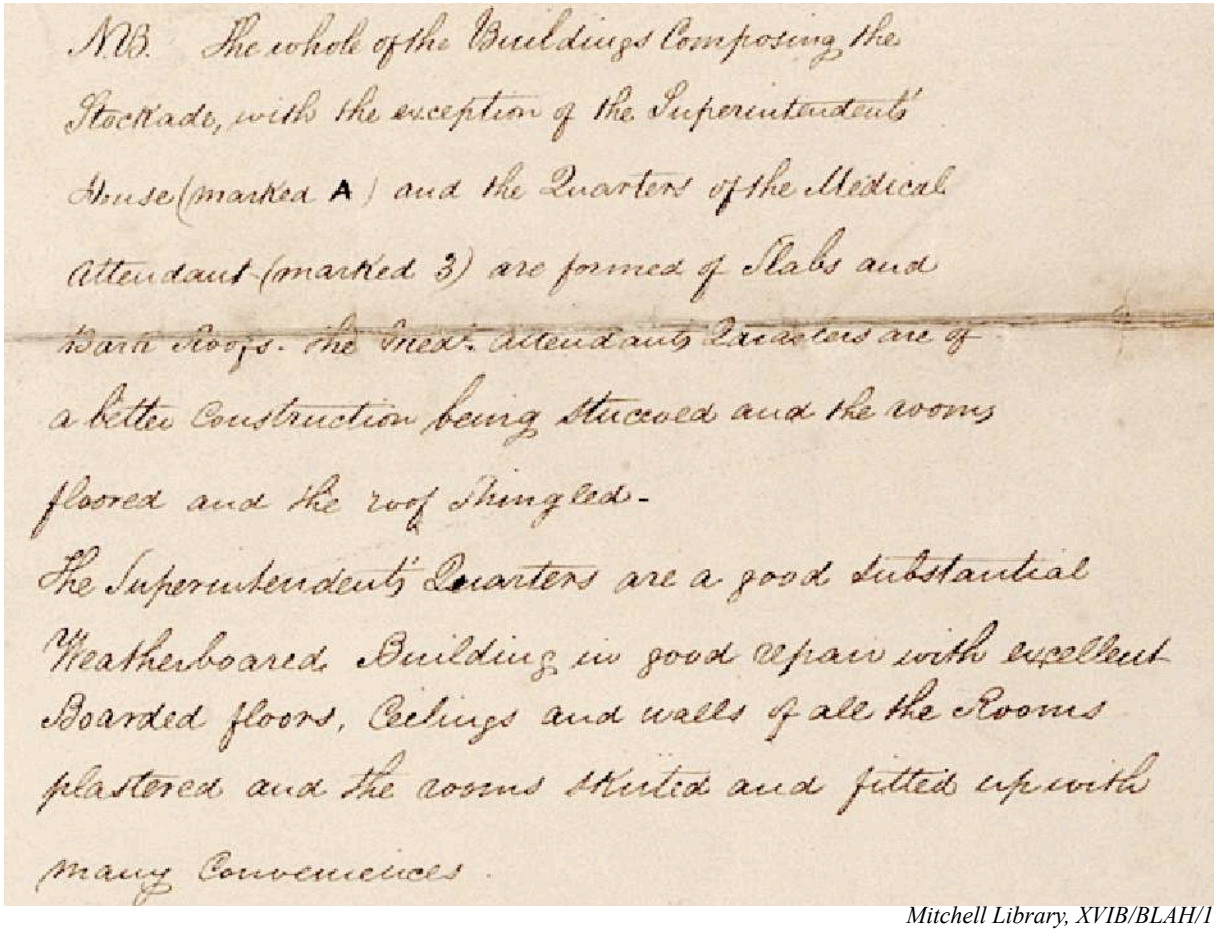
Appearance

Governor Sir Charles A. Fitzroy visited Blackheath on 12 November 1846, accompanied by his cousin Lt Colonel Godfrey Charles Mundy who wrote:

> "Suddenly the highway became Smooth as a bowling-green, beautifully macadamized; and our carriages trundled on the nails of their new tire-irons into Blackheath; for here resides Captain Bull of the 99th Regiment – a Colossus of

Mitchell Library, XVIB/BLAH/1

Figure 2. Plan of Blackheath Stockade (Gledhill 1849a)
[Note that unconventionally this plan is oriented South to North]


N.B. The whole of the Buildings Composing the Stockade, with the exception of the Superintendent's House (marked A) and the Quarters of the Medical attendant (marked 3) are formed of Slabs and Bark Roofs. The Invt. attendants Quarters are of a better Construction being Stuccoed and the rooms floored and the roof Shingled.
The Superintendent's Quarters are a good substantial Weatherboarded Building in good repair with excellent Boarded floors, Ceilings and walls of all the Rooms plastered and the rooms Skirted and fitted up with many Conveniences.

Mitchell Library, XVIB/BLAH/1

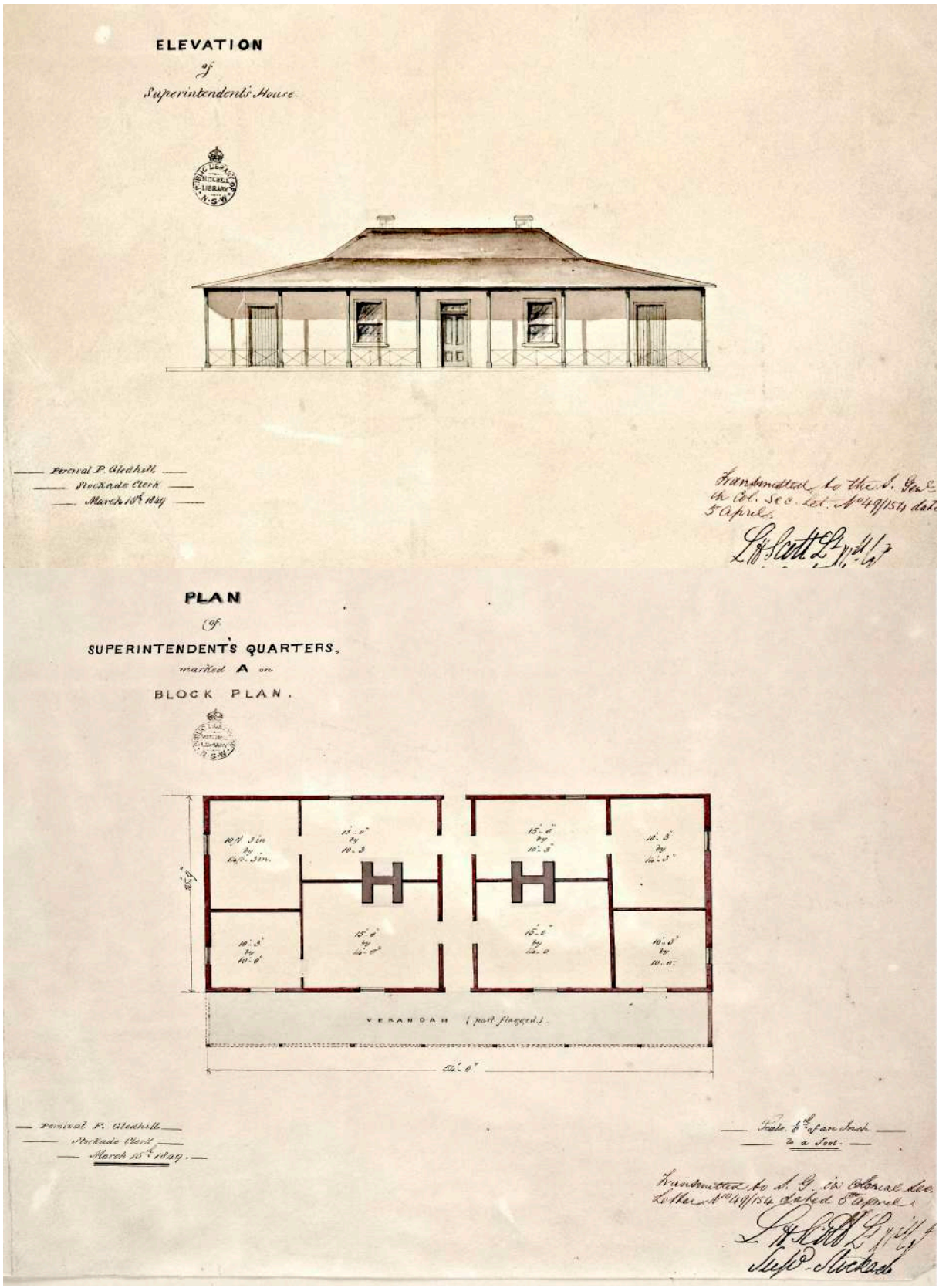
Figure 3. Note written on the right hand side of Figure 2.

> roads, in his way – as is testified by the great improvement he has wrought upon them to a considerable distance on either side of his station.
>
> The settlement of Blackheath consists of a convict stockade under charge of that officer, and a pretty good inn – Gardner's, more lately Bloodsworth's. The commandant's house is backed against the bush, overlooking the cantonments of his detachment and the huts of the prisoners under his orders. The barracks and convict 'boxes' form a little hamlet of some two dozen buildings of white-washed slabs with tall stone chimneys, laid out on a rocky plateau cleared of trees, and commanding a prospect of melancholy and desolate sterility...." (Mundy 1852, pp.158-159).

That account led to the name of Bull becoming almost synonymous with that of the Blackheath Stockade.

A survey of the buildings was made in January 1849 (Anonymous 1849a) just prior to the closure of the Stockade which was mapped in March 1849 (Figure 2 - Gledhill 1849a) and those plans (presumably tracings - Gledhill 1849c) were sent to Horace Charlton on 8 May (Charlton 1849a) so that he could make an audit (Charlton 1849b).

The Stockade was essentially a small village, the layout of which is shown in Figure 2 which is the original version of a more clearly annotated, and a more useful, illustration created by Campbell in 1924 which has been reproduced in many publications (e.g. Yeaman 1976, p.30). The Superintendent's Quarters were on the crest of the ridge south of the present day Leichhardt Street, and other buildings were spread along the western side of that ridge from the southern boundary of the playground of the present Blackheath Public Primary School (F - Superintendent's "Shed and Stockyard"; Charlton 1849e. -



Mitchell Library, XVIB/BLAH/1

Figures 4 & 5. The Superintendent's House or Quarters: Elevation and Plan (Gledhill 1849b) - north at the bottom.

Figure 6) - to opposite the Sutton Lane (GG - "Soldiers' Quarters"; Charlton 1849e. - Figure 6). The Paddock extended down to c.30 Shipley Road and more distant was the Cemetery in what is now Railway Avenue.

The description of the buildings written on the right hand side of Figure 2. has been enlarged and reproduced as Figure 3.

Buildings

(a) Superintendent's

In March 1849 Percival Gledhill (1849b) drew both an elevation (Figure 4) of the Superintendent's House and a plan of the modest interior (Figure 5). Situated on the top of a ridge the front of the house faced north and had just two windows from which the prisoners' buildings could be observed. The building was just 54' 0" x 25' 9" (*16.46m x 7.85m*) and at the front it had a wide verandah supported by eight equi-spaced pillars.

Gledhill (1849a) added to his stockade plan (Figure 3)

> "The Superintendent's Quarters are a good substantial Weatherboard Building in good repair with excellent Boarded floors. Ceilings and walls of all the Rooms plastered and the rooms skirted and fitted up with many Conveniences."

The interior (Figure 5) was bilaterally symmetrical with four rooms on each side of a central corridor. External front and rear doors opened onto that corridor and from it were entrances to each of the four largest rooms; three of those were connected to smaller rooms at corners of the building - the exception being at the NW corner. Those four large rooms had fireplaces that vented into two chimneys so giving separated heating to the eastern and western sides of the house. The northern pair were 15' x 14' (*4.57m x 4.27m*) and the southern pair slightly smaller 15' x 10' 3" (*4.57m x 3.12m*); it is conjected that all of those four rooms were for living uses rather that sleeping but the plan does not signify their purpose. Two other doors off the verandah gave access to the front corner rooms each 10' 3" x 10' (*3.12 m x 3.05 m*); the NE room was probably a bedroom as it had an entrance into a living room but the NW corner room was solitary with only one door to the verandah so maybe that was the Superintendent's office.

The kitchen was a separate building off to the SW; not known are where the washroom and latrine facilities were located. Descriptions of the other buildings in the Superintendent's Quarters were provided by Lavelle (2005, p.46).

An account of the archaeology of the site of the Superintendent's Quarters, now occupied by the Blackheath Public Primary School, is beyond the scope of this paper. Readers are directed to the publications by Lavelle (1994) and Lavelle & Rosen (1993). Heritage considerations were discussed by Lavelle (2005, pp.48-49).

(b.) Military and Convict Buildings

In 1846 Mundy found that

> "The barracks and convict 'boxes' form a little hamlet of some two dozen buildings of white-washed slabs with tall stone chimneys, laid out on a rocky plateau cleared of trees, and commanding a prospect of melancholy and desolate sterility...." (Mundy 1852, pp.158-159).

and when surveying the Stockade at the time of its closure, Gledhill (1849a) added to his plan (Figure 3)

> "The whole of the Buildings Composing the Stockade, ... are formed of Slabs and Bark Roofs."

Detailed descriptions, and a comprehensive listing of the lesser buildings, were published by Lavelle (2005, pp.44-46) but the medical facilities are discussed below.

Closure of Blackheath Stockade

The Police Magistrate of Bathurst (Colonel Morisset) wrote to the Governor in November 1848 pointing out the dilapidated state of the roads and:

> "requested that the road party should be removed from Black Heath (where the road is in excellent good order) to such parts as require immediate repairs." (Anonymous 1848d)

The gist of this letter was repeated in a subsequent newspaper editorial (Anonymous 1848e) that was cited in the following January (Anonymous 1849a), but this plea is unlikely to have had that effect for the work to vacate the Blackheath Stockade was already afoot.

On 15th. January 1849, Lieutenant Lawrence Hartshorne Scott of the 11th Foot Regiment, the Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade at the time, submitted (Scott 1849b)

> "... a report on the state of Blackheath Stockade on the 12th. of this month" (Elyard 1849e; also see Anonymous 1849b).

Three days later he was sent instructions:

> "... that the Stockade at Blackheath is to be broken up on the 1st. April next, and that the Convicts therein are to be removed to Cockatoo Island ..." (Elyard 1849c)

and thereafter

> "the services of the Military Detachment now at Blackheath will be no longer required" (Elyard 1849d).

Indeed, the Military Justice at Cockatoo Island was told to expect the prisoners who were to be kept

> "... there according to their just deserts and the time they have yet to serve." (Elyard 1849b).

Even though the demise of the Stockade had been ordered, the Superintendent continued to increase his staff, trying to hire a Blacksmith (Scott 1849c) and some attendants (Principal Superintendent of Convicts 1849). Then a communication from Lieutenant Scott (1849f) on 19 March 1849 indicated

> "his intention of removing the convicts in two Detachments (instead of three previously stated) the first to move from Blackheath on the 28 Inst. and the second the following day ..." (Elyard 1849j)

Consequent to this, further instructions were issued on 24 March 1849 to march the convicts (about 30 of them) to Parramatta from where they were to be conveyed to Cockatoo Island by steamer (Elyard 1849i,j; Yeaman 1976, p.174) and the Military to Sydney also by steamer.

Preparations for the evacuation proceeded speedily so the Stockade was vacated on Thursday 29 March 1849, three days ahead of the original schedule. The second and last division set out on that day making overnight stops at Twenty Mile Hollow and Penrith so that they reached Parramatta on the evening of Saturday 31 March 1849 (Scott 1849i) – quite a walk! Then the convicts were shipped onwards to Cockatoo Island but the three draught horses were left at the Dockyard (Storekeeper 1849) and four days later were ordered to be sold (Elyard 1849o). On 4 April Lieutenant Scott (1849j) reported to the Colonial Secretary that the delivery of the prisoners and stores had been effected.

Two soldiers were left at the Blackheath Stockade to guard the buildings and equipment but Thomson (1849a) indicated that Capt. Bull had been instructed to undertake these arrangements so these soldiers should not be required! (see Deputy Adjutant General 1849).

Disposal

Both Lieutenant Scott (1849e,h) and Police Magistrate Atkins (1849a,b) reported to The Colonial Secretary concerning the disposal of the stores and the horses. Most of the stores & tools etc. were ordered to be loaded into a dray and pulled by bullocks to Sydney (Elyard 1849k, instructions 12-15 of 18) but some items were to be left in the care of the Clerk (i.e. Percival Gledhill) as were the

stores selected for sale (Elyard 1849m). Those unserviceable stores were sold (Colonial Storekeeper 1849a,c) on the spot and raised £41 so in May authorisation was given for the sale of the bullocks and a timber carriage (Elyard 1849q) the result of which was reported by the Colonial Storekeeper in June (Colonial Storekeeper 1849b).

When Captain Bull was again responsible for stockade matters (1 June 1849 – 30 September 1849), he was told that:

> "... His Excellency the Governor approves of a Horse, Cart, Tools etc. which were left at The Weatherboard on the breaking up of the Blackheath Stockade, for the convenience of the Prisoners employed in constructing the Bridge at that place, being removed to Hartley and disposed of by public Auction.." (Elyard 1849r).

Moreover, Bull and the Colonial Storekeeper were ordered to arrange the sale (Elyard 1849s).

Disposal of the Medical items was raised by Dr Rogers (1849b,c,d) and subsequently instructions were issued viz: Medical stores were to be sent to Cockatoo Island and a list to the Colonial Secretary's Office (Elyard 1849h); books and records were to be handed to the Principal Superintendent of Convicts, except for the Medical books (Elyard 1849f, items 9 and 10). However a fortnight later those Medical items were ordered to be handed to Dr Hill (Elyard 1849l,n), the Principal Medical Officer for the Convict Service at Parramatta (Elyard 1849k, item 16). Unserviceable medical items were ordered to be sold on the spot so were to be put in the care of Heyward Atkins (Blue Book 1849, p.328), the Police Magistrate of Hartley (Elyard 1849l).

There was a previous arrangement that the stores and buildings were to be left in the care of two soldiers but as General Wynyard had ordered that no Military were to be left on the Blue Mountains the Police Magistrate at Hartley was to take charge of the buildings (Elyard 1849j; Thomson 1849a; Searle 1980; p.25). This was to be an interim measure for the final carer of the buildings was to be the Colonial Architect (Elyard 1849k) who also had to arrange for their sale.

The sale of the Stockade was discussed by the Surveyor General in a letter dated 21 March 1849 (Mitchell 1849a) and Charlton reported (1849d) on 19 June 1849:

> "I have the honour to enclose a Plan together with a list and description of the buildings and other information on two portions of land occupying the site of the late Blackheath Convict Establishment. In estimating their value, I was assisted by Mr Gledhill, the Stockade Clerk, who, from his profession of an architect, is enabled to form a tolerably correct idea of the value of such improvements."

At the end of his detailed report Charlton (1849b) wrote:

> "These Buildings and Improvements are well adapted for a private residence, a house of accommodation or Stores. The Cottage is well situated & commands a fine view. Estimated Value of Improvements: From £90 to £100."

However, the buildings were still owned by the Government in 1851 (Brown 1851).

Under instructions issued by Surveyor General T.L. Mitchell on 2 May 1849, the Stockade land was subdivided by Surveyor Charlton (Yeaman 1976, p.34) and the plan was submitted on 19 June (Charlton 1849c,d).

But the land was not formally surveyed until October (Mitchell 1849b) and a schedule for subdivision was completed by 16 October 1849 (Mitchell 1849c). However it was a year later, in August 1850, that the land was released by the Government (Thomson 1850, p.1306, col.2) and sale of the two lots was still being sought in 1877 (Under Secretary for Lands 1877)

"When the stockade at the Blackheath was broken up, tollgates were placed on the road, ..."

and just two years later there was severe criticism that the road was no longer being properly maintained (Anonymous 1851). In the 1850s the house of the former Superintendent of the Stockade was occupied by a Mounted Police Station and a lockup, part of the Western Road Patrol (Yeaman, 1976, p.31).

Staff

The 1848 Blue Book (1848, p.342) listed 50 staff positions at the Blackheath Stockade viz:

(a.) Assistant Engineer and Superintendent
(b.) Medical Attendant (which was called a Surgeon in 1849)
(c.) Stockade Clerk
(d.) Stockade Constable
(e.) Principal Overseers (Two)
(f.) Assistant Overseers (Two)
(g.) Convict Guards (41 Soldiers)
(h.) Blacksmith

A year later a

(i.) Roman Catholic Chaplain was added but neither the guards nor the blacksmith were mentioned (Blue Book 1849, p.376).

By far the most important of these men were the Superintendent and the Surgeon so the following account dwells mostly on those but the identities of other staff are listed when known.

(a.) Superintendents

The principal Superintendent during the existence of the Blackheath Stockade was Captain Bull and when he left the succession was Captain Day, Lieutenant Scott, Captain Bull again, and Thomas Brown - each for a short period.

Captain Bull (16 July 1844 – 31 March 1848)

Captain John Edward Newell Bull (Blue Book 1843, p.157) of the 99th. Regiment became the 'Assistant Engineer and Superintendent of the Ironed Gang Stockade' at the 20 Mile Hollow (Blue Book 1843, p.222) in 1843 and in the following four years his location was more vaguely given as the 'Road over the Blue Mountains, Bathurst Road' (Blue Book 1844, p.228; 1845, p.226; 1846, p.230; 1847, p.242) with those entries being listed under the Department of the Colonial Architect !

In July 1844 Captain Bull relocated his wife Mary and their four surviving children to the Blackheath Stockade where they resided from its opening (Bull 1844e) until their departure three years and eight months later (Blue Book 1848, p.342). Two children are known to have been born at Blackheath in that period viz.

Their eighth, Harriet Annie (Whitaker 2002, p.11) on 1 November 1845 (NSW BDM 1845), who was taken to the Holy Trinity Church at Kelso (N.S.W. Pioneers Index, 1845) to be baptised.

and

Their ninth, William McCleod (Whitaker 2002, p.11) on 5 September 1847 (NSW BDM 1847), who was baptised on 31 October 1847 by "William Lisle Church of England" also in the Parish of Kelso (NSW Baptism Record 1888, Vol. 32A; (N.S.W. Pioneers Index, 1888).

[The first four children were born in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) where three died in infancy; their fifth child was born in Scotland, the sixth in Castlemaine, Victoria and the seventh at 20 Mile Hollow (i.e. Woodford). Their tenth and last child, Emily Elinor, was born at Newcastle in 1851 during yet another posting (Whitaker 2002, p.11).]

In the mid 1840s Bull's New Zealand based cousin, Eugene Bellairs, became unemployed so in June 1845 he travelled to Blackheath and boarded with the Bull family for seven

months. He became a great burden on the household (Bull 1845b).

Essentially the Superintendent's Quarters appeared to have had only three bedrooms, located at the SW, SE and NE corners of the building (Figure 5), to accommodate the six members of the Bull family in mid 1845 (parents plus Catherine, Elizabeth, Edward Lindsay & Frederick). So probably those rooms were designated a parental bedroom, a bedroom for the boys and another for the girls. One can only conjecture what redistribution took place to provide a bedroom for cousin Bellairs during his seven month stay.

With the addition of Harriet Annie in November 1845 the Bull family had become large (Rogers 2004b) as Lt Colonel Mundy attested when he visited in November 1846;
"The settlement of Blackheath ... a prospect of melancholy and desolate sterility – qualities certainly not reflected upon the joyous countenances of the captain and his wife, nor symbolical of his well-peopled nursery." (Mundy 1852, pp.158-160).

When in February 1848 it was learned that Captain Bull was to be relocated, a public meeting was held in Hartley to plea for his retention at Blackheath (Chairman 1848; Anonymous 1848a,b) although to no avail. Bull ceased being Superintendent of the Stockade on 31 March 1848 (Blue Book 1848, p.342) and four months later he officially retired from the 99th Regiment on 9 August 1848

> "... by the sale of his commission for the purpose of becoming a Settler in this Colony. Captain Bull entered Her Majesty's Service on the 7th April 1825." (Wynyard 1849).

He was a civilian in 1849 when he had an interim spell of four months duration (1 June – 30 September; Blue Book 1849, p.376) of once again being in charge of the Blackheath Stockade (Blue Book 1849, p.186) but during that time he was also addressed as "Assistant Engineer, Hartley" (Elyard 1849r) so he must have had dual roles.

Bull's connection with Blackheath ended on 4 October 1849 when he was appointed to succeed James H. Crummer (Blue Book 1849, pp.376, 763) as

> "Superintendent of the Gang of Convicts employed in the repair of the Breakwater at Newcastle and Visiting Magistrate" (Elyard 1849t)

a position that he took it up on 8 October 1849 (Blue Book 1949, p.376; 1850, p.392).

Captain Day (1 April 1848 – 13 August 1848)

Captain Henry James Day, of the 99th Regiment of Foot, was appointed by the Governor

> "…to be Assistant Engineer, and Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade, in the room of Captain Bull" (Thomson 1848c.).

The contingent of the 99th Regiment was under his command (Blue Book 1843, p.161) and Captain Day was in charge at the Blackheath Stockade for just four and a half months from 1 April 1848 (Blue Book 1848, p.342) until an order was issued on the 7 August 1848 (Wynyard 1848) for the 99th to be relieved by the 11th Regiment. A detachment under the command of Lieutenant Scott arrived on 14 August 1848 (Blue Book 1848, p.342; 1849, p.376) and accordingly Scott took over as Superintendent.

Lieutenant Scott (14 August 1848 – 29 March 1849)

Lieutenant Lawrence Hartshorne Scott (Blue Book 1848, p.342; 1849, p.376) was destined to be the last Superintendent of the 'active' Stockade for it was he who effected the closure (see below) and his appointment lasted until 31 March 1849 (Blue Book 1849, p.376) although he departed from the

Stockade three days early in order to complete the journey to Sydney before his pay was stopped on 1 April 1849 (Elyard 1949e, item 4).

***No Superintendent* - Magistrate Atkins in charge (April & May 1849)**

After the closure of the Blackheath Stockade the buildings had to be placed in charge of somebody so temporary arrangements were made. In a letter dated 24th. March 1849 William Elyard (1849k) instructed Lieutenant Scott that as an interim measure the buildings were to be left in the custody of the Police Magistrate at Hartley, Heyward Atkins (employed 24 Sept. 1840 – 10 Oct. 1850; Foster 1932, p.229), and thereafter the Colonial Architect was to take charge. It is doubtful whether Scott received this letter before he departed from the Blackheath Stockade on the 29th. March for he judiciously left two soldiers to guard the buildings and equipment as had previously been arranged (Elyard 1849j). A fortnight later the Colonial Secretary, E. Deas Thomson (1849a) abruptly reminded the Assistant Military Secretary that Captain Bull had been instructed to undertake these arrangements so these soldiers should not be required! Presumably they were withdrawn in the third week of April and Magistrate Atkins was in charge until Bull took over again about five weeks later.

Captain Bull (1 June 1849 – 30 September 1849)

Although technically a civilian, Bull retained and used his military title so it was Captain John Edward Newell Bull who was again appointed to take charge of the Stockade from 1 June 1849 with his former titles of Assistant Engineer and Superintendent restored. But the duties were very different this time essentially being the tasks of caretaking and disposal. His second appointment lasted just four months until 30 September 1849 (Blue Book 1849, p.376) after which on 8 October 1849 Bull became Superintendent of the Breakwater at Newcastle (Blue Book 1849, p.376) also referred to as

> "the Breakwater Stockade, Newcastle" (Thomson 1849c ; Elyard 1850a) or "... the Stockade at Newcastle ..." (Elyard 1850b).

Brown (1 October 1849 – 31 December 1849)

For the remaining three months of 1849, Bull was succeeded as Assistant Engineer and Superintendent of the Blackheath Stockade by Thomas Brown (Blue Book 1849, p.376), the industrialist of Eskbank House, Lithgow, who recently had been appointed Police Magistrate at Hartley (Thomson 1849b).

(b.) Dispensers / Medical Attendants / Surgeons

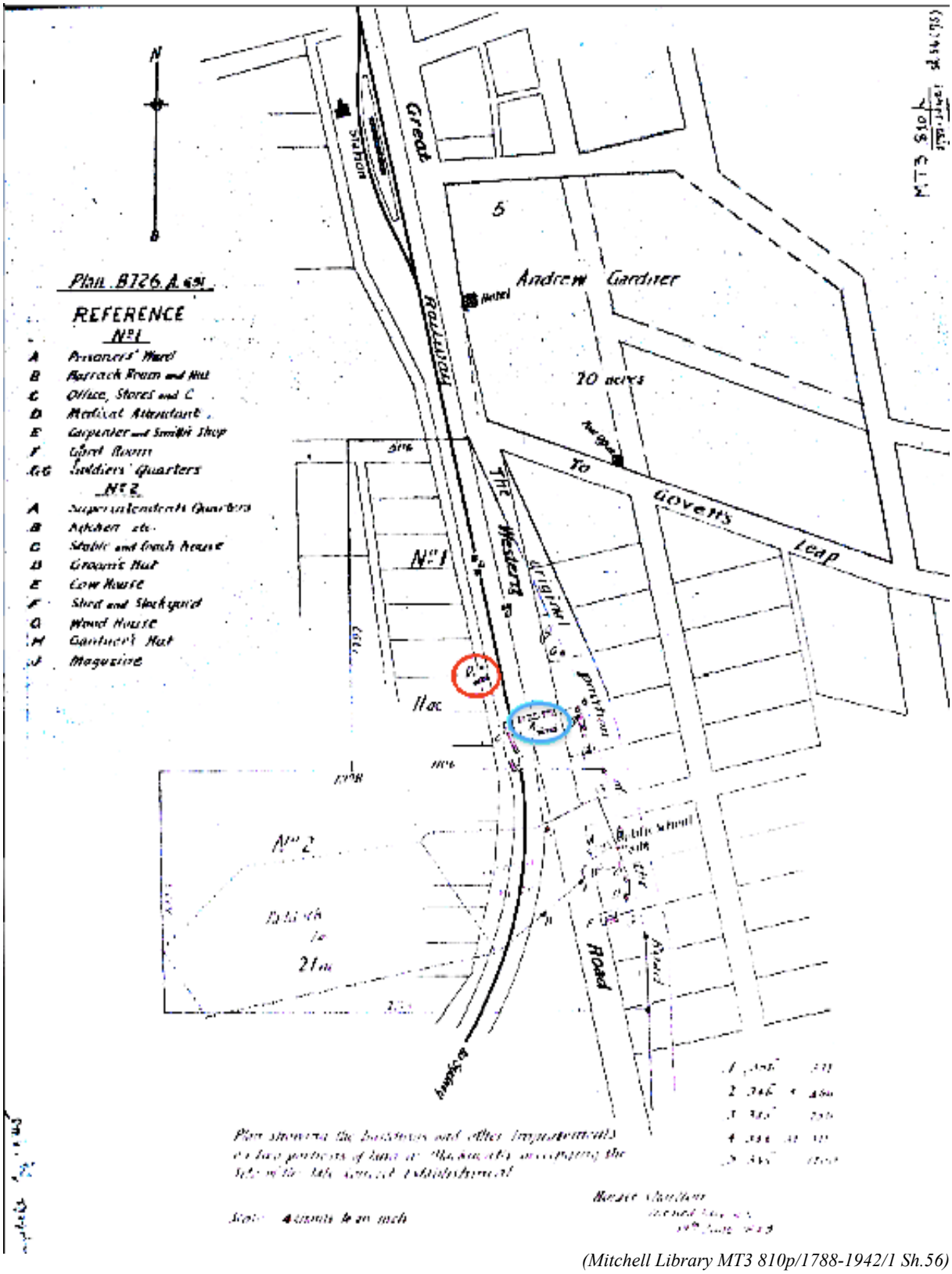
Curiously, those appointed to fill the medical role at the Blackheath Stockade were assigned differing titles.

Dr Tighe (? 1 April 1846 – 30 September 1846)

The first medical position at the Stockade was listed as 'Dispensers, Blackheath, one' with nobody named (Blue Book 1844, p.304; 1845, p.300). The nearest 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioner' in 1844-1845 was William Hall Palmer, M.D. at Hartley (Thomson et al. 1844, p.254; Dawson et al. 1845, p.129) so he may well have been consulted in those early years of the stockade.

On 1 April 1846 a "Temporary Hospital Blackheath" was recorded (Bull 1846) and in that year "Tighe Patrick Thomas" was listed as being both a 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioner' and a resident at Blackheath (Dawson et al. 1846, p.123, col.2). So it would seem likely that Tighe was the first occupant of the post of Medical Officer at the Stockade - but when he arrived has not been established. In June 1846 the Police Magistrate at Hartley applied for payment of fees to

> "... Drs R.J. Auld and P.S. Tighe ..." (Atkins 1846)



(Mitchell Library MT3 810p/1788-1942/1 Sh.56)

Figures 6. Map of the Blackheath Stockade - Charlton 1849e.
[N.B. The contract for the single line road bed of the railway section from Lawson to Blackheath was not let until 14 May 1863 (Wylie & Singleton, 1958, p.50) and the first train did not pass through Blackheath until 1 May 1868 (Anonymous, 1868) so the route of the railway line on this plan has to be an addition made by an unknown draftsman and not Horace Charlton.]

for attending to a lunatic, so both would appear to have been accredited with a title which accords with them being fully qualified.

[Note that Tighe's second initial more closely resembles an 'S' in both the transcribed copy of his letter to W. Dawson (Tighe 1846) and in the listing of Atkins (1846) letter, neither of which are in his own handwriting.]

Dr Tighe would have occupied buildings that Gledhill (1849a - labelled 3) described as

> "The Medl. Attendant's Quarters are of a better construction being stuccoed and the rooms floored and the roof shingled." (Gledhill 1849a - Figure 3).

Charlton (1849b) labelled them D and also called them the "Medical Attendant's Quarters". Those premises consisted of a two-roomed slab cottage "40 x 12" (*12.2 x 3.7 m.*) attached to which were two small slab huts which were used as a kitchen and a surgery; in the present-day their corresponding location would have been across the NE corner of 111 Station Street (Charlton 1849e - Figure 6 RED oval).

> "A short distance in the rear is a slab hut 9ft. x 7ft. (*2.7 x 2.1m.*) used as the Wardsman's quarters" (Charlton 1849b).

More distant was a slab hut hospital (18ft. x 12ft. (*5.5 x 3.7 m.*)) attached to the western end of the Prisoners Ward (labelled A; Charlton 1849b) that was located on a site opposite the present-day house *Norwood,* 209 Great Western Highway (Sec.7, Lot 5) (Charlton 1849e - Figure 6 BLUE oval).

> "As to my quarters, I regret to say that they are not by an (*sic*) means, suited to the promotion of health or comfort." (Tighe 1846).

At the Stockade Dr Tighe's duties involved being responsible for the health of the military and their families, totalling about 100 persons, plus 100 convicts (Tighe 1846) which resulted in a daily sick list of about ten persons. For that Tighe noted that his

> "trifling pay of "2/5½d per diem"

was

> "considerably less than what is allowed to the Dispenser of Medicines employed in Sydney Hospital" (Tighe 1846)

and inadequate for duties so onerous that they impaired his health. Indeed, he reported medically unfit for duty on 9 September 1846 (Dawson 1846) and a termination date of 30 September 1846 is recorded (Blue Book 1846, p.304). In order to attract a replacement the pay was increased to 5/- per diem, back dated to 1 September 1846 (Dawson 1846; Elyard 1846). However Patrick Tighe must have recovered his health for in January 1847 he was listed as practising at Newcastle (Dawson et al. 1847, p.34).

Dr Rogers (1 October 1846 – 31 March 1849)

On 1 October 1846 (Blue Book, 1849, p.376) Tighe was replaced by Robert Rogers, a surgeon trained at Edinburgh University (Cole 2002, p.9).

[née Rodger 1797-1849 - Thompson et al. 1839; that spelling was used on his 1797 baptism record and his university records (pers. comm. Mrs. V. Wotton, 15 Mar. 2004)]

Rogers had been accredited by the NSW Medical Board in October 1839 when he resided in Sydney (Thompson et al. 1839) and annually thereafter but with Brisbane Water as his residence from 1844 (Thompson et al. 1844, p.254) and Blackheath from 1847 (Dawson et. al. 1847, p.34).

[Note that in some copies of the Blue Book 1848, p.342 the date of Robert Rogers appointment 1 Oct. 1846 has been struck out and replaced by 1 April 1848 and he was officially regarded as

> "; transferred to the Blackheath Establishment paid from the Colonial Treasury from 1 April 1848." (Blue Book 1848, p.350)].

At the end of 1846 the position was still officially called 'Dispenser, Blackheath, Blue Mountain Road' (Blue Book 1846, p.304) and the appointee was not named; however in the following year it is stated

> "Establishment – Medical. Black-heath, Blue Mountain Road. Medical Attendant, Robert Rogers. Date of appointment: 1 October 1846" (Blue Book 1847, pp.330-331).

So whether Rogers was appointed as Dispenser or Medical Attendant is not known but he had the latter title in 1847. Curiously, as late as October 1848 the Deputy Commissioner General (1848) still referred to the position as "Dispenser Blackheath Stockade"!

Despite the Governor having approved pay of 5/- per diem for the Medical Practitioner from 1 September 1846 (Dawson 1846; Elyard 1846), seemingly, Rogers was appointed on a lower salary of 2/6 a day, although there is some inconsistency in that figure as Governor Fitzroy (1848, p.290a) wrote that the original pay was 2/9 a day but on p.290b stated "...the former rate of pay of 2/6 a day.". But Dr Rogers was not satisfied and on 28 August 1848 he sought an increase to 5/- per diem, back dated to 1 September 1846 (Rogers 1848b).

> "The increase of pay was authorised on the recommendation of the Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals...".

and was necessary because

> "Rogers left the station on account of ill health and the increase was sanctioned to induce him to return." (Fitzroy 1848, p.290b).

No record of a resignation has been found nor of leave granted for ill health!

During his term of office Dr Rogers was in charge of the medical stores (Elyard 1849g) and he acted as the local doctor for the community living as distant as Hartley (Anonymous 1848c). Later he was listed as "Surgeon, Convict Stockade, Blackheath" (Blue Book 1849, pp.215 & 376) and he introduced the use of anaesthesia (Rogers 2004a).

The Blue Books for 1845 1846, and 1847 do not record any Coroner at Hartley so Rogers would seem to have been the first to hold that position when he was appointed on 1 January 1848 (Thomson 1848a) but evidently his term of office was short lived for he was listed as

> "Coroner Hartly (*sic*) £20 per annum from 1 Jany. to 31 March" (Blue Book 1848, p.343).

That termination date is curious for his resignation was sent on 1 May (Rogers 1848a) and acknowledged a week later (Elyard 1848b) and it had been preceded two weeks earlier by notification of his intention to resign (Dawson 1848; Rogers 1848a). Overlap of service eventuated for on 20 April 1848 Rogers was succeeded by the long established Police Magistrate, Heyward Atkins, (Thomson 1848b; Blue Book 1848, pp.272-273) who retained that post for several years (Blue Book 1850, p.322).

Rogers had two children by his first wife Mary Haig (née Thompson) and four children, by his second wife Mary (née Quin). Thus in 1846 Rogers, his second wife, and their four children occupied the two roomed Medical Attendant's slab cottage which was only 40 x 12ft (*12.19 x 3.66 m*) in size! At this time the Superintendent was Captain Bull who had five surviving children (a sixth arrived in 1847) and some of the military also had offspring, yet with all of these children in the Stockade community there is no evidence of any form of schooling or nursery.

In February 1849 Dr Rogers became concerned about his future (Rogers 1849a), however he remained in office until the Stockade closed and he was on the payroll until 31 March 1849 (Blue Book 1849, p.376). In advance of leaving he made a claim for the accustomed gratuity (Rogers 1849e; Scott 1849g,k), that claim on the British Government subsequently being verified (Deputy Com. General 1849b). He was awarded one month's salary for the period from 1 April 1848 but the previous service was under the financial control of the Imperial Government so it had to be referred to England (Elyard 1849p) and this was acknowledged (Deputy Com. General 1849b).

He moved to Carcoar and in the evening of 25 November 1849 (Anonymous 1849d) Dr Rogers set out for a medical visit riding a

horse. He was drowned when fording (33.56411S 148.423853E) the swollen Lachlan River near the Nanami Falls, S of Eugowra. So it was his widow who in 1850 and 1851 pressed for payment of the gratuity (Rogers, Mrs. 1850; Hunt 1851) but she needed great patience for it was not until 1855 that payment was approved (Russell 1855).

(c.) Stockade Clerks

William Hayman (? 16 July 1844 – 30 June 1848)

The appointment of a Clerk was first discussed by Bull (1844d) and subsequently William Hayman held that position but his starting date has not been confirmed. On 1 July 1848 Captain Day reported that he had dismissed the Clerk for "habitual drunkenness" (Day 1848b) and Hayman was replaced by an unknown soldier until his successor arrived nearly 5 months later.

Unidentified Soldier **(1 July 1848 – 31 December 1848)**

Percival Gledhill (1 January 1849 – 31 December 1849)

Percival Phillip Gledhill commenced as Clerk on 1 January 1849 and in April 1849 Magistrate Atkins (1849b) lobbied for him to remain in a custodial capacity. So he stayed at the Stockade to assist Horace Charlton with the evaluation of the buildings and fittings and thus was on the payroll until at least the end of 1849 (Blue Book, 1849, p.376). Historically, Percival Gledhill is important for having been the principal recorder of the layout of the Stockade buildings (Gledhill, 1849a - Figure 2) and of the Superintendent's House (Gledhill, 1849b - Figures 3 & 4).

(d.) Stockade Constable

Color Sergeant Edward Cadden (16 July 1844 – ?1848)

In February 1848 William Elyard (1848a) noted that

> "... Color Sergeant Edward Cadden of the 99th. Regt. who has filled the situation of Stockade Constable at Blackheath for nearly five years ...".

So it would seem that his role as constable started in early to mid 1843 and included the period when the Blackheath Stockade was being constructed.

(e, f & g.) Overseers and Convict Guards

Unknown are the identities of the incumbents of the four overseer positions (Bull 1847a,b; Scott 1849c) but they may have been included in the unknown number of Attendants (Principal Superintendent of Convicts 1849). Nor are the identities of the guards known.

But in 1849 James Gorman was named as the Scourger (Ryan 1849) though being a convict he was not listed in the Blue Book (1849).

(h.) **Blacksmith.**

In 1844 Timothy Ryan was described as the "blacksmith, and out of irons ;" (Anonymous 1844), but for how long he filled that position is not known. However, in November 1847 Bull (1847a) wrote to The Colonial Secretary

> "Urging want of a Blacksmith at that Stockade."

and a month later

> "Requestng. (*sic*) engagement of a Blacksmith for Stockade." (Bull (1847b)

But it was six months later in July 1848 that George Chapman (Day 1848b) was reported to be holding that position but only for a short period for in January 1849 Lieutenant Scott (1849c) wrote to the Colonial Secretary.

> "Relative to the hiring a Blacksmith for the Stockade."

(i.) Chaplains

Quite who provided religious services to those living at Blackheath in the time of the Stockade is not certain for there were no churches and religious ministers only visited. Closest were the representatives of the Churches of Scotland and Rome at Hartley, but those of the Church of England were much further afield at Kelso, today an eastern suburb of Bathurst.

There is no record of a marriage service having been held at Blackheath during the 1840s, nor are there records of burial services despite there being headstones in the cemetery inscribed with 1845, 1846 & 1849. But there were baptisms some of which are thought to have occurred in Blackheath and where, no doubt, they were held indoors due to weather conditions; a few are known to have been performed elsewhere in churches.

(i) Catholic
It has been claimed that in

> "1843 – Services were celebrated for Catholic soldiers at the Blackheath Stockade by the "priest from Hartley Church"." (Baker 1990, p.19)
> [i.e. by the Revd. Michael Kavanagh (Blue Book 1843, p.320) or the Revd. James Dunphy who was appointed on 1 October 1843 (Blue Book 1843, p.320)]

but if that year is correct then those services must have been for the people present during the construction of the Stockade as it was not occupied until July 1844.

Somewhat belatedly, and possibly on 21 January 1849 (Gregory 1849a), Father Thomas Slattery was appointed "as R.C. Chaplain to that Stockade" (Scott 1849d). The Reverend Peter Powell [the Roman Catholic clergyman at Hartley (Blue Book, 1849, pp.214, 402, 602)] became a second when on 1 February 1849 he also was appointed "Roman Catholic Chaplain" to the Blackheath Stockade. However because of the closure of the Stockade their tenure of those positions was necessarily brief (until 31 March 1849 - Blue Book, 1849, pp.214, 376, 402-403) and the Rev. Powell was pursuing his pay even after the closure (Gregory 1849b).

The known baptisms into the Catholic Faith are recorded in the Appendix. Most babies were baptised on the day of, or within a few days of, their birth so almost certainly any ceremonies would have been held at Blackheath. Most of the infants listed were children of members of the 99th Regiment, but one who was baptised on 8 November 1845 was the son of Edward McCarrol of the 11th Regiment (Baker 1990, p.162) which was not located at the Stockade at that time.

(ii) Church of England
Adherents of the Church of England were not so fortunate as the nearest church was at Kelso, about 5 km east of Bathurst. Thus two children of the Bull family were born in Blackheath (Whitaker 2002, p.11) viz:

> Harriet Annie BULL b: 1 November 1845
> William McCleod BULL b: 5 September 1847

but the Bull family had to travel to Kelso to have them baptised by the Revd. William Lisle (NSW BDM 1845 & 1847).

However, in November 1849, Captain Bull was asked to report on

> "... an abstract of Salary Claimed by the Reverend. W. Lisle as Chaplain at the Blackheath Stockade for the period from 1st. January to 31 March last." (Elyard 1849u).

The Auditor General was consulted (Auditor General 1849b) and in the following month Bull reported favourably (Bull 1849) and Lieutenant Scott was asked to sign a claim for £6-5-0 made by

> "Revnd. Wm. Lisle as Minister of the Church of England at the Stockade Blackheath" (Elyard 1849v).

This was completed (Scott 1849j) hence it would seem that Lisle had some form of official recognition of his services yet there is no entry in the Records of the Colony (i.e. Blue Books) to indicate that he was on the pay-roll for that purpose. Confirmation that Rev. Lisle conducted services at the Stockade has not been found although it is a reasonable assumption based on those cited letters. Hence it is possible that the Bull children were baptised at the Blackheath Stockade but the events were registered at Kelso.

Convicts
Captain Bull reported that on 18 April 1845 the tally of convicts at Blackheath was

> "In Irons 54, Out Irons 11, 2nd. Class, Servants 12 Total 79"

and at the Hospital there were four "In Irons" so making a grand total of 83 men (Bull 1845a). But excluded were the 47 convicts at four outposts that came under Bull's jurisdiction. The number of convicts at Blackheath remained almost constant for

several years as on 18 April 1848 the count was 88 Prisoners held at the Stockade under the supervision of Captain Henry Day who named them (Day 1848a) as did Lavelle & Rosen 1993). In January 1849 the last batch of prisoners arrived from Darlinghurst Gaol (Scott 1849a; Visiting Justice 1849) - a group of fifteen for which details were sought at the same time as instructions were issued to the Visiting Justice at Darlinghurst Gaol that

> "... no more prisoners may be forwarded to that Establishment as it is intended to break it up altogether very shortly" (Elyard 1849a).

Lt Colonel Godfrey Charles Mundy wrote of the convicts he saw in 1846 viz:

> "The prisoners here form what is called an iron-gang – or ironed gang. They are employed working, in chains, and for periods according to sentence, on the repairs of the high road. We passed several lots of these wretched creatures – England's galley-slaves – clanking along with straddling gait and hopeless hang-dog looks to their allotted labours, escorted by soldiers; or working with pick and spade, crowbar, maule and wedge on the stubborn rocks – working with mule-like slowness and sulkiness because forced to work by fear of the lash. ....
>
> His Excellency had a parade of the prisoners, and we passed down the ranks as we might have done those of a regiment. ... here was undoubtedly a line of countenances and craniums, laid bare for inspection by the close-cut hair ... many of the squad under review have been convicted of the blackest crimes that ever be-devilled humanity.
>
> The convicts are marched to and watched at their work, marched to and watched at their meals, which they eat in a shed open at back and front, – marched to their wooden beds, and shut up under lock and bayonet until morning; yet, spite of all care and vigilance, many of them have escaped or tried to escape – braving the bullet of the sentries, the lash, Cockatoo Island, the gallows, and what is hardly less terrible, the chance of dying of hunger in the bush. The scaffold is the more frequent destiny of the successful runaway from such a place as Blackheath. He has neither food nor money; he would be recognised as a prisoner by his grey dress and his close-cut hair, if, having contrived to rid himself of his chains, he were to beg a crust of bread at a road-side house. One resource only offers itself, not very repugnant probably to his case-hardened mind. He lies in wait, cudgel in hand, for some lonely traveller, rushes upon him unawares, strikes him senseless, takes money, his clothes, and his arms, if he have any. Should he resist he murders him, and casts the body into some lonely gully." (Mundy 1852, pp.158-160).

It is evident from official correspondence that the food for the convicts was carefully monitored from Sydney even to the extent of both a "scale of rations" (Deputy Com. General 1849a) and "a Schedule of Rations" (Auditor General 1849a) being established.

Unsurprisingly there were runaways from the harshness of the Blackheath Stockade, even after the dismissal of the scourger (Architect 1847). The behaviour of the prisoners that was allowed to continue at Blackheath Stockade caused some concern as it included not only intoxication but also

> "… an unnatural crime, perpetrated on another prisoner in irons at the same stockade, …" (Anonymous 1849c).

Convict Artefacts

When land was being cleared on the corner of Clanwilliam and Prince George Streets, subsequently occupied by the Blackheath Bowling Club and now by the Blackheath Fitness Centre, a convict leg iron was found in a tree (photo - Yeaman 1976, p.38).

Contemporary versions of that discovery were that on 11 June 1914, a

"complete leg-iron and chain a few days ago found embedded in gum tree, situated about 400 yards (*366 m*) from the Public School, Blackheath. ... hanging down either side of the tree, about 7ft (*2.1 m*) from the ground." (Anonymous 1914a - photo; also see Yeaman (1976, p.38 on the left).

and a relic

"was discovered in a tree about seven feet (*2.1 m*) from the ground, and consisted of a complete leg iron and chain, ..." (Anonymous 1914b).

A decade later that description became:

"The sapling, .. grew at the north-east corner of the Recreation Reserve fronting Leichhardt-street, at a distance of about 350 yards easterly from the public school" (Campbell 1924, p.215),

which places the discovery at the intersection of Clanwilliam and Leichhardt Streets.

"A section of the tree containing the old-time leg-iron, discovered last week , has been placed ... in the School of Arts." (Anonymous 1914c)

and, more correctly,

"This tree was transplanted to "The Gardens" opposite the Railway Station but later someone stole the relic." (Yeaman, 1976, p.176).

Some known photographs of the relocated tree are P1070 & P1549 in the collection of the Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. and others were published anonymously (1972 & 1985) and by Yeaman (1976, p.38 on the right & p.324).

In 1894 Mr. McFedries

"...stated that not a stone's throw from this street (*i.e. Leichhardt Street*) he one time picked up dozens of the handcuffs that had been used on the convicts in the old days, and also strings of buttons bearing the 40th. Regiment stamp." (Anonymous 1894)

On another occasion,

"John Wilson, an employee of Mr. Evans, while digging a trench, unearthed a pair of leg irons, as worn by the convicts in the early days of N.S.W. The irons were clamped and locked, and were found about a mile from Blackheath, and a quarter of a mile from the Main Western Road." (Anonymous 1934).

The former site of the Superintendent's Quarters is now occupied by Blackheath Public School and a long time resident wrote:

"... my father was engaged in the building of the school ... whilst father was digging to start the foundation, he dug up a boot or the remains of one, with a leg iron still attached to it and in fairly good condition." (Bowmaker 1940).

But according to local historian Arthur Hillier (1946, p.6, col.3 - quoting Bowmaker) it was Jack Pike, Bowmaker's

"step-father, who dug out the foundations of the older part of the existing school in 1895, dug up an old boot with part of a leg-iron still on it." (gist repeated by Chad, 1951, p.10)

Then

"some of the children in digging to make gardens unearthed buttons and badges of the 99th Regiment and also coins that were current at that period" (Hillier, 1976 p.175).

Professional assessments of these and other discoveries were given by Lavelle (1994) and Lavelle & Rosen (1993).

Cemetery

Captain

"Bull instituted proper burial for the convicts ... and other citizens" (BMFS 1989, p.281)

in ground that is now.

" ... about the area occupied by the four cottages on the northern side of Railway Avenue, and extending across the present roadway. ... In the upper end of the paddock at the northern corner of Railway Avenue and Station Street are the stumps of five old pine trees; these were part of the outer north east corner boundary of the old cemetery." (Hillier 1976, p.175).

That small patch of land was declared a Reserve (R12591) and was Notified on 10 September 1890 being

> "Reserve from Sale for the Preservation of Graves." (Brunker 1890)

Then it was reported that

> " 'The Old Cemetery'. ... has been closed for twelve years" (Anonymous 1901)

i.e. from 1889, and rather than being a cemetery solely for convicts

> "..it is evident that the use of coffins was not in vogue amongst the soldiers, for none were used. Officers and privates were treated alike, being buried in their clothes with a shell of bark under them."
> "... people ... expecting to see something out of the common turn up, but not a relic of any description was to be found." "All the large stone slabs which capped the soldiers' graves were found to be in splendid order." (Anonymous 1904a; also see 1904b).

Moreover that cemetery was used after the formal closure as evidenced by the burial of Annie McCall, aged 2 years and 4 months, in 1890 (Anonymous 1890) and Oliver Biles, aged 15 months, in 1894 (see below), and other burials are thought to have occurred without being recorded.

In 1904 part of the Stockade cemetery area was declared a road reserve (R15245.1603) (Wearne 1923, p.3626) and later was named Railway Avenue. As land titles cannot be assigned for consecrated ground the rest of the land was presumably de-consecrated in 1904 and became Portion 154 after 35 bodies had been removed (Anonymous 1904b) to the new cemetery on the eastern side of the Great Western Highway. The names on the headstones relocated at that time are/were (BMFS 1989, pp.281-282):

John Carroll - 6 March 1845 aged 51 years at Blackheath Stockade

Samuel Jones - 16 June 1845 aged 27 years at Blackheath Stockade

Thomas Head - 19 November 1846 aged 25 years at Blackheath Stockade
Robert Crawford – 1849 Blackheath Stockade (now the most illegible)

William Evans - 12 December 1883 aged 36 years (coal miner)

Oliver Biles - 19 November 1894 aged 15 months.

A survey plan was drawn for Portion 154 with the intention of sale (Chapman 1904), but there were no purchasers at auctions held at Lithgow in February 1905 and March 1906. Eventually it was sold to Thomas Henry Vaughan in November 1910 (on the plan in faint lettering "Land for Deed 10-11-10"), and a deed was issue to him in 1911 (CoT 1911).

APPENDIX - Baptisms in birth order (all in the Roman Catholic faith)

Sources: Baptism Book of St. Bernard's Church, Hartley & Baker (1990, pp.162-163).

Father James Dunphy baptised the following who were listed as being from Blackheath

Anne born 20 June 1844 to Margaret McBride – father : John McBride Blackheath Stockade (baptised 30 June 1844)
[N.B. The father was probably a member of the construction crew of the Stockade which opened on 16 July 1844.]

Mary born 9 September 1844 to Bridget McMahon – father : James Farrell (baptised 27 Sept. 1844)

Ellen born 9 December 1844 to Bridget Gore – father : John Norton 99th Rgt. (baptised 29 Dec. 1844)

Catherine born 22 March 1845 to Jane Fitzgerald – father : John Burns (baptised 25 May 1845)

Baptisms performed by **Father Thomas Slattery** in Blackheath (Baker 1990, p.162) were:

James born 1 November 1845 to Ellen Murphy – father : Edward McCarrol 99th Rgt. (baptised 8 Nov. 1845)

Mary Ann born 10 March 1846 to Murn? Murn – father John Happy, Blackheath Stockade (baptised 13 Oct. 1847)

William born 1 July 1846 or 8 July 1846 to Bridget Gore– father : John Norton 99th Rgt. (baptised 13 July 1846)

James William born 4 August 1846 to Bridget McMahon – father : James Farrell (baptised 12 Aug. 1846)

Francis George born 15 September 1846 to Margaret McBride – father : John McBride (baptised 5 Oct. 1846).

Thomas born 5 October 1846 to Emelia Hawkes – father : Thomas McNaught 99th Rgt. (baptised 5 Oct. 1846)

Mary born 17 August 1847 to Honora Sullivan – father : John Ashton Blackheath Stockade (baptised 21 Aug. 1847)

Bridget born 26 May 1848 to Margaret Stephenson – father : Michael Wallace (baptised 29 May 1848).

Melvina born 9 August 1848 to Mary Ann Byrnes – father : Archibald McKeane (baptised 2 Oct. 1849).

Robert born 1849 to Christian Bell – father : John Rodgers (baptised 25 Jan. 1849)- the last baptism performed by Father Slattery during his appointment.

It was **Rev. McCarthy** who would have baptised:

Mary born 1 November 1849 to Bridget Barnett or Barnet – father Michael Pidgeon (baptised 1 Sept. 1850).

[N.B. by this time the Stockade had closed so either the father was one of the few remaining soldiers or he was a Blackheath resident of unknown occupation.]

Acknowledgements

Dr Robert Rogers, the surgeon at the Blackheath Stockade (1846-1849) was the great-great-grandfather of Dr Peter Rogers and Mrs. Valerie Wotton who, almost two decades ago, most kindly shared with me much of their family history research which has been of great assistance. The late

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1844) Stabbing. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 September 1844, p.4, col.3.

Anonymous (1848a) Hartley. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 1848, p.3, col.5.

Anonymous (1848b) News from the Interior. (From our Correspondent). Captain Bull. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 March 1848, p.3, col.4.

Anonymous (1848c) Hartley. *Daily News and Evening Chronicle*, 28 October 1849, p.3, col.3; Hartley. Accidents. *Bathurst Advocate*, 4 November 1848, p.2, col.4.

Anonymous (1848d) Road Repairs. *Bathurst Advocate,* 18 November 1848, p.2, col.4.

Anonymous (1848e) The Roads. *Bathurst Advocate*, 2 December 1848, p.2, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1849a) News from the Interior. (From our Correspondent). Bathurst. *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 19 January 1849, p.3, cols.2-3.

Anonymous (1849b) Board to the Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade, 24 January 1849. Registered No. 49/1017. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 905, Letters received 1826-1982. [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Anonymous (1849c) Unnatural Crime. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 February 1849, p.2, col.4.

Anonymous (1849d) Country News – Carcoar. *Bathurst Free Press*, 1 December 1849, p.4, col.4.

Anonymous (1851) The Roads to the Diggings. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 September 1851, p.2, col.2.

Anonymous (1868) Extension of the Great Western Railway to Mount Victoria. *The Empire*, 2 May 1868, p.5, cols.4-5.

Anonymous (1890) Blackheath. [From our own Correspondent]. Funeral. *Katoomba Times* 19 July 1890, p.2, col.3.
Anonymous (1894) Blackheath. *The Mountaineer*, 16 November 1894, p.3, col.6.
Anonymous (1901) Blackheath Progress Committee. *The Mountaineer,* 14 June 1901, p.3, col.3.
Anonymous (1904a) An Old-time Cemetery. *Blue Mountain Gazette,* 15 July 1904, p.2, col.5.
Anonymous (1904b) The Soldiers' Grave. Removing the Remains. *The Cumberland Argus,* 16 July 1904, p.7, col.2.
Anonymous (1914a) Relic of Convict Days. *Daily Telegraph*, 17 June 1914, p.11, cols.3-4 (photo).
Anonymous (1914b) The days of the Old Regime. *Leader and Stock and Station News Morning Daily (Orange),* 19 June 1914, p.2, col.3.
Anonymous (1914c) Blackheath, Tuesday. *Lithgow Mercury*, 26 June 1914, p.3, col.3.
Anonymous (1934) Blackheath News. Relic of the Convict Days. *Katoomba Daily*, 12 July 1934, p.2, col.2.
Anonymous (1972) Convict Irons. *Blue Mountains Advertiser*, 8 June 1972, p.9, cols.4-5.
Anonymous (1985) *Leg Irons photo*. *The Blue Mountains Echo*, 13 March 1985, p.15, cols.3-4.
Architect (1847) Architect to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 10 March 1847. Registered No. 47/2132. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2574 5/2413]
Atkins, H. (1846) Police Magistrate, Hartley to the Colonial Secretary. 22 June 1846. Registered No. 46/4603. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2409]
Atkins, H. (1849a) H. Atkins to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. Hartley, 27th. March. Registered No. 49/3013. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Atkins, H. (1849b) H. Atkins to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 12th. April. Registered No. 49/3517. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]
Auditor General (1849a) Auditor General to The Colonial Secretary. Sydney 20 Feby 1849. Registered No. 49/1830. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Auditor General (1849b) Auditor General to Colonial Secretary. Sydney 19 November 1849. Registered No. 49/11140. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2429]
Baker, K. (1990) *Church in the Mist. A centennial history of the Parish of the Blue Mountains, 1890-1990.* St. Canice's Catholic Church, Katoomba, 2780. 204pp.
Blue Book of Statistics (1843) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1843. 596pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/276]
Blue Book of Statistics (1844) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1844. 576pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/277]
Blue Book of Statistics (1845) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1845. 632pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/278]
Blue Book of Statistics (1846) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1846. 651pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/279]
Blue Book of Statistics (1847) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1847. 724pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/280]
Blue Book of Statistics (1848) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1848. 757pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/281]
Blue Book of Statistics (1849) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1849. 874pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/282]

Blue Book of Statistics (1850) Returns of the Colony of New South Wales 1850. 974pp. [Mitchell Library CY4/283]
BMFHS (1989) *Our Past Blue Mountaineers. Vol. II covering Shipley, Megalong Valley and Blackheath.* Springwood, NSW 2777: Blue Mountains Family History Society. 306pp.
BMFHS (2004) *The Blue Mountains Pioneer Register. Pre 1920. Volume One*. Springwood, NSW 2777: Blue Mountains Family History Society Inc. 250pp.
Bowmaker, R.O. (1940) Early Days of Blackheath. The *Lithgow Clarion,* 1 May 1940, [No copy found and it is NOT on Trove so it has been necessary to depend on the quote given by Siobhan Lavelle (2005, p.47)].
Brown (1851) Commr. Brown to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. Hartley, 29 April. Registered No. 51/4337. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2577 5/2441]
Brunker, J.N. (1890) Reserve from sale for the preservation of graves. Sydney, 10th. September, 1890. *NSW Government Gazette,* 10 September 1890, p.7066, col.1.
Bull, J.E.N. (1844a) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. 20 Mile Hollow, 10 January 1844. Registered No. 44/260. 4/2656.3. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2573 5/2401]
Bull, J.E.N. (1844b) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. 20 Mile Hollow, 12 January 1844. Registered No. 44/318. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2573 5/2401]
Bull, J.E.N. (1844c) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. 20 Mile Hollow 20 January 1844. Registered No. 44/561, 4/2656.3. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2573 5/2401]
Bull, J.E.N. (1844d) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. 20 Mile Hollow 20 Feby. 1844. Registered No. 44/1394. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2573 5/2401]
Bull, J.E.N. (1844e) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade, 29th. October. Registered No. 44/8182. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2573 5/2403]
Bull, J.E.N. (1845a) J.E.N. Bull, Captn. 99th. Regt. to The Honble (sic) E. Deas Thomson Esq. M.C., Colonial Secretary, Blackheath Stockade,18th. April 1845. Registered No. 44/3037. Enclosing 'State of Blackheath Iron Gang, 18th. April 1845.' [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel -: Letter in box 4/2697.]
Bull, J.E.N. (1845b) J.E.N. Bull, Captn. 99th. Regt. to Deas Thomson Esq. (The Colonial Secretary). Blackheath, 10th. Decr. 45. Registered No. 45/9036. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2574 5/2407]
Bull, J.E.N. (1846) Captain Bull to the Colonial Secretary. Blackheath, 1st April 1846. Registered No. 46/3800. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2574 5/2409]
Bull, J.E.N. (1847a) Captn. Bull to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade, 8 Nov. 1847. Registered No. 47/8890. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2415]
Bull, J.E.N. (1847b) Captn. Bull to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath, 6 Decr. 1847. Registered No. 47/9756. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2415]
Bull, J.E.N. (1849) Captn Bull to The Colonial Secretary. Newcastle Breakwater, 3 November 1849. Registered No. 49/11596. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2429]

Campbell, J.F. (1924) The genesis of Blackheath, Blue Mountains. 1813 to 1880. *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, 9: 205-219. [The map of the Blackheath Stockade is signed and dated April 1923. Details are more clear on the manuscript copy at Mitchell Library, MT3 810p/1788-1942/1 Sh.42-62]

Chad, C.R. (1951) *Some Blackheath History. Commonwealth Jubilee. A Souvenir Brochure and Programme of Back to Blackheath Week-End 26th and 27th May, 1951.* Katoomba: 16pp. (not paginated)

Chairman (1848) Chairman Public Meeting Inhabitants to The Colonial Secretary. Hartley 19 Feby. Registered No. 48/2332. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2417]

Chapman, E.C.S. (1904) Plan of Portion 154 at Blackheath, County of Cook, Parish of Kanimbla, Land District of Lithgow, Land Board District of Orange, Pastoral Holding Eastern Division. Scale 20 Chains to an inch. E.C.S. Chapman, Licensed Surveyor. Transmitted to the District Surveyor with my letter of the 18th. August. No.04/48. C2105 - 1507. [Plan Room, Lands Department]

Charlton. H. (1849a) Horace Charlton, L.S. to The Surveyor General. Hartley May 12th. 1849. Letter Received by Surveyor General 17 May 1849 No. 49/33 in response to Letter No. 49/232 and Instructions No. 49/222 of 2nd. May. [NSW State Archives: Letters to Surveyors, Reel No. 3058, 2/1522 p.127, Frames not numbered] [Mitchell Library MAV/FM4/10526 Reel 3058, 2/1522]

Charlton. H. (1849b) List & Description of the Buildings and other Improvements, forming the late Convict Establishment at Blackheath, - and the site thereof being now marked off into two allotments. Transmitted to the Surveyor General with Letter and Plan June 19th. 1849. [NSW State Archives: Letters to Surveyors, Reel No. 3058, 2/1522 p.145] [Mitchell Library MAV/FM4/10526 Reel 3058]

Charlton. H. (1849c) Horace Charlton, L.S. to The Surveyor General. Blackheath June 19th 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/40 in response to Registered No. 49/380. [NSW State Archives: Letters to Surveyors, Reel No. 3058, 2.1522 p.141] [Mitchell Library MAV/FM4/10526 Reel 3058]

Charlton. H. (1849d) Horace Charlton, L.S. to The Surveyor General. Blackheath June 19th 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/41 in response to Registered No. 49/519. [NSW State Archives: Letters to Surveyors, Reel No. 3058, 2/1522 p.143] [Mitchell Library MAV/FM4/10526 Reel 3058]

Charlton. H. (1849e) Plan showing the buildings and other Improvements on two portions of land at Blackheath occupying the site of the late Convict Establishment. Scale - 4 chains to an inch. Plan B726 A.691. Horace Charlton, Licenced Surveyor, 19th. June 1849. [Mitchell Library MT3 810p/1788-1942/1 Sh.56]

Cole, J.M. (2002) *Chronicles of a country hospital. Carcoar, NSW*. Blayney, N.S.W. : Blayney Shire Council, 2002. 120pp. [NSW State Library NQ36201.1099/17]

Colonial Storekeeper (1849a) Colonial Storekeeper to Deas Thomson Esq. (The Colonial Secretary). Sydney, 1 May 1849. Registered No. 49/4193. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Colonial Storekeeper (1849b) Colonial Storekeeper to Deas Thomson Esq. (The Colonial Secretary). Sydney, 21 June 1849. Registered No. 49/5877. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Colonial Storekeeper (1849c) Colonial Storekeeper to Deas Thomson Esq. (The Colonial Secretary). Sydney, 25 Aug. 1849. Registered No. 49/8388. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 4/2427]

CoT (1911) Certificate of Title, Volume 2132, Folio 193, dated 14 March 1911.

Dawson, W. (1846) W. Dawson, M.D., Principal Medical Officer to The Honorable, The Colonial Secr. Principal Medical Officers Office. Sydney, 10th. Sept. 1846. *Received* Letter Sent No. 46/28? in response to Registered No. 46/6626 – No. 28 - 12th. Septr. 1846. W. Dawson, M.D. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575]

Dawson, W. (1848) W. Dawson M.D. to The Private Secretary (*i.e. to Deas Thompson Esq., The Colonial Secretary*). Principal Medical Officer's Office, Sydney. 14th. April 1848. Registered No. 48/5395. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2417]

Dawson, W., Dobie, J., Nicholson, C. & Wallace, F.L. (1845) (No title but a list of 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioners'). New South Wales Medical Board, 25th. January 1845. *NSW Government Gazette* 4 February 1845/1, pp.128-130.

Dawson, W., Mitchell, J. & Richardson, W. (1846) (No title but a list of 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioners'). New South Wales Medical Board 19th. day of January 1846. *NSW Government Gazette,* 27 January 1846/1, pp.121-123.

Dawson, W., Nicholson, C., Mitchell, J. & Richardson, W. (1847) (No title but a list of 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioners'). New South Wales Medical Board, 4th. January 1847. *NSW Government Gazette* 8 January 1847/1, pp.33-35.

Day, H. (1848a) Nominal List of Prisoners attached to Blackheath Stockade 18 Apr. 1848. Signed Henry Day, Captn. 99th Regt., Supert. of Stockade. Registered No. 48/5523 with LC 51/7. [NSW State Archives, Colonial Secretary NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800. Reel 2575 5/2417 pp.44-47 but only 85 names are listed]

Day, H. (1848b) Henry Day, Captain 99th Regt., Supert. of Stockade to The Honorable, The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade, 1st. July 1848. Registered No. 48/7713. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2419]

Deputy Adjutant General (1849) Deputy Adjutant General to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney 18 April. Registered No. 49/3717. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Deputy Com. General (1849a) Dep. Com. General to the Colonial Secretary. Commissariat Office, Sydney, 8 March 1849. Registered No. 49/2384. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Deputy Com. General (1849b) Dep. Com. General to the Colonial Secretary. Commissariat Office, Sydney, 9 May 1849. Registered No. 49/4507. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Deputy Commissioner General (1848) Dep. Com. General to The Honorable, The Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 3 Oct. 1848. Registered No. 48/10739. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2421]

Elyard, W. Jnr. (1846) W. Elyard Jr. to The Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 16/17 September 1846. Letter Sent No. 46/61 in response to Registered No. 46/6626. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 980, Copies of Letters sent to Medical Staff, Reel No. 2866, 4/3790 pp.38-39, Frame 0193]

Elyard, W. Jnr. (1848a) W. Elyard Jr. to Captain Bull, Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 22nd./25 February 1848. Letter Sent No. 48/33 in response to Registered No. 48/2019. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.154, Frame 0440]

Elyard, W. Jnr. (1848b) W. Elyard Junr. to Mr. Robert Rogers, Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 8/10 May 1848. Letter Sent No. - in response to Registered No. 48/5834. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 943 , Copies of Letters to Individuals and Organisations, Reel No. 2296, 4/3551 p.227, Frames not numbered]

Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849a) W. Elyard Junr. to The Visiting Justice, Darlinghurst Gaol. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 17th./17 January 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/33 in response to Registered No. 49/423. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 970, Copies of Letters to Establishments, Reel No. 1061, 4/3728 p.187, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849b) W. Elyard Junr. to The Military Justice, Cockatoo Island. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 18/20 January 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/37 in response to Registered No. 49/8019. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 970, Copies of Letters to Establishments, Reel No. 1061, 4/3728 p.189, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849c) W. Elyard Jr. to Lieutenant Scott, Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 18th./20 January 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/16 in response to Registered No. 49/28019/19. [NSW State Archives: , Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.266, Frame 0497]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849d) W. Elyard Jr. to The Assistant Military Secretary. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 18th./20 Jany. 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/17 in response to Registered No. 49/28019/19. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.267, Frame 0498]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849e) W. Elyard Junr. to Lieut. Scott, Superintendent Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 22/23 January 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/19 in response to Registered No. 49/630/23. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.268, Frame 0498.]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849f) W. Elyard Jun. to Lieut. Scott, Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 12/12 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/47 in response to Registered No. 49/761/6. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 pp.287-289, Frames 0508-0509]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849g) W. Elyard Jun. to Lieut. Scott, Superintendent of the Stockade Blackheath. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 17/17 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/56. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.295, Frame 0512]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849h) W. Elyard Jun. to the Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 17/17 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/59 in response to Registered No. 49/2594. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.297, Frame 0513]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849i) W. Elyard Junr. to The Visiting Justice, Cockatoo Island. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 24/24 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/148. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 970, Copies of Letters to Establishments, Reel No. 1061, 4/3728 pp.248-249, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849j) Wm. Elyard Jun. to the Assistant Military Secretary. Immediate. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 24/24 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/61 in response to Registered No. ~~49/2762~~ (struck out). [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 pp.298-299, Frames 0513-0514]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849k) W. Elyard Junr. to Superintendent Blackheath Stockade. Immediate. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 24th. March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/63. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 pp.300-303, Frames 0514-0516]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849l) W. Elyard Junr. to Lieutenant Scott, Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 26th. March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/66 in response to Registered No. 49/2897. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.305, Frame 0517.]

Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849m) W. Elyard Junr. to Lieutenant Scott, Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 26th. /27 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/64 in response to Registered No. 49/2898. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 pp.303-304, Frame 0516,]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849n) W. Elyard Junr. to The Colonial Storekeeper. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 26th./28 March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/63. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 954, Copies of Letters to The Colonial Storekeeper, Reel No. 2990, 4/3641 pp.516-517, Frame 563]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849o) W. Elyard Junr. to The Colonial Storekeeper. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 4/4 April 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/74 in response to Registered No. 49/3238. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 954 , Copies of Letters to The Colonial Storekeeper , Reel No. 2990, 4/3641 p.522, Frame 566]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849p) W. Elyard Junr. to Mr. R. Rogers, late Medical Attendant of Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 26th./28 April 1849. Letter Sent No. - in response to Registered No. 49/3711. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 943 , Copies of Letters to Individuals and Organisations - Reel No. 2297, 4/3553 p.316, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849q) W. Elyard Junr. to The Colonial Storekeeper. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 5th./9 May 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/121 in response to Registered No. 49/4195. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 954 , Copies of Letters to The Colonial Storekeeper, Reel No. 2990, 4/3641 p.549, Frame 580]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849r) W. Elyard Junr. to Captain Bull, Assistant Engineer, Hartley. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 28th./28 July 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/231 in response to Registered No. 49/6855. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 970, Copies of Letters to Establishments, Reel No. 1061, 4/3728 p.285, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849s) W. Elyard Junr. to The Colonial Storekeeper. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 28th./28 July 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/185 in response to Registered No. 49/6855. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 954 , Copies of Letters to The Colonial Storekeeper, Reel No. 2990, 4/3641 p.584, Frame 598]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849t) W. Elyard Jun. to John Edward Newell Bull Esq. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 4th./4 October 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/317 in response to Registered No. -. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 943, Copies of Letters to Individuals and Organisations, Reel No. 2650, 4/3730 p.48, Frames not numbered]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849u) W. Elyard Jun. to Captain Bull, Newcastle. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 30th./30 November 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/366 in response to Registered No. 49/11140. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 943, Copies of Letters to Individuals and Organisations, Reel No. 2650, 4/3730 pp.71-72, Frames not numbered.]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1849v) W. Elyard Jun. to Lieutenant Scott. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 14th./14 December 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/174 in response to Registered No. 49/11596., [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985 , Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.362, Frame 0545]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1850a) W. Elyard Jun. to The Assistant Military Secretary. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney 1st. May 1850. Letter Sent No. 50/54 in response to Registered No. 50/4260. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.400, Frame 0564,]
Elyard, W. Jnr. (1850b) W. Elyard Jun. to the Respective Officers of Ordnance. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney 31st. October /4 Nov. 1850. Letter Sent No. 50/153 in response to Registered No. 50/9536. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 pp.458-459, Frames 0593-0594,.]

Fitzroy, C.A. (1848) Schedule of Appointments to Public Offices. NSW Governors' Despatches to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Vol. 53, Jan-Mar 1847. [Mitchell Library A1242; CY Reel 685 – see pp.290a-290b]
Foster, W. (1932) Hartley – The Gateway to the West. *Journal & Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 18 (5): 209-245.
Gledhill, P.P. (1849a) Block Plan of the Various Buildings forming the Government Stockade, Blackheath. Percival P. Gledhill – Stockade Clerk – March 15th. 1849. Annotated "Transmitted to the Surveyor General in Co. Sec. Letter N.49/154 of 5 April." Signed "L.H. Scott, Lt. 11th. Rgt. Supt. Stockade." [Mitchell Library, XVIB/BLAH/1]
Gledhill, P.P. (1849b) Elevation of Superintendent's House and Plan of Superintendent's Quarters. 15 March 1849, Stockade Clerk. [Mitchell Library, XVIB/BLAH/1]
Gledhill, P.P. (1849c) Tracing from P.P. Gledhill's (Stockade Clerk) Plan of the Stockade at Blackheath. [NSW State Archives Reel 2781. Surveyor General. Sketch Book, Vol.12, Dates 1882-1890, Folio 111 (but misnumbered 110), frames 0829 - 0830.] [Mitchell Library Original location X776.]
Gregory, Dr. (1849a) Dr Gregory to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 21 Jan. 1849. Registered No. 49/1104. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Gregory, Dr. (1849b) Dr Gregory to Deas Thomson Esq. (The Colonial Secretary). Sydney, 16 April 1849. Registered No. 49/3716. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]
Hillier, A.J. (1946) The Romance of Blackheath. *Blue Mountains Advertiser*, 24 May 1946, p.6, cols.3-5.
Hillier, A.J. (1976) The Blackheath Stockade. pp.174-176 in Yeaman (1976).
Hunt, M.B. (1851) Mary B. Hunt to the Colonial Secretary. Bathurst, 8 July. Registered No. 51/6959. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2578 5/2441]
Lavelle, S. (1994) *Report on Archaeological Monitoring of works at the Blackheath Stockade Site, Blackheath Public School, Great Western Highway and Leichhardt Street, Blackheath, NSW.* Prepared for NSW Public Works (Northwest), the Department of School Education, and the Heritage Council of NSW, June 1994. 11pp. + appendices. [The Local Studies Collection, Blue Mountains City Library, Springwood. Vertical File; Blackheath Primary School]
Lavelle, S. (2005) The Blackheath Stockade. pp.41-49 in Rickwood & West (2005).
Lavelle, S. & Rosen, S. (1993) *Historical and Archaeological Assessment of the Blackheath Stockade Site and the Impact of New Construction Works at the Public School, Blackheath, NSW.* Prepared for the Public Works Department (Northwest Region) and the Department of School Education (Met. West), June 1993. 39pp. + appendices. [The Local Studies Collection, Blue Mountains City Library, Springwood. Vertical File; Blackheath Stockade]
Mitchell, T.L. (1849a) Surveyor General to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 21 Mar. 1849. Registered No. 49/2822. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Mitchell, T.L. (1849b) Surveyor General to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 8 Oct. 1849. Registered No. 49/9826. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2429]
Mitchell, T.L. (1849c) Surveyor General to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 16 Oct. 1849. Registered No. 49/10061. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2429]
Mundy, G.C. (1852) *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies. With a glimpse of the gold fields.* In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Second Edition, Revised. London: Richard Bentley. 410pp. [Mitchell Library 980.1/331A1/B1]

N.S.W. Pioneers Index (1845). Pioneers Series 1788-1888; Church of England, Kelso V1845/2158 30A (microfiche)
N.S.W. Pioneers Index (1888). Pioneers Series 1788-1888; Church of England, Kelso V1847/1888 32A (microfiche)
NSW BDM (1845) NSW Birth Registration No. 2158/1845 V18452158 30A Harriet A. Bull. http://www.bdm.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/Index/IndexingOrder.cgi/search?event=births <Accessed 26 August 2020>
NSW BDM (1847) NSW Birth Registration No. 1888/1847 V18471888 32A William M. Bull. (NSW Baptism Record 1888, Vol. 32A) http://www.bdm.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/Index/IndexingOrder.cgi/search?event=births <Accessed 26 August 2020>
Principal Superintendent of Convicts (1849) Principal Superintendent of Convicts to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 3 Mar. 1849. Registered No. 49/1505. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Rickwood, P.C. & West, D.J. (Editors), 2005 *BLACKHEATH: Today from Yesterday. The History of a town in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales.* A project of the Rotary Club of Blackheath Inc., 2005 Published in the 100th year of Rotary International. WriteLight Pty. Ltd., Blackheath, NSW, 2785 for The Rotary Club of Blackheath Inc., 640pp.
Rogers, Mrs.Mary (1850) Mrs.Mary Rogers to the Colonial Secretary. Bathurst, 6 April 1850. Registered No. 50/3696. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2577 5/2433]
Rogers, P. (2004a) ROBERT ROGERS/RODGER/ROGER, Dr Robert. Item No. 383, pp.169-170 in BMFHS (2004)
Rogers, P. (2004b) BELLAIRS, Eugene. *BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.* Item No. 27, pp.9-10 in BMFHS (2004)
Rogers, R. (1848a) Robert Rogers, Medical Attendant to the Honorable the Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade. 1st. May 1848. Registered No. 48/5834. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2419]
Rogers, R. (1848b) Medical Attendant to the Colonial Secretary. Blackheath Stockade, 28 Aug. 1848. Registered No. 48/9559. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2419]
Rogers, R. (1849a) Medical Attendant Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 26 Feb. 1849. Registered No. 49/2074. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Rogers, R. (1849b) Medical Attendant Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 14 March 1849. Registered No. 49/2594. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Rogers, R. (1849c) Medical Attendant Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 15 Mar. 1849. Registered No. 49/2669. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Rogers, R. (1849d) Medical Attendant Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 15 Mar. 1849. Registered No. 49/2670. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Rogers, R. (1849e) Robert Rogers, Medl. Attendant to the Superintendent of Blackheath Stockade. Blackheath Stockade, 17th. March 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/4 in response to Registered No. 49/4507. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800. Reel 2576 5/2423]

Rosen, S. (2006) *"That Den of Infamy, the No.2 Stockade Cox's River"*. An historical investigation into the construction, in the 1830s, of the Western Road from Mt Victoria to Bathurst by a convict workforce. PhD Thesis, University of Western Sydney. 326pp. https://scholar.google.ca/scholar?q="That den of infamy, the No. 2 Stockade Cox%27s River : an historical investigation into the construction, in the 1830%27s, of the Western Road from Mt. Victoria to Bathurst by a convict workforce" <Accessed 27 August 2020>

Russell, J. (1855) Lord John. Russell to Governor Sir William Denison. Downing Street, 31 May 1855. 103 No. 23. Letter Sent No. 55/23 in response to Registered No. 55/103. [Mitchell Library Reel CY3848 Despatches to the Governor of NSW, Jan-May 1855; A1319: Frame 363]

Ryan, T. (1849) Runaways apprehended. 17 January 1849. *NSW Government Gazette*, 19 January 1849, p.113, col.2.

Scott, L.H. (1849a) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 15 January 1849. Registered No. 49/629. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849b) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 15 Jany. 1849. Registered No. 49/630. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849c) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 24 Jany. 1849. Registered No. 49/1016. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849d) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to the Colonial Secretary. 16 Feby. 1849. Registered No. 49/1836. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849e) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 19 March. Registered No. 49/2774. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849f) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 19 March. Registered No. 49/2775. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849g) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 19 Mar. Registered No. 49/2776. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849h) Superintendent Blackheath Stockade to The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 23?. Mar. Registered No. 49/2898. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]

Scott, L.H. (1849i) L.H. Scott, Lt. 11th. Rgm., Supt. Stockade to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. Blackheath. 26th. March. Registered No. 49/2989. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2424]

Scott, L.H. (1849j) Lieut. Scott to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney. 4 April 1849. Registered No. 49/3250. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Scott, L.H. (1849k) L.H. Scott, Lt. 11th. Rgt., Supt. Stockade to the Surveyor General, 5 April 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/154 in response to Registered No. 49/2073. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800 Reel 2576 5/2426]

Scott, L.H. (1849l) L.H. Scott, Lt. 11th. Rgm., Supt. Stockade to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. Victoria Barracks, Sydney. 15 December. Registered No. 49/11963. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2429]

Searle, A.E. (1980) *Historic Woodford and Linden.* Springwood, NSW: Springwood Historical Society. 90pp.

Storekeeper (1849) Storekeeper to the Colonial Secretary. Sydney, 2 April. Registered No. 49/3238. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2425]

Thompson, J.V., Dobie, J., Robertson, K., Nicholson, C. & Wallace, F.L. (1839) Supplementary List. New South Wales Medical Board. Sydney, 7th. October 1839. *NSW Government Gazette,* 9 October 1839/2, p.1137, col.2.
Thompson, J.V., Wallace, F.L. & Nicholson, C. (1844) (No title but a list of 'Legally Qualified Medical Practitioners'). New South Wales Medical Board, Sydney, 8th. January 1840. *NSW Government Gazette,* 6 February 1844/1, pp.252-254.
Thomson, E. Deas (1848a) Gentlemen to be Coroners for the Districts Specified. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 1st. January 1848. *NSW Government Gazette*, 4 January 1848, p.11. col.2.
Thomson, E. Deas (1848b) Coroner - Hartley. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney 20th. April 1848. *NSW Government Gazette*, 28 April 1848, p.553, col.2.
Thomson, E. Deas (1848c) Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney 9th. May 1848. *NSW Government Gazette*, 2 May 1848, p.615, col.2.
Thomson, E. Deas (1848d) Blackheath Stockade. Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 30th. June 1848. *NSW Government Gazette*, 4 July 1848, p.822, col.1.
Thomson, E. Deas (1849a) E. Deas Thomson to The Assistant Military Secretary. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 13th/14. April 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/76. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.310, Frame 0519]
Thomson, E. Deas (1849b) Colonial Secretaries Office, Sydney. 28th May 1849. *NSW Government Gazette*, 1 June 1849, p.859, col.1.
Thomson, E. Deas (1849c) E. Deas Thomson, to The Assistant Military Secretary. Colonial Secretary's Office. Sydney 8th/10 December 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/172 in response to Registered No. 49/11587. [NSW State Archives: Colonial Secretary NRS 985, Copies of Letters to Naval and Military Officers, Reel No. 2871, 4/3803 p.361, Frame 0545]
Thomson, E. Deas. (1850) Proclamation. *NSW Government Gazette*, 27 August 1850, pp.1289-1311.
Tighe, P.S. (1846) P.S. Tighe, Medical Attendt., Blackheath to W. Dawson Esq. M.D. Principal Medl. Officer, Sydney. 2 Cranes Buildings, Hunter Street, Sydney 9 Sept. 1846. Registered No. 46/?? (Attached to Dawson (1846 and quoted by Cole 2002, p.9).
Under Secretary for Lands (1877) Under Secretary for Lands to The Honbl., The Colonial Secretary. 13 Oct. Registered No. 77/8682. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2594 5/2536]
Visiting Justice (1849) Visiting Justice, Darlinghurst Gaol to the Colonial Secretary. 27 Jany. 1849. Registered No. 49/1083. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Wearne, W.A. (1923) Notification of Proposed Opening of Roads. *NSW Government Gazette* 10 August February 1923, pp.3626-3629.
Whitaker, A-M. (2002) Captain Bull of Bull's Camp. *The Explorers' Tree,* May 2002: 9-12.
Wylie, R.F. & Singleton, C.C. (1958) The Railway crossing of the Blue Mountains. 4 - Katoomba to Blackheath. *Australian Railway Historical Society Bulletin*, 246: 49-54.
Wynyard, *illegible* (1848) *illegible* Wynyard *illegible* Assist. Mil. Sec.. to the Honorable The Colonial Secretary. Asst. Mily. Secretary's Office, Sydney. 7th. August 1848. Registered No. 48/8846. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2575 5/2419]
Wynyard, *illegible* (1849) *illegible* Wynyard *illegible*, Asst. Mil. Sec. to the Honorable The Colonial Secretary. Ass. Mily. Secretary's Office. Sydney 20th January 1849. Letter Sent No. 49/22? in response to Registered No. 49/793. [NSW State Archives: NRS 905, [5/2409] 46/3800, Reel 2576 5/2423]
Yeaman, J. (editor) (1976). *Historic Blackheath. A community service project of the Rotary Club of Blackheath 1975: 1976.* Blackheath, NSW: The Rotary Club of Blackheath. 382pp.

Cable Ladders in the Blue Mountains.

Brian K. Fox
32 Keane Drive,
Kelso, NSW 2795
brianandelaine@aapt.net.au

Abstract
This paper sets out to explain the why and where of precarious wire ladders which were constructed by coal miners at two places at Katoomba on the Upper Blue Mountains and were used to traverse from the top of the escarpment to the base of the cliffs. One site was on the northern side of Cahills Lookout, and the other on the northern side of Narrow Neck where the installation was replaced by the so-called Water Board Ladders. These ladders played an important part in early Blue Mountains mining history, however the nature of their construction, and the height of the cliff face to ascend and descend, limited their usefulness.

Key Words: ladders, Jacobs, Dicksons, Water Board, Narrow Neck, Peckmans Plateau, Blue Mountains

INTRODUCTION
Across the Blue Mountains with its cliff lined escarpments, access from the valleys to higher ground and return has brought some challenges. Our road system from the east up Lapstone Hill and exiting via Victoria Pass to the west was an engineering feat, the single lane at Victoria Pass is no different in 2020 than when constructed and opened in 1832.

There are several locations on the mountains which were known as Blackfellows Ladder or Blacks Ladder that were used by earlier aboriginal communities at such places as Radiata Plateau, Devils Hole and Nellies Glen. A nineteenth Century bushwalker, Fred Eden, recorded in his diary on 27 January 1892,

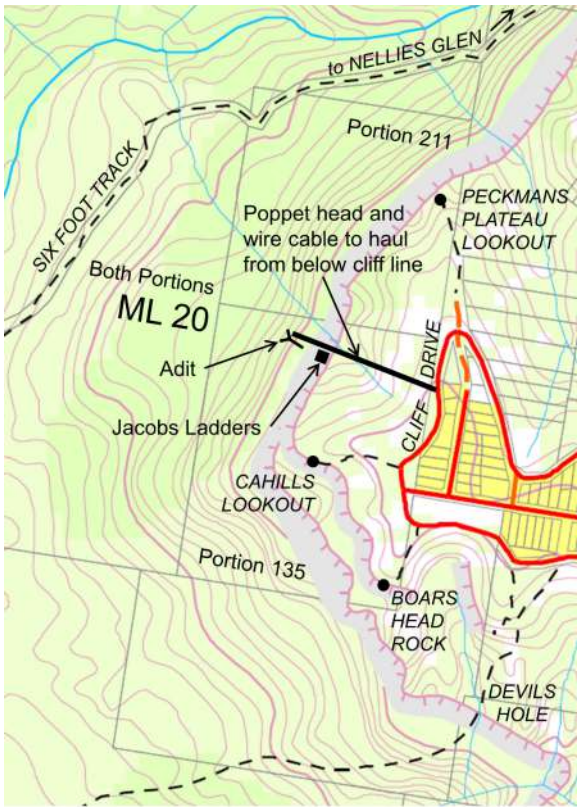
> "These ladders were trunks of trees, notched and arranged in a cleft in the cliff." (Barrett 1996, p.80)

Our early reserves trustees resorted to letting contracts for the construction of numerous wooden ladders, such as at Govetts Leap and Wentworth Falls and bushwalkers used chains, wire and spikes such as at Tarros Ladders, Carlon Head, Narrow Neck, and Radiata Plateau (Keats & Fox 2008). In a few instances steel steps were used, mostly to replace the wooden ladders at Coxs Cave, Govetts Leap, Pulpit Rock and Valley of the Waters. There were also instances of the use of a flying fox, for example at Blackheath one was constructed by the Wallace Brothers to extract timber, one at Medlow Bath was used to convey provisions to the Hydro Majestic from Valley Farm, and another at Leura was constructed in 1933 to transport materials down to the sewerage treatment works site in the valley below.

The authors of The Blue Mountains Geographical Encyclopaedia (Fox et al. 2018) only knew of two locations in which wire cable was used to construct substantial ladders down the side of a cliff face; Jacobs Ladders and Dicksons Ladder, both at Katoomba.

Jacobs Ladders, Katoomba
A pair of so named cable ladders are located on the western side of Peckmans Plateau and on the southern side of a gully; it is north of Cahills Lookout, Katoomba at GR 248385E; 6265670N (Figure 1).

In April 1919 coal miner Robert Allison and his colleague Edward Barrett, tested a seam of coal at the foot of the cliff line and found it to be four feet (*1.2 m*) in thickness of 'clean coal' i.e. free from shale or another adulterant (Anonymous 1919). The two men then erected a poppet head on the cliff above and installed a plaited steel wire cable to haul the excavated coal to the top. They concurrently constructed a steel cable ladder down the face of the cliff, to obviate walking



Department of Lands. Overlay compiled by John Cooper

Figure 1. Katoomba Topographical Map 8930-1S.

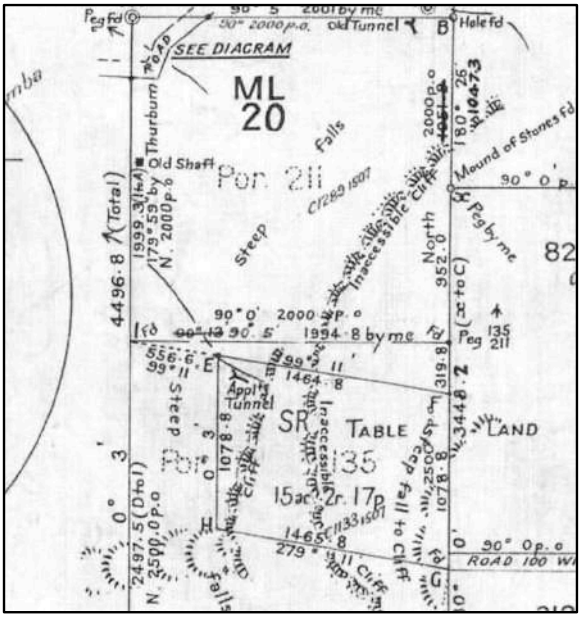
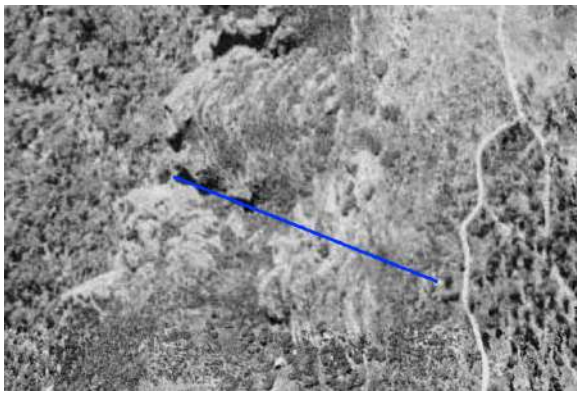


Figure 2. Plan of the northern part of Portion Mineral Lease 20. Parish of Megalong County of Cook. M.L. Appn. (Application) No. 6 at Penrith possn. (possession) 27.2.19 by R Allison, to mine for Coal. Transmitted to the Chief Mining Surveyor 29 March 1919. Survey Plan M16817.

around by Nellies Glen when desirous of reaching the base (Figure 2).

The poppet head would have consisted of a simple wooden frame to support pulleys for the wire cable to hoist the buckets or skips from the coal face to the top of the cliff line. Most likely one was above the main cliff line and another was further up the slope, for the least amount of man handling and efficiency required.

An aerial photograph taken in 1943 of this area shows a dirt track where the current Cliff Drive is located north of Cahills Lookout (Figure 3). A small white square directly in line with the top of the ladder towards the road may have indicated where the top poppet head and winding gear was located. The 1943 photo superimposed with the current aerial photo places the possible winding gear in the centre of Cliff Drive, 130m north of Cahills Lookout carpark. .



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

Figure 3. Section of the 1943 Aerial Photo marked with the inferred route of the cable.

In 1919 a newspaper article stated:

"Wanton Vandalism
Hauling Gear Destroyed
Damage Estimated at £50.

On Sunday afternoon last some malicious individuals, or thoughtless hoodlums, wantonly destroyed some valuable hauling gear, and, incidentally, risked

murdering two innocent workmen in the process.

Messrs Robert Allison and E. Barrett, two experienced coal-miners from the Old Country, have been making ready all preliminaries, of late, in readiness to start active coal-mining near the Boar's Head Rock, Katoomba. They tested the seam at the foot of the cliff, and found it to be 4ft. (*1.2 m*) in thickness of "clean" coal, i.e., free from shale or other adulterant. The two men then erected a "poppet-head" on the cliff above, and installed a steel-wire cable to haul the excavated coal to the service. The next step was to construct a ladder down the face of the cliff, to obviate walking round by Nellie's Glen when desirous of reaching the base. The ladder had been partially constructed, and, as time was pressing, the industrious owners decided to spend their Sunday erecting another section. They were hard, at it all day, and about 4 p.m. noticed a curious whistling sound, followed by a crashing of undergrowth. Having been frequently deceived by strange sounds, the pair merely commented on this new phenomenon, and proceeded with their labors. When approaching darkness warned them to desist, they mounted the cliff wall, and were astounded to find their new poppet-head in ruins. Rushing to its site, they discovered that the heavy steel cable was lying inextricably tangled in the tree-tops beneath, where it had been hurled by wanton or malicious hands. A quantity of heavy timbering and scantlings had also been projected over the verge of the cliff in the wake of the wire rope.

The unfortunate men spent the whole of the earlier part of the week salvaging their property, and the task of elevating it to the cliff-top is yet before them. The cable is almost irretrievably ruined, and but for the fact that it cannot be replaced, the cheapest plan would be to purchase another. As it is, it has to be cut at every kink, and spliced up, a task that will occupy many weary days. Apart from the actual damage done, which is estimated at £50, no light sum for two struggling men, and, the loss of valuable time occasioned, a casualty might easily have resulted. Had they been working at the foot of the cliff, instead of upon the ladder, it is almost certain, that one, or both, would have been killed, or seriously injured.

The police should make assiduous efforts to trace this wicked and wanton act. Katoomba is not so rich in primary industries that it can idly witness the spectacle of honest men penalised in this fashion. It is to be trusted that the malefactors will be brought to justice, and given a salutary lesson" (Anonymous 1919).

A year later a safety warning was published.

"Danger Spots,

.... There is another matter which requires looking into, viz; that death lure known as Jacob's Ladder. It is true that it is somewhat hidden from the paths usually frequented by tourists, but it is nevertheless used to a considerable extent by persons wishing to make a short cut into or out of the Glen. This "ladder" should either be removed or made safe, before the Coroner adds a rider to that effect in a future inquiry." (Anonymous 1920a).

Another article compared the dangers of the track along the cliff line at Narrow Neck as perilous as Jacobs Ladder (Anonymous 1920b).

The remains of the cable ladders are still on Portion 135, Parish of Megalong, County of Cook. This is a 50 acre MCP (Mining Conditional Purchase 9 September 1880. MCP 80/78) originally taken out by John Britty North. It is not known how much coal was extracted and hauled to the surface but Robert Allison held the lease for ML 20 until it was cancelled on 23 November 1923. However, he had by this time already moved on to his next employment.

Small pieces of coal can still be found along the track between Cahill Lookout and Peckmans Plateau (pers. comm. Philip Hammon to BKF 22 May 2020).

Philip Hammon has commented (pers. comm. 29 September 2019).

"One has to wonder what power did they use for haulage? Certainly, no electricity was available there in 1919 so steam or horse drawn windlass or similar were the only options. To get a clean lift they would have needed a cliff line that goes unbroken to the bottom, and they would

have had to get a horse and cart to the poppet head. A guide rope would have been required so that the wind didn't swing their bucket against the cliff, and also needed was a means of getting the bucket back over the cliff once raised to the lip. They could have used a swinging gibbet or a slewing davit. But all of this would necessitate a large flat area right on the edge of an unbroken cliff line."

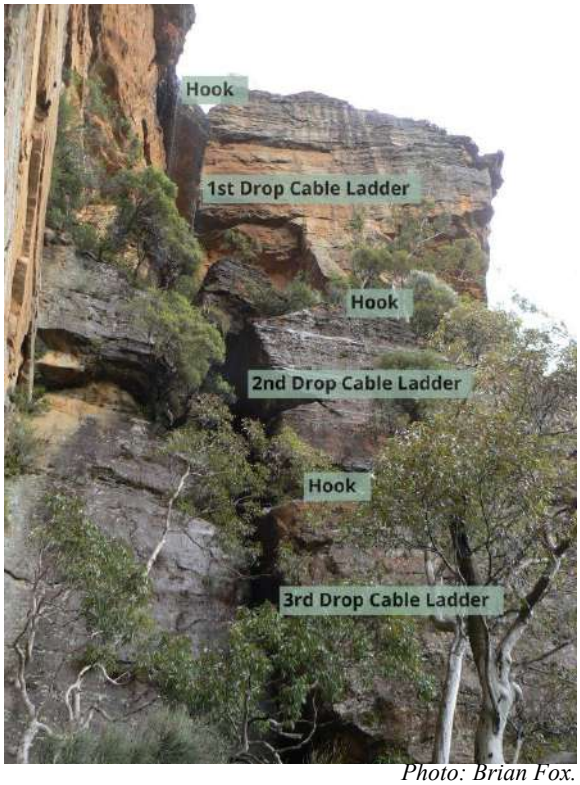


Photo: Brian Fox.

Figure 4. Cliff line showing the locations of what were the three sections of the cable ladder.

In all there were three levels that Robert Allison and Edward Barrett had to climb down to access their coal workings and it is only the middle (second) section which still has the cable ladders intact (Figure 4).

The location in the Twenty-first Century

Cable ladders were first noticed on a bushwalk to the base of the cliff line on 1 July 2011. A looped cable was found around a boulder above the first cliff line (2nd ledge). It is surmised this is how a section of the cable fell as opposed to the boulder being a support / anchor (Figure 5).

Looking up the cliff face to a height of 40m we could see a cable ladder hanging down.

Photo: Brian Fox, 1 July 2011.

Figure 5. Cable at the base of the cliff line.

The top of this section of ladder was on a substantial ledge and there is a wooden rung.

"It occurs to me that the "wooden rung" is not exactly a rung but a spacer to keep the top of the stringers apart, otherwise the stringers would collapse together. They may have had one top and bottom". (pers. comm. Philip Hammon 26 August 2019)

[Note: - The stringer is a structural piece of wood to keep the longitudinal cables apart.]

After a subsequent bushwalk on 16 August 2019, Alan Jones recalled seeing the cable ladder hanging over an overhang and that section had wooden rungs, but nothing remains of that today.

At the top of the vertical cliff line is a hand forged hook near and below the northern side of Cahills Lookout (GR 248393E; 6265653N). It is 25mm diameter and is set

Photo: Brian Fox, 23 August 2019.

Figure 6. Anchor point at the top of the cliff line. The Garmin Foretrex 401 is used for location and scale; it is 72mm wide.

in concrete and would have been an anchor point for the ladder (Figure 6). The 15-18m section of the cable ladder still remaining (Figure 7) hangs over the middle cliff face and the rungs are made of cable. Further down was more loose cable, but in subsequent walks despite all best efforts of criss-crossing the area below it could not be relocated. With 100 years of vegetation changes and washaways no evidence of further cable, tunnel or adit was found. However, plenty of loose pieces of coal were seen in the area

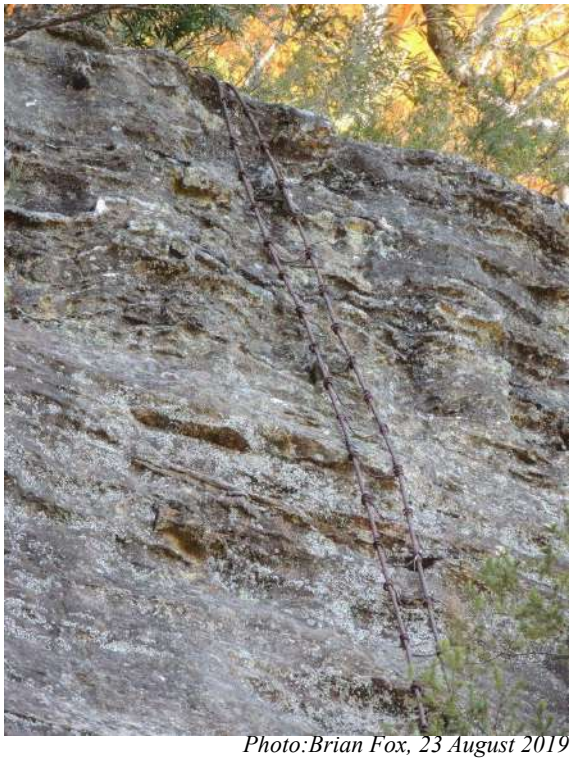


Photo:Brian Fox, 23 August 2019

Figure 7. Remaining section of cable ladder.

While the section of cable ladder hanging down the cliff face looks to be in very good condition, the section which has fallen is rusted and brittle. Philip Hammond's comment is:

> "The killer for old wire rope is water, you can see where it has rusted where the water has been let in by penetrating the strands for the rungs." (Figure 8).

Why the use of wire cable for ladders?

One of the main considerations for choosing wire rope as opposed to fibre rope is that it is less likely to chafe against the rock face due to wind and the motion of climbers. Moreover wire rope is preferable for outdoor conditions as its strength and length is not unduly compromised by weather conditions.

Photo: Brian Fox, 23 August 2019

Figure 8. Close up of a section of frayed remains of rung.

A section of cable was shown to Philip Hammon, who described it as,

> "Wire diameter 18mm, Top strand to top strand 14cm, 6 strands each containing 7 wires".

The central core was sisal rope, 3 strands and 9 strings. Along the cable at 300mm intervals was either a rivet through the cable or a single strand tied around and through the cable to support the smaller cable rungs (Figure 9).

[Note: - A 'strand' is when two or more wires are wound concentrically in a helix. These strands are typically wound around a centre wire and then around the core. The 'lay' of the strand is the direction that the wires orbit the core.]

In the last week of January 2020 Alan Jones and Chris Jackson abseiled down 30m to the first ledge. This relatively level ledge, with healthy trees and heavy under-growth, still revealed enough cable on the ground for them to realise that the cable ladder had originally extended down the overhang over which they had just abseiled. Alan Jones, and another person, also recalled seeing this top section of cable ladder intact in the 1990s (pers. comm. Alan Jones, 15 February 2010). On this first ledge was a hand forged anchor hook similar to the one on the top ledge. This second hook was the anchor point for the next section of the cable ladder. The second drop of 15-18m is where the cable ladders are still *in situ* but they are only seen from this ledge or from the base of the cliff line. At the base of this second drop another

Photo: Brian Fox, 1 July 2011

Figure 9. Within the loose cable is a wooden stringer which kept the cables apart.

hand forged hook there is the anchor point for the final third section of the cable ladders (Figure 10).

Robert Allison

Robert was born in c.1884 in the town of Crook, a historic market town in County Durham in the north of England (NAA 1918) and came to Australia c.1910. He moved to Pipers Flat, near Wallerawang, and held the position of mine manager of Main Range Colliery between the years c.1910-1919 (Anonymous 1918).

Robert Allison's coal mining activities at Katoomba spaned the years between 1919 and 1922. From Katoomba he moved to Lambton, Newcastle and took up the position of mine manager of the Old Lambton Colliery in Newcastle (Anonymous 1933) and held this position until the colliery closed in 1936 (Anonymous (1936). Robert Allison "of Hamilton, Newcastle" died on 6 September 1962 (Anonymous 1962).

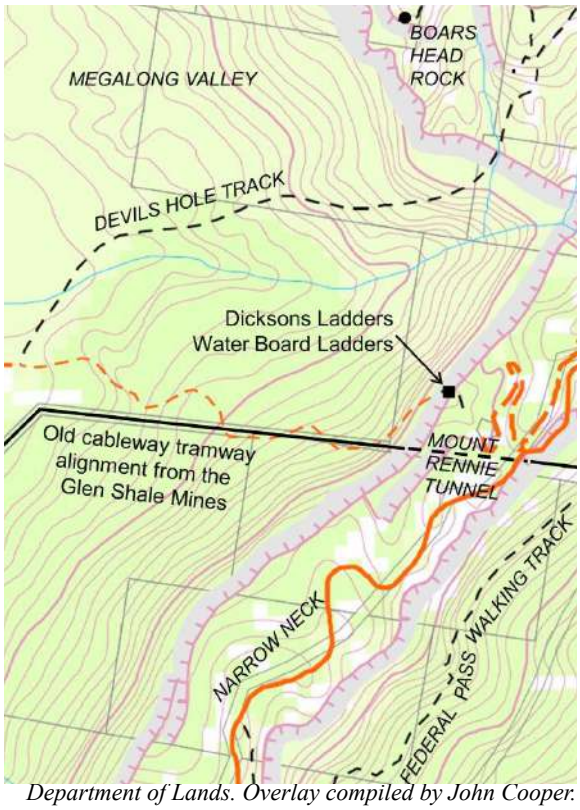
Photo: Brian Fox, 23 August 2019.

Figure 10. Close up of the second section of the cable ladder.

Dicksons Ladders, Katoomba

[Note: The majority of published accounts have the incorrect spelling of 'Dickson' as 'Dixon']

Dicksons Ladders were located on the western side of Narrow Neck Plateau, below the present water pumping station off Glenraphael Drive, Katoomba GR 248610E; 6264560N. In 1964 they were replaced in the same location by what is known as the Water Board Ladders (Figure 11).



Department of Lands. Overlay compiled by John Cooper.

Figure 11. Katoomba Topographical Map 8930-1S.

William Dickson would have constructed those ladders for John Britty North in c.1889 to provide a quicker means of accessing Katoomba township from the Glen Shale Mines in the Megalong Valley than the longer route via Nellies Glen or what was then the dangerous pass via Devils Hole (Fox et al. 2018, p.363).

They were constructed using wire cables and wooden rungs, and larger timbers were positioned behind the cable to keep it away from the rock face.

> "The great length of cable which stretched considerably during hot weather called for the services of a man who was experienced in the cutting and splicing of such heavy steel rope. The man engaged for this work was a carpenter named William Dixon. Dixon had served a number of years on a Man-o-War ship and had become well acquainted with the correct tensions used with steel cables." (Bennett, 1972, p.4.) (Figure 12).

> "And what a descent it was! To look down over those awful perpendicular rocks made one feel sickly, and a sudden feeling of vertigo took possession of us, but wore off slightly as we became more confident. The journey to the base of the rocks is made partly by the aid of roughly improvised ladders constructed from the branches of trees. These are fastened by means of rope to abutting portions of the rock, or overhanging trees, and it is down here we had to wend our steps – and slow steps they were too. Before we were, half way down our faces were a little sea of perspiration; ……. But we all escaped und ultimately reached what in our hearts we wished we were miles away from, the Megalong Coal and Co.'s property…The homeward journey…and ultimately reached the last ladder, up which we clambered." (Anonymous 1889, col.5).

In 1908 the bottom section was cut away to discourage it's use (Anonymous 1908), but that did not work for long as bushwalkers added logs and makeshift rungs to reach the first rung. In 1923 the Blue Mountains Shire Council removed the ladder, by letting it fall to the valley floor (Anonymous 1923). However,

Photo: Philip Hammon collection

Figure 12. A section of Dicksons Ladders.

> "Alderman Soper brought forward another list of signs to be placed in position as follows: Three tapered signs – To Dixon's Ladder." (Anonymous 1932b).

so Council seemed to believe that it was still viable (Figure 13).

In the early 1930s Council realised what a valuable asset the ladder was to bushwalkers (Anonymous 1932a) and enquiries were made to have it replaced with three new steel ladders, 41ft, 20ft and 18ft (12.5m, 6.1m & 5.5m) (Anonymous 1933). But the tender process and the disinterest by most in the Council eventually meant that by the late 1930s nothing had happened (Anonymous 1937).

William (Bill) John Dickson (1854-1935)

Dickson was born 25 July 1854 in Belfast, Ireland, on his parents Samuel and Marjorie's estate, *Ballymore* (Duncan, 2003, pp.7-11) and prior to his arrival in Australia.

> "He had worked on sailing boats and was an expert rigger, with some years' service with the British Navy. He was a very ca-

Photo: Blue Mountains Historical Society collection, P54.

Figure 13. Rose Series Post Card, P.5458. Labelled as "Dixon's Ladder, Narrow Neck, Katoomba".

pable worker and enjoyed his tot of rum at the end of the day." (Duncan, 2003, p.7).

Dickson immigrated to Australia in 1886 (NSW Death 1935) and was employed by John Britty North during the years c.1889 to c.1895. He was responsible for a large wire rope system used to haul skips of shale from Megalong Valley to the engine bank at North's Siding, Katoomba.

During his time of employment Dickson purchased four portions of land in the Megalong Valley totalling an area of 526 acres (*212.8ha*) (Chapman 1891a,b; 1893a,b).

When Dickson's employment with John Britty North ceased c.1895 his next venture was with a timber company harvesting cedar logs in the outer areas of Burragorang and the Kowmung River (Duncan 2003, p.11).

> "felling trees in numbers with no other idea than of floating the timber down the Kowmung, Cox's, Warragamba and Nepean Rivers." (Anonymous 1909).

Dickson lived in the Municipality of Liverpool for the later part of his life, and died on 21 February 1935; aged 82. He was buried in an unknown grave within the Liverpool Cemetery (NSW BDM 1935; Liverpool Cemetery 2020).

Post script - the Water Board Ladders

These ladders were constructed in exactly the same location as Dicksons Ladders, i.e. about 40m south west of the pumping station off Glenraphael Drive, Narrow Neck, Katoomba.

Known as the Water Board Ladders they were constructed as part of the Fish River Water Supply Scheme for which a steel pipeline from Oberon Dam (via Megalong Valley and Narrow Neck) was connected to the Blue Mountains water supply scheme at Leura. It was completed mid-1964.

> "In order to facilitate construction of the vertical section of pipeline at Narrow Neck, a steel ladder was fixed to the rock

Photo: Brian Fox, 25 February 2020.

Figure 14. Base of Water Board Ladders.

face. This ladder subsequently became a well-used means of access to and from Megalong Valley by bush walkers. In the early eighties, because of concerns for public safety, FRWS proposed removing it, but the proposal was met by considerable opposition from the ladder's many users. Instead of being removed, the ladder was transferred to ownership of Blue Mountains City Council, a more appropriate body to manage what had become, quite unintentionally, a useful public facility." (McLachlan 1997, p.77).

Transfer of responsibility to the Blue Mountains City Council occurred in the early 1980s and in July 1999 access to the ladders was closed off and they were partly dismantled. A search of land titles in 1999 revealed no records to substantiate this transfer of ownership, so the easement or land which used to be on Philip Hammon's property (Director of the Scenic World complex) is still controlled by Fish River Water Supply (Phone call to FRWS, October 1999; Fox et al., 2018, p.508). In 1999 a rope hanging down from the remaining sections was enough to enable a strong fit persons to pull themselves up onto the bottom rung of the remaining section of ladder (Figure 14).

Acknowledgements
This article would not have been in the format it is without the expert assistance of proof readers, Peter Rickwood and Michael Keats. The precise maps compiled by John Cooper, and the valuable technical knowledge of Philip Hammon in all things relating to cables and the extraction of coal, are gratefully acknowledged.

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1889) Rich Mineral Deposits. *The Australian Star*, 29 October 1889, p.7, cols.4-6.
Anonymous (1908) The Country. Katoomba. *Daily Telegraph*, 28 July 1908, p.9, col.6.
Anonymous (1909) Valuable Cedar Patch. *Daily Telegraph*, 12 April 1909, p.10, col.4.
Anonymous (1918) Wallerawang. *Lithgow Mercury*, 30 December 1918, p.3, col.2.
Anonymous (1919) Wanton Vandalism. *Blue Mountain Echo,* 18 April 1919, p.3, col.3.
Anonymous (1920a) Danger Spots. *Blue Mountain Echo,* 16 April 1920, p.1, col.6.
Anonymous (1920b) Under the Lee. *Blue Mountain Echo,* 21 May 1920, p.2, col.5.
Anonymous (1923) Blue Mountains. *Daily Telegraph,* 13 April 1923, p.4, col.6.
Anonymous (1932a) Dixon's Ladder. *Katoomba Daily,* 23 April 1932, p.2, col.3.
Anonymous (1932b) The Wrong Turning. *Katoomba Daily*, 16 June 1932, p.2, col.2.
Anonymous (1933) Letter was Quoted. *The Newcastle Sun,* 28 February 1933, p.9, col.1.
Anonymous (1933) Dickson's Ladder. *Katoomba Daily,* 15 July 1933, p.1, col.3.
Anonymous (1936) Closed Down. Old Lambton Colliery. *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate,* 20 June 1936, p.9.
Anonymous (1937) Katoomba Council Jottings. *Katoomba Daily,* 29 January 1937, p.4, col.5.
Anonymous (1962) Deaths. Allison. *Sydney Morning Herald,* 7 September 1962, p.22, col.1
Barrett, J. (1996) *The First Bushwalker. The Story of Fred Eden*. Armadale, Vic.: Jim Barrett. 88pp. [BMHS 802.05]
Bennett, J. Ralph (1972) *The Katoomba Coal Mine.* (not paginated but 12pp. single sided) [Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc., Wentworth Falls.]
Chapman (1891a) Crown Plan 1846-1507. Dated 18 September 1891, E.C.S. Chapman Licensed Surveyor. Plan of Portion 42. Parish of Megalong, County of Cook. [Viewable at NSW State Archives & Records, Kingswood.]
Chapman (1891b) Crown Plan 1847-1507. Dated 19 September 1891, E.C.S. Chapman Licensed Surveyor. Plan of Portion 43. Parish of Megalong, County of Cook. [Viewable at NSW State Archives & Records, Kingswood.]
Chapman (1893a) Crown Plan 1935-1507. Dated 19 April 1893, E.C.S. Chapman Licensed Surveyor. Plan of Portion 144. Parish of Megalong, County of Cook. [Viewable at NSW State Archives & Records, Kingswood.]

Chapman (1893b) Crown Plan 1947-1507. Dated 15 July 1893, E.C.S. Chapman Licensed Surveyor. Plan of Portion 151. Parish of Megalong, County of Cook. [Viewable at NSW State Archives & Records, Kingswood.]

Duncan, K. (2003) *The Duncans of 'Ballymore'. The recollections of Keith Duncan, J.P., National Medal.* Megalong Valley: Keith Duncan. 88pp. [BMHS 204.07]

Fox, B., Keats, M. and Fox. J. (2018) *Blue Mountains Geographical Encyclopaedia*. Pymble, N.S.W. : Keats Holdings Pty. Ltd. 544pp.

Keats, M. & Fox, B. (2008) *The passes of Narrow Neck.* 1st edition. Pymble, N.S.W. : Keats Holdings Pty Ltd, 2008.

Liverpool Cemetery (2020) Memorial ID 152756852. Phone correspondence Liverpool Cemetery, re buried in unknown grave, 11 February 2020.

McLachlan, R., Barrett, D., Domis, J. and Welling, N. (1997) *Lets Have Water. A History of the Fish River Water Supply*. Orange, N.S.W. : N.S.W. Dept. of Land and Water Conservation. 104pp. [NSW State Reference Library NQ363.61/12; BMHS 622.22]

NAA (1918) National Archives of Australia enlistment record MT1486/1 ALLISON/ ROBERT Allison, Robert; age 34; address - Pipers Flat https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx.

NSW BDM (1935) NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Death Registration Number: 4714/1935. https://familyhistory.bdm.nsw.gov.au/lifelink/familyhistory/search/deaths?1

By Motor and Train to the Caves: A brief history of motorised road and rail travel to the Jenolan Caves, New South Wales.

Chris Betteridge.
42 Botany Street,.
Kingsford, NSW 2032\.
musecape@accsoft.com.au

Abstract.
The crossing of the Blue Mountains by the railway in the late 1860s enabled tourists heading for the Jenolan Caves to reach the accommodation centres on and west of the mountains, from which they could travel the rest of the way by horse-drawn coach. The construction of the road through the Grand Arch at Jenolan in 1896, the arrival of the first motor cars in New South Wales, and the entrepreneurial zeal of hotel operators on the mountains meant that day trips to the caves became possible. In the 1920s, car ownership increased considerably and New South Wales Government Railways introduced the *Caves Express* to bolster its declining share of the booming tourism industry to Jenolan. This article provides an introduction to the history of motorised road and rail travel to the caves.

Key Words: Jenolan Caves, Blue Mountains, Motor transport, Railway, Katoomba, Mount Victoria.

INTRODUCTION

The Jenolan Caves in the Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area are located in a deeply dissected limestone karst landscape and a vast nature conservation reserve relatively remote from population centres. The caves are in the traditional country of the Gundungurra Aboriginal people who used to access the area on foot. Early European visitors to the caves arrived either on foot or on horseback. Once the wonders of the caverns and their spectacular formations became more widely known, and Jenolan became a highly desirable tourist destination, the push was on to improve access. When the main western railway line from Sydney reached Mount Victoria in 1868 (Anonymous 1868) and Tarana in 1872, tourists could travel by train to those two hubs, then by horse-drawn coach to the caves. From the late 1880s, the Six Foot Track offered foot or bridle access to Jenolan Caves from Katoomba, but the track was not an easy route. When the road from Mt. Victoria via Lowther and Hampton was extended through the Grand Arch at Jenolan in 1896, the combination of faster train access and a direct coach route made travel from Mount Victoria the most popular way of getting to the caves (Smith 1984, p.14).

John Low (2019) has chronicled the history of horse-drawn travel to Jenolan, after which the railway became a major means of travel - at least part of the way - until well into the middle of the twentieth century. Once the motor car made its appearance in New South Wales, it was not long before enterprising operators at the tourist hot spots on the Upper Blue Mountains realised the potential of this new mode of transport as a way of delivering their customers to the caves quickly and safely. Retail merchant, entrepreneur, and car enthusiast Mark Foy was an early adopter of motor transport and offered the patrons of his Hydro Majestic Hotel at Medlow Bath motor trips to Jenolan from as early as 1904. Other tour operators offering transport to the caves included James Joynton-Smith, Tomas Ramon Rodriguez, John Rice and Robert Rolfe. Some of their cars were modified by extending the chassis and adding extra rows of seats to create *char-à-bancs*, which were an early form of the ‘stretched limo’, enabling more passengers to be carried than in a normal car. This process was continued with the fully enclosed ‘parlour coaches’ of the 1930s, some of which remained in use until the 1960s when they were replaced by larger buses as the roads improved. Today, even large motorised tourist coaches make the trip to Jenolan and thousands of visitors also arrive in private vehicles.

Breaching the Blue Mountains by road was by no means easy but a rudimentary crossing was achieved as early as 1815, and the road has been improved in stages to the present day. Constructing a railway line over such steep grades was quite another enterprise, involving massive cuttings, bridges, zig-zags and tunnels. It is amazing that by September 1869 a passenger could travel the 77 miles (*124 km*) by steam train from Sydney to Mount Victoria in as short a time as four and a half hours (Anonymous 1869). To counter the growing popularity of the motor car and vast improvements in road conditions, the NSW Railways introduced the *Caves Express* in 1929 (Anonymous 1995), offering few stops between Sydney and Mount Victoria, and then a coach to Jenolan Caves.

1. The roads to the Jenolan Caves.

Getting to the Jenolan Caves is still a somewhat daunting experience for many present-day travellers. The caves are located deep in a valley with precipitous sides and long drops beside the narrow road. The road conditions in the early days were worse and horse-drawn vehicles did not have the sophisticated brake systems of today's cars. In 1886 the road from Mount Victoria via Hartley, Lowther and Hampton had been constructed to a point half a mile (*0.8 km*) from the caves, with visitors having to make the last steep descent on foot. In 1889, a coach overturned at Binda Pinch on the road from Mount Victoria to Jenolan Caves, with Mr. Wilson the coach driver being "a good deal shaken" (Anonymous 1889).

The last part of the journey to the caves by the main alternative road route was no less intimidating. Samuel Cook described the journey from the railway centre of Tarana to Jenolan Caves via Oberon and the sense of relief that inexperienced travellers felt when they were finally set down at Caves House. He argued, though, that on the journey:

> "Any feeling of nervousness, however, is superseded by a sense of the grandeur of the view. If an occasional glance is given at the steep declivity, and a thought occurs as to what would be the consequence of a mishap, the attention is immediately diverted to some new magnificence in the wildly beautiful panorama, the sight of which alone would almost compensate for so long a journey." (Cook 1889, p.19).

In that same year, 1889, Robert Rolfe established a business, transporting tourists by horse-drawn coaches to scenic attractions in the Blue Mountains and he operated a 2-day trip to Jenolan Caves on a regular timetable, it being the usual custom for passengers to walk up the steep grades to ease the strain on the horses (Leary 2012, p.4). Irish-born Peter Mulheran (1852-1936) was responsible for "laying out the road to Jenolan Caves" (Smith 2012, p.43) from Hampton and it was extended in 1895-96 through the Grand Arch, so linking it with Oberon Road. Just before the Grand Arch, the river was crossed by a fine limestone arch bridge designed by Irish-born civil engineer Ernest Macartney de Burgh (1863-1929) who at the time was supervising bridge engineer with the NSW Department of Public Works (Antill 1981).

2. The first cars to Jenolan Caves.

At the beginning of the twentieth century travel was still by horseback or horse-drawn conveyance but in 1903 the first motor cars drove through the Grand Arch, commencing an era of greatly enhanced access to the caves. On behalf of Mr. Mark Foy, Mr. Bert Beckman, driving a De Dion 8HP car with a canopy and side curtains, but no windscreen, conveyed Dr Fox, Dr Cox (lady), Mr. and Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Rodriguez of Blackheath from Medlow Bath to Caves House, a journey of 77 km that took a staggering 8 hours (Anonymous 1938), which today can be driven in about 1 ½ hours! Mr. Foy left Medlow Bath at the same time, driving a 6HP Libéria, with Mr. Hall, the photographer, and arrived at Caves House a half hour later.

> "The arrival at all of the two cars was an achievement in those days." (Anonymous 1938).

Foy's Libéria was, and still is, a very rare car as the marque was only made in Paris in 1901 and 1902 (Boldiston 2020); and one of only two believed to have survived to the present day sold at auction in 2018 for AU$207,433 (Bonhams 2018) !

3. Pre-WWII motor tours to Jenolan Caves.

Jim Smith (2020) has recently published a comprehensive account of Mark Foy (1865-1950) who is thought to have been the first person to import a motor car into New South Wales (Manson 2016, p.94) and in March 1903 became a founding member of the Automobile Club of Australia (Winser 1955, p.88). In April 1900, Foy's 3HP De Dion Bouton Voiturette oil car arrived in Sydney (Manson 2016, pp.64-65, 94); it had been purchased from the De Dion Bouton British & Colonial Syndicate Limited in London with the help of his friend W.J.C. Elliott and later it was sold to Dr Magill of Moree (Winser 1955 p.89).

In the early days of motor transport, the trip to Jenolan Caves must have required passengers to have strong stomachs, tightly secured hats and great trust in the driver's skill. The road was narrow and unsealed, there was a precipitous drop to the valley below in the final descent to the Caves and most vehicles until the mid-1930s only had mechanical brakes! Many motor cars were unreliable and motorists had to carry maps, fuel and equipment such as puncture repair kits with them. In 1905, Cooper's Grand Hotel at Mount Victoria was advertising the only daily service to Jenolan Caves, recommending their horse-drawn coaches as:

> "Cheaper, Safer, and More Reliable than the Motor Cars" (Trickett 1905, p.4).

A 5-day tour from Sydney, including all travelling and hotel accommodation, cost £3 / 17 / 3, with two nights at the Grand Hotel and two nights at Jenolan Caves.

Once motor cars became available, Mt. Victoria lost its place as the principal point of departure for road trips to Jenolan. Blackheath had been being geared up for tourism as early as 1889 when James J. Daly opened The Ivanhoe Hotel on the southern side of Govetts Leap Road. Foy's motor service to Jenolan Caves was officially opened at the Ivanhoe on 2 October 1903 by the Hon. J. Kidd, Minister for Mines at a ceremony attended by local dignitaries and many visitors from Sydney and the Blue Mountains (Anonymous 1903). The Minister wished the venture well, stating that in doing so, he wished no ill will towards the operators who used coaches and horses, but he felt that motor cars had become more reliable, safer and time-efficient. Mark Foy responded that success was likely to be due to his enthusiastic managing director Mr. T. Rodriguez (Anonymous 1903), and Rodriguez and Mark Foy had imported De Dion Bouton cars (Figure 1) for the purpose. The flamboyant and much respected Rodriguez ran the flourishing car business, but he eventually "became despondent at the economic failure of his hotel project" and sold up in December 1907 (Rickwood 2005, pp.214-215). He became a successful real estate agent in the town and promoted its many sights, including Rodriguez Pass, which was named in his honour.

ex Yeaman (1976, p.45).

Figure 1. A group of cars outside the 'Ivanhoe Family Hotel', Blackheath when T.R. Rodriguez was Manager. The cars include Foy's tiller-steered De Dion Bouton 'vis-à-vis' Voiturette, his 10HP Panhard Levassor and Rodriguez' new De Dion Bouton. The two cars with canopies are fitted with 'wagonette' bodies.

John Rice, known locally as Jack, *circa* 1905 advertised (Figure 2**)** the cost and comfort benefits of coach or motor tours to the caves from the Hydro Majestic Hotel at Medlow Bath.

Rice operated the motor tours business for Mark Foy out of a building which had been the Megalong Valley Hall, associated with the mining venture in the valley. When the mine closed Foy purchased the building (Figure 3)

and had it re-erected beside Medlow Bath Railway Station. Rice was a well-known local handyman: he had no qualifications as a motor mechanic but then neither did anyone else at that time (Boldiston 2020).

ex Trickett (1905, p.5).

Figure 2. The left photograph in this advertisement shows John Rice in one of Mark Foy's Milnes Daimlers about to drive his guests from Belgravia to the Caves. Belgravia was used as a guest house whilst Hargravia was being expanded as part of a high-class resort that became the Hydro Majestic.

photo courtesy of Bill Boldiston

Figure 3. Jack Rice's Medlow Bath Stables. The building was extended in 1910 with a new masonry façade and had a multitude of uses, including the Medlow Bath Post and Telegraph Office.

Jack Rice also operated his Mountain Motor Service from Blackheath and Mt. Victoria (Anonymous 1913c).

It was reported in the press in March 1905 (Anonymous 1905b) that Mark Foy had written to the Premier of Victoria offering to send some of his cars to a trial in Melbourne. Those vehicles (Figure 4) were used on daily trips between the Hydro Majestic and Jenolan Caves; each carried 11 passengers and were described as 'noiseless', having had solid rubber tyres on the back wheels and very strong pneumatic tyres on the front wheels (Anonymous 1905a). They also had canopies and rain curtains (Anonymous 1905b). The condition of the road which Foy described as '45 miles of the heaviest roads in Australia' may be judged by the fact that the journey took 3 hours! (Anonymous 1905a, p.8; Anonymous 1905b, p.4(6)). However, this was a major improvement on the time the first car had taken in 1903.

Mary Shaw Collection PF827, Blue Mountains City Library, Local Studies.

Figure 4. Outside the Hydro Majestic Hotel at Medlow Bath in 1906 is one of Mark Foy's two 1902 Milnes Daimler 22HP vehicles, imported from England as chassis and fitted with wagonette bodies. Bert Beckman is at the wheel of the Daimler and Mark Foy stands between the two cars, The vehicle in the background has been identified as a 1904 Darracq 12HP model, a type made famous in the much-loved 1953 British comedy film 'Genevieve' about the London - Brighton Veteran Car Run.

Another make of car owned by Mark Foy was the German Stoewer and the *circa* 1910 car in Figure 5 may be one of these.

As the standard of accommodation at Jenolan Caves improved after the construction of the

photo: Wiburd Collection, JCHAPS

Figure 5. Superintendent of the Caves, 'Voss' Wiburd (centre row, this side) with a group in a car on Jenolan Caves Road, with the limestone arch bridge and the Grand Arch in the background.

photo: H. Phillips ex Trickett (1915, p.4)

Figure 6. Cars on the road outside Caves House *circa* 1910. The *char-à-banc* at front appears to be a Brasier, a marque that was available in NSW at the time.

first wing of the new Caves House in 1896, and the addition of three more wings between 1907 and 1924, Jenolan Caves became an increasingly fashionable destination, with groups travelling from Katoomba, Medlow Bath, Blackheath and Mount Victoria by car, *char-à-banc* (Figure 6) or coach.

Cars were expensive in the early days of Australian motoring so only wealthy individuals or companies could afford them. In 1905 a Panhard 15HP cost £800, equivalent to more than 5 years' wages for a well-paid skilled tradesman. Even a much cheaper one-cylinder Oldsmobile cost £215, equivalent to 1 1/3 years' wages (Winser 1955, p.260). Notwithstanding the cost, the motor vehicle soon arrived in increasing numbers in New South Wales such that in 1910-1911 there were at least 54 different makes of car available for sale in Sydney (Anonymous 1910a; 1911), even more than the 49 brands available in 2018 (Jeffs 2019).

When the NSW Government invited tenders for the lease of Caves House at Jenolan in 1910 (Immigration and Tourist Bureau 1910), the tender documents specified that the maximum price to be charged for garaging of cars was to be '2 shillings per diem per car'. Stable accommodation for horses still had to be provided, at a maximum cost of '6 shillings per diem per horse, with hay or chaff and oats for feed, or 8 shillings per diem per horse, with hay or chaff and corn for feed'. By contrast, human guests were to be accommodated at a maximum cost of 2 shillings 6 pence per bed and the same cost per meal at a public table or 3 shillings and 6 pence at a private table (Immigration and Tourist Bureau 1910).

Robert Rolfe was one of the entrepreneurs who realised that taking a trip in a motor car was a great adventure for tourists. He had bought his first car in 1908 (Campbell 1976, p.360; Low 2019, p.11) and by 1911 the Rolfe family had replaced all their horse-drawn coaches with motor vehicles (Campbell 2005).

> "From our advertising columns, it will be seen that Mr. R. Rolfe, motor car proprietor, Haveland [*sic*] Avenue, Blackheath, is making ample provision for visitors during the coming season. He has several very beautiful cars, and will run trips to Jenolan Caves, Lithgow, Mount Wilson, Mount York and Govett's Leap, as well as to the Leura and Katoomba pleasure resorts" (Anonymous 1910b).

Judging by that statement, the Rolfes were already established in the town by November 1910 and in 1913 their premises were at *Te Whare*, Station Street (opposite the Railway Tennis Court), Blackheath (Anonymous 1913b).

4. Road conditions

It didn't take much time for the media to start criticising the Government for the state of the

road to Jenolan Caves. The author of a biting article stated that the antique roads were not adequate for modern cars, with only five of the forty miles between Katoomba and Jenolan considered up to scratch and the remaining thirty-five miles were.

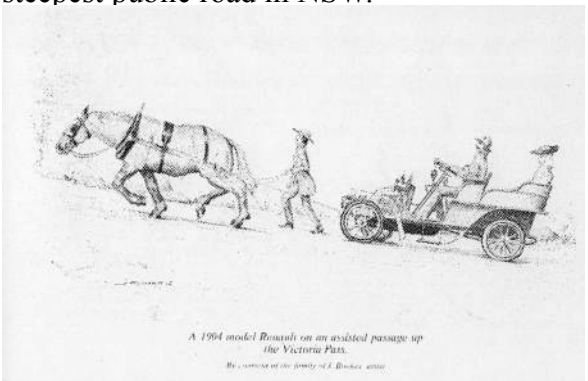
> "rutted, rocky, badly graded marks on the landscape only differing from bush country because vegetation refuses to grow upon it." (Anonymous 1912).

It was argued that if the NSW Government spent more on improving the road, the increased revenue from tourism would make the expenditure well worthwhile.

By 1913, Mark Foy's mechanic Jack Rice still had livery stables at Medlow Bath, offering

> "FIRST-CLASS TURNOUT in both Horses and Carriages" (Anonymous 1913c),

possibly for local sightseeing trips, but he was also promoting the "Shortest and Cheapest Route to Jenolan Caves" in First-Class Motors' with "Competent and Careful Chaffeurs (*sic*)" from his garage at Mt. Victoria (Anonymous 1913c). By this time, Foy was importing Italian Fiat cars and took Rice, his agent Bill Elliott and his friend, the photographer A.J. 'Mons' Perrier on a publicity run to Jenolan Caves in his new Tipo Zero Fiat. He had Perrier photograph the car on the limestone bridge near the Grand Arch at Jenolan and also on the Victoria Pass, which at the time was believed to be the steepest public road in NSW.

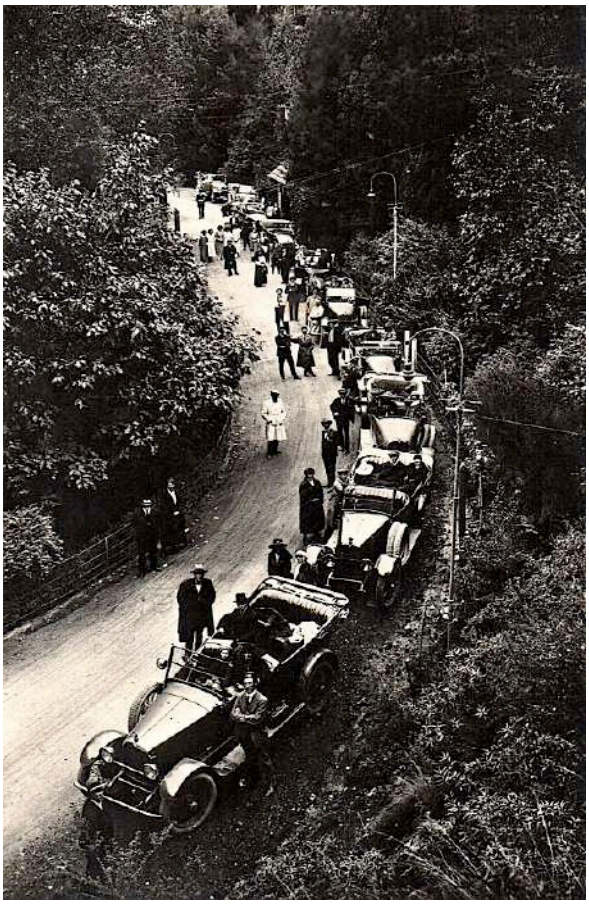


Sketch courtesy of the family of J Booker, artist, from Williams (1982, p.10).

Figure 7. A 1904 model Renault on an assisted passage up the Victoria Pass.

> "Any car that could pull away with a full load of passengers from there had to be good." (Manson 2016, p.98)

This is in stark contrast to the cartoon image (Figure 7) of an early car being pulled up Victoria Pass by a horse !



Whalan Collection, Caves House.

Figure 8. Cars lined up soon after 1914 waiting to leave Jenolan Caves for the drive back to the Blue Mountains towns.

Pre-WWI the road was so narrow and winding between Caves House and the flatter areas around Hampton that it was one-way down in the mornings and one-way up in the afternoon; at times there were significant queues of vehicles waiting to leave the Caves (Figure 8).

5. Tourist Services

(1.) Katoomba

In 1913 competition was heating up, with Tabrett's of Katoomba offering a daily motor service to Jenolan Caves by The Automobile Touring Co. of Australia Ltd 'Line of Motors' or the Mountain Coaching and Motoring Co. 'Line of Coaches'. They also advertised special and reserved cars for hire (Anonymous 1913b).

London-born James (later Sir James) Joynton-Smith (1858-1943) was a successful hotelier and entrepreneur who saw the tourist potential of the Blue Mountains. He had a fleet of Itala cars (Figure 9) operated under The Itala Motor Company Ltd. (Anonymous 1914) in which guests from his Carrington Hotel in Katoomba, the Hydro Majestic Hotel in Medlow Bath, and his Imperial Hotel in Mt. Victoria, were conveyed to Jenolan Caves. These 24HP Italas were described as "safe and reliable cars" with "expert drivers" (Anonymous 1913d) and in 1914, The Itala Motor Company Ltd, operating its 'Jenolan Caves Motor Service' by special arrangement with the Government Tourist Bureau and Thos. Cook & Sons, advertised itself as "The Service for Speed and Comfort", "Superior to all Others" (Anonymous 1914a).

photo by J.J. McCarthy
Blue Mountains City Library. Local Studies collection.

Figure 9. An Itala car at Jenolan Caves with the Grand Arch in the background. A handwritten note on the back of the photograph identifies the couple in the back seat as Ruby and Rod Whyte who were at Jenolan Caves on their honeymoon in March 1913.

LIKE AN AISNE QUARRY: A WOLSELEY CAR AT THE GRAND ARCH OF THE FAMOUS JENOLAN CAVES IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

The car is a 24-30-h.p. Wolseley, owned by Mr. F. G. Geddes, of Darlinghurst, New South Wales. The Jenolan Caves, formerly called the Fish River Caves, in a valley of the Blue Mountains, are famous for their beautiful stalactites. This view of the entrance recalls some of the recent war photographs from the quarries of the Aisne.

Anonymous (1915), courtesy of JCHAPS.

Figure 10. A 24/30HP Wolseley car owned by Mr. F.G. Geddes of Darlinghurst, NSW on Jenolan Caves Road with the Grand Arch in the background. Where the horsepower of a car model is represented by two numbers as with this Wolseley, the first number is the Royal Automobile Club (RAC) horsepower for motor tax purposes and the second number is the measured horsepower.

photo by J.J. Rodgers, Blue Mountains City Library, Local Studies Collection.

Figure 11. A touring car photographed outside the Hartley Court House *circa* 1920.

The journalist who used Figure 10 likened the Grand Arch to the quarries of the Aisne which had become familiar to readers of the *Illustrated London News* in early 1915 from recently published war photographs (Anonymous 1915). Rock had been dug from quarries at Aisne in the Picardy region of northern France for centuries, creating a large and winding artificial cave.

J.J. Rogers of Caves Road, Hartley held a photography licence to produce souvenir snapshots of tourists on their way to Jenolan Caves. The photographs, as in Figure 11, were invariably taken in the early morning light with the vehicles facing down the road, towards Jenolan.

Char-à-bancs

Photographer unknown, Blue Mountains City Council Library,. Local Studies Collection PF484 accessed at www.bmcc.nsw.gov.au/library/. Provenance: Donation Miss Fawcett).

Figure 12. Hartley Court House, Jenolan Caves Tour Souvenir 1922.

In March 1916 the Katoomba Tourist Information Bureau Ltd was incorporated, with Hector Benassai as sole director and manager of the company and in 1925 'Benassai's Cadillac Service' to Jenolan Caves was advertised (Anonymous 1925b); Benassai was photographed in 1922 at the front of his Cadillac (Figure 12). In the 1930s he was in a partnership with Percy Galwey and George Lee running motor trips from Katoomba for tourists and boarding house guests. Those three names appeared again in 1938, this time in the formation of 'Katoomba Scenic Tours Ltd', a company which acquired their respective licences and rights and each is shown as a shareholder and director of the newly formed company. Hector's occupation

Blue Mountains Historical Society P396.

Figure 13. Touring cars and *char-à-bancs* lined up at Katoomba *circa* 1920s in front of the Central Tourist Bureau where many tours to Jenolan Caves departed. The two vehicles at far right are 1927 Hudsons, with two slightly earlier Hudsons, possibly 1925 or 1926 models, at far left. The three vehicles in the centre appear to be mid-1920s Studebaker Big Six commercial chassis-based touring cars.

is shown as a 'booking agent' but he does not appear in the 1939 list of directors of that company (Indyka n.d.).

Katoomba's Central Tourist Bureau (Figure 13), opened in 1920 in a prominent location on the corner of Katoomba Street and Gang Gang Street, and had quite a fleet of touring cars including Hudson Super Six models. After operating successfully for nearly twenty years, it was taken over in October 1937 by Searl's Motor Service Ltd (Anonymous 1937a).

Bartlett's Mountain Touring Service operated motor bus services in the Katoomba area (Figure 14) but had renewal of their licence refused by Katoomba Municipal Council in 1922 (Anonymous 1922). So they offered tours to Jenolan Caves and other sights in the Blue Mountains in a fleet of Cadillacs (Figure 15). Bartlett is listed by Sands as providing motor car services in Katoomba from 1920 to 1924 inclusive (Sands Directory 1920-1924) but by 1928 the Great Western Garage was listed as being managed by an S. Simmons

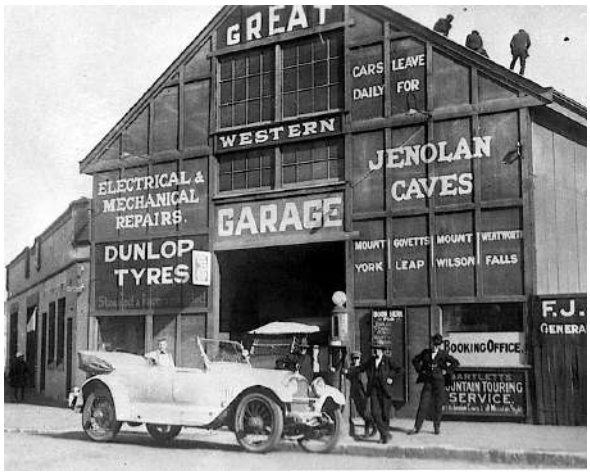


photo: Blue Mountains Library, Local Studies Collection PF1096.

Figure 14. Bartlett's Great Western Garage, Katoomba *circa* 1920s, with owner Hope Bartlett (far right) standing outside.

BMHS P912

Figure 15. Bartlett's fleet of 8 cylinder Cadillac tour cars about to depart for Jenolan Caves.

(Sands Directory 1928, p.198A) and by 1930 Bartlett was operating a bus line in Nowra (Sands Directory 1930, p.287A).

Katoomba in the 1920s and 1930s boasted approximately seventeen tourist companies, each with its own fleet of cars or parlour coaches manned by their driver-guides (Croft & Associates Pty Ltd 1982, pp.59-60). In 1925 guest houses at Katoomba such as Mrs. Walter Rumble's 'Sans Souci', George Adams' 'Balmoral House' and Mrs. F. Wallen's 'Homesdale' were all offering their guests trips to Jenolan Caves (Anonymous 1925b).

When the author's parents, Bob and Roberta Betteridge, honeymooned at the Carrington Hotel, Katoomba in September 1931, they made the almost obligatory day trip to Jenolan Caves, with Campbell's Motor Touring Service, who ran a fleet of 'Pierce Arrow, Hudson and Nash latest model cars' from the hotel. The company's motto was 'Comfort and Facility'. A 9.30am departure from Katoomba allowed for lunch at Caves House and dinner back at the Carrington. The fare was ten shillings each. From letters the author's parents wrote to their respective families (Betteridge Family Letters 1931) it is obvious they managed to fit in tours of the Lucas and Orient Caves and a walk to the Blue Lake, the 'Reckitt's Blue' colour of which impressed them greatly. They expressed disappointment at the lunch which was apparently described on the menu as 'veal and ham' but was determined to be actually minced mutton. After all, it was at the height of the Great Depression!

(2.) Blackheath

Another early operator who saw the potential in touring cars was Stefan ('Sid') Josef Siedlecky who set up business in Blackheath in 1919 and had a Cadillac and a more powerful 10 seater, 8 cylinder Cole (Siedlecky 2005); he was still listed as a motor car proprietor in the town in 1929 (Sands Directory 1929, p.42A).

In the mid-1920s, returned soldier E.E.C. (Ted) Hatswell established a tourist vehicle business in Blackheath, firstly from his residence in Hat Hill Road then from a shop that he purchased on the Bathurst Road (Hatswell 1976). His business combined sales of petrol and electrical goods with a tour booking office. His first motor vehicle was a Chandler car, followed by a larger version, a 'Pikes Peak' Chandler (referring to the extensive testing of the model on the treacherous roads of Colorado's 14,000 feet (4267 metres) Pikes Peak (McCourt 2009)), then a Hudson, successive Vauxhalls and finally a 1939 Chrysler Royal (Hatswell 1976). Ted died in 1940 but his wife carried on the business until 1955 and one of their sons (Ross) ran a garage on the Great Western Highway for many years.

As late as 1923, a typical tourist car used by Frank Rolfe on the run from Blackheath to Jenolan Caves was a 1912 Cadillac with a V8

engine and a pressurised fuel tank which was activated by a manual pump on the dashboard.

> "While passengers criticised it for being old-fashioned, it could leave the rest for dead coming up the Jenolan Hill. Ray Rolfe Peters bought the car for £12.10.0 ($25) and turned it into a utility." (Smith 1996, p.31).

If the car in Figure 16 is anything to go by, Rolfe's were still using relatively old vehicles

Photographer unknown, Blue Mountains City Library, Local Studies Collection.

Figure 16. Souvenir photograph of a Rolfe's Touring Service car outside Hartley Court House.

in 1930. The notes on the back of this souvenir photograph show the date as 1930 and the car has been identified on the BMCC Library record as a 1918 Belgian Fabrique Nationale (FN). Founded in 1889, FN went on to become one of the major arms manufacturers in the Eastern Hemisphere but made cars only until the 1930s.

The Rolfes were still operating their business from Blackheath in 1937 when Mr. Bruce (*sic*) Rolfe leased premises on the Great Western Highway previously occupied by Mrs. W. Siedlecky. The shop was modernised, with a new front installed to enhance the appearance of their motor tourist office (Anonymous 1937b). The last two of Robert Rolfe's five sons retired in 1956 and the business closed (Campbell 1976, p.361).

A growing list of hotels, guesthouses and bed and breakfast establishments in the Upper Blue Mountains catered to the needs of weekend trippers, honeymooners and holiday makers. *Man* magazine, to be found in many barbers' shops of the day, satirised this new demand for travel with a cartoon poster advertising Jenolan Caves:

> "Honeymoon special: children half price"! (Spearritt 2005, p.25)

6. Road accidents

Even after WWI road travel to Jenolan Caves was not without its risks. In April 1920, seven young men from Katoomba, returning from a valedictory at Caves House, had a miraculous escape from death when the Itala car in which they were returning failed to take a bend and plunged through the safety fence, down a cliff and overturned on hitting a log. The car, which had survived a fire at Bell's Garage the previous year, was understandably written off, its wreckage scattered in all directions some 600 feet (*c.183 m*) from where it left the highway. Thanks to early triage by a military doctor staying at Jenolan, all the men survived although some had serious injuries requiring hospitalisation (Anonymous 1920). Not so lucky was returned serviceman Thomas Joseph O'Rourke who died on 10 January 1925 when his car hit a log and overturned on the Caves Road about two miles from Hampton. At the Coroner's inquest into the accident, the dead man's family were consoled by the possibility that he may have suffered a medical episode resulting from war wounds and may have died prior to the crash (Anonymous 1925a).

7. By air to Jenolan?

In 1927 there was an inquiry into the tendering process by which the NSW Government Tourist Bureau engaged one company, Day's Tourist Services, operated by N.L. Day of Coogee, as its exclusive operator of tours to Jenolan Caves. In what the *Blue Mountain Echo* described as an 'artistic sidestep', Mr. L.J. Lamble, the director of the Bureau and previously manager at both Jenolan Caves and Kosciuszko Chalet, responded to a question about his relationship to Day's, by foreshadowing:

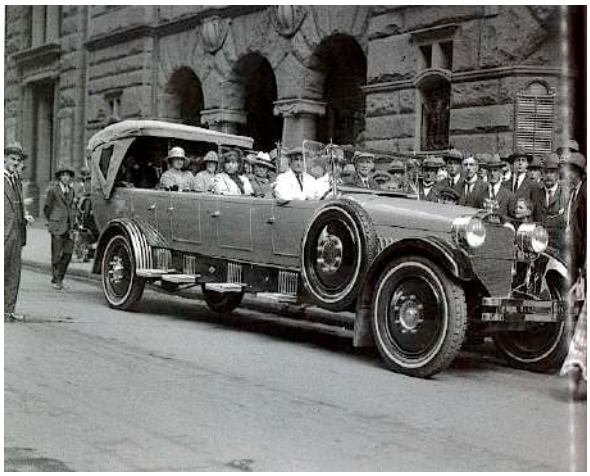
> 'that at a very early date a regular air service direct to the Caves House would be inaugurated'. (Anonymous 1927d)

While a bright future for air travel in Australia had been forecast since the end of World War

I, the prospect of air travel to Jenolan Caves was more than a little optimistic, especially in 1927, for quite where a plane might land in that rugged terraine is a mystery. As with many inquiries, even today, the outcome of this one was inconclusive, with the newspaper declaring that unless direct testimony or defence were produced, the inquiry would end in a

> 'medley of words vainly employed in enunciating contra-ideals' (Anonymous 1927a).

In early 1930, a Miss M.A. Evans of Mt. Gambier, South Australia, wrote to the Bureau about travel opportunities for her forthcoming trip to Sydney. She was offered

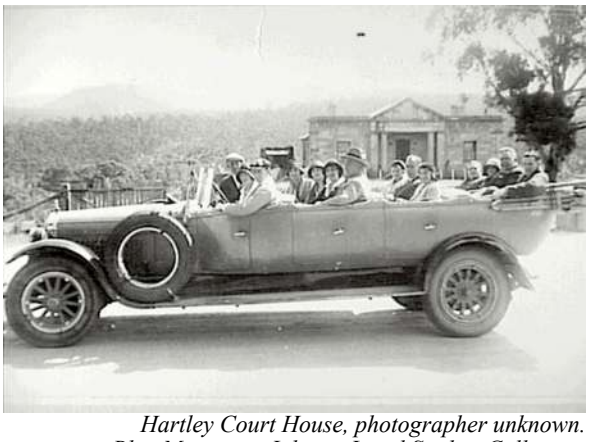


SRA collection ex Spearritt 2005, p.18

Figure 17. A Day's Motor Tourist Service *char-à-banc* photographed *circa* 1925 near Martin Place, Sydney.

tours only by Day's Motor Tourist Service Ltd to NSW Government owned natural sites, including accommodation in the guest houses at Jenolan Caves and Wombeyan Caves (Davidson & Spearritt 2000, p.85).

Day's obviously survived the 1927 inquiry and retained the Bureau's lucrative contract for tours to Jenolan Caves. The very smart 15-passenger *char-à-banc* in Figure 17, built *circa* 1922 by Sydney coach-building firm Smith and Waddington on an American White chassis took Day's tours to Jenolan Caves and the Royal National Park in the 1920s (Tugnett and Simpson 2020).



Hartley Court House, photographer unknown. Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection LS001\001436.

Figure 18. A Hudson *Char-à-banc* from Chandlers of Katoomba en route to Jenolan Caves, with Charlie Edwards as the driver and a full load of passengers.

The Government Tourist Bureau advertised for sale to the highest bidder.

> 'the Hudson touring car which carried happy holiday-makers from the Mount [Victoria] to Jenolan Caves' (Anonymous 1928).

The advertisement stated that the car was 'resting', with 'all its virtues, all its faults' in the Bureau's premises at Challis House, Sydney and that offers had to be made by letter to the Director (Anonymous 1928). The American Hudson car, particularly the Super Six models seem to have been popular for the Jenolan run and a Hudson *char-à-banc* with four rows of seats (Figure 18) was

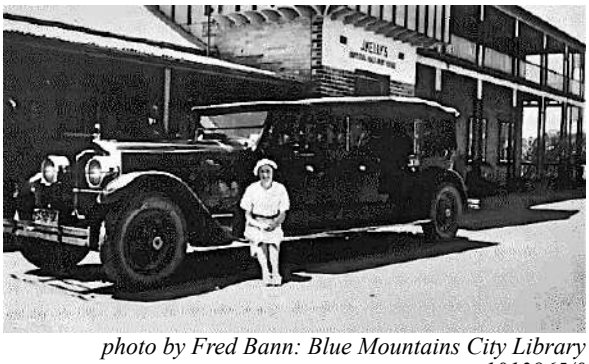


photo by Fred Bann: Blue Mountains City Library 1013865/0

Figure 19. Honeymoon snap by her husband of Clara May Bann, sitting on the running board of a 1930 Packard Straight Eight tour car outside Kelly's Imperial Half Way House at Hampton in October 1937.

photographed outside the Hartley Court House in 1922.

8. The need for a comfort stop

In the days of horse-drawn transport from the Upper Blue Mountains towns to the Jenolan Caves, Hampton was a convenient location for a comfort stop and an opportunity for refreshment. In *circa* 1863 Michael Kelly had built a house about two km closer to the Caves from the spot where the building now known as the Half Way House is located. In 1888 Percy George Whittall, proprietor of the Imperial Hotel at Mt. Victoria, built Whittall's Halfway House on the current site but he had to rebuild it the following year after the original was destroyed by fire; his second building was later re-named the Imperial Halfway House (Figure 19).

From 1888, and throughout the later years of the nineteenth century, the Kelly and Whittall establishments operated in competition with each other. In about 1903, Michael Kelly's son Joseph took over the Imperial Halfway House which then became known as Kelly's Imperial Halfway House (Figure 19) and his parents appear to have sold their original establishment (which had become a general store by 1905) and moved in with their son at the Imperial. A two-storeyed extension was added during 1924-25 and Joseph Kelly ran the Imperial until the 1930s (he died in 1939). After the original Kelly house was sold, a third Halfway House was opened (by 1908) by James and Mary Wilson across the road from it, in buildings possibly also erected by Michael Kelly. This became the Federal Halfway House and was popular in the early years of motor tourism. The current building is 20.4 km from the caves, and it now offers motel style accommodation, a bunk house, bistro and lounge (Hampton Halfway Hotel Motel 2020).

9. Rivalry heats up

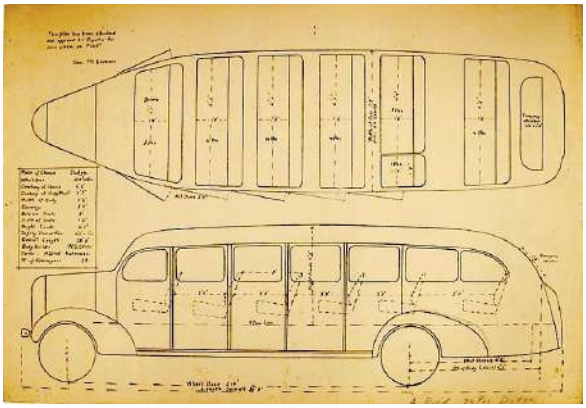
In the 1930s, rivalry between the Upper Blue Mountains towns for the motor tours business was intense and a meeting was held between the various proprietors, Katoomba Council and representatives of the Transport Coordination Board, with a view to minimising price-cutting between towns. A new scale of fees, including a suggested rise from 10/- to £1 for the Jenolan Caves trip, was adopted by the participants for consideration by the Board's Commissioner. Mr. Walsh from the Board advised that other towns such as Blackheath could make similar representations to the Board but that the Commissioner would:

> "be guided to a large extent by equitable rates for the public" (Anonymous 1933b).

The NSW Government Tourist Bureau in November 1932 was offering two-day tours to Jenolan Caves by the *Caves Express* train including travel and accommodation for 39 shillings, with a pictorial folder posted free (Anonymous 1932). In 1934 the *Australian Women's Weekly* and Sydney radio station 2UW in conjunction with the Government Tourist Bureau were offering a special weekend trip to Jenolan Caves for £2/7/-. The tour, conducted by 2UW morning announcer Miss Kay Russell, included rail travel with all meals to Mt. Victoria, motor transport to Jenolan Caves with one night's accommodation and two cave inspections (Anonymous 1934a).

10. The parlour coach

Prior to 1926 almost all buses had perimeter seating but in that year a NSW Government Regulation required seats to be placed in a transverse position. Parlour coaches, built for the tourist trade, were similar to buses in that they were multi-passenger vehicles but they had no room for standing passengers. They were more luxuriously equipped



© *Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences, https://ma.as/141972 <accessed 19 June 2020>,*

Figure 20. Technical drawing of a parlour coach body on a Dodge chassis designed by W.S. Grice of Summer Hill for A. Dind of Katoomba.

photo courtesy of JCHAPS

Figure 21. A Dind's of Katoomba parlour coach outside Hartley Courthouse *circa* 1962/63 with a group including JCHAPS member Kath Bellamy and her family.

than buses, had more comfortable seating and were specially designed for long-distance tourist travel, and they featured a separate door for the driver and a row of 3 to 5 doors on the passenger or 'near' side (Simpson 1993).

In the 1940s W.S. Grice (of 73 Carlton Crescent, Summer Hill) designed a parlour coach (Figure 20) on a Dodge chassis with a 210 inch (*5.33 metres*) wheelbase for the tour operator A. Dind of Katoomba. It had six doors, one on the driver's side and five on the passenger side, with a rear emergency window.

The parlour coach in Figure 21 is similar to the one designed for Dind's of Katoomba by W.S. Grice but appears to have had one less side window and a different door configuration than the one in the drawing (Figure 20).

When interviewed in 1980, George Mitchell an ex-driver for Dind's 'Comfortours' of Katoomba, said that his morning routine involved going around the various guesthouses and announcing through a metal megaphone that he would be calling by at 9.00am and conveying passengers to this or that sight (John Grahame, *pers. comm,*, 2020). Mitchell's run to Jenolan Caves involved the usual photo shoot at Hartley where the negatives were processed so that the tourists could pick up their holiday souvenir snaps on their return journey. He said the *char-à-bancs* and parlour coaches were horrible things to drive on the tortuous bends because the brake drums were more suited to cars instead of the stretched vehicles, and the 'welded-in' chassis extensions played havoc with manoeuvrability and power-to-weight ratios. He said the passengers didn't realise that the driver was desperately trying to slow the mechanical monsters by pumping the 'white hot' brakes (John Grahame, *pers. comm,* 2020).

11. Motor tours from other centres

Motorised tours to Jenolan Caves were not only provided from the Upper Blue Mountains towns but also from centres including Bathurst, Lithgow and Sydney.

(a.) Bathurst

The Donnelly Brothers, from a family which had settled in the Fish River district in the 1830s, had set up a successful horse-drawn coach business in Bathurst *circa* late 1890s (Donnelly 1979). The Donnelly Brothers

finally made the decision to sell off most of their horses and horse-drawn vehicles and embrace the new technology. Their first car appears to have been a large chain-driven Fiat tourer capable of carrying about eight passengers. This loud monster became known locally as 'Donnelly's Traction Engine' and in spite of creating havoc among those still reliant on horses for transport, it was a tremendous success. Journeys which previously took days, now took hours (Donnelly 1979). Understandably, the Donnelly Brothers were not skilled motor mechanics and they hired an expert, a Mr. Frank Flood from the Sydney Fiat agents; he remained with the Donnellys as mechanic, adviser and friend until his death many years later. Promoting themselves as 'the big motor car runners of Bathurst', the Donnellys used poetry to advertise one of their new cars (Anonymous 1913a).

"If you want a car, ring up five nine,
And Donnelly Brothers will be on time.
They will call at your house, wherever you are,
With their latest purchase, the "Rambler" car.
You take your seat and away you go
Like an arrow shot from a mighty bow.
O'er hill and vale and winding road
The big car moves with its precious load,
And the engines purr as you fly along,
And they sing the motor's pleasant song,
Whilst the joy that follows a perfect drive,
Just makes you glad to be alive,
And when you stop at your own front door,
You long to ride in that car once more."

In 1934, Attuel's luxury sedan cars departed daily from the Bathurst Post Office for the caves (Anonymous 1934a).

(b.) Lithgow
Lithgow estate agent and insurance agent A.S. Luchetti also operated a travel agency and tourist information service, running tours to Jenolan Caves in the late 1940s (Anonymous 1946) and early 1950s (Anonymous 1951).

(c.) Sydney
By the early 1930s motor tours to Jenolan Caves could be booked from at least seven centres in the Sydney CBD (Sands 1932-3, p.2913) including Allen's Motor Hire and Tourist Service (offices at 161 Castlereagh Street and in Martin Place); an office for The Carrington Hotel, Katoomba and the Imperial Hotel, Mt. Victoria at 170 Pitt Street; NSW Government Tourist Bureau, Challis House, Martin Place; NRMA, 26 Grosvenor Street; Thomas Cook & Sons, Challis House; Country Booking Bureau, 46 Martin Place; and Day's Motor Tourist Service, 19 Hargrave Street.

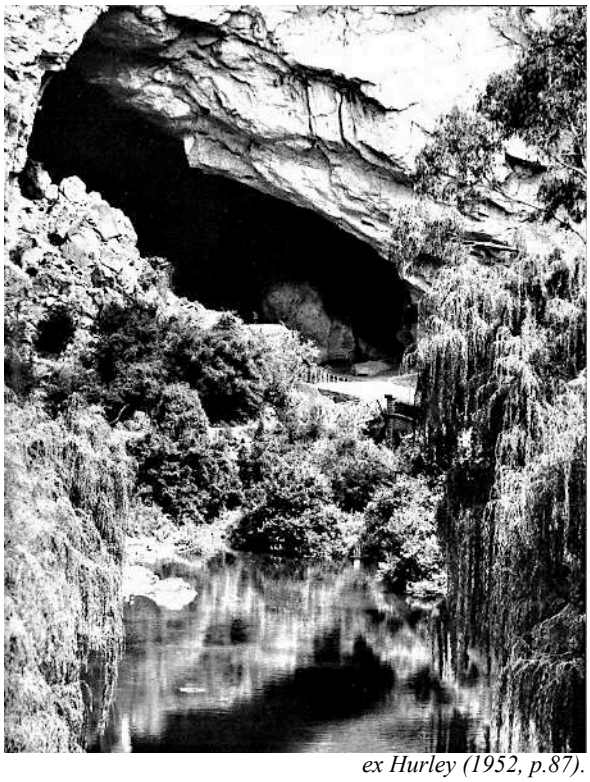
12. An embellished memory?
Famous Australian photographer Frank Hurley (1885-1962) fondly remembered the excited anticipation generated by his first trip as a child to Jenolan Caves:

> "I had never been able to forget that crisp early morning back in the mid 1920s when we children were roused and bundled into the back seat of the family's new roadster. The Western Highway through the mountain town of Blackheath was still damp, and the sunlight was just breaking over the eastern rim of the Grose Valley, bathing the cottage roofs and treetops in a brilliance of pale gold. There was a delicious sense of expectancy in the air. This was the beginning of our long-awaited one-day trip to the "Caves"." (Hurley 1952, p.97).

Hurley went on to describe the magnificent five-mile descent into the Jenolan Valley, the first glimpse of the willow-fringed Blue Lake (Figure 22), the entry into 'the yawning mouth of the Grand Arch' and the sudden emergence of the roadway through the western end of the cavern and out into the dazzling sunshine flooding the narrow valley of the Caves House. He continued:

> 'Surely there can be no stretch of highway anywhere that surpasses this in all that is grand and spectacular'.

Hurley's description still holds true (apart from the willows, which have been removed for environmental conservation reasons). But his memory must have been playing tricks on him in regard to the date of that trip to Jenolan – in the 1920s Hurley was in his thirties and had already accompanied Douglas Mawson and Ernest Shackleton on their famous Antarctic expeditions (Pike 1983). Perhaps his romantic account of the earlier visit to Jenolan with his parents was just an imagined embellishment to his 1952 camera study of Jenolan, based on a week he spent there in 1950 (Hurley 1952, p.81). In fact, as a



ex Hurley (1952, p.87).

Figure 22. "The Grand Arch across the Blue Lake. The Arch is the entrance to an enormous cavern 470 feet in length, 227 feet wide, and of a maximum height of 80 feet".

teenager of 13, Hurley had run away from Glebe Public School and worked in the steel mill at Lithgow, returning home two years later (Pike 1983). So, perhaps he had first visited Jenolan during that period.

13. WWII and later

In startling similarity to the impact on Blue Mountains tourism posed by the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions of 2020, tourist bus operators at Katoomba and other mountain towns were ordered during 1942 to stop their tourist coach operations as a measure to conserve fuel. An exemption was granted to the coach operator who had the government contract to take workers from mountain towns to and from the Small Arms Factory at Lithgow (Anonymous 1942a). It was hoped that operators who could run their vehicles on charcoal or privately-produced shale oil would receive an exemption from the ban. Just as today, emergency restrictions were not applied evenly. Mr. A.C. Dind, operating Katoomba's largest tourist service, said to a reporter:

> "To-day I sat down and watched private motorists tearing round the town enjoying themselves. The Government forced me to lock up my cars and coaches. It smashed my business. It seems hard that people can go pleasure motoring while people like myself see their business crumble in a day." (Anonymous 1942b).

14 Buses take over

Not all the early vehicles on the tourist route to Jenolan Caves were cars or *char-à-bancs*.

Wiburd Collection, courtesy of JCHAPS.

Figure 23. A group outside Caves House, *circa* early 1920s, including Voss Wiburd and Tant Bradley (at front, second and first from right) with a Fageol bus then being used on the Sydney – Jenolan Caves run.

An early bus on the run was a Fageol (Figure 23) which, despite its French name was made in Oakland, California. Fageol made tractors, trucks and buses from 1916 and the company existed in various forms until 1953 (Wikipedia 2020).

By the late 1940s, buses like the one in Figure 24, which appears to be based on a *circa* 1942 Ford, were enabling more and more passengers to be carried at one time but perhaps not in quite as exciting a way as the open tour cars and *char-à-bancs*. Coach lines such as Pioneer were offering twice-weekly, three day tours to the Blue Mountains including a full day at Jenolan Caves where their passengers could

> "explore these subterranean marvels" and see the "unique and world famous" Grand Arch (Anonymous 1948).

Whitby Collection courtesy of JCHAPS

Figure 24. Tour group outside Hartley Court House en route to Jenolan Caves *circa* late 1940s - early 1950s.

Bus Incidents.

On 5 January 1962 a Pioneer Tours Royal Leyland Tiger Flxible (*sic*) Clipper Coach 'Bingara', on a one day tour from Sydney to Jenolan Caves with 32 passengers on board, left the road on the Five Mile hill when the driver swerved to avoid a head-on collision with a speeding Holden car approaching on the wrong side of the road. The soft edge of the road gave way and the coach went over the side, overturning at least four or five times before the driver was thrown out and pinned under a tree. The coach (Figure 25) ended up 272 feet (82.9 metres) from the edge of the road. Tragically, four women passengers were killed and many injured, including the driver who was later cleared of any fault in the subsequent coronial inquest into the deaths (Anonymous 2017). Readers could be forgiven for thinking that the bus in Figure 25 would have been a total write-off but amazingly it was repaired, rebodied and continued to operate, under six different owners in Victoria and NSW until finally withdrawn in 1989 (Bus Australia 2012).

photo courtesy of JCHAPS

Figure 25. The Pioneer coach in which four passengers were tragically killed in a 1962 accident on the Jenolan Caves Road.

While ever improving roads, high rates of car ownership and larger tourist coaches mean that many more tourists can now get to Jenolan Caves, inclement weather and mechanical breakdowns can still cause problems. During a heavy snowstorm in August 2016, more than 80 visitors had to be rescued from their cars and a large bus was one of seven that became bogged (Figure 26) and had to be towed out (Beers 2016).

In 2018 the electrical system failed on a large tour coach, with a full load of schoolchildren, leaving the vehicle with its brakes locked on and stuck on the limestone arch bridge near the Grand Arch. It took many hours for service personnel to reach Jenolan and get the bus moving again.

In 2020, tours to Jenolan Caves were offered by at least seven major coach companies

photo: Top Notch Video (2016)

Figure 26. A large tour coach bogged in the snow near Jenolan Caves in 2016.

operating out of Sydney, one coach company out of Katoomba and a variety of companies offering specialty tours including guided 4WD tours, foreign language tours and adventure tours (Jenolan Caves 2020b).

15. BY TRAIN TO JENOLAN.

It has been argued that the railways were crucial to the creation of almost all of Australia's tourist resorts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Davidson & Spearritt 2000, p.154). As far as the Blue Mountains were concerned,

> "the railway brought the tourist and gave the ordinary Sydney-sider for the first time the chance of cheap and healthy outings in an age [*of*] discovering recreation" (Jack 2000, p.13).

Initially, the NSW Railway Commissioners promoted Katoomba, the Blue Mountains and the Jenolan Caves, even though tourists had to make the final part of the journey from the Upper Blue Mountains towns to the Caves by horse-drawn carriage. By 7 May 1905 the NSWGR Timetable showed that passengers could travel on the evening Express (the forerunner of *The Fish*) from Central Station in Sydney to Mt. Victoria in exactly 3 hours (Anonymous 1905c) and by the 1920s one-day rail and motor tours to Jenolan Caves were available (Spearritt 2000, p.5).

Jenolan Caves were visited in 1927 by the Duke and Duchess of York who on 31 March travelled to Katoomba by train (Figure 27) and then by road to Jenolan Caves. The Royal party's road transport was a fleet of Crossley Six 18/50 cars (Anonymous 1927c, p.viii), comprising two landaulettes, four limousines and six tourers. The Royal couple visited the Left Imperial Cave (now the

photo: NSWGR photo, ARHSnsw Archives Collection image no.855266.

Figure 27. Crowds at Sydney Central Station farewell the Royal Train for the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, hauled by two C36 class locomotives on 31 March 1927.

Chifley Cave) before attending a sumptuous 15-course dinner in the Caves House dining room. The Royal couple returned from the Caves on 1 April 1927, lunching at the Imperial Hotel in Mt. Victoria before joining their train at 1.45pm for the trip back to Sydney, after a busy visit which involved a succession of receptions (Anonymous 1927b).

By 1929, the NSW Government Railways had been running a limited-stops, fast commuter train known as *The Fish* from Central Station to the Blue Mountains for more than forty years but the growing popularity of the motor car and vast improvements to road conditions were challenging the supremacy of train travel to the Blue Mountains. An indication of this increasing competition from the motor car can be gauged from the vehicle registration figures for NSW. In 1924, 62,471 motor cars were registered in the state but by 1929 this had grown to 170,039 (Hovenden 1981, p.183).

The Railways experimented with locomotive 3307 (a member of the old P6 class 4-6-0s, reclassified as C32 class in 1924) to assess whether it could handle a revised schedule that would cut a whopping 55 minutes from the existing time between Central Station and Mt. Victoria. This route included Australia's steepest mainline grades, meaning the odds were never going to be easy (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.127). On the lower mountain slopes

the engines faced almost twelve miles (*19.2 km*) of 1-in-60 grade and then the steady slog of twenty miles (*32 km*) over l-in-31 to l-in-50 from Valley Heights to Katoomba. In those thirty-two miles (*51.2 km*), with very few straight stretches, the engine would climb 3245 ft (*989 m*) (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.127). This was to be the *Caves Express*, a completely new train, with coach connection to Jenolan Caves.

With its inaugural run on 11 November 1929, the *Caves Express* offered much faster schedules by the use of limited-stop running and a lightweight train of only five modified American suburban carriages, which were adapted for tourist use by enclosing the end platforms, grouping seats in settings of four either side of an aisle and adding toilets and

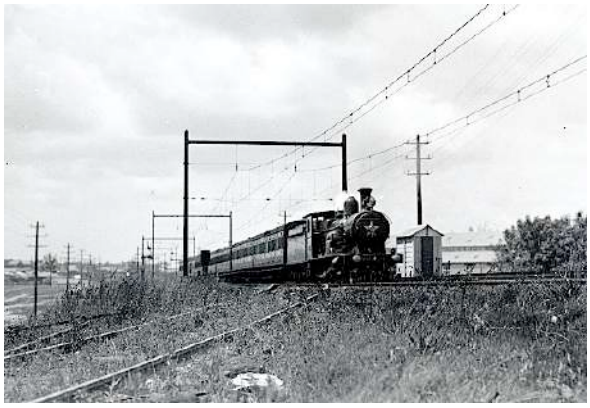


photo: ARHSnsw Archives Winney I K Collection No.103997

Figure 28. The inaugural Caves Express hauled by C32 class locomotive 3307 at Mt Victoria on 11 November 1929.

buffet facilities. The train was hauled at first by specially assigned superheated C32 class locomotives (Figure 28) which were only used between November 1929 and November 1931 (Living Histories 2020).

In November 1931, the *Caves Express* was assigned C35 class (Figure 29) (previously known as NN Class) locos and engine 3535 commenced the accelerated schedule, keeping good the boast of reaching Katoomba from Sydney "in under two hours" (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.128). When in July 1933 engine 3506 (Figure 30) emerged from Eveleigh Railway Workshops it had a striking livery of Caledonian blue with a large silver star adorning the smokebox door. Sister locos 3535 and 3526 soon received the same treatment, and to match was the six-car CUB tourist-set which, complete with buffet, was in a livery of blue and cream and was built specifically for the *Caves Express*. This train

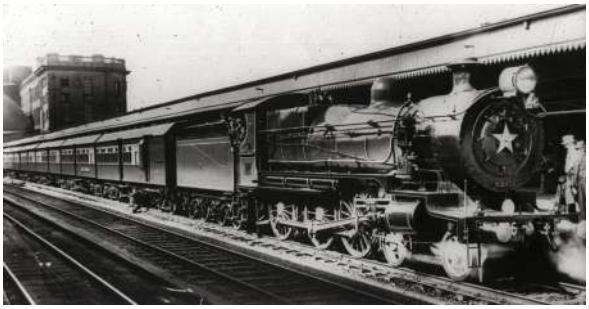


photo from a display in Caves House

Figure 29. The *Caves Express* at Central Railway Station *circa* 1930s hauled by C35 class locomotive 3506 with CUB carriages.

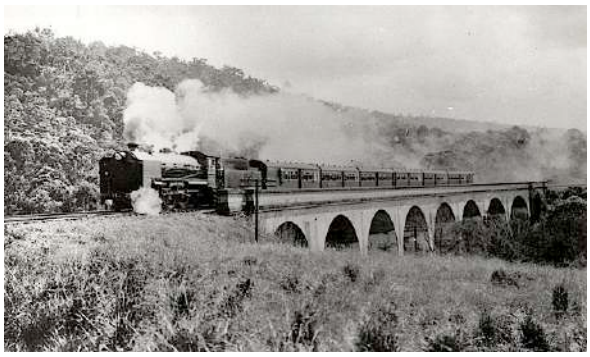
photo from a display in Caves House

Figure 30. Locomotive 3506 hauls the *Caves Express* past Parramatta Park in 1933.

excelled on the climb up the mountains, and on the straight speeds of "up to 71 mph" were timed (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.128).

The larger, new and more powerful 36 class engine (Figure 31) took over both the *Caves Express* (and *The Fish)* in November 1935.

> "The conical boilers of the new 4-6-0's earned them the nickname of the "pig", but the undistinguished appellation proved no impediment to handling a nine-car train with ease while average speeds on the mountains rose to about 40 mph. Many fast runs were witnessed and the success of the service required the *Caves Express* to run in two divisions, Sunday having been added to the schedule." (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.128).



https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/image/17420_a014_a014001371

Figure 31. The *Caves Express* crossing the Knapsack Viaduct, hauled by C36 class locomotive 3673, featuring smoke deflectors and the round-topped boiler with which all the class were originally equipped before many were refitted with Belpaire fireboxes.

The first regular stop on the Blue Mountains for the *Caves Express* was Hazelbrook until 1937 when it became Springwood. Sometimes at holiday periods the first stop would be Katoomba, with a second division relief train serving stations from Springwood.

photo: Valley Heights Locomotive Depot Heritage Museum.

Figure 32. A restored first class / buffet car from the *Caves Express* at the Valley Heights Locomotive Depot Heritage Museum.

In December 1936, a new car set, number 108, was assigned to the *Caves Express* and was painted blue and gold (Figure 32). It was the same design as that introduced on *The Fish* in 1932. The *Caves Express* continued in operation during the first years of World War II, taking 1 hour 55 minutes from Sydney to Katoomba and 2 hours 20 minutes from Sydney to Mt. Victoria. But on 4 October 1942, the *Caves Express* in its original form whistled out of Mt. Victoria for the last time (Belbin & Burke 1981, p.128). The service had a mediocre revival between 1953 and 1956 when it re-appeared in the timetables for Fridays and Saturdays only, running to a semi-fast schedule in the westbound direction only (Wikipedia 2019b).

NEW SOUTH WALES GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

CAVES EXPRESS

Sydney—Mount Victoria and Return

Passengers desiring to travel by this train, in either direction, are required to book reserved seat in advance, for which no additional charge is made.

It is recommended that application for reserved seat for the return journey be made immediately on reaching destination station.

Caves Express

Runs to following Time-table, calling only at the stations shown:—

DOWN (WEEK DAYS ONLY)		a.m.
Sydney	dep.	10 00
Hazelbrook	„	11 59
		p.m.
Lawson	„	12 10
Wentworth Falls	„	12 22
Leura	„	12 31
Katoomba	„	12 36
Medlow Bath	„	12 44
Blackheath	„	12 51
Mt. Victoria	arr.	12 57

UP (WEEK DAYS ONLY)		p.m.
Mt. Victoria	dep.	7 0
Blackheath	„	7 7
Medlow Bath	„	7 14
Katoomba	„	7 23
Leura	„	7 27
Wentworth Falls	„	7 34
Lawson	„	7 42
Hazelbrook	„	7 46
Parramatta	arr.	*8 53
Strathfield	„	*9 3
Sydney	„	9 15

* sets down only

The Travelling Public are notified that Light Refreshments are available on this train, and patronage of this service will be invited by attendant.

Refreshment Service (SEE SPECIAL NOTICE)

Tea, Coffee, Milk or Aerated Waters with either Sandwich, Cake, Pie, Scone, Biscuits, etc., 9d.

Vanilla Ice Cream, 6d.

Other Services

Basket Assorted Fruit, 1/6

Cigars, Cigarettes and Tobacco at ruling prices

Sweets of all Varieties

SPECIAL NOTICE

Attendant must render a receipt for all monies paid for Refreshment Service, and patrons will kindly demand same if not tendered and destroy to prevent further user.

Criticism or complaints are invited by the General Manager, Railway Refreshment Rooms, Adyar House, 20 High Street, Sydney, and will receive courteous and prompt attention.

ex Belpin & Burke (1981, p.92).

Figure 33. *Caves Express* timetable and services *circa* 1930s.

CAVES EXPRESS

Makes Rail Speed Record

FOR MOUNTAIN CLIMB

SYDNEY, Friday.

The Caves Express, which runs daily from Sydney to Mt. Victoria, covered 44 miles 19 chains to Penrith to-day in 39 minutes 57 seconds, thus averaging 61.6 miles an hour. The maximum speed was 69.25 miles per hour. The net running time to Katoomba averaged 37.5 miles per hour, which, with a train which weighs 267 tons, is claimed by the Railway Department to be the fastest steam mountain-climbing train in the world.

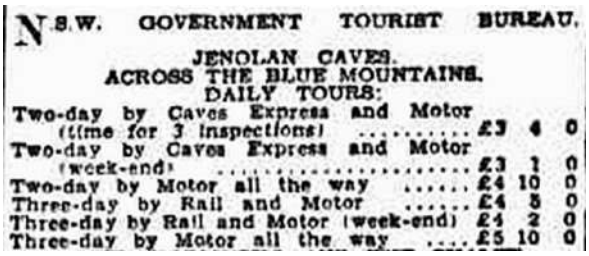
Canberra Times, 27 May 1933, p.1, col.5.
http://www.jenolancaves.org.au/blog/toot-toot-all-aboard-for-jenolan-caves/

Figure 34. Newspaper article about *Caves Express* record run in 1933;

16. Refreshments & Timetable

After the 2 hours 25 minutes journey from Central Station to Mount Victoria, passengers, if they hadn't already obtained food from the train's buffet car (Figure 33) (Bayley 1980, p.71), could enjoy a meal at the Railway Refreshment Room (RRR) in the Mt. Victoria Railway Station prior to the, at times, perilous journey by motor car or coach down to the Caves. The heritage-listed station buildings now house the extensive and eclectic Mount Victoria and District Historical Society's collection, including a display of the RRR tableware (Mount Victoria and District Historical Society Museum 2020).

In its heyday, the *Caves Express* was claimed to be the fastest steam mountain express train in the world (Figure 34), reaching speeds of up to 69.25 miles per hour (Anonymous 1933a). This service ushered in a new era of travel and proved to be a vital link to the future success of Caves House and two-day tours by *Caves Express* and motor were cheaper (Figure 35) than travelling all the way by motor.



N.S.W. GOVERNMENT TOURIST BUREAU.

JENOLAN CAVES.
ACROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS.
DAILY TOURS:

Two-day by Caves Express and Motor (time for 3 inspections)	£3	4	0
Two-day by Caves Express and Motor (week-end)	£3	1	0
Two-day by Motor all the way	£4	10	0
Three-day by Rail and Motor	£4	5	0
Three-day by Rail and Motor (week-end)	£4	2	0
Three-day by Motor all the way	£5	10	0

Figure 35. NSW Government Tourist Bureau fares for daily tours to Jenolan Caves.

Long-time Bullaburra resident John Grahame recalls some of the lightweight carriages formerly used on the *Caves Express* serving on the 'School Train' in which he travelled up and down the mountains between 1969 and 1983 (John Grahame, *pers.comm.,* 2020).

17. Important accoutrements for travellers to Jenolan Caves.

Illustrated advertisements in *The Guide to the Jenolan Caves* (pp. 2, ii, 87 & i in Trickett 1915) convey that it is appropriate for visitors to

- be outfitted in a check tweed suit and a gabardine overcoat, topped off with a cloth cap, straw boater or bowler hat from Gowing Bros of George Street, Sydney (Figure 36).

Advertisement in Trickett (1915, p.2).

Fiigure 36. Gowing Bros' advertisement showing the appropriate attire suggested for male clients on a visit to the Jenolan Caves.

- travel with an "Australian pure wool rug" of the "highest quality" from Vicars of Marrickville
- use a portmanteau or suit case from "Anthony Hordern's New Palace Emporium" on Brickfield Hill, Sydney

and

- maintain their energy levels by eating the "The Travellers' Vade-Mecum – Cadbury's Chocolate".

18. Postscript.

At the time of writing, Jenolan Caves Road between Five Mile and Jenolan Caves had reopened after being closed in both directions due to damage caused by the 2019-2020 summer bushfires and by heavy rain in February 2020 which led to hundreds of dangerous trees, minor and major rock falls and damage to retaining walls and safety barriers (Transport for NSW 2020). The road between the Duckmaloi Road turnoff and the Grand Arch was closed again for various periods in July-August 2020 to allow sediment to be removed from the Blue Lake which is an important platypus habitat. While Caves House was open and the annual 'Christmas in July' festivities were held, the caves themselves were still closed due to inability in meeting COVID-19 pandemic social distancing restrictions. On the weekend of 22-23 August 2020 Jenolan Caves Road was closed for a time due to heavy snow and ice. The Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust and other agencies had taken advantage of the earlier lock-down to carry out repairs to damaged infrastructure.

Acknowledgments.

The author would like to thank the following for their kind assistance in providing information or for help in identifying particular motor vehicles.

Antique Automobile Club of America Inc. members paulrhdnz27, 58L-Y8 and Craig Gillingham.
Malcolm Asquith, Crossley Motors, UK.
Kath Bellamy and Barry Richards, JCHAPS.
Bill Boldiston, Leura, and his daughter, Evette Larsson.
James Armstrong, Steven Dethick and Scott Melton, JCRT.
James Dalton, Manager, The Railway Archives, ARHS.
Ian Dixon, member, ARHS.
John Grahame, Bullaburra.
Andrew Grant, AG Transport Heritage.
James Grant, Lawson.
Kristin Haynes, grandniece of Hope Bartlett.
Gavin Mascord, Leura.
Peter Rickwood, Blue Mountains Association of Cultural Heritage Organisations Inc.

Abbreviations.

ARHS – Australian Railway Historical Society
BMCC – Blue Mountains City Council.
GBMWHA - Greater Blue Mountains World Heritage Area.
HP – Horsepower (as used after vehicle model names).
JCHAPS – Jenolan Caves Historical and Preservation Society.
JCRT – Jenolan Caves Reserve Trust.
JKCR - Jenolan Karst Conservation Reserve.
NSWGR – New South Wales Government Railways.
SLNSW – State Library of New South Wales.

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1868) Extension of the western railway line to Mount Victoria. *Empire*, 2 May 1868, p.5, cols.4-5.

Anonymous (1869) Railway Time Tables. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1869, p.7, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1889) Coach Accident. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 December 1889, p.7, col.4.

Anonymous (1903) A Motor Car Service to Jenolan Caves. *Lithgow Mercury*, 2 October 1903, p,3, col.3.

Anonymous (1905a) Motor omnibus. *Bendigo Advertiser*, 22 March 1905, p,.8, col.1.

Anonymous (1905b) A motor car offered. *Express and Telegraph* (Adelaide), 22 March 1905, p.4, col.6.

Anonymous (1905c) Railway Time Table – Great Western Line -Blue Mountains Service. *Mountaineer*, 1 September 1905, p.1, col.2,

Anonymous (1910a) 'Advertisements'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1910, p.10.

Anonymous (1910b) Blackheath Motor Service. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 November 1910, p.9, col.1.

Anonymous (1911) 'Advertisements'. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 1911, p.17.

Anonymous (1912) The road to Jenolan Caves. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 26 January 1912, p.6, col.2.

Anonymous (1913a) Donnelly Brothers New Car. *Bathurst Times*, 6 January 1913, p.3, col.3.

Anonymous (1913b) The Automobile Touring Co. of Australia Ltd. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 31 January 1913, p.7, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1913c) Mountain Motor Service. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 31 January 1913, p.7, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1913d) The Itala Cars. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 31 January 1913, p.7, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1914a) Leading Jenolan Caves Motor Service. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 19 June 1914, p,2, cols.2-3.

Anonymous (1915) photo caption "Like an Aisne Quarry: A Wolseley car at the Grand Arch of the famous Jenolan Caves in New South Wales." *Illustrated London News*, 6 January 1915, p.96, col.1.

Anonymous (1920) Sensational Accident: Car crashes over cliffs: Miraculous escapes. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 2 April 1920, p.3, col.3.

Anonymous (1922) Chambers (before Mr. Justice Wade) Katoomba Motor 'Buses. *Daily Telegraph*, 24 March 1922, p.10, col.5.

Anonymous (1925a) Died at the wheel. Coroner's opinion. *Blue Mountain Echo,* 23 January 1925, p.8, col.5.

Anonymous (1925b) Tourist, Holiday and Health Resorts. Katoomba. *Daily Telegraph (Sydney)*, 21 October 1925, p.10, cols.6-7.

Anonymous (1925c) Benassai's Cadillac Service. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 13 November 1925, p.9, cols.6-7.

Anonymous (1927a) Cars to the Caves. Inquiry into tenders. Lamble and the Bureau. *Blue Mountain Echo,* 4 February 1927, p.5, col.3.

Anonymous (1927b) Mountain Tour. Succession of Receptions. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 April 1927, p.15, cols.7-8.

Anonymous (1927c) Motor Notes. *The Bystander* (U.K.), 22 June 1927, pp.viii & x.

Anonymous (1927d) Caves by air? Bureau's Ambition: "Regular Service". *Sun (Sydney,)*, 3 February 1927, p.15, col.5.

Anonymous (1928) Mount Victoria. *Blue Mountain Echo*, 4 May 1928, p.5,col.3.

Anonymous (1932) Jenolan Caves two day tours. *Referee* (Sydney), 28 September 1932, p,23, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1933a) Caves Express Makes Rail Speed Record for Mountain Climb. *Canberra Times*, 27 May 1933, p.1, col.5.

Anonymous (1933b) The Motor - Hire Industry. Effort to stabilise prices. Scale of Fees Adopted for Submission to Commissioner. Public Meeting At Council Chambers. *Katoomba Daily*, 20 July 1933, p.2, cols.3-5.
Anonymous (1934a) See Jenolan Caves. *National Advocate* (Bathurst), 8 February 1934, p.2, col.2.
Anonymous (1934b) Holidays among the snow. Special winter tours to Kosciusko and the Jenolan Caves. *Australian Women's Weekly*, 5 May 1934, p,22, cols.3-4.
Anonymous (1935a) South Australian tourists at Jenolan. Bastin's Australian scenic tours. *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 2 February 1935, p.17, col.8.
Anonymous (1935b) Popular Motor Tours. Wonderful Variety. *Mail* (Adelaide, SA), 9 February 1935, p.1, cols.7-8.
Anonymous (1937a) Central Tourist Bureau. Purchased by Searl's Motor Service Ltd. *Katoomba Daily*, 28 October 1937, p.1, col.2.
Anonymous (1937b) Modern Shop Front. *Katoomba Daily*, 26 November 1937, p.2, col.3.
Anonymous (1938) Query Club. Transport to Jenolan Caves – V.M.C.', *Sydney Mail*, 27 April 1938, p.48, cols.2-3.
Anonymous (1942a) Tourist trips banned but munition workers must be kept "going"'. *Lithgow Mercury*, 5 January 1942, p.2, col.6.
Anonymous (1942b) Tourist Vehicles Bomb Shell! Position may be eased. *Blue Mountains Advertiser*, 9 January 1942, p.2, col.6.
Anonymous (1946) A.S. Luchetti. *Lithgow Mercury*, 28 February 1946, p.4, cols.6-7.
Anonymous (1948) Pioneer Tours. Jenolan Caves and Blue Mountains. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 October 1948, p.8, col.8.
Anonymous (1951) LithgowMt. Victoria Tourist Service. A.S. Luchetti. *Lithgow Mercury*, 19 February 1951, p.4, cols.6-7.
Anonymous (1995) The Caves Express. *Australian Railway Historical Society Bulletin*, November 1995 pp.315-321.
Anonymous (2017) Ray's Clipper – Jenolan Caves Crash Story in Full. *Time to Roam*, 10 October 2017. https://www.timetoroam.com.au/rays-flxible-clipper <Accessed 2 August 2020>
Antill, J.M. (1981) 'de Burgh, Ernest Macartney (1863–1929)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 8, (MUP), 1981 http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/de-burgh-ernest-macartney-5937/text10121 <Accessed 7 July 2020>.
Bayley, W,A. (1980) *Blue Mountains railways*. Mt. Victoria: Locomotion Productions, pp.14, 71 [Mitchell Library].
Beers, L.M. (2016) More than 80 people rescued after a massive snowstorm trapped them in their cars on a mountain road Sydney in freezing conditions for FIVE HOURS. *Mail Online News* https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3719599/Dozens-people-trapped-cars-bogged-snow-Jenolan-Caves-NSW.html <Accessed 24 December 2020> *Daily Mail Australia and Australian Associated Press*, 3 August 2016
Belbin, P. and Burke, D. (1981) *Full steam across the mountains.* Sydney: Methuen Australia, 144pp.
Betteridge Family Letters (1931), Chris Betteridge collection.
Boldiston, (Bill 2019), Katoomba? Yeah!! Leura, NSW: Bol D'Or Publishing.
Boldiston, Bill (2020) Personal comment.
Bonhams (2018) 'C.1902 Liberia-Dupont 12HP Twin Cylinder Two/Four Seater Detachable Tonneau', https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/24879/lot/305/ <Accessed 8 July 2020>
Bus Australia (2012) Australian Bus Fleet Lists, http://fleetlists.busaustralia.com/indbusdata.php?requesttype=&reqtype= <Accessed 13 August 2020>
Campbell, Mrs O. (1976) 'The Rolfes' pp.359-361 in Yeaman (1976).
Cook, S, (1889) *The Jenolan Caves: An excursion in Australian wonderland*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 190pp. [State Library of NSW MD 6 U 24]

Croft & Associates Pty Ltd, [in association with Meredith Walker] (1982) *Blue Mountains Heritage Study Final Report*. Sydney: Heritage Council of NSW, Department of Environment and Planning and Blue Mountains City Council.
Davidson, J. & Spearritt, P. (2000) *Holiday Business: Tourism in Australia 1870 - 2000*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press
Donnelly, C.H.McK. (1979) 'The Donnellys', unpublished family history of the Donnelly family kindly made available by Steven Dethick.
Grahame, John (2020), personal communication.
Hampton Halfway Hotel (2020) https://www.gdaypubs.com.au/NSW/hampton/53107/hampton-halfway-hotel.html <accessed 29 May 2020>
Hatswell, R. (1976) The Hatswells. p.338 in Yeaman (1976).
Hovenden, L.G. (1981) *The Motor Car in New South Wales, 1900-1837*. MA thesis, University of Sydney. 306pp. https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/3648/1/The Motor Car in NSW 1900-1937.pdf <Accessed 11 October 2020>
Hurley, F. (1952) *The Blue Mountains and Jenolan Caves: A Camera Study*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 116pp. [NSW State Reference library EQ919.44/HUR]
Immigration and Tourist Bureau, NSW (1910), 'Tenders for lease of Jenolan Caves House', *Government Gazette of the State of New South Wales* (Sydney, NSW: 1901 - 2001), 20 April 1910,
Indyka, S. (n.d.) Notes regarding Hector Benassai attached to souvenir photo dated 1922, https://www.flickr.com/photos/blue_mountains_library_-_local_studies/4940917876 <Accessed 12 May 2020>.
Jack, R.I. (2000) *Blue Mountains Heritage Register Review: Heritage History*. Consultant report prepared for Blue Mountains City Council', January 2000. 34pp. & 62 maps.
Jeffs, A. (2019) Car manufacturers in Australia. Finder. https://www.finder.com.au/car-manufacturers-australia <Accessed 30 May 2020>.
Jenolan Caves (2020b) Getting here: Jenolan Caves. https://www.jenolancaves.org.au/visitor-info/getting-here/<Accessed 18 May 2020>.
Leary, J. (2012) The coming of the motor car. *Heritage* 19, pp.3-4.
Living Histories (2020) NSWGR C32 Class locomotive, no. 3300, hauling the Caves Express, 1929-1931. Living Histories at University of Newcastle. https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/87765 <Accessed 12 July2020>
Low, J. (2019) Travelling to Wonderland: The emergence of coach services from the Blue Mountains to Jenolan Caves in the pre-motor era. *Blue Mountains History Journal* (9), 1-22.
Manson, D.S. (2016) *Early motoring in New South Wales : from 1835 to 1905*. Leura, N.S.W.: Bol d'Or Publishing. 213pp. [BMHS 303.37]
McCourt, M.J. (2009) 1923 Chandler Seven-Passenger Sedan: Pikes Peak Performance in a Patrician Package. *Hemmings Motor News* May 2009, https://www.hemmings.com/stories/article/1923-chandler-seven-passenger-sedan <Accessed 7 July 2020>
Mount Victoria and District Historical Society Museum (2020) Overview. https://www.visitnsw.com/destinations/blue-mountains/katoomba-area/mount-victoria/attractions/mount-victoria-and-district-historical-society-museum <Accessed 7 July 2020>
Pike, A.F. (1983) Hurley, James Francis (Frank) (1885–1962). Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published first in hardcopy 1983 http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hurley-james-francis-frank-6774/text11715 <Accessed 31 March 2020>.
Rickwood, P.C. (2005) The Railway at Blackheath. pp.198-220 in Rickwood & West (2005).
Rickwood, P.C. & West, D.J. (Editors) (2005) *BLACKHEATH: Today from Yesterday. The History of a town in the Blue Mountains of New South Wales.* Blackheath, NSW, 2785: WriteLight Pty. Ltd., for The Rotary Club of Blackheath Inc. 640pp.
Sands (1928) Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1928. Sixty-Eighth year of publication. John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2488pp
Sands (1929) Sands' Sydney, Suburban and Country Commercial Directory for 1929. Sixty-Ninth year of publication. John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2541pp.

Sands (1930) Sands' New South Wales Directory for 1930. Seventieth Year of Publication. John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2546pp.
Sands (1932-3) Sands' New South Wales Directory for 1932, Seventy-Second Year of Publication. John Sands Ltd., Sydney. 2532pp.
Sands Directory (1929 1903a – 1932 / 33) 'Alphabetical Directory Name Listings' and 'Classification of Trades and Professions (alphabetical)' https://www.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/learn/archives-history/search-our-collections/sands-directory <Accessed 16 May 2020>.
Siedlecky, S. (1976) Siedlecky. pp.361-363 in Yeaman (1976).
Simpson, M. (1993) Technical drawing of parlour coach body on Dodge chassis. Notes: Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences. https://ma.as/141972 < Accessed 18 June 2020 >
Smith, J. (1984) *From Katoomba to Jenolan Caves: The Six Foot Track 1884 - 1984*. Katoomba, Second Back Row Press. 166pp.
Smith, J. (2012) *The track maker: The life and works of Peter Mulheran*. Wentworth Falls: Den Fenella Press. 167pp.
Smith, J. (2020) *The Life and Loves of Mark Foy - Creator of the Hydro Majestic Hotel Blue Mountains,* Wentworth Falls: Den Fenella Press. 160pp.
Smith, N. (1996) *Grandfather worked on the pool: Tales of old Blackheath*. Wentworth Falls: Blue Mountains Historical Society Inc. 59pp.
Spearritt, P. (2000*) Sydney's Century: A history*. Sydney: UNSW Press. 316pp.
Spearritt, P. (2005) State of play: 100 years of tourism in New South Wales 1905 – 2005. Sydney, Tourism New South Wales. 80pp.
Top Notch Video (2019) https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3719599/Dozens-people-trapped-cars-bogged-snow-Jenolan-Caves-NSW.html <Accessed 9 October 2020>
Transport for NSW (2020) Jenolan Caves road remains closed at 'Five Mile'. https://www.rms.nsw.gov.au/about/news-events/news/ministerial/2020/200306-jenolan-caves-road-remains-closed-at-five-mile.html <Accessed 18 May 2020>.
Trickett, O. (1905) *Guide to the Jenolan Caves, New South Wales*. 2nd. Edn, Sydney, W.A. Gullick, Government Printer, 76pp (numbered) [82pp]. [RAHS RB 991.6 JEN; Mitchell Library Q551. 44/T - 1905; BMHS 132.04/06 REF]
Trickett, O. (1915) *Guide to the Jenolan Caves, New South Wales*. 3rd. Edn. Sydney Immigration and Tourist Bureau. 82pp (numbered) [88pp]. [NSW State Reference Library copy at TQ021353 transferred from NQ551.44/1B; RAHS RB 991.6 JEN; BMHS 132.04/05REF]
Tugnett, M. & Simpson, M. (2020) 'Photograph of White / Smith and Waddington Charabanc', https://collection.maas.museum/object/571883 <Accessed 3 August 2020>
Wikipedia (2019b) Caves Express. https://wikimili.com/en/Caves_Express <Accessed 13 July 2020>
Wikipedia (2020) Fageol. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fageol <Accessed 13 August 2020>
Williams, S. (1982) *Pass of Victoria Sesqui-Centenary 1832-1982*. Mount Victoria, N.S.W.: Mount Victoria and District Historical Society. 12pp.
Winser, K. (1955), *Story of Australian motoring: the complete history of motoring from the horseless carriage to our cars of today*, [Melbourne], Fortnightly Motor Manual.
Yeaman, J. et al (Eds) (1976), *Historic Blackheath: A Community Service Project of the Rotary Club of Blackheath 1975 – 1976*, Blackheath: Rotary Club of Blackheath.

Yesterday's Heroes: Mount York, The Pioneer Legend and Australian Identity.

Harry Dillon
95 Narrow Neck Road
Katoomba, NSW, 2780
hjdillon95@gmail.com

photo Harry Dillon 2019

Figure 1. The Mount York pavilion as it was in 2019.

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 000183

Figure 2 (inset) in 1913.

Abstract
During the centennial of the 1813 trek across the Blue Mountains, the explorers Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson were lauded as national heroes, and their deeds were commemorated by building a grand new pavilion on Mount York. In 2013 the bicentenary of the Mountains crossing was marked by events that reflected a different set of communal values that down-played the previous chauvinism and recognised issues, such as Aboriginal dispossession. This paper explores how a confluence of these ideas, and the proximity of western Blue Mountains communities to the 1813 crossing route, resulted in the staging of the centenary as a milestone of national achievement and examines the on-going value of Mount York as a repository of historical artefacts.

Key words: Mount York, pavilion, Mount Victoria, explorers, pioneer legend, Blue Mountains.

INTRODUCTION

Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson's famous crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813, and the subsequent construction of a road to the slopes beyond the Great Dividing Range, triggered the first significant extension of settler

agriculture on the mainland outside the Sydney convict colony. A century later the crossings had become emblems of perceived success in conquering the bush to establish farming, grazing, mining and settled towns in the inland. In a society enamoured of its own progress, the pioneers who led the way towards this victory were officially praised as heroes in a concerted effort to promote edifying views about the history of the new Commonwealth that was founded in 1901. The facts of exploration came to be overlayed with a narrative of national achievement that in 1913 found monumental expression with the construction of a pavilion at Mount York (Figures 1 & 2), a key campsite on the explorers' original route. Resulting from a Federation-era sense of Australian identity, and local enthusiasm to partake in that identity, the grandiose opening of the pavilion marked a high point in promotion of the crossings as a pivotal event in national history. That triumphal view of settler achievement has faded over time in both academic discourse and popular consciousness; as a consequence of which the monument at Mount York has lost much of its original symbolic weight and acquired new connotations as a relic of attitudes from an important formative period in Australia's history.

Centenary Celebrations 1913

The bright late-autumn sky formed a glorious blue canopy high above as an occasion of unprecedented magnitude played out in the usually quiet hamlet of Mount Victoria in the upper Blue Mountains of New South Wales. It was Wednesday, 28 May 1913, 100 years since a party of explorers had passed this way through what was then harsh bushland previously unseen by Europeans. Now on this sun-drenched morning a series of locomotives chugged into the train station, pulling carriages that disgorged passengers who streamed in their hundreds along a street festooned with decorations, towards the Imperial Hotel and a new park nearby. Many others rolled in along the Great Western Road, travelling on foot, astride horses, bumping along in carts or impressively seated in new-fangled automobiles. From far and near had they come, some from settlements in the east that hugged the main road running over the mountains; some from towns and farms along the same road which thrust westwards towards the fabled plains of the inland, and others from the metropolis that had formed around Port Jackson during the previous 125 years. Among the latter group were civic and business luminaries, whose presence lent gravitas to an event marking the centennial of that triumphal first passage to the west by settlers.

The little village of Mount Victoria, c.79 miles (*127 km by train; NSWrail.net (2021)*) west of the great harbour and more than 3200 ft (*1000 m*) aloft at the misty western edge of the Blue Mountains, was on that day a centre of interest for the city, the State, perhaps the whole Commonwealth of Australia and, with a dash of hyperbole, the mighty British Empire itself. The village was an offspring of the railway line that had arrived from the east in 1868 and during the 1890s the village was the premier tourist resort from which horse-drawn coach excursions to Jenolan Caves departed. While this eminent role was fading in the new automobile age, in 1913 the heritage of that era lived on in an array of guest houses, hotels and elegant homes of city magnates (Low 2019). That day the town was on formal display, as were many mountain centres along the rail and road corridor in the east that were gaily decorated for the occasion. Railway buildings at Blackheath and Medlow Bath, among others, were tastefully trimmed with green foliage and bunting, while premises around Katoomba station wore colourful displays of Union Jacks and other flags. Hundreds of mountain locals were among the incoming throng, as were the many young pupils and their teachers, specially transported for this great occasion from schools as far away as Parramatta in Sydney's west, and Portland and Wallerawang, out past Lithgow on the way to the inland centre of Bathurst.

By late morning a milling assemblage of up to 10,000 (Anonymous 1913a, col.4), the like of which had never previously gathered in the Blue Mountains, was ready for the gala ceremony recalling the great moment of a century previously when the exertions of the 'famous three' – Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth and William Lawson – had been rewarded with a view of grassy swatches in the Hartley Valley as they gazed down from a nearby plateau (Figures 3 & 4). A century hence, on 28 May 1913, this vision of pastoral

photo Harry Dillon 2019

Figure 3. The view from Mount York as it was in 2019.

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection

Figure 4. and (inset) about a century ago.

promise beyond the Blue Mountains' sandstone ramparts was being celebrated as a milestone in the history of the young nation that had emerged just over a decade ago with the melding of its six component colonies under a federated government. Gregory Blaxland's matter-of-fact, third-person journal belies the symbolic status that was later imposed on this sighting of grass on 28 May 1813.

> "Not being able to find water, they did not halt till five o'clock, when they took up their station on the edge of the precipice. To their great satisfaction, they discovered that what they had supposed to be sandy barren land below the mountain, was forest land, covered with good grass and with timber of an inferior quality." (Blaxland 1870, p.13).

Afterwards the party descended into the valley and further on climbed a sugarloaf-shaped hill (Figure 5), from the summit of which – as Blaxland (1870, p.14) noted in a much-quoted overstatement –

> "they descried all around, forest or grassland, sufficient in extent in their opinion, to support the stock of the colony for the next thirty years".

Having achieved their goal of finding a practical route to the west, they turned and retraced their journey back to Sydney. In the annals of Australian exploration this was not a comparatively long or epic journey, but as the first officially recognized penetration of the inland from Sydney it eventually acquired the mythic status honoured a century later at Mount Victoria. Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson were not the first non-Aborigines to make it beyond the Blue Mountains – depending on definitions, that honour rightfully belonged to convicts (McHugh 2009, pp.1-13) – and the explorers, with their three convict offsiders, probably received help from Aborigines that was unacknowledged at the time (Olsen & Russell 2019, Introduction). Their main achievement was in wisely ascending the main east-west ridge and doggedly fol-

lowing it to the west; the main challenge lay not in negotiating the terrain, but rather in clearing a route amenable to the horses carrying their supplies. As respectable men of substance with interests in the grazing sector, their discovery of a practical route for the passage to good land beyond the sandstone barrier was a boon to the colony's landholders. Their blazing of this trail also curtailed any lingering doubts about the future viability of settlement in this still largely-unknown continent. Thus the journey was well cast for its later role as an heroic episode in the saga of British imperial triumph.

Photo. F. Walker

VIEW OF MOUNT BLAXLAND

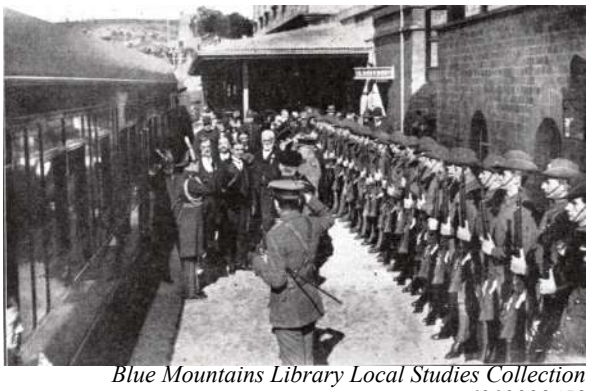
Blaxland (1870)

Figure 5. Photograph of Mount Blaxland in a version of Gregory Blaxland's diary that was annotated by historian Frank Walker (Blaxland 1870).

Mountain Crossers honoured in retrospect

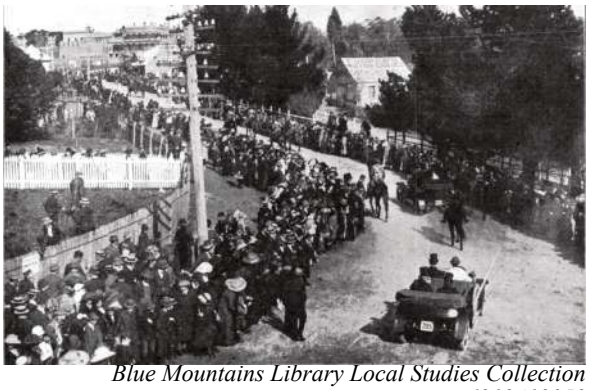
The three explorers' reputation was enhanced in later decades, as were those of the other key men associated with forging a permanent way across the Blue Mountains in the period 1813-15. The exalted group included George William Evans, who in late 1813 surveyed the explorers' route and extended it across the Great Dividing Range to the Bathurst area and beyond; William Cox, who in 1814 supervised a convict work crew that pushed the first road across the mountains to Bathurst, and Lachlan Macquarie, the Governor who approved the whole enterprise and journeyed to Bathurst accompanied by the colony's notables in April-May 1815.

While focusing mainly on the explorers, the latter three mountain-crossing luminaries of 1813-15 were also honoured in the ceremonies of 28 May 1913, which began with the arrival of the State Governor, Sir Gerald Strickland, who stepped impressively onto the Mount Victoria platform from a special train. He was greeted by an array of men in uniforms and some local 'worthies' (Figure 6) including two enthusiastic promoters of the centenary event, the Australian Historical Society's Frank Walker, and a past President of the local Blaxland Shire, John Berghofer. As a military band struck up the national anthem, the vice-regal party inspected a guard of honour and then was motored along the short route to the Imperial Hotel (Figure 7) . An official reception, during which the Governor met explorers' descendants, preceded a move to the park, where invited guests occupied a podium adjacent to a 1500-strong children's choir, a military brass ensemble, and squads of army and naval cadets – an altogether dazzling array (Figure 8).



Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212928458

Figure 6. The State Governor arrives at Mount Victoria for the 1913 centenary.



Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212412359

Figure 7. The Viceroy's car on the way to an official reception.

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212833596

Figure 8. The children's choir and crowd at Mount Victoria.

After introductions and a choral piece (Figure 8), Sir Gerald addressed the youngsters, reminding them

> "of those who had done honor to themselves, their country and the British race from which they had all sprung",

and urging them to follow the explorers' example in order to

> "meet with the same success and rewards" (Anonymous 1913b, p.4, col.6).

Campbell Carmichael, the Minister for Public Instruction, spoke of the discovery of a passage over the mountains as one of the finest exploratory feats in Australasian history, carried out by men of

> "indomitable courage, resourcefulness and obstinacy" (Anonymous 1913b, p.5, col.1).

He urged the boys and girls to contemplate the road later forged along the explorers' route – an engineering marvel – as well as the progress since then that had transformed the old ordeal of mountain crossing to a comfortable few hours aboard a train. Though the intervening achievements had been many, he assured the youngsters, none outranked that of these explorers.

> "He hoped they would always bear in mind the fundamental principle underlying all the great work done in the past, which was the determination to do their duty at any cost with a grim tenacity of purpose, which would not be driven back – like those men who crossed Emu Plains and travelled on to Mount York. (Loud cheers)" (Anonymous 1913b, p.5, col.1).

Crowd gathers on Mount York

Afterwards the Viceroy, assorted dignitaries and scores of other invitees dined beneath a marquee in the park where toasts were drunk and speeches flowed loquaciously. His Excellency was praised as His Majesty's worthy ambassador, Sir Gerald graciously responding that the centenary celebration was a nationally important tribute to men who had exemplified the

> "energetic British people who founded Australia's prosperity" (Anonymous 1913c, p.5, col.3).

As the feasting rolled on, praises flowed for the nation's constitution and parliaments; the British and Australian armed forces, and the organisers of this splendid occasion. Their appetites sated, the official party along with thousands of onlookers traversed six kilometres of road to the plateau above the escarpment at Mount York (Figure 9), where the explorers had camped on that great day in 1813. Here they gathered around the base of a partially completed concrete monument that would have had an eight-pillared canopy as its central feature, had not bad weather stalled the work crew's efforts to erect it in time for the ceremonial opening (Figure 10). Undeterred, the Governor dutifully unveiled the memorial tablet with verbal nods to imperialism, Australian progress and the greats of 1813-15.

> "In honour of the exploring spirit of the British race, of what Australians have done and will do, I dedicate this monument – and in honour of the memory of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson, and of Governor Macquarie, and Surveyor General Evans,

and in recollection of their having reached Mount Blaxland across the barrier, giving to Sydney command of the vast resources (*sic*) of New South Wales." (Anonymous 1913b, p.5, cols.4-5).

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212926864

Figure 9. The Governor arrives by car at Mount York.

Official acts now finalised, the crowd dispersed but festivities – including an official ball – continued at various locations. That night hundreds of lanterns glowed outside homes, and bonfires blazed at scores of locations along a chain of high points ranging from Prospect Hill in the east to Mount Canobolas above Orange. There at the western end of the chain hundreds gathered around a pyre in the glow of which they perhaps reflected on that episode 100 years earlier …

> "when the intrepid explorers … with their little company essayed the journey across what at that time was deemed an impossible barrier." (Anonymous, 1913e).

Mount Victoria offered a fiery tribute at Apex Hill, Medlow at Reservoir Hill (Anonymous 1913d, col.6) and at Katoomba rockets ascended over a blazing pile but …

> "the Maid of the Mists threw her mantle over the hills, effectively dimming the glory of the fire king." (Anonymous 1913f).

So concluded the big event, which scores of newspapers around the country subsequently covered in detail.

In following months, the pavilion's columns and canopy were completed and the monument in final form, with its dedicatory tablets, today stands in the same location, a solid edifice at the end of a road in a cleared reserve surrounded by eucalypts. The pavilion's bulky form, as described in official heritage reports, is an assertion of civilized European order with neoclassical motifs then popular in Britain.

> "A domed canopy carried on eight Doric columns rests on a base 6 ft (*1.8m*) high on which stands a memorial tablet made of Bowral trachyte. The pavilion or canopy is placed in the centre of a courtyard 25 ft (*7.5m*) square surrounded by a panelled parapet 4 ft (*1.2m*) high. The height of the top of the finial on the canopy is 19 ft 6 in (*nearly 6m*)." (State Heritage Inventory, 2009).

Incongruous against the bush backdrop, the pavilion (Figures 11 & 12) bears inscriptions recalling the 1813-15 crossings (Figure 13), while the structure itself signifies the advancement of European civilization in a land that was seen as primitive and savage in the pioneers' time.

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212833596

Figure 10. The ceremony at the Mount York pavilion site.

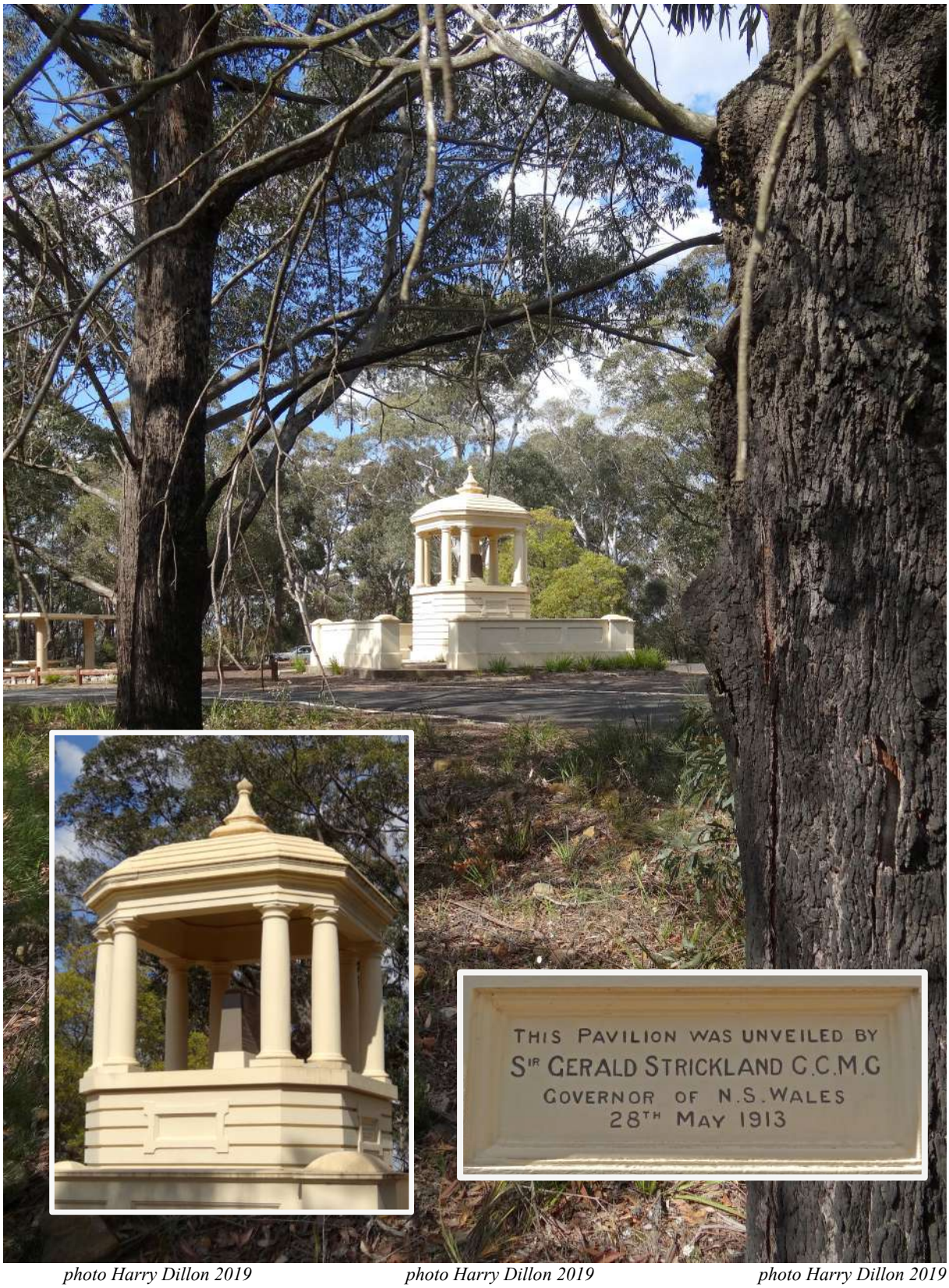


photo Harry Dillon 2019 *photo Harry Dillon 2019* *photo Harry Dillon 2019*

Figure 11. *(Main Photo)* **Figure 12.** *(Inset left)* **Figure 13.** *(Inset right)*
The 1913 pavilion's formality contrasts sharply with the surrounding bush.

Visions of victory

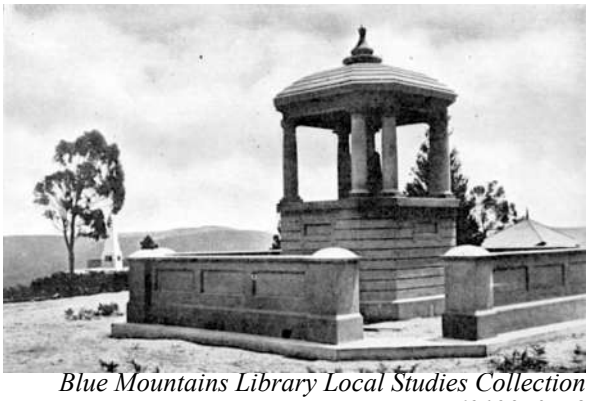
Despite the persistent challenges that settler society had faced as it expanded throughout the nineteenth century, by 1913 the advances were widely acknowledged as a victory over the harsh outback environment that inspired confidence in future continued success. Although known to be a place of drought, fire and flood, Australia had yielded agricultural and mining riches that boded well for the future. Viewed retrospectively from 1913, this narrative of progress could be traced as a sequence starting with the 1788 foundation of the colony, an expansion inland after 1813-1815 and thenceforward changes towards the prosperous society of the early twentieth century. The mountain crossings were allotted a conspicuous place in this narrative, as key links in a chain of events leading from struggling colony to modern nation.

This positioning was enhanced by interpreting the crossings as a breakthrough that enabled the subsequent immense progress that seemed be evident in the early twentieth century. The story acquired a dramatic edge through an emphasis on the heroic men who breached the previously 'impenetrable' range to find fresh pasture for a hungry colony that was destined for a great future. Thus it was not the crossings themselves but their perceived causative role in the nation-building that followed which caused them to be singled out as important events. As Cunningham (1996, p.14) pointed out in a work that sought to demythologize the crossings, Mount York's acquired association with lands of the golden west where fortunes accrued made it one of the most significant sites of public remembrance in Australia.

> "Here … was won the first major battle against the mighty bush. Here was the land first subdued and conquered. The names of the gods who subdued it are, literally, inscribed here in stone."

The Mount York obelisk

While the pavilion is the major memorial to the 1813 crossing in the mountains, it was not the first. Just a short stroll away in the Mount York reserve stands an obelisk completed in 1900 for the same heroes' achievements (Figure 14). Rising tall above the Hartley Valley, the obelisk overlooks the escarpment and invites current visitors to gaze westwards towards the Great Dividing Range, the vista seen by the men of May 1813 (Figure 15).



Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 6212950758

Figure 14. The completed pavilion in 1913 with the memorial obelisk in the background.

Built and opened amidst low-key publicity, the obelisk (Figure 16) was inspired by the memorializing urge that re-emerged later to inspire the pavilion but, unlike the latter, the obelisk was mainly a local project that cost just £30 to build. The obelisk inscriptions emphasize the civic pride and promotional goals underpinning its installation.

photo Harry Dillon 2019

Figure 15. Vista from Mount York near the obelisk.

> "The Mount York obelisk … stands towards the extremity of the mountain spur, just before the cliff line. The base of the obelisk has inscriptions on all four sides. These commemorate the Explorers, Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth; the Surveyor, Evans; the Road-builder, Cox; and the Governor, Macquarie. The names of

the Reserve Trustees at the time: Berghofer, Howell and Rienits, are also recorded on the monument." (State Heritage Inventory, 2009).

photo Harry Dillon 2019

Figure 16. The commemorative obelisk of 1900 as it was in 2019.

While the pavilion project also originated locally, it was decidedly broad-based from the outset, with its promoters being inspired by the impending 1913 centenary to devise a memorial fit for national heroes. Their conscious intention to construct an edifice that would remind future generations about the debt owed to the men of 1813-15 made the Mount York plateau a landscape of memory encapsulating mainstream values of 1913. Thus the pavilion is a physical and visual manifestation of an officially sanctioned view of Australia's non-Aboriginal history as a march towards success.

Monuments foster 'purposeful remembrance'

While somewhat unusual in their placement outside of an urban centre, the Mount York array of monuments is at one with most monumental structures elsewhere, embodying an outlook that contemporary elites favoured and wanted to promote among the populace. In her analysis of commemorative monuments in South Africa, Sabine Marschall defined these institutional edifices as the most deliberately designed and emblematic of any cultural products that codify public memory.

> "Their role is to induce purposeful remembrance in the interest of forging a particular historical consciousness and shaping collective memory upon which group identity can be based. … Monuments are public 'institutions' through which selected narratives and associated groups can gain visibility, authority and legitimacy, but they are also sites of contestation where perhaps previously invisible differences can become evident." (Marschall 2010, p.2),

The Mount York monuments were designed to embed the 1813-1815 crossings in public memory linked with a favoured historical view of settler success in the coming-of-age story that culminated in Federation. The historical narrative that inspired the monuments was especially favoured by elite members of society who sponsored their construction and wished to impress their triumphal interpretation of the past on the contemporary collective memory. Any ideological opposition to this outlook that existed at that time was not significantly reflected in contemporary political and media discourse. This contrasts with twenty-first century public discourse on Australia's past, which does not exclude narratives of historical progress but also encompasses revisionist paradigms challenging both the factual basis of the dominant crossings narrative and, more emphatically, the encompassing ideology that excludes indigenous, ecological, working class and other perspectives (Karskens 2013).

The inception of two Mount York monuments in the afterglow of Australia's transformative Federation period represents a regional response to a national quest for celebratory stories to validate the newly-minted nation. This period manifests a collective public desire for a uniquely Australian history based on cohesive national identity and a pantheon of exemplary heroes. This quest was inherent to a recently-transplanted society that was founded as a solution to Britain's law-and-order quandaries and therefore seemed an 'accidental' nation. Initially fully dependent on the

mother country – with its rich trove of historical heroes – but gradually coming to terms with its new locale, Australia's settler society was by the late nineteenth century in need of its own ideology. The socio-cultural links that bind people and places together were sufficiently evident to inspire some people – poets, writers, artists, thinkers, politicians, orators – to undertake conscious mythologizing. As a result, the years between 1880 and the 1914 outbreak of World War One saw the emergence of a germinal national identity that was connected with, but not encompassed by, the Federation movement. While not easily defined, 'national identity' is a useful term relating to the mutual allegiance of people towards a shared country and culture. Smith (1991, pp.1-9) claimed that this form of identity is among every individual's personal allegiances, along with other aspects including gender, class, religion and politics. In his research on nationalism in the modern state, Smith also found that a sense of connection with a well-defined territorial entity contributed to identity.

> "People and territory, as it were, must belong to each other … But the earth in question cannot be just anywhere; it is not any stretch of land. It is, and must be, the 'historic' land, the 'homeland', the 'cradle' of our people even where … it is not the land of ultimate origin." (Smith 1991, p.9),

To its fledgling society of immigrants and their first- or second-generation locally-born descendants, Britain still eclipsed Australia as a fully-fledged homeland, and allegiance to the mother country remained solid during the push towards Federation. Nonetheless, the sense of a distinctive Australian identity was growing, as is evidenced by the life and career of William Charles Wentworth (Figure 17), whose participation in the 1813 Blue Mountains expedition was but one of many personal achievements. To his contemporaries, Wentworth was less the brave explorer of later legend, and more a landowner, lawyer, writer, politician, orator and statesman. While the Blue Mountains crossing was taken largely for granted in the mid-1800s, Wentworth had several decades earlier set the tone for its future romanticisation with reflections on conquering the "mighty ridge" in his poem *Australasia*.

> "And as a meteor shoots athwart the night,
> The boundless champaign burst upon our sight,
> Till nearer seen the beauteous landscape grew,
> Op'ning like Canaan on rapt Israel's view."
> (Wentworth 1823, stanza 13)

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection HSO237

Figure 17. William Charles Wentworth, whose participation in the 1813 expedition preceded an illustrious public life.

Heroism and the 'altar of public good'

Born to a convict mother in 1790, Wentworth identified himself as one of the first non-Aboriginal native Australians when campaigning for liberal government in the colony during the 1820s. Initially opposing the exclusives who saw themselves as a superior colonial caste, over time Wentworth shifted towards conservatism but, despite periods of absence in England, retained a patriotic allegiance to Australia as his homeland. He came to be widely recognized as the first great man of Australian origin and was accorded the colony's earliest full state funeral when he died at age 82 in 1872. This celebration of the

life of a significant, locally-born figure indicated that Australian identity was developing, but Wentworth himself had drawn attention to a key constraint. In a parliamentary debate, he expressed the view that true heroism belonged to those who had risked life and limb in armed conflict to quell treason, repel invasion or fight for their homeland on foreign shores.

> "This is a privilege which has been denied to us. It is a privilege that can only belong to our posterity. We cannot, if we would, sacrifice our lives upon the altar of public good." (Rusden 2011, p.88),

Wentworth's observation that personal sacrifice for the sake of communal benefit equates with public perceptions of heroism goes to the heart of Australia's quest for identity. Lacking a distant past in which legendary figures fought and died for the territorial homeland, post-1915 Australia embraced ANZAC as its most exulted and enduring heroic myth. At a lower level of reverence, explorers who died on a mission tend to be better known in popular culture than others who survived their treks. The latter nonetheless faced risks and are thereby accorded recognition for undertaking arduous missions that helped to found the nation. Among these are Wentworth and his two companions of 1813, whose elevation in perceived status as pioneer founders of the nation came long after their actual mission. The tale of their exploits grew with the telling over time as it acquired the symbolism later imposed on the landscape at Mount York (Lavelle 2013, p.14). During the final decades of the nineteenth century mythologizing of this type helped to alleviate the national identity deficit by shaping inspiring national foundation stories. As Inglis (1974, pp.270-274) pointed out, the quest for such stories was hampered by early decades of convictism, the brevity of Australia's non-Aboriginal history, the hardships of life in the bush and Australia's relatively tranquil social setting.

> "For the time being, Australians who wanted heroes had to choose between Cook the remote discoverer, Wentworth the flawed patriot, the grim explorers of the interior, the disreputable outlaws of the bush, the makers of the Eureka stockade and the eight-hour day, and other men of such reputation as could be nurtured within the bounds of colonial settlement and experience." (Inglis 1974, p.273).

Despite past limitations, Australia's future seemed to be promising, especially from the early 1850s as the gold rush boosted population and the colonies were becoming self-governing. That the country was ripe with potential for future national greatness became a theme for poets and authors, including Henry Kendall, whose verse *The Far Future* envisages Australia advancing "with rapid, winged stride" to plant her banner proudly among the nations.

> "The yoke of dependence aside she will cast,
> And build on the ruins and wrecks of the Past."
> (Kendall 1859, stanza 1).

Drawing on classical traditions, Kendall's initial heroes were statesmen such as Wentworth, whose careers were mostly urban. Moving on to those who fostered settlement of the land, Kendall's poetic light shone on explorers such as James Cook, Ludwig Leichhardt, Robert Burke and William Wills, whose bravery and tragic deaths approximated the heroism of Wentworth's warrior shedding blood for the common good. Although they didn't die, the Blue Mountains explorers were rendered heroic in Kendall's (1880) poem *Blue Mountain Pioneers*, published in the supplement of a newspaper along with a striking Emile Ulm lithograph dramatizing the breakthrough to the west. The verse and illustration portray three warriors battling against nature in the form of cliffs, gorges and thick scrub until they emerge victorious and face the "great unknown" on the other side.

> "Behind them were the conquered hills — they faced
> The vast green West, with glad, strange beauty graced;
> And every tone of every cave and tree
> Was as a voice of splendid prophecy."
> (Kendall 1880).

The pioneer legend emerges

The poem *Blue Mountain Pioneers* is an expression of the pioneer legend that developed during the 1880s-1890s as the quest of mythologizing the Australian experience devolved on the taming of the environment as its central preoccupation. Historian John Hirst (1978) described this legend as a nationalist myth celebrating the noble qualities – courage, enterprise, perseverance – of the peole who first settled the land, mainly as pastoralists or farmers.

"Their enemies are drought, flood, fire, sometimes Aborigines"

and the legend insists the settlers

"were not working merely for themselves or their families, but for us" (Hirst 1978, p.316).

Identifying the legend in literary works of Henry Lawson and Banjo Paterson, and paintings by artists such as Frederick McCubbin, Hirst contended that it gained wide popular recognition. The pioneer label could also encompass explorers, especially those – like Blaxland and company – whose expeditions facilitated inland settlement. Citing Inglis' thesis about the quest for national heroes, Hirst wrote that Kendall's *Blue Mountains Pioneers* was influential in casting the 1813 mountain crossing as an heroic mission of colonisation.

"This was a short expedition and it didn't end in death, but it could be linked much more closely than other expeditions to the settlement of the land." (Hirst 1978, p.319).

Subsequently Paterson's (1889) *Song of the Future* celebrated the pioneers'

"honest toil and valiant life"

of achievement as worthy substitutes for the lack

"of bloodshed reddening the land"

in Australia's history (Paterson 1889 stanza 11). He wrote

"For years the fertile western plains"

were hiding behind rocky walls, crags and waterfalls of the Blue Mountains as settlers on the coast waited

"Like Israelites with staff in hand,"

for the chance to head inland. He did not name the explorers but rather portrayed the mountain crossings as a saga of the people that opened up the rolling western plains (Paterson 1889 stanzas 13, 14). After the way was won, settlers marched over the mountains like an army heading ever westward

"Along the pathway of the sun".

.....

"Their faces ever westward bent
Beyond the farthest settlement,
Responding to the challenge cry
Of 'better country further out.'" (Paterson 1889, stanza 18)

Emphasizing the roles of the Blue Mountains, first as a barrier to expansion and later as a passageway to the agricultural mecca of the west, Paterson linked the high country with the bush productivity of which Australians were highly conscious around the Federation era. The mountain crossings of 1813-1815 were thus connected with the pioneer myth as it grew in popular consciousness and found expression in works such as McCubbin's (1904) *The Pioneer*, which visually depicts the hard scrabble of settler life described in Lawson's *Freedom on the Wallaby.*

"Our parents toiled to make a home,
Hard grubbin' 'twas and clearin',
They wasn't troubled much with lords
When they was pioneerin'."
(Lawson 1891, stanza 4).

Encompassing the pioneer legend in full, McCubbin's 1904 three-panel work shows a gallant settler couple tackling the virgin bush, then raising a family, and finally deceased as a new generation reaps the benefits of their toil and a city rises in the background. As a staff member of the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) commented, this work sums up the artist's work on pioneers and is …

"McCubbin's greatest statement on the origins and aspirations of the new country. Considered a national icon, *The pioneer* also tells a universal human story of the journey through life." (NGV web site).

The pioneer legend was thus associated with the notion of progress towards a grand future that was evidenced by progressive development of the countryside during the latter half of the nineteenth century. With the continent's fertile south-eastern crescent of good, fairly well-watered land fully occupied by this time, wool that was mainly grown for export underpinned Australia's growing prosperity. Expansion of railway networks during the 1870s-1880s and land reform acts favouring small selectors fostered development of the wheat belt, giving the nation another big export industry. During these decades ongoing population growth, fuelled by immigration, was accompanied by expanding democratic enfranchisement and sustained national economic expansion of 4.8 per cent a year along with steadily rising per capita income

(McLean 2013, pp.79-83). During the 1890s economic depression, industrial unrest and severe drought dented optimism, but agricultural and mining productivity retained sufficient strength to command an outsized image of success and importance in the popular culture of Australia's highly urbanized society.

Federation and Australia's national identity

The overriding political achievement in the early twentieth century was the British Act of Parliament granting permission for the six Australian colonies to form their own Commonwealth as a constitutional monarchy under the British Crown on 1 January 1901. In addition to resolving trade, defence and immigration issues, Federation ratified a growing sense of national sentiment, common culture and shared heritage in a land where three-quarters of the population was born in Australia. As a dominion of the British Empire, Australia's foreign policy was decided in London and this situation enjoyed popular approval among Australian citizens who were largely content to regard themselves as proud British Australians. This outcome realized the vision of the 'Father of Federation', Henry Parkes, whose Tenterfield Oration had foreshadowed a national government that maintained allegiance to Britain. Stating that the time was close at hand for the setting up of a national government for Australians, Parkes asserted:

> "... surely what the Americans had done by war, the Australians can bring about in peace without breaking the ties that hold them to the mother country." (Foundation1901 2014, p.4).

The confluence of factors outlined above drove national events in Australia, including the opening of the pavilion on Mount York in 1913. However, that particular event also resulted from firming local awareness of the crossings story during the final decades of the nineteenth century, when train travel made Blue Mountains settlements more viable places to visit or reside in. Historical awareness amidst a growing population, and the desire to offer tourists an impressive heritage landmark, led to the identifying of the so-called Explorers Tree (Figure 18), just west of Katoomba, that was supposed to have been marked with the initials of one or all of the explorers. Although no direct validation of its links with the 1813 expedition exists, the eucalypt, located on the western side of the current highway, came to be associated with tales of a marked tree that date back to at least 1867 (Blue Mountains Library Flickr).

By the early 1880s the tree had gained public recognition as an historical site and, possibly on instruction from the NSW Minister of Lands, workmen built a protective wall and fence around it (Figure 18). .Confusion about the tree led to inaccurate official signage on

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 24260459113

Figure 18. The Marked Tree at Katoomba in the 1880s.

the wall, which caused a visiting observer to write, erroneously, that the tree marked the point where the three explorers in their first attempt to breach the mountain barrier had to turn back for fresh supplies (Anonymous 1884, col.3). The misleading sign stayed in place despite attempts to have it amended, such as the well-informed letter to the *Katoomba Times* (Suttor 1891) stating emphatically that the explorers went on past the tree and into the valley below Mount York during their one-off expedition. Controversy continued until 1905 when a concerted effort by pioneer family descendants prompted the NSW Lands Department to review and finally amend the sign in 1908. This curious tale of confused signage reflects a rising recognition of the explorers' historical significance, but also patchy knowledge of historical factuality along with official lethargy about setting the record straight. Despite all this, along with

ongoing uncertainties about its provenance, the marked tree appealed to the rising sense of national identity during the 1880s-1890s and, as Lavelle (2013, p.128) pointed out, it became incorporated

> "in a central explanatory narrative of national achievement".

Similar factual muddles surrounded the erection of the memorial obelisk that preceded the pavilion at Mount York, with an *Evening News* item of 1892 reporting that the monument was planned for

> "Mount York, where the explorers turned back on their second journey" (Anonymous 1892).

An initiative of a Mount Victoria-based committee chaired by local boarding school owner-principal and civic notable, Henry Guenther Rienits, the obelisk project won praise in correspondence to *The Mountaineer* newspaper in Katoomba that described it as

> "the object, which is of national importance," (Boss 1895).

Money was raised for the project and the monument was erected but a few years hence a writer in the Sydney-based *Evening News* noted the existence of

> "a bare, brick pedestal, a cement-covered column"

obelisk on Mount York that was visible for miles around but unfinished and surrounded by debris.

> "Never was hard-won honor so grudgingly bestowed, so clumsily neglected. I understand the tablets have been donated, and the completion of this monument to indomitable will and tireless energy is actually waiting for a little money to engrave the tablets, set them in their places, and put up a surrounding and iron railing." (Soldene 1899, col.3).

Although constrained by tight funding, the obelisk was completed in 1900 and, according to Lavelle (2013, p.136), its presence encouraged the siting of the 1913 centennial monument on Mount York, with other factors including the spectacular views and

> "the presence of historic relics of the old Bathurst Road".

RAHS Walker Glass Slide Collection, slide U0131

Figure 19. Frank Walker, who tirelessly promoted the 1913 centenary.

Frank Walker promotes the explorers' legend

Completion of the obelisk seems to have been a slow, low-key affair that gave the Blue Mountains a new feature of interest without drawing major news media or public attention. That would come thirteen years later, after a more concerted campaign led to construction of the memorial pavilion. The centenary pavilion campaign originated locally and entered public discussion by early 1911 after the publishing of a letter from a Lithgow man, James Padley, who advocated the setting up of committees to devise centenary events (Anonymous 1911, p.2, col.2). The movement gained ground and led to the launch of an organising committee, of which Padley became a member. Importantly, the campaign gained support from influential folk further afield, one of whom was Frank Walker, (Figure 19) an inaugural member of the Royal Australian Historical Society and enthusiast for local history with a particular passion for Blue Mountains history. Walker was well primed to push for the centenary celebration, as evidenced by a speech (Anonymous 1909, p.11, col.6) to the RAHS in March 1909 that stressed the Mountains' connection to later development of the inland. The high country,

he said in a *Sydney Morning Herald* report, had defied persistent efforts to surmount it, reach the unknown inland and ease constriction on the colony. Then came the crossing by Blaxland and co. ("heroic and splendid"), the Evans survey ("magnificent country beyond the mountains") and Cox's road ("a wonderful performance"). This "splendid work" had finally unlocked the country's untapped potential.

> "The fertile western slopes, with millions of acres of wheat lands, the western plains with millions of merinos, was only a prophetic vision conceived by some farseeing colonist. The history of Australia contains no more interesting and romantic story than that connected with the conquest of the west."
> .....
> "Mr. Walker trusted that the day was not far distant when Australians would suitably recognise the work of these heroes by the erection of fitting memorials." (Anonymous 1909, p.11, col.6).

Walker's call for memorialization was inspired by his conviction that modern Australia should thereby express its gratitude to those who had put the country on the path to agricultural greatness. His inland is a cornucopia of pastoral and cropping productivity made feasible by men who had bravely challenged the unknown for selfless ends. This version of the pioneer legend suggests a cause-and-effect relationship between the mountain crossings and subsequent farming developments, implying that the latter were directly dependent on the former. Furthermore, the motives of the men involved in the crossings are sublimated – as per the pioneer legend – to the notion that they were acting for the benefit of those who came later. Walker's vision implicitly asserted the public need for a pantheon of heroes drawn from history and honoured as part of a shared national narrative. It also assumed the validity of Australia's history, which at that time was not considered a proper academic pursuit – a deficit partly countered by the RAHS, which had formed in 1901 and from 1906 regularly published a journal. As a promoter of community engagement with history, Walker wrote regular historical pieces for newspapers, many of which pushed the cause of a memorial for the mountain crossers. Lavelle (2012, p.34) asserted that RAHS support was crucial to the realisation of plans for the 1913 centenary event, with Walker being particularly influential in writing much of the extensive publicity output that preceded it.

Pavilion concept takes shape

Walker's influence added weight to local Blue Mountains efforts to devise a grand occasion for the crossing centenary through appeals to government and other public and private bodies at regional, state and national levels. Also prominent in the movement was the Mount Victoria notable, John William Berghofer (born Johannes Wilhelm Berghöfer) (Figure 20), who in March 1907 had become the first elected President of Blaxland Shire and had previously been a supporter of the Mount York obelisk project. By mid-1912 Berghofer had swung the local progress association behind the proposed celebration, and moves were under way to gain the Royal Australian Historical Society's "sanction and support" (Anonymous 1912a). A flurry of meetings, correspondence and other manoeuvres yielded an ambitious plan designed to make the big day singularly memorable. Press reports (e.g. Anonymous 1912b) later foreshadowed construction of a centenary pavilion and an event to include orations, choirs, bands, defence force squadrons, schoolchildren from far afield, street and building decorations, processions, banquets and balls – most of which came to pass. Finance would, of course, be limited and citizens were called on to subscribe voluntarily to assist the project and encourage support from the government.

> "Few Australian events in the first years of the nineteenth century are more worthy of commemoration than this achievement of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson, and every Australian who realises its significance will be disposed to assist in promoting the success of the centenary celebrations." (Anonymous 1912b).

The intention was clearly to highlight the Blue Mountains as the scene of a dramatic historical saga of national significance.

Effective organisation and publicity under the Centenary Committee (Figure 21) led to the successful event, which elevated the mountain crossings of 1813-1815, and the men associated with them, as icons of popular culture. Frank Walker helped to set the tone with

Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 004090

Figure 20. John William Berghofer, a prime instigator of the Mount York memorial pavilion.

a range of public offerings, including a timely piece in *The Sun* hyperbolizing the saga to the limits of credibility (Walker 1913). Quoting from Kendall's *The Blue Mountain Pioneers,* Walker portrays a "patriotic endeavour" carried out with a military-style "plan of attack" on the barrier, which had "resisted every assault" and "attempted conquest". Dangers lurked at every turn with ravines, thick bush, lurking savages and venomous reptiles slowing the men's dogged progress through "awful solitude" so threatening that every night the explorers closed their eyes

> "never knowing whether they would open them again".
>
> "What magnificent courage was theirs, and all with no hope of material gain, but with the simple desire that that the community at large might be benefitted by their exertions.
>
> On May 28, exactly seventeen days after their ascent of the first range, the party emerged upon the summit of Mount York, and feasted their eyes upon the vision of fresh grass, and pure water, which they could distinctly see in the valley beneath them." (Walker 1913, p.10, col.4) (Figures 3 & 4).

Through such derring-do exertions by the faithful servants of Empire, the reader was meant to conclude, Great Britain had spread the benefits of its superior civilisation through wild regions of the world, taming the primitive peoples and turning the wastelands towards productive use. Bringing home the point for the reader, Walker concluded that "we" reap the benefits of the magnificent enterprise of explorers whom we should honour.

> "This glorious country, with all its wealth and possibilities, with its magnificent climate and boundless resources, was first moulded for our use by the sturdy and faithful pioneers whose sterling worth and integrity of purpose, and whose unselfish labors in the days of the "long ago" gave us the heritage that is ours today." (Walker 1913, p.10, col.5)

Blue Mountains City Library collection 6212927490

Figure 21. The committee which oversaw the 1913 crossings centenary, with an inset of the committee members from Lithgow.

Walker's tale of adventure in the menacing hills is a proverbial noble quest by valiant heroes who undergo great perils to beat the odds and achieve their goal. Like Wentworth's archetypal warrior who lays down his life on the altar of public good, Walker's pioneers risk all for the sake of those who will come later. In keeping with the pioneer legend, his heroes challenge and conquer the wilderness so that others can establish an empire of sheep walks and wheat fields. This vision appealed to the Australia of 1913, where narratives of greatness were sorely needed to unite and inspire the new Commonwealth. Tales of much greater and lasting resonance would soon emerge as warriors from the Australian bush made blood sacrifices on a grand scale in far-off Turkey. Nonetheless, the Blue Mountains pioneers and other flag bearers of the pioneer legend had been planted in the national memory and would find their way into history books and school rooms in years to come.

Conclusion: the crossings vision fades

The relationships between a society and its public monuments change over time like the shifting shadows cast by the sun's arc through the sky, as the experiences and attitudes of generations supersede those of their forebears. The Mount York Reserve is more than a century old and the post-Federation worldview that inspired it has lost much of its former hold on popular consciousness in multicultural, globalised, twentyfirst century Australia. As highlighted by recent populist campaigns against racism past and present, under the general banner of Black Lives Matter, monuments representing past attitudes may come to be regarded as regrettable celebrations of unethical behaviour that should no longer be dignified by public exposure.

While the Mount York edifices have not drawn significant public criticism, they are characteristic products of an era of imperialism, racial distinctions and jingoistic nationalism that is generally out of favour in current mainstream public discourse. While the subtleties of the issue are beyond this paper, the point is made here that monuments are valuable repositories of previously dominant mindsets that influenced people in their time and are inherently still a part of the world we have inherited. As the University of Westminster history academic Pippa Catterall has asserted, monuments are not sacrosanct as objective history but, rather, mediate a dialogue between past and present.

> "Monuments, by their emphases and absences, distort history as much as they inform it. The narratives they intrude into the present about power structures, values, and (too often) violence need to be challenged" (Catterall 2020).

The ongoing dialogue between past and present, mediated by the Mount York monuments, influenced the 2013 bicentenary of the explorers' Blue Mountains expedition, in the process revealing communal desires to reconcile commemoration of this historic event with modern social values well removed from those of 1913. Among the main events was an invitation-only gathering of 500 (space constraints limited attendance) at Mount York, hosted by the Blue Mountains City Council, and involving dignitaries, descendants of the explorers and various community representatives. While speakers recalled – in the past-tense – connections with exploration and nation building, the rhetoric also cited the impacts of settlers on Aborigines, the ecology of the Blue Mountains UNESCO World Heritage area and the "many layers of historical significance" at Mount York (Anonymous 2013).

A similar spirit of acknowledging the past, without direct endorsement, inspired verses from a prominent bush poet and Blue Mountains resident, Gregory North. Commissioned by local tourism authorities to write a poem for the bicentenary, North came up with the ambivalently-titled *How Far We've Come*, a self-described "fair dinkum Aussie yarn" that pokes gentle fun at the traditional crossings legend in depicting the explorers' journey as …

> "A well-planned business venture by three men who wanted more" (North 2013, stanza 2).

The poem goes on to suggest that much was lost as well as gained through white settler expansion and that the balance between the two is not settled.

> "The Three Explorers' journey caused a
> freedom of the mind
> for Sydney Europeans who no longer felt confined.

And now I wonder have we made ourselves another trap –
locked-in to sap resources and ignore the looming slap.

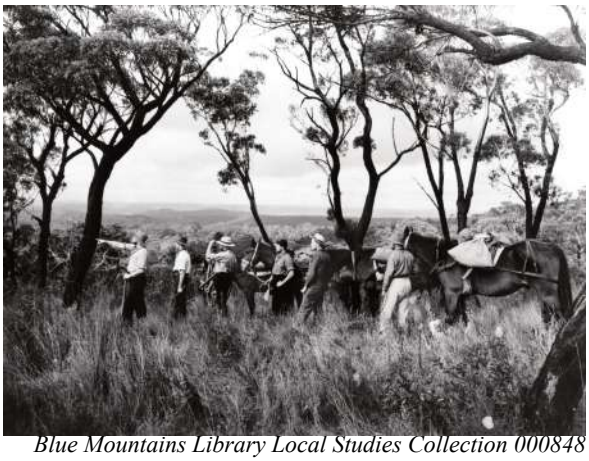
So let's reflect on what's been lost – both beautiful and strange
but like the Three Explorers, have a vision things can change.
Our vision, like an ancient culture, never should succumb.
Let's ask ourselves the question: really, how far have we come?"
(North 2013, p.9 stanzas 20,21).

This is a long way removed from the self-confident visions of 1913, when the prevailing opinion was that Australia had come a long way indeed! North's equivocal verses underscore current uncertainty about history, progress and national identity. In tune with Cunningham (1996, pp.155-158) and other deflaters of settler legends, the poem implies that the conventional attribution of civic-minded, unselfish motives to explorer-pioneers now seems naïve, while the former vilification of convicts, Aborigines and environmental consequences is no longer credible. In this light, we are likely to call the gods down from their pedestal at Mount York and examine them as real people, without the "veneer of pomp".

> "We cannot change the past, but we can look at it with new eyes. If the explorers were not gods, nor were they monsters. They were simply people … Their achievements, such as they were, could hardly qualify as great deeds, and they were in any case assisted by many others, particularly Aborigines, convicts and emancipists, who have been written out of history." (Cunningham, 1996, p.158).

The 2013 commemorations were the most recent in a series over the years after 1913 that rekindled the centenary gala on smaller scales via performances, ceremonies and other varied events, usually coinciding with significant dates. Among these was a 1951 re-enactment of the 1813 crossing (Figure 22) that followed the explorers' route and drew appreciative crowds along the way.

Conceding that the ideology that underpinned these celebrations had largely lapsed in public



Blue Mountains Library Local Studies Collection 000848

Figure 22. A re-enactment of the 1813 crossing that drew public interest.

consciousness, Lavelle commented that its strength relied on a consensus that no longer exists.

> "In the case of the first crossing, the story essentially formed an Australian element within a meta-narrative of Imperial British progress. Unquestioning acceptance of the story and its modern consequences only remained possible while a monocultural memory, rather than competing group memories, formed the dominant consensus, especially for public memorializing through celebrations and permanent monuments." (Lavelle 2012, p.47).

That monocultural memory has not only lost much of its heft but now draws outright derision from various quarters in our purportedly more enlightened era. Prominent public statues of the British navigator James Cook and Governor Lachlan Macquarie, who presided over construction of the road across the Blue Mountains, have in recent years been criticised and attacked for their associations with racist imperialism (Maddison, 2020). Recently, controversy arose over an online petition (Anonymous 2020) against three separate bronze busts of Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson that were created by a local artist, Terrance Plowright (Anonymous 2016), and installed in their namesake Blue Mountains towns. Interestingly, statues seem to attract more enmity than monuments of other types, possibly because the former are recognisable likenesses of the person depicted.

In any case, it's plausible to maintain that arguments over the relative merits of a monu-

ment are less interesting than pondering its meanings within the social context from which it derived. One key aspect of this approach is that, as the art critic John McDonald points out, the urge to erect monuments highlighting the nobility of historical figures is itself an anachronism. He argues that people are no longer impressed by

> "a great man standing on a pedestal in a park",

which is no longer a powerful way to tell stories about the past.

> "Nowadays, the public attitude towards politicians and monarchs is too cynical to encourage their immortalisation in bronze or stone. This style of commemoration has come to seem antiquated and stodgy." (McDonald, 2020, p.5, col.1).

Partly because it embodies an old-world way of recognising perceived nobility and heroism, the Mount York monument site offers valuable insights into attitudes we may not share, but which were crucially important to many contemporary people. The obelisk and pavilion are an assertion of Australians' heartfelt notions of national identity in the aftermath of Federation and at the threshold of a war that would rattle their world. While sagas of adventurers conquering the wilderness might not inspire as they once did, the obelisk and the ideals that inspired it are a bridge into the past that aids contemporary understanding of a heritage – with all of its virtues and vices – that everyone shares.

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his appreciation to the Blue Mountains City Library for permission to use a number of its historical photographs in this article, and to the Royal Australian Historical Society for the use of its photograph of Frank Walker,

REFERENCES

Anonymous (1884) In the Blue Mountains. *The Australasian Sketcher*, 28 July 1884, p.7, cols.2-3.

Anonymous (1892) Mount Victoria. *Evening News*, 15 January 1892, p.6, col.5.

Anonymous (1909) Westward Ho! The conquest of the Blue Mountains. *Sydney Morning Herald,* 24 March 1909, p.11, col.6.

Anonymous (1911) Our Napoleonic Centenary. *The Lithgow Mercury,* 25 January 1911, p.2, cols.1-2.

Anonymous (1912a) Crossing the Mountains. Interesting Celebration Proposed. *Lithgow Mercury*, 12 June 1912, p.3, col.3.

Anonymous (1912b) Centenary Celebrations. *The Lithgow Mercury*, 13 September 1912, p.3, col.1.

Anonymous (1913a) The Centenary Celebration. *The Lithgow Mercury,* 30 May 1913, p.6, cols.4-5.

Anonymous (1913b) Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson. The Achievement of a Hundred Years Ago. *The Blue Mountain Echo*, 30 May 1913, p.4, cols 1-6, p.5, cols.1-6.

Anonymous (1913c) The Banquet. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 May 1913, p.5, cols.3-5.

Anonymous (1913d) The Chain of Bonfires. *The Leader Orange*, 28 May 1913, p.4, cols.5-6

Anonymous (1913e) The Chain of Bonfires. *The Leader Orange*, 29 May 1913, p.2, col.6

Anonymous (1913f) The Chain of Bon Fires. *The Blue Mountain Echo,* 30 May 1913, p.6, col.2.

Anonymous (2013) Celebrations keep on rolling for crossing Bicentennial. *Lithgow Mercury*, 11 June 2013 https://www.lithgowmercury.com.au/story/1561884/celebrations-keep-on-rolling-for-crossing-bicentennial/ <Accessed 22 June 2020>.

Anonymous (2016) Bust of explorer Gregory Blaxland unveiled in Blue Mountains. *Blue Mountains Gazette*, 15 May 2016. https://www.bluemountainsgazette.com.au/story/3908027/blaxland-takes-pride-of-place/ <Accessed 18 July 2020>Anonymous (2020) Activist demands statues of famous explorers be pulled down – including a monument to famous Australian poet Henry Lawson that doesn't even exist. *The Daily Mail*, 3 July 2020. https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8473207/Activist-wants-statues-famous-white-explorers-pulled-misnamed-one-statues.html <Viewed 1 June 2020>

Blaxland, G. (1870) *A Journal of a tour of discovery across the Blue Mountains, New South Wales in the year 1813*. Gibbs, Shallard and Co., Sydney. 18pp. http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/p00011.pdf <Viewed 12 August 2019>

Blue Mountains Library Flickr, The Explorers Tree: https://www.flickr.com/photos/blue_mountains_library_-_local_studies/24260459113 <Viewed 3 July 2020>

Boss, J.A. (1895) The Proposed Obelisk. *The Mountaineer*, 1 November 1895, p.2, col.5.

Catterall, P. (2020) On statues and history: The dialogue between past and present in public space. London School of Economics and Political Science. British Politics and Policy site. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/statues-past-and-present/ <Accessed 21 June 2020>.

Cunningham, C. (1996) *The Blue Mountains Rediscovered. Beyond the Myths of Early Australian Exploration*. Sydney: Kangaroo Press Pty. Ltd. 192pp.

Foundation1901 (2014) Official Launch Booklet on the 125th Anniversary of Henry Parkes' Tenterfield Oration. 7pp. http://foundation1901.org.au/1889 Parkes Tenterfield Oration - Web download.pdf <Accessed 20 June 2020>.

Hirst, J. (1978) The pioneer legend. *Australian Historical Studies*, 18:71, pp.316-337 https://doi.org/10.1080/10314617808595595 <Viewed 23 June 2020>

Inglis, K. (1974) *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870*. Melbourne, Vic.: Melbourne University Press. 273pp.

Karskens, G. (2013) *The Crossings Seminar: Shifting the Colonial Compass: New Crossings from Old Stories*, video lecture, 10 May. 21:16 minutes. https://vimeo.com/69057837 <Viewed 30 August 2019>

Kendall, H. (1859) The Far Future in *The Poems of Henry Kendall*, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, stanza 1. Poem Hunter site: https://www.poemhunter.com/poem/the-far-future/ <Viewed 2 September 2019.>

Kendall, H. (1880) Blue Mountains Pioneers. *Sydney Mail Christmas Supplement Presented to Subscribers*, 25 December 1880. State Library New South Wales online: https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/collection-items/blue-mountain-pioneers-lithograph-m-emile-ulm-sydney-mail-1880-slnsw-spf1396 <Viewed 20 June 2020>

Lavelle, S. (2012) 'Patriotic and powerful historians': commemorating the first crossing of the Blue Mountains. *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 98(1), 28-50.

Lavelle, S. (2013) *1813: A Tale That Grew in the Telling*. Sydney: WriteLight Pty. Ltd. 230pp.

Lawson, H. (1891) Freedom on the Wallaby. *The Worker*, 16 May 1891. The Institute of Australian Culture: https://www.australianculture.org/freedom-on-the-wallaby-henry-lawson/ <Viewed 30 August 2019>.

Low, J. (2019) Travelling to Wonderland: the Emergence of Coach Services from the Blue Mountains to Jenolan Caves in the Pre-Motor Era. *Blue Mountains History Journal,* Issue 9, November 2019, pp.1-14.

Maddison, S. (2020) Why the statues must fall. *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 12 June 2020: https://www.smh.com.au/national/why-the-statues-must-fall-20200612-p5521s.html <Viewed 1 July 2020>

McDonald, J. (2020) Fallen idols leave a long, lost shadow. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27-28 June 2020, Spectrum p.4, cols 1-3; p.5, cols 1-3.

Marschall, S. (2010) *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Leiden: Brill. 407pp. https://books.google.com.au/books?id=WO15DwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=marschall-+landscape+of+memory&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjqiszLiq7qAhUWyzgGHSHOD-fYQ6AEwAHoECAAQAg#v=onepage&q=marschall%20landscape%20of%20memory&f=false <Accessed 18 July 2020 >

National Gallery of Victoria (NGV) commentary on F. McCubbin (1904) *The Pioneer*: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/5990/ <Viewed 30 August 2019>.

McHugh, E. (2009) *Outback Pioneers: Great Achievers of the Australian Bush*. Sydney: Penguin. 288pp.

McLean, W. (2013) *Why Australia Prospered*, *The Shifting Sources of Economic Growth,* Princeton NJ (U.S.A.): Princeton University Press. 316pp.
North, G. (2013) How Far We've Come. *History: Magazine of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, (117) 8-9. https://www.rahs.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/History-Magazine-September-2013.pdf <Viewed 23 June 2020>
NSWrail.net (2021) https://www.nswrail.net/infrastructure/locations.php
Olsen, P. & Russell, L. (2019) *Australia's First Naturalists: Indigenous People's Contribution to Early Zoology*. Sydney: NLA Publishing. 228pp.
Paterson, B. (1889) Song of the Future. *The Bulletin*, May 1891, stanzas 11,13,14,18. [Later published in *Rio Grande's Last Race and Other Verses* 1902. Project Gutenberg http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00074.txt <Accessed 30 August 2019>]
Rusden, G. (2011 digital version, published 1883). *History of Australia,* Volume three, Cambridge U.K.: Cambridge University Press. 611pp.
Smith, A.D. (1991) *National Identity*. London: Penguin. 227pp.
Soldene, E. (1899) New Year in the Mountains. *Evening News*, 5 January 1899, p.7, cols 3-5.
State Heritage Inventory (2009) My008: Mount York and Environs. Department of Heritage & Environment Educational Resources section, 2009 Report. Physical description. https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=1170795 <Viewed 13 August 2019>
Suttor. W. (1891) The Marked Tree. *Katoomba Times*, 10 January 1891, p.3, col.1.
Walker, F. (1913) "The Conquered Hills." Blue Mountain Centenary. *The Sun*, 28 May 1913, p.10, cols.3-5.
Wentworth, W.C. (1823) *Australasia*. *A Poem Written for the Chancellor's Medal at the Cambride Commencement*. London: G. and W.B. Whittaker. Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie Archive, Macquarie University Library https://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/lema/1823/australasia2.html <Viewed 28 August 2019>

Mary Boswell Reynolds, OAM (1929-2021)

Mary Reynolds and Governor Bashir.

It was on a glorious sunny and crisp Sunday afternoon in 2002, when the autumn colours were making their first appearance, that I walked across the front paddock of the Turkish Bathhouse on the *Wynstay* estate in Mt. Wilson, that I met Mary.

I had come to Mt. Wilson to look at the Turkish Bathhouse building and, within its walls, the museum of local history for Mt. Wilson and Mt. Irvine. There were no other visitors when I arrived, and by the time I left, two hours later, I remained the only visitor to the Bathhouse. Nevertheless, that time was well spent and I came away captivated by the place and the stories told by and exchanged with the woman who, on my arrival, was dusting a display cabinet.

Mary was quick, earnest, and courteous, in delivering her thoughts on the history of The Mounts, its people, the Turkish Bathhouse, and the Blue Mountains in general – in other words history was in her blood and she was only too happy to share it with those folk who were prepared to engage with her.

The conversation between Mary and I began when I was looking at a picture that was displayed in the Museum. The picture showed a young Patrick White (1912-1990), then about 10, clowning around with his parents and sister in the walled garden at *Wynstay*. The Whites owned a house in Mt. Wilson, known original as *Beowang*, now *Withycombe*, between 1921 and 1937. Mary was aware that Patrick, as a young lad, had composed and had published his thoughts on Mt. Wilson, and as it turned out, our initial conversation was resurrected in 2012 when we were, with others, putting together an exhibition that was held in Mt. Wilson, to commemorate the centenary of White's birth.

So that is how it all began for me and before I left, Mary asked me would I like to become a member of the Mt. Wilson and Mt. Irvine Historical Society. I couldn't and didn't refuse.

Between then and her passing on 25th January 2021, I was, on several occasions, a guest with her and her husband Ellis in their Mt. Wilson home *Donna Buang*, which became their permanent residence in 1986. They had been coming to Mt. Wilson since 1966. Mary and Ellis finished teaching in 1984 at Leeton High School. Mary was a secondary school History and English teacher nad had been subject mistress (head) at Northmead from 1972 to 1980. Ellis was a secondary mathematics and general studies teacher and an examiner for the School Certificate and Level 3 mathematics paper during the early years of the NSW Higher School Certificate. On such occasions, our discussions would range across diverse topics, such as the changes to The Mounts, some of which were, for them, unsettling, that they had experienced over many years and the formation, development and maintenance of the Mt. Wilson and Mt. Irvine Historical Society in the mid 1990s, with Mary as its founder.

She worked hard at establishing and organising the Society during its formative years. The tasks, she told me, never seemed to end and piled up relentlessly which, in some instances, took years to complete, for example travelling to the City to the Lands Department to search for and copy the first allotment survey's of Mt. Wilson and Mt. Irvine, conducting oral histories, establishing committees, publishing, dealing with public enquiries, giving lectures, taking tours of the Museum, collecting archival material and artefacts and much more. All of this work, over many years, gained for her a reputation of being a helpful, knowledgeable, respected and pragmatic local historian.

Mary's contributions to local history were acknowledged at a national level. In 2011, she was awarded an Order of Australia Medal in the General Division for
"service to the community through a range of historical, environmental, and charitable organisations".
It was presented to her by Governor Marie Bashir (photograph).

When Ellis died in 2014, Mary left Mt. Wilson moving first to Wentworth Falls and then in 2015 into the Retirement Village near The Blue Mountains Hospital at Katoomba She moved to Coffs Harbour in December 2020 to be with her daughter Jane.

The Blue Mountains local history community has lost a great patron and practitioner of local history.

Mary is survived by her four children: Susan, John, Jane and Malcolm.

Des Barrett
Mt. Wilson and Mt. Irvine Historical Society

Cumulative List of Contents

Issue 5 - 2014

Issue 6 - 2015

Issue 7 - 2017

Issue 8 - 2018

Issue 9 - 2019