

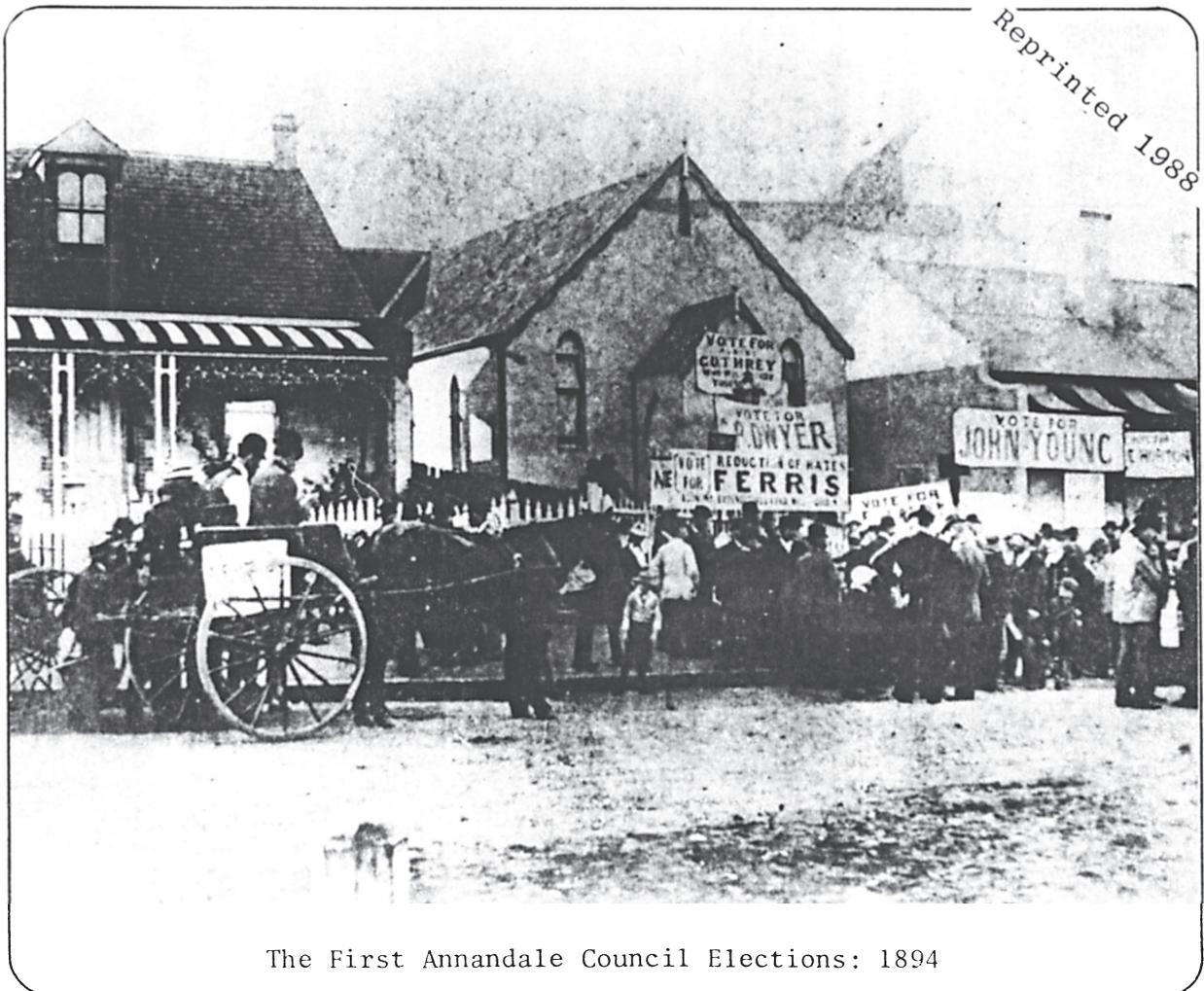
Leichhardt Historical Journal

No. 9
1980

KENTVILLE AND THE ANNANDALE BOWLING CLUB

LEICHHARDT PUBLIC SCHOOL: 1862

WILLIAM BARDSLEY: THE "BOSS" OF FOREST LODGE PUBLIC SCHOOL



The First Annandale Council Elections: 1894

Annandale Balmain Glebe Leichhardt Lilyfield Rozelle

Leichhardt Historical Journal No. 9 1980

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Contents

Leichhardt Public School: 1862 by Jennifer Bates	3
Kentville and the Annandale Bowling Club by Alan Roberts	9
Reverend George Grimm: A Biographical Study by John Williams	13
William Bardsley: The "Boss" of Forest Lodge Public School by Max Solling	18
Goat and Cockatoo: Two Islands off Balmain by Peter Reynolds	21
Announcement: Sydney Centre for Educational and Social History	26
Index L ^H J: 1971-1979	27
Reviews	28

Cover

The first elections for the Municipal Borough of Annandale, 1894. Voting is taking place at the original Methodist chapel in Trafalgar Street, near Booth Street, on the site now occupied by the Masonic Lodge. Original photo owned by Municipality of Leichhardt.

Editorial

1970-1980: THE LOCAL HISTORY DECADE

Interest in Australian history and particularly local history has been growing steadily throughout the past decade. There has been a number of small publications about specific areas, excellent photographic productions and very comprehensive materials for use in schools produced during this time.

In *Leichhardt Hist J* No 8, 1979 we urged the study of local history where children's thinking skills could be developed through first hand observation and enquiry. At the same time the inaccessibility of primary resources was decried, especially for school children.

Since then one of the most important generators of our history - institutional education - has got right down to relating its own history with a comprehensive slide set, *Eighty to Eighty* and a very valuable publication, *Sydney and the Bush: a pictorial history of education in New South Wales* which gathers together many fascinating facts and photographs about aspects of public education throughout the century.

The decade since 1970 has been an excellent one for looking at contributions on Australian local history. The theatre, sporting activities, commerce, land usage, health, attitudes to war and patriotism, housing, jobs, dress and transport of earlier days are being researched and well presented to a public that has only recently become aware of the value of its heritage.

The Sydney History Group, "an informal group of scholars" based at Macquarie University, is devoted to the study and documentation of the history of Sydney in all aspects of urban living. The publications of

Editors

Peter Reynolds, Alan Roberts and Max Solling

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A Note On Contributors

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the group are alive with fresh insights and perspectives that are of interest and relevance to both professional and lay readers.

Oral history, once regarded as being in the realm of old wives' tales, is becoming more widely accepted and valued. "Respectable" history, the telling of events of national significance, often ignores the day-to-day existence of ordinary people.

The Oral History Association of Australia, based at Mt Pleasant in Western Australia, is to be congratulated for its work in co-ordinating the areas of research and publishing a comprehensive journal.

Conservation of historic buildings and places took a great leap forward in the 1970s. Old buildings and artefacts became more valuable, in a monetary sense, as their historic worth became common knowledge.

A growing number of people were prepared to restore instead of demolishing and rebuilding in a contemporary style - particularly government departments with fine old buildings which had been long neglected. The State Parliament House and Supreme Court precinct is evidence of this. In 1979 ICOMOS, the International Commission on Monuments and Sites, met at Burra, near Adelaide. The *Burra Charter*, which grew out of this meeting, sets our guidelines for preservation and re-use of worthwhile buildings throughout the world.

The past decade has seen many slow beginnings that have since gathered enough momentum to indicate a very hopeful future for the protection of our heritage.

Local history is the key to the appreciation of that heritage.

Peter Reynolds



LEICHHARDT PUBLIC SCHOOL: the 1869 building (Hal Wise)

(Department of Education)

Leichhardt Public School: 1862

by Jennifer Bates

The history of Leichhardt is the history of the great estates that roughly formed the area of present-day Leichhardt. Lined along the "High Road to Parramatta" in 1849 were Robert Johnston's "Annandale" estate, Redmond's land, Rochester's Woolpack Inn and, at the corner of Balmain Road, the Bald Faced Stag Hotel which is still standing.¹

Balmain Road, "the road leading to nowhere in particular", skirted the eastern boundary of the Elswick estate which stretched from Parramatta Road to the present Hawthorne Canal.²

A 100-acre property was acquired by James Norton (1795-1862), one of the earliest members of Sydney's legal profession, in 1834. He considerably enlarged the existing house and named it Elswick. After his death in 1862 the estate was cut up into many allotments but a fifty-acre portion containing the house was retained. Many subdivisions later Elswick House became St Martha's Industrial Home and was still standing in 1921.³

The beginning of public education in Leichhardt occurred in the year of James Norton's death and from this time on the development of that education was to be a barometer of the changing fortunes of the suburb.

The residents concern for the education of their children was expressed at a public meeting called to procure a school for the district. The immediate outcome of the meeting was an application to the Government on 10 April 1862 to set up a school "off the Balmain Road within two hundred yards of Parramatta Road and quite near the Norton estate".⁴

The local patrons who led the meeting were Henry Black, Ambrose Foss, S C Kirby, Captain Edward Hinder, Samuel Johnson - to be joined later by Phillip Andrews and Thomas Sullivan.

THE FIRST SCHOOL: The first school was in a building also used as a Congregational church and consisted of a room 30 feet by 18 feet with slab-timber walls.* In accordance with custom the local patrons recommended Mr and Mrs Thomas Pepper to take charge of the school and stated that the anticipated enrolment would be 16 boys and 23 girls thus guaranteeing the minimum number of 30 needed to set up a school.

Thomas Pepper, a Londoner aged 25, had been trained at the Fort Street Model School. His wife, a Sydney girl, was untrained but intended to assist by teaching the girls needlework. When the school opened in May 1862 the expectations of the patrons were more than justified because that first class enrolled 29 boys and 27 girls.

The sparsely settled nature of the district is reflected in the name of the new school. Land titles in the area were denoted Parish of Petersham, which was the general description of land between the city and Drummoyne, and there being no Leichhardt Municipality, the little school was called the Non-vested National School of Petersham - non-vested because the Government did not own the property.

* See Vialoux and Reeves, *Jubilee History of Leichhardt: 1921*, p 62 for the location of the "slab hut" which seems to have been in Prospect Street, Leichhardt.

The Peppers did not stay long at the school and David Thomas Lewis was in charge by September 1863 until his resignation on 31 March 1865. Lewis had the misfortune to experience a dramatic increase in the enrolment during 1864 when the children numbered 69.

Recognising that the task was an onerous one, School Inspector Gardiner advised that he be assisted by a pupil-teacher. The local patrons however did not endorse the Inspector's recommendation and Mr Lewis was left to cope as best he could. Small wonder then that his annual inspection mark for the year was a terse "Fair".

The patrons were not always unsupportive and with Henry Black as their Secretary they constantly fought for school improvements. On 3 April 1865 Mr Black on behalf of the patrons recommended the appointment of Thomas Mills to succeed the beleaguered Mr Lewis. Mills was appointed almost immediately and after October was joined by his new wife who assisted in his work. Their combined salaries were £7 monthly.

Mills' task was much more difficult than Mr Lewis's for within two years Leichhardt's building development had forced numbers up to 80 pupils. Again the need for a pupil-teacher was evident but despite Mills' training at Fort Street he was insufficiently qualified to take on an assistant. He applied for leave to attend the training school to further his status and so gain the right to a pupil-teacher. Mr Gardiner was the stumbling block this time saying that Mills had as much training as was necessary and that:

his wants are not precisely those that can be remedied by a training institution. They lie more in the actual management of the school and they have along with their remedies been pointed out to him.

Mr Mills' teaching difficulties were not lessened by the ramshackle state of the school building. There was also no residence and in May 1867 he wrote to the Council of Education stating that out of his annual income of £50 from school fees and £84 salary he was forced to pay £20 rent. Henry Black's support was instrumental in influencing the Council to allow Mills £12 towards his rent.

THE NEW SCHOOL: In a letter from Mr Black, 26 June 1867, a request was made for a permanent school building. He informed the Council that a subscription list had been headed by Captain Hinder who had given £25. A target of £100 had been set and a site promised by a local resident, David Ramsay, free of charge.

Writing of the needs for a new school Black listed the great increase in the number of the "children of the poorer classes"; the public not being interested in donating money for the upkeep of the old building; the condition of the building being so bad that it was "dangerous to have the children under the roof in stormy weather".

On 18 December 1867 Mr Ramsay, in confirming that he would give a block of land which was part of the recently subdivided Elswick estate, valued the one-acre block at £100 saying that the street frontage alone was worth that figure. Ramsay's donation of the land at the corner of Norton and Marion Streets was a generous one and came at a time when local subscriptions were very disappoint-

ing. By February 1868 only £50 had been subscribed and Black asked the Council for aid towards the "completion of the object so long and anxiously desired and now so urgently required".

The Council directed their architect, George Allen Mansfield, to design a school for 100 pupils for which the Local Board was required to call tenders. Black notified the Council that the lowest tender proffered was £841 and rather dejectedly added that subscriptions had only reached £158. This sum included the £100 valuation of the land.

As the Local Board was expected to pay one-third of the cost of the new building it is not surprising that there was further delay. Henry Black pleaded for work to begin and gave assurances that the subscription rate would improve as building work progressed. The Council relented to the extent of allowing Mansfield to call fresh tenders.

Meanwhile the School Inspector's report made in September 1868 was under consideration. He was definite in stating that the old schoolroom was "totally unfit for its purpose". Mansfield evidently agreed and urged the Council to accept William and Alexander Elphinstone's tender of £650 which, although not the lowest, contained a promise to complete the work in three and a half months.

The Council adamantly refused to exceed their upper limit of £500 because of the paltry subscriptions.

By drastic economies, such as reducing the accommodation to 72 pupils and removing the verandah, separate classroom, porches and washroom, Mansfield hoped to sway the Council. As an added inducement he advised that "if old desks were available there should be a saving of £20.

The Council stood fast however and directed Mansfield to re-estimate the cost based upon a schoolroom two feet shorter than his proposal. His saving of £45 carried the day and the Elphinstones' contract was signed in December 1868.

The new school and residence, called the Vested National School of Petersham, opened in 1869.

The school was found to be too small even before it was completed and again it was Henry Black's task to take the Council to task about it. In January 1869, in his usual fluent style, Black pointed out that the residence of two rooms and kitchen would scarcely accommodate Mr Mills' family of five. The Elphinstones offered to build an extra room for £36 but once again the old dispute of Mr Black's Board not being able to pay the one-third cost of the whole building broke out again.

Mr Black threw himself upon the mercy of public subscription but when this was not forthcoming moves to enlarge the residence were abandoned.

RELIGIOUS BATTLES: In June 1869 the school was found to be inadequate because there was no provision for a room in which the local minister could give Scripture lessons. The separate classroom had been excluded in the need to cut building costs.

The Anglican minister, Rev H A Palmer, was not easily deflected however and a prolonged struggle ensued.

The wrath of Rev Palmer was averted when

the Council acceded to Mr Black's request for a new classroom provided that Mr Black's Board raise one-third of the £100 cost. Black replied that they would offer one-third of the cost of extending the residence but would have nothing to do with financing the room for Rev Palmer.

Rev Palmer saw the Council's delaying tactics as depriving the spiritual guidance allowed under the regulations and railed against this blasphemy.

Because of the difficulties of Rev Palmer's visits to take a group for Scripture in the main schoolroom severely disrupting the normal schoolwork, the Council relented and offered two-thirds of the cost of the new classroom. The Council also agreed to build the long-awaited room on the residence.

The boon of the new classroom came too late to pacify Rev Palmer because by the time the work was finished he had opened his own school nearby.

Despite Mills' teaching being "earnest and painstaking" it was a little wanting in "vigour and depth" and perhaps this caused a drop in numbers in 1872 from 103 to 99. Mills' however put the blame for this slight drop fairly and squarely upon Rev Palmer's shoulders by writing:

Mr Palmer has opened his own school, and with his housekeeper, personally canvases the district. I cannot charge him with directly soliciting the children to his school, yet the impression left is that they could be greatly benefited in doing so ... the copy books are also provided gratis, which is an inducement to parents.

Mr Mills took this opportunity to apply for promotion and to ask again for a pupil-teacher to assist. The School Inspector recommended against both requests on the grounds that Mills lacked drive and purpose saying that "a man of activity and vigilance is needed just now".

In August 1872 the lure of Rev Palmer's free "copy books" proved so strong that the Petersham school was under threat. The Council in recognising this threat dismissed Mills because his personality was not strong enough to combat Rev Palmer's effect on enrolment figures.

The Local Board had been strengthened by the addition of two powerful civic leaders - Frank Beames, the first Mayor of Leichhardt, and Frederick Parsons, who became Mayor in 1876. Beames and Parsons lost no time in petitioning to have Mills retained at the school.

In September 1872 the Council agreed to continue Mills as a "concession made in deference to the wishes of the Board who were to be held responsible for any decline in the school that may be occasioned by the inability of the teacher to maintain it in a satisfactory condition".

Mr Mills did not stay at the Petersham school however for in May 1873 he resigned to apply for admission to the Fort Street Training School to further his qualifications.
THE SCHOOL RENAMED: The loss of Mr Mills occurred in an important year for the little school. In January 1873 Mr Black had the pleasant duty of writing to the Council that:

There can be no doubt that the Board will cheerfully concur with the Council in the advisableness of changing the designation of the school to that of Leichhardt.

The reason for a new name is seen in the changes in suburban life brought about by the railway which had caused an increase in development closer to Petersham Station. When a new school came to be built for this expanding suburb it was decided to change the name of the old Petersham school to Leichhardt.

The Piperston estate of 1811 became the property of Walter Beames in 1842 and he renamed it Leichhardt after his friend Dr Ludwig Leichhardt, the famous explorer.⁵ When the area between Parramatta Road, Iron Cove, Balmain and Johnston's Creek was proclaimed a municipality on 14 December 1871 expeditions into the interior of Australia had been made to find the remains of Leichhardt's party.⁶ Mystery grew up around the name of Leichhardt and it was in the minds of local authorities when the new municipality of 614 residents was to be named.⁷

William Smith followed the hard-working Mills in May 1873 and in that year anxiously sought new accommodation at the school. In January 1874 Mansfield submitted his design for a new classroom and plans for repairs to the existing buildings, as well as the hanging of a new bell, all to cost £160.

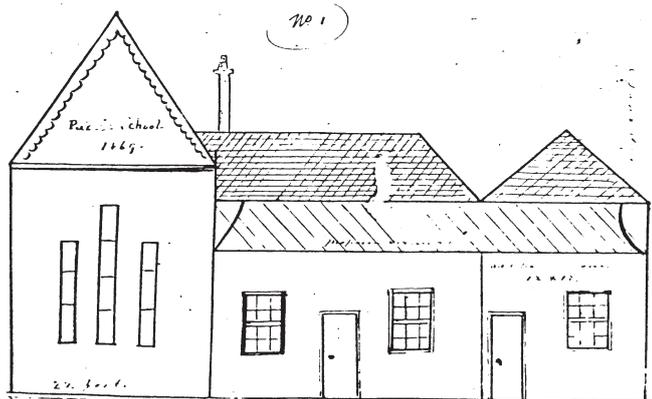
In the following June Mr Black agreed to pay one-third of the cost but applied to have the school fees increased. The Council demurred at this proposed rise from sixpence per child to one shilling or from threepence for each additional child in the family to sixpence for each additional child. It stated that fees must be in line with those of the Petersham Anglican School, the Petersham Catholic School and Dobroyd Public School "otherwise there would be unfair competition".

By the end of 1874 the new classroom had been completed and a new pupil-teacher, Miss Clarke, appointed.

When James Stevenson took charge of Leichhardt School in 1875 there were 120 pupils and the school inventory read:

24	Scripture Lessons Old Testament
24	Scripture Lessons New Testament
30	2nd and 3rd Book of Lessons
18	4th Book of Lessons
18	Australian Class Books
96	Framed Slates
5	Boxes slate pencils
2	Boxes school pens
3½	Doz penholders
5	Bottles ink
7	School maps
1	Ball frame
3	Blackboards
23	Inkwell
34	Diagrams
16	in mammalia of Australia
18	in various object lessons
7	School registers
3	Fowles Drawing Books

As the enrolment increased additions became necessary. Leichhardt School asked for another classroom in April 1875 but the most interesting requests for accommodation concerned the teacher's residence. James Stevenson in an application supported by freehand



JAMES STEVENSON'S SKETCH No 1: 1875 (Dept of Education)

sketches requested the addition of a verandah to the front of the residence and a 12 feet by 12 feet room for his servant. The verandah had been omitted from the architect's original design but it was the additional room that caused a tart recommendation from School Inspector McCredie:

I admit the convenience - not the necessity - of a small room for the servant, but it appears to me that a room 12' x 12' at the front of the residence cannot be necessary for a servant. A small bedroom for her should be attached to the kitchen ... to this I offer no objection if the Council be pleased to add that to the three rooms and the kitchen already existing for a family of husband, wife and daughter, with servant.

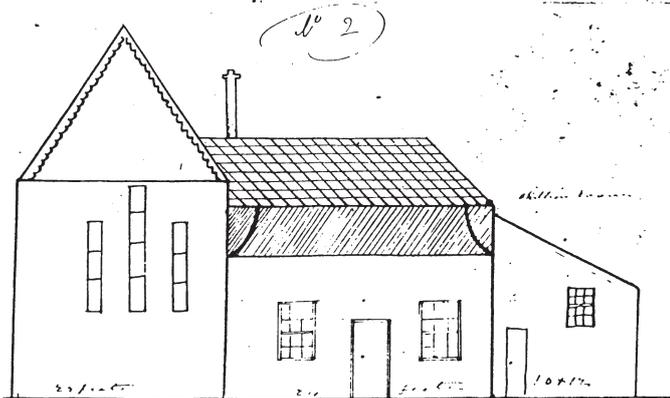
Mr McCredie's report is also enlightening on the status of female teacher's accommodation needs for he added:

It is true that a young lady, a teacher in the Council's service, resides with the family - I suppose as a lodger - but I see no reason for taking her into account in the matter.

Mr Stevenson's desire for better accommodation was not fulfilled until 1882 when a cottage on a one-acre site at the corner of Marion Street and Balmain Road was made available for his use. The old residence was repaired for the Infants Mistress.

THE EXPANDING COMMUNITY: In the meantime the number of children at the school rapidly increased. In 1872 the enrolment had been 99, increasing to 123 by 1874 and to 195 in 1877. A separate infants department opened in 1877

JAMES STEVENSON'S SKETCH No 2: 1875 (Dept of Education)



and a marked increase to 261 in 1878 when a weathershed was converted to a classroom for the Infants.

By 1880 there were 345 children at the school.

These rapid increases in enrolment were relative to Leichhardt's population which at first lagged very far behind that of Balmain and Glebe. In 1881 Balmain had 15 063 residents and Glebe 10 500 while Leichhardt had a mere 1866 of which 456 attended the school. Within ten years Leichhardt's population almost equalled Glebe's 17 075 and was only 6408 less than Balmain's 23 475.⁸

This great influx of residents is reflected in school enrolment figures. After the 1881 census attendance at the school rose from 635 in 1882 to 956 in 1885 to 1111 in 1885.

Earlier, in 1881, to stem the tide and while arguments about a new building were banded back and forth, James Stevenson asked for a School tent to be urgently erected. The tent classroom, measuring 30 feet by 16 feet, cost £18.3.0. Although the tent had a boarded floor it offered little protection to the weather or noise and was prone to collapse in strong winds.

At about this time the boys and girls were segregated and the school became three-departmental. In 1885 the school became Leichhardt Superior Public School - a school with post-primary classes.

Enrolments from the mid-1880s onward were effected by the opening of the two other public schools within the municipality, as well as denominational schools. Leichhardt West Public School opened in 1882 and later became known as Orange Grove. Kegworth Public School took in its first pupils in 1886.⁹

Nevertheless Leichhardt School continued to flourish, overcoming a drop from 1111 to 906 between 1885 and 1888. By 1890 numbers had risen to 1168 which steadily rose to 1392 in 1895 and then to 1644 by 1900 when they levelled off for a time.

THE 1891 BUILDING: The overall population in Leichhardt in 1891 was 17 067 and it was time for a first class school building.¹⁰ The old Council of Education had become the Department of Public Instruction in 1880 and a new architect had replaced Mansfield. William Edmund Kemp, one of the few leading architects of the time to have been born in New South Wales, was appointed Architect for Public Instruction in the same year.

Kemp's buildings were a departure from the Gothic-inspired schools of Mansfield. The new architect leaned towards the Italianate classical style and some of his buildings were built of stone and very ornate. An example of the elaborate extent to which his designs reached can be seen at the Bourke Street Public School of 1884.¹¹ Pymont, though simpler in detail and ornament and built of brick, is another striking example.

The 1891 Leichhardt School building for the Infants Department is very similar to Pymont School and reflects the £6382 spent upon it.

When the Infants building was completed the teachers residence and the 1869 school and residence were demolished and removed from the site.

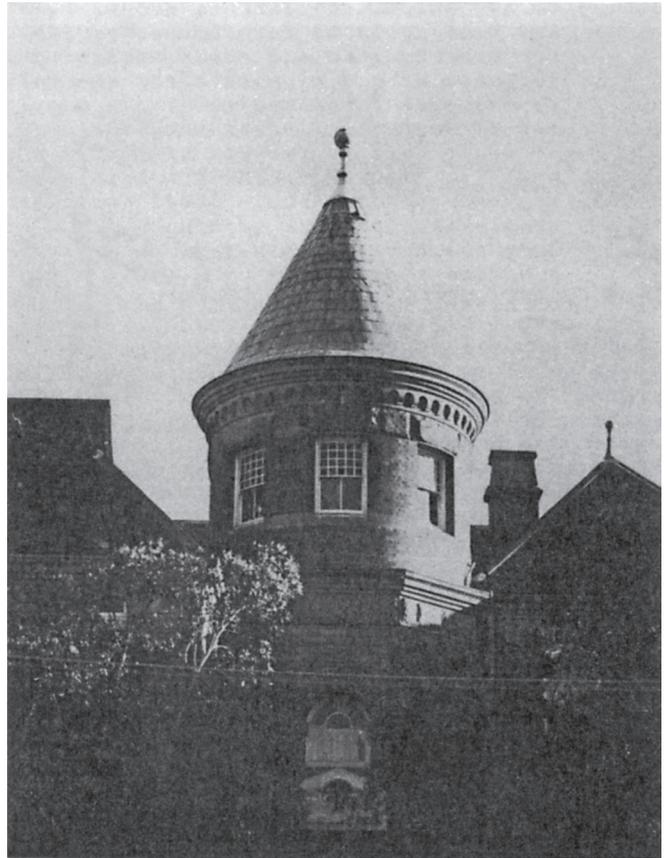
THE 1897 BUILDING: The destruction of the "old school" heralded the construction of the very fine 1897 building. The new structure in brick with its round conical-roofed tower is a turning point in school architecture. Brick had been used many times before but here it is the architectural style* which is distinctive.

This was the period of excellent brick technology when highly skilled tradesmen were available at sixpence per hour and overseas architectural publications were plentiful enough to influence designers.

The new Girls' Department was housed in the 1897 building. The architect had been instructed to make the building of two storeys to accommodate 400 girls so as to conserve much needed playground space. The contract for £3191 was signed with Messrs Fallick and Nunn in June 1897 and the building probably completed in 1898.

1897 was Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee Year and to commemorate the occasion it was proposed that the intersection of Norton and Marion Streets should form a town square because of the various important buildings centred there - the school, the Town Hall and All Souls Church. This square was to have been named Queen Victoria Square but the project lapsed after her death in 1901.

EVENING SCHOOL: The evening school classes were an important part of Leichhardt School's development. The first attempt to hold such classes was made in 1881 for young men who had left school but who wished to further their education. As there were only eleven prospective students the move failed.



LEICHHARDT PUBLIC SCHOOL: 1897 (Chris Butler)

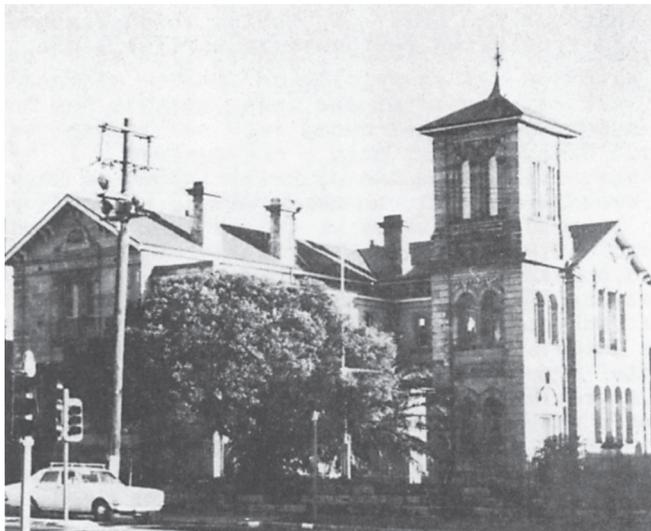
Again in 1901 seventeen young men applied but this time they were successful and the Evening School opened with Mr H B Squire as the teacher. Mr Squire was the First Assistant at the day school. The new school was successful but was forced to close in 1908 because the numbers had dropped below the necessary minimum of ten.

In July 1909 Mr Featherston, one of the Assistants, successfully applied for permission to use a classroom to teach pupils in the evenings. He explained that there were too few to start an official evening school but hoped to build up the numbers. This small beginning was expanded in 1912 with the introduction of the Evening Continuation School which included science and manual training. **MANUAL TRAINING AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY:** A deputation to the Minister in 1906 requested the establishment of rooms for manual training, science and cookery at Leichhardt School. The Department agreed to provide the rooms if the local people supplied the equipment.

Boys had been attending manual training classes at Blackfriars School but when these were discontinued in 1907 "they still had their kits of tools but nowhere to go for lessons". Six surplus work benches were moved from Crown Street School to Leichhardt as an emergency measure.

Domestic Economy was also temporarily catered for by fitting the girls' weathershed out as a cookery school in 1908.

Eventually a new science and manual training wing was added in 1912 and the teacher, Mr A S Waterer, earned considerable praise from the Infants Mistress, Miss Reilly:



LEICHHARDT PUBLIC SCHOOL: 1891 (Chris Butler)

*ED NOTE: All the overtones of the Romanesque Revival prevalent in the New England areas of the United States at about the same time are here combined with the Queen Anne Revival popular in Sydney. Kemp retired in 1896 and his department was taken over by James Sven Wigram. Although the identity of the designer cannot be accurately determined it does not seem to have been the work of Kemp but is more in keeping with the late Victorian and Edwardian works produced by Wigram's office. Annandale North Public School c 1906 with its "blood and bandages" arrangement of alternating bands of red brick and natural stone is a case in point.

He has helped the Infants School time and time again by turning out equipment for kindergarten and other educational purposes of the highest class and value. He has just furnished us with a complete set of Montessori apparatus, the beauty of design and perfection of finish which would do high credit to a leading turnery and joinery firm. These beautiful models are the work of his boys and the lady teachers of this department under his direction.

LEICHHARDT JUNIOR TECHNICAL SCHOOL: At the beginning of 1914 a Junior Technical School for post-primary pupils started but classes were at first very small because students preferred to go to high or commercial schools and others drifted away into jobs.

The Headmaster, Mr Douglas, advocated the introduction of a commercial course at Leichhardt School because he considered that a large proportion of the area were commercial workers rather than industrial workers. He reported that:

The boys who leave us to attend commercial schools are among the best, they are regular and punctual, take an interest in their work and will, without doubt, continue for a two-years' course. They would all prefer to remain at this school, did the work provided fit in with their future needs.

The Director of Education, Mr Peter Board insisted however that the course remain a junior technical one.

An exhibition of the work of the junior technical and science classes was held in November 1916 and was enthusiastically reported in the *Advertiser* as being of high quality. Photographs of the exhibition were published in the *Education Gazette* of February 1917.

THE P AND C ASSOCIATION: The first mention of the Association was in March 1917 when it began to agitate for the resumption of properties at the rear of the school. Because the enrolment was 1875 and the playground small, the P and C sought extra ground for the school. Mr Strachan, the Secretary of the P and C, was told that no money was allocated to buy the very expensive land recommended.

Towards the close of the first World War the question of improving the intersection of Norton and Marion Streets was raised again. The Leichhardt Council wishing to erect a Soldiers' Memorial decided to round off three of the corners. Early in 1920 the P and C also decided to remember the fallen by planting a row of shade trees and a lawn in memory of the pupils and staff. A marble tablet was placed on the wall of the school building "setting forth the project for which the trees were planted".

OVERCROWDING: The 1920s were marked by huge enrolments. In 1921 the super-primary classes were so full that the Church of England Hall was rented to relieve the overcrowding and in May 1924 a room at the Presbyterian Hall was rented for needlework classes.

In 1924 overcrowding was so bad that two girls classes were held in the Church of England Hall, two in the Presbyterian Hall and two at Petersham Public School. Despite the cramped conditions work on a major increase in

the school buildings was not completed until May 1929 at a cost of £26 650. A second storey of three classrooms was added to the Boys' Department, a new wing of six classrooms to the Girls' Department and a two storey domestic science block was built. This included a cookery classroom, a demonstration room, a laundry, office, changing room, pantry and a sewing room.

Despite these new accommodations the shortage of accommodation, particularly in the Domestic Science section, was so bad in 1934 that two classes had to be sent to Rozelle for cookery instruction.

The P and C were always active in the expansion of Leichhardt School. In 1936 a spur of land with a cottage on it jutted into the school and when resumption moves were made it was found that the land belonged to the Railways Department and that it had been reserved for the Leichhardt Railway Station on a line that was never to be built.

Hard times hit Leichhardt during the Depression but there was a gradual revival after World War II with the huge increase in migration. Also with the recent interest in inner-city living and the greater awareness of our built environment Leichhardt has again become an interesting vital community.

* * * *

Today, Leichhardt School with the assistance of Federal money has initiated many programmes to suit the needs of the children who come from many different ethnic backgrounds.

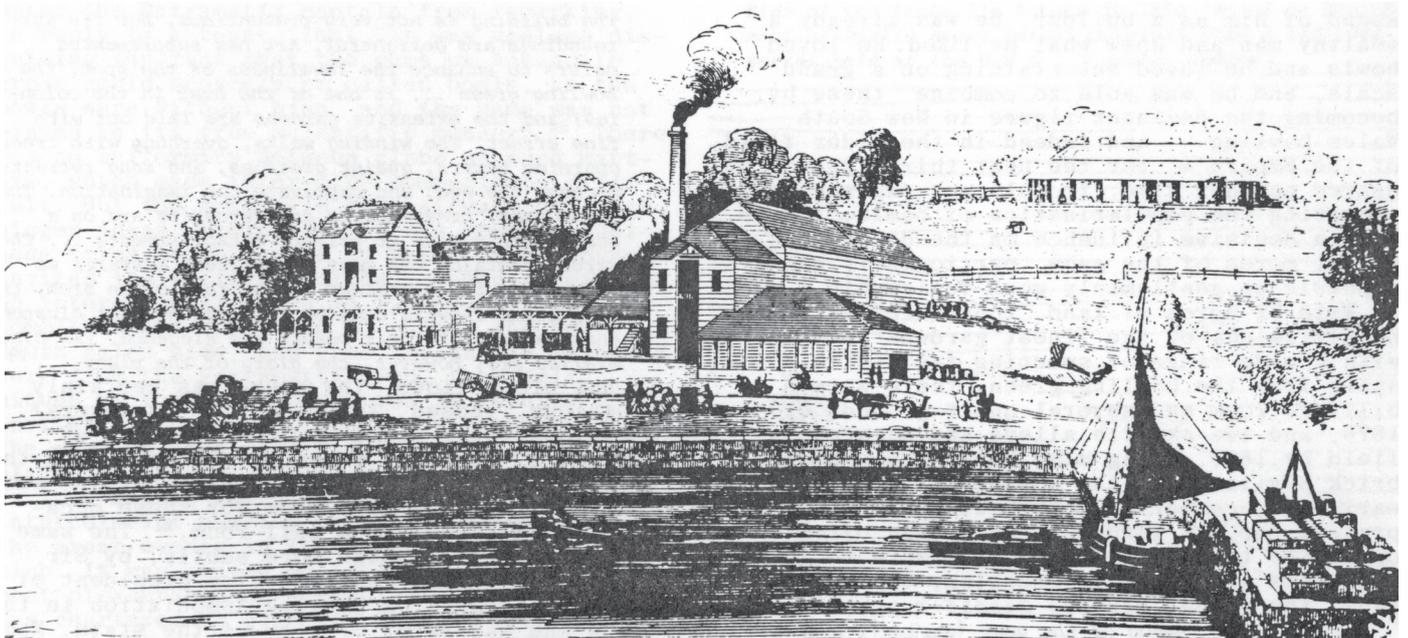
The school is currently involved in a refurbishing which happily does not involve a local board in the necessity of raising one-third of the cost - a problem which plagued and frustrated residents in earlier times.

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2. Ibid, p 11.
3. Ibid.
4. Historical Section, Department of Education, "Leichhardt Public School: 1862-1940" and all following references to the school's history.
5. Op cit (1), p 30.
6. Ibid, p 20 (first proclamation), p 21 (second proclamation).
7. M Solling, "A Theatre of Suburbs", in Leichhardt Hist J, No 5 1975, p 4.
8. Ibid., p 5.
9. Op cit (1), pp 67, 69.
10. Op cit (7), p 5.
11. J Burnswoods and J Fletcher, Sydney and the Bush: a pictorial history of education in New South Wales, pp 103, 125 (James Wigram also).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: I wish to thank Kate Butler, Teacher Librarian, Leichhardt Public School for helping me begin this article.

I also wish to thank the Historical Section, Department of Education for providing "Leichhardt Public School: 1862-1940" and the illustrations noted.



Messrs Cowan and Israel's Soap and Candle Factory on the Annandale foreshore of Rozelle Bay, just near the present-day intersection of Johnston Street and The Crescent. The old Georgian cottage is in the right background. (Illustrated Sydney News, 16 June 1864.)

Kentville and the Annandale Bowling Club

by Alan Roberts

*... very few of our citizens are aware that so recherche an English home is to be found on the so lately formed suburb of North Annandale (1880)*¹

When John Young, the building contractor and urban entrepreneur, invested in the North Annandale estate, he settled at its northern end and created what was to become, in its day, one of the best known residences in Sydney. Its nucleus was a nine room Georgian cottage, of one storey with a deep front verandah, overlooking Rozelle Bay. Its date is unknown, though it may be seen in an illustration of the Annandale waterfront in 1864, and was presumably built by Commander Robert Johnston.² Within a couple of months of buying Annandale, Young formed a land and investment company in December 1877 to develop it.³ He was living in the cottage in 1878⁴ — possibly even by late 1877 — and set about extending it to form a villa, calling tenders for painter's and glazier's work in 1879.⁵ His extensions showed no sensitivity to the design of the old cottage, but a large and comfortable home resulted. He named it "Kentville" after his home county in England.

One of Young's first improvements at Kentville was to lay down a bowling green. In Sydney itself interest was belatedly stirring in this old English game.⁶ It was already well established in Melbourne, and although there were three greens and two clubs at Parramatta, the first club in Sydney was only formed in 1876, in the Botanic Gardens. It was called the Sydney Bowling Club, and was very select, with the Governor as patron. Young had a historical consciousness but later, in giving an account of the development of the game in New South Wales, he remained curiously silent on where and when he first became interested in

bowls.⁷ He may have been a guest of the Sydney club though he was not a member and may have been refused membership of it. He became involved in a move to establish a green in Hyde Park which would be open to the public. When the trustees refused this, Young made his private green available.⁸

The earliest reference found (so far) to bowls being played at Kentville occurred in 1878, which is the commonly accepted date and which Young himself gave in 1890 when reviewing the progress of the game.⁹ Later, in his final years, he tended to push the inception back to 1877, recording that expert tuition was being given by W Travers "in the latter part of 1877 and the beginning of 1878".¹⁰ In December 1878 Young invited a number of interested gentlemen to form a club there, on the sole condition that they keep the green and quoit grounds in order. The Annandale Bowling Club was duly formed and Young was elected president, with a membership of forty. A year later the membership numbered seventy-seven.¹¹

One reason for this rapid growth was the closure of the Sydney club to make way for the Garden Palace exhibition building of 1879, built ironically by Young. Though a private green was formed at the police barracks by the police commissioner, Edmund Fosbery, the Annandale Bowling Club became the centre of the game in Sydney, attracting players from far afield in spite of the difficulty of getting to it. There were no roads through Annandale yet, and it was necessary to hire two steam launches to come from the city (one via Balmain) on Saturday afternoons in the summer!¹²

Entrance and membership of the Annandale club cost three guineas, though the bulk of the expense of building and maintaining the green and other appurtenances of the club were met by Young.¹³ He turned fifty in 1877, and though he had another decade of heavy work

ahead of him as a builder, he was already a wealthy man and knew what he liked. He loved bowls and he loved entertaining on a grand scale, and he was able to combine these by becoming the dominant figure in New South Wales bowling — and indeed in the wider field of the Empire — for the next thirty years. He spared neither time, trouble nor expense in promoting the popularisation of bowls, and he made a decisive influence on the developing social mores of the game, particularly the emphasis on gentlemanly good-fellowship.

With 7¼ acres of land, Young created at Kentville one of the finest gardens in Sydney, with a wide range of sporting facilities. Apart from the bowling green, there were a billiard room and several quoit grounds by 1878, and two skittle alleys and an archery field by 1880. Young also built a substantial brick pavilion for the bowling club.¹⁴ As early as December 1878 Kentville was being praised for its garden,¹⁵ and Young often opened it to the public, making sure to invite the press also. On one occasion, typical of many, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

Just at this season of the year [Spring], the gardens are beginning to look their best, and of the many flowering plants now in bloom, none, perhaps, are more prolific than cinerarias and primulas. Some of the finest specimens of these plants may be seen in the conservatories of Mr John Young of Kentville, North Annandale. In one conservatory alone, no less than 600 specimens of cinerarias of almost every shade are displayed ... The primulas and cinerarias are all ranged in pots on shelves about 100 feet in extent, and on entering the conservatory the eye is at once met with quite a blaze of colour. The cinerarias are of almost perfect growth, and the beauty and perfection to which they have been brought speaks well for the care and attention bestowed on them by Mr Durrant, the head gardener. Mr Young has, in a laudable spirit, consented to allow those who take an interest in horticulture, to inspect his excellent collection of primulas and cinerarias

On another occasion Young invited the mayors and aldermen of the City Council and several suburban municipalities to dinner, after which he took them on a guided tour of his hot houses and open garden beds where they saw, apart from cinerarias and primulas,

*large numbers of caladiums, anthuriums, gloxinias, pansies, stocks and other floral gems, all in excellent condition. Mr Young further displayed bonhomie by inviting his friends to engage in bowls ... skittles or billiards ...*¹⁷

Young was doing more than using "open hearted hospitality" to promote bowls; he was also indirectly selling Annandale as a residential suburb.¹⁸ Several bowlers were to purchase land nearby.

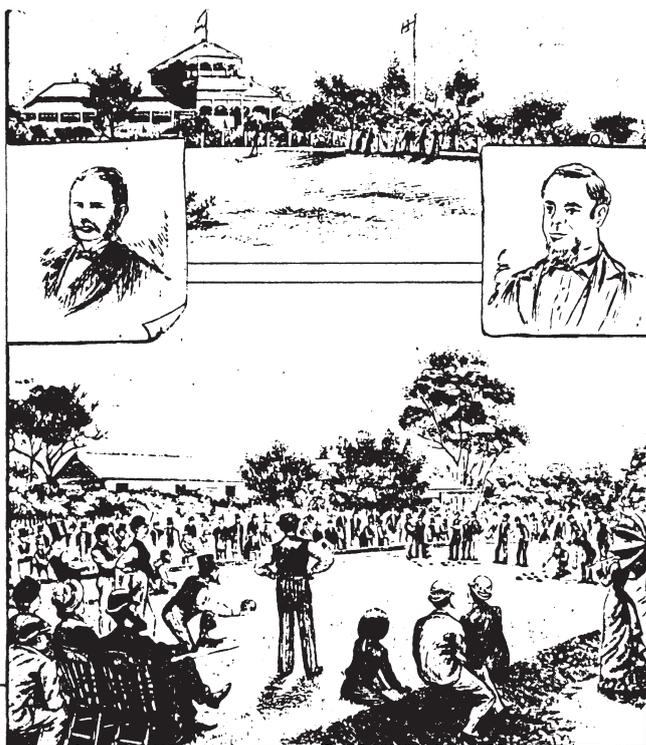
Visitors often remarked on the beauty of the gardens, sometimes on the position and view, but virtually never on the house. On almost all occasions when someone waxed lyrical about the Kentville estate, silence conveyed implicitly the general opinion that the house was not architecturally impressive. In only one case was the point (and the contrast) made explicitly:

*The building is not very pretentious, but its surroundings are delightful. Art has supplemented nature to enhance the loveliness of the spot. The bowling green ... is one of the best in the colonies; and the extensive gardens are laid out with fine effect. The winding walks, overhung with trees; charming bowers, quaint grottoes, and snug retreats enchant the eye, and captivate the imagination. The hot-houses, green-houses and ferneries are on a scale rarely seen at private establishments ... The garden contains the most magnificent wistaria we have seen; it is trained in the form of an arch, the deep lilac flowers hanging in large pendant clusters, unsurpassed for their beauty and elegance. The cinerarias are, however, the glory of the place ...*¹⁹

If not pretentious, the house was certainly capacious, indeed "luxurious".²⁰ On several occasions Young dined up to 200 people at Kentville. The wide verandah running along the full frontage of the old Georgian cottage was glazed to make a large room for these occasions, and there was a ball-room.²¹ The same point was made, though more subtly, by Sir Joseph Carruthers, who was vice president of the New South Wales Bowling Association in the 1890s and was later premier of the state. Reminiscing about Young's hospitality to the bowling fraternity, Carruthers said:

*It was a treat to be one of his guests at Annandale. You were sure of an enjoyable game with good fellows. He would take his friends into his home and show them his many treasures collected from all parts of the world. He dispensed hospitality with royal favour ...*²²

Underneath the hospitality and surface conviviality of bowling occasions there existed some fairly strong tensions. Almost from the start there was difficulty between the Annandale club and the better established Parramatta club. Their first inter-club match was held in November 1879 after which Young provided a "sumptuous repast" though this did not



The first inter-colonial bowling match being played at Kentville in 1880 and the house showing Young's additions. John Young (inset right) ATCJ 24 April 1880

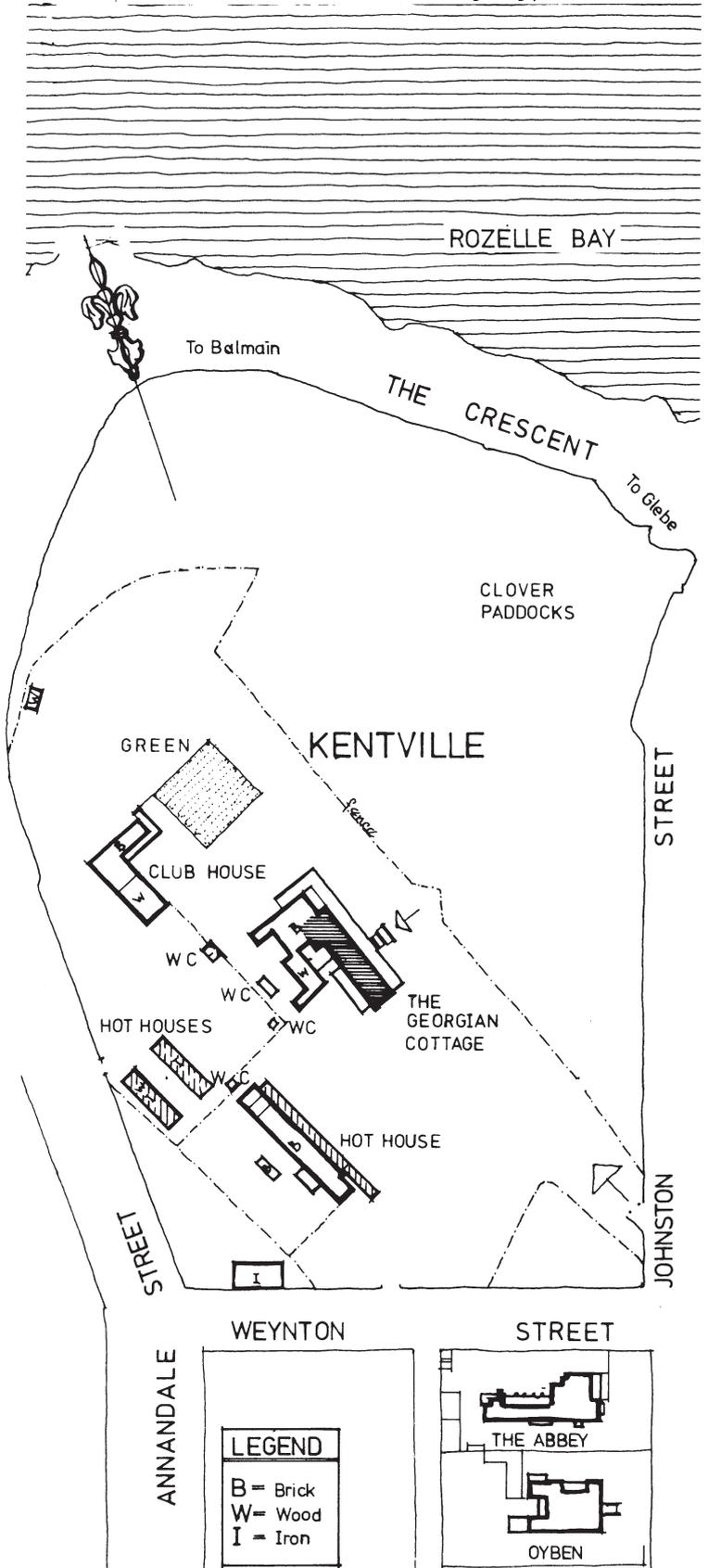
deter the Parramatta captain from remarking, in reply to a toast, that "it was useless disguising the fact that the game on Annandale green could scarcely be called bowls, as the bowls were without bias, and the game was not played in its true scientific manner".²³ There was no uniformity between clubs on such matters, which made inter-club competition difficult. But the Annandale club already had much bigger ideas. Making one of his regular business trips to Melbourne in March 1880, Young invited the Victorian clubs to send a team for an intercolonial match in Sydney. A selection committee was appointed to choose the New South Wales side, and even though the majority were from the Parramatta club, they felt piqued by Young's presumption in issuing the invitation and by not even more than nine of the sixteen home side players being Parramatta players.

This match, which inaugurated a century of intercolonial bowling competition, was one of the great events in the life of the Annandale club. It was played on 14 April, and "that most pleasurable of steam launches" the *Fawn* was chartered to give regular and frequent service between the city and Annandale for the day at half a crown return. The novelty of the occasion created considerable interest, for bowling was still little known in Sydney and many people thought "there must be something attractive about it to bring so many men 600 miles to play the game". The fine weather helped and more than 200 spectators, including "many of the leading men of the city", came to watch. Music by the German Band added to the sense of gaiety as did Kiley, proprietor of the North Annandale Hotel, from his booth.²⁴ The tour was an unqualified success, and Young rightly gained much of the credit.

The fact remained, however, that the Victorians won which, in view of the fierce intercolonial rivalry of that time, only accentuated the annoyance of the Parramatta camp where most of the best players then belonged. To resolve this conflict, and to promote the game in a variety of ways, Young called a meeting and proposed the formation of the New South Wales Bowling Association, the first bowling association in the world. Young was elected president and, despite some recurrent problems, was continually re-elected president for the remainder of his life.

Ironically, the increasing interest in bowls was to prove the undoing of the Annandale club. Kentville was difficult to get to, and as more bowlers took up the game, they formed new clubs. Ex-Annandale members took a leading part in this process, and the club was in a sense the progenitor of many clubs. New clubs were formed in the city and at Balmain and Rose Hill in 1880, Strathfield in 1881, Glebe in 1883 and another nine over the next decade. This depleted the ranks of the Annandale club which ceased to exist in 1885. Young maintained the green as avidly as ever, and invited a number of prominent players to form what was known as "the president's team" which played periodical visits to the various metropolitan clubs. He also officially received and entertained teams visiting New South Wales at Kentville.²⁶ Several more intercolonial matches were played there, of which perhaps the most outstanding was in 1886. Young was mayor

Plan of the Kentville Estate in 1890 (Based on Department of Public Works Detail Original Plan S 642 1544 series held at the M W S & D Board, Sydney).



of Sydney in that year and spent lavishly on a series of brilliant entertainments. At the conclusion of the intercolonial bowling match he provided a banquet for 250 people, a concert and ball and a fireworks display.²⁷

As Annandale grew in population, it became possible in 1895 to form a new Annandale club, which played at Kentville on the same terms as had the old club. Young was president till 1899 but not thereafter. It had 66 members in 1899, but only 26 in 1906 and, despite enthusiasm, they sometimes had difficulty in getting 16 players for a full rink match.²⁸ Whereas in 1880 the members had come from far afield and included "the most influential gentlemen of the city",²⁹ the membership around 1900 was predominantly local and roughly a third of them were artisans and tradesmen. This indicates the partial success of Young's efforts to make bowls a popular rather than an elite sport, and reflects Annandale's emerging working class character.

Around the turn of the century Young began to play a major role in the imperial bowling scene. He visited England in 1899 and, with Charles Wood (president of the Victorian Bowling Association), called a meeting from which emerged the Imperial Bowling Association governing play in Great Britain. Young and Wood were elected vice presidents. The following year he led an Australian team of bowlers to play in Great Britain. The final incident occurred in December 1905 when Young had the honour of hosting the Earl of Jersey, a former governor of New South Wales and now the president of the Imperial Bowling Association, to an afternoon of bowls. "The hospitality of Kentville was never seen to better advantage ..."³⁰ Young was already suffering a serious illness and fourteen months later he died at Kentville aged eighty.

Following Young's death the estate was inherited by his son Fred and son in law S P Reynolds as trustees. The contents were auctioned,³¹ the house was demolished, the land was cut up into ninety-odd small lots and a stone wall and iron railing were built around the high perimeter of the estate for safety. The bowling club was now without a green and without Young's patronage. Like the Glebe club before it, it could no longer exist, which raises the question of how the Balmain club survived.

Whereas auction notices in the 1870s had emphasised the separation of town and suburb as an aid to health, the Kentville advertisement, with a surprisingly modern ring, stressed the opposite:

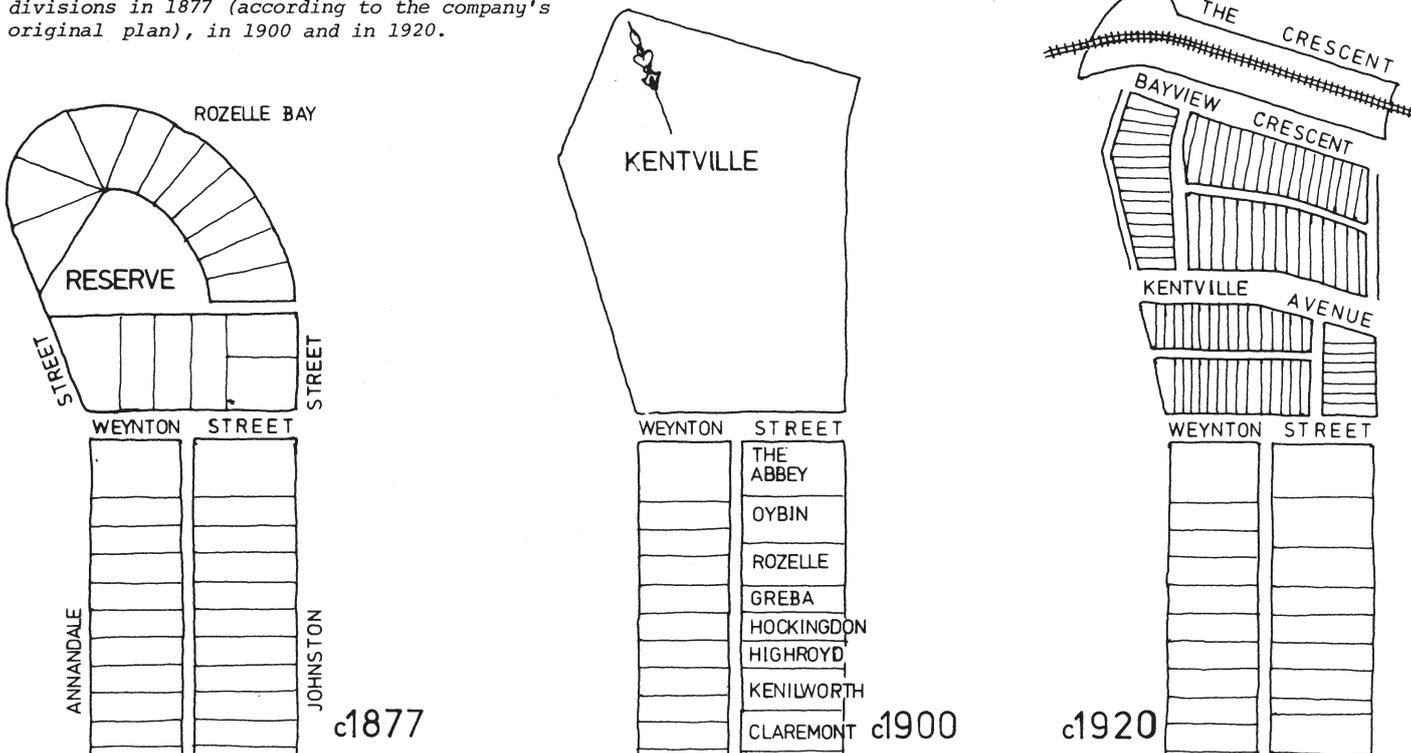
*We know the public find it irksome paying HIGH RAILWAY and TRAM FARES to and from the City, and have experienced great difficulty in obtaining GOOD BUILDING LAND close to the city, where thousands of people have to travel daily to business, and they should now embrace this last chance of securing a block in the Kentville Estate ...*³²

The sales commenced in 1909 and continued slowly over the next 25 years. In 1916 a strip adjacent to the water was resumed for the construction of the Wardell Road to Glebe Island goods railway.³³ The transformation of "this Historic Spot" was roughly contemporary with the destruction of Annandale House in South Annandale in 1905 and the voluntary liquidation of the Annandale Land Company in 1916 after it had sold all of the land Young had originally bought from the Johnstons forty years before.

Today only Kentville Avenue perpetuates the name amidst a dense mass of red brick and terracotta cottages, and it is difficult to believe Young's Kentville ever existed at all.

(please turn to p 27 for References and Notes)

Plans of the Kentville, Abbey and Witches Houses subdivisions in 1877 (according to the company's original plan), in 1900 and in 1920.



Reverend George Grimm (1833 ~1897): A Biographical Study

by John Williams

My interest in the Rev George Grimm has been partly personal in that he was the first appointed minister of St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Rozelle, where I was baptized and where as a child I recall his stern but kind face looked down from a large photographic portrait in the vestibule.¹

His inclusion in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and his commemoration through the building of the Grimm Memorial Church at Drummoyne signify the esteem in which Grimm had been regarded during his lifetime.

On 23 July 1904, the foundation stone of the second St Paul's was laid. A second stone, one to the memory of Grimm, was laid by the Hon James Inglis, MLC. With the continued expansion of the "Presbyterian retreat" in Sydney's western suburbs and the uncertainty of St Paul's future, I thought it might benefit local history if a more substantial biography of Grimm was documented.³

Grimm's intellectual vigour, diversity of interests, and, no doubt, influential connections academic, clerical, and lay could have earned him fame and prominence yet his life is a story of a determined self-application and devoted humility.

EARLY LIFE: George Grimm was born at Brechin (Forfarfs) Scotland, on 9 June 1833, the son of Robert Grimm and his wife Mary (nee Arnott). Brechin, capital of the ancient Pictish kingdom, produced a number of sons who in maturity greatly enriched the intellectual life of nineteenth century Scotland. Grimm was one such prodigy.⁴

That Grimm's origins were poorer than most Scots of the early nineteenth century is very evident. Not only was his early education meagre by today's standards, it was even less than a Scot of his own day and of his own background could reasonably have expected.

Despite the privation into which he was born, a portrait of a man of exceptional determination begins to emerge in youth. The Rev Dr Thomas Guthrie of Edinburgh in writing of Scottish parish schools in 1877 said -

Take the case of a man I knew well who was an example, and an admirable one, of the bygone days. His father, an elder of the Church, and a son of excellent character, was by trade, a weaver. But, though possessed of little means - what the Scotch call a bein body - he could not afford to educate a son at college out of his own resources. So my friend began life at the loom. But a youth of superior talents and early piety, he was fired with a holy ambition to be a minister of the Gospel. Tenax propositi⁵ - the characteristic of our countrymen - he commenced latin grammar, and placing the books before him while at his daily work, he studied and finally mastered it.⁶

Although Guthrie did not specifically name Grimm as the case in point, he was himself a native of Brechin and part of this passage is actually quoted in a newspaper biography



REVEREND GEORGE GRIMM, MA

of Grimm published in 1879.⁷ In the light of this there is every indication that the man in Guthrie's description is George Grimm.

Dougan states Grimm was initially apprenticed to a stonemason⁸ - Guthrie mentions weaving and other sources have referred vaguely to a "mechanical trade".⁹ In whatever he was apprenticed, Grimm was not over enthusiastic about it. To compensate for his rudimentary education, he began attending night classes (hence Guthrie's reference to the "latin grammar") and was encouraged in this direction by his parish minister, the Rev Dr James McCosh.¹⁰

Although Grimm's father was no doubt sympathetic to his son's academic inclinations, circumstances had dictated that Grimm should continue with manual labour until 1855 when he had saved sufficient money to enter Aberdeen Grammar School which was then famed as Scotland's best school for latin scholarship.¹¹ Having graduated Master of Arts in 1861,¹² Grimm began his theological training at the Free Church of Scotland New College where he further excelled in German and Natural Science.¹³

Grimm's accomplishments could have assured him a rewarding career either in Scotland or perhaps in the United States where his former minister, Dr McCosh, was by that time President of the College of New Jersey (later to become Princeton University). Grimm however vowed that he would not be contented to rest on the foundations of other men's labours but to raise churches "from the seed".¹⁴ Ignoring the protest of his mentors, Grimm offered himself for service in the colonies.¹⁵



ROZELLE POST OFFICE AT THE CORNER OF DARLING STREET AND VICTORIA ROAD (WESTON STREET) LOOKING TOWARDS IRON COVE BRIDGE: 1895. The Manse is to the left of the Post Office and old St Paul's is at the right while Rozelle Public School is at the far right of the picture. In the foreground are the tracks for the steam trams which began running in 1892.

DALBY, QUEENSLAND: Following his marriage to the "girl of his youthful affection",¹⁶ Mary Hetherington, at Sowerby Bridge, Yorks, on 8 June 1865,¹⁷ he left Scotland for Dalby, provincial capital of Queensland's Darling Downs.¹⁸ There was no clergyman further west in Queensland than Grimm, but having been of delicate health since childhood, he found the climate too taxing and, at the insistence of the Minister of Scots Church Sydney, the Rev Dr J D Lang, Grimm sought relief in New South Wales in 1870.¹⁹

YOUNG AND GRENFELL, NEW SOUTH WALES: During 1872 he was inducted to the charge of Grenfell and Young and moved to Young when Grenfell became a separate parish.²⁰

His association with St Andrew's College (University of Sydney), to whose council he was appointed in 1873, began during this period. His election as Moderator of the New South Wales General Assembly was an honour which came in 1879.²¹

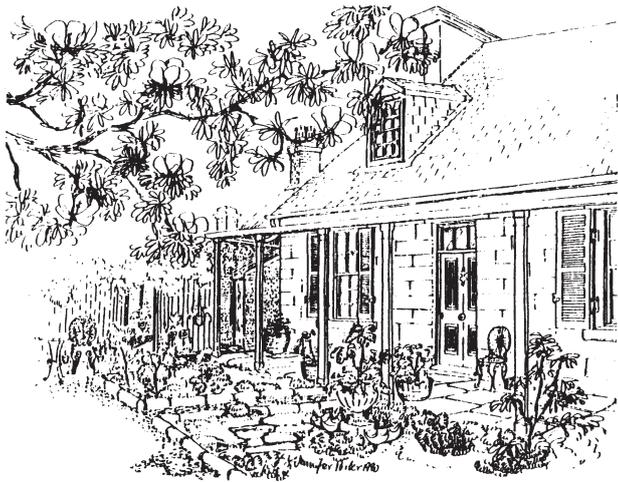
In 1880, he translated from Young to Balmain West leaving behind St Paul's Church and manse as the principal reminders of his pastorate there.²²

BALMAIN WEST: On 2 June 1873, the Deacons Court of Balmain Presbyterian Church had resolved to commence services at Balmain West. For this purpose a cottage at 13 Goodsir Street was rented and a Sabbath School started.²³

An acre-site at the intersection of Weston (now Victoria) Road and Darling Street had been acquired by the Balmain congregation in 1874²⁴ and a weatherboard mission church was built and opened in 1876.²⁵ The ecclesiastical and public buildings of present-day Rozelle which date from the late 1870s indicate the rapidity with which the western extremity of the Balmain peninsular had populated over this period.

Next door to the Presbyterian mission-church the Council of Education opened a two-storeyed school in 1878 to which extensions were necessary in 1881.²⁶ Opposite, the Anglicans built St Thomas' Church in 1874.²⁷ Along the road, the Primitive Methodists opened a neat stone chapel in 1880.²⁸ The Roman Catholics established themselves in 1881.²⁹

A petition from the infant congregation



"CARIEVILLE" No 8 White Street Balmain (J Porter)
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Balmain Estate Agency)

for a disjunction from Balmain was readily granted by the Presbytery of Sydney on 12 January 1880.³⁰ However, an agreement by Balmain to contribute 50 pounds per annum towards "maintaining ordinances"³¹ and a yet undischarged mortgage³² indicated that the young parish was struggling financially.

George Grimm was introduced to the district on Sunday 15 February when, at the invitation of the Rev Dr James Cosh, Minister at Balmain, he officiated at the first celebration of Holy Communion to be held in the Balmain West church.³³

It seems also probable that Cosh was the main instigator of Grimm's eventual translation to Balmain West. Balmain was one of the oldest and strongest Presbyterian charges in suburban Sydney at the time. To consolidate firmly Presbyterian influence within the then rich municipality, Grimm was an obvious choice as foundation pastor in the neighbouring charge.

His induction by Sydney Presbytery took place on 19 July 1880.³⁴ The following evening the parishers held an "induction" of their own and some 350 people turned out to welcome him at high tea.³⁵ As Balmain West had no manse of its own, Grimm resided at "Carieville," a charming stone villa on White Horse Point overlooking the Parramatta and Lane Cover Rivers, Iron Cove, and Cockatoo Island.³⁶

THE MANSE: Grimm soon began planning for a manse to be built adjacent to his church. This project materialized in 1883 when, at 3 pm on Saturday 25 August, William Wright of "Drummoyne House" used an inscribed trowel and mallet to lay the foundation stone of what was to become a commodious 10-roomed manse facing Weston (now Victoria) Road ready for occupancy early the next year.³⁷ It is believed that Grimm sought assistance from his former parishioners in the Bland district to build the edifice which, from personal memory, was quite equal in taste and proportion to the residence of Dr Cosh at "Braeside", 96 Elliott Street.³⁸

TEACHING AND LITERARY ACTIVITIES: In 1886 the Assembly elected Grimm Tutor in Systematic Theology and Apologetics at St Andrew's College Theological Hall where he taught Hebrew as well.³⁹ The syllabus for Systematic Theology remained unaltered throughout his tutorship,

the basic text being that of Charles Hodge, a Presbyterian theologian of Princeton who published his treatise between 1871 and 1873.⁴⁰

As a pastor, one of his first projects appears to have been the initiation of programmes of lectures intended for the improvement not only of his congregants but of the parish at large. Two of the lecture topics of 1882 included "Life in the Indian Jungle" in which James Inglis spoke of his experiences in Hindustan and "Science of Botany" in which the Rev Robert Collie spoke on specimens of Australian and New Zealand flora.⁴¹ Grimm also had a literary career of no mean order. He edited *The Presbyterian* for a number of years and also contributed articles to the major newspapers of the day.⁴²

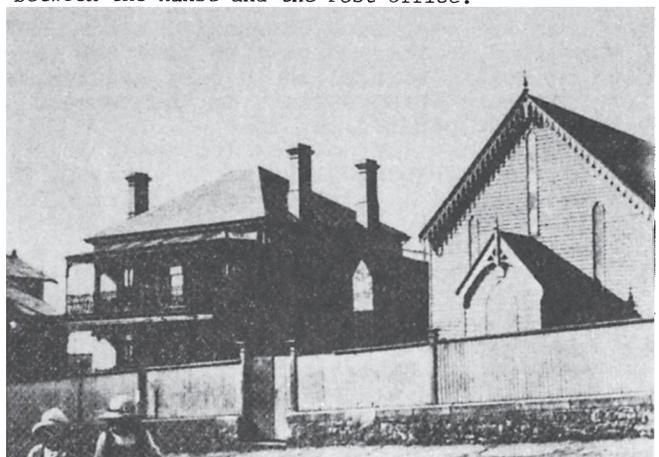
His first monograph however did not appear until late in his life. The book was produced in 1888, the Centennial Year, on an apt subject and with an apt title, *Australian Explorers*. He dedicated the volume to an old friend, Dr Lang. He wrote six other books as well.⁴³

The adoption of St Paul as patron of Balmain West occurred during Grimm's pastorate. At Young Grimm was instrumental in the building of St Paul's Church. At Balmain West he wasted little time in inaugurating services at Drummoyne and he also encouraged the building of St Andrew's Church at Leichhardt.⁴⁴ Together with his enthusiasm for raising churches "from the seed", these actions reflect the profundity with which Grimm drew inspiration from St Paul, "Apostle to the Gentiles" and most renowned of Christian missionaries.

GRIMM AND MacINNES: In 1894, the Rev George MacInnes, Moderator of the New South Wales General Assembly and Minister of St David's, Ashfield, startled conservative theological opinion by an inaugural address to the Assembly of that year in which he advocated a rejection of the Verbal Theory of the Divine Inspiration of the Bible.⁴⁵

While the Assembly made no attempt at censure, MacInnes' address was in fact attacked with grave hostility from the floor of the House.⁴⁶ To provide the public an authentic record of what he actually said, MacInnes was obliged to publish his address.⁴⁷

ST PAUL'S MANSE AND CHURCH HALL (formerly first church)
The first church was erected in Darling Street in 1876 and was later moved to Weston Street (Victoria Road) between the Manse and the Post Office.



The choice of respondent fell upon Grimm and the contents of his defence printed in a pamphlet entitled *The Plenary Inspiration of the Bible*.⁴⁸ The two dissertations make an interesting contrast and are perhaps the most valuable material with which to gauge Grimm's theological outlook in relation to his colonial contemporaries.

The author who had influenced MacInnes considerably was a prominent German theologian, Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889). Ritschl's deep concern was with the limitation which positive science had placed upon the truth and application of Christian dogma. While he upheld the authority of scripture, he was by no means unappreciative of the degree to which the credibility of the Gospel tradition had been impugned by other German scholars.⁴⁹ However, the work to which MacInnes referred most was the celebrated edition of the Greek New Testament with Bishop B F Westcott in 1883. The work was "celebrated" because it represented perhaps the most authentic version of the New Testament in original Greek compiled to date and MacInnes frequently cited the difficulties encountered by the editors in higher biblical criticism.⁵⁰

By the Verbal Theory, MacInnes meant the theory that the Bible was a verbally inspired and inerrant code of rules. His grounds for the Theory's rejection can be summarised as follows -

- i) the Verbal Theory had never been adhered to by the Reformation Fathers;
- ii) no original text could fit the theory because God would have had to inspire every copyist as well as every writer;
- iii) higher criticism had discovered the existence of such things as a two-fold narrative of Creation in Genesis;⁵¹
- iv) the present scriptural canon had a developmental history and on occasion had included Apocryphal tests;
- v) the New Testament discounted the Old Testament as a code of rules or inviolable constitution; and
- vi) the true function of the Bible was to depict Christ as a "Self-Evidencing" revelation of the "flawless character, stainless soul, and gracious personality of the Son of Man who is the Son of God".⁵²

Grimm's defence was delivered as a sermon from the pulpit of St Stephen's, Phillip Street, on the evening of Sunday 11 March 1894, and was based on the proposition that the principles of criticism applied to most spheres of literature were inappropriate in the case of the Bible. He pointed out that -

- i) despite the fact of New Testament writers being unintellectual in approach and despite its 1,500 year history of consolidation, the Bible was a complete and consistent system of doctrine;
- ii) history appeared bent on preserving the unity of the Bible rather than destroying it;
- iii) wherever individuals or groups had surrendered to Biblical teaching, good followed - this was evidence of a divine source;
- iv) in comparison with literature of similar epochs (eg Josephus and Julius Caesar)

- v) biblical writers were less concerned with their own accomplishments and more upon struggling with personal failings; scripture was an unfailing source for resolve in true life situations; and
- vi) to distinguish thought from expression was both unphilosophical and unnatural-"God", said Grimm, "uses man as man and not man as a machine".⁵³

One may briefly discern from Grimm's argument that he placed particular reliance on natural theology, or what today might be described as religious phenomenology. His work on the Immortality of the Soul was similar in this respect. Grimm devoted a whole lecture on the role of Conscience and showed a remarkable familiarity with Hindu Vedic literature.⁵⁴

Grimm's preaching has been described as "evangelical, lucid, scholarly, and improving, impaired by a somewhat awkward delivery".⁵⁵ Despite his depiction as a man rarely idle, neither his preaching nor his scholarship attracted the audiences of any magnitude in his own parish church. From Sustention Fund statistics, his Sunday School roll at times exceeded 300 pupils but there is no suggestion that the number of communicants (for both Balmain West and Drummoyne) reached above 120 during his ministry.⁵⁶

GRIMM'S LATER YEARS: Towards the end of Grimm's life an economic depression had set in the colony. This, the embittered clashes between the congregation and his successor (the Rev W Michael Smith),⁵⁷ his stipend being in arrears by 170 pounds at the time of his death, and an exceptionally involved legal knot in which the congregational trustees simultaneously found themselves, collectively suggest that Grimm's last years were fraught with administrative distractions.⁵⁸

The latter problem arose in 1893 when the part of the Church glebe was resumed for the erection of a post office.⁵⁹ Although the trustees received compensation amounting to £1,900, and although the Assembly of 1894 agreed that the amount was acceptable, the law on church property as it then stood placed the trustees in a complete dilemma as to the purposes to which the proceeds could be applied.⁶⁰

The issue had been complicated by the fact that the trustees had deposited the deeds to the property with the congregation's bankers as collateral security against an overdraft. To enable the deeds' release and thereby facilitate the occupation of the resumed land by the Postmaster-General, part of the compensation proceeds was used to discharge the overdraft.

Specifically the trustees were uncertain as to whether the minister of the congregation was entitled to portion of the proceeds and to what particular purposes the remainder could be applied. Despite contrary opinions of Presbytery, Law Agent, senior counsel, and Procurator that advice should be sought from the Supreme Court, the Assembly of 1897 resolved to let the matter rest.⁶¹ The following year, the trustees were compared before the bar of the Assembly and instructed to use £100 of the proceeds to remedy the arrears in Grimm's stipend then owing to his widow.⁶² The resumption did nonetheless stimulate interest in building a new church but not until 1904 was a new church of brick with dressed

stone opened for worship.⁶³

It was not long after the resumption tangle that Grimm's life terminated. Up to then he had still been engaged in preparing students for ordination but after his 1894 pamphlet no publication appeared and his involvement with Assembly committees and other matters was minimal. Possibly a weak state of health inherited from childhood coupled with parish instability may have placed him under an inordinate strain. He died on 2 June 1897, at the Balmain West manse from haemorrhagic purpura, a condition which had brought him down three weeks before.⁶⁴

At the funeral which was held at St Paul's at 12 noon the following day, the service was conducted by the State Moderator, the Rev Dr J Kemp Bruce, assisted by the Rev R E Clouston, Dr J Cosh, J Walker and J Ferguson. At the Presbyterian Cemetery of the Necropolis, Rookwood, the Rev J A Ewen, J S Paterson, Dr J Cameron, and W M Dill Macky officiated at the burial.⁶⁵

No doubt considered typical of the Victorian Age's flowery exaggerations, the memorial minute drafted by a special committee under Dr Cameron's convenorship and passed by the 1898 Assembly said:



ST PAUL'S PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, ROZELLE

Edward Bowen, Architect, 1904

The church is now the Westside Neighbourhood Centre

His deep humility, his sincere charity, and his earnest labours revealed the closeness of his walk with the master whom he followed and the memory of his diligence will long be fragrant in the Church which laments his loss.⁶⁶

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- 13 Ibid.
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- 17 Dougan A A, *op cit* (8).
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid: SM, 12 June 1879.
- 20 Ibid: Blue Book - Minutes of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. State Library of New South Wales.
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- 22 Dougan A A, *op cit* (8).
- 23 Cameron J, and Walker J, *Centenary History of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales* (Sydney 1905) State Library of New South Wales, p 324.
- 24 Certificate of Title Volume 197 Folio 23, 15 December 1874; Memo of Transfer 13369, 1 December 1874. NSW Registrar General's Department.
- 25 BO, 31 December 1904, p3. The pulpit of the first St Paul's Church is reputed to have been constructed from splinters of the clipper *Dunbar* which was wrecked at The Gap, Watson's Bay, NSW, in 1857. Before its removal to the original St Paul's, the pulpit is alleged to have served the "second" (or Darling Street) Balmain Presbyterian Church which itself was built in the same year as the Dunbar tragedy - from memoirs of Gordon, the Rev T A, quoted on p 3, *Campbell Street Presbyterian Church, Balmain, Souvenir Brochure*, (Padstow NSW 1968). Private papers. See article on "James McDonald" in *LHU* No. 8.
- 26 National Trust Register, New South Wales, 11 February 1974, p 28. Ibid.
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- 36 *Sands Sydney Directory*, 1881. In local tradition "Carieville" (now 8 White Street, Balmain) has been known popularly as "Bishop's Mansion" and a nearby cottage (18 White Street) which once formed part of the original estate as "Bishop's Chapel". Although Grimm appears to have been the only cleric ever to have resided at "Carieville", it seems incongruous with his free Presbyterian background that he should ever have maintained anything like an "episcopal court". The "bishops" identity remains a mystery. Source: Conversation with R Irving, University of New South Wales, 1973.
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- 54 Grimm G, *op cit*, *Twelve Lectures ...* (43).
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- 57 MPS, 10 April 1900.
- 58 BB, 1898.
- 59 *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 18 April 1893.
- 60 BB, 1895, *Pro re nata meeting*, September 1894.
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**William Bardsley (1856 ~1929):
The 'Boss' of Forest Lodge
Public School**

by Max Solling



(Courtesy of Ray Bardsley)

The drug and grocery business at 18 Pitt Street owned by Amrose Foss prospered in the 1830s, enabling the leading light in the Congregational movement to acquire himself a thirty-one acre semi-rural retreat on the Sydney glebe lands (lot 26). About 1836 Foss moved from Hereford House to a new villa some 300 yards immediately west of his former residence. Early colonists noted that this part of Glebe was covered by "a thick eucalyptus wood, alternating with low scrub land, where wild duck were plentiful"¹ and appropriately Ambrose and Louisa Foss called their new home "Forest Lodge".² As one of the locality's "splendid edifices" designed for a gentleman, "Forest Lodge" became something of a landmark and among the prominent citizens of colonial Sydney that lived there were David Jones, Alexander Campbell, George Bennett and William Munro.

The colonial villa was demolished about 1910 to make way for more intensive development, (its approximate site being about 210 Bridge Road), but the name lives on.

The Forest Lodge estate was owned by four propertied gentlemen R Want, T Holt, T Smart and G Allen when it was subdivided and auctioned off in small plots between 1865 and 1871.³ The original municipal borough of Glebe, created in 1859, consisted of three wards, Bishopthorpe, Outer and Inner wards. The number of people living in the neighbourhood bounded by Parramatta Road to the south Orphan School Creek to the west, Pymont Bridge Road to the north and Westmoreland Street and Purves Lane to the east, had swelled to 1,158 at the 1871 census when a fourth ward, Forest Lodge, was created. This neighbourhood could now return three local elected representatives to the Council.⁴ The residential precinct described as Forest Lodge embraces a wider area than the old municipal ward taking in Ross Street, Woolley Street, much of Hereford Street and the area around Upper Road and Albert Street.

The first public school in Glebe was opened by the National Board in 1858; in 1862 it moved to a newly completed building on the corner of Derwent Street and Derby Place. During the third quarter of the nineteenth century, schools of all religious denominations appeared on the Glebe landscape, in direct competition with the National school.

In 1880 the State at last accepted responsibility for placing an elementary schooling of reasonable guaranteed quality within reach of every child, with attendance compulsory for those between the ages of seven and fourteen. A girls school in Derby Place, with provision for 600 girls, opened in 1884 and in 1897 a second storey was added to the original Glebe school building. One by one the Protestant schools in Glebe closed their doors but children of Catholics could still obtain a separate education at St James, Forest Lodge and in 1900, a further Catholic school, St Ita's in St John's Road, opened.

After a long wait the citizens of Forest Lodge rejoiced when a public school on the corner of Ross Street and Bridge Road was opened on 1 July 1883, catering for 150 boys and girls and 150 infants.⁵ In 1891 when Forest Lodge achieved "Superior School" status, there were two public and twelve private schools, as well as a "ragged school", in Glebe.

The first headmaster of Forest Lodge was William Bardsley, a man who had taught at St John's Darlinghurst and St James Anglican school Sydney in the mid seventies. He was the head teacher, for a time, at the Hebrew school in Castlereagh Street and had been in charge of schools at Wagga, Mudgee and Warren.⁶ Born on 16 December 1856, Bill Bardsley met and married Rachael Readford during his stay at Warren. It was there, on 7 December 1882, that their first child was born. They called his Warren, after the small town. The Bardsley's were to have five more children - Vera, Forest, Doris, Sylvia and Raymond (known as "Mick").

In the eighties there were many signs of a more general sophistication creeping into the economic and social apparatus of Glebe - the appearance of schools and churches, the spawning of a miscellaneous collection of service and consumer trades along the

main suburban arteries, the emergence of innumerable sporting clubs, the establishment of debating and choral societies, building and friendly societies, volunteer corps and fire brigade, a library, masonic lodge and so forth. It was also the hey-day of ambitious municipal schemes, manifested by that symbol of civic wealth and pride, Glebe Town Hall*, completed in 1880 at a cost of £5,000, embodying every flamboyance that appealed to the taste of the Victorian age.

Life in late Victorian Sydney was made more bearable and interesting by that part of the recreational apparatus known as "Sport" which, according to W F Morrison in 1888, was "one of the characteristics of Australian life".⁷ The school curricula in private and public schools in the last two decades of the nineteenth century actively promoted the system of manly and compulsory games and one special virtue which sport was supposed to have established was the concept of "manliness", a term which escapes precise definition. In their formal education the young of Victorian Sydney were bombarded with manliness and its offshoots, service to friend, queen and country.⁸

By the 1870s, A B Weigall had introduced all the distinctive features of the Arnold system to Sydney Grammar School where he was headmaster, of a cadet corps, prefect system, school colours and a distinctive school uniform and, of course, organised sport.⁹

William Bardsley was an avid protagonist of the cult of games at Forest Lodge public school and a great believer in the virtues of patriotism. He sought to instil in all his pupils the sporting spirit (it was unthinkable to query an umpire's decision) and encouraged the children to swim and play football and tried, with limited success, to interest them in lacrosse and baseball. Prior to heading off by tram to Drummoyne baths every Wednesday in summer, pupils were treated to a demonstration of breaststroke - the rather portly figure of their headmaster stretched out on a schoolyard table, an extraordinary sight that lingered long in the memories of many small boys. But it was cricket that captured William Bardsley's imagination; any boy with no interest in cricket was an infidel with no hope of salvation.

The public schools system was a great purveyor of imperial sentiment and King Edward VII and King George V had no more loyal subjects in their empire than the children of Forest Lodge. They reserved their most enthusiastic displays of devotion to King and Empire for Empire Day, singing patriotic songs at Epping Racecourse where ladies of the district presented them with a rock cake, apple and sandwich and they received free rides on the merry-go-round, razzle dazzle and swinging boats.

The Forest Lodge headmaster was an outstanding teacher, possessing the ability to present any subject with great clarity and always able to make lessons interesting. Highly respected by the children, he was in



FOREST LODGE PUBLIC SCHOOL (Undated) (Ray Bardsley)
Warren Bardsley is in the foreground on the tricycle.

complete control in the class room and, in common with teachers of the day, he was a disciplinarian. If you were given the cane by the "Boss", you must have deserved it - parents told their children.

William Bardsley was a volatile personality, at times, irascible and peppery and, moments later, uproariously humorous. He was in private life a great lover of Gilbert and Sullivan. A pupil at Forest Lodge from 1904 to 1912 remembered Bardsley as being kind and generous and:

When boys did not have the money to take part in out-of-school class activities he paid for them. He gave much of his time to class expeditions; to Hawkesbury Agricultural College, to South Head to see the ostrich farm and the Macquarie Lighthouse, to Wentworth Falls or Blackheath to explore the mountains ... Normally he was severe with truants, but if we happened to be absent during a Test Match there was never a query as to why we had been absent. On one such occasion when I had been absent, he said to me next morning 'Did you read in the paper this morning about Woolley's innings? I wish I could have seen it.' 'Me too', I replied, keeping up the fiction, 'He must be a great left-hander, but I bet he's not as good as Warren.' Old Bill looked at me with a twinkle in his eye, then ruffled my hair as he said, 'Brown, you'd make a very good diplomat!'

Bardsley's enthusiasm for sport was infectious and a number of his pupils were to demonstrate outstanding skills in regulated games that were to earn them parochial fame and, for the most skilful, recognition in the international sporting arena. His eldest son, Warren was a regular member of the Glebe first XI from 1899 when only 16, and became one of Australia's greatest batsmen, visiting England on four occasions (1909, 1912, 1921 and 1926) and three times scoring more than 2,000 runs on tour. In first class games the left-handed opening bat made 16,707 runs at 49.63 an innings with 52 centuries.

Warren Bardsley (1882-1954) had remarkable concentration and Bert Oldfield remembered his Glebe captain "as a batsman who possessed the greatest defence on all types of wickets that I have seen ... He got his runs quietly and safely with delicately placed shots excelling with on-side strokes".¹¹

* See Leichhardt Hist J, No 1, 1971 for illustration of Glebe Town Hall.

He was the first man to make a century in each innings of a Test.

Another from Forest Lodge to wear an Australian cap was fast bowler Albert "Tibby" Cotter (1883-1917) - the big gun in the Glebe attack from 1901. Cotter radiated geniality, a chap with a wonderful sense of humour who had a habit of breaking stumps and batsmen's knuckles. He toured England in 1905 and in 1909 (when he earned the sobriquet "Terror Cotter") and was remembered as "muscular and lithe". He was a man who could bowl as fast at half past five as at twelve noon and felt it a disgrace if it was suggested that he should have a rest on a boiling Australian day.¹² Cotter was killed at Beersheba in 1917 when he raised his brow above the trench, doubting the scene reflected in his army issue periscope. He was thirty-three.

In 1912 it was a matter of great pride at Forest Lodge when three old boys, Bardsley, Cotter and all-rounder Charlie Kelleway (1899-1944) played in Test matches together. Other notable old boys were Antarctic explorer, Douglas Mawson (1882-1958) and Sir Bertram Stevens (1889-1973), Premier of New South Wales from 1932-1939.

A young David Kernohan on graduating in 1919 from kindergarten, run by the formidable Miss Heffernan; was greeted by an unblinking headmaster, "I hope you're not going to give us as much trouble as your father or uncle, Kernohan". Many small boys and girls experienced this remarkable greeting.

Bill Bardsley became a legend in his own lifetime. A dominating figure at Forest Lodge for thirty-nine years, remembered with affection by countless children who passed through his hands, he was a teacher who sought to impress upon his classes the importance of clear speech and the use of plain words. Bardsley actively involved himself in community affairs, was Treasurer of the Glebe District Cricket Club from 1911 to 1922 (a life member), a long-term treasurer of the local Rugby Union Club and a delegate to the Metropolitan Rugby Union.

At the end of 1921 the old headmaster reached the retirement age of sixty-five. The school was his whole life. He had planned the large camphor laurels, peppers and Moreton Bay figs, which shaded the grounds, in 1883. To leave it all was a bitter blow to him. Hundreds attended a testimonial dinner at Glebe Town Hall in 1922, chaired by Mayor Percy Lucas to farewell Bill Bardsley. Bill and Rachael Bardsley lived for a number of years at 18 Toxteth Road, at 1 Mansfield Street from 1908 to 1916 and in 1917 they moved to Strathfield.

"The Boss" suffered a stroke in 1923 and was confined to a wheelchair until his death on 15 June 1929 aged seventy-two years. Rachael Bardsley survived her husband and died on 13 April 1945.

Those who came under the spell of Bill Bardsley hoped that he went to some *Valhalla* where there were endless cricket matches.

I acknowledge, with sincere thanks, the co-operation and assistance of Mr Ray Bardsley. Mr Tom Brown's delightful reminiscences helped to make this article possible.



FOREST LODGE PUBLIC SCHOOL
Pet Show, 23 August 1921

(Ray Bardsley)

ADDENDUM: the youngest of William Bardsley's children, Ray (b 1895), wrote the following story about his father:

Perhaps I may relate one of Dad's many efforts to help me through life. We attended St. Andrew's Cathedral, St. Mary's Cathedral, Presbyterian Church Broadway, Synagogue, Glebe Joss House, Pitt Street Congregational, Christian Scientists, Methodist Church opposite our house in Toxteth Road. At the end of these expeditions he said, "I know you were often very restless and bored with church services and now I can tell you that I was bored with some of it. But, at least, you will be able to make up your own mind about religion, because for a very long time I have been unable to fathom it all out."

"To me", he said, "religion means always trying to do the right thing. In fact, in all your actions keep the spirit of fair play uppermost in your mind and don't forget, that is how you should play your cricket which, when played properly is a soul saver and should keep you out of trouble for all your life."

Dad was a great music lover and his great sense of humour has, I hope, left a lasting impression on me.

Smile and be happy is a great motto!

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Goat and Cockatoo: Two Islands off Balmain

by Peter Reynolds

Lying off Balmain are Schnapper Island, Spectacle Island, Cockatoo Island and Goat Island. Of the four, Goat and Cockatoo developed side by side with Balmain and their histories are closely linked.

Unlike Balmain, however, the two islands have their origins in the cruelties of the penal system.

The earliest name for Goat Island* is said to have been the aboriginal name Mel Mel. Goat Island appears to have been the name first used between 1824 and 1826. It is also accepted that it received its name from the flocks of goats that used to graze there - held captive by the surrounding harbour waters.

The island was later to hold human captives who had much less value than the food-producing goats.

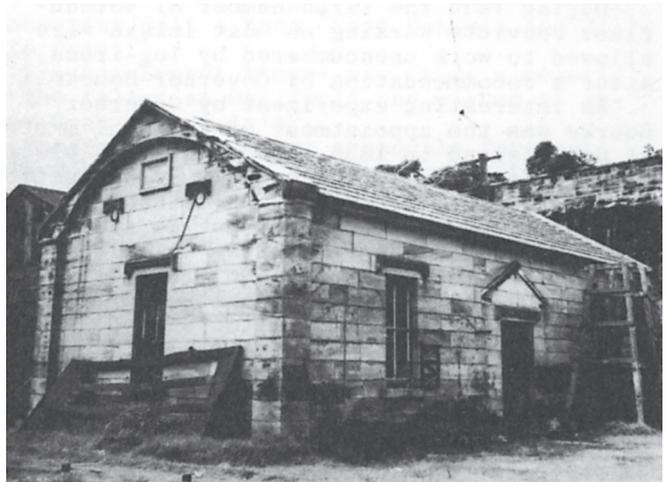
For the first forty years after Phillip landed the Island remained in its primitive state. It was a sandstone island of about 13 acres and because the stone from its quarries was considered to be the best in the Colony it was used for various Government buildings in and around Sydney. Various rumours circulated as to the purposes for which the island would be used, viz. a dock, a naval arsenal, a naval hospital, or a fort to protect the harbour and Parramatta River.

In March 1826 Governor Darling made a visit of inspection round Goat Island, when it was said "there was some intention of building a capacious dock". This was substantiated two years later in the *Sydney Gazette* which reported that the Island was on the eve of being converted into a naval arsenal. It was considered particularly suitable for this as the west side of the island formed a complete shelter from the southerly gales and was deep enough to accommodate the largest vessels close to the shore.

It was during the year 1828 that Messrs Kemmis and Brown endeavoured to secure an allotment on Goat Island for the establishment of a whaling station. They were informed that the Island could not be granted for private enterprise.

In that same year Major Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, recommended that a dockyard be established on the peninsula south of Goat Island (now Balmain East) and that Goat Island be used as the site for a naval hospital. The dockyard would be protected from attack by a few guns on the eastern part of the Island, a

* Because of errors made by early cartographers, much confusion was evident in the actual names of the two islands. Captain Hunter's first chart of the harbour in 1788 shows Goat Island as Cockatoo and Cockatoo Island as Bird Island. In his chart of *Terra Australis* (1798-1803) Matthew Flinders calls Goat Island Cockatoo and the present Cockatoo Island is shown as Banks Island. Lieutenant Roe, RN, in his chart of Port Jackson, 1822, also shows Goat Island as Cockatoo as does Surveyor John Oxley in his map of New South Wales in 1824. A chart dated 1834 by Surveyor Thomas Florance shows Goat Island and "Cockatoo Island or Goat Island".



GUARD HOUSE - GOAT ISLAND: 1836 (Balmain Association)

small battery on Jack the Miller's point (now Miller's Point) and the guns of Fort Phillip. This would be like a curtain of regular fortification and be effective against any attack by water or land. As Mitchell had served under the Duke of Wellington, he had some knowledge of defence.

Mitchell's dockyard scheme was not carried out but writing in 1831 to the Colonial Secretary about the matter he referred to Goat Island, then being extensively "quarried away", as the most valuable point for the defence of the Harbour and Parramatta River.

CONVICT OCCUPATION: More definite action towards utilizing the Island came in 1833. Governor Bourke issued an order which stated:

A gang of convicts being about to be employed on Goat Island, no person who is not acting under the orders of the Government will be allowed to land there under any pretence whatsoever.

About the year 1833 a convenient and safe repository for storing gunpowder and ammunition was desired and Goat Island was fixed upon as being sufficiently isolated from the mainland, and yet not too far away from Sydney in case of need. Thus Goat Island became a place of habitation. A large body of convicts were landed from the hulk *Phoenix* and at once set to work on the construction of an extensive wharf and the preliminary work for a powder magazine which the Government had decided to build there.

The whole of the western side of the Island was cut down almost to water level and the excavated material used for constructing the intended buildings. On this levelled area a Guard House, Powder Magazine and Officers' Quarters were subsequently built.

In 1833 Governor Bourke made an inspection of the work and ordered that the foundation of the magazine be laid. For the accommodation of the iron gangs three portable wooden houses and a stockade, costing £400, were erected by contract labour in 1834. Much concern was expressed at this time regarding the slow progress that was being made in the work at the Island with such a large number of convicts employed. It was thought that many might be better engaged on the improvement of Sydney streets.

During 1835 the large number of second-class convicts working on Goat Island were allowed to work unencumbered by leg-irons after a recommendation by Governor Bourke.

An interesting experiment by Governor Bourke was the appointment of a school master at Goat Island in 1835. His salary was £100 per year and his work was to give instruction to the convicts arriving under sentence to work in irons for long periods. He also taught those being sentenced to other penal settlements while they waited to be transported.

Towards the end of 1836 the Powder Magazine was rapidly nearing completion and the commemoration stone, which is still visible today, was laid by Governor Bourke.

The Powder Magazine, which was the largest building, is one of the most interesting historical relics of Sydney. It is still in an excellent state of preservation as are all of the other buildings erected about that time, the stones showing little trace of erosion. The arched-roof magazine is constructed of hewn white sandstone with walls six feet thick, 100 feet long and 25 feet wide. The big brass door-key is most cumbersome, being 10 inches in length. The slates on the roof were imported and each is fastened with handmade copper nails stamped with the broad arrow.

Governor Bourke's complete project for the Island, including homes for the Superintendent and other officers and a guard house, was finally completed and occupied in 1838. Explosives belonging to various merchants, as well as the ammunition intended for the purpose of the military, were taken into storage in the Powder Magazine.

The convicts lived and worked on the Island and a cordon of sentries with loaded rifles was placed at intervals around the shores in case any attempt was made to escape to the mainland. The sentries were kept very busy and many unfortunates, attempting to escape from hard labour on the Island, "fell victims to the bullets of the soldiers or were accounted for by the numerous sharks which infested the waters of Darling Harbour".

A strong wall, equipped with stone sentry-boxes and imposing gateways, was constructed on the northern and southern sides of the levelled area. On the eastern side the high

cliff rising to about 80 feet, and the water frontage on the western side were considered sufficient protection against intruders.

The date of erection and the name of the Governor will be found neatly engraved on tablets affixed to the walls of most of the buildings. Though only semi-military in character, the Island was reserved in 1843 by the British Government for a Magazine and Ordnance Store and until about 1868 was garrisoned by a detachment of Imperial Troops.

The buildings were erected under the supervision of Mr Scott of the Engineer's Department, and "reflect great credit on him". It may be mentioned that the project was wholly one of Governor Bourke's, although he did not stay in the Colony long enough to see it finished. The mahogany floor of the Guard room, with its copper nails, and the cedar ceiling are still there and the original cedar doors and shutters are still in use.

WATER POLICE STATION: With the expansion of the port of Sydney came the need for a Water Police Force. A Rowboat Guard had been formed in 1820 and in 1832 this guard was renamed the Water Police.

In March 1838 Colonial Architect Mortimer Lewis called tenders for a Water Police Station on the eastern tip of Goat Island. He had earlier sought to buy a 66 feet frontage at present-day East Balmain but was unsuccessful so the more centrally-located Goat Island was chosen.

The Water Police Station was completed in June 1838 and connected by telegraph to Garden Island and the Chief Police Magistrate's residence in Sydney.

Many reasons have been given why the eastern end of the Island, containing the Water Police Station, was detached from the main portion. It was cut off from the remainder of the Island by a gap in the solid sandstone acting as a moat. It is said to have been for the protection of the Water Police from the prisoners who occupied the greater portion of the Island. Old residents and persons well-acquainted with the Island maintain however that at no time was the depth of water between the two portions sufficient to prevent passage at low water, when it was only waist-deep. At high tide the space was capable of being "covered with a plunge".

After the Police vacated the quarters they were converted into a laboratory for the Powder Magazine. They are soon to be restored as part of the overall plan for conserving the Island's historic buildings and artefacts.

EXPLOSIVES STORE: Prior to 1866, the Magazine was used for the storage of military explosives only. Following the introduction of nitro-glycerine into New South Wales, a serious explosion occurred in Bridge Street, Sydney on 4 March 1866 and so the Island came to be used for storing commercial "low" explosives (blasting powders). "High" explosives (dynamite) were removed from the city to magazines at Middle Harbour and Broken Bay. Military explosives at Goat Island were gradually reduced as large military magazines were erected at Newington on Parramatta River. A large quantity of naval stores was also kept on the Island but these were removed in 1884 to Spectacle Island.

In June 1900, at extremely short notice,

POWDER MAGAZINE - GOAT ISLAND: 1836 (Balmain Association)



the Island had to be vacated and all explosives removed in order to permit the immediate establishment of a bacteriological station for handling the outbreak of bubonic plague which was then raging in Sydney. The Powder Magazine is at present used as a store for the requirements of the ships and workshops located at the Island.

In 1900 the Island was vested in the Harbour Trust Commissioners who had expended a large sum of money in alterations and additions to the buildings, in order to develop it as their central depot. A large residence was built on the summit for the Harbour Master, but with the growth of the Port Fire Brigade, these premises have become the home of the Officer-in-Charge of the Fire Brigade.

An attempt was made by the new Commonwealth to appropriate Goat Island for military purposes in 1904. The Premier of New South Wales, J H Carruthers however refused to agree and the Island remained the property of the State.

Since that time Goat Island has been under the control of the Sydney Harbour Trust which became the Maritime Services Board of New South Wales in 1936.

RELICS AND LEGENDS: Goat Island is a place of relics and legends. It was alleged that a Paymaster was murdered on the Island and that thousands of Golden Guineas, which were to have been used for paying the troops, were found to be missing and were suspected of having been buried on the Island. Some time later, whilst remodelling work was in progress, a Golden Guinea piece bearing the date 1823 was found during digging operations. This may only have been a coincidence because no more of these coins have ever been found on the Island.

An historic relic of more recent interest is the bell which has been mounted on a stand in front of the old Guard House. During Australia's Sesqui-centenary Celebrations in 1938 an old lighter was transformed into a replica of Captain Phillip's sloop *Supply* and this is the one used as her ship's bell.

Another bell, which has been erected on the wharf on the eastern side as a time-gong, was found in a locker of the dredge *Triton*, and bears the date 1827. It would be interesting to know its history.

Goat Island's potential as a defence site for Sydney can be readily seen by its clear view right down the harbour. This potential was realised in early days when a cannon emplacement was constructed on the Island's hill.

Sheep rather than goats were an interesting part of Goat Island's more recent history. They flourished on the Island pasture and gave the Maritime Services Board the distinction of being the only Government Department to include an annual wool clip in its receipts. Disease unfortunately wiped out the flock.

DREAMS FOR THE ISLAND: The Island, or Goat as people call it, has been part and parcel of many schemes for the development of Sydney. Apart from the fort and naval hospital already mentioned Goat was to be one main support for a long, sweeping bridge linking Ball's Head, East Balmain and Pyrmont. This scheme was put forward in 1893 by the architect John Horbury Hunt and resurfaced again in the 1920s when another architect proposed that Goat would be

the central interchange for a Y-shaped bridge connecting Ball's Head, East Balmain and Miller's Point.*

Francis Ernest Stowe+ saw it as a memorial to the fallen at Gallipoli and wished to rename Goat "Anzac Isle".

The failure of other proposals for Goat Island has preserved it for posterity. It has been the subject of many schemes ranging from a heliport, to a casino and proposals to construct a base for vertical take-off airliners# OPENED TO THE PUBLIC: In December 1978, after Governor Bourke's 145-year keep-out rule, Goat was opened to the public. The Deputy Premier, J Ferguson, announced that from the beginning of 1979 school excursions to the Island would be encouraged.

This enlightened lifting of the veil of secrecy covering Goat will allow people to see the fine collection of historical buildings and places which include the Guard House and Officer's Quarters (1836-1838), the Cottage (1836-1938), the stone wall and gateway, the cannon emplacement and the Powder Magazine group of buildings as well as the Water Police Station (1938).

Members of the public will also be able to see the infamous "couch". According to legend an alcove in the sandstone outcrop on that part of the Island nearest to Balmain was hollowed out by Charles "Bony" Anderson who was chained there for two years in only the clothes that he stood up in. His crime was to look at the ships passing when he should have been working. The bench that he hollowed out of the solid rock became his only resting place and open to all changes of weather it became ironically known as Anderson's "couch".

Anderson, a murderer, was later sent to Norfolk Island under the enlightened regime of Captain Alexander Maconochie, who was ultimately dismissed for his allegedly permissive treatment of convicts. Maconochie made the man who was chained to the rock a model for his views on the rehabilitation of convicts.

Anderson was put in charge of Norfolk Island's bullock teams but, after proving too physically weak for the job, was made a signalman instead. He was shipped back to Sydney in 1844 to continue his life of imprisonment on Cockatoo Island and then at the Tarban Creek lunatic asylum. By the cruellest twist of fate, he was again sent to Norfolk Island to suffer the most vicious regime of all - under John Price.

History loses sight of Anderson in 1856, when he was among the last Norfolk Island convicts to be transferred to Tasmania.

* * * * *

COCKATOO ISLAND: The origin of the name for this Island is much more straightforward than the naming of Goat Island. The Island was first referred to as Cockatoo in 1838 by Governor Gipps when he wrote that it was well wooded and frequented by a great many birds, especially cockatoos.

* See J M Freeland, *Architect Extraordinary - the Life and Work of John Horbury Hunt: 1838-1904*, (Melbourne 1970), p 118.

+ See M C Dobson, "John Lamb Lyon and Francis Ernest Stowe" in *Leichhardt Hist J* No 4 1973, p 8.

See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 December 1978, p 4.

Gipps had chosen the Island as a means of overcoming an extreme shortage of grain storage in the Colony. Although shipments of grain were not infrequent the consignments soon became spoiled by weevils and had to be destroyed.

Traditional silos were needed and methods used in Biblical times were employed to cut into solid rock to provide vermin-free storage. The site chosen on the Island was high up on the crown of the rock, well-drained and isolated from the inhabitants of Sydney.

The labour was to be supplied by convicts. In February 1839 60 prisoners were brought from Norfolk Island and placed on Cockatoo under military guard to begin the work of hewing away at the rock to excavate the silos. As well as the silos the convicts quarried stone for the many building projects in Sydney and for Circular Quay.

More than 20 bottle-shaped silos were excavated, each having a diameter of 22 feet and a depth of 19 feet with a manhole of two feet at the top. Each silo held from 3000 to 5000 bushels of wheat.

Working conditions were harsh in the dust of the confined spaces. A convict who fell behind in his daily excavation of rock was given no food and left in the hole until he had reached his quota.

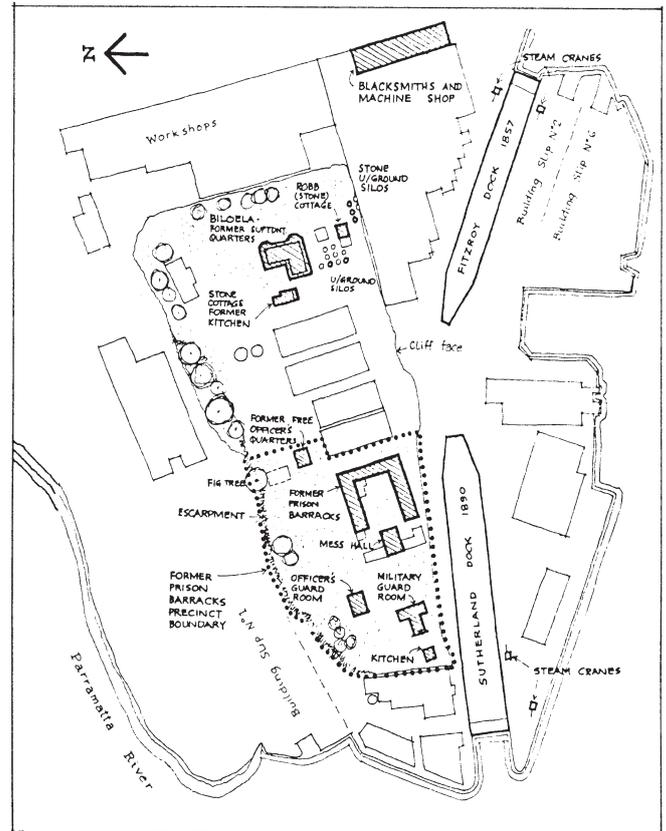
Governor Gipps notes his satisfaction with the speed of construction and the efficiency of storage in his despatch of 30 November 1840:

The quantity of wheat now stored in the underground granaries, or silos, which were excavated last year at Cockatoo Island, is 20,000 bushels, but additional silos are in progress, and if the price of wheat continues as low as it is now in Sydney, I propose the increase of the Government stores to any amount not exceeding 100,000 bushells. The silos of which I have spoken, are excavations in the solid sandstone rock shaped like a large bottle and having a capacity of up to 5,000 bushells each. Being hermetically sealed, grain of any kind may be preserved in them for years. The total exclusion of air also entirely destroys any weevil or other insects that may be in the grain at the time it is placed in the silos. This, we find, to be the case in the wheat which was received from India. It was much infected with weevil when put in the silos in December 1839, but there was not a living insect in it of any kind, when taken again from the silos in March last.

Work on Cockatoo Island was supervised by the Colonial Engineer, Captain George Barney, RE (1792-1862) who later became Surveyor-General and Chief Commissioner for Crown Lands.

While the wheat silos were under construction a full-scale penal settlement was decided upon and work began on the prison barracks using stone quarried from the Island. The extent of quarrying on Cockatoo must have been remarkable for it is said that the once fifty feet high Island was soon reduced to forty feet.

In 1841 when convict transportation ceased, Cockatoo ranked as the most important and secure prison in the Colony. In the following year the 323 prisoners included 165 iron-gang



COCKATOO ISLAND PRECINCT (National Trust Register)

men (men whose irons were never removed not even during working hours), 84 Norfolk Island, ex-pirees and 74 under Colonial sentence.

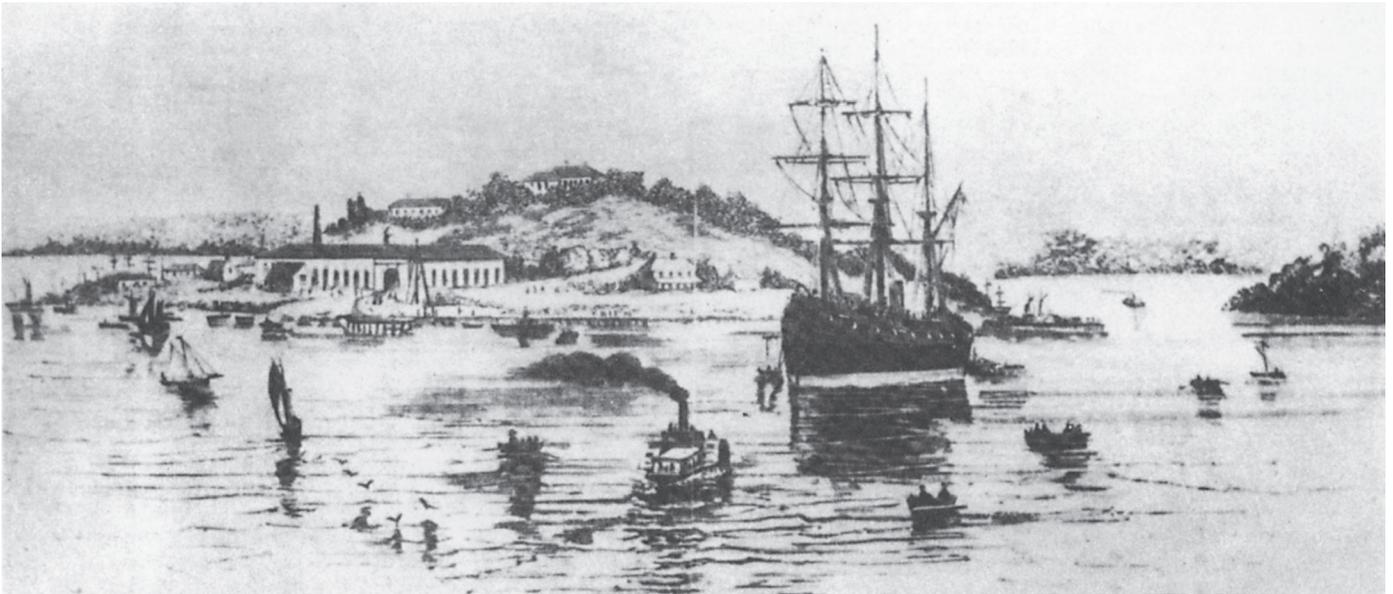
Gipps had commented upon the security of the Island prison by saying that it was "surrounded by deep water and yet under the very eye of Authority". Even though the escape of prisoners was unlikely there were some unsuccessful attempts. In 1842 William Westwood, known as Jacky Jacky, led a mass escape with 20 other men but they were soon recaptured by the Water Police. Jacky Jacky was later hanged at Norfolk Island.

There was only one successful escape from Cockatoo. Fred Ward, the notorious Captain Thunderbolt, had been serving a life sentence for cattle-stealing. On 11 September 1863 with another convict he swam ashore at Balmain in heavy fog. The other convict drowned but Ward got away and took to the bush. His career of robbery under arms in the north west of the State came to an end in 1870 when he was shot by a police constable at Uralla.

FITZROY DOCK: The next phase of Cockatoo's development began in 1846 when Governor Gipps announced his intention of putting convicts to work on constructing a dry dock. Cockatoo was well suited for this purpose because it had deep water, good quality stone and abundant labour.

Approval was given to the work in 1847 and construction of the dock began in 1851. Governor Sir Charles Fitz Roy laid the foundation stone of the new dock in 1853 to which he gave his name.

The first dock master and chief engineer was Henry Broderick who came from England on



COCKATOO ISLAND FROM BALMAIN: 1877

(Balmain Association)

the same vessel as the steam-driven pumping machinery, arriving in Sydney in 1853.

The real builder of the dock however was a distinguished military engineer, Gother Kerr Mann. Mann arrived in Sydney in 1827 and while supervising work on Cockatoo where he lived for 10 years. He later became the first Commissioner for Railways in New South Wales in 1855.

The dock was blasted out of the high sandstone cliffs by large charges of gunpowder fired by electricity - the first time that electric firing had been carried out in Australia. Mann's novel blasting technique attracted much attention and crowds gathered on White Horse Point, Balmain, expecting the whole island to be blown sky-high. The firing was perfectly executed however, because Mann himself constructed the galvanic battery and the necessary apparatus.

Mort's Dock, the other dock being constructed at the time, was finished with paid labour in twelve months while the convict-built Fitzroy Dock took six years to complete.

There was no competition between the two docks because Mort's Dock was for private ships while Fitzroy Dock received only Government vessels.

The first ship to enter Fitzroy Dock was HMS *Herald* in December 1857 to be followed regularly by other ships of the Royal Navy. **GOVERNMENT INQUIRY:** Conditions on the Island had always been bad for the prisoners. It was not until 1861 that Henry Parkes was able to lead a Select Committee to examine complaints of harshness, overcrowding and inadequate diet.

One of these complaints came to the notice of the people of Sydney in an unusual way. A bushranger, William Day, had been serving his sentence and his application for release on good behaviour was not forwarded by the prison authorities. After much frustration he hit upon a way of getting a message out of the Island.

Frank Gardner the bushranger was due for release and Day painted his petition on Gardiner's back in red ochre. When Gardiner

reached Sydney and the words read, a legal action was begun and Day was freed about twelve months later.

Other prisoners were not so fortunate. A police inspector testified to the Select Committee that he had seen prisoners at the ventilation openings of the dormitory gasping for air. It was found that many of the inmates left the prison more debased than on arrival.

The Committee discovered many instances of deprivation and their findings on the crowded conditions showed that 500 convicts were incarcerated in accommodation allowed for only 328.

After some alleviation of the desperate conditions on Cockatoo, the penal settlement was eventually disbanded in 1870.

BILOELA: The aboriginal work for Cockatoo, *Biloela*, was adopted for a new industrial school for girls established on the Island in 1871. The name *Biloela* was not given to the whole Island being reserved for the girls school only.

The first inmates of the school came from the Newcastle Industrial School in the SS *Morpeth* and on 27 May 1871 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported:

*The Morpeth which arrived from the Hunter River yesterday afternoon brought down sixty-nine of the girls from the Industrial School at Newcastle who are being removed to Cockatoo Island. Before proceeding to Cockatoo the steamer went to the Company's Wharf to discharge her deck cargo, and while there the girls who were located in the steerage put their heads out of the ports and indulged in a lot of low chaff, to the evident delight of a crowd of loafers who were on the wharf. The remainder of the girls will, we understand, be removed to Sydney by the *Thetis* and it is to be hoped that the change of residence will be the means of affecting a change for the better in the conduct of these unfortunate creatures.*

The girls school later became a reformatory for women and finally ceased to be a prison

when the new gaol at Long Bay was completed in 1908. In that year the name reverted to Cockatoo which it has been called ever since.

SUTHERLAND DOCK: In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the size of ships increased markedly and the Fitzroy Dock became inadequate for docking purposes. In 1880, the construction of a larger dock was approved by the New South Wales Government. Work began in October 1882 and later was supervised by Louis Samuel. He was to die aged only 26 just before the dock's completion but his expert engineering allowed the dock to be finished in 1890.

The new Sutherland Dock, named after the New South Wales Minister for Public Works was 653 feet long with 84 feet width of entrance. The Dock was lengthened in 1913 and reached its present length of 690 feet in 1927 when it was widened to 88 feet. With its depth of water over the sill at high water of 32 feet it could receive the largest vessels afloat.

Sutherland Dock was superseded in size by the giant Captain Cook Dock on Garden Island in 1945 but it is still in use. The aircraft carrier *Melbourne* has twice been docked even though the flared-out flight deck overhung the dock sides and the stern juttied out over the entry gate.

COCKATOO IN RECENT YEARS: In 1913 Cockatoo Island was taken over by the Commonwealth as a defence establishment and soon launched into the war effort. After the first World War, rumours of mismanagement on the Island brought it under the control of the Australian Commonwealth Shipping Board in 1923. Spectacle Island, the Navy's Armament Supply Depot, was also brought under that body.

During the later 1920s, shipbuilding on Cockatoo virtually ceased and it was decided to offer the complex for sale or lease to private enterprise. The Depression interrupted this proposal and it was not until 1933 that the Cockatoo Docks and Engineering Company took out a lease on the dockyard.

The Codock as it became known was a vital link in Australia's World War Two naval armament programme, building many ships and repairing others. It is usually agreed that the Dockyard was one of the prime targets in the Japanese midget-submarine attack on Sydney Harbour in 1942.

Announcement

SYDNEY CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

A teaching innovation is coming to fruition at Glebe Primary School in the form of a museum of the history of education (focussing on Sydney) and a resource centre for the local history of Glebe and Annandale.

Highlights of the education museum are a recreated classroom of the 1880s and the Department of Education's centenary photographic exhibition. This museum is as yet only in its infancy but is expected to grow and develop quickly and provide regularly changing displays of different aspects of the history of education.

A couple of rooms are devoted to the museum of Glebe and the surrounding inner-city area. These contain

An attack of a different sort took place on Friday 13 April 1945 when three masked men stole the £12 000 Codock payroll while the Island launch was waiting at the Drummoyne wharf. The robbery was the first in Australia in which a sub-machine gun was used as an offensive weapon and the planning and execution was so effective that the thieves have never been caught nor the money recovered.

In 1947, the Codock underwent a change of ownership. Vickers Limited, London, took over the majority of shares in the leasing company but the name did not change. Recently it became known as Vickers Cockatoo Dockyard Pty Ltd and because of security is not open to the public.

Cockatoo Island in 1977 had men belonging to 24 different unions working under 16 different awards. In previous years a number of these men were from the great British shipyards of Liverpool, the Clyde and the Tyne, many of them finding homes in Balmain and the other surrounding waterfront suburbs. Apprentices have been trained on the Island to carry on trades there and at other engineering places.

Both Goat Island and Cockatoo Island contain buildings and places of architectural and historical significance to the nation's heritage. It is essential that this heritage be constantly maintained by vigilant inspection, controlled development and sensitive management.

Goat and Cockatoo lie together off the mainland at Balmain but have provided very different backgrounds for the people who were free to work there and for those who were there without choice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: Information on Goat Island was supplied by the Maritime Services Board. The author's task in compiling the article on Cockatoo Island was facilitated by the work of R G Parker whose *Cockatoo Island: a history*, (Melbourne 1977), is the definitive account of the development of the Island from its earliest days.

photographs, maps, documents and objects illustrating the life and development of Glebe - particularly the school which is approaching its 125th birthday.

A Schools Commission grant has made it possible to employ a historian, Dr Alan Roberts, full time for one year to develop the holdings of historical resources. A range of booklets, which will interest the local school children in the history of their surroundings, will also be published. The museum will be an on-going facility.

The idea for the Sydney Centre for Educational and Social History was conceived by Bill Collins, Deputy Principal of Glebe Primary School.

We welcome inquiries and tours, and would be especially glad of any donations of material suitable to displays of educational and local history.

Photocopying of originals, which people treasure, can be easily arranged. Address inquiries to Glebe Primary School, Derwent Street, Glebe 2037, 660 4549.

Index: LHJ Nos. 1-8

<u>LHJ No. 1 1971</u>		Page	Reviews:	20	"John Cavill: A Cornish Stonemason", P Reynolds	3
Editorial: The foundation of this Journal, A. Roberts		2	M. Kelly, Burrawong and John Young, by Alan Roberts		"The Annandale Gates Re-erected", A Roberts	9
"Remains of Birchgrove House", R. Irving		3	<u>LHJ No. 4 1973</u>		"St James' Church Forest Lodge", J Fletcher	11
"William and Annie Miller", D. Kernohan		3	"Remains of the Second Balmain Presbyterian Church", P. Reynolds	2	"Leichhardt Post Office", Australia Post	14
"Robert James Stuart-Robertson", R. Stuart-Robertson		5	"John Lamb Lyon and Francis Ernest Stowe", M.C. Dobson	5	"Up the Tigers': The Balmain Football Club's First Seventy Years", P Reynolds	16
"Responses of the Balmain People to the Depression", N. Wheatley		7	"My Granny, the Abbess", M. Quinn	8	Publications for Sale	25
"Bishopsgate Estate, 1841-1861", M. Solling		11	"The Architecture of the Glebe Presbyterian Church", J. Jackson	9	Publications	25
"Lot 48 Darling St., Balmain", J. Engle, P. Reynolds, R. Wise		13	"The History of the Glebe Presbyterian Church", M. Solling	10	Index LHJ: 1971-1978	26-27
Reviews:		18	"Relics of John Young", A. Roberts	16	Notes and Queries	27
A. Roberts, <u>Balmain in Time, a Record of an Historic Suburb and Some of its Buildings</u> , by P. Reynolds, R. Irving			Review:	19	Salvation Army Sunday School, Annandale B Mason.	
A. Roberts, <u>Setting For A Campus, A pen Sketch commentary on the environs of the University of Sydney</u> , by A. Gamble		19	R. Irving, <u>Colonial Heritage - Historic Buildings of New South Wales</u> , by F. and J. Leary		The Balmain Waterfront Study, Balmain Street Name Index, J Bates & P Reynolds	
Previously Published Articles		19	<u>LHJ No. 5 1975</u>		The Making of Sporting Traditions in Glebe, Biographical Index of Glebe, Balmain, Leichhardt and Annandale Aldermen, M Solling.	
Notes and Queries:		20	"A Theatre of Suburbs", M. Solling	2	Reviews	27-28
History of Glebe, F. Stamper			"The Barquentine <u>Alexa</u> in Rozellé Bay", M. Quinn	8	M Solling, <u>Hunter Baillie: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Annandale</u> , by A Roberts & E Malcolm.	
Other Relics of Birchgrove House, R. Irving			"Excavating the Second Balmain Presbyterian Church", J. Wade	10	B Mason, <u>The Glebe: Portraits and Places</u> ; L Lynch, <u>Rozelle Public School: 1878-1978, A Centenary Celebration</u> , by P Reynolds.	
Balmain Miscellany, P. Reynolds			"Annandale's Cinemas", M. Quinn	11	<u>LHJ No 8 1979</u>	
A Plan for Annandale, B. Mason			"The Glebe Congregational Church", M. Solling	16	Editorial: Local History Resources for School Use, P Reynolds	2
Annandale Miscellany, A. Roberts			Reviews:	19	"Robert Johnston: Naval Officer, Explorer and Landowner", K J Cable	3
<u>LHJ No. 2 1972</u>			P. Reynolds, <u>St. Andrews Congregational Church, Balmain - A Short History</u> , by E. Bladon Letts		"James McDonald: Architect of Balmain", J Flower	4
Editorial: Local Historical Studies, M. Solling		2	A. Roberts, <u>Victorian Ceramic Tiles</u> , by J. Barnard		"Reminiscences of North Annandale Public School", M Quinn	10
"Lyndhurst 1: Its History", F. MacDonnell		3	<u>LHJ No. 6 1975</u>		"John Ward: Blue Bird Hunter of Balmain", P Reynolds	12
"Lyndhurst 2: Its Architecture", C. Lucas		7	"The Residents' Perception of Annandale", L. Kwong	2	"Leichhardt: The Origin of the Name", J Bates	15
"Lyndhurst 3: Its Furniture", K. Fahy		8	"Rowntree's Warehouses, Balmain", M. Baldwin, et al	5	"Robert Blake: Soldier, Sheriff and Spec.	16
"Annandale's Johnston Era". A. Roberts		11	"The Pubs of Glebe", M. Solling	8	Builder", P Reynolds	16
Notes and Queries:		16	"Annandale Children's Games c 1915", M. Quinn	18	"Rozelle Public School: 1878-1901", P Reynolds	24
Naked in Rozelle, M. Greene			Reviews:		"Football in Sydney: 1870-1920", M Solling	24
Lilyfield, M.G. Horsley			A. Roberts, <u>Who Murdered Doctor Wardell of Petersham? An Historical Tragedy</u> , by T. Kenny		Publication for Sale	31
<u>LHJ No. 3 1972</u>			A. Roberts, <u>The Architectural Character of Glebe, Sydney</u> , by B. and K. Smith		Index LHJ: 1971-1978	31
"The Balmain Cemetery", M. Solling		2	<u>LHJ No. 7 1978</u>		Reviews:	31-32
"Callan Park Hospital for the Insane", D.I. McDonald		4	Editorial: Local History and Publishing Grants, P Reynolds.	2	L Lynch, <u>Balmain: 1800-1882, the Gilchrist Settlement - a basic search plan</u> by P Reynolds	
"The Balmain Watch House", W. Pearson and P. Reynolds		8			R Irving, <u>A Pictorial History of Balmain Peninsula from 1788</u> (author unknown)	
"Edward Hunt, Cabinetmaker", K. Fahy		13				
"Harold Park Race Track", M. Quinn		15				
"Ferdinand Hamilton Reuss Senior", R. Wilson & N. Patrick		16				

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Reviews

Max Kelly, *A Certain Sydney: 1900*, Doak Press, Sydney 1978; illustrated. \$5.50.

A casual reader leafing through Max Kelly's book would be forgiven for exclaiming, "Rats", for that is what it seems to be about. Federation fever and bubonic plague hit Sydney in 1900 but were as unlike each other as a hungry child and an aldermanic paunch. The plague-spreading rats recognised these social niceties and attacked where they could do most harm - among the overcrowded and underfed poor of Sydney. Rat-catching ceased to be a living and became vital to survival.

But the book is not only concerned with rats. It records the campaign to eradicate insanitary conditions in the dwellings of the Rocks and Chinatown. As well as revealing the drama of the plague itself, the street people come vividly to life. Many unsavoury habits are revealed like the sight of the "unidentified butcher's yard" with sausages hanging next to water closets. These images live long in the mind after closing the book's soft covers.

Actually the book is a record of a record. The City's sanitary authorities sensibly decreed that the streets, houses and backyards of plague-ridden areas must be photographed and it is on this official collection that Kelly founds his book, rats and all.

It would be easy to say that the photographs speak for themselves. They certainly give a stark account of what it was like to be an impoverished, shabbily dressed denizen of Caraher's Lane in the Rocks. They present a squalor which the present-day nostalgia for old things cannot sweep under the carpet.

It is a hidden Sydney that Kelly helps us to perceive with a few carefully chosen words such as "gas lamp, billy-cart and well-trodden step" in one of his full-page street scenes. He has also made many succinct social comments on the times. It is interesting to read his report of distressed European women crossing over to live in the Chinese community where they were more highly and kindly regarded.

It is obvious that the book's format is determined by the horizontality of the photographic material. By not being submerged in acres of text, the photographs are allowed to express for themselves the appalling conditions that caused them to be taken. The omission of page numbers, however, detracts from what is otherwise a very well-organized publication.

Max Kelly and the Sydney History Group are to be congratulated for ferreting out such collections. When put before the public eye especially those who do not have access to library collections, these pictures help to de-romanticize the past, and tell it the way it really was.

We now have a history of the demolition of the 1900 rat-infested Rocks. Can we look forward to a similar publication to record the rebuilt Rocks area before it is destroyed a second time. Rats are not the reason for the current transformation.

Peter Reynolds

Peter L Reynolds and Paul V Flottman, *Half a Thousand Acres, Balmain, A history of the land grant*, Sydney, The Balmain Association, 1976, price \$9.95, pp xvi + 148.

A history of a land grant may not seem, at first sight, everyone's cup of tea, but this is a fascinating story and is based on meticulous research.

The book makes a significant contribution to at least two areas of Australian historical scholarship. It is, first, the fullest account yet of the life of an important First Fleeter, Dr William Balmain, and makes a careful analysis of the seemingly unlikely transaction by which he sold the Balmain grant to the Calcutta-based linguist and scholar, John Gilchrist for 5/-. Inevitably with pioneering research, not all things are seen in proper proportion. Balmain's work and tribulations as a magistrate, for instance, can now be assessed in the light of J M Draper's thesis on the early colonial medical profession.* His elevation to the magistracy at Norfolk Island, for example, was not so much the result of Lt Governor King's recognition of his zeal, as it was a normal expectation of doctors in the colonial service, being members of the class of officers and gentlemen (i.e. civil and military officers) who were pretty thin on the ground and whose extra services the government could command at no extra cost. Such additional duties were often arduous and irksome to the doctors, and one wonders if the consequent overwork and tension contributed to Balmain's fatal illness.

Regarding the sale of the land grant to Gilchrist, Reynolds and Flottman present what is likely to remain the last word. There is an element of exaggeration in the extent to which the reasons for the sale and its mechanics are said to be "one of the classic mysteries of early Australian history", but the authors have been very diligent in setting out the evidence, arguing their own case, and making clear what is supposition and what is unknown. It is a model of clear exposition of a tangled problem. They had here the help of extensive investigation of the historical context of such mercantile trading and adventuring, though one senses they felt a little out of their depth on this subject. Their analysis does not advance understanding of the process of trading at that time, but is valuable in exploring in depth the story of one incident in the process.

The second area in which this book makes a contribution to historical scholarship is that of Australian urban history, in particular the transitional stage from bush and agricultural use etc to sprawling suburbia. It was this transition, with its financial bonanza, which made possible, and relevant, the saga of the Gilchrist Trust. Decisions concerning subdivisions made at this stage are likely to have a long effect on subsequent suburban history, and are well worth clear delineation. This is certainly so in Balmain's case, and this part of the book is full of human interest. The authors seem more confident in this section of the book also. Yet it is no more than an outline, leaving plenty of scope for more detailed analysis of the social history of the suburban take-off, of the kind being done by Leslie Lynch.

Overall, despite a slightly pedantic touch, *Half a Thousand Acres* is a work of scholarship that will have a permanent value. It is attractively produced and a credit to the Balmain Association.

Alan Roberts

* B A Hons thesis, Macquarie University, 1980