DUNGOG SHIRE HERITAGE STUDY

THEMATIC HISTORY

by

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 1: The Natural Environment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 2: The Aborigines</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 3: Discovery, Exploration and Early Settlement</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 4: The First Wave: Land Settlement 1820 – c1836</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 5: The Early Government Influence</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 6: The Growth of Towns and Transport Networks</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 7: The Development of Communities</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 8: Industries</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 9: Post-war Period: Looking Back for the Future</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

The history of Dungog Shire presents a vivid kaleidoscope of the movement of peoples, the enterprise of individuals, the impact of economic conditions and of technological innovations, the rise and decline of towns, and the development of strong communities. The factors are interacting; the fabric of the past is closely woven.

In this attempt to understand the Shire's past, and thus its present landscapes and material culture, the subject has been divided into nine themes focusing on key aspects of the Shire's development, and these themes are interrelated in order to reflect the past holistically, as a "fabric". Important conclusions are drawn out and the nature of the area's history assessed, and each theme forms a contextual basis for the understanding and interpretation of the Shire's rich and varied natural and cultural heritage.

It must be stressed that this study is limited in that it is based on the secondary written material available, together with pictorial evidence, early maps, and information collected in interviews with local historians. It should therefore not be seen as a final study, but rather as a useful beginning, hopefully providing the impetus and framework for the detailed primary research the area deserves.
Dungog Shire is located approximately 150 kms north east of Sydney and its southern boundary is approximately 40 km north-north-west of Newcastle. Its boundaries generally follow a ring of ranges including those to the west of the Paterson River, the rugged Barrington Tops plateaux to the north, and the flanking range east of the Chichester and Williams Rivers. The Shire encompasses the valleys of the Paterson, Williams, Allyn, Chichester and Wangat Rivers and it was these rivers and their associated vegetation and soils which most influenced the shape of later European settlement (see Fig. 1).

The area may be seen both physiographically and historically as part of the Hunter River Valley, the only one of a belt of coastal lowlands which penetrates the eastern highlands of New South Wales. The Hunter Valley is bounded on the south by the scarp of Hawkesbury sandstone, and on the north by "high, deeply dissected carboniferous Ranges", the Barrington Tops area. The northernmost section of Dungog Shire falls within this plateau which reaches to around 5,000 feet. The Shire's five rivers, as well as the Hunter itself in the west and the Gloucester, Barrington and Manning tributaries in the east rise in the swampy valleys and "descend steeply with rapids and waterfalls through deep gorges, dropping as much as 3,000 feet in 8 miles".

Both the Williams and Paterson Rivers join the Hunter near its mouth and occupy valleys divided by ranges into two distinct portions: a narrow upper one with limited alluvial flats; and a wider, lower one abutting and forming part of the Hunter Valley proper. The constriction of both valleys occurs about 12 kilometres above the confluence with the Hunter, and the lower valleys contain extensive flood plains with portions of swampy land. There are also several swampy areas in the Upper Williams Valley, which also has wider alluvial terraces than the Paterson. In the areas just south of Paterson township, the river flats feature several billabongs, affording a potential wetland habitat. There is a considerable stretch of level and undulating land around Dungog and along the lower courses of the Williams River.
Fig. 1: Dungog Shire showing river valleys and Barrington Tops.
While the Barrington Tops area is basalt capped Devonian Carboniferous rock with intrusive granites, the basal unit of most of the rest of the district is sedimentary rock. This is reflected in the naturally poor soils in many areas, contrasting with the rich river alluvials. In places the sedimentary formation is overlain by igneous rocks, giving rise to better soils, and the most recent formations are conglomerates. Basalt-capped hills rising to around 1,000 feet form the dividing range between the Paterson and Williams Valleys and most of this is cleared and used as pasture. These steep slopes are predominantly covered by shallow lithosols, while the undulating land below features red and yellow podsolics. The richest soils are the alluvials on the river and creek flats, and these vary considerably throughout the Hunter Valley. Most are rather sandy (fine sandy loams or sandy silts) and are darker and richer where they contain material washed from basaltic areas. Sandy clay soils and clay silts are found in the lower Hunter.

The district's surviving original vegetation directly reflects the various types of landform and soils. The valley floors of the Barrington Tops have a woodland vegetation in which white and yellow box trees, red ironbark, white cypress, kurrajongs, spotted gums and angophoras are widely spaced in grasslands dominated by spear and wallaby grasses. Where the wide treeless swamps occur a growth of sphagnum moss is found. The slopes bear a fairly close wooded or mixed forest of eucalypts (snow gums, mountain gums), cypress pines, angophoras and kurrajongs, and some of the variety of other interesting vegetation is unique to the area. In the higher, wetter, more protected valleys of the east are found dense rainforests. Some of these rainforest trees, particularly red cedar, were also originally found in a quasi-rainforest in parts of the Paterson Valley where there were areas of alluvium that were not repeatedly flooded. The Paterson was in fact originally named 'Cedar Arm'. Other trees in this temperate rainforest would have included white cedar, black bean, flame tree, silky oak and native fig. Other areas of the broad alluvial flat along the rivers were thinly timbered grassy plains (paperbarks and oaks). The foothills behind them and the watershed ranges between the rivers would have
been covered with a Eucalpyt forest, with coastal box and apple on the better soils, and spotted gum, forest red gum and ironbarks on the poorer soils.\textsuperscript{10}

Most of the region receives an average rainfall of 1000 mm, increasing towards the north to the heavy falls experienced in the Barrington Tops (up to 2,500 mm). Winter snowfalls are not uncommon on the plateau, but the snow does not lie on the ground for long.\textsuperscript{11} The Shire's climate is, like that of the lower Hunter, wetter than the areas of the Upper Hunter, a factor which lead to the early division of landuse - the pastoralists took up the drier areas to the north while the lower Hunter went to the agriculturalists.\textsuperscript{12} This pattern is reflected on a smaller scale within the Shire during the early years. Crops were grown on the fertile river flats and the better land adjoining it, while the upper foothills and slopes were utilized for cattle grazing.

Floods have had the most dramatic impact on European settlement. They are generally caused by heavy rains on the tributaries descending from the mountains, but sometimes (1930, 31) by heavy local rain. Large areas of the lower reaches of the valleys are irregularly inundated - for example, floods may occur for a number of consecutive years, followed by a five-year flood free period. The same irregularity occurred between 1830 and 1850, when floods and freshes in 1832, 1834, 1840 and 1841 were interspersed with dry and drought periods (1831, 1837-39, 1842, 1845-47 and 1850).\textsuperscript{13}

Of the Shire's three topographical components - the rivers and their flats, the foothills, and the plateaux - it was the first which most closely shaped the multifarious activities of the area's human inhabitants. The Williams and Paterson Rivers brought the first white explorers searching for good land, timber and coal and also the subsequent early, shifting population of timber getters who camped on the banks and used the waters to float down rafts of red cedar. The area's stock of precious timber rapidly vanished and the men moved northwards. After the valley was opened up to free settlers in 1822, the area's pioneers were drawn, as they had been since the establishment of the colony, to the rich
alluvials along the river flats. They continued the clearing operations, and planted wheat, maize, tobacco and grape vines, and harnessed the rivers to water wheels for grinding their wheat and corn. The waterways also provided access to markets and sources of goods, for land-links with Sydney over the sandstone plateaux to the south were slow, difficult and tedious, in spite of the massive application of convict labour to the Great North Road between 1826 and 1836. The growth in river trade during the nineteenth century and the availability of materials fostered a booming shipbuilding industry around Clarence Town and also at Paterson. During the 1870's and 1880's these towns became, by virtue of their locations near the heads of navigation on the Williams and Paterson Rivers, busy ports through which the produce of this flourishing area was directed. The availability of clear, clean water also encouraged the establishment of the numerous creameries, butter and cheese factories in the area during the ascendancy of the dairy industry from the 1890s.

The rivers thus dictated the location of towns, and, with their dividing watersheds, defined and delineated one district from another, for example, the Paterson area from the Clarence Town - Dungog area; the Gresford - Allynbrook area from the Chichester - Bandon Grove area. In the narrow upper valleys, far beyond the heads of navigation, the more numerous water courses were barriers, rather than means of conveyance, and they forced the development of the myriad small settlement centres and communities so characteristic of the Shire's northern area. Each had a school and maybe a church, but gradually, as the numerous bridges were opened and the coming of motor transport broke down the barriers, these small settlements declined and/or disappeared.

Encouraged by such advisors as Henry Dangar (1828) the settlers brought with them seeds of plants, and grasses in particular, some of which later became pests. By the 1890's tussock grass and paddy's lucerne were being laboriously cut out and burnt, and the problem of nut grass, reputedly brought in by George Townsend of Trevallyn in the 1820's, still plagues the area, along with the ubiquitous lantana.14
The caprice of climatic conditions offset the high yields of good years. Dangar in 1828 expressed the dilemma of the rich yet flood-prone alluvial plains. Floods, in spite of the damage they caused:

...cannot be held as an objection to the possession of lands on banks .... settlers are indebted for the fertile meadows they occupy .... without such lands as these, this part of N.S.W. would have no particular fertility to boast of, nor would the soil offer any great inducement for the labour of agriculture.\(^{15}\)

He had not yet seen the terrible destruction of the great floods to come. The waters could rise overnight, drowning people and animals, ruining entire crops, and sweeping away building and valuable land. Wetness brought the end of wheat and tobacco growing in the areas in the 1860's and 1870's with the onset of rust and blue mould. The flourishing early vineyards of Cawarra, Lewinsbrook and Gostwyck, around Gresford, also eventually ceased and the wine industry became centred in the drier Pokolbin region.

Following the drought years of the early twentieth century, and with the great increase in population in the mining areas of the lower Hunter, the Chichester River Gravitational Scheme was approved in 1915 and work began on the damming of the Chichester and Wangat Rivers in 1918. The project involved hundreds of workers, was completed in 1925 and began supplying an enormously increased quantity of water to the entire lower Hunter Valley.\(^{16}\) After the 1965 drought, tenders were called in 1968 for the construction of Lostock Dam on the upper reaches of the Paterson River.\(^{17}\)

The region where the rivers rise, the Barrington Tops, was declared a national park in January 1968 and extended in the same year. Although the Barrington Tops League, formed by Dungog businessmen in the 1920's, hoped for the Tops' popularity to match that of the booming Blue Mountains, this never eventuated.\(^{18}\) The park has however drawn campers and hikers over the century, while the fertile river valleys with their historic towns and undulating hills also attract tourists each weekend. The lower valleys have also been favoured by hobby farmers seeking rural retreat from the urban centres of...
Newcastle and Sydney. The north eastern part of the Shire, encompassing the farming valleys of the Williams, Chichester, Allyn and Paterson Rivers within the foothills of the Barrington Plateau, has been classed as a scenic protection area by the National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.) and is under consideration for a classified listing as a Landscape Conservation Area.
THEME 1 : THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

NOTES.

1. D.N. Jeans, An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901, Sydney, 1972, p.32.


4. Perry, p.54.


9. Archer, p.3; Perry, p.54.

10. Perry, p. 55; Hunter 2000, p.20; Archer, p.3.

11. Archer, p.2; Brock, p.1; Hunter 2000, p.20; Perry, p.12.


15. Dangar, p.45.


18. Scone Advocate 30 January 1968 and 23 February 1968; Information Sheet prepared by Barrington Tops League, c1923, held in Newcastle Local History Library, Local History Files.

THEME 2 : THE ABORIGINES

Margrit Koettig

Dungog Shire was occupied by Aboriginal people up to about forty thousand years before the European invasion. Unfortunately, very little ethnohistoric evidence of Aboriginal occupation in the area is available. In her recent review of the source material for the whole Hunter Valley area, Brayshaw noted that:

Unfortunately few Europeans took time to record anything of the Aborigines who before 1830 had ceased effective resistance and whose society and very persons had suffered irreparably.

The tribal affiliations of the Aboriginal people inhabiting the area of Dungog Shire cannot be clearly defined. Howitt, writing of the tribes of south-east Australia in 1904, concluded that the people inhabiting the Williams and Paterson River valleys belonged to one "tribe" though there appeared to be some difference between them:

Their (Gringais) territory extended up the valley of the Williams and its tributaries to their sources and southwards for about 8 miles below Dungog. There were 'Nurras' (local groups) all over the district, at convenient distances apart, each of which consisted of 6-9 huts or families. In the 1840's the blacks of this tract of land numbered about 250 all told. They intermarried with the people of the Paterson River and those of the Gloucester River.

Brayshaw included the people of this area with the Worimi who were centred in the Port Stephens area. There is a report of people from the Dungog area fighting with the Port Stephens group. The relationships between the Aborigines living on the coast with those living in the Dungog area is not clear.

Other references to the Aborigines of the general Dungog area referred to campsites, exchange of goods, limited aspects of diet, initiation grounds and burial practices. These are tabulated in Table 1. A great deal more information is available for Aboriginal people who lived in the Port Stephens area which is environmentally very different to the
Dungog Shire area in terms of landforms, availability of foods etc. Information about people from the west is very scant, and this area was inhabited by another "tribe" (the Geawal). At a general level all Aboriginal groups shared certain behaviours, in terms of their nomadic lifestyle, their complex ritual life, the types of material culture items used, e.g. spears, clubs, wooden vessels, digging sticks, bark huts etc. Where information is available in other parts of Australia, it has been shown that the specifics of these aspects (i.e. the form of the ceremonies undertaken, designs to decorate the material items, the precise range of objects used etc.) varied from group to group. This variation was related to both cultural causes as well as the different available raw materials. Hence it would not be valid to suggest that the specific information available for the customs and material culture of people living in the Port Stephens area could be used to describe people living away from this coastal strip, even though it is suggested that they may have been the same tribe.

Exchange of goods was recorded between the Aborigines of Port Stephens and "inland". Threlkeld reported that in the winter of 1826 Biraban, his Aboriginal assistant, 'went to the mountains with upwards of 60 spears to exchange for opossum chord made of the fur'4 This suggests differential resource exploitation of the Aborigines living in these two different types of environmental areas.

On the Karuah River which runs parallel to the Williams River, slightly to the east of the present study area, Dawson noted the location of Aboriginal campsites:

At the foot of one of these hills, and at the margin of the brook, we met with a native encampment, consisting of eight or ten gunyers. We...ascended a small rise, on top of which we found an encampment...the gunyers were exactly the same...5

The Karuah lies in country similar to that of the Williams and lower Paterson Rivers. The size of the encampment is similar to those noted by Howitt for the Dungog area. It is also of interest that these camps were located on rises, as this is the only reference to the
Table 1: Early observations of Aborigines in the Dungog Shire area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Williams River</td>
<td>We saw several traces of the natives, both young and old, and passed some canoes, which are small and rudely put together. <em>(Brayshaw Table B.2)</em></td>
<td>8/July/1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams River</td>
<td>We...described some of them at a distance, who fled at our approach. We came to a spot, which they had just quitted and observed the marks of children's feet. The ground was covered with the shells of fresh water fish, of the sort found in the rivers of England and Scotland and called the horse muscle, having sometimes small pearls in them. <em>(Brayshaw Table B.2)</em></td>
<td>July/1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dungog area</td>
<td>Fern root <em>(Bungwall)</em> eaten. It was roasted in the ashes and pounded to a paste between two stones. <em>(Brayshaw 5.1)</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wallaroba (south of Dungog)</td>
<td>One of the blacks brought our host a small species of Kangaroo, called in this Colony a Paddy-melon; it is about the size of a hare, which it is said to resemble when roasted. <em>(Backhouse 1843:401)</em></td>
<td>July/1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dungog area</td>
<td>In the Gringa tribe individuals fought a personal quarrel with any weapons at hand, but in cases of serious offences...the offender had to stand with a shield, while a certain number of spears, according to the magnitude of the crime, were thrown at him. <em>(Howitt 1904:343)</em></td>
<td>1840's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dungog area</td>
<td>In the Gringai country there were places where numbers of blacks were buried, at least since the year 1830 and it was probably a continuation of the old system. The dead were carried many miles to this place. <em>(Howitt 1904:364)</em></td>
<td></td>
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The number of references to Aborigines and their lifestyle in the Dungog area did not increase after European settlers were established there, and those which are available are in the form of reminiscences or local histories sometimes based on the earlier information referred to above.

Brian Brock (1957) provides an interesting account of the Aborigines and the origin of the name for Dungog:

'Munni' is the Aboriginal name for the locality and it means 'a good hunting ground'. The Aborigines found kangaroos, wallabies, possums and other game here in plenty and so there were several camps in the locality. 'Dungog' is an Aboriginal name too, meaning in Awabakal dialect, the place of the thinly wooded hills/ Tunkok or Tungog.6

Brock also notes that Aboriginal campsites are known in Dungog: at the corner of the showground and in the location of the rifle range. He also mentions that the Aborigines "held corroborees at Taylors and McLennons Flats".7

R.E. Anderson, writing of his reminiscences of the Martins Creek area, mentions that in 1851, when the first European family settled at Martins Creek, Aborigines were their only neighbours and that they exchanged honey for bread, clothing and flour.8

In his reminiscences of life in the Paterson River valley, J. Tucker recalled several aspects of Aboriginal life also:

Even in my day (referring to the 1840's and 50's) the blackfellows were numerous. Many camps existed around the town (i.e. Paterson). They lived by hunting and fishing - fish, wildfowl and animals being abundant. They were expert at spearing fish and they made nets to catch wild duck... Their canoes were made of a sheet of bark from a big tree... Another interesting site was to see them climbing trees, going up to any height, cutting slight steps in the bark of the tree... And I have seen a blackfellow climb a tree in this way and cut out a stinging bees nest nearly 150 feet from the ground... Before white men came they used stone axes for this
He also mentioned that in the early 1840's, when his parents first came to Dungog, that he saw approximately 200 Aborigines set out to fight the Aborigines from Port Stephens.

W.J. Enright recalled that:
My old friend the late John Hopson stated that he had been informed by the late J.W. Boydell that in the summer time the Paterson River blacks ascended the Barrington Tops area via the Allyn River Valley and on a visit in Dec. 1915, we found a stone axe on the tableland.

The above information about the Aborigines who had lived in the area now covered by Dungog Shire is thus very scant. European diseases, punitive action and the effects of dispossession led to the rapid breakdown of their society and hence the opportunity to record their culture in detail was lost.

However the evidence does show that Aboriginal people had lived along the Williams and Paterson Rivers in relatively large numbers - that is large numbers in the sense that the highest population figures for the Port Stephens area, a very 'rich' environment on the coast, was "nearly 200", though it would appear that the area involved was much smaller.

The aboriginal sites which have been recorded in Dungog Shire are also relatively few in number, but are widely distributed and occur in a variety of landsystems and topographic areas. They also include a relatively wide range of site types, including open artefact scatters (Vacy, Mt. Rivers, Lagoon Pinch); scarred trees (Martins Creek); carved trees (Allynbrook); grinding grooves (Paterson); burials (Dungog); and stone arrangement (Red Hill). The future location, investigation and proper management of sites such as these will greatly enhance an understanding of the area's aboriginal people and their way of life.
THEME 2 : THE ABORIGINES

NOTES.


2. A. Howitt, The Native Tribes of South-East Australia, 1904, p.85.


4. Threkeld cited in Brayshaw, 4.8, 4.11.


7. Ibid, pp. 6,8,15.


THEME 3: DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT.

The process of white occupation of Dungog Shire which resulted in the dramatic alteration of its valleys and flats, and ultimately in the end of its first inhabitants, began with the discovery of the Hunter River in 1797. Less than ten years after the arrival of the first fleet, Lieutenant John Shortland located the mouth of the river and, following his visit, at least two ships made their way along the coast to it, one returning with a cargo of coal and cedar.¹

The small colony at this stage had already expanded to fill the isolated areas of good soil on the Cumberland Plain, and by 1804 most of these favoured parts had been taken up. The unknown area beyond the Blue Mountains to the west still tantalized the colonists but continued to remain firmly out of reach.² By water, however, the formidable land barriers surrounding Cumberland could be circumvented and Governor King, in a spirit of inquiry and with a vague vision of a future export trade in coal, instructed Lieutenant Colonel Paterson and Lieutenant Grant to explore Hunter's River in 1801. They were to report on "where the most eligible place would be to form a settlement, both with respect to procuring coals and for agricultural purposes". King most likely foresaw the need for fresh lands arising from the growing ranks of emancipists and free settlers.³

Paterson and Grant returned aboard their vessel, the Lady Nelson, on July 25, having explored the Hunter (which they named the Paterson), to about 50 miles inland, and the Williams (which they thought the main stream and named the Hunter) to 25 miles inland, about 4 miles upstream from the present site of Clarence Town. (See Fig. 2). The latter trip appears to have been made by row-boat.

Although the land along the lower Hunter was reported to be low, swampy and prone to flooding, on the Williams they saw stands of fine forest land "but very thinly interspersed with lofty trees, and sometimes indeed acres without a tree, the soil in general good and the grass luxuriant". They found no cedar on
Fig. 2: "Coal Harbour and rivers on the coast of N.S.W. surveyed by Ensign Barrallier in the Lady Nelson in June and July 1801". Barrallier's map shows the Williams marked as the Hunter River (Mitchell Library)
the Williams, although timber getters later located stands further upstream. Paterson concluded that the Williams "from the excellent soil in its neighbourhood and not subject to floods, would .... be a very fit situation for forming a settlement for the cultivation of grain or grazing." The devastation caused by floods was a lesson learned by later settlers.4

For reasons of security rather than quality of land, it was the Paterson rather than the Williams which received the area's first farmers. Although the report of Charles Grimes, who explored the Paterson River in October 1801, mentioned dense stands of kurrajong and cedar, the quality of grasses and evidence of flooding, it did not describe the area as being suitable for agriculture.5 Ironically, the alluvial flats of the Paterson Valley later became one of the richest agricultural areas of the colony.

An initial attempt at establishing a coal-mining settlement at Newcastle in 1801 was shortlived and the small party of convicts and their military guard were recalled in 1802. Following the Irish insurrection at Castle Hill and Parramatta in 1804, King re-established the settlement as secondary penal colony, a place of punishment for convicts who had committed fresh crimes since their arrival in the colony. The site was considered suitably isolated and secure, since it lacked land-links with Sydney over the surrounding rugged, barren ranges, and its unknown bushland and reputedly hostile native population would deter escapees. King also hoped that coal produced there would supply the colony as well as stimulate an iron working industry. The mines were not manned by the generally unskilled second-offence convicts, however, but by any convicts with mining experience arriving in the colony. Most of the men under secondary sentence worked on the town's buildings and roads, and on the wharf. A few were also engaged in salt making (abandoned 1808), cutting timber and lime burning.6

While the Hunter Valley was officially closed to free settlers, in 1812 a few well-behaved convicts were allowed plots of land on the alluvial flats at Patersons Plains (present vicinity of Woodville) on a quasi-official
basis as "tenants at will". This area lies outside Dungog Shire and this earliest settlement preceded and for the main part contrasted with the later settlement within it. The experiment was successful and after Macquarie's visit in 1818 more farms were allocated at Wallis Plains. These earliest settlers grew maize, wheat and barley which they cultivated with hoes and sent to Sydney for sale, while at the same time the population of Newcastle lived mainly on salt pork and grain brought up from Sydney. They put up wattle and daub houses and barns with thatched roofs, established vegetable gardens and peach orchards and kept pigs in sties and yards. By the early 1820's the grants ranged in size between 11 and 60 acres and were clustered irregularly at Paterson's, Wallis' and Patrick's Plains. (See Fig. 3) Nelson's Plain, at the confluence of the Williams and Hunter, was for some time considered too exposed to the depredations of both natives and escaped convicts, and settlement did not begin until a military station was established there by 1820, along with a government farm, a courthouse and a government house.

Parts of the Hunter Valley were also occupied by the early cedar-parties. While parties of well-behaved convicts were placed at Wallis Plains on the later site of Maitland on a semi-permanent basis, transient groups of timber getters probably also combed the banks of the Paterson (originally known as Cedar Arm), and much of the temperate rainforest had been stripped of cedar by 1821. The men put up temporary, rough huts of bark or slabs, both on the river banks and on the massive rafts of up to 75 logs on which they floated over eight days down the Hunter to the timber yards at Newcastle.

During the 1810's the status of Newcastle as a secure repository for the colony's hardened criminals was steadily eroded. Convicts escaped in increasing numbers, in spite of the dangers of starvation, hostile blacks and severe punishments. They travelled southwards along the coast to Broken Bay where they followed the Hawkesbury inland to the settlements at Windsor, to be hidden and employed by settlers there. Their journey was made easier by the location of the first overland route between Windsor and Jerry's Plains in the middle Hunter in 1819. By 1821
Fig. 3: An anonymous map dated c1819, "Port Hunter and its Branches" showing the early settlement site at Nelsons Plains, Patersons Plains and Wallis Plains (Mitchell Library)
they were leaving in groups and Macquarie received constant, exasperated reports of the growing, uncontrollable abscondings.\textsuperscript{10}

The problems of the settlement at Newcastle came to represent the inherent contradiction in the colony generally - its role as a place of penal servitude was constantly challenged and made difficult by the needs and activities of the settlers it also nurtured. Macquarie had been aware for some time that the growing demand for land, accompanied by the need for road access and services for the swelling ranks of free immigrants would make the opening of the Hunter Valley inevitable. He had written to Earl Bathurst in 1819:

> Extensive plains of rich and fertile land being found at no great distance along the three principal sources of the River Hunter (have) now become an object of valuable consideration in the necessary increase in population.\textsuperscript{11}

The eventual opening of the valley in 1821 was not an abrupt turnaround - it was more like a slow leak which quickly developed into a flood. By the time the convicts were actually removed to the, again isolated, settlement at Port Macquarie, there were already 21 settlers in the Hunter Valley, and grazing had begun on a semi-official basis in the middle Hunter by John Howe.\textsuperscript{12}

One of the settlers on the Paterson was colonial-born John Powell, a master mariner who had worked the coast of New South Wales for ten years. In mid 1821 he was granted a farm of 60 acres on the east bank of the Paterson River, south of the later site of Paterson township, just outside the present day Shire. He named his farm Orange Grove and, like earlier settlers on their small farms further downstream, built a wattle and daub cottage.\textsuperscript{13} At the end of his first year there, a much larger grant of 1,300 acres to the north of his property was made to William Dun, a settler newly arrived with his family. Dun was the first of a wave of well-connected, wealthy and articulate men who took up vast estates of the best portions of land.\textsuperscript{14} The two men, settled side by side, thus represent the transition of the Hunter Valley's settlement, from the modest, small, haphazard plots of the early convicts, emancipist and colonial-born settlers, to the extensive,
gridded estates of the new, wealthy and influential settlers who arrived in the 1820s and 1830s, and who so rapidly altered forever the face of the river valleys.
THREE 3 : DISCOVERY, EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

NOTES

1. Perry, p.55.


3. Perry, pp.56-58.


7. Perry, p.61; Wood, p.4.


14. Ibid. p.7; Wood, pp.20,21,22; Mitchell, p.140
THEME 4 : THE FIRST WAVE : LAND SETTLEMENT
1820 - c1836

The traveller's attention is everywhere arrested by a busy agriculture; houses and yards of respectable settlers, healthy and well-fed labourers; and every appearance denoting rapid improvement.¹

Henry Dangar, 1828

Like most of his contemporaries, Surveyor Dangar was eager to convey an image of idyllic pastoral splendour in his description of the Hunter Valley settlements in 1828. This account belies the difficulties, hardship and strife endured by most pioneers in establishing themselves on the new lands, but it also encapsulates the way the colonists generally saw themselves and the colony. The discovery of rich and promising lands to the west in 1815, and the opening of the Hunter Valley in 1820 inspired a new view of the colony as a "true mine of colonial wealth"² and engendered boundless optimism, confidence and energy on the part of the colonists. Thomas Potter MacQueen, a major Hunter Valley landholder, boasted that "The colony at no distant future [will be] a settlement of tenfold greater value than the entire British possessions added together."³

After the great land rush of the 1820's and during the consolidation period of the 1830's, the Hunter Valley became the "garden of the colony", with its verdant river flats, grand estates and thriving population. The valley had been the first outlying area discovered, the latest opened up and the most rapidly settled and these peculiar circumstances resulted in a distinctive development and character.

The remarkable rapidity of the valley's settlement is its most outstanding feature. In the ten years after 1829, 15,000,000 acres passed into private hands, and during the first five, settlers had taken up most river frontages including those of the lower Paterson and Williams Rivers to the heads of navigation. Between 1825 and 1830 this pattern continued, with settlers pushing further along the valley of the upper Hunter and the narrow upper valleys of Dungog Shire. The better lands behind the riverside grants
were also selected. As grants had to be surveyed, the pattern of settlement followed roughly the progress of Henry Dangar's survey. Most of the land in the Dungog Shire was originally alienated between 1820 and 1830.\textsuperscript{4}

The second distinctive characteristic of the Hunter's settlement was the type of settler who went there. As a result of its twenty-year closure to free settlement because of the penal settlement at Newcastle, by the time of its opening in 1820, the local demand for grazing and other lands had been largely satisfied by the areas to the west, south-west and south of the Cumberland Plain. The 1820's were also a period of greatly increased immigration, and it was these men and women who, preferring the Hunter to the areas inland, rapidly took up land there.\textsuperscript{5}

The majority of the new settlers were "men of substance and standing .... Many ... with capital and the patronage of influential members of the British or colonial society".\textsuperscript{6} The colony drew retired naval and military officers, successful merchants, British farmers and their sons, and the sons and relatives of the colony's civil and military officers. These men, mostly aged between 20 and 30, brought with them both capital to invest in their properties and the new methods and implements of the Agrarian Revolution. As Perry comments, "All in all, they were people who because of their capital, experience, ability and age, might be expected to be remarkably successful settlers."\textsuperscript{7} And, to a large extent, they were.

The government's land policy reinforced this pattern, because it made capital a prerequisite of land ownership. Bigges' report had recommended that the land be allocated to those with capital to develop it, and in accordance with how much wealth they brought into the colony. A new settler was thus awarded 640 acres for every five hundred pounds sterling he possessed in cash and goods, and the size of the grant directly reflected the wealth of the settler. Between 1825 and 1828 more than 40% of the holdings exceeded 1000 acres, and a further 20% exceeded 500 acres.\textsuperscript{8}

Convicts were assigned to the landowners in accordance with their ability to feed and
clothe them, thus aiding in the process of establishing the estates and easing the burden on the government. As a result, the valley's population also had a high proportion of convicts - 69% of the men in the district were convicts, mainly assignees labouring on estates too large to be worked otherwise. The early land settlement pattern was thus completely reversed. The first small farms at Patersons Plains and Wallis Plains were worked by ticket-of-leave men, ex-convicts or men of modest means who were generally inexperienced and poorly equipped. By contrast, the estates were regularly laid out, extensive, and run by men with experience, knowledge and capital to invest in them, and were worked by as many convicts as they could afford to keep. The latter type became the dominant and striking feature of the valley's settlement, although the modest, small farms did continue to some extent around the early centres and later on the Williams around Clarence Town. Convicts and emancipists were also present as farmers to a small extent. Greene has shown that of about 400 grantees in the Hunter, the ex-convict and ticket-of-leave men totalled forty. The small farms averaged 36 acres. Of the 36 farms of less than 99 acres in 1828, about half were worked by ex-convicts, and a third by free men. Most were highly cultivated (43 out of every 100 acres) and most farms had a small herd of cattle (about 31), probably using adjacent lands to graze them.

The 64 medium-sized farms (100-999 acres) existing in 1828 were distributed throughout the Hunter Valley. Half were worked by free men and a quarter by ex-convicts. Only 8% of the lands of these farms was cultivated and the average herd of cattle had 135 head. Only ten grazed sheep in herds of around 380 head.

The large estates occupied 91% of the area of alienated land, and all but eight of the total of 153 were owned by immigrant, mainly newly arrived settlers. Of the eight, only two were emancipists. The large landowners cultivated an average of 2% of their holdings, and ran herds averaging 243 head and flocks of 1158 head.

The process of selecting, taking up and personally establishing the estates was not as
straightforward as it might seem in retrospect. In the first place, a large proportion chose their land either by sending agents to look at it, or by locating it on a map in the Surveyor General's office. As a result, particularly in the latter case, the land selected often turned out to be worthless swamps or barren watersheds, and a poor selection invariably lead to repeated requests for alternative grants. Campbell has shown that, of the settlers listed in Dangar's Emigrants Guide, around 1/3 had sold or otherwise disposed of their selected lands prior to the issue of the deed of grant. Of those who did retain their properties, many chose to reside in Sydney, relegating the running of their properties to agents and managers. In Dungog Shire, however, a large proportion of the holdings were built up and occupied by their owners, and the district soon earned a reputation as a richly productive and highly enterprising area, leading the way in industries such as tobacco, viticulture, grains and, later, stock breeding.

The Settlement of Dungog Shire

These settlements are among the most respectable of the colony, the great bulk of the properties consisting of military and naval officers, or free emigrants. The alluvial banks of the Paterson and Williams rivers are heavily timbered but the forest land is open and grassy and in every way suitable for pasture without cutting down a single tree.

Peter Cunningham, Two Years in N.S.W., 1827.

Peter Cunningham's account, written a short five years after the first settlers took up land in Dungog Shire (1821) conveys a sense of solidity and permanence. It was almost as if they had always been there, that the trees had been purposely so widely spaced to allow cattle to be grazed. By the time Two Years in N.S.W. was published, settlers had already firmly established themselves around the later township of Paterson and north along the Paterson and Allyn Rivers to Gresford, and also along the Williams River around Seaham.
Although most of the land, like that of the Hunter Valley generally, was taken up very rapidly over a ten-year period, three stages, defined mainly by area, are discernible. The first stage, 1821 to 1824, was the alienation of the alluvial and forest lands along the Paterson and, to a lesser extent, on the lower Williams. On the Paterson it extended from the earlier settlement at Patersons Plains to around the head of navigation at Gostwyck. Less rapid progress was made along the Williams, after the relatively late start at Nelsons Plains, at this early stage stopping short of the later town site of Clarence Town. The second stage was the rapid filling up of the Gresford district between 1825 and 1827, when settlers took up lands on the upper Paterson and Allyn Rivers. The third stage, 1828 - 1830, saw the settlement of the Williams Valley from below Clarence Town up to Bandon Grove and Munni beyond Dungog.

The three phases had their origins in both historical and environmental factors. During the first stage, land was taken up close to the previously settled and thus familiar Patersons Plains, and this area was first to be surveyed by Dangar, as well as offering rich lands. As discussed in Theme 3, the later settlement of Nelsons Plains because of security problems had the effect of delaying the settlement of the Williams to the second half of the decade.

**Stage 1: 1821-1824 Lower Paterson and Williams Rivers**

**Early Settlers at Patersons Plains**

After the valley was finally opened for free settlers in 1821, the proper survey of the area became necessary, and on 1 March 1822 Surveyor General Oxley instructed Assistant Surveyor Henry Dangar to divide the valley into squares of 36 miles, each of which was to be surveyed in sections of one square mile, and each settler allowed up to 1 mile of river frontage (see Fig. 11). Dangar's rectilinear survey was literally superimposed on the earlier haphazard arrangement of grants at Patersons Plains, and it was decided to transfer some of the farms to another site so that the remainder could be enlarged to fit
the regular grid pattern. The small settlers were offered the choice of removal to new 100-acre grants on the Williams River, or of leasing their enlarged existing farms. Some went up the Williams towards Clarence Town while others remained and later became tenants of the Church and Schools Corporation which acquired the land in 1829.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Orange Grove, John Powell, 1821}

John Powell's Orange Grove property, located below the later Paterson village site, and just outside the Shire, was the earliest in the district and one of the last of the earlier-style type of small farm. (See Fig. 3a). The colonial-born mariner received the 60 acre grant in mid 1821 and by 1828 he had increased his acreage to 130 and of this a large proportion was cleared (80 acres) and cultivated (57 acres). Powell resided on the property with his family and worked it with the assistance of eleven convicts employed as labourers, pigmen, bullock drivers, stockmen, an overseer and a house servant.\textsuperscript{17}

\textbf{Duninald, William Dun, 1821}

Captain William Dun, the first of the wave of new settlers was granted 1,200 acres adjacent and to the north of Powell's Orange Grove in 1821, almost upon his arrival in the colony. (See Fig. 3a). Thirteen convicts were assigned to him to establish the property, and like most settlers, he was eager to increase his holdings to the maximum size of 2,000 acres and his later application was successful. During the early 'twenties he built his residence, Duninald, now most likely the oldest building in the district, and is said to have lived in Government House in Sydney while construction was underway. It is a symmetrical building of rendered sandstock bricks with a steeply pitched, hipped shingled roof extending over to form a verandah set on chamfered posts. Chimneys of rubble stonework stand at either end, and the house has cedar multi-paned windows. A Norfolk Island Hibiscus (Lagunaria Patersonii) that stands in the front garden is probably contemporary with the house. It must have been a rather grand home, compared with the wattle-and-daub dwellings nearby and at Patersons Plains.\textsuperscript{18}
Fig. 3a: Estates around Paterson taken up during the first phase of the Shire's settlement 1821 - 24. From C. Archer, "The Paterson Environment", p.14.
Tocal, James Phillips Webber, 1822

One of the best-known and most successful properties in the Hunter Valley, Tocal, was a 2,000 acre grant to James Phillips Webber in 1822. (See Fig. 3a). He had arrived with his brother John in 1821 and the men were well connected - their father was a General in the British Army and their mother the sister of Viscount Strangford. John took up a grant at Penshurst, north of Gresford.

By 1834 Tocal had been enlarged to 3,320 acres and James P. Webber epitomized the young, well informed, enterprising and wealthy immigrant settler. He had planted a flourishing vineyard and fruit trees, he ran cattle and sheep, and built a brick cottage with a stable attached and an impressive two storey stone barn (1830). Webber decided to return to England in 1834 and he sold the property to Caleb and Felix Wilson of Newtown. 

Tocal Estate:
Paterson
Cottage, stable and barn.
Significant Buildings

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Tocal Homestead
Paterson:
Significant Building

Many of these buildings, together with the later two-storey homestead still stand, forming a striking complex representing this early phase of settlement.

Tillimby, John Herring Boughton, 1822

John Herring Boughton received 2,000 acres with a vast river frontage onto the Paterson, north of the later town site in October 1822. (See Fig. 3a). He had arrived with his wife Charlotte only a month earlier and appears to have taken up the land immediately. By 1828 he had ten convict workers, including a shepherd, ploughman and bullock driver for his various activities. Boughton later discovered a payable seam of coal on Tillimby and went down to Lake Macquarie to acquire some skilled
miners. However, he drowned on the journey and nothing more came of the coal-mining project. Boughton appears to have erected a house in the 1820's which later became the service wing of Tillimby, built in 1835. The earliest wing is the only extant section remaining. An early lath and plaster church and a burial ground dating from 1825 were also located on the property.21

Bona Vista, James Phillips, 1822

Captain James Phillips' property of 2090 acres adjoined the later township of Paterson to the south. (See Fig. 3a) He had arrived with his wife and five children in 1822 bearing a letter of introduction from Under Secretary Goulburn recommending that he be granted land in proportion with his capital. Twenty convicts were also assigned to him.

It appears that his estate did not flourish on the scale of the others in the district. In 1828 the number of convicts was reduced to 14 and twelve of these were listed simply as labourers. In 1829 part or all of the property was advertised to let and was described with the usual enthusiasm as a "valuable farm... the run for cattle is unequalled in the district and watered in the driest season",22 A "vessel of 50 tons" could be berthed at the wharf and the lessee could acquire a small herd of cattle, working bullocks and tools. Phillips continued to live on the property and made money through his interests in the developing town of Paterson. In 1833 he commissioned the noted colonial architect John Verge, then a landowner at Wallarobba, to design a public house on his property near the village. Verge drew up a handsome Georgian style brick building which became known as the Paterson Arms Inn. When it was auctioned in 1840 it was considered a "remarkably well-built building of a superior order of architecture, finished in an elegant and substantial style"23 (see Figs. 12 and 13). The building stood until its demolition in 1949 because of poor condition, and so our precious stock of Verge buildings was diminished. With the growth of the township, and probably also as a result of the withdrawal of convict labour, Phillips subdivided 100 allotments from the north eastern part of his estate and auctioned
them in 1840. He thus supplemented the limited 90 acre size of the official town. The rest of the estate was subdivided and disposed of by auction in February 1855 (see Fig. 15). At this stage the early Victorian style (c1850) house, still extant, had been erected "...on a first rate site, so commodious as to be admirably adapted to and suitable for a family of the first respectability". The one and a half storeyed house has a timber return verandah and large attics with dormer windows.

Cintra and Clarendon Park, Susannah Matilda Ward, 1823

Susannah Matilda Ward arrived in the colony with her husband and six children in 1820, and upon the death of her husband soon after, she received a grant of 1000 acres and also became Matron of the Female Orphan School at Parramatta. In 1823 she took up 640 acres on the west bank of the Paterson River (Cintra) adjacent to Bona Vista and later 500 acres on the east side (Clarendon Park). (See Fig. 3a). She became one of the valley's absentee landholders, residing in Sydney, and Cintra was advertised to let in 1827, described as "excellent pasture and arable land". An unofficial settlement developed on it along the river, just north west of the Paterson township (later Commercial Road) with several cottages, a flour mill and inns. (See Fig. 16). As the estate was close to the head of navigation, local settlers successfully petitioned for a wharf to be built on the Paterson town site in 1830. In 1832 the government exchanged ninety acres of Cintra for the township, for land in Princes Street, Sydney. The enterprising widow remarried in 1841, by which time she was living on one of her properties, probably Clarendon Park. She resided there almost up to her death in 1862. Clarendon Park did not develop as an important estate, as it contained little good land.

Gostwyck, Edward Gostwyck Cory, 1823

E.G. Cory was an enterprising and energetic settler who became one of the best known and most prominent landowners in the district. Gostwyck, his estate on the Paterson River
north of Paterson was a very successful holding. (See Fig. 3a). Cory had arrived with his brother John in 1823 and received his grant of 2030 acres in September that year. Part of the land was immediately set aside for a vineyard, one of the earliest in this wine growing area, and later he grew tobacco successfully, as well as the staples of wheat, barley and maize. By 1828 the estate was thriving and had expanded to 4,800 acres, of which 300 were cleared and cultivated. Cory and his wife employed 23 convicts, including 15 labourers, 2 stockmen (for the herd of 320 cattle and the 16 horses), 2 servants, a groom, a shoemaker, a dairymen and a cooper. He built his first house, a small slab cottage named Vineyard Cottage by 1829.27

During the early 1830's Cory made pioneering explorations over the Moonboy Ranges to the Tablelands and New England regions to the north west. After squatting on land which later became the site of Tamworth, he took up land on Salisbury Waters near Armidale, establishing a second Gostwyck and Terrible Vale. These properties were disposed of in 1834 and 1837 respectively. Cory had in the meantime built a water driven flour mill (1851) on the Paterson River at its confluence with Martins Creek, and ground wheat and maize for local producers (see Fig. 8). In 1836 he built the mansion Gostwyck to replace Vineyard Cottage, which became an inn. The homestead, still standing, was a suitably impressive, substantial two storeyed house, which epitomised Cory's standing and success. By 1842, when it was advertised to let, the property comprised an extensive complex of house, servants quarters, barns and office, a vineyard of 5 acres and a large kitchen garden. Cory held the property until his death in 1873, by which time it covered 5,100 acres. It was not subdivided until 1902.28

Vineyard, George J. Frankland, 1823

The Vineyard estate, adjoining Gostwyck, was granted to George J. Frankland in 1823 after his arrival in July that year. (See Fig. 3a). After his death two years later, J.J. Cory of the adjoining Cory Vale purchased the property. A section named Mowbray, on which Frankland's widow built the brick Mowbray House in the 1840's (now demolished), was
leased until Frankland's sons were old enough to manage it. The property was another wine-producing estate of the Paterson River district. Mowbray House had been preceded by an earlier house with two parlours, three bedrooms, cellars and offices.29

Cory Vale and Vacy, John J. Cory, 1824

Edward Cory's brother, John J. Cory acquired his grant of two portions totalling 1,200 acres in 1824 at the confluence of the Paterson and Allyn Rivers. (See Fig. 3a). He presumably cleared and planted the land with the usual crops and possibly grapes, although the property was not listed in the 1828 census. J.J. Cory returned to England in 1831, and after his death in 1839, his brother Gilbert inherited the estates. Gilbert Cory had arrived in Sydney in 1830 and moved to the Paterson in 1831, building Neyarro on the Cory Vale estate. The private township of Vacy later grew up along the road to Gresford at the crossing of the Paterson River, and survived as such until the property was subdivided in 1927.30

Brisbane Grove, George and Vincent Williams, 1824

A medium sized grant of 500 acres was made to George Williams in March 1824 and in the same year a further 60 acres of adjoining land was granted to his brother Vincent. (See Fig. 3a). By 1828, the brothers, with the help of seven convicts, had 90 acres cleared and 50 under crops, in addition to a small herd of 50 cattle. By 1834 the property had been sold to Felix and Caleb Wilson, who advertised it for lease, along with Tocal, in that year. It was described as a "compact estate of 560 acres, 60 acres of which is let to various tenants, a comfortable house and excellent barn and stockyards".31 The property was leased to Samuel Kingston of Dungog, and later to Joseph Tucker whose son W.C. Tucker eventually purchased it in 1893.32

Settlement along the Williams River

While these men and women were rapidly transforming the Paterson district, settlement
was also steadily moving along the Williams River north from Nelsons Plains outside the present shire. By 1820 there was "a small government farm, a Court House and a military depot, and a Government House built by Major Morrisett" at Nelsons Plains. The land on the west side of the Williams was held by the government until 1829, when it was granted to the Church and Schools Corporation. On the east side, grants were made in 1823 to J. Pennington (1550 acres), J. Threw (1310 acres), J. Newton (1200 acres), P. Sinclair (860 acres) and, further north, to G. Smith (300 acres). Five more grants were made in the following years around Seaham on the east side of the river, to A. Dixon (1600 acres, including Porphry, Feldspar and Bonamba), Hugh Torrance (2000 acres) and W. and W. Fisher in 1825 (1500 acres, Brandon). By 1825 settlement still stopped short of the less fertile areas of the site of Clarence Town, although a few emancipist farmers from Patersons Plains had been relocated on small allotments just below it.

Stage II: 1825 - 1828 Paterson and Allyn Rivers around Gresford

After the first rush to the Paterson during the early 1820s, there was a brief pause, during 1825, before the next wave of settlers took up land along the upper Paterson and the Allyn River in 1826. One settler, John Phillips Webber took up Penshurst north of Gresford in 1825, and he was followed by George Townsend, Charles Boydell and Dr. Alexander Park in 1826, at Trevallyn, Camyrallyn and Lewinsbrook respectively. In 1827 John McIntyre took up Torryburn and by 1828 the Cardonass and Pattimore estates had been taken up by James Adair, and other grants had been made to men such as William Bucknell (Elmshall), S.L. Adair (Lennoxtor) and Colonel Snodgrass.

Penshurst, John Phillips Webber, 1825

John Phillips Webber had arrived with his brother James, of Tocal, and selected his land on the then isolated area at the present day location of Mt Rivers, high on the Paterson River. He did not hold it for long, for it was sold to George Townsend of Trevallyn on
the day of the Tocal sale in May 1834 for one thousand pounds. It was subdivided in 1855 and again in 1914.35

Trevallyn, George Townsend, 1826

George Townsend had arrived with Alexander Park and Charles Boydell in 1826 and the three men selected adjoining properties in the same year. Townsend was a very active man who planted vineyards and tobacco and established a short-lived jam factory for the produce of his apple, pear and peach orchards. During the 1830s he, like his contemporaries, built a fine and impressive house on an elevated site overlooking the river. It was a handsome two storey building, very similar to Tocal and Dunmore, with an encircling bellcast verandah. The house was sketched by several visitors such as Conrad Martens and Emily Anne Manning, and the latter also sketched a fanciful gothic style gardener's cottage set in Trevallyn's extensive gardens in about 1859. (See Figs. 59 and 10). The estate had become, like many others, well-established, productive and endowed with all the symbols of the successful wealthy landowner. 36

Lewinsbrook, Alexander Park, 1826

Alexander Park selected 2560 acres along Lewinsbrook Creek between Trevallyn, and Charles Boydell's Camyrallyn. He planted a vineyard on it during the 1830s and his homestead, a well-proportioned, symmetrical, single storeyed Georgian style house was erected about 1839 and still stands. It features very thick walls and an encircling verandah set on square columns.37

Camyrallyn, Charles Boydell, 1826

Charles Boydell, a well written and evidently well-respected man, selected a grant of 640 acres around the present day site of Gresford. He named it Camyrallyn and became well-known for his pioneering work in the cultivation and manufacture of tobacco. By the end of 1830 he had 3 acres of tobacco, 40 acres of wheat, 6 acres of corn, 600 head of sheep and 80 cattle, and had erected a hut of slabs which lasted until 1835. A new house of stone and
brick was begun in 1834, and when it was finished it contained a parlour, bedroom, dining room and verandah. (See Fig. 7). Extensions were made in 1837, while the estate continued to prosper. When James P. Webber left the district in 1834, he gave Boydell a parcel of his best vine cuttings with which to establish a vineyard.38

Torryburn, John McIntyre, 1827

John McIntyre selected two portions of 2,000 acres each, one a reserve for purchase, on the Allyn River in December 1827. It had an extensive river frontage and was well watered by creeks. By 1830 he had erected a house with three rooms, a kitchen and breadoven, and a dairy, and he employed at least nine convicts. The property became known as "the tobacco ground" at an early stage.

McIntyre's promising start was shortlived, however. He was reputedly a quick tempered, difficult man and in September 1830 he disappeared, and was presumed murdered. A convict shepherd of Torryburn came forward two years later declaring himself and two others guilty of the murder, although the body was never found.

The property later became celebrated for the tobacco grown on it. In 1932 Ruby Doyle remembered an early home on the property which preceded the "modern brick villa" on the homestead site at the time of subdivision in 1908.39 Torryburn inspired a young Dorothea Mackellar to write the famous poem "My Country" during her stay there in 1908.

Other settlers about whom less is known also arrived in the district, including James Adair of Cardonass and Pattimore, William Buckingham of Elmshall, S.L. Adair of Lennoxton and the Glennies of Orindinna. Adair built an early homestead on Pattimore in the vicinity of the Cory lands, by 1828, and a twenty-roomed Cardonass homestead is still extant. Bucknell had established Elmshall by 1827 and the Glennies' Orindinna later became famous for its wines.40

Cardonass
Gresford: Archaeological Site
Stage III: The Williams Valley, 1828-c1831

Just as the wave of settlers to the Gresford district began to ease, settlers began moving into the last area occupied from this early period. Progress was, again, rapid and quickly consumed all the most fertile land along the Williams River from Clarence Town to Munni, north of Dungog. The township of Dungog eventually grew up at the centre of grants set along the Williams.

During 1828, six major properties were taken up. Between Dungog and Clarence Town, Benjamin Solomon took up Thalaba, John Hooke took up Wiry Gully (later Wirragulla) and the Smeathmans took up Brookfield. All these estates gave their names to later small settlements. North of Dungog, Crawford Logan Brown was granted Cairnsmore, Judge James Dowling, Canningalla, and Charles Windeyer his property, Tillegra. Windeyer was the chief clerk of the police, then Assistant Superintendent of Police, and finally Police Magistrate, and later became the first Mayor of Sydney.

Settlement continued at a similar rate in 1829 with the arrival of Duncan Forbes Mackay, formerly superintendent of convicts at Newcastle, who took up Melbee, abutting the later town limits of Dungog. Lawrence Myles took up Dingadee on the east side of the river north of Dungog, Mann took up Munni and William Forster the Mulconda estate near Bandon Grove. A large grant was made to Ferdinand Anley just south of Dungog, and John Verge named his property, near Wallarobba, Lyndhurst Vale. By 1829 several of these properties and their owners were marked on White's survey of the Williams River, including Anley, Mann, Brown, Myles and Windeyer's Bendolba. Huts were marked on Mann's and Brown's properties.

The brothers Archibald and George Mosman were granted land on the Williams stretching from the Allyn to the Chichester River. This was purchased by John D. Lord in 1830 and became the Underbank estate. Also in 1830, Mathew Chapman, who had been a "very considerable farmer" in the north of England, was granted 1280 acres at Wallarobba which he named The Grange. In the following year Henry Incledon Pilcher was granted 1920 acres, also at
Wallarobba, where he intended to grow grapes. Small settlers arrived steadily to take up allotments around Clarence Town between 1828 and 1830.43

A large tract of land forming a corridor on the east side of the Williams River and west of the Australian Agricultural Company's land was granted to the Church and School Lands Corporation. Dangar remarked that most of it was "inferior third rate country...possessing some rich arable lands on the river". The Corporation had been formed in 1826 to administer the 1/7 portion of each County deemed a Clergy and Schools Estate for the support of the Church of England and the provision of schools throughout the colony. The Corporation also received several allotments originally intended for town sites, including Seaham and Patersons Plains (1829). However, it was dissolved in 1833, and all the unsold land reverted to the Crown. A Village Reserve was marked out on each Estate and the balance usually sold to neighbouring settlers.44

By 1831 the rush was over and the new settlers, if they did not immediately dispose of their land in one way or another, began the arduous task of "...cutting down the impenetrable forests and clothing the earth in waving grain".45 A handful of further grants were made during the 1830s. One of the most notable was William Boydell's Caergrwle, in 1836, high up on the Allyn River, where the later town of Allynbrook grew up. In 1837 William Lowe of the famous Marshall and Lowe shipyards at Clarence Town took up land at Glen William, and finally in 1840, Dr. Lindeman bought Cawarra, near Gresford, and applied his considerable knowledge and talents as a vintner to establish one of the Hunter's best known early vineyards.46

Development of Houses and Homesteads

The newly-arrived settlers set about determinedly turning their lands to profitable use and eventually displayed their success by erecting impressive mansions in the style of English estate manors. Usually they were sited on prominent, highly visible sites, with views over lands and rivers wherever possible. These houses actualized early ambitions.
However, as Deamer points out, the numerous fine homes surviving in the Hunter Valley area today have tended to give us a skewed view of the early settlement period, and he cites J.F. Wainwrights' 1857 description of the houses in the Singleton district as "hovels". The grand houses represent only those few who had acquired and held good land, and those who were well enough financed and equipped to overcome the many difficulties thrown up by the new land.

The problem of establishment/occupation is similar to that of free settlers anywhere in the colony during the nineteenth century. It begins with modest huts of slab or wattle-and-daub, and progresses, sometimes through brick cottages and barns, towards grand houses with attached complexes which often utilized and incorporated the earlier structures.

In the first instance there is the contrast between the mean huts of the early ex-convict settlers and the sturdy cottages of slabs, and sometimes of brick or stone, built initially by the better-off free settlers. A slab house typical of this stage is shown in Fig. 6. Deamer points out that several of the most wealthy did not even occupy this first type - they could afford to build substantial houses and mansions upon their arrival, meanwhile residing with friends in the district or in Sydney (for example, T.V. Bloomfield, George Wyndam and Henry Dangar).

John Powell built his wattle and daub hut in 1821 at Orange Grove, in the manner of his predecessors further down river. It was probably the first and last of its type in the district, since his neighbours arriving soon after tended to build much more substantial dwellings. However, temporary huts such as those of Mann and Brown, and those later illustrated by Emily Manning at Orindinna were probably erected in the very early stages, before the first slab or brick cottage was put up. (See Figs. 4 and 5)

The first cottages and houses were very practical buildings, with little architectural pretensions, which grew as needs changed. Robert Scott of Glendon wrote that they were usually "huts containing a single room and as their needs increased (they) would add two more rooms, one on each side, and surround the
Fig. 4: Emily Anne Manning's pencil sketch of simple slab and bark huts at "Ordinninov Station", probably Glennie's Orindinna estate, c1839. From her Sketchbook, Mitchell Library.

Fig. 5: Emily Anne Manning's pencil sketch of slab barns under construction at Eccleston, c1839, showing early type of construction. From her Sketchbook, Mitchell Library.
Fig. 6: An unidentified, undated photograph of a sturdy slab cottage with shingled roof in the Paterson district. This would have been typical of the first phase of the settlers' housing. (Mitchell Library).
Fig. 7: An unfinished sketch of Charles Boydell's Camvrallyn homestead, c1639. This stone and brick house, with French windows replaced the first slab dwelling in 1635. E.A. Manning, Sketchbook, Mitchell Library.
building with a verandah". At Tocal, James Webber built a brick cottage during the 1820s and this, with its attached stable became part of the complex which grew around it. Similarly J.H. Boughton's first house at Tillimby later became the service wing for the larger house (c1835). George Frankland's widow lived in a small house on the Vineyard estate before the more substantial Mowbray House was erected in the 1840s. Her neighbour, Edward Cory first built a strong slab cottage he named Vineyard Cottage, where he lived until his Gostwyck mansion was completed. The early cottage was in good enough order to be converted to an inn at that stage.

Charles Boydell was another who, in his early years at Camyrallyn lived in a slab house. In his Journal and Cash Book he commented wryly on its discomforts in 1830, and the clash between European habits and colonial climate — "I do not rightly know whether diverse cracks in my hut have been filled up caused it to be much hotter". Later in that year he wrote that he was preparing a verandah for the house and was determined to "fill in the French windows" and make it habitable, "for were it not for the honor of the thing, one might with almost equal comfort be in the air". A new house replaced the slab one in 1835. (See Fig. 7). On Brisbane Grove the large homestead was reputedly built of slabs, held together with wooden pegs and roofed with oak shingles.

Two of the early permanent homes, Duninald (now known as Old Duninald) and Melbee fell into a transitional category — they were certainly grander and more substantial than the slab and brick cottages, yet did not equal the stylized, impressive mansions which followed. They were the houses of families who could afford to build in a solid manner upon their arrival. William Dun's house was built about 1821 and is of typical shape and detail, with a high-pitched roof extended over a flagged verandah and chamfered timber posts. The brick walls were rendered and lined to imitate ashlar, and the house had twelve panned windows and stone and cedar fireplaces. These details together with its size clearly distinguished it from the more modest dwellings of his contemporaries. Later in the decade Duncan Forbes MacKay also built his home in the same year he acquired his land,
and it was also a single-storeyed, sprawling homestead of local stone and shingles, with a kitchen and adjoining room on one side and a barn. It was not replaced until the Victorian-style Melbee was built of brick and slate around 1886. The original kitchen and barn are still extant. The present Duninald is similarly a Victorian replacement of William Dun's first home.

A later arrival, Edwin Way, bought land off George Townsend's Trevallyn estate in about 1842, naming it Cleveden. Although he was part of the next wave of settlers, the establishment pattern was similar, and especially interesting because he chose to upgrade the early slab hut by plastering it, extending it and adding a verandah. He wrote in 1842:

> Our house which was a miserable hut when I arrived is now a substantial edifice and having an abundance of limestone we have just plastered it within and without which gives it a very neat appearance. It consists of one sitting room and a dining room twenty feet square next to which is our business room and library 12 feet square adjoining is my bedroom twelve feet square, adjoining which is the barracks or visitors room 20x15. At the back is Durbin's (his partner) room, a small store and pantry, a spacious verandah runs the whole length of the front and around two sides of the house....

The next architectural phase was what Deamer terms that of the "noteworthy" houses. It involved a fundamental reversal of the earlier tendency towards functional houses which had been built and extended more according to the needs than to preconceived architectural considerations. The new mansions on the other hand, strove to adhere to the latter. Their plans consisted of a "simple and restricted arrangement of blocks containing the various rooms in the 'grand manner' about a main and sub axis". Most were constructed in stages, a block at a time, of stone or brickwork, with roofs of slate, shingles or occasionally sheet metal. The stone walls often comprised two skins, an outer one of ashlar masonry and an
inner wall of rubble work tied to the outer wall by throughstones.\textsuperscript{57} Bricks were burnt on site by itinerant brickmakers who set up their mills, patterns and kilns near suitable clay on the property. Sawyers also set up their camps and sawpits close to the new building. The quality of the joinery generally employed was of an excellent standard in these houses. Red cedar was used for doors, shutters, windows, interior joinery and most importantly, the front entrance, the focal point of the house, where the joiner exhibited the best of his skills.\textsuperscript{58}

Most of the fine houses were built in the 1830s. Of the classic two-storeyed symmetrical mansions, Tocal, Gostwyck, and Trevallyn stand out. The first two are extant, but Trevallyn was demolished some time after 1932. Tillimby was apparently another built along these lines, but is so far undocumented.

E.G. Cory's Gostwyck was described in 1842 as a "capital two-storey dwelling house of eight rooms and entrance hall on the ground floor and three very large rooms over the same".\textsuperscript{59} It was built of brick (rendered in 1903) and comprised a main two-storeyed block and two service wings (one now demolished) forming a U-shape. A pillared and originally flagged verandah encircled the lower storey. (See Figs. 8 and 59).\textsuperscript{60}

Tocal, erected by Felix Wilson in about 1839 is set prominently on a ridge above a lagoon. It was possibly designed by John Verge who was also linked with Trevallyn. It is, again two-storeyed with brick walls (now painted) and stone quoins, and features the encircling bellcast verandah, flagged paving, white pillars and tall French windows.\textsuperscript{61} Trevallyn was very similar, with its symmetrical two-storeyed facades, hipped roof, multi-paned windows and bellcast verandah. Emily Mannings' 1839 sketch of Trevallyn shows a wing which appears to have been an earlier house. (See Fig. 9). Boughton's Tillimby was set on the main axis of the Gostwyck group, on the opposite side of the Paterson River. It was also a two-storeyed building with service wings at the rear forming a U-shape.\textsuperscript{62}

Alexander Park chose a handsome single storeyed home of pleasing symmetry and
Fig. 8: An early view of E.G. Cory's impressive Costwyck, set in highly romanticised landscape, and showing Cory's water-driven mill and dam in the foreground. One of the two service wings are visible and a man crosses the Paterson by punt with his horse and cart. (Mitchell Library).
Fig. 9: George Townsend's Trevallyn, on Paterson River, c1839. The design was typical of many of the districts' grand houses, closely resembling Gostwyck, Tocal and Dunmore. The more modest, vernacular-style house in the foreground may have been an earlier dwelling. E.A. Manning, Sketchbook, Mitchell Library.

Fig. 10: The charming gardener's cottage at Trevallyn, an early example of the picturesque gothic style, c1839. E.A. Manning, Sketchbook, Mitchell Library.
restrained detail. Lewinsbrook is set on a rise and has a sweeping hipped roof and rhythmic French windows opening out onto a wide flagged verandah lined with simple columns.63 Charles Boydell was meanwhile busy improving his own lodgings by erecting a stone house with brick chimneys and a shingled roof, which contained a parlour, dining room, verandah, and two more rooms added in 1837. (See Fig. 7).64

The function of the house had thus by this stage transcended the simple need for adequate, comfortable and permanent shelter. It was now an essential symbol of its owner's success and prosperity, a material statement of his conquest of the land and its difficulties, and a proclamation of European supremacy and the arrival of 'civilization'.
THEME 4 : THE FIRST WAVE : LAND SETTLEMENT
1820 - c1836

NOTES

1. Dangar, p. 128.

2. J.C. Byrne, Twelve Years' Wanderings in the British Colonies from 1835 to 1847, 2 vols., London, 1848, p.149.

3. T. Potter McQueen, Australia As She Is and As She May Be, London, 1844, p.16.


5. Perry, pp.73-74.


7. Ibid.


9. Perry, p.75.

10 Ibid, p.76.


12. Perry, pp.76-77.


44


23. Cited in Mitchell, p.148; see also photographs of the building held in Mitchell Library Small Picture File, and by Paterson Historical Society.

24. Cited in Mitchell, p.155; see also a subdivision plan - "Plan of the Estate of Bona Vista on the Paterson River", 1855, Mitchell Library, M2 811-24 qbbd 1855


28. The Australian, 10 August 1842; Mitchell, p.178.


34. Ibid, p.72-77.

35. Ibid, p.165.

36. Anon. Gresford 1829-1979 - Sesqui-Centenary Celebrations, 1979, p.2; Emily Anne Manning, Sketchbook (M.L.) shows several views of homestead.


40. Gresford 1829-1979; Vacy Public School Centenary, 1859-1959; Mitchell, p.61; Bailliere's N.S.W. Gazette and Road Guide, 1866, entry under "Gresford".

41. Dungog Shire Council, Dungog Town and District : Some Historical Highlights, pamphlet, Dungog, 1975, pp.2-3; Mitchell, pp.83-84; Information from Mr. Reg Ford, Clarence Town.
42. Dungog Town and District, p.2; Anon. Bandon Grove Public School Centenary Souvenir 1862-1962, Dungog, 1962, p.1; see G.B. White's "West Bank of the Williams River from Wattle Creek to Tabbil Creek", 1829, A.O. map SZ 531.


44. Perry, p.67; Wood, p.59.

45. William Henry Wells, A Geographic Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies, Sydney, 1848, entry under Dungog.


47. Deamer, p.46.


49. Archer, p.15; G.B. White, "West Bank of the Williams River....", 1829, A.O. SZ 531; Emily Anne Manning Sketchbook.

50. Cited in Deamer, p.46 ff.

51. Cited in Deamer, p.49 ff.

52. Tucker, "Historic Paterson....."


55. Cited in Deamer, p.46.

56. Ibid, p.80.

57. Ibid, p.56.


59. The Australian, 10 August 1842.


62. Deamer, p.182.
63. See photo in Gresford 1829-1979
64. Deamer, p. 49 ff.
THEME 5: THE EARLY GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE

The role of the government in colonial N.S.W. was a vital one. It fostered the enterprise of its colonists and it shaped the framework of many towns and settlements through its land policy and surveys. The process of expansion was also interactive. It was the settlers' need for new pasture which eventually found a way across the Blue Mountains, their demand for land which made the opening of the Hunter Valley inevitable, their requirements for regulation and services which brought the courts, lock-ups and police stations, the post offices, roads and bridges.

The government influenced the development of the Hunter Valley right from the beginning. It sent official parties to explore and gather information and later, in its capacity as a gaol-administrator, established the penal settlement at Newcastle, thus precluding free settlement. As has been discussed it was this early use which eventually resulted in the valley's distinctive population and development.

The first of the Hunter's farmers, the convict and ex-convict settlers, were set down on the fertile plains at the government's initiative, while gangs of convict cedar cutters were sent to cut the red cedar out of the forests. Both farmers' settlements and cedar gangs' camps formed the nuclei of later settlements such as Paterson, Clarence Town and Dungog, and numerous towns in the lower and middle Hunter.

**Land Settlement Policy and Territorial Division**

The most striking aspect of the government's early influence was its land settlement policy, which was manifested in the physical appearance of the land, divided into estates, farms and houses. The government was also in a sense the architect of the valley's social structure because of its land alienation policy. Land was granted in accordance with the capital brought into the colony, and convicts were assigned both to aid the landowner in establishing and working the property, and to rid the government of the expense of maintaining them.
Two systems of land alienation were established by Brisbane in 1824 - first, outright land auctions, with a 10% discount for cash and refund of money if sufficient convicts were employed; and second, grants without purchase, whereby a prospective settler had to first show that he could invest 25% of the upset price in improvements, and then paid 5% quit rent after a seven year grace period. Although survey was supposed to be a prerequisite, most grants were taken up without it, since the Surveyor General's Department was understaffed and hopelessly in arrears. When Darling arrived he found that most grantees could not meet the terms of finance. In spite of this, the payment requirements were retained to discourage speculators, while the survey condition and the convict allowance were done away with.¹

Darling established a more straightforward system of land allocation according to capital - for every five hundred pounds brought to the colony, 640 acres would be granted, up to 2,000 acres. Outright sales were few, while most settlers, such as William Dun, J.P. Webber and Edward Long, lost no time in applying for the maximum possible grant, and often acquired further lands through various means. The result was the huge estates such as those of Webber, and John McIntyre who owned 9,000 acres by 1829.²

By 1831 it was apparent that the system had failed in terms of limiting both the spread of settlement and the size of estates, and also in raising revenue since most could still not afford to pay. In that year, another scheme devised by Lord Goderich was introduced. It continued the policy of limiting alienation to the settled counties and proposed that sales be the only method of acquiring land, with the minimum upset price of 5 shillings an acre. Purchasers were required to pay 10% deposit and the balance before possession in an effort to generate revenue, keep prices up and limit sales. The impact of these regulations was initiated by the existence of boundless, free lands for the pasturage of stock. Landowners such as Cory, Dangar and W.H. Warland had pushed to the north in the twenties, and had squatted and later established stations in the New England, Gwydir and Liverpool Plains districts.³
While the government's attempts to limit the size of holdings and the spread of settlement generally failed, its survey and land division policies laid the foundation for Australia's rectilinear landscape. When the Hunter was opened up for settlement, Henry Dangar was instructed to survey it in straight lines forming a 1 mile square grid pattern, and all grants to be slotted into this formation. (See Fig. 11). The old plots at Patersons and Wallis Plains were accordingly adjusted, and later settlement followed Dangar's progress along the rivers. No settler was to have a river frontage more than a mile long. In relation to the earlier, chaotic system, the progress of the survey was ordered and regular, but in the rush for land conflicts over boundaries still occurred, for example, the protracted argument between John Verge of Lyndhurst Vale and John Hooke of Wiry Gully between 1828 and 1832.4

Up until the time Dangar commenced his grid-pattern survey in 1821, the colony had been divided into thirty-two Constable's districts. In that year Brisbane introduced a system of townships based on the American model - a tract of land of 36 square miles with a service village at its centre. This system was replaced upon Darling's arrival in 1825 with new divisions into Parishes (25 square miles), Hundreds (100 square miles) and Counties (400 square miles), to be bounded by streams and ranges. One seventh of the land in each Parish was reserved for the Church of England, for a local parish government was envisaged for each.5

The scheme effectively failed because of lack of population to support so many parishes. The official centres which did develop served a much wider area than 25 square miles. Counties were internally divided by natural obstructions such as rivers and ranges. Eventually, Counties and Parishes were limited in use to describing precisely the location of allotments, and were also used in the taking of censuses.6

Darling also published regulations for town planning in 1829 which directed that streets be laid out in a grid pattern, and emphasised uniformity and regularity, wide streets, half-acre allotments, and that buildings were to be set well back. The impact of these
Fig. 11: (Overleaf) Part of Henry Dangar's "Map of the River Hunter and its Branches....." showing the grid-patterned survey, early roads and estates. (Mitchell Library).
LIEUT. GENERAL

The town of [city name] and its dependencies.

To the view of advantage the town is much indebted for its present wealth and prosperity.

The steps in uncertainty among engravers indicate

Henry Tapper
regulations was enormous and since the base plan for hundreds of subsequent country towns was thus laid down.\(^7\)

Part of Dangar's task was to set aside likely sites for future towns, and his choice was often necessarily arbitrary. Some developed, some did not, depending on several factors such as transport links, settlement patterns and land use. The interaction of such factors usually led to the establishment of, for example, a store, an inn, a military station, or a pound, forming an embryonic village which was followed by later official survey. This pattern occurred at Clarence Town, Paterson and Dungog.\(^8\)

**Regulation and Services**

One of the first and most essential government services was the administration and maintenance of law and order. In view of the vast distances, the wild nature of the pioneering stage of society, the large convict population and the blacks made hostile by the loss of their lands, this proved a difficult task, and usually lagged behind the spread of settlement.

The earliest establishments were set up as original settlements at Patersons, Wallis and, later, Nelsons Plains. A military depot was established at the latter by 1820, together with a governor's house. Police had probably been appointed to the Paterson district some years before the barracks were built in the village of Paterson in 1820. Major Morrisett reported in that year:

> Military detachment are placed at the settlements at Patersons and Wallis Plains to assist the constables there in keeping order and to protect each settlement, one acting as corporal.\(^9\)

The barracks were probably located on the site of the present-day courthouse.

By 1825 bushranging had reached epidemic proportions, as desperate men escaped in increasing numbers from their masters, and later from itinerant road gangs. They roamed the country in gangs using the wild bush as an ally and a haven, where previously it had been a threat. James Phillips had begun with twenty convicts in 1822 and by December 1825
eight had absconded. The most infamous gang in the Dungog region was Jacobs Gang, formed of men who had run from various stations, including Vicars Jacob's farm. They attacked and plundered numerous farms, including Gostwyck, committing various atrocities, and were not caught until October 1825.10

The increase and savagery of bushranging, together with the difficulties of maintaining discipline amongst assigned convicts when courts of justice were a dim and distant threat, led directly to the establishment of many courthouses, police stations, and later watchhouses and lock-ups. Paterson became one of the earliest centres of law and order. By 1828 there was one constable, usually an ex-convict, a scourger and a lock-up keeper, and a wooden lock-up was erected, together with a constables' room which also served as a courthouse. Although it was described as dilapidated, with "loose slabs" in 1832, it appears that it was repaired and used until the present courthouse building (now Paterson Historical Society Museum) was commenced in 1857 on the same site. A watchhouse was added in 1882. Courts of Petty Sessions were held once a fortnight by the Police Magistrate of Maitland and Paterson, together with the honorary unpaid Justices. Quarter sessions had been held at Maitland since 1829. Mounted police were eventually posted at Paterson in 1868.11

The settlers along the Williams gained official regulation in the same pattern, roughly four years after initial settlement, centred on Dungog. A Court of Petty Sessions was established there in 1833, and the town was gazetted a year later, although not actually surveyed until 1838. An early courthouse and lock-up are shown on the original survey at the north east corner of Dowling and Chapman Streets, together with a pound on the north east corner of Chapman and Lord Streets. By 1838 there were probably also police barracks. The courthouse was designed by Government Architect Mortimer Lewis and built in 1849, and James Barnet designed its courtroom in 1862. Bushrangers were still a menace when Wells' Gazetteer reported in 1848 that a chief constable, a local police force and a "...guard of horse troopers is also stationed here.... the wild and hilly nature of the country affording
secret lurking places for (the bushrangers). Courts were held twice a month by one official and two honorary magistrates.\(^\text{12}\)

The settlers around the beginnings of Clarence Town were not so well-served, and probably used the facilities at Dungog. Although surveyed as early as 1832 there was no police constable until 1845, and in a rash of public building in the Shire in 1854 it received a watchhouse and lock-up. A handsome courthouse was designed by James Barnet and built in 1869 and a police station was erected the following year.\(^\text{13}\)

Other services were also established at the early centres. Clarence Town, Dungog and Paterson had pounds from the early 1830s. At Clarence Town a large pound predated the town survey and was set at odd angles to the rectilinear grid pattern, between Marshall, King, Rifle and Queen Streets. (See Fig. 20). It was similarly skewed at Dungog, near the corner of Chapman and Lord Streets, (see Fig. 25), while at Paterson, the pound was in the middle of the western end of Prince Street. A poundkeeper was appointed there in 1833, with the impoundment rate of 1d for horses, cattle and pigs, and 1/2d for sheep.\(^\text{14}\)

Post Offices were set up at the early centres of Paterson (1834) and Dungog (1835), and Post Masters appointed from the local community. Business was initially carried out from their private houses. Mail was delivered to Paterson twice a week by mounted police from 1832, and a seven-day mail service began in 1840 with the growth of the river trade. Clarence Town again lagged behind the other centres, with a Post Office established in 1845, four years after one was established at the rural centre of Gresford, north of Paterson. During the 1860's increasing and more dense population led to the establishment of Post Offices at the private town of Vacy (1860) and at Allynbrook, high on the Allyn River in 1866.\(^\text{15}\)

Although river boats dominated the transport network in the lower part of the Shire, land links had also been established there during the early 1820s. Roads took on a more important role beyond the heads of navigation near Clarence Town and Paterson, although the relatively easy country meant that no great
obstacles stood in the way of roads which followed the lines of the valleys.

During Darling's period of governorship roads in the colony, and particularly the Great Roads fanning out from the centre of Sydney, received a good deal of attention. A massive convict road gang system was developed to build the fine, durable and permanent road system intended by both Darling and the Surveyor General, Thomas Mitchell. In 1825 Surveyor Heneage Finch marked the first official road linking Sydney and the Hunter Valley, crossing the barren and mountainous tracts which separated them. This road, which later became known as the Great North Road, was intended to replace the earlier Bulga Road further west, but in spite of ten years of convict labour, it was more or less superseded by steamer services introduced in 1832 and never fulfilled the plans of its builders. Its branches had connected the main road to the lower, middle and upper Hunter and construction began on the first of these, linking Wollombi and Wallis Plains in 1828.16

Henry Dangar's 1828 map of the Hunter Valley shows, for the main part, official roads in the area of Dungog Shire. (See Fig. 11). There were no doubt numerous settler's paths criss-crossing the river flats and out through the bush, and both Dangar and James Atkinson wrote that such tracks often later became well-used and properly constructed roads.17 However, at the early stage, Dangar did not consider the official laying out and building of roads a high priority:

The necessity....for making roads in those parts....under settlement is not urgent, the country being so open and presenting so few difficulties that it seldom happens but that a loaded carriage can be taken to any required point.18

He had marked a "tract northwards to Port Stephens" in March 1826 for the use of the A.A. Company, but by 1828 it was still "not fit for carriages". He advised travellers to use the line "more to the east, crossing the Hunter by Ferry Boat .... just below the junction of the Hunter and Williams River" as shown on his map (see Fig. 11). Another road shown on his map crosses Dungog Shire in a north easterly and easterly direction from the Branxton district, where it was linked to the
main Hunter Valley road, fording the Paterson and Allyn Rivers above Gostwyck and the Williams River below Dungog. No modern road appears to correspond with this early line.19

G.B. White's 1829 map of the upper Williams River and the newly-established holdings there shows a typical early settlers' track, closely following the course of the Williams on the west side and branching at the future town site of Dungog. One branch crossed Myall Creek towards Dingadee, while the other continued north-north-west along the creek to Brown's huts (Cairnsmore), and then swinging west north west, petering out at Bendolba and Dowling's Caningalla. These lines became the present day Dungog - Stroud Road and the Dungog - Bendolba Road.20

Roads around Paterson were established in a similar fashion with the early grants of the 1820s. An 1831 map of the district shows Webber's, Phillips' and Boughton's grants, with a bridle track running due north between the first two, crossing Johnston Range towards Tillimby (Boughton). By 1832 this would have been linked to West Maitland by a punt over the Hunter there, and in 1835 G.B. White drew up a "Plan of Proposed Line of Communication between the Township of Maitland and the Village of Paterson" which showed numerous "old" roads around Maitland and north of it. A new line was marked north of Morpeth, running directly along the west side of the Paterson River. Close to the Paterson township it appears to follow the present line of road.21

A web of haphazard tracks had developed on the site of Clarence Town by 1832. One led directly to Marshall and Lowes' shipyards and thence to Singleton's mill further upstream, with others fanned away to Nelsons Plains and south along Storey Creek. (See Fig. 19). Some are still shown on the 1864 map of the town, completely out of kilter with its rectilinear plan. (See Fig.20). By 1840 a road also ran up from Raymond Terrace, past Clarence Town on the opposite side of the river, and a punt was established in 1844 to link the two.22

The link between Dungog and Paterson was officially resurveyed in 1838, probably by Surveyor Rusden. His line (which is in the vicinity of the present day road via
Wallarobba) straightened out sections of the older line, and the latter was considerably altered over the Wallarobba range. While the old road crossed the Paterson at Jones Ford (probably Vineyard Crossing) and thus came into Paterson on the same side of the river, Rusden's line veered towards the Martins Creek area and approached Paterson from the opposite side of the river, crossing it by a ford. Whether or not this road was actually built is unclear - an 1847 map of Dungog showed the line still marked "Rusden's line to Paterson" together with a "settlers line" presumably still in use. It appears that the earlier approach to Paterson River never ceased to be used. 23

By 1845 settlers around Dungog were demanding an improved road linking them with the head of navigation and the growing river trade at Clarence Town and also the road link available there towards Raymond Terrace. The road linking the two was improved in 1856, thus facilitating the transport of goods and produce down the valleys to the ships. Dungog was also linked to Fosterton in the north by 1856. 24

The government, interacting with settlers' activities and demands, thus set the stage and marked the outlines of the later thriving towns and the busy transport networks of the second half of the nineteenth century. It provided services and regulations which brought the location of towns into focus, and its ongoing work on roads, and later bridges, provided the necessary foundations for essential transport and communications.
THEME 5 : THE EARLY GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE

NOTES


3. Perumal, Wrathall and Murphy, pp.36-37, 38-39; Campbell "Genesis...", p.91; Mitchell, p.175; See also, John Fryer, ed. Surveying the Hunter, Newcastle, 1980, pp.13,16.

4. Perry, p.66; Dungog Town and District, p.2.


8. Ibid; Deamer, pp.31-32; Perumal, Wrathall and Murphy, pp.32-33.


11. Archer, "The Settlement.....", p.20. It is possible that the 1833 account of police at Paterson refers to Patersons Plains military station Bellevue, near Largs.

13. Anon. "Historical Notes on Clarence Town", unpublished notes held in Newcastle Local History Library; Cynthia Hunter, "Local History Course Outline", Department of Adult Education course, April - May 1985, held by Dungog Historical Society.


15. Archer, "The Settlement....." p.27; Perumal, Wrathall and Murphy, supplementary volume, entries for Clarence Town and Dungog; Vacy Public School Centenary, 1859-1959, pp.11-12; Maitland Mercury, 24 November 1966.


20. See G.B. White, "West Bank of the Williams River from Wattle Creek to Tabbil Creek", 1829, A.O. Map SZ 531.

22. See Townsend, "Clarence Town showing town reserve, farms etc. on Williams River", 1832, A.O. Map 2208; J.C. Burnett, "Plan of 17 Farms on the Williams River near Clarence Town", 1840, A.O. Map 2309; Map of Clarence Town, 1864, Mitchell Library.


24. Hunter, "Course Outline"; See "Plan of the Parish Road from Dungog to Posterton along the west bank of the River Williams", 1856, A.O. Map 5145.
THEME 6 : THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

1. Overview

After the early cedar getters had moved on, and their rough shanties had fallen down, the first settlers began to stream into the Paterson and Williams Valleys, bringing their wives and children, convict workers and servants, goods and stock. Their involvement in the convict assignment system and their displacing of the local blacks meant that an ever-present underlying fear of revolt or reprisals was inevitable. The spread of settlement was thus followed by some attempt to maintain law and order and to protect settlers, as we have seen. The buildings associated with the government's influence - barracks, courthouses, lock-ups - often marked the nuclei of later townships. Other places of business and gathering were drawn to them, for convenience, and eventually the village took on a life of its own.

The period 1830 to 1850 saw the establishment of a network of country towns in New South Wales in a pattern which survives to the present day. By 1846 there were 36 settlements containing more than 100 people, while eight had more than 700.¹ The location of early towns in Dungog Shire was for the main part moulded by the rivers, both as barriers and conveyances, together with their associated landscapes of watersheds, valley slopes and alluvial plains. People came together on the flats in bends of the river, at the heads of navigation, at crossing places. Sometimes, the official selection coincided with these "natural" sites, and the later town developed in a regular, orderly fashion, while at other times the official plan was partly or wholly bypassed by private development, for example at Gresford and Allynbrook. In many instances, settlements ranging from a few buildings to a small private town grew up on estates, ribbonlike along the roads or clustered about the homestead. The fluctuation in industrial patterns, because of climatic conditions and economic and technological developments, played havoc with the neat, orderly streets and the plans for mutually supporting networks of towns. At Paterson, development far outstripped the 90 acres set aside for it,
Enterprising settlers quickly made use of convenient town sites by erecting buildings associated with current requirements and new industries, supplementing official buildings and functions. By 1830 Marshall and Lowe had established their shipyards at Clarence Town, and by 1832 MacKay's wharf and store stood nearby. At Dungog, Paterson and Gresford inns were opened during the 'thirties and 'forties to cater to the needs of travellers for food, accommodation and stockyards. The inns also became local gathering-places, for example, the early Farmers Club, formed in about 1827 met in an inn at Patersons Plains. The trades associated with transport - blacksmiths, wheelwrights, ostlers - were drawn to the early settlements for the same reasons.

The names of towns and settlements were drawn from various sources, reflecting the complex mixture of elements making up the shire's history. Paterson took its name from the river, named in honour of Colonel William Paterson, and similarly, Clarence Town honoured the Duke of Clarence. Pleasant, musical aboriginal names were given to Dungog, Bendobba, Dingadee, Munni, Wallarobba, Tocal and probably Carabolla. Homesick Welshmen added a string of Welsh names to the upper Paterson district, including Gresford, Eccleston, Allyn, Lostock, Halton and Trevallyn. Later in the century German settlers probably named Woerden.

The various immigration schemes of the 1830's and 1840's, although intended to encourage rural settlement, actually stimulated the growth of towns. The cost of their passage to the colony was financed by land sales which ironically priced land out of the reach of many newly arrived settlers. They sought work in the towns instead.

The 1840's period with its artificially high land prices, severe drought conditions, together with the withdrawal of convict
labour, drove many of the large and previously successful landowners to bankruptcy. Labourers left the estates and farms to seek work in the towns, and boiling-down works were hastily set up to convert thousands of cattle and sheep, purchased during the buoyant 'thirties, into tallow and lard. At the same time the occupation of the rural areas did increase to some extent, as many large estates in the Hunter Valley were subdivided and sold. In Dungog Shire a more common practice was to tenant the large estates and many small settlements grew up associated with the early estates as a result. Bounty schemes encouraged large landowners to import labour for their estates in place of the convicts. At Lewinsbrook and Cawarra, German vintners and labourers were brought in to tend the vineyards.

The pattern of populations in flux continued during the following decade. With the gold rushes of the 1850s onwards, a steady stream of hopeful diggers headed for the various goldfields and the settled population fell, particularly on tenanted land. There was also an exodus of landowners to the Northern Rivers, corresponding with an incoming rush of Irish immigrants. Between 1851 and 1861 the proportion of Catholics rose considerably in the county of Durham as a result.

The second half of the nineteenth century was generally a boom-time for the major towns in Dungog Shire, and thus also a period of physical consolidation and community growth. The 1860s brought neat, solid government buildings, such as police stations, watch houses, post offices and court houses, all built to indicate a civilized and well-ordered society. Rows of stores and offices were built by merchants, professional people, banks and businessmen along the main streets, slowly filling up the grids laid down by surveyors forty years before. Clarence Town and Paterson developed as busy transport nodes where goods and produce from further up the valleys were loaded onto the riverboats for Newcastle and Sydney, and the necessities and comforts of life were offloaded and distributed. Boatloads of sight-seers and day-trippers came up from Newcastle to view the marvels of the bustling towns set in their undulating hills by the lifeline rivers.
The depression of the 1890s appears not to have greatly affected the shire's major towns, and the many fluctuations in rural industries usually brought only temporary setbacks followed by the strengthening influence of new industries. The early wheat and corn mills continued to function until rust brought the end of widespread wheat growing in the 1860s. Tobacco growing declined in the following decade because of the spread of blue mould. At the same time however, the new saw mills powered by steam that were set up from the 1860s brought the resurgence of the timber industry and a large cornflour mill was established at Dungog in 1878. The 1880s saw the establishment of a flourishing citrus industry, and the dramatic developments in dairying technology led to large scale dairying in the region from the 1890s and a thus great increase in the shire's population.9

The early twentieth century brought the extension of a Northern Railway through Paterson to Dungog, altering the picture considerably. At first the cutting of sleepers stimulated the local timber industry, but upon its opening in 1911, the railway negated the role of both Clarence Town and Paterson as vital centres of river/road transport. Both towns lost much of their impetus and eventually simply became quiet rural centres. Meanwhile, Dungog derived considerable growth from the railway which terminated there for a time. The railway workers and the timber required for sleepers had stimulated the service and timber industries, and the railway itself strengthened the town's status as a transport nexus and service centre, spurring its physical development during the 1910s and 1920s. Dowling Street's handsome array of facades illustrates the growth of the town from the 1890's through to the 1920s, with its lavishly detailed Victorian, Federation and 1920s style shops, banks, offices and hotels stretching almost continuously from one end of the town to the other. It was, indeed, a town of note.

In the end, however, the decline of the dairying industry, together with general rural slump, the bypassing of the shire by major routeways, and growing centralisation of large urban areas, led to the slowing of growth in
the towns and villages since about the 1950s. At the same time, and precisely for this reason, the region has retained much of its historic and natural landscapes and its splendid architectural heritage, factors which draw increasing numbers of tourists and form the basis for yet another industry.

2. Major Towns

Paterson

Paterson's origins probably lay in the rough, makeshift camps of the early cedar getters who named the Paterson "Cedar Arm" and the site of the town "Old Banks". They may still have been stripping the temperate rainforests when police were appointed to the district by 1820. In that year barracks were erected, probably on the site of the present-day courthouse building, constituting the town's first more or less permanent structure. A slab courthouse and lock-up were erected in 1828 in the wake of the rapid settlement of the Paterson and Allyn Rivers.

The town site, set in the midst of rich alluvial lands 1½ kilometres below the head of navigation at Gostwyck, was the third to be surveyed in the Hunter Valley after Newcastle and Maitland. Since it had not initially been set aside during Dangar's survey, ninety acres of Mrs. S.M. Ward's Cintra estate was purchased in 1832. At the time of the first survey, a track ran irregularly along the brow of Mt. Johnston, connecting the properties on the west bank. It was straightened by the survey of George Boyle White, and later incorporated into the town plan. A spot was also marked for a public wharf. The town itself was laid out the following year and comprised only six streets, all named reassuringly within the theme of royalty and title - King, Queen, Prince, Duke, Count and Marquis. It was a finite town plan, set in a neat grid tightly enclosed by the river, the Mount Johnston Ranges and Hungry Hill, and it rapidly became totally inadequate in size as the century progressed.

By 1833 the surveyor could already mark several buildings on the new plan - a courthouse and lock-up, a pound (in Prince Street), two early churches (St. Ann's...
Presbyterian and St. Paul's Anglican - both were forerunners of the present churches) and an inn on James Phillips' Bona Vista estate. The inn may have been the predecessor of his later inn, the Patersons Arms.3

With the introduction of the steamer service during the 1830's, the town's future was assured and many substantial and fine residential, commercial and church buildings were erected during the next two decades. In Prince Street, two buildings, Noumea, a cottage, and the Paterson Tavern are thought to date from this early period, and may have been designed by the noted architect John Verge.4 Verge had been granted a property, Lyndhurst Vale, in the Wallarobba district, and his allegiance appears to have been with Paterson. He was commissioned in 1836 by Lieutenant Frederick Bedwell, of Valentia Lodge nearby, to "design in pencil ....a house in Paterson, finished plans and a list of scantling." Verge completed drawings for four cottages but it is not known whether they were ever built on Bedwell's land (Queen Street and corner King and Duke Street)5. His connection with the Paterson Hotel (later Patersons Arms Hotel) is stronger. He was commissioned to design it by James Phillips in 1835 and the inn was built on the Bona Vista estate adjoining the township. The location became a site in a street connecting Victoria and Sloane Streets, in the private township. A photo dated c1880, by which time it had become a private residence, Brooklyn House, shows the building in considerable detail and as typical of Verge's restrained and balanced style. (See Figs. 12 and 13). It was completed in about 1838, and by 1840 it was described as:

"...containing on the ground floor five lofty rooms, one of which is fitted up as a bar room with counter and shelves complete. The upper floor which is approached by a winding stone staircase.....contains also five neatly finished bedrooms with a balcony enclosed by iron palisading of exquisite design and taste."6

Set on the main road to Maitland on high ground and surrounded by extensive gardens, it was a "lucrative establishment" with a turnover of ten thousand pounds per annum. The building survived until 1949, when it was pulled down because of poor condition.7
At the same time another inn was established on the road leading to the districts further north. The Bush Inn was erected on Mrs. Ward's Cintra estate high above the riverside road. It had a plaque over the doorway engraved "Long House Green 1836" and comprised two storeys of stone one room wide with a small central gable set in the gabled roof. Bellcast verandahs stood at either end of the structure which also featured 12-paned windows. (See Fig. 14). It apparently served as an inn and wine shop throughout the nineteenth century until it was purchased by William Corner in 1900. A new brick two storey verandah'd section was added to the front at this stage, camouflaging the early building, and it was then renamed Sussex House. Both sections were demolished in 1966.8

In the township itself the Royal Oak Hotel (extant) was erected in King Street during the 1830s and it was subsequently used as a barber's shop, private residence and C.B.C. bank office. Further along King Street, Major Edward Johnstone, possibly a relative of George Johnstone and an early Police Magistrate, built Annandale House in 1839. The fine two storey stone residence faces out over the river and Street with its surrounding bellcast verandah, echoes on a small scale the style of the estate-houses Trevallyn, Gostwyck, Tocal and Dunmore.9

By 1834 Paterson had a post office which was probably run from a private residence. An early school house, most likely slab, was also used as a chapel, although the denomination is unclear, and in 1837 a teacher who could "speak Gaelic grammatically" was required for the Presbyterian school. The austere, solid lines of St. Anne's Presbyterian church appeared in 1840. It was set on a landmark site on a rocky outcrop on the northwest edge of the town, overlooking the river and both the official town and the string of mills, cottages and inns on the road out to Gresford. Work on St. Paul's Anglican Church began under the direction of Reverend John Jennings Smith in 1839. The simple stone gothic church was consecrated in 1845, while the graveyard at the rear predated it. Burials had at first taken place on a site selected by Reverend G.A. Middleton on the Tillimby estate, and later in an area at the far eastern point of
Figs. 12 and 13: Patersons Arms Inn, designed by John Verge in 1835, photographed c1880 when it was known as Brooklyn House. The building was typical of Verge's restrained balanced style. Below, the building probably shortly before its demolition in 1949. (Paterson Historical Society, Newcastle Local History Library).
Fig. 14: An early twentieth century view of the road just north west of Paterson, showing the now-demolished (1966) Sussex House/Bush Inn (1830s), centre, and the grain store on the left. (Newcastle Local History Library).
Fig. 15: "Plan of the Estate of Bona Vista", 1855, showing subdivided allotments and the government and private township sections. (Mitchell Library).
the town, a riverside site on the peninsular, as shown on an 1839 survey.10

The 1840's were a period of expansion of the town itself, in spite of the setbacks of drought and the depression. James Phillips in 1840 was able to subdivide and sell the north eastern portion of his estate as the private section of town (now the area south of Prince Street,11 (See Fig.15)). The area along the river and Gresford road north west of the township was another area of lively but rather more haphazard industrial development. A network of roads developed connecting the various buildings, as illustrated on surveyor Henry Carmichael's map of 1850. (See Fig.16). Carmichael had been assigned the realignment of the flood prone riverside roads in that year and the map shows two flour mills (one was Keppie's), each with its own wharf, with a "double cottage" and the remains of another cottage between them. Further along stood work shops, another brick cottage, a store, Keppie's Inn (possibly the Cricketer's Arms) and a blacksmith's shop. David Brown's Bush Inn with its stables, yard and gardens is shown on another road further up the slope. Quarries from which stone for the town's buildings was taken stood at the entrance to the town. Although the road was realigned in the 1850s, the activities of the "Commercial Road" as it became known, did not cease until a devastating flood covered the area in 1875. The Cricketer's Arms Hotel was subsequently removed brick by brick into the town and became the present Court House Hotel. Photographs show that the early symmetrical brick structure was later (c1880) doubled in size by the addition of a larger wing adjacent, and the whole was given a verandah of iron lace. (See Figs. 17 and 18). Today it appears that only the later building has survived. Down on the Commercial Road area a post and rail fence, with its debris of more recent floods, still marks the line of the original road. A large brick grain storage barn and a two-storeyed miller's cottage are also still intact, contributing to the site's value as an outstanding historical/archaeological research area.12

John Tucker, a notable local figure and the town's early historian, wrote a nostalgic piece in 1933 describing Paterson in the 1840s as a well established, thriving town. It had
Figs. 17 and 18: Two views of the Court House Hotel, removed to its present site from the flood-prone Commercial Road area. Fig. 17 shows the original (rebuilt) building and Fig. 18 shows its incorporation into a much grander, boom-style complex c1880. Today only the more recent section on the right still stands. (Newcastle Local History Library and Mitchell Library).
six public houses (Paterson Arms, Wellington Arms, Settlers Arms, The Bush Inn, The Plough Inn and The Cricketer's Arms), four blacksmith's shops, four stores, three bootmakers, a tannery, two butcher's shops and a bakery, two tailors, two auctioneers, a shipyard (across the river), two steam flour mills, and a busy timber industry providing material for houses, fences, and ships' sides, ribs and beams, furniture and casks. The shipyard's first ship was launched in 1846 and other ships constructed included the "Pegasus" and "Paterson Packet". By 1848 the town had a racecourse near Webber's Creek and had established annual race days. For Tucker, looking back from the bleak 1930s, Paterson seemed a brighter, simpler and greener place - an ironic conclusion in some ways, in view of the desperate circumstances of the dry and depressed 1840s.

During the second half of the nineteenth century Paterson consolidated both its importance and its physical formation, and continued to grow. It was a service centre for the rich agricultural land around it and this together with its role as a transport mode attracted various industries. Most of the transport and marketing activities were centred on the wharf, and buildings sprang up accordingly. Produce was loaded onto drays and carts which streamed down the various roads of the Paterson and Allyn Valleys, converging on Paterson, and there, river boats which received the loads brought various goods up from Sydney and Newcastle. Below St. Anne's, Andrew and John Keppie's saw mill stood adjacent to the public wharf, and the store houses and offices of the Hunter River Steam Navigation Company, including the union or market shed, were built nearby, on the site of the earlier Wellington Arms. Market day in Paterson was traditionally Tuesday and the town would be crowded with farmers selling their produce and buying up goods and stores. Wilson and Keppie ran the market shed for many years until it closed in the 1950s.

Fry's coach service was established to connect the town by road with Maitland in the south, and, more importantly, with the settlements beyond the head of navigation further north. The links were made considerably easier by the construction of the valley's various bridges during the 1870s and 1880s. Fry's depot was
The erection of official buildings in the town began in the 1850s with the new lock-up and watchhouse, and in 1857 a fine new courthouse on the site of the old slab building was begun. The building, designed by the then Colonial Architect Alexander Dawson, was of a neo-classical style, with arched portico and fine stucco detailing. It stands on a suitably elevated site overlooking the town and the river and functioned as a courthouse until 1967. It now houses the museum collection of the Paterson Historical Society. The town had a gothic school building erected in 1877, a small Italianate post office during the 1880s, along with a police residence in 1882. A School of Arts was erected in 1883 and served as a focus for community activities, a function continued by its 1935 replacement. An Oddfellows hall was also built in 1865.

Paterson suffered some setbacks during the 1850s and 1860s as a result of the rapid spread of rust which wiped out the wheatfields stretching "....from Hinton to Lostock", and forcing the cultivation of wheat to the drier plains further west. Similarly, the tobacco crops were eventually finished off by blue mould which also spread rapidly in the relatively wet climate. However, a successful citrus industry was later established and expanded up the Paterson as far as Carrabolla, and this together with the rise in dairying brought on by the revolutionary developments in that industry, boosted the town's population and reaffirmed its importance. The land adjacent to Tucker Park was formerly an orange orchard and an extant packing shed there is a physical reminder of the industry. Paterson River oranges were well known and sought after, and in its heyday early this century 30,000 cases were handled through Paterson in a season. The new feasibility of small citrus and dairy farms also brought the end of the remaining large estates in the shire. Almost all were subdivided and sold off in the first thirty years of the century, and they were invariably
advertised as citrus and dairy farms, with an emphasis on the fertility of the land and the efficient transport links. Since both types of land-use usually involved the labour of large families, the population of the area was greatly increased.\(^{19}\)

Bankers and churchmen, businessmen and farmers probably considered the extension of the North Coast railway through their town as yet another boon by which the town's role as a market and transport centre would be strengthened. Instead, the railway eventually deprived Paterson of its lively river trade and gave no real benefit in return. The railway line carved up its townscape and the railway bridge was aligned directly over the wharf, aptly reflecting the dominance of rail over water. A girder from the bridge fell through the riverboat Marie, causing serious damage, and later ashes from a steam engine boiler set her alight. The public landing place was transferred and a new wharf, Queens Wharf, was built in the Tucker Park area. Over the next four decades, cream boats and pleasure craft plied the waters, but by the 1930s, those too had vanished.\(^{21}\)

During the years following the 1930s the town became a quiet rural centre with few new developments. With the closure of many public and private concerns, Paterson was left with many empty buildings - an ironic situation in view of its long history of building development continually spilling over its official boundaries. The lack of modern development has, however, led to a new tourist industry, based on its beautiful natural
environment and historic landscape. What remains is, in fact, a striking outdoor museum of nineteenth century life.

Clarence Town

The crew of the Lady Nelson rowing up the Clarence River, viewed the site of Clarence Town in 1801 before they were stopped by the falls about 4 miles/6 kilometres further along the Williams River. Although no cedar was noted on this first trip, cedar getters later located pockets along the river and forests beyond the head of navigation. It is thought that their makeshift camps may have been on the site of Clarence Town, and timber was to be the town's major industry for much of its existence.¹

Benjamin Singleton, an enterprising man who had discovered the early Bulga Road route and had various interests at Singleton, built a water-driven flour mill in 1829, in anticipation of the wheat crop of the large estates established in the area in 1828 and 1829. He advertised his service in the Sydney Gazette:

Mr. Benjamin Singleton of the John Mills Williams River......inform(s)....that the above are now in full work. He has two crafts now on the River which will take grain from the different farms and return meal when ground at the rate of fifteen pence sterling per bushell...²

The track towards his mill had been established and was marked on an 1832 map of the town site. (See Fig.19). In spite of the depression and drought of the 1840s, the mill survived until it was washed away in the great 1857 flood.³

While the land on the Williams was generally taken up rapidly, the soils around Clarence Town were relatively poor, with the result that the town's development at first lagged slightly behind the others in the Shire. The settlement pattern around the town for various reasons also tended towards smaller, poorer farms, contrasting with the extensive, rich estates along the Paterson and around Dungog. At the same time, its location on the river and proximity to sources of fine timber led William Lowe and James Marshall to establish their ship-building yard at the southern end.
Fig. 19: (Overleaf) Excerpt from "Clarence Town showing town reserve, farms etc. on Williams River", 1832. Marshall and Lowe's shipyard is marked, along with MacKay's store, Rusher's huts and various tracks. (A.O. Map 2208).
Fig. 20: (Overleaf) "Clarence Town, County of Durham, 1864" (Mitchell Library).
of the town in 1830. The Deptford Shipyard, as it was named, was on land purchased from the Reverend Father Therry. Its reputation was consolidated by the launching of the famous William IV, the first ocean-going steamer built in Australia, in 1832. Deptford became the nucleus of the town and by 1832, the "Huts and Yard etc. occupied by Messrs. Lowe and Marshall" were joined by MacKay's store, while in the bend of the river to the north east, James Rusher had 26 acres cleared and cultivated, and had erected several huts. (See Fig. 19). The first wharf was built by David Farquar at Deptford soon after, along with a store. A pound was also set up before the town was laid out.4

As a result of this activity, the town was proclaimed in 1832, the third in the Hunter Valley, after Newcastle and Maitland, and its plan was laid out on the extensive, open, elevated terrace overlooking the river. It was a scheme so generous that it was never fully utilised, even at the height of the boom period. As usual, the streets almost without exception formed a rectilinear grid pattern superimposed on the contours of the river and over existing creeks, tracks and structures. The area was divided up into one and two acre blocks and sold off at two pounds an acre. (See Fig. 20). A survivor from this early period is Hua Tsa, built by S.N. Dark, a long, low house of brick with a sweeping, steeply pitched roof stretching unbroken over the wide encircling verandah. The two front doors, each crowned with semi-circular fanlights reinforce the claim that it was at one stage used as an inn.5

Marshall and Lowe's partnership had dissolved by 1836 and Lowe carried on the Deptford works until 1855. It was he who built Deptford House (see Fig. 21) which stood above the yards until the complex burnt down in the early twentieth century.6

Lowe and Marshall acquired about 600 acres on the opposite side of the river from Clarence Town by 1840, and in that year numerous small farms stretched down along the river below his southern boundary. The withdrawal of convict labour, together with the depression and drought also lead many large landowners to sublet their estates, with the result of an increase in the population in the district.7
Fig. 21: View of Deptford House, at Marshall and Love's shipyard. The postcard is postmarked 1909, and the house burnt down soon after. (Newcastle Local History Library)

Fig. 22: "Hollydene, Clarence Town", c1890. Boom-style optimism in bustling Clarence Town. (Mitchell Library).
The new settlers were served by a regular steamer service established in about 1856, and a punt across the river at Deptford linked the town more directly with the settlement at Raymond Terrace. Both regular cattle sales and annual race meetings were held from that year. A post office was established in 1839 and in the following year, the town already had 93 inhabitants and 18 houses. A school was set up in 1849, the earliest National School in the Shire, which for a period became one of the best in the State.8

The late 'forties also saw Surveyor Henry Carmichael marking out the allotments for the various church buildings, including land for a Roman Catholic burial ground (1847), a Presbyterian school in Marshall Street (1847), Presbyterian Manse and Church (1849) and a Wesleyan Chapel (1849). These maps give little idea of other existing structures, although an inn was marked in Queen Street close to Grey Street in 1847. Only Queen and Grey Streets were actually formed to some extent at this stage, all the rest still marked as dotted lines. However, by 1851, the town's population of 193 surpassed that of Paterson.9

Industries associated with both agriculture and timber began to appear in the town and continued to thrive throughout the nineteenth century. A steam flour mill had been established by 1845 (Lots 7,8 King Street) and was joined by G. A' Church's Victoria Mill in Lot 4 Rifle Street, flourishing until rust wiped out the district wheat crops in the 1860s. Similarly the town had two tobacco factories treating leaf during the 1870s, but these closed down after the onset of blue mould. In 1866, however, the town could still boast two flour mills and two tobacco factories. One of the latter had been established by James Lyall, together with a tannery. Another tannery owned by Mr. A. Lloyd was on Stony Creek near the cemetery west of Clarence Town. His greenhide and fancy leathers became well-known and won many prizes.10

The busy river trade was, once again, fed by the roads fanning out into the valleys, and shipped timber, tobacco, wheat, potatoes, pumpkins, barley, maize and butter from at least two wharves. Clarence Town's three
hotels, including the George and Dragon, the Commercial and the Fitzroy, saw to the traveller's and the local's needs. Of these three, only remnants of the Commercial Hotel survive. The 1850s also brought the passing trade of traffic bound for the goldfields at Hanging Rock, and this reoccurred during the 1880s when discoveries were made at Wangat and Whispering Gully. The journey through Clarence Town was made easier by the opening of the Clarence Town bridge in 1880.11

By 1866 the town had a coach booking office "for passengers and light parcels", a savings bank, and a branch of the Liverpool, London and Globe Insurance Company serving its population of three hundred. Three churches and two schools, the National and the Roman Catholic, had also been established. The prosperity and vitality of the town was quickly reflected in the architecture. The first hotel, the George and Dragon (built c1845) was owned by Samuel Walters who also purchased about four acres in Russell Street, erecting his small stone cottage and a stone creamery and storage room on it. His hotel prospered, and during the boom years of the 1880s, Walters built the present Hollydene on the site. (See Fig. 22). The two storeyed villa represents the optimism and opulence of the day, with its lavish cast iron detailing and joinery. Part of the earlier, modest structures stand at the rear.12

Walters also built the town's watchhouse and lock-up in 1854, along with a temporary courthouse. The present courthouse was completed in 1869 to the design of Government Architect James Barnet, and during the 1880s a Post Office and Police Station completed the town's array of impressive public buildings.13

Another physical reminder of Clarence Town's boom period is Fotheringay, an unusual, elaborate, L-shaped house of brick and field stone with a prominent octagonal drawing room facing out over the river. The property on which it stands was an amalgamation of seven smaller allotments, and the house appears to date from c1860s. The wealthy timber contractor William Croker purchased it in 1895 and resided there for many years until his death in 1919 aged 79.14

Besides the river boats laden with goods and
produce, the river also carried pleasure boats full of day-trippers enjoying the tranquil river and landscape during the four-hour trip from Newcastle. An anonymous tourist in 1878 remarked on Clarence Town's "forward state" and "healthful situation", the three steamers lying at the wharf, and the W.C. Wentworth preparing to load timber, large quantities of which lined the banks for a considerable distance.15

During the 1860s, the local timber was described as "of excellent quality ....abundant" and "large quantities split and sawn are exported". Handsawing and the old sawpits began to be replaced by steam driven timber mills in that decade, and timber grew into a major industry as a result. The Enterprise Sawmill was located on the river downstream from the town, and may have been the "Ellis Sawmill" shown in an undated photograph. (See Fig.61). The Enterprise closed down in 1893 when lightning struck the smoke stack, but was reopened in 1901 by Armstrong and Royce of Newcastle. Another mill was operated by the Flannery family.16

The timber industry, river trade and the rise in dairying from the 1890s appear to have compensated for the setbacks of the loss of wheat and tobacco. One of the shire's earliest creameries was established at Glen William, near Clarence Town, in 1893, and cream and butter from this and many other points were brought to Clarence Town by cart for transhipping to Ireland's at Newcastle or Foley Bros. in Sydney. A lucrative bacon industry also sprang up with dairying, since pigs could be fed on the buttermilk. A large bacon and pork factory was run by S. Robards and Sons which filled big contracts of pickled pork for the Navy. Remains of the factory are located on the Glen William Road outside the town.17

By the time William Lowe had left the Deptford Shipyards in c1860 it had produced the Earl Grey, the Comet, Elfin, Experiment and Ceres. Other shipyards were established along the river, probably nurtured by the busy shipping trade and the resurgence of the timber industry. Shipbuilders included Captain Hackett, McPherson, Roderick, Oliver and Moynham. The industry began to decline in the late nineteenth century and the shipyards had
Fig. 23: "View of Clarence Town Wharf 1909" shows goods waiting to be loaded at the Williams River Steam Navigation Company wharf. These structures were rebuilt after the original buildings burnt down in 1906. (Newcastle Local History Library).
closed by 1907, when the last ship, Erringhi was launched at Clarence Town.18

In 1880 the Williams River Steam Navigation Company was established with its boat Favourite, later building Cooreei (1886) to augment the service. The company set up its headquarters at Clarence Town, and built its wharf at the foot of Grey Street, along with a four storey brick warehouse and stockyards. Fire destroyed the wharf, buildings and the Cooreei in 1906, but the company survived, rebuilt, and added the Erringhi to its service the following year. (See Fig.23). The impact of the North Coast Railway opening in 1911, which bypassed Clarence Town completely, was almost immediate - the company went into liquidation and was auctioned two years later.19

Although the railway boosted the timber industry around Clarence Town initially, the eventual consequences for the town were even more drastic than the effect on Paterson. The entire pattern of trade and transport was shifted and Dungog became first a rail terminus and later remained a central transport/distribution nexus, as well as the largest service centre. Clarence Town was left behind and lost its impetus. The population began to decline from the 1920s and very little new development has taken place since. Like Paterson, it thus retains many of its nineteenth century buildings, a record of its development and the long boom period, set in the green, undulating valley landscape.20

Dungog

The Shire's present day major town, and centre of local government, was established slightly later than Paterson and Clarence Town. Dungog had a steadier growth less marked by the fluctuations of population and industries, and although lacking the vigorous river trade, it gained rather than lost status as a transport centre when the railway was opened in 1911.

Dungog's origins, like those of Clarence Town, are obscure and are probably once more linked with the camps of the timber getters searching out pockets of red cedar on the Williams after
Fig. 24: (Overleaf) Rusden's "Plan of the Village of Dungog..." 1838. (A.O. Map 2419).
Fig. 25: "Plan of the Town of Dungog on the Upper Williams River", 1866, showing the subdivision of the area originally meant as a park reserve. (Mitchell Library)
1825. Cedar cutting remained a chief source of the district's wealth during the early period.¹

When George Boyle White surveyed and mapped the upper Williams in 1829, he did not even mark the site of the future town site, naming only the large estates of MacKay, Anley, Mann, Dowling, Myles and Brown. Many of these names, as well as those of settlers who arrived later appeared on the streets of the newly laid out town in 1838. It appears that two tracks, forerunners of later roads, ran southeast to northwest and southwest to northeast, crossed in the valley which "covered a succession of ridges which fall into one another like the fingers of clasped hands". Dungog's site was thus at the crossroads in a beautiful valley at the centre of rich, extensive estates. (See Fig. 24).²

The town was gazetted in 1834, and between this time and the survey in 1838, an unofficial settlement grew up. A Court of Petty Sessions was established in 1833 and a courthouse and lock-up stood on the northeast corner of Chapman and Dowling Streets. A pound and a poundkeeper's hut stood on the corner of Chapman and Lord Streets, and the Church of England had erected a cruciform church, a school and a parsonage on Verge Street between Mary and Myles Streets. Once more, the town was laid in a grid pattern over the existing structures and the crisscrossed tracks weaving over the valley floor up towards Dingadee and Port Stephens, the Fosterton district, and down river to Clarence Town and Paterson. (See Fig. 24). At the eastern end of town the surveyor planned a "promenade and circular pleasure grounds near the beautiful reaches and bends of the river". Unfortunately, the park was never realized, - by 1857 the area had been divided into allotments and streets (Vine and Mary Streets, see Figs. 24 and 25).³

The town's role as a service centre and convenient crossroads/stopover point thus emerged early. Its post office was established in 1835 and a building was erected in Dowling Street on the corner of Bain Street (later Catholic Church site). During the later 1840s sites were marked out for the Wesleyan Chapel (1847, built 1853) and school, a Roman Catholic schoolhouse and burial ground
(1847), a Wesleyan Parsonage (1849) and, in 1851, the Presbyterian Church site. The constable's house and stockade was already in existence on the latter site at the corner of Dowling and Chapman Streets.4

**Former Dungog Inn, Dowling St., Dungog: Significant Building**

The first inn was erected by James Stephenson in 1840, to provide accommodation and refreshment for travellers who crossed the valley on their journeys north and south. Stephenson himself was an ex-convict who had served his time with the A.A. Company, and upon the expiry of his sentence, he purchased two allotments in Dowling Street from William Aitkens. The colonial style building is now one of the oldest in the town, featuring a steeply pitched roof and bullnosed, partly enclosed verandah. (See Fig. 26). The facade appears to have been renovated c1880. The complex also included a kitchen, stable, barn, yards and other buildings, some of which survive. Stephenson may have also erected a store on the adjoining lot, and leased it.5 This inn was successful and was soon followed by Thomas Johnston's Union Hotel in MacKay Street (1842). The Settlers Arms opened in 1848 and is the present Court House Hotel, and the Royal Hotel originally opened in the 1850s.6

Dungog was given a glowing account in Wells' Gazetteer of 1848, in spite of the difficulties faced by settlers in that decade: There are two schools and two large excellent inns. Many excellent dwelling houses, a court house and lock up and a handsome horse barracks. The village can also boast a peal of bells and a band of music. There is a magnificent steam flour mill now completing.....and mail arrives and departs twice a week from and to Sydney.....7

Dungog's police and magisterial needs were also well-filled, since court sessions were held twice a month. Two honorary magistrates and a clerk of sessions had been appointed along with a chief constable, police force and a guard of horse troopers. Horse racing had already begun and a Mr. Marsh had an "....extensive horse breaking and training stable". The Gazetteer's conclusion was that Dungog was "a prominent place in the list of the habitations of civilised man". The only reminder of the bad times of the 1840s was Mrs Hooke's boiling down works at the edge of the
The two schools were the Roman Catholic school on the corner of Myles and Dowling Streets, and the Presbyterian school in Chapman Street on the corner of Windy Street. The latter was converted to a National School at the request of the church in 1851. A later school was built on the site of the constable's house and stockade, while the original courthouse was converted to a lock-up in 1849. A new courthouse designed by Government Architect Mortimer Lewis was built in the same year and had its courtroom redesigned by James Barnet in 1862.

During the 1850s, Dungog, like Clarence Town, benefited from a position on the route to the Peel River and Gloucester goldfields, and this was repeated during the 1880s with the finds at Wangat (within the Shire), Whispering Gully and Barrington. Several industries were also established from the 1850s. Besides the steam flour mill (by 1848), there was a water driven mill by 1866, probably the one shown on A.O. map 2517 (1865) of the proposed bridge over the Williams just outside Dungog. The building and water-race shown on the east of the road to Gloucester may have been Thomas Walker's mill, which he had first established at Wiry Gully. In 1891, Walker's son, John, established a sawmill adjacent to the Allendale flour mill in the town, and J. Croll purchased both in 1916 as a sawmill. (See Fig.61.)

Tobacco was evidently still under cultivation in the district, as there were two factories in 1866 (G.W. Lloyd's and McWilliam's), along with two tanneries. However, the district was best known for its cereals - "very fine wheat, barley, maize . . . and hay". Four hotels now served the town's 500 inhabitants and the passing trade of bullock drivers, carters and passengers. Blacksmiths making and mending vehicles' tools and implements, and shoeing horses, set up shop from the earliest period and at least twelve are known to have existed in the town, some of whom earned reputations for the excellence of their skills.

The boom of the 1880s enhanced an already thriving town. A handsome Italianate Post Office was completed in 1874 and a telegraph office in 1881. Dowling Street was lined with
Fig. 26: Former Stephenson's Inn, Dowling Street, Dungog, built 1840. (G. Karskens, 1985).

Fig. 27: The Bank of N.S.W. at Dungog operated from this building on the corner of Dowling and MacKay Streets which it leased and bought in 1899 from Mrs. Eliza Dark. It was replaced in 1936. (Mitchell Library)
Significant Building

Dowling Street, Dungog:
Significant Townscape

Skillen & Walker's Store formerly Oddfellows Hall, Dowling Street Dungog:
Significant Building

Former School of Arts,

one and two storeyed shops, hotels and offices, built of brick or timber, and presenting an array of wide, shady verandahs. An anonymous correspondent writing in 1888 listed the town's businesses as including three banks, four hotels, four large general stores, three butchers, three bakers, a coachmaker, wheelwrights, three blacksmiths, a hairdresser, a fancy tailor, boot makers, three saddle and harness makers and four churches, a weekly newspaper and "a School of Arts a credit to any town”. The town's population swelled from 436 in 1881 to 878 in 1891 and 1169 in 1898.13

Dark's Stores Dowling Street Dungog:
Significant Buildings

C.B.C. Bank Dowling Street cnr Hooke St. Dungog:
Significant Building

Mr. M.A. Dark had established his general store in 1877 and the business was subsequently expanded by the addition of identical gabled stores along Dowling Street in 1896, 1900 and finally in 1920. Edward Piper ran a successful business in large premises built by Mr. Wade on the corner of Dowling and Hooke Streets (the business was sold to North Lachlan in 1903).14 Banks were drawn to the town from the 1870s. The J.W. Pender designed C.B.C. bank in Dowling Street was erected in 1874, typical of solid, elaborate boom-style country banks, and the N.S.W. bank first opened in 1884 in Mrs. Eliza Dark's 2-storey building on the corner of Dowling and MacKay Streets. (See Fig. 27). The branch bought up gold from the diggings on the Wangat River, and the building was purchased in 1899, serving until its replacement in 1936.15 The town's social life was enriched by three lodges, a gun club, jockey club and a debating society.

In 1888, Walter Bennett founded the Dungog Chronicle (originally the Durham Chronicle and Dungog and Williams River Advertiser), in order to "make our resources and progress more generally known". Its office was located first in a private house, but an office was built and occupied from 1889.16 An Oddfellows Hall was built in Dowling Street in 1881, later becoming Skillen and Walker's Store. During 1898 a new School of Arts (now Historical Society Museum) was erected, designed by local architect C.M. Button. It replaced an earlier building (1880) which had been burnt down in an adjoining bakehouse fire. H.M. MacKenzie visited the town in 1898 and was greatly impressed, giving lengthy and detailed description of the new building, a
"handsome addition to the architecture of the main street", which was detailed with a flurry of pilasters, brackets, and pediments.17 Several fine residences were also built in the town, often making use of spectacular sites. The houses' grand views over the town and valley were matched by the impressive vistas they themselves formed. Oomabah, a splendid gothic house on a striking site near the outskirts of the town was built in 1893 by designer builder J.A. Hall for J.K. MacKay. It was leased as a residence for some years, later became a private hospital, and was finally purchased by the Jehovah's Witnesses Church. Edward Piper, the successful merchant built Hillside, "a fine villa" with a grand garden, probably in the late 1880s. The notable local figure John Walker had a fine residence c1880 in Dowling Street, and in 1891 it had its gracious encircling verandahs interrupted by a grand vestibule and a small store, when it was converted to Brady's Bank Hotel. (See Fig.28).18 Dungog Cottage Hospital was opened in 1892 in a small (two-roomed) ornate Italianate brick building in Hospital Street at the western end of town. (See Fig. 52).19 A year later Dungog was proclaimed a Municipality, with F.A. Hook as Mayor and D.Bruyn, H.C. Dark, Joseph Abbott, John Robson and J.A. Jones as aldermen. Meetings were held in the first School of Arts until the Council Chambers (now R.S.L. Club) were built in 1894. The Council's immediate concerns were roads and culverts, health and sanitation and the licensing of slaughtering, carrying and selling meat. One of its early projects was the removal of all stumps from the streets and their resurfacing with gravel. Dry earth closets were closed, emptied and filled in and a sanitary service was introduced in 1895. The Council also took over the supervision of slaughter houses and dairies in that year.20 The 1880s and 1890s strengthened existing industries and brought new ones. Cooreei Corn Flour Mill was opened by Messrs. Wade and Co. on part of Alison's estate opposite Dungog in 1878, and was generally regarded as something of a modern marvel. With the use of the dairying industry and the swing away from maize growing the factory was moved to Sydney in 1900.21 Butter factories were set up at
Wirragulla in 1893, and in 1898 Skillen and Walker opened their Heather Bell factory in Dungog behind their store. The Dungog Co-operative Butter Factory was established after a public meeting in 1905, erecting its first factory on the Fosterton Road and moving to its site near the railway in 1914. Dungog also became one of the leading cattle markets in N.S.W. and could support two flourishing auctioneering firms, John Robson and Carlton and Abbott.22

The outlook around the turn of the century was thus promising. Dungog's primary and secondary industries continued to thrive, its Municipal Council was establishing services and amenities, and the coming of the railway was expected to enhance its prospects. The Sydney Mail reported in 1907 that "the town is going ahead fast and is destined to greater development when the railway is through".23 The line of the railway was unfortunate, since it cut through the town's grid plan, but its construction boosted Dungog's timber and service industries. The entire population of the district turned out at the new, simple weatherboard station at the end of Brown Street on August 14, 1911 to watch the official opening.24 Dungog took the place of the old river towns of Paterson and Clarence Town as the Shire's central transport node, and continued to prosper and grow. The railway replaced the coach services to Maitland and Clarence Town - Fry's long-running coach service ceased in the same week the railway was opened.25

Dungog's main street continued to develop during the 1910s and 1920s, with numerous face-lifts for its existing stores and hotels, and the addition of many new ones, still with the wide, airy verandahs shading the footpaths. The early two-storey colonial style Royal Hotel was demolished to make way for a magnificent new building with a dutch gabled facade and a massive two-storey verandah. The Post Office was given a less attractive facade in the style of W.L. Vernon c1910, and a telephone exchange was opened in 1909. The spread of the motor car brought garages which slowly superseded the smithies, which had already lost out to the railway. R.P. Crouch ran a garage business before 1919 which was sold in that year to Davey and Olson, who later moved it to its present...
Fig. 28: Brady's Bank Hotel and Victoria Hall (now demolished) adjacent. The building was originally John Walker's residence (c1880) and was converted in 1891 (Mitchell Library).
Dungog benefited from another public works project when the Chichester Dam was constructed high on the Chichester and Wangat Rivers between 1918 and 1925. Again, the timber and service industries were boosted and the town's water supply was assured by the extension of the main in 1927. The issue of a water supply for the town had been a long and agitated one. Before the beginning of a water supply scheme in 1910, a small water tank on a spring cart provided water to the townsfolk during the dry summer months at 2/6 for 100 gallons. During the drought years of the late 1880s, when domestic tanks were empty, one correspondent wrote, outraged, of the need for both a proper approach to the river and an adequate supply of water, since:

In this dearth of water, families have to carry their washing to the river and it is pitiable to see women struggling with baskets of clothes and washing tubs through almost insuperable obstructions.

It is an image out of kilter with the town's reputation for civilized conditions. Eventually the council decided to construct the water supply scheme (1910) and this was superseded by water from Chichester Dam in 1927. Electricity was provided by the Dungog Electric Light Co. from 1917 to 1939 when the Council took over, while street lighting commenced in 1925, and a garbage collection service began in 1930. The town's sewerage system was finally commenced in 1941.

During the 1920s the businessmen of Dungog began to see the possible commercial value of Barrington Tops area to the north of the Shire. In an entrepreneurial spirit of optimism, they formed the Barrington Tops League to promote the development of the area as a tourist resort on par with the booming Blue Mountains. They erected a huge directional sign in Dowling Street and a hotel owner built Barrington Tops House near Salisbury between 1925 and 1930. Little came of the plans. Barrington Tops remained isolated and beautiful, visited by campers and hikers, and has only recently begun to attract the attention of environmentalists.

After the ravages of the Depression and World War II, Dungog lost its growth rate and its
impetus. The gradual decline in dairying and increased mechanization in agriculture, the centralizing influence of Newcastle and Sydney, together with the breaking down of distance by motor transport, robbed the town of its role as a service centre, its importance in manufacturing industries, and its "town at the crossroads" status. Like Paterson, its newest industry is tourism and it is a minor resort and gateway to scenic upper valleys, Barrington Tops and Chichester Dam areas. The town itself also offers its historic and cohesive townscape set in its green valley by the river.

**Gresford and East Gresford**

Gresford was another early town which grew up at crossroads. It also had a strong connection with Charles Boydell's Camyrallyn estate. While the road linking the upper Paterson and Allyn River districts with Paterson and Maitland ran along the east bank of the Paterson River, fording it at Vacy, another road traversed the country from the Singleton area, fording the Paterson at the Gresford town site. (See Figs. 29 and 34). The initial settlement clustered at this crossing on the west bank of the river, including sale yards, the original St. Anne's Anglican Church (c1843) and the reputedly convict built Ard-na-Hane stone dwelling which served successively as an inn, workshop and private residence. Further development towards Singleton did not occur and the focus of settlement later moved across the river to the east bank, where a town was marked out. It was a service centre for both local settlers (including large estate holders and their employees) and the travellers, stockmen, timbermen and carriers passing through. A post office was opened in 1841 and mail packets made up at Gresford were run about a circuit, including East Gresford, Allynbrook, Lostock and Mt. Rivers. A school was established in 1868 and the school building was also used as a Post Office. Later the Post Office was moved to a building leased from Dr. Lindeman of Cawarra, and a Post Office building was finally erected in 1916. The school at Gresford had a new building erected in 1882 at the "crossroads".

By 1866 the town was described as a postal
village with a "tolerably large but scattered population, set in a district noted for its agricultural wine making. A flour mill had been in operation for two years but had closed as a result of the failure of the wheat crop. The town had one hotel, the Gresford Arms, and was linked to other settlements by horse and dray, mail cart to Morpeth and thence rail or steamer to Sydney.3

Ruby Doyle remembered the Cross Roads at Gresford as "...a great spider" stretching its "arms in all directions". One arm went to Cawarra and Fry's Livery Stables; another to Singleton; another ran "up into the hills... to Mt. Rivers, Lostock and finally to Carrabolla".4 At the same time however, the road leading up the valley through Vacy, Trevallyn and Elmsall, and past Torryburn, Lewinsbrook and Gostwyck, grew in importance along with these estate-settlements. When Boydell built a hotel, the Junction Inn on this road, which passed just east of Gresford, an unofficial settlement grew up around it in ribbon development. It too was a convenient stopover point for the traveller going to the growing districts further north around Allynbrook. The two towns, Gresford and East Gresford became twin settlements, curiously close together, and interacting, yet separate.5

For the second half of the nineteenth century, both towns developed simultaneously, vying for passing trade and local custom. The 1844 slab church at Gresford was replaced by a handsome brick edifice by the river crossing. Many of the districts early pioneers were buried in the cemetery adjacent. A brick School of Arts was originally built at Gresford, and was later sold to the Anglican Church and became a Parish Hall. A new School of Arts was built at East Gresford in 1930. The police station was built at East Gresford, along with St. Helen's Roman Catholic Church in 1867. Boydell's Junction Inn at one stage combined a hotel, saddlery, pharmacy and joinery. Eventually it burned down and was replaced by the Victorian Inn (now Beatty's), an impressive two-storey brick c1880 hotel with a projecting bay and wide verandahs. At the Gresford: same time Gresford continued to support its hotel, known variously as Hancock's Hotel, Crossroads Hotel and Gresford Hotel, until it burnt down in 1922.6
The spread of dairy farms along the river flats and valley slopes stimulated both towns with the rise in population and the opening of creameries and a butter factory at Gresford. Several stores lined the streets of both towns - F. Halstead had stores at both locations. At Gresford, Tom Walker ran a blacksmiths shop, Dennie Smith a saddlery and Mr. Kelcher a shoe makers shop facing the crossroads. They were all indispensable in a community dependent on horses, bullocks, carts and drays and shoes for travelling. Fry's mail coaches ran regular services along the roads which radiated from the settlements.7

By 1927, however, East Gresford had won out, becoming the more important settlement. It was marked as "Gresford" on tourists' maps while the original Gresford was merely shown as "Gresford School". In spite of this, the latter was still described as a "...go ahead little township" in 1933, retaining some of its significance at its crossroads location.8

Gresford and East Gresford and their associated roads, river and outlying settlements, present an important and most interesting material example of the movement, development and relationship of towns, from the early settlement on the west bank through the official growth of Gresford proper, to the dominance of East Gresford in the early twentieth century.

Other Small Settlements

One of the most striking features of Dungog Shire's historical and demographic development is the network of over fifty small settlements scattered along and between the five river valleys, which complemented the services, industries and transport facilities provided by the larger towns. In a way they are a microcosm of the larger network of towns which sprang up in the settled districts between 1830 and 1850. Many had their origins in the great estates of the 1820s and 1830s; others grew up simply as small rural service centres, particularly after the boom in timber, citrus and dairying in the late nineteenth century; still others owed their existence to one form of industrial activity or another - a mill, a mine or a creamery for example. Some of the small settlements combined all these
functions, and many were established, flourished and then declined within the space of the Shire's history, leaving hardly a trace of their existence.

The overwhelming determinant in the moulding of the small villages was isolation caused by distance, by the river-barriers, by bad roads, or the lack of roads altogether. The major towns were, for many settlers, simply too long and difficult a journey away to meet day-to-day and weekly needs. Isolation forced farmers and workers to send their children to small local schools, to attend services in the rough slab churches and to hold meetings and social events close to their farms and houses. Isolation fashioned the settlements and nurtured their existence, and its gradual breakdown by the spread of motor transport from the 1920s robbed them of their vital functions and lead ultimately to their decline and, often, disappearance.

Details of the small settlements are tantalizingly few - fragments turn up on early maps, as passing references in historical accounts, as vaguely-titled images in photographs. Yet the myriad villages were a most dominant and commonplace feature in the regions, a phenomenon which defined rural life in nineteenth century Dungog Shire. The subject is rich in potential and thus deserves detailed historical and archaeological research, which is unfortunately beyond the scope and resources of this study.

The information which has been gathered on small settlements has been collated and presented, for ease of reference, in the tabulated form below. The locations are arranged in alphabetical order with a key number denoting the basic function/character of each (see below). A known or likely date of origin is also given, together with relevant historical notes. Three fundamental types have emerged from the study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Number</th>
<th>Type of Settlement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Estate &quot;towns&quot;; and settlements closely associated with particular estates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rural service villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Settlements associated with a particular industry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first two often overlap and are occasionally combined with the third. Estate towns grew up as private settlements on the lands of the early grantees, who often imported or attracted free labourers and their families, controlling their employment, lands and houses. Some settlements grew up on sublet and subdivided estates, in the hands of tenants and small settlers, while others simply developed close by the large estates, surrounding settlers being drawn in by a church or school on it. Later in the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, with the use of dairying, citrus and timber industries, a few service centres grew up to meet the needs of the newly-arrived population, independent of earlier estates. For the main part, however, the latter constituted the pre-existing nuclei of later settlements, and they developed or declined according to local needs and conditions. Some villages grew up associated with a single industry, such as timber getting and milling, mining or dairying.

There were other less significant themes in the shaping of the small villages and centres. One was nationality, another was religious beliefs. There are clear patterns of clusters of settlers from particular countries - the Welsh in the Gresford area (Lostock, Eccleston, Allynbrook) - the Irish at Carabolla and Mt. Rivers - the Scots around Paterson and Dungog and, later Germans around Woerden and Wallarobba. Some settlements are dominated by one religious group or another, which often left its mark on the district, such as the Baptist community at Thalaba, the Congregationalists at Eccleston, the Methodists around Bandon Grove and the Catholics at Brookfield. Occasionally the smaller settlements were influenced by the transport networks. Below the heads of navigation, some were minor depots between the major wharves (Thalaba, Glen William, Gostwyck). On the main roads some settlements gained the status of halfway points, and could as a result support an inn (Vacy, Brookfield, Wallarobba). River crossings and the junction of two rivers also became sites for villages (Vacy, Bandon Grove). The construction of the railway also lent some importance to large properties where sidings were built which drew in goods and produce to be railed to major centres.
The more significant villages are starred, and separate accounts of their development are given below the table. Occasionally, nothing is known of a settlement besides its name and location. Two important sources include H.E.C. Robinson's 1927 Road Guide (see Fig.29), and the Dungog Cottage Hospital - Reports and Balance Sheets for 1912, 1913, 1914, which includes lists of villages where funds were collected for the hospital annually. This is a good indication of the existence of settlement, since a considerable population at the various points would have made the arduous journeys worthwhile.

Table 2: Small Settlements within Dungog Shire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date of Origin/ Existence,(if known)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alison</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>late C19th</td>
<td>- Robinson, 1927 on Dungog-Clarence Town Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Allynbrook</td>
<td>1,2,3</td>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Banjon Grove</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>1840s</td>
<td>see below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banfield</td>
<td>1,?</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson, 1927 on Williams River above Glen William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendolba</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>- Marked on G.B. White's 1829 map of Williams River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- included in Anglican services circuit from 1850s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Public school marked on subdivision map c1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Hospital collected funds there early 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingleburra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>by c1880</td>
<td>- Robinson, 1927, north east of Gresford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- School in existence there c1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Date of Origin/Existence, (if known)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Brookfield</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>c1830s</td>
<td>See below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- N.R.M.A. 1984, S.E. of Dungog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campsie</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>by c1880</td>
<td>- School in existence there c1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Trevallyn)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- School in existence there c1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrabolla</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>c1880</td>
<td>- early cattle station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson, 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- service centre for orange orchards and dairy farms; Irish settlers there, early C20th.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carringalla</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>- marked on G.B. White's 1829 map of the Williams, estate of Judge Dowling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Hospital collected funds there, early 1910s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chichester</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>by 1900</td>
<td>- Hospital collected funds there, 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson, 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- high on Chichester river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulston</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>after 1850</td>
<td>- Coulston was the property of Mr. H.H. Brown, M.L.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- school was established there in the second half of the 19th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson 1927, on Paterson northwest of Gresford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dingadee</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>1829</td>
<td>- Lawrence Myles' estate marked on G.B. White's 1829 map of the Williams River, N.E. of Dungog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- one of district's first cream separators set up c1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- A railway siding was built there and operated from 1911, receiving timber and dairy goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson 1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- timber mill by c1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Date of Origin/Existence, (if known)</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Dusodie            |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927  
Chichester River north of Bandon Grove                                |
| *Eccleston         | 1,2  | c1840s                              | See below                                                            |
| Elmshall           | 1,2  | c1840s                              | - William Bucknell's estate, 1827  
- Robinson 1927, between Vacy and Gresford                             |
| Fishers Hill       |      |                                     | - school, c1890s  
- Robinson 1927, in loop in road by Paterson River north of Vacy    |
| Flat Tops          |      |                                     | - N.R.M.A 1984  
sotheast of Dungog                                                    |
| Posterton          | 2    | by 1856                             | - laid out in rectilinear grid pattern adjacent to Myles' land by 1856  
- National school by 1856  
- funds for Dungog Hospital collected in 1910s.  
- c1900 George Heath's timber mill                                  |
| Glen Martin        |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, on Williams River below Glen William                |
| Glen Oak           |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, between Seaham and Clarence Town                   |
| Glen William       | 1,2,3| c1840s                              | - William Lowe's property c1840;  
- National school by 1850  
- Lowe Bros Erringhi Creamery 1890s  
- Funds for hospital collected 1910s  
- Robinson 1927                                                     |
<p>| *Gostwyck          | 1,2,3| 1830s                               | See below                                                            |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date of Origin/Existence (if known)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Halton       | 1,2  | 1850s (?)                         | - Christopher Rolleston's property  
- dairy town  
- school by c1900  
- Robinson 1927, on Allyn River north of Allynbrook |
| Hillsdale    |      |                                   | - rail siding 1911,  
  railway line SW of Dungog |
| Irwin's Flat | 3    | 1900s                             | - steam timber mill  
  c1900 |
| Lewinsbrook  | 1,2  | 1830s                             | - Alexander Park's Lewinsbrook estate, 1826  
- school by 1890s  
- Robinson 1927, north east of Gresford |
| Lostock      | 2,3  | c1840s                            | - Probably originally Welsh settlement  
- St John's Church c1840  
- timber and dairying town  
- population boosted by construction of Lostock Dam, 1960s |
| Marshdale    |      |                                   | - Robinson 1927, south east of Dungog |
| *Martins Creek | 3  | after 1856                        | See below |
| Masseys Creek|      |                                   | - Robinson 1927, north east of Allynbrook |
| Melbury      | 1    |                                   | - Robinson 1927, between Salisbury and Underbank |
| Mount Rivers | 1,2  | post 1850                         | - associated with J.P. Webber's Penshurst estate (1825)  
- famous for cheese c1900  
- by 1914 had a public school, cottage, store and bulk store on block adjacent to the Penshurst homestead block |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date of Origin/Existence,(if known)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Munni       | 1,2  | 1830s                              | - Mann's property est. by 1829 (G.B. White's map 1829)  
- Funds for Dungog Hospital collected 1910s  
- Robinson 1927, on Williams River northwest of Dungog |
| New Jerusalem| 3    | c1900                              | - timber mill c1900  
- now Chichester State Forest |
| New Park    | 2    | by 1880s                           | - Wine Licence of Thomas Leonard's wine shop renewed 1888  
- Funds for hospital collected 1910s  
- Robinson 1927, on Chichester River between Dusodie and Wangat |
| Pine Brush  |      |                                    | - Robinson 1927, on Williams River south of Dungog |
| Salisbury   | 2    |                                    | - isolated settlement on Williams River  
- by 1900, school  
- at end of the road from Bendolba and Dungog 1927, later road extended to Barrington House (1930)  
- some early tourism |
| Summer Hill | 2    | by 1870s                           | - school by 1870s |
| Thalaba     | 1,2  | c1830s                             | - Benjamin Solomon's Thalaba estate 1820s  
- later sublet  
- strong Baptist community built a wooden church/school ("The Baptist Cathedral") opened church 1881  
- subdivided and sold c1900  
- hospital funds collected early 1910s |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date of Origin/Existence, (if known)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Tillimby      | 1,2  | c1820s                              | - J.H. Boughton's estate (1822)  
|               |      |                                     | - early burial ground and church (1820s)  
|               |      |                                     | - later Cann's store  
|               |      |                                     | - subdivided 1924 |
| Torryburn     | 1,2  | c1830s                              | - John McIntyre's estate (1827)  
|               |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, south east of Gresford |
| Trevallyn (Campsie) | 1,2  | c1830s                              | - George Townsend's estate, 1826  
|               |      |                                     | - early jam factory  
|               |      |                                     | - school, post office early C20th  
|               |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, between Vacy and Gresford  
|               |      |                                     | - 1944 school building moved to Ecclestone |
| Underbank     | 1,2  | c1830s                              | - J.D. Lord's estate  
|               |      |                                     | - a school by c1900  
|               |      |                                     | - E. Deard's timber mill c1900  
|               |      |                                     | - subdivided before and in 1923  
|               |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, on Williams River above Bendolba |
| Upper Allyn   | 3    |                                     | - timber mill, dairy co-op ?  
|               |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, at end of road along Allyn River |
| Upper Chichester | 2 or 3 |                                     | - possibly timber village  
|               |      |                                     | - Robinson 1927, at end of road along Chichester River |
| *Vacy         | 1,2  | 1839s                               | See below |

**UNDERBANK SCHOOL 1867**

**VACY SCHOOL 1859**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date of Origin/Existence, (if known)</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wallarobba</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>- Associated with John Verge's Lyndhurst estate 1829</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- probably served passing trade after Dungog-Paterson road completed through it 1870s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- German settlers in area 1870s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- funds for Dungog Hospital collected 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Wangat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1880s</td>
<td>See below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welshmen's</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>after 1850s (?)</td>
<td>- Welsh small settlers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- funds for hospital collected 1910s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wirragulla</td>
<td>1,2,3</td>
<td>1830s</td>
<td>- John Hook's Wiry Gully estate, 1828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(originally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Thomas Walker's flour mill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiry Gully)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Hooke Bros Butter Cup Dairy Factory, 1893</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- railway siding 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson 1927, below Dungog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woerden</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1870s</td>
<td>- German settlers took up land around Woerden 1870s after road over Wallarobba Range was completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Robinson 1927, south west of Dungog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 29: Composite map from H.E.C. Robinson's N.S.W. Motorists Road Guide 1927, showing the numerous small settlements and villages in existence at the time. Many have now vanished.
Allynbrook

The village of Allynbrook grew up around William Boydell's Caergrwle estate, which he took up in 1836. Boydell married Mary Phoebe Broughton and was apparently persuaded by her father Bishop Broughton to erect a church on his property. St. Mary's-on-Allyn was designed and built by Boydell in 1844 and became the focus of the village. To begin with it was a simple rectangular gothic structure of stone with a small belfry, similar in scale to St. Paul's at Paterson (see Fig. 40). The present-day transepts, added in 1904, considerably enlarged the church, reflecting the increase in the district's population by the early twentieth century.3

An official village site – Lewinsbrook – had originally been selected about one mile further upstream, but never developed and was eventually subdivided and sold off in 1861. Meanwhile, Allynbrook was laid out later around the existing buildings east of Caergrwle estate. After the difficult drought period of 1840s and 1850s, population increased and a school, known as Caergrwle school, was opened in 1869. It was held in a slab hut with an earth floor, which also served as a Post Office (established 1866). A new brick school with an iron roof was built in 1882, along with a residence, and when the population again boomed with the rise of the dairying and citrus industries, weatherboard additions were made in 1902. The school and church today still form the core of the village.4

Other services and factories sprang up in the late nineteenth century, including a hotel, two shops, Byrd's wine shop, which also served as a boarding house, and a blacksmith's shop which was combined with an undertaking business. A eucalyptus oil and soap factory, and Buxton's tobacco factory operated briefly, while winemaking was carried on at Caergrwle. After 1860s timber became an important industry and sawmills were set up in the area.5

Allynbrook remained extremely isolated throughout the nineteenth century until the first coaches began to call there on their runs. By 1890 George Fry ran a thrice weekly
passenger and mail service, and coaching continued until superseded by motor buses in 1913, which brought daily mail and passenger services. The Allyn River at Allynbrook was not bridged until 1900 with the construction of St. Mary's Bridge (replaced 1970) and many other crossings remained unbridged until the 1920s. The village was still considered a "thriving dairying community" by a local teacher in the 1940s and 1950s, but has declined along with dairying since then. The Post Office closed in 1977 and the bridge washed away by 1970 and was replaced. Caergrwle passed out of the hands of the Boydell family in 1983, by which time it was the "last big river holding in the Gresford area", thereby ending the Boydell's link with the area which spanned almost 150 years.

Bandon Grove

Bandon Grove is a relatively early village, predating the settlements which grew up with the dairying and citrus industries. It originated with Samuel Kingston's Bandon Grove estate established on a portion of Dowling's earlier Canningalla estate in 1846, and the village grew up at the confluence of the Williams and Chichester Rivers. Kingston presumably built the sprawling verandah'd Bandon Grove House soon after. A Wesleyan Chapel of brick was erected by settlers in 1849 and a year later, a school was established on W.T. Forster's Mulconda estate nearby, and accordingly named Mulconda school. By the time the school was closed and moved to Bandon Grove in 1858 the village already had the church, Post Office (established 1858), a store and a tobacco factory. A slab school was erected in 1861, (see Fig. 50), but with the closure of the tobacco factory in 1875, attendances fell with the departure of workmen and their families. The erection of a new school and footbridges across the Chichester and Williams Rivers in 1879 allowed more children from surrounding areas to attend. By 1897 the village was described as a strongly Protestant settlement, a "small hamlet comprising the usual church, school and blacksmith's shop". A timber truss bridge erected over the Williams River at the end of the nineteenth century facilitated traffic
Bandon Grove House, the post office and the store were all demolished around the turn of the century, along with the tobacco factory, to make way for Sam Smith's brick house. Funds for Dungog Cottage Hospital were regularly collected at Bandon Grove during the 1910s, and the village prospered through the local dairy and citrus farms. During the construction of the Chichester Dam and its gravitation main in the 1920s, the Public Works Department established a concrete sleeper factory on the river flats near the bridge. The sleepers were the base on which the main was set. A School of Arts was erected during the 1930s.

**Brookfield**

Today, Brookfield is marked by the Catholic church and convent, together with some mature Norfolk Island Pines on their striking site halfway between Clarence Town and Dungog. There were probably many more buildings there during the nineteenth century, particularly the second half, but the church buildings appear to be the sole survivors.

Brookfield was originally the property of Charles T. Smeathman, which he took up in 1828. It is likely that Smeathman, or his successor, had numerous Irish tenants or workers, since by about 1850 there was a Catholic school established there. St. Killain's church was built as a result of the zeal of Father Jeremiah Murphy who had arrived in Dungog in 1875 and found the "inhabitants of the district....obliged to hear mass in a brick building which was at one time used as a Catholic school". The new church was opened in 1879 and the convent and school in 1889. A separate school was erected in 1892 and functioned until its closure in 1957 when the building was removed to Dungog (now Brookfield House).

Brookfield also had an early inn - James D. Walker's Union Hotel (1839) and later the Alma Inn between 1860 and 1874. Later the Brookfield Inn, run by Thomas Leedham, had its licence renewed in 1888. These may or may not have functioned from the same building. Brookfield's location midway between Dungog
and the river port at Clarence Town made it a
convenient stopover point for the travellers' 
drays, timber wagons and, later, cream carts 
which streamed down the road to Clarence Town. 
The inn(s) must have been successful, and it 
is likely that various other service/transport 
businesses once existed there.12

Eccleston

Eccleston appears to have originated with the 
property of Alexander Seymour (1830s) in the 
predominantly Welsh Gresford district. It is 
located on the upper Allyn above Allynbrook 
and must therefore have been very isolated 
over most of the nineteenth century. The 
roads around Eccleston and Salisbury, further 
up the valley were not built until 1920.13

Emily Anne Manning sketched some slab barns 
under construction at Eccleston in 1839 (see 
Fig. 5). They were possibly Seymour's and 
were probably some of the first buildings in 
the district. By 1853 there were enough 
families to support an Anglican church and a 
school was set up on land donated by Hugh 
Massie. St. Paul's Anglican church was a neat 
horizontal slab building with a gabled roof 
and portico, as shown in a watercolour held in 
the Mitchell Library. It was rebuilt in 1924. 
Eccleston School had had a long history of 
frequent temporary closures, reflecting the 
fluctuations in population and industries. 
The three roomed slab school with a shingled 
roof closed down in 1864, but was repaired and 
reopened as a public school in 1867. New 
buildings were erected in 1885 and the 
residence was still extant in 1967. The 
school building became unsafe and was replaced 
by a school building brought up from Trevallyn 
in 1944, which remained there at least until 
1967.14

During the 1880s, Eccleston also became the 
centre of the Congregational church in the 
district. The first services were held in the 
Congregational church in 1885, and by 1903 it 
was the centre of a preaching circuit which 
included Gresford.15

Eccleston became the centre of an important 
citrus and dairying area, producing oranges, 
cream, milk, and timber which was sent down 
the valley roads to Paterson.
Gostwyck

Gostwyck was one of the earliest estate settlements, thriving from the 1830s and populated at first with convict labourers and craftsmen. It was the estate of Edward Gostwyck Cory taken up in 1826. Cory was an enterprising man and set about establishing vineyards, tobacco and wheat fields, the rearing of bloodstock and built a flour mill and dam on the Paterson River. The river was used to transport grain and flour, as well as other goods, as it was navigable up to this point. By 1843 the mill was run by Stephen Dark, who instigated a riverboat service "plying from the.....Mills to Raymond Terrace and Morpeth". During the 1840s the Gostwyck complex comprised servants' quarters, dairy, slaughter house, kitchen, barn and offices, all dominated by the grand house, Gostwyck (see Fig. 8). The only slab house "Vineyard Cottage" had become an inn serving those travelling to Paterson, Gresford and Dungog. After Cory's death in 1873, the estate was sold to John P. Luke who pulled down the flour mill and built a timber mill in its place, also run by Stephen Dark. The estate was subdivided in 1902 and a butter and ice cream factory, said to be the original Peters factory, opened in 1906. However, by 1927 Gostwyck had vanished from the road maps. (See Fig.29)

Martins Creek

Martins Creek took its name from Edward Martin who settled on the Paterson near the junction with the creek in 1851. He was a timber carrier and horse trader, and was followed during the next decades by settlers gradually filling up the surrounding land, including the Keppie, O'Connor, Vogele, Eskert, Lewis, Cook and Gardiner families. A c1900 photograph of James Cook's simple weatherboard cottage (see Fig. 30) with its iron roof, water tank and profusion of cannas and flowering shrubs typifies the modest scale of settlement in the area.

A small private school was held in a slab hut and predated the public school opened in 1892. The school was of weatherboards and was replaced in 1913 and removed in 1923 to a new site. The settlers attended Anglican services
The simple weatherboard cottage and its garden was typical of turn of the century small-scale development. (Newcastle Local History Library).

A rare view of the shortlived settlement at Upper Wangat (Newcastle Local History Library).
in a barn before a small timber church was erected in 1899 (St. James Anglican Church), and this was replaced by the half-timbered Federation style church in 1928.

The construction of the railway through Martins Creek after 1908 changed its fortunes. Both State and private andacite (blue metal) quarries were opened in 1913 to provide ballast for the railway and later for roads and other construction work. At first the State quarry employed 44 men and this rose to 80-100 men at the peak of production, who were housed with their families in huts and tents. The quarry still employed 31 men and produced 850 tons of blue metal a day in 1967.17

**Vacy**

Vacy's most interesting historical feature is that it remained a completely private town from its origins as John J. Cory and later Gilbert Cory's Vacy estate in 1824 up to its subdivision and sale in 1927. Its plan, a ribbon development along the Gresford Road up to the bridge (see Fig. 31) contrasts directly with the standard grid pattern of the official towns, neatly encapsulating its different development.

Vacy's mid-way location between Paterson and Gresford made it, like Brookfield, a convenient stopping point for travellers on this important road. The village's earliest structures were probably an Anglican church, St. Johns, built of slabs by Gilbert Cory "for his many tenants and families", and an inn, the "Halfway House" which was in existence prior to 1859. A school was also erected in that year by Cory, and a Post Office, run by the teacher, was opened in 1860. By 1866, it was a centre of some importance, with a tobacco factory, an arrowroot factory and a population of thirty, although it was connected to Gresford by only one-horse post running three times a week.

The village continued to expand towards the end of the century. Fry's and Hancock's coaching service connected it more closely with Paterson and Gresford by the 1880s. The slab church was replaced by an attractive brick apsidal church with an asbestos tiled roof in 1887. A blacksmith set up shop at the
Fig. 31: "The Vacy Estate" subdivision plan, 1927. The sale included both rural and town allotments and buildings. (Mitchell Library).
southern end of town, and Wormersley Brothers Bootmakers were in operation from the 1870s. Later a bakery, butcher, general stores, a post office and school lined the road and a School of Arts was erected next to the church (see Fig. 31). A creamery was built by Uriah Heep north of the bridge, and cream was taken by dray down to Paterson.

The crossing of the Paterson River at Vacy had a shaping influence on the town. The original road curved and dog-legged down to a ford at the confluence with the Allyn River. The ford was later replaced by a low-level bridge, and the only hotel was erected on this original line. It was by-passed when the road was straightened to meet the high level timber truss bridge built in 1898 (see Fig. 31).

Gilbert Cory, owner of the tenanted land and buildings, died in 1896 and upon his wife's death in 1926 the estate was finally sold up in 1927. The sale included 50 building blocks, houses, hotel and shops, together with dairy farms and orchard allotments. After the sale the township continued much as it always had, though declining slowly, like the other towns in the Shire, over the later twentieth century. 18

Wangat

Based on the discovery of gold and a subsequent minor rush, the town of Wangat had a short but busy life, contrasting with the slow, steadier development of most other settlements. Reefs were discovered on the Wangat River in 1879 about six miles from its confluence with the Chichester River. A total of 90 tons was raised by 20 mines in that year, but was not crushed until the arrival of two stamper batteries with two and ten heads. The settlement divided into Upper and Lower Wangat (see Fig. 29) in 1881, with one battery each, and 50 mines and 80 people between them. Wangat was surveyed as a town in 1884, with the familiar grid pattern set by the river and adjacent to the diggings. The rough, makeshift and transient type of buildings erected are shown in Fig. 32 and reflect the nature of the settlement. Wangat village grew rapidly and acquired a school, hall and numerous houses in the 1880s and 1890s.
Ore from the Whispering Gully fields (see Fig. 29) was also brought over the watershed by packhorse to be crushed at Upper Wangat. By 1886, Wangat was a town full of children - its population comprised only 14 men, seven women and between 20 and 30 children.

The yield began to dwindle from the mid 1880s, and the villages began to decline as the rush faded out as quickly as it had come. By 1902 there were only two houses still standing at Wangat.19

Sixteen years later the town was briefly brought back to life by the arrival of hundreds of Chichester dam workers and their families who set up a temporary settlement of cottages, rough huts and tents set in long rows along the hills (see Fig. 69). Work on the dam was completed in 1925 and the town was again quickly deserted, and access to it and Upper Wangat cut off to traffic.20

4. Transport Network

The large bustling towns and their many small satellite villages were connected by complex, interlocked systems of transport, comprising first rivers and roads and, after 1911, predominantly roads and the railway. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries transport networks and economic and industrial development interacted closely, with direct repercussions on the life of the towns. The process could, paradoxically, go either way - on one hand a busy transport route could build up towns such as Clarence Town and Paterson, while the lack of access could also nurture small isolated villages. Conversely, the revolution in transport in the early twentieth century with the coming of the railway and motor vehicles, meant both the end of the busy shipping ports and the decline of the small settlements.

The Rivers

The rivers were the early lifelines of the Shire - they brought explorers, cedar cutters and early settlers. Regular steamer services were established from Paterson in the 1830s and from Clarence Town in 1856, while
enterprising men lost little time in setting up flour mills at the heads of navigation at Gostwyck on the Paterson and Mill Dam Falls on the Williams. Land for a public wharf was set aside in the original survey of Paterson, while at Clarence Town, Ferdinand Hammerley applied for 5 acres to provide wharf facilities in 1829. Whether or not he was successful is not known, but an early wharf was established near the Deptford shipyards of Marshall and Lowe.¹

These two towns grew up dependent on the rivers for supply and acted as centres for the goods arriving from both the valleys to the north and the towns and cities of the south. Jeans maintains that the vital Hunter Valley river transport also "determined a function of land use, related to distance from shipping ports".² Produce from the Williams and Paterson valleys was taken down to Morpeth for trans-shipment to coastal steamers which carried the traffic more cheaply than the railway. The Hunter River Steam Navigation Company built offices and a Union (market) shed above the public wharf at Paterson,³ while Clarence Town became the headquarters of the Williams River Steam Navigation Company, established in 1880. The company began with "Favourite" of 51 tons, which was built at Eagleton and later built the "Cooreei", and erected the 4-storey brick store, wharf and stockyards at the end of Grey Street. Fire destroyed these structures and the "Cooreei" in 1906, but the company rebuilt, as shown in Fig. 23, and launched "Erringhi" the following year. Passengers could board the riverboat to Newcastle and there take a steamer to Sydney - a trip of 24 hours. After the commencement of the railway in 1911, the company survived only two more years, and went into liquidation in 1913. Cream boats and pleasure craft continued to ply the waters during the 1910s and 1920s, while steamers called less and less frequently, until they ceased completely in 1941.⁴

A similar pattern emerged at Paterson. The river trade peaked in the 1880s and was boosted by the growth of dairying after the 1890s. The ships carried away timber drawn in by bullock teams, cases of oranges, butter in casks and cream in canisters, sacks of maize and boxes of cornflour. (See Fig. 65). Apart from the government wharf, Corner's wharf with
an attached tramway stood on the Cinta estate, north of the town. John Tucker remembered the river scene of the 1860s - "It was a weird and picturesque sight to see the tall masts with sails close-furled moving through the fringe of riverside trees". The new rail bridge was built directly over the old wharf, and the new Queen's Wharf around the head near Tucker Park never matched the original in volume of traffic. 5

Roads and Bridges

The early development of the Shire's road system has been discussed in Theme 4. It was based on the haphazard but convenient tracks made by settlers and their stock, and possibly by cedar getters before them. The tracks usually followed the rivers which also governed crossing places. Surveyors during the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s were sent to straighten out the lines. Sometimes their plans were adopted, at other times they were completely ignored by travellers, carriers and drovers.

While the need for roads was not so great in the lower part of the Shire with its dominant and convenient river transport, above the heads of navigation a maze of crisscrossed tracks quickly appeared, following the lines and spread of settlement. The general location of the present day roads connecting Dungog, Clarence Town, Paterson, Gresford and Vacy were laid down in the early (1830s) period, and were slowly pushed further and further up the valleys as the century progressed. By about 1920 they had reached their present limit at the foot of the Barrington Tops, apart from the road to Barrington House constructed 1925-1930. (See Fig. 29).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, convict gangs were commonly used in the construction and maintenance of roads, and a few were probably posted to this area. In 1860 the Public Works Department assumed control of roads, but appears to have concentrated its effort on the numerous and spectacular bridges it built throughout the Hunter Valley. Work was undertaken on improving the road between Paterson and Dungog over the Wallarobba Range in the 1870s after
much local agitation. Extensive side cutting was undertaken and grades of 1 in 5 were maintained. This road was superseded in 1966 by another line of steeper grades. For the main part, however, the roads followed the undulating lands adjoining the rivers and construction work required was minimal. The pattern of riverside roads also had its dangers in the floods which could suddenly damage and sweep away roadside buildings. This problem eventually forced the end of the official settlement on Commercial Road north of Paterson, an area which is still occasionally inundated.

In 1907 Wallarobba Shire was proclaimed and took control of the Shire's roads from the Public Works Department. It appears to have given priority to the task of road building and maintenance, and during the next two decades, the Shire's main roads were improved and extended. It established requirements for proper road widths and culverts, - the lack of the latter in particular had been a threat to life and property. When Torryburn estate was subdivided in 1908 its advertising poster proclaimed its roads and "substantial culverts in accordance with Shire Council requirements". The Shire went about methodically gravelling, widening carriageways, improving corners and sight lines, fillings ruts and depressions and, in later years, sealing pavements. Improvements were backed up by maintenance men, each with hand tools and his own horse and dray, who were responsible for sections of the roads. In addition, in 1917, the Council produced a plan of the roads in the Allyn and Paterson River valleys north of Gresford, which recorded the lack of bridges in this so far isolated area. The council commenced a program of constructing bridges and of road deviation to avoid river crossings. High on the Williams River, the road up to Barrington House from Salisbury was constructed by volunteers between 1827 and 1930, to allow access to the new resort. Another road opened in the early twentieth century was the road across the watershed from Eccleston to Salisbury. A group of local people gathered to celebrate the occasion of its opening, and a photographer recorded the event. It is still an unsealed road today.

The nature of early twentieth century road
building is evoked by a photograph of an eight-man road gang with a horse, cart, broadmouth shovels, and picks (see Fig. 33). They were working on the new road to Upper Chichester in the Underbank area.10 Clarence Smith's jotted recollections (1963) of road building practices enliven the picture:

George Neil... Tom Dark and others with picks and shovels etc. filled the tip drays... and removed from gravel quarries along sides of roads, mostly to positions previously approved by road super - resident Stroud. Tipped on roadside, knapped by hammer... and stacked ready for measurement. The super would put white mark or string on wheel spoke.... Travel road decided for repair counting revolutions per mark on spoke and then decide distance which would receive attention.11

The methods were almost identical to those used by ganged convicts eighty years earlier. In the early 1900s, though, "contracts were let for gravelling of road lengths up to ½ mile in length". Travellers avoided the newly-gravelled portions "as far as possible, being rough and slow travelling....", so the road builders placed fenders of timber along the roads' shoulders every thirty metres or so to force traffic onto the newly-made pavement.12

The sections which were ungravelled clay surfaces remained hazardous, however, particularly on steep hills. Smith listed Clay Hill (still considered difficult in 1983), Hutchinisons at New Park, Tighes Hill, Lester Kingston's Steep Hill, and the hill at Bandon Grove as particularly difficult for bullocks and horses. The numerous unbridged streams were also a common obstacle. At Brookfield boggy places had been crossed by corduroy roads of logs placed crossways. The poor condition of the roads at certain points led to the practice of teamsters travelling together, "to render help if needed".13

Sealing the roads had begun in earnest by 1936, when the Shire Council obtained 360 tonnes of slag sealing aggregate from the steelworks at Newcastle. The material was brought up by steamer to Clarence Town, transferred by motor lorry to the roads and stacked at intervals along them to be spread by hand on the tar.14
Fig. 33: "Road gang on new road to Upper Chichester, Underbank area" an early twentieth century photograph of eight labourers with their tools, horse and cart. (Mitchell Library).
The Shire's numerous extensive waterways presented countless obstacles to land traffic, particularly above the heads of navigation where the shape of the valleys moulded the location of the roads. In the earliest days the waters were forded at the least dangerous point, and roads were arranged accordingly. It was still a hazardous business and there were many drownings at the crossings, particularly during floods. The role of the rivers was thus ambiguous in several ways—they were the life-line of the early settlements, the ships gliding smoothly in hours where carriages and drays jolted for days. Yet they posed devastating threats in times of flood, and effective barriers to road transport, forcing stock and heavily-laden drays to move down one side of the river, going the long way round to suitable crossing places. While ferries and bridges were established in the lower districts, particularly on heavily used roads, in the more isolated areas to the north, rivers continued to be forded. Fosterton had two fords over the Williams River at its south western entrance in 1856, Dungog still had Abbots ford over the William at the eastern extremity of the town in 1865 (see Fig. 25) and between Gresford and Allynbrook there were still nine unbridged crossings of the Allyn in 1917. At Gresford the ford was used by traffic coming across from Singleton (see Fig. 34), although a footbridge had been built by about 1890. There were also fords on the main roads at Vacy, and at Vineyard Crossing near Gostwyck until 1877.15

Where the rivers were too broad to be forded, punts were established. A punt near Deptford linked Clarence Town with the small settlers on the east bank, and the road to Raymond Terrace in 1844. Three years earlier, a new road connected Paterson with Maitland and Morpeth, with ferries across the Paterson and Hunter at Hinton. Paterson was also linked with the east bank of the river by a punt south of the village by 1856. A photograph held in Mitchell Library showing a simple timber platform drawn across the Paterson on ropes, may be this crossing. (See Fig. 35). Punts were slow, inconvenient and still dangerous, but they were safer than fording or swimming the broad waters, and quicker than travelling up river to suitable crossing places.16
Fig. 34: "Gresford Crossing, Paterson River", a c1880 view from the Kerry collection showing the trestle-type foot bridge and the steep road approaches to the ford below. The township proper is on the left, and a glimpse of the early house Ard-na-hane on the right. (Mitchell Library).
Fig. 35: Unidentified punt crossing on Paterson River, possibly at Paterson, showing two timber punts and two small boats. (Mitchell Library).
Other means were also employed in the crossing of waterways. Temporary low-level bridges were built of round timber beams set on cross pieces, forming spans (see Fig. 36). These appear to have been used for foot and horse travellers. A suspension footbridge spanned the Williams River at the Tunnybrook crossing (see Fig. 37), and this was probably the type erected at Bandon Grove for the school children in the 1880s. The old ford at Gresford was situated adjacent to a much more elaborate trestle-type footbridge set high above flood level on sturdy timber piers. (See Fig. 34).

From the 1860s the Public Works Department began its ambitious program of bridging the river in the Hunter Valley. The earliest appears to have been the bridge over the river at Dungog, where a site was selected and plans of the river's course were drawn up in 1865. A bridge had been in existence over Myall Creek nearby in 1856. The bridge was completed in 1877, the year before the Gostwyck Bridge over the Paterson was opened, shortening the Paterson - Dungog road by cutting off the old Vineyard Crossing. It was opened with a great celebration, which expressed the importance and impact of such a public work to the community. Six hundred people attended the festivities which included a children's party, speeches and telegram-reading, morning tea and a gala ball in the evening. The bridge itself had a 370 foot span comprising two 90 foot spans, two 70 foot spans and a bank span of 50 feet. At the opening it was enthusiastically predicted that the bridge would provide a "convenient way to an excellent road to Maitland market". The road, then under construction, would "open up the country" in conjunction with free selection, and also "give access to the valuable source of timber" further north.

Another major bridge was at Clarence Town, spanning the Williams River, and connecting Clarence Town and Dungog directly with Raymond Terrace, Port Stephens and Newcastle. Constructed between 1878 and 1879, and opened in 1880, it comprised two timber truss spans, in the old form of the MacDonald truss used between 1860 and 1880, each 100 feet long, in addition to two 45 foot timber beam spans and one 40 foot beam span on the township side. The spans were set on cylindrical piers. In
Fig. 36: Temporary river crossing, Dungog, showing simple construction of a low-level timber bridge, n.d. (Dungog Historical Society).
Fig. 37: "Suspension Bridge across the Williams River (Tunnybrook Crossing) on the road from Upper Chichester to Dungog". Such bridges were probably common at the many crossings in the Shire. The replacement traffic bridge is glimpsed behind the trees. (Mitchell Library)
1926-27 the bridge was rebuilt to the original design.19

The Paterson River was bridged at Paterson in 1887, replacing the punt; at Woodville in 1898, and at Vacy in the same year. High up on the Allyn River, St. Mary's Bridge was erected at Allynbrook in 1900, after agitation since 1892. The bridge at Bandon Grove, opening the road to the upper Chichester and Wangat valleys was probably also erected around the turn of the century. Numerous other smaller bridges were built by the Wallarobba Shire from the 1920s. However, the major bridges at Paterson, Gostwyck, Clarence Town, Vacy, Bandon Grove and the Cooreei Bridge at Dungog (1904) remained National Works and remained in the hands of the Public Works Department.20

Crossing the Shire's rivers and creeks was a major feature of travelling and transport during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Beginning with fords, punts and makeshift bridges, the hazardous and numerous barriers were gradually broken down by the ambitious projects of the Public Works Department and Wallarobba Shire Council. Bridge building, rebuilding and maintenance remains a major consideration in the Shire's public works today.

The Railway

The North Coast Railway had an immediate impact on many aspects of the Shire's early twentieth century development. In the short term the presence of surveyors and hundreds of workers in their camps along the line (see Fig. 38) stimulated the service industries of some towns and underlined the excitement engendered by the work and changes it would bring. Even after the railway was opened, the long procession of railway workers in drays passing through Dungog on the way further north was a striking sight (see Fig. 39). The cutting of sleepers also boosted the local timber industry. In the long term, the railway completely reorganised the old road/rivers transport relationship and gradually led towards the centralization of industry and commerce in the large urban areas of Newcastle and Sydney.21
Fig. 38: "First survey of Dungog Railway 1908 at the foot of Stroud Hill at Camp at Cherry Tree Creek" showing the surveyors and their families and the tent encampment. (Newcastle Local History Library).

Fig. 39: "Smith and Tims Railway Contractors and Employees passing through Dungog to Taree", G. Kelly, c1912. (Dungog Historical Society).
The railway line between Sydney, Newcastle, Maitland and Tamworth was opened in 1889 with the Hawkesbury River Railway Bridge. The route of the North Coast Railway through Dungog was fixed by 1900, surveys and then earthworks began in 1908 and the line opened three years later. It drew in goods and produce to the towns and to small sidings at intervals between them. In some cases it drew the industries to establish themselves nearby, for example, the Dungog Co-op Butter Factory in 1914. The railway ended Fry's coaching service immediately, and greatly diminished the importance of the river boats and the towns of Clarence Town and Paterson. Cattle droving down the valleys to Maitland became less common, since cattle could be consigned by rail straight to the Homebush Markets in Sydney. Milk trains picked up dairy produce and took it directly to the butter factory at Dungog, and butter was then railed down to Newcastle and Sydney. During the period of subdivision in the early twentieth century, the access to the railway at Paterson and Dungog, and the sidings in between was invariably stressed as a great advantage to the prospective farmer. Andacite quarries opened at Martin's Creek, assured both the survival of the town and the continued supply of ballast for the railway line. 

The growth of towns and their interlocking road, river and railway networks thus represent focal points of the Shire's historical development. Their growth and decline, physical shape and appearance, and spatial relationships constitute a blueprint from which European activity may be read. The formation of communities with their multifarious activities developed parallel to the town and villages, from simple origins to complex webs of social interaction.
THEME 6 : THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

NOTES

1 Overview

2. Ibid, see also discussion in Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, loc.cit.; H.W. Graeme "Wangat Village Redesign" 1884, A.O. Map 6131.
4. Bairstow, Section 3.
5. Mitchell, p.142; Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, pp.13-14.
6. E.A. Manning, Sketchbook, "German's Hut, Lewinsbrook"; Bairstow, Section 3; Information from Mrs. P. Clements.
8. Jeans, p.181; information from Mr. Reg Ford; Anon, "A Trip up the Hunter and Williams to Clarence Town", unidentified newspaper clipping, 1878, Newcastle Local History Library.
9. These industries are discussed in detail in Theme 8.
10. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entries for Paterson, Clarence Town and Dungog.

2 Major Towns

Paterson

2. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Paterson; Paterson Historical Society, "Historic Paterson", leaflet, 1985; G.B. White, "Paterson
Village, Parish Houghton, County of Durham, 90 acres purchased from Mrs. Ward, Paterson's River", 31 Dec 1832, A.O. Map 4877A.

4. Bairstow, Section 2.
6. Ibid, pp.147-148; photograph of Brooklyn House held in collection of Paterson Historical Society Museum; for location of site see map in "Historic Paterson".
7. Ibid
9. "Historic Paterson"; Mitchell, p.157. Architectural evidence suggests that the top storey may be a later addition.
12. "Historic Paterson"; Henry Carmichael, "Plan showing the roads now in use, together with newly proposed lines from Paterson through David Brown's land on Paterson River", 1850, A.O. Map 5141.
14. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Paterson; "Historic Paterson".
15. "Historic Paterson".

18. Jeans, pp.251 ff.; "Historic Paterson".


20. "Historic Paterson".

21. Ibid; Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Paterson.

Clarence Town

1. Mitchell, p.80; Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Clarence Town; Dungog Town and District, p.6.

2. Cited in Mitchell, p.81.

3. A.O. Map 2208; Dungog Town and District, p.3.


5. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Clarence Town; Mitchell, pp.83-84; information from Reg Ford, Clarence Town.


8. Bairstow, op.cit, Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Clarence Town; Mitchell, p.82; Clarence Town Primary School Commemorating 125 years of Public Education 1849-1974, 1974; information from Reg Ford, Clarence Town.

115


11. Mitchell, p.82; information from Mr. Reg Ford; Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Clarence Town; Port Stephens Pictorial Examiner, 18 October 1978.


13. Maitland Mercury, 26 April 1982; National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.), Register, 1982; Mitchell, p.84.


15. Anon., "A Trip up the Hunter and Williams to Clarence Town", unidentified newspaper clipping, 1878, Newcastle Local History Library.

16. Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1866; Anon., "Historical Notes on Clarence Town", Newcastle Local History Library.

17. Dungog Town and District, p.12; Ibid.


20. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Clarence Town; Mitchell, p.82.

Dungog

1. Dungog Town and District, p.2,6; Brock, pp.5,15.
2. G.B. White, "West Bank of Williams River from Wattle Creek to Tabbil Creek", 1829, A.O. Map Sz 531; Rusden, "Plan for the Village of Dungog on the Upper Williams", 1838, A.O. Map 2519; Wells, Gazetteer, 1848.


4. Dungog Town and District, p.10; See A.O. Maps 2066, 2072, 2089, 2194, 2195, 2123.


7. Wells, Gazetteer, entry for Dungog.

8. Ibid.

9. Dungog Town and District, p.2; A.O. Maps 2072, 2194; National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.) Register, C. Hunter, "Course Outline".

10. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Dungog.

11. Dungog Town and District, p.7; notes in Dungog file, Newcastle Local History Library.

12. Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1866; Dungog Town and District, p.9.


16. Dungog Town and District, p.3.


19. Dungog Town and District, p.3.

20. Ibid., pp.5-6.

21. Maitland Mercury, July 1878 typescript copy, Dungog Historical Society; C. Hunter, "Course Outline".

22. Dungog Town and District, p.12.

23. Sydney Mail, 7 August 1907.


28. Dungog Town and District, pp.5-6.

29. See W.J. Enright "Barrington Tops", an information sheet prepared by the Barrington Tops League, 1923 (Newcastle Local History Library); Therese Aitchison, Barrington House Then and Now, 1980 ?.

30. Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entry for Dungog.

Gresford

1. Gresford 1829-1979
2. Ibid.
4. Doyle, pp.4-5.
5. Gresford 1829-1979

3 Other Small Settlements
2. Held in Mitchell Library.
4. Ibid., p.9 ff.
5. Ibid., pp. 5, 8, 27, 29.

11. Information from Mr. Reg Ford; Dungog Chronicle, 10 October 1979.

12. Dungog Town and District, p.8; List of Returns of Publicans Licences for the Dungog District extracted from the Government Gazette, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1895, Dungog Historical Society.


15. Gresford 1829-1979


4 **Transport Networks**


3. "Historic Paterson".

4. **Dungog Chronicle** 31 July 1980; information from Mr. Reg Ford.

5. Tucker, *op.cit.*; "Historic Paterson".


7. "Historic Paterson".


121
15. See "Plan of the Parish Road from Dungog to Fosterton along the west bank of the River Williams", 1856, A.O. Map 5145; Dungog Chronicle, Supplement, 27 July 1983.

16. Bairstow, op.cit; see "Plan of the Estate of Bona Vista", 1856, Fig. 15.

17. See A.O. Maps 5145 and 2517.

18. Maitland Mercury, 3 August 1878.


21. See various photographs in Mitchell Library, Small Picture File; Perumal Wrathall and Murphy, Supplement, entries for Dungog & Clarence Town.

THEME 7: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Wherever the men and women settled in the Shire, social interaction in its various forms soon followed and communities evolved in spite of, and even because of, the distances and obstacles separating them. Often the community which emerged bore the strong stamp of nationality or religion; in others there was a common interest in agricultural pursuits, a commitment to the education of children, or simply a need to socialise, play games, to enjoy precious leisure time.

The communities grew up interwoven with the towns and villages which were the forums for gatherings, the stages for activity. Most developed a sense of self-identification, an allegiance to a district, and a feeling of distinctiveness from other districts, which survives today. The Shire's topographic division into two valleys appears to have contributed most to this phenomenon - the Paterson - Allyn - Gresford district is clearly distinct from the Clarence Town - Dungog area.

The moulding of communities over one and a half centuries was not always an orderly process of development, however. Communities thrived in prosperous times, succumbed to drought and flood; they were divided when an influx of new settlers invaded the occupied lands and by political, religious and class differences; they were strengthened in times of war but diluted when large numbers of younger people moved away in the face of unemployment and declining industries.

Four major themes have been selected as "windows" on the growth of the Shire's communities - religion and churches, education and schools, community organizations and activities, and leisure activities. An examination of the patterns of each will allow us to build up a picture of Dungog's nineteenth and twentieth century community life.

1. Religion and Churches

The Shire's earliest churches were rough buildings, often located on the estates of large landowners, and occasionally on the
sites of future towns. Sometimes barns, schools or stores were used for services where no church had been built. As people managed to establish themselves, more substantial churches were built in the towns, sometimes followed by large and impressive third churches such as those built at the turn of the century. It was a pattern which recurred frequently in accordance with the waves of settlers arriving in both settled and unsettled areas during the nineteenth century. Generally, the Anglicans erected their churches first, followed closely by the Presbyterians and Methodists. Catholics were few and usually poor during the first half of the nineteenth century and did not build substantial churches until the 1860s and 1870s. Smaller groups of Congregationalists and Baptists were concentrated in the latter half of the century at Thalaba and Eccleston respectively.

At first, denominational divisions were erased by isolation. An itinerant preacher, Reverend G.A. Middleton ministered to all the settlers in 1825, selected a site for a burial ground at Tillimby, and also preached in a lath and plaster chapel or school hall there known as the "Ranters Chapel", which later became a National school. Another early chapel was located closer to the Duninald property, at the intersection of the Paterson - Maitland and Paterson - Morpeth roads. The church was still shown on the Duninald subdivision plan of 1926.

Anglican Churches

During the 1830s, the denominations diverged. At Dungog, an Anglican church, together with a school, parsonage and burial ground were already in existence in 1838 when the town was laid out (see Fig. 24). The town was visited by the Reverend C. Spencer of Raymond Terrace every three or four months. In 1839, Paterson received its first rector, the Reverend John Jennings Smith, a remarkably active and dedicated man who immediately set about building churches at various points throughout the district. Within a few years there were "...stone churches at Paterson and Caergrwle, a stone school house at Paterson, a slab church at Lostock and a stone shed serving as a church at Gresford." St. Paul's
church at Paterson was preceded by an earlier building on the original church land in Church Street as shown on the 1833 survey. Jennings Smith apparently designed this simple gothic style stone church with its small belfry and paid for the originally shingled roof himself. The church was consecrated in 1845, the day after St. Mary's-on-Allyn at Caergwrle was consecrated. St. Mary's was a similar building, in a plain gothic style, designed and built in grey sandstone by William Boydell, who had married Bishop Broughton's daughter (see Fig. 40). At the end of the 1840s the foundation stone for another handsome church was laid at Dungog on the original site in Verge Street, and it was opened and dedicated by Bishop Tyrell in 1858. Dungog had an incumbent, the Reverend William Toms, since 1850, and a brick cottage built in 1849 at the northern end of town across Myall Creek was purchased for him (see Fig. 41). Jennings Smith also resided in a small four-roomed rectory, built before 1839, adjacent to his church at the southern entrance to the town.

Jennings Smith at first held services in the general store in Gresford once a fortnight, a practice which upset the Bishop, who ordered that the counters and shelves be removed. An early slab and shingled church was erected in the 1840s on the west side of the river (the original settlement area, see Fig. 42). Similar churches were built at Clarence Town by 1840, at Vacy by Gilbert Cory before 1859 (St. John's), at Lostock by c1850 (St. John's - weatherboard) and St. Pauls at Ecclestone.

The boom period of the 1880s saw the replacement of many of these timber churches in the larger settlements with handsome brick buildings set picturesquely by the rivers, their rich, red brickwork forming a fine contrast with the green countryside. At Gresford, St. Anne's church, designed by J.C. Luscombe of Muswellbrook, was erected on the east side of the river in 1898, and at Vacy Messrs W.M. and A.C. Lee designed a new apsidal St. John's with an asbestos tiled roof which was set on a prominent roadside site, and opened in 1887. Between Vacy and Paterson the settlers at Martins Creek heard services in a barn until their early style weatherboard St. James church was erected in 1899. With the opening of the blue metal
Fig. 40: St. Mary's-on-Allyn, Allymbrook, built of stone in 1844 by William Boydell. This early view shows the church without the later transepts which greatly enlarged it. (Newcastle Local History Library).

Fig. 41: "The Old Rectory, Dungog", 1966. The cottage, built in 1849, was purchased for Dungog's first Anglican rector. It was located at the northern end of town, across Myall Creek. (Newcastle Local History Library).
Fig. 42: The first St. Anne's Anglican Church at Gresford, replaced in 1898 by the present brick St. Anne's. The modest scale and slab construction is typical of the early stage of church-building in the Shire. (Mitchell Library).
Christ Church
Anglican Church
and Hall,
Dowling Street,
Dungog:
Significant
Building

Anglican Church
Clarence Town:
Significant
Building

Former Anglican
Rectory, Duke
& Prince Sts.,
Paterson:
Significant
Building

quarry there in 1908, the population increased
and the old church was replaced by a more
stylish half-timbered church in 1828.8 In
Dungog, the second church was again replaced
around the turn of the century by a still
larger brick church on its present day site in
Dowling Street (Christ Church) and the Church
hall, adjacent, was built in 1894. A small
brick church was finally erected in Clarence
Town in 1906.9 The rectors at Dungog and
Paterson were provided with new rectories in
the prosperity of the early twentieth century
- at Paterson an impressive two storey mansion
was built on the site of the old in 1906, and
at Dungog, the old cottage was replaced in
1912.10

Presbyterian Churches

The establishment and development of the
Presbyterian churches followed that of the
Anglicans closely, and in much the same
fashion. The earliest church was, again, at
Paterson, where the first St. Anne's Kirk
stood on the present site by 1833. A full
time minister did not arrive in the Hunter
Valley until 1831, when the church was
established at Maitland. With the great
influx of Scottish settlers from 1837, the
Reverend William Ross was appointed minister
at Paterson, and St. Anne's Scots Kirk, an
austere, solid building was built c1840 on its
striking site on the northwest side of the
town. Today it is the oldest Presbyterian
church in Australia still in use.11

At Clarence Town land was surveyed for a
Presbyterian school in 1847, and for the
already extant church and manse in Marshall
Street between Queen and King Streets in 1849.
Surveys were made at the same time in Dungog
in 1848 and 1851.12 A small brick church, St.
Andrew's, was built in 1856 on the site of the
present church hall, together with a manse,
school, and a glebe of eight acres. During
the later nineteenth century, small satellite
churches were built at Bandon Grove, Big
Creek, Monkerai and Fosterton, and ministers
travelled the circuit regularly.13

The churches at both Clarence Town and Dungog
were replaced shortly after the turn of the
Fig. 44: Opening of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Dungog, in 1905. The inset shows the original more modest church built in 1856 (now demolished). (Mitchell Library).
St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Dowling St., Dungog: Significant Building

Presbyterian Manse, Dowling St., Dungog: Significant Building

Wesleyan Chapel Bandon Grove: Significant Building

Methodist Church Parsonage and Hall, Dowling Street, Dungog: Significant Building

century - Clarence Town in 1906 and Dungog in 1905. Photographs of the opening of St. Andrews at Dungog show the old, modest chapel together with the much more impressive new brick church with its tower/belfry on "...the splendid corner site adjoining the old church in the main street" (see Fig. 44). The original manse (now site of Baby Health Centre) had been sold in 1889 and the present one purchased from Mr. Wade.14

Wesleyan/Methodist Churches

The Wesleyan church appears in the Shire exclusively in the Williams Valley at Clarence Town, Dungog and Bandon Grove, and all three were originally built in the 1840s and early 1850s. At Dungog a grant had been made to the Wesleyan Methodists in 1841, although the allotments in Dowling Street near the corner of Hooke Street were not officially surveyed until 1847. Land for a parsonage was later set aside in MacKay Street, between Lord and Dowling Streets.15 The chapel itself was not built until 1853 and it was, like the early Anglican and Presbyterian churches, a plain, unadorned, squat, gothic-style structure (see Fig. 45). At Bandon Grove, higher up the valley, a simple brick chapel had been erected on an acre of land in 1849. Surveyor Carmichael marked out allotments for a church, school and parsonage in Clarence Town, in Queen Street between Grey and Rifle Streets in the same year.16

Like other churches, the Dungog Wesleyan chapel was replaced by a larger church next to it in Dowling Street in 1910. A photograph shows the two standing side by side - the early gabled chapel with plain rendered walls and restrained detailing, and the later, larger dark brick church with its array of pilasters, bands of stucco, chequerboard brickwork and leaded lancet windows (see Fig. 45). The early modest beginnings of the 1850s are thus juxtaposed with the solid, respectable, prosperous community of the turn of the century. The chapel was later demolished to make way for a parsonage, and a hall was added in 1923.17

In her memories of "Growing up in Dungog", Daisy May Poppleton (nee Redman) described the Methodist Church as the sole means of social...
Fig. 45: The new Methodist Church, Dowling Street, Dungog, built 1910, standing adjacent to the simple Wesleyan Chapel (1853) which was later demolished to make way for the parsonage. (Mitchell Library).
interaction for the many Methodists in the district in the late nineteenth century. As a girl she enjoyed talking to people after services, choir practice, and church-run dances, and she always had a strong aversion to alcohol as a result of her Methodist upbringing. Similarly, Clarence Smith wrote in 1963 of the church at Bandon Grove:

It should not be necessary to stress the part played by this chapel in the consolidation of this new centre, for not only did it administer to the spiritual needs of the people, it was also the only social outlet, apart from cricket, the people had.19

The Sunday School at Bandon Grove had 50 pupils enrolled, a well stocked library, and held a picnic every year that was enjoyed by young and old.

Roman Catholic Churches

The Catholics were not numerous or wealthy in the Shire during the early settlement period, so the development pattern, although essentially similar to that of other churches, occurred slightly later in the century, with the arrival of increasing numbers of small settlers, often Irish, after 1850. Surveyors laid out allotments for burial grounds and a school for Catholics at Dungog during the 1840s, but not, it seems, for a church. Grants for a school house at Paterson were set aside in 1843 and for a burial ground at Clarence Town in 1847.20 There may have been churches in the 1840s, but details are sketchy. Father Mahoney of East Maitland set up mass centres at various points, and at Dungog the Courthouse was used for the purpose in an expedient manner, until it was disallowed by the Police Magistrate in 1840. Thereafter a small chapel was built on Joseph Fitzgerald's Sunville property, and by 1857 a church was built in Dungog on the corner of Verge and Chapman Streets (see Fig. 15).21 At Gresford, a portion of the Clevedon property was utilized for a chapel, while a small brick school house at Brookfield served as a mass centre from about 1850 for the many Irish settlers and labourers there. The Catholics probably also had an early church at Clarence Town.22

From the 1860s onwards, Catholics began to
Fig. 46: "Roman Catholic Church and Presbytery, Dungog", G. Kelly.

The church was built in 1868 in Doeling Street. Both the church and the handsome presbytery were demolished after the church was moved to Brown Street in 1933.
erect more substantial churches, matching those of the other denominations. At Clarence Town, St. Patrick's was built on a hillside in Rifle Street about 1863, and at Dungog, St. Mary's was drawn, like other churches, to a site in Dowling Street (corner Brown Street) and was built in 1868, together with a handsome presbytery. A photograph of these buildings (now demolished) show the buttressed brick church with a shingled roof and elegant carved valances to the gable. The presbytery was also an elegant building of symmetrical design, with a hipped roof and encircling bellcast verandah set on timber pillars (see Fig. 46). At East Gresford, St. Helen's was built of brick and shingles to a simple design in 1867.

Similar simple, unpretentious churches were erected at Brookfield, (St. Killain's) and at Paterson in 1884 (St. Columba's). These churches have both survived, but in both Dungog and Clarence Town the churches were again superseded by more up-to-date buildings. The new St. Patricks in Rifle Street was erected in 1892, while in Dungog the church moved to its third site in Brown Street in 1933, with a presbytery added in 1956. The old buildings were demolished to make way for a telephone exchange.

Two convents were also established in the Shire - one at Brookfield in 1839, which was used as a school until a separate building was erected in 1892; and similarly, one at Gresford built in 1892 served as a school until 1911.

Smaller denominations tended to be more localized. The Baptists congregated at Thalaba, from 1869, with Mr. Isaac Brewer as their pastor. A timber building, nicknamed the "Baptist Cathedral", served as a schoolroom and church until a church was built in 1881 and replaced in 1913. The Baptist church at Dungog opened in 1917 and was an outstation of Thalaba. There are also reports of an early Baptist Church in King Street at Clarence Town.

The Congregational church established its
centre at Eccleston during the 1880s and a church and manse were erected there. Gresford's Congregational church, built in 1903 for twelve pounds, was an outstation of the Eccleston circuit.28

The Salvation Army made intermittent appearances at Dungog during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They first arrived in 1836, broke off for a period between 1901 and 1912, and closed down completely in 1940 until their return in 1984.29

2 Education and Schools

The education of the Shire's children and the establishment of schools mirrored the same general pattern as that of churches. The task was first taken on by private individuals and churches, and schools were initially established on estates and in the embryonic towns. Classes were held in rough, slab walled huts with sheet-bark roofs and, in the case of the smaller villages, these conditions prevailed well into the late nineteenth century. National schools were set up from mid-century onwards, and in the larger towns solid school and residence buildings were eventually built according to the style of the period. These buildings invariably lagged behind the demand for space, and extra classrooms were usually hurriedly tacked on at the side or rear.

In many of the smaller villages, the schools, together with the churches, played an important role in defining the settlement and drawing people together. The schools were kept open by the distance separating local settlers' children from larger towns. Children had to travel considerable distances on foot or horseback to attend in any case. Daisy May Poppleton remembered that she and her sisters walked miles to school barefoot, so as not to wear out their shoes.30 The dairy farmers' children crossing a river on horseback in Fig. 47 are also shoeless. A motley group of children, some solemn-faced, others mischievous in spite of the camera, pose with their dark-suited and stern-faced teacher in front of the typical weatherboard school at Underbank in the early twenties
Fig. 47: Shoeless dairy farmers' children cross the river on horseback on their way to school. (Mitchell Library).
Fig. 48: "Group at Underbank School 1921 or 1922". Nineteen children pose with their teacher in front of the weatherboard school. ([Mitchell Library]).
(Fig. 48). Conditions for teachers at most of the smaller places were usually appalling and most only stayed a year or two. A high turnover of teachers was thus another feature of schooling in the Shire during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Early Schools

Some of the first schools were set up by the large landowners for the children on their estates. Gilbert Cory established a school on his Vacy estate by about 1850, or probably earlier, on a site between the Halfway House Inn and the ford at Vacy. William Lowe hired a tutor for an early school for the children of his employees at his Deptford Shipyards between 1834 and 1847, one of the earliest schools in the Shire. Early schools are also recorded at Tillimby and Trevallyn (Campsie), and both later became National schools.

During the late 1830s and 1840s numerous denominational schools were established in the towns. Land was marked out for Catholic schools in Paterson in 1843 (corner High and Church Streets), for the Wesleyans in Dungog in 1847, and Clarence Town (1849), and for the Presbyterians in Dungog (1839 and 1843) and Clarence Town (1847). At Paterson the Presbyterian minister had advertised for a teacher who could "speak and teach Gaelic grammatically" as early as 1839. In the same year the Reverend John Jennings Smith set about replacing an old slab school with a neat stone building which stood on the corner of King and Duke Streets until it was replaced by the C.B.C. Bank in 1902 (see Fig. 49). A Catholic school was conducted at Brookfield in a brick building from about the 1850s, and the Baptists had their wooden school house at Thalaba.

There are some reports of private individuals who also ran schools. At Allynbrook a small private school was opened in about 1839, by a teacher who also ran a part-time school at Halton. John Bush ran a school in Gresford prior to 1867, and Henry Fowler conducted one at Lostock.

In many cases small private and denominational schools were forerunners of the National
Fig. 49: The early Anglican school house (far left) was built in 1839 by John Jennings Smith, opposite the Post Office. From D. Clements, Paterson Public School Centenary Celebrations 1875-1978.

Fig. 50: Bandon Grove School, 1875. The slab and shingled building served between 1861 and 1881, contrasting with the more substantial buildings in the larger towns. From Bandon Grove Public School Centenary Souvenir 1862-1962.
The National Schools

The first state-run school was established at Clarence Town in 1849, when there were over 200 children in the town. Land on the corner of Rifle and Queen Streets was acquired, and a building possibly hired from Mr. Lowe in the interim was replaced when the school building was opened in 1851. The arrival of James Gardiner as the school's second teacher in that year marked the beginning of the school's "golden age". Gardiner built up the standards and curriculum and the school earned a reputation as the equal of an English elementary school. When Gardiner left, however, this reputation was quickly lost. During the mid-60s to 1875 there was considerable competition and conflict between the public and Catholic schools until the latter was forced to close down in 1875 because of the withdrawal of state aid. By this time the public school buildings were beyond repair and a new school and residence were erected on the present site in 1876-77. With the swelling of population during the 1880s, the classroom sizes were doubled in 1883 and the school was repaired and provided with new desks in 1906.36

In Dungog the Presbyterians had established a school in Chapman Street during the 1840s, but this was, at the church's request, converted to a National school in 1851, and its teacher Joseph Ross was appointed by the state to teach the 48 pupils. By 1863 the early buildings, which were probably timber, had deteriorated and the school was temporarily moved to the Wesleyan chapel in Dowling Street, while a new building was erected, and opened in 1865. It was adjacent to the Presbyterian church in Chapman Street, and opposite the old site. By 1888 there was a staff of three, and classrooms had been added in 1881 and 1887. By 1889 Dungog was a Superior Public School and in 1893 a new...
residence was built, followed by a new four-roomed brick school in 1910. The school had an enrolment of 216 by 1900 and the number of children continued to increase with the arrival of increasing numbers of dairy farmers. Clarence Smith wrote that during this period the school had a very good reputation for standards and could keep the children longer, so that several parents from the outlying villages of Bandon Grove, Bendolba, Alison, Thalaba and Dingadee sent their children on foot, on horseback or in a sulky to school at Dungog. Each Monday the teacher collected 3d from every child, a sum which "hurt at that period". Daisy May Poppleton remembered her frustration at being taken out of Dungog school to help her mother and sisters on their farm. This does not appear unusual, particularly for girls, and was probably also true of the dairy farmers whose large families were essential in running the farms. For wealthier parents, a private boarding school for boys was run in the gothic-style Oomabah during the early twentieth century.  

Educational facilities expanded considerably during the 1860s with schools opened at Bandon Grove (1862), Ecclestone (1867), Gresford (1868), Vacy (1868) and Allynbrook (1869). The existence of schools at these points underlines their relatively significant status. All had been preceded by private or denominational schools and most began in fairly primitive conditions.

At Bandon Grove an early school was established on W.T. Foster's Mulconda estate in 1850, and accordingly named Mulconda School. It had an average attendance of forty, but closed in 1858. Three years later a slab school comprising a residence and classroom was erected in the village (see Fig. 50) and a National school was opened in 1862. A program of improvements, including pig-proof fencing, a kitchen and a partition to create the teacher's bedroom was underway, but the accommodation was still mean and leaky, and teachers arrived and departed every year or so. Attendances fluctuated wildly with the waves of new settlers and the floods, while the closure of W.A. Smith's tobacco factory in 1875 left only 15 children. At the same time the school was vying with the Upper Bendolba Church of England Denominational school for
Bandon Grove Public School: Significant Building

survival. The Bandon Grove school eventually triumphed with the erection of a school room, small classroom and a four-roomed teacher's residence under the same roof in 1881. Enrolments jumped between 1876 and 1881 from 34 to 59, and this was partly a result of the footbridges erected over the Williams and Chichester Rivers in 1879. By 1882 there were 71 students, but this fell to 60 in 1900 and 37 in 1904. Subsequently, repairs were made to the building in 1920, the windows were enlarged in 1928, and a Parents and Citizens Association was formed in the 1930s.38

The school at Eccleston was marked by frequent closures during its history. The Anglican church school which preceded the National school was located on Hugh Massie's land and closed in 1864. The timber three-roomed school with its shingled roof and windows closed in with calico, was repaired and opened briefly as a National school in 1867 with about 20 students. Actual attendances sank to only 12 because of an outbreak of typhus in 1868 and the school closed at the end of the year. It was not reopened until 1875, again in the old building, but the teacher left after only twelve months and was not replaced until 1878. Enrolments rose in 1879 and the school was declared a Public School, with a teacher, Mrs. Emily Hill, who served for the next 25 years. The old buildings were finally replaced in 1885 on the present site. The school closed again briefly in 1911, reopened in 1912 on a trial basis, and stayed open until another brief closure in 1933. By 1938 there were several classes and some children of 15. The old 1885 building was considered unstable in 1943, and the following year a school building was brought up from Trevallyn (Campsie) and attached to the tank and chimney of the old school. This building was still in use in 1967.39

At Gresford, the population, and thus enrolments, were more stable. The school was opened in about 1868, and its headmaster John Bush had run the earlier private school there. A new brick building was opened in 1882 at the "Crossroads" at Gresford. By 1927 maps showed the township simply as "Gresford School". (See Fig. 29). The buildings are still in use today.40

The Vacy State school was also opened in 1868,
on a site close to the original ford. Its local Public School Board included Gilbert Cory who had established the first small school on the site, G.S. Brown and G.J. Frankland. At a later stage the school was moved further south onto the main road at its present site (see Fig. 31).[41] The school at Allybrook gained Provisional status in 1869, and was known until 1904 as the Caergrwle or Caergurle school. Up until then it had been a private school sponsored by William Boydell, who provided a simple hut set near a cliff face overlooking the Allyn River. A contemporary Schools Inspector, Dwyer, found the area "populous, but the inhabitants generally poor, ignorant and notoriously dilatory as regards the education of their children". A school was nevertheless established in the slab and bark hut with its two rooms and verandah, an earthen floor subject to damp and glass-less windows. One room was the classroom, while the other, with its two tiny skillions, served as the teacher's residence. Although Dwyer recommended that this building be used only temporarily, it continued to serve right up until 1881.

Good teachers were generally deterred by these conditions. Some teachers boarded elsewhere, and one preferred to teach the children outside under a tree rather than in the crowded, dark, stuffy room. The building was finally replaced in 1881 by a brick school and residence set adjacent to St. Mary's Church. The long colourful procession of teachers included two with no formal qualifications, one who refused to take up the post when she saw the residence, one who was rather eccentric and too unorthodox for the local community, one who continually took leave and had a "propensity for lying", and an alcoholic who was, nevertheless a "...conscientious and energetic man". The typically high turnover of teachers at this isolated school continued right up to the 1950s. The children themselves were often kept out of school to help on farms, by epidemics or by heavy rains or floods which immediately cut them off. A wooden weathershed was added in 1892, along with a bathroom and another bedroom for the teacher. With the arrival of Terence Rogers in 1901 standards improved and the enrolment increased to over 60. The school was extended
again in 1902. By 1914 the enrolment dropped to 47 and again in 1955 to 24 and in 1967 to 17. A Parents and Citizens Association was formed in 1934 and made many practical contributions to the school.42

The establishment of a Public School at Paterson in 1875 was surprisingly late, considering the growth and prosperity of the town. Its children had apparently been adequately educated by the several denominational schools (Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic) and also by the small National school established for a short time on the Tillimby estate. Another school was run at one stage (c1860s, 1870s) in the building now known as Noumea, in Prince Street, in addition to two boarding schools run by Miss Hasken and Mr. Stone respectively from the 1850s.43

It was the closure of the Anglican church school in 1874 which finally prompted the establishment of the Paterson Public School. The site had been purchased in 1865, and the Oddfellows Hall was used for the students until the first school was opened in 1875. By the end of the year, enrolments had risen from 30 to 81 and this building was already outgrown. A new, fashionably gothic brick building with large elaborate finialled gables and lancet windows was built in 1878, along with a residence. Weatherboard additions were made to the school in 1881 (see Fig. 51). In the first decade of the twentieth century, the construction of the railway line cut the playground in half and required the demolition of the headmaster's residence. A new site for the residence was purchased in 1908, the school had a new classroom in 1909, and the 92 children were taught in the Oddfellows Hall while blasting for the railway was underway. They returned to the school after works were complete and the school remained there until the new complex was opened in 1971.44

The Paterson school was supplemented when the State opened a school at Martins Creek nearby in 1892. Like all the other schools, its forerunner had been a small private school in a slab hut on the Eskart property near Tumbledown Creek. Some of the local children had walked seven miles to attend the school at Paterson. The first public school was
Fig 51: The neat gothic-style brick school house at Paterson was quickly outgrown and timber infills were added. From P. Clements, Paterson Public School Centenary Celebrations 1875-1975.

Fig. 52: Cottage Hospital, Dungog, opened 1892 (Newcastle Local History Library).
originally sited about 1 mile east of the present site in a weatherboard structure close to the road. After the opening of the quarry had drawn many families to Martins Creek, this building was replaced by another timber building in 1913, which was moved to the present site, and had an additional room attached in 1923.45

The schools described above are representative of many more which were short-lived or less well-attended, but which nevertheless clearly marked the existence and growth of communities. A public school at Bendolba which opened in 1855 was not well-supported and closed, to be replaced by the Upper Bendolba Church of England school on a site near the junction of the roads to Bandon Grove and Underbank. The latter was closed when bridges made the school at Bandon Grove accessible. Another State school was opened at some time later at Bendolba but again closed in 1919.46

The pattern is typical of the remarkably numerous small schools. By the turn of the century there were schools at almost every small settlement, including Carabolla, Strathlisla, Lostock, Mt. Rivers, Coulston, Fisher's Hill, Upper Allyn, Halton, Bingleburra, Lewinsbrook, Campsie (Trevallyn), Chichester, Welshman's Creek and Underbank. Of these, the only schools along the Paterson River by 1979 were Mt. Rivers, Gresford and Eccleston. A school for the miners' many children at Wangat was opened, but closed when the gold failed and the town declined. Most of the small schools were held in the slab buildings of the type described and illustrated, and the period of service for the most dedicated teachers was only two or three years. 47

3. Community Organisations and Activities

The men who took up land along the Paterson during the Shire's earliest settlement period had much in common and faced the same difficulties. They were all English or Welsh, wealthy and well-educated. They had all taken up large estates and faced the monumental task of converting the wild lands to fields and pastures. They were unified by the common threats of convict revolt, bushrangers, and
the reprisals of the blacks they had dispossessed. The bonds of friendship were particularly strong between the men such as James P. Webber of Tocal, Charles Boydell of Camyrallyn, Alexander Park of Lewinsbrook, George Townsend of Trevallyn and Edward Cory of Gostwyck.

The earliest formal expression of their common interests was the Farmers's Club, established in 1827. The men met at Halliers Hotel at Paterson Plains to discuss issues concerning their crops and stock. It was a period of energetic experimentation with many different crops, so the exchange of information and ideas was lively. At an early stage it was planned to offer prizes as an incentive to produce high quality tobacco, cheese, beer, vines and hops. An agricultural fair was also planned for Paterson Plains in 1828, but a notice from the committee announced that a General Sale would be held there instead in January 1829.

Paterson was also the centre for the Shire's earliest Lodge organization. The Manchester United Order of Oddfellows first met at the Paterson Hotel in 1846, their first hall was erected in the following year. At this stage it was found necessary to stipulate that "Any person having been a convict.....must be six months free before he can be a member of the society". The Lodge built a new hall in 1865, which was also used as a School of Arts until 1883. In Dungog the Lodge was opened in 1874 and in 1892 a foundation stone was laid for a new hall, with splendid pomp and ceremony. The five hundred people who attended marched in a procession with a band, listened to speeches, played sport in the afternoon and feasted at a banquet that evening. When the hall was opened the following year, the 92 members on the roll congratulated themselves with yet another banquet at the Settlers Arms, where many toasts were made, including one to "The Land We Live In".

The opening ceremonies of bridges, buildings and the railway, vice regal visits and, later, centenaries were thus invariably considered as grand and exciting events, and opportunities for vigorous celebrations, speeches about progress, and great communal enjoyment. During his visit to Dungog in 1893, the
Governor General Lord Jersey made speeches and presentations, laid a foundation stone for the hospital, opened a flower show, planted trees, inspected the cornflour mill and attended a ball and banquet in his honour in the evening. "Everything went off to perfection" commented the Dungog Chronicle wryly "except the meat sandwiches were tainted and there was a dispute about the payment for the catering".52

When the Gostwyck bridge was opened in 1878, hundreds of people converged on the site to listen to speeches, watch their children at the morning tea party, played sports and then attended a ball to celebrate their new bridge that evening. All the ceremonies celebrated optimism and civic pride in the communities. The Chronicle encapsulated this spirit in its 1893 "New Years Greeting", which made a triumphant list of Dungog's prospects, and concluded:

We have on all hands pronounced indications that Dungog is fast developing into a large wealthy and important centre, with a thrifty and contented population.53

A cautionary, touchwood clause was pinned at the end: "Let us trust that this crude picture we have drawn is not overly optimistic".

While the men were busily attending Lodge meetings, the women became involved in raising funds and collecting donations for Dungog's Cottage Hospital. The Hospital's board was exclusively male, but when the Mayoress Mrs Hook convened a meeting "for the purpose of devising ways and means for advancing the interest of the hospital" it was attended only by women - thirty in all, both married and unmarried, and generally from the districts' well-known, long established families. In the Victorian spirit of womanly good deeds, they set energetically about fundraising for the two-roomed hospital (see Fig. 52) through social functions, sports and activities. These included concerts, euchre parties, plays, balls, linen teas, horse racing, cricket and football matches. Money was also collected through clubs such as the Girls' Patriotic Club, the Booral Knitting Club, the Bendolba Tennis Club and the Bandon Grove Girls Guild, and through an annual Hospital Saturday when money was collected in all the settlements by the unmarried women. Donations of food, flowers, linen and books were also welcomed.54
From 1911 the hospital treated about 200 patients each year and until 1914, roughly two-thirds of those were men. In that year it acquired a cot, a "new operating table of the latest design" and a new table for the morgue. In 1915 the former North West Railway paymaster's office was acquired, and the land in front of the hospital was later purchased and donated to preserve the hospital's vista over the town. Further additions were made in 1914 when tenders for a new brick operating theatre and remodelled isolation ward were accepted. A new ambulance was described as "fine, roomy (and) convenient with a stretcher on a slide, seat, water bottle and general ambulance fittings inside". In 1918 the hospital treated over 330 patients and, after the resignation of three nurses, a room was added where night duty staff could sleep undisturbed. X-ray apparatus was presented by the Dungog Dramatic Club in 1920. During an epidemic of diptheria in the early 1930s, sixty of the patients were housed in tents in the grounds.55

Another community institution which generated a good deal of civic pride in many towns was the School of Arts. They were a typical feature of New South Wales country towns and were important in providing venues for numerous community and social activities. The earliest School of Arts was established at Paterson in 1868 and it was held in both the Oddfellows Hall and the old Anglican schoolhouse until a hall was built in 1883. John Tucker remembered that rather cultured occasions were held there during the latter nineteenth century, including debating, lectures, and literary and musical evenings. It also had a library and sponsored the Dramatic Club. He was contemptuous of its 1930's use for the less lofty purposes of billiards, cards and dancing. The building was replaced in 1935 by a new hall in Duke Street. It was used for movies and billiards during the 1950s and continues to be an important community venue today.56

At Gresford the School of Arts was a brick building with a supper room, billiards room and a library, but later was converted to a parish hall. A new hall was built in 1930 at East Gresford. At Vacy a School of Arts stood next to St. John's Church by the time the estate was subdivided in 1927 (see Fig. 31).
On the Williams River the School of Arts at Clarence Town had been established by 1879 in a weatherboard building opposite the school playground. A new hall, with library, card room and billiards room was built on the corner of Grey and Prince Streets in 1914 and became the social centre for the town. It was transformed into the Empire Theatre during the 1940s.57

A School of Arts was erected relatively late at Bandon Grove. Subsidized by the Education Department, the building went up in 1933, with half used for reading and the other half for games. The remaining debt was paid off by holding dances, flower shows and balls.58

Dungog had by far the most impressive and elaborate School of Arts. It was first established in 1880 in Dowling Street but was destroyed by fire from an adjoining bakehouse. When Harold MacKenzie inspected the new building during its construction in 1898, he was inspired to write a complete architectural description of the building from the foundations up. It was designed by a local architect C. Button, and had fine fittings, meeting rooms, a library and reading room for chess and draughts and a balconette for speechmaking. He concluded that such a building was only fitting for this wealthy and progressive town.59

Agricultural associations were also formed and reformed over the nineteenth century, although details are scarce. A Farmers Union met regularly at Dungog and the Williams River Agricultural and Horticultural Association held the first Dungog Show in 1886. The Show became an exciting annual event, and children in particular looked forward to it all year. At Gresford, the Gresford and District Agricultural Society was formed in 1927.60 The 1920s also saw the formation of various "Leagues" in the interest of community progress and service. Gresford had a "Public Parks and Improvement League" and in Dungog the "Barrington Tops League" promoted the Barrington Tops as a future great resort, equal to the Blue Mountains in beauty, accessibility and, they hoped, popularity.61

When war broke out in 1914 enlistment offices were flooded with volunteers. In his autobiography, Lloyd Rees remembered that
Fig. 53: "North Coast Recruits, 1st World War, 1916". (Dungog Historical Society).
Fig. 54: "Farewell to troops at Dungog Railway Station World War 1" (Newcastle Local History Library).
those who didn't in his small town in Queensland faced severe public contempt. His brother Vyvyan was one of those who rushed to enlist, and his twin obsessions to "hang the Kaiser" and "the fear that it would be all over before he got there" were shared by many of the young men who went to the war.62 Daisy May Poppleton recounts that at Dungog, as in most other country towns:

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**....men still in civilian clothes would march into Dungog from neighbouring towns and villages on their way down to Sydney and the war. There was great excitement when they arrived and a few more young men, infected by the general enthusiasm, would fall in with them.63**
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The new soldiers sometimes spent an impatient night or two at Dungog, billeted at the showground before boarding their trains. We have actual images of the recruits of World War 1. In one photograph the "men still in civilian clothes" are lined up excitedly beside a makeshift tent against a forest of white ringbarked trees (see Fig. 53). Another shows a long, crowded procession of men in dark clothes marching along the dirt road through hills stuck with the same dead trees, "on their way to Sydney and the war". At Dungog, crowds farewelled them at the railway station, and they stood stiffly to attention in new uniforms, faces taut with expectation, beside the town dignitaries and the flag, while small children peered into the camera on either side (see Fig. 54). Neither soldiers nor the civilians who stayed home could have had any idea of what lay ahead, or of the twisted irony of their naive "fear of missing out on the adventure". Dungog Shire's communities, like most others, contributed to the war effort by Red Cross activities, fund raising, knitting garments, forming patriotic clubs and supporting each other during the long wait for the boys to come home.64

4 Leisure: Sport, Recreation and Entertainment

Leisure time was scarce for the first wave of settlers to the Paterson and Williams Rivers, who faced the task of carving out their farms and estates and building their first homes. Social interaction took place in these homes, which extended hospitality to friends and
travellers, until the first inns and wine shops were built in the 1830s. Drinking had certainly been a popular pastime with the early cedar getters, as Alexander Harris' colourful account in *Settlers and Convicts* recalled. The later inns were meeting centres for clubs and associations, places for their banquets and, in the case of the Patersons Arms in the 1840s, venues for heated and violent political arguments. Later, more genteel gathering-points were provided by the School of Arts buildings.

The earliest sports included cricket and horseracing. Cricket was particularly popular around the Gresford district where a cricket ground was established in front of Glennie's Orindinna homestead, northwest of Gresford. Glennie was a keen cricket player himself. Later in the century numerous teams were formed, which played each other and teams from Sydney. For the strongly Methodist population around Bandon Grove, cricket and church were the only social outlets. Around the turn of the century Chichester and Underbank had a combined team which posed for a photographer with bats, balls and wickets (see Fig.55). Football was played in winter, but there is no evidence that it approached the popularity of cricket. John Tucker recollected that the Shire's remaining aborigines were also drawn to sporting events, where they "...staged corroborees and gave wonderful performances throwing different kinds of boomerangs and spears". They had also danced and sung at the opening of the Gostwyck Bridge, where "A large crowd encircled them, several persons in it never having seen a native dance or heard a native song".

The first horse races were held at Clarence Town (1844), Dungog (1848) and Paterson (1849). These were great social occasions, reflecting the increased population which now had more time to enjoy itself. After the racecourse was built at Dungog in 1851, race carnivals were held over several days, and 1, 2, and 2½ mile races were run. Publicans constructed booths of canvas and bushes and employed a fiddler for the crowds, and whole bullocks were roasted to feed them. The Dungog Jockey Club was formed and annual races held thereafter. The racecourse was adjacent to C.L. Brown's Cairnsmore estate, and is now the site of Dungog High School.
Fig. 55: Probably a combined Underbank - Chichester Cricket Team c1898 - 1900. District teams played each other and Sydney teams. (Mitchell Library).
a racecourse was built on the flats near Webber's Creek, and three-day carnivals drew people from far and wide to enjoy the races, booths, stalls, side shows, music and dancing. Dancing itself was a popular pastime, and dances were held in hotels equipped with ballrooms or large upper verandahs, in halls, sheds and private homes.70

Towards the end of the nineteenth century many recreational activities seemed to lose some of this early exhuberance. Women's activities tended increasingly towards fundraising, charities and worthy causes. For men, pigeon shooting was a popular sport, and groups were guided in the wild New Jerusalem area (now Chichester State Forest) by an aboriginal nicknamed Brandy, who was the last of the area's Gringhi tribe. Much to the shooters' disappointment Brandy became more interested in leading bands of eager fossickers about the bush in their fruitless search for gold. By 1892 there was a rifle club at Dungog, and a rifle range was established on an old aboriginal camp at "Burnt Gully". Golf was played at the Gresford showground, and tennis became popular for both men and women, with clubs set up in the early twentieth century.71

By the 1880s there were also Debating Clubs in Dungog and Paterson, and a Dramatic Society in Dungog by 1920. The women who raised funds for churches and hospitals made use of these organizations, and also held tea meetings, quadrille parties, concerts, euchre parties and linen teas in the early twentieth century. Energetic young women like Daisy May Redman formed the Wattle Club which raised money for charity, held concerts in Dungog's Victorian Hall (see Fig. 28) and trekked along dark and treacherous roads in an old bus to entertain the dam workers up at Wangat.72

Both men and women attended balls and banquets held annually and occasionally, for every conceivable reason. In Allynbrook, the annual grape picking season, when the community traditionally banded together for the harvesting, culminated in a Gala Grape Pickers' Ball, an event looked forward to all year. The buggies and carriages of the wealthy also travelled to the various grand houses for evenings of singing and dancing.73 Recreational activities involving families included sporting events, picnics
(particularly those of the schools and Sunday schools), and the annual agricultural shows at the various towns. For the people of Martins Creek, the weir built by Cory for his Gostwyck mill in 1836 became a pleasant gathering place for picnics, parties, sport and games. At Gresford people could enjoy the Victoria gardens, a cedar grove behind the Victoria (now Beatty's) Inn, where a band played on weekdays and holidays. Another annual event apparently peculiar to the Shire was "Going Down Day", when every person in the Williams valley boarded steamers at Clarence Town to go down to Newcastle for the day. When they got there, families headed for the beach, while the young, single men went off to visit most of Newcastle's pubs. The practice is thought to have begun in the 1870s and finally died out in the 1940s.

For those who could afford it, motor touring became popular during the 1920s. In 1924 the first cars crossed the Barrington Tops and a photographer recorded this event (see Fig. 70). Six years later Barrington House was opened for visitors to the Shire. It was rather spartan, with no radio, newspapers, or liquor allowed, and never matched the glamour and popularity of the Blue Mountains resort.

By the 1950s movies were shown in Paterson, Clarence Town and Dungog. At Paterson they were shown in the School of Arts, while at Clarence Town the School of Arts became the Empire Theatre. Dungog's James Theatre was a simple weatherboard hall which at some stage acquired a stuccoed Spanish Mission facade in a dutiful attempt to echo the exotic, ephemeral style of the big city theatres. By 1953 movies were held there three times a week. In the same year, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church arranged one of its "grand concerts" there. The program boasted fine singers who sang many old Scottish ballads, songs which reached back over a century to the Scots who had arrived early and became so firmly entrenched in Dungog's community.
THEME 7: DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITIES

NOTES


2. *Dungog Town and District*, p.11.


9. See photographs held in Small Picture File - Dungog, Mitchell Library, and local history files - Clarence Town, Newcastle Local History Library.


15. See A.O. Maps 2066, 2123.

17. **Dungog Town and District**, p.11.


19. Smith, "Bandon Grove Wesleyan Chapel".


24. **Gresford 1829-1979**.


27. **Dungog Town and District**, p.11; Anon., "Historical Notes on Clarence Town".

28. **Gresford 1829-1979**


30. Michaelides, *op.cit.*


34. Gibson, et.al., p.9; Gresford 1829-1979.

35. Clarence Town Primary School; Dungog Chronicle, 10 October 1979, Gresford 1829-1979.

36. Clarence Town Primary School

37. Dungog Town and District, p.2; Dungog Chronicle, Supplement, 30 September 1976; Michaelides, op.cit; Cynthia Hunter, "Oomabah", unpublished notes, typescript Dungog Historical Society.


41. Vacy Public School Centenary....

42. Gibson, et. al., Allybrook Public School....

43. Mitchell, p. 142; "Historic Paterson".

44. P. Clements, Paterson Public School...


46. Bandon Grove Public School...

47. Gresford 1829-1979; Dungog Cottage Hospital Reports and Balance Sheets; Local history files - Dungog, Newcastle Local History Library.


50. Mitchell, pp. 144-145; Tucker, op.cit


55. *Dungog Cottage Hospital Reports and Balance Sheets*; *Dungog Chronicle*, 15 September 1962.


59. MacKenzie, "Around Dungog".

60. *Dungog Chronicle*, May and October 1893; *Gresford 1829-1979*.


63. Michaelides, p.20.

64. *Gresford 1829-1979*


67. *Gresford 1829-1979*; Clarence Smith "The Bandon Grove Wesleyan Chapel".

68. Tucker, *op.cit*; *Maitland Mercury*, 3 August 1878.

69. Mitchell, pp.82, 142; Brock, p.15; MacKenzie, "Around Dungog".

70. Mitchell, p. 142; information from Mr. Reg Ford.
71. Dungog Town and District, p.14; Brock, p.15; Dungog Cottage Hospital Reports and Balance Sheets.

72. Dungog Town and District, p.3; Tucker, op.cit; Dungog Cottage Hospital Reports and Balance Sheets; Dungog Chronicle, 10 October 1979; Michaelides, p.29.

73. Gibson, et.al., p.8; information from Mr. Reg Ford.


75. Information from Mr. Reg Ford.

76. Dungog Chronicle, 27 July 1983; Aitchison, op.cit

77. Program - "A Grand Concert by Newcastle's Leading Artists at James Theatre, Dungog" 19 November 1953, Local history files, Newcastle Local History Library.
THEME 8 : INDUSTRIES

Introduction

The waves of settlers to the Paterson, Allyn and Williams Rivers in the 1820s began a pattern of industrial development marked by enterprise, innovation, experimentation, and remarkable tenacity in both primary and secondary industries. Over its 150 year history the shire has supported a wide range of industries spanning a range from the widespread and worldclass, to slightly off beat minor enterprises lasting a year or two. Capital and enthusiasm were never lacking in the launching of new or reviving of old industries, and it is a measure of the reliability and versatility of the Shire's lands and resources that so many industries were successfully established and maintained for long periods over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This is another area which deserves far more detail and research than can be given here. The aim of this study is to outline the major industries, their importance and their patterns of development in the context of constantly changing economic and technological circumstances. The first section is an overview of estate and farm development over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This provides a frame for the separate discussions of the specific agricultural, pastoral and manufacturing activities which follow.

1 Management and Development of Estates

The County of Durham, which covers most of Dungog Shire, was characterised during the 1830s by large estates worked by convict labour.\(^1\) The staple crop was wheat, for, as Lang observed, if a settler was dependent on the labour of convicts "he was more inclined to pasture stock, or farm in large fields for grains in which work could be supervised."\(^2\) While the landowners built their cottages, houses or mansions, convicts were generally accommodated in "...huts walled and roofed with bark, or built of split wood and plaster, with thatched roof"\(^3\), although the extant barracks at Tocal are examples of more
substantial dwellings. About four convicts slept and ate in each hut, drawing their rations weekly, and being allowed Saturday afternoon to wash their clothes and grind their wheat. Many were allowed small vegetable gardens, and masters were obliged to provide two full suits of clothing annually, grass-stuffed bedding, a blanket, tin pot and knife. Some assignees received a small yearly wage. Lang outlined their daily routine, which revolved around daylight. It began at daybreak, when the overseer rang a bell for them to begin work, until breakfast at 8 o'clock. Work resumed at 9 o'clock until the main meal at 2 o'clock, and then went on until sunset.4

Most of the landholders grew a multitude of crops on the alluvial flats, and grazed herds of cattle and a few horses on the less fertile foothills. What was generally remarkable was the rapid rate of establishment. By 1828 Edward Cory had 300 acres cleared and cultivated, 320 cattle and 16 horses, and by the end of the 1830s his flourishing estate produced wheat, maize, lucerne, barley, melons, tobacco, grapes and wine, vegetables and fruit, as well as running the well-known Gostwyck mill. On his smaller estate, Camyrallyn, Boydell had 3 acres of tobacco, 40 acres of wheat, 6 of maize, 600 sheep and 80 cattle by the 1830s. He had built, besides his homestead, barns, stables, a dairy and tobacco sheds, and later established a tobacco factory.5

Up to the 1840s, stock was in great demand, particularly beef cattle, and most estates had a herd, as well as a few pigs and poultry, which together with orchards, dairies and vegetable gardens, fed its family and many labourers.6 The earliest period of settlement was also one of experimentation with various crops and stock in order to gauge their suitability. Wine grapes and tobacco flourished, cotton and sugar were attempted but quickly abandoned. Cattle grazing resumed after the 1840s depression but the climate was too wet for sheep, which centred on the pastoral districts of the drier upper Hunter.7

The depression of the 1840s, together with drought and the withdrawal of convict labour, proved a turning point for the Hunter Valley estates. Landowners either went bankrupt and
left; subdivided, tenanted or sold their estates; or, in some cases, overcame the setbacks and later built up reputations for excellence.

The wave of subdivision during the 'forties appears not to have been as common in Dungog Shire as in other parts of the Hunter Valley. Phillip's Bona Vista estate was subdivided in 1840, but this had more to do with the augmenting of the thriving town of Paterson by selling off allotments, than with the depression. Properties such as Brookfield and Thalaba were sublet to tenants, and later small portions were bought off by them. Penshurst at Mt. Rivers near Gresford was up for sale in 6 lots in 1855 but this probably did not eventuate, since it was again subdivided in 10 lots in 1914.

Another trend was the selling off of large portions of the extensive old estates to form new ones. Samuel Kingston bought Bandon Grove off James Dowling's Canningalla estate in 1846, and presumably erected Bandon Grove House on it. Four years earlier Edwin Way bought Cleveden from Townsend's Trevallyn estate, established a horse station and eventually erected his handsome two storeyed verandah'd brick house on it. The pattern and nature of the first wave of settlement was thus repeated and continued. New estates and small farms were also being established during the late 1830s and 1840s in the more isolated areas in the upper valleys, for example, William Boydell at Caergrwle and Dr. Henry Lindeman at Cawarra, while McCormick ran cattle at the outstation at Carabolla at the top of the Paterson Valley.

The desperate conditions of the 1840s also gave rise to the state's first lottery, the major prize being the Underbank estate of 8,320 acres on the upper William, together with 3,700 head of cattle and 40 horses. The land was originally granted to Archibald and George Mosman and was purchased in 1830 by John Lord. Lord went bankrupt in the 1840s and the Bank of Australia foreclosed on the property. The Bank in turn also went bankrupt and sought permission to float the lottery as a means of re-establishing its credit. Many of its shareholders sold their tickets at roughly four pounds each, and they commanded a ready market. The drawing was spread over
several days in January 1849 at the City Theatre - "Who can ever forget", wrote the Sydney Morning Herald, "the eager looks, the patient and sustained listening to the announcements".10

The winner of the Underbank estate was Angus McDonald, then a tenant farmer at Bolwarra. Unfortunately, his good fortune was cut short by his death the following April by a fall from a horse. His son Angus inherited the property, but as a result of poor management and the depressed value of cattle, the property was mortgaged to Joseph Pearce, and the proceeds invested in gold shares which turned out to be worthless. Pearce eventually became the owner in 1878.11

At the same time the unalienated lands between the estates in the upper valleys and around Clarence Town were being taken up by small settlers who arrived in increasing numbers. By 1844, one hundred emancipists had taken small farms around the headwaters of the Williams, the freeholds averaging about 200 acres. The seventeen farms around Clarence Town in 1840 shown on A.O. map 2309 were typical of this development. Demand for land was such that by the end of the 1840s, "...Hunter tenantry looked to the opening of alluvial Crown land beside the Manning".12 The new wave of settlers built:

...meagre accommodation that was very similar to the initial houses erected by the original grantees - the development of a housing type had to begin all over again.13

Cultivation made little progress during the 1850s, and major floods drowned whole families, devastated crops and improvements and swept away mills. Government land sales and private subdivision drew many, particularly the Scots, further north.14

During the period 1860 to 1870 the estates recovered prosperity and some emerged with widely-recognised reputations - Cawarra for wine, Tocal for bloodstock and Camyrallyn for tobacco. From the 1860s, the deaths of many of the original settlers led to either sales or expansion, as the sons who had grown up and married built "satellite" houses and settled on portions of the old estate.

154
Some of the major properties which changed hands included Crawford Logan Brown's Cairnsmore, bought by Captain Cameron in 1878; The Grange at Wallarobba, acquired by George S. Waller for wheat growing and cattle grazing; and Lawrence Myles' Dingadee passed to the Hooke family in the 1860s. This family also occupied its own Wirry Gully (now Wirragulla) estate, where James Calvert Hooke built Crooks Park in 1873 to replace the early homestead which burnt down in the early 1870s. The new house is a restrained Victorian Italianate villa of rendered brick walls with rubble filled cavities, and French windows opening onto the encircling verandah. A stone dairy dating from 1832 stands near the house. Meanwhile, at Dingadee, the third son, Alfred, had built West Dingadee during the 1860s. It is a four-roomed cottage of very thick stone walls with the entrance lobby at the back. A similar house, Rocky Hill, was built a few years later for another son, Henry Guy Hooke. Myles' old Dingadee homestead was occupied by their parents John and Mary Anne and for some time also by their other son, Frederick Augustus. After John Hooke's death in 1878, Frederick returned and built a new home during the later 1870s, and later raised a family of ten children there. Alterations were made to this house in 1908, and a windmill was erected and an innovation septic tank system installed.

The same process occurred on D.F. MacKay's Melbee estate. His son John Kenneth MacKay purchased a portion in about 1851, naming it Cangon, and building an early homestead on it until the present Cangon was built in 1863. Subsequently, an extensive complex developed around the house, and now includes offices, kitchens, laundries, stores, workers' quarters, a dairy, meat house, barns, sheds, coachhouse and stables, and a fine garden was laid out around the house. In 1886 most of the old Melbee homestead was demolished and rebuilt. The process of establishment, building, rebuilding and expansion was thus repeated in a new cycle by the next generation. The sons and new owners generally consolidated what had been won by their predecessors. A series of profiles of estates written by H.A. MacKenzie in 1898 gives an insight into the activities of this "second generation". Some had made the transition to maize growing and dairying, others still
grazed fat cattle and tried to grow wheat and fodder crops. Most had tenants on a good proportion of their land, and those on the river banks still suffered the ravages of floods. MacKenzie made particular mention of the "noxious and assertive" introduced grasses which had become pests. Sword-blade or tussock grass, which checked the growth of fodder crops, had to be hoed, cut and burnt out by men paid one pound a week; Paddy's Lucerne and the perennial Wild Mustard also plagued the district.\textsuperscript{17}

At Cairnsmore, Cameron lived in what was then the oldest house in the district and leased the best of his alluvial soil to John Walker (of the enterprising Skillen and Walker partnership). Fodder crops such as maize, lucerne and barley had been grown but had "...lately been discontinued owing to such quantities of good soil in the last two or three seasons being washed away in the floods". The property was used for fat cattle, and Cameron was trying unsuccessfully to grow olive trees.\textsuperscript{18}

The Canningalla estate, further from Dungog, was still in the hands of the Dowling family and about two thirds was leased to seven tenants (including two of Vincent Dowling's sons), while the remaining third was used for fat cattle. The tenants paid rents from one pound upwards for their 16-40 acre allotments and grew maize, carting it to the Cooreei Cornflour Mill where they were paid 1s 7d per bushell. Pigs were also a lucrative standby. They were fed on maize and driven in herds to the bacon and pork factory at Clarence Town, and from there the meat was shipped to Newcastle and Sydney. The tenants had grown wheat and tobacco until "recently", but like other attempts, this had not been successful.

At John MacKay's Cangon, MacKenzie enjoyed views of the "magnificent garden" in its setting with:

...the grass, the trees and woody mountain heights with a hot summer sun playing all over. The trees bordering the snake-shaped Williams are exquisite in their brilliant emerald, olive and bronze tints....

This description of the lush, tamed beauty of the rivers was echoed by the boast that the land had been "worked continuously for fifty
years and never a failure". In 1898 only 60 acres of the 6,500 was used for cereal crops. Similarly, on the original Melbee estate, George MacKay also ran cattle for the Maitland and Sydney markets as well as for local butchers.

Samuel Kingston's Bandon Grove, adjacent to Canningalla was also partly let to tenants, while the nearby Lower Bendolba estate was already "all surveyed for subdivision". It was probably one of the first of the great rush of subdivisions in the early twentieth century.

While most of the large, old estates thus mostly ran beef cattle, and leased land for cultivation, George Waller's "The Grange" property at Wallarobba had already been converted to dairying. He had one tenant growing pumpkins, sorghum and lucerne, who earned his living by an innovative halving or share system, whereby the profits for crops, milk and butter were halved between himself and his landlord.19

The boom period of the 1880s had also resulted in the building of many new houses, usually in handsome, solid brickwork with large verandahs, to replace original homesteads. At Torryburn a brick house replaced the early timber house; at Elmshall William Bucknell built a grand new home; and the original Melbee was almost all demolished and replaced by an "edifice (which) commands superb views".20

In the early twentieth century the old Frankland property, Vineyard, adjacent to Gostwyck, was acquired by one Elliot who greatly improved it and installed a steam-driven irrigation plant which pumped water from the river into trenches between the crops. Although the experiment was successful and his produce in demand, the steam engine proved to be too expensive to run and was discontinued. The estate was subdivided shortly afterwards.21

The general slump in cattle over the 1890s, together with the introduction of the centrifugal cream separator which revolutionized dairying, were factors which led to the next phase of landuse in the Shire - the subdivision of the large estates. Table
3 shows the known subdivisions and details of the allotments offered, and there were probably many more during the period 1898 to 1941, with most occurring in the 1910s and 1920s. Small settlers brought their families to work the dairy and citrus farms which were made so attractive by the promise of weekly income, instead of the uncertainties of the traditional annual income.\textsuperscript{22}

The auctioneers advertised the properties with lavishly drawn posters and tempting descriptions. (See Fig. 56). The majority were advertised as dairy farms, as well as agricultural lands (lucerne, maize, millet etc.), and citrus orchards, many of which were already in existence. The words "alluvial", "fertile" and "rich" were used to exert the same irresistible lure which had drawn the first settlers to the rivers a hundred years earlier, and the first settlers to the Hawkesbury before them. Most of the advertisements also stressed the wide availability of transport facilities and access to processing plants. The allotments ranged from less than ten acres to over a thousand for the "homestead" blocks. Where the old house stood, the allotment around it was sold as a relatively large property, and the houses were described variously as "an ideal...gentleman's residence" (Tillimby), an "up-to-date modern brick villa" with "large and lofty rooms" (Torryburn), a "comfortable 2-story residence" (Tocal), or simply as "Homestead and cellars" (Park's original home at Lewinsbrook). The numerous outbuildings and yards scattered over many estates were also listed, while many of the smaller allotments had small, timber cottages, dairies, yards and barns. At Cory's Vacy estate a complete town was sold off in 1927, with a hotel, butcher's shop, bakery, blacksmith, store, houses, boiling-down works, slaughterhouse and piggery. A school, church and School of Arts were also already in situ. (See Fig. 31). Over fifteen thousand pounds was raised from the 60 blocks which were sold at "wonderful prices".\textsuperscript{23}

When Ruby Doyle wrote Old Homes of the Patterson and Allyn Rivers in 1932, she mourned the "cutting up of the grand old estates". It seemed to her that the "old order" had passed away with them, together with the great houses, since many were pulled
Fig. 56: (Overleaf) "Penshurst Estate" subdivision plan 1914. A typical example of the many subdivisions of the early twentieth century. The plan shows the homestead buildings, and the school and store at the village of Mr. Rivers. (Mitchell Library).
Penshurst Estate

Subdivided into 10 farms of suitable areas, and 10 smaller lots of 1/2 to 5 acres.

20 miles from Dungog, 32 miles from Cresford, 30 miles from Singleton.

Highly improved & well watered by the

River and by Creeks & Dams.

Each farm has been subdivided so as to provide it with a fair proportion of Agricultural Land.

C.P. & E.L. land for sale.

Terms: One Quarter in hand.

Sale by the Bolan Auctioneer.

Time & Date to be announced.

By E. W. Sparke, Auctioneer.
down and replaced. The great influx of people to the new small farms, together with the revolutionary developments in transport and communications certainly altered Dungog Shire's nineteenth century land use and demographic pattern radically and rapidly.24

Table 3: Subdivisions in Dungog Shire 1898 - 1941

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>No/Size of allotments (if known)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Lower Bendolba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1905</td>
<td>Vineyard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Cardonass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Torryburn</td>
<td>1 allotments, 221-397a. and 1085a for homestead block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Lewinsbrook</td>
<td>18 allotments, 125-800a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Cawarra (part)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Sugarloaf Creek</td>
<td>8 allotments, 8-357a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Penshurst</td>
<td>10 allotments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Tressingfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Lyndhurst Vale</td>
<td>63 1/2 - 436 3/4a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c1920</td>
<td>Bendolba Farms²</td>
<td>36 - 196a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Oaklands³</td>
<td>Sold as a whole or in 2 allotments, 358a. and 400a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Tillimby</td>
<td>23 allotments, 16-502a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Tocal⁴</td>
<td>13 allotments, 25-1085a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Vacy</td>
<td>Small town allotments; 62 farm allotments up to 300 acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Auchentorlie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Dingadee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The major source for this table is a valuable collection of subdivision plans held in Mitchell Library. See "Homestead and Property Plans - County of Durham" (1 box).
2. Map shows the earlier (1898) subdivisions.
3. Originally part of the Underbank Estate.
4. Sold as a whole to C.B. Alexander.
Most of the early settlers in Dungog Shire planted crops of wheat, grazed cattle, and, for a short time, sheep. The earlier period was also one of experimentation with a wide variety of other crops in the quest to discover what would thrive in the Shire's soils. Some of which were successful, such as tobacco and grapes, while others were short-lived, such as cotton and sugar. Little is known of the attempt to grow sugar, but there was an early sugar mill at Clarence Town. Regarding cotton, John Dunmore Lang described the work of Messrs. Baxter, who leased 40 acres of Hooke's Wiry Gully property and planted 1/4 acre with cotton:

It had to be planted in rows three feet apart, the usual distance in South Carolina, but ... it had covered the whole of the ground and the plants were evidently much too close together...Mr. Baxter...had counted upwards of 500 pods. He was satisfied it would answer both the soil and climate of this country admirably.2

Like all farmers experimenting with new crops, Baxter was ambitiously optimistic - "There is therefore a boundless prospect of remunerative employment for an agricultural population in this brand of cultivation on the rivers." Alexander Park also had 35 acres under cotton at Lewinsbrook, and J. Bucknell grew cotton at Elmshall.3

During the period 1821 to 1860, however, wheat was the most common staple crop, while maize for fodder was a popular second crop. Other cereal and fodder crops, grown on a small scale included sorghum, lucerne, millet, rye, hay, barley, and vegetables such as potatoes, pumpkins and onions. The relative proportions of Charles Boydell's 1839 crop of 40 acres of wheat, 6 of maize and 3 of tobacco appear to be typical of the period.4

The Hunter Valley had the colony's largest proportion of acreage under crop over the first half of the nineteenth century, and of its counties, Durham was the most productive by 1850. Production of wheat peaked in the 1840s, with an average of thirteen bushells per acre 1834, 22 in 1841 and 18 in 1850, with the highest average coming from the Paterson district in 1846.5 Methods of cultivation,
however, remained primitive right up to the 1860s. As Jeans writes:

The soil was turned over with wooden ploughs which were often home made, grain after it had been broadcast by hand was rolled into the ground by heavy logs. Reaping with sickles or reaping hooks was so time-consuming a task that it set limits on the acreage that could be handled. William Gardner in about 1854 reported that even a good workman could gather in the harvest of only four acres in a week.6

H.M. MacKenzie noted that similarly primitive methods had been used by early tenants on the Bandon Grove estate, with the "corn sown among logs". One farmer, Richard Windeyer had a mechanical stripper by 1846, but very few others had acquired them by 1861.7

In spite of the simple, time consuming and wasteful methods, wheat growing continued to flourish in the valleys and numerous buildings associated with its storage and grinding sprang up. The earliest was Singleton's 1829 Johns Mill at Mill Dam Falls about 4 miles/6 km north of Clarence Town. Singleton had two boats picking up grain from the farms and delivering meal at the rate of 15 pence per bushell. The mill survived until the river rose 39 feet in the 1857 flood, when pieces of it were seen floating past Clarence Town.8 On the Paterson, E.G. Cory's Gostwyck Mill was built in 1833. The mill with its water tower was at the confluence of the river with Martins Creek, and Cory dammed the river, altering the watercourse into a race to drive the mill (see Fig. 8). By 1843 it was being run by Stephen Dark, and like Singleton's mill, a boat plied the rivers from Raymond Terrace and Morpeth collecting grain and delivering meal. By 1848 a "magnificent steam flour mill" had been established at Dungog, and another early mill was established by Thomas Walker on Hooke's Wiry Gully estate.9

By the 1850s "the Paterson was a wheatfield from Hinton right up to Lostock", and the hum of the mills' machinery could be heard day and night. Henry Carmichael's 1850 map of Paterson shows two mills (one of them Keppies') on the riverside by Commercial Road (see Fig. 16), and later a storehouse, houses and cottages lined the bank, some of which have survived. By 1860 there were twelve
mills along the twelve mile stretch of road between Paterson and Maitland - one of them was Mitchell's large mill at Dunmore Bridge.\textsuperscript{10} Clarence Town had two mills, the Victoria Mills on Rifle Street and the Clarence Town Steam Flour Mill in King Street, while Dungog also had two in 1866, the Alexander Flour Mill, in the town (see Fig. 62), and Thomas Walker's water driven mill on the Fosterton Road, just outside it. In 1870 the \textit{Illustrated Sydney News} illustrated a slab mill on the Allyn River (see Fig. 57), which was probably that of William Boydell at Allynbrook.\textsuperscript{11}

But the golden age of wheat growing and flour milling also marked the beginning of its decline. In 1866 Bailliere's \textit{Gazetteer} remarked ominously that the wheat around Vacy was "beginning to get the rust", and that the new steam flour mill at Gresford had closed, as the wheat had failed in the last two years.\textsuperscript{12} Total coastal wheat growing plummeted from 70,000 acres in 1861 to only 24,000 in 1871. A series of disastrous floods in the 1860s, together with a drought in 1862-63, and increased rains resulted in the standing wheat becoming prone to rust. Wheat cultivation moved to the drier regions further inland.\textsuperscript{13} Mills at Dungog and Allynbrook stayed open until the 1890s, grinding the diminished wheat crop, but most others closed down. The Gostwyck mill was pulled down in the 1870s and replaced with a steam timber mill.\textsuperscript{14}

Agriculture quickly swung to maize growing for fodder or as grain, to compensate for the loss of wheat. Maize was suitable for new and partly cleared ground; two crops could be grown each year; it yielded heavily on the fertile flats; it was easily cultivated and harvested and it could be used to feed stock including cattle, pigs, horses and fowls. As a result of the latter usage, maize production increased with the spread of dairying.\textsuperscript{15} Relics of the maize industry include the corn staddle at Paterson, and a fine timber corn crib at Gostwyck.\textsuperscript{16}

From 1878 farmers could also take their maize to Wade and Alison's Cooreei Cornflour Mill on Williams River opposite Dungog. The mill was a triumph of enterprise and engineering, as the \textit{Maitland Mercury} stressed in a long
Fig. 57: "Mill on the Allyn River" 1870, showing slab construction, water wheel and race. This was possibly William Boydell's mill at Caerwâl. From Illustrated Sydney News, 24 December, 1870, p. 109.
article that year. It must have been a district landmark during its existence, comprising four substantial storeys, one underground, and built of ironbark piles and weatherboards (see Fig. 58). It was driven by an enormous steam engine/boiler. Wade and Alison imported and employed Kenneth McDonell, the manager of their rival English company, Brown and Polson, to set the mill in motion. The process of soaking, grinding, cleaning, regrinding and packing the maize was described in great detail, following the maize from its storage point at the highest level down to the ground floor, and then back up again to the packing room, everywhere stressing the cleanliness, efficiency and modernity of the procedure. The article was concluded by some remarks concerning the security of the supply of maize from the surrounding districts and enthusiastic praise typical of the day:

He who improves a local product adds a new value to that, to the labour which must be employed, therefore increases the wealth of the country and gives fresh impulse to its progress.17

In spite of bright prospects and a seemingly unfailing industry, the cornflour mill closed in 1900 and Wades moved to Sydney. This was probably as a result of the need to centralise its operations and also because of the switch many farmers had made to dairying, a more lucrative pursuit. Articles in the Dungog Chronicle continually promoted dairying over maize and other crops during the early 1890s, and the maize which was still produced probably became cattle fodder.18

The manufacture of arrowroot was another experiment of the "progressive" farmers in the 1880s and 1890s which met with some success. Vacy had an arrowroot factory in 1866 about which nothing else is known. In 1893 the Dungog Chronicle reported that A.T. Lawrie of Rawdon Vale was a recognised authority on the cultivation and manufacture of arrowroot, and had won a gold medal for his product at the Philadelphia World Fair. Another manufacturer was William Smith who had gone into production on a small scale by 1898, using the clear waters of the Williams to wash the arrowroot clean. The raw material was put in a cylindrical vessel with rows of teeth inside, which crushed the material when turned by either horse or water power. Wades of the Cooreei Mill had looked into arrowroot but
Fig. 58: The Cooreei corn-flour mill, Dungog. This is a copy of the only known photograph of the extensive complex which drew in maize in the district between 1878 and 1902. (Dungog Historical Society)
"found it to be so tender a commodity they abandoned the idea".19

T.D. Hutchinson advertised his Dungog Self Raising Flour factory during the 1890s by boasting four first prizes for his bread at the Dungog Show.20 The period from the 1890s to the early twentieth century was by all accounts a most optimistic vigorous and progressive one in agriculture and manufacturing. The Chronicle attributed this trend to the farmers who were "in touch with the agriculture department" and, like their forebears, "experimenting with new crops with the promise of rich rewards". The newspaper itself was a forum for new ideas, the A. & H. society flourished and lectures by experts up from Sydney were well attended.21 Through it all, the land itself remained a rich, versatile resource, as it had been to the first white men who cleared it and experimented on it.

3 Cattle, Horses and Sheep

When James P. Webber took up his new lands at Tocal on the Paterson River, it was his intention to invest two thousand pounds in growing fine wool.1 His contemporaries, similarly, had many more sheep than cattle - Boydell had 600 sheep, 80 cattle, and 2 horses; James Phillips had 1000 sheep, 200 cattle and 5 horses. It quickly became evident, however, that the region's wetness and its attendant problems made sheep grazing difficult and they went instead to the pastoralists of the drier upper Hunter districts. Webber and Boydell ran cattle in their place, in addition to growing wheat, grapes and tobacco. Some early horse studs were also established in the area.2

At first, cattle sales were held in the yards of hotels, and in 1836, J. Nichols of the Black Swan Inn at Maitland began to hold regular sales in his stockyards. These became the important Maitland Stockyards which are still in use today. Throughout the nineteenth century, cattle were driven down the Paterson Valley leaving on Saturday, resting overnight at Paterson, and then completing the journey to Maitland on Sunday in time for the sales on Monday mornings.3
J.D. Lang issued dire warnings against the imprudence of the 1830s stock-buying mania brought on by the activities of the Australian Agricultural Company. He was vindicated when the 1840s depression brought rapidly dwindling prices for stock and wool. Sheep sold for 6d a head, good cows at Paterson for three pound four shillings and working bullocks for only four pounds to four pounds ten shillings. When Angus McDonald's family inherited his Underbank Estate prize, they found themselves lumbered with 3,700 head of cattle "as wild as dingoes" and most worth little more than their tallow price.

The first Hunter Valley boiling down works went up in 1844, the same year as regular markets began to be held at Clarence Town and Dungog. In that year 9,860 cattle and 44,820 sheep were slaughtered, and most were boiled down for tallow. At Dungog, Mrs. Hooke set up a boiling down works, and a butcher, Finch, opened a slaughterhouse near the race course.

At Clarence Town a nineteenth century slaughterhouse, Kiern's (formerly Robard's), retains the elements which would have comprised the early works, including the killing house, boiling down house, hide house, bone pit and various other structures. The butchers' establishments were probably similar to a complex shown on a 1912 plan - Gresford's local butcher had a shop, shed, saleyards and killing pen. The entire process of producing beef, from cattle sales to shop-front meat thus occurred in one place. At Vacy, a boiling down works was still in existence in 1927, and the process was also carried on on properties. Two large boilers were still located at Cangon, near Dungog in 1964.

Tanneries were also established at Clarence Town and Dungog by 1866. The most notable was that of A. Lloyd, near Clarence Town cemetery which produced fine leathers - his greenhide was considered the best in the world and his fancy leathers won first prize at the Paris Exposition. At Dungog, one of the two tanneries was established by George Westley at the Myall Creek Crossing.

After the difficult period had passed, cattle grazing regained its popularity and reputation for stability in the Shire. More interest was also shown in horse studs, raising
thoroughbred and work horses. The success of Charles Reynolds at Tocal lead the way in both fields. Ironically, this famous cattle and horse shed had its origins in the dark days of the 'forties, for after losing almost all the stock of his initial venture on Liverpool Plains, Reynolds managed to take advantage of the low stock prices and bought famous bulls and cows (Trojan and Fair Maid) and a fine herd of 300 head for bargain prices. He leased Tocal from Felix Wilson in 1844 and four years later his Herefords and Devons excited great interest at the Hunter River A. & H. Show.10

Reynolds also ran Leicester sheep and bred blood horses, buying up several famous race horses over the following decades, the most notable being The Barb which cost him the record price of two thousand guineas. In 1860 he bought the adjoining estate Duninald from William Dun (his father-in-law). After his death by accident in 1871, the work at Tocal was carried on by his wife and son Frank until 1901, when the famous Tocal stock sales were held at Maitland Showground. Frank Reynolds finally bought the Tocal estate in 1907, and after his death in 1920, the property was sold as a whole to Charles B. Alexander. The 1926 auction notice described Tocal as the "celebrated home of Tocal herefords for nearly a century". The homestead block was furnished with the "comfortable 2-storey brick residence, slate roof, fourteen rooms, detached kitchen, servants quarters, tennis courts, motor garage, stables, loose boxes, stallion stalls, dairy, cow bails, separating rooms, piggery, two large hay sheds, large barn, four workmen's cottages". Some of these buildings had been built by J.P. Webber and Felix Wilson in the 1820s and 1830s. The property was managed for Alexander by Gordon Reynolds.11

Upon his death in 1947, C.B. Alexander left Tocal and other assets for the purpose of training Protestant children for a life on the land, and the Presbyterian Church established the C.B. Alexander Presbyterian Agricultural College in 1965. In 1970, the college was handed over to the state government Department of Agriculture and since then has offered courses for Certificates and Advanced Certificates, as well as a range of other rural education programs.12
Many of the other landowners followed the Reynolds's example, although none quite achieved his renown. During the late 1840s the still wild areas to the far north of the valleys began to be used by graziers. James McCormick had 20 horses and 500 horned cattle at the Carrabolla outstation in 1848. He later bought the horse-station Clevedon and bred horses there for the Indian market. Martins Creek's first settler, Edward Martin, spent part of his time rounding up wild horses and selling them at the Maitland sales from 1851. At Dungog, a Mr. Marsh ran an extensive horse breeding and training school on the outskirts of town by 1866. By the 1890s many of the large estates kept stud horses, including R.M. Cox of Main Creek, J.K. MacKay of Cangon, R.W. Alison of Cooreei (Clydesdales) and F.A. Hooke of Dingadee (draught stallions and thoroughbreds). When Harold MacKenzies surveyed the properties around Dungog in 1898, he found that, in spite of the 1890's slump in cattle, most of the landowners were grazing fat cattle, while their tenants for the main part grew fodder and cereal crops. At The Grange, Wallarobba, George Waller was already grazing dairy as well as beef cattle, and sending off butter in the early hours every morning. Over the next decades dairying was to overshadow fat cattle somewhat, but in 1932, Oakey Creek, near Gresford, still produced the "fattest, sleekest of fat cattle, cattle that top the market". Although cattle were still occasionally being driven to market in the 1940s, this had given way after 1911 to rail transport. Cattle could be consigned directly to the saleyards at Homebush in Sydney by a train which left on Saturday so that cattle could be sold on Monday. The cattle train had a special passenger carriage so that owners could attend the sales. Dairying began to lose its predominance in the 1950s and the fat cattle industry subsequently regained its status as one of the Shire's staple industries.

4 Tobacco

Like most of Dungog Shire's industries, the
production of tobacco had various stages of success and decline. It was planted on small plots by the earlier settlers as an experiment, and in an attempt to produce tobacco for the estates' convicts. It was soon found that tobacco thrived in the rich soils and warm, moist climate of the Shire. By 1827, former Governor Thomas Brisbane urged settlers to "go to Hunter's River and make your fortune growing tobacco", while in the following year the newly formed Farmers' Club expressed interest in its cultivation, but regarded it as an industry "still in its infancy".1

At first the tobacco was grown, picked, cured and packed in hands by the growers and it required close attention, skilful handling and had to be kept pest-free. The early landowners therefore often erected drying sheds on their estates (e.g. Charles Boydell, late 1830s) and acquired tobacco presses. At Brisbane Grove an impressive dairy also served for tobacco curing with "great lever presses and ... circular tobacco stairs for drying". Tobacco drying sheds were also located across the river from Paterson.2

The shilling import duty of 1834 encouraged the industry and in 1835, half the colony's tobacco was grown in the County of Durham. Of this, the Paterson district had the largest proportion up to 1836.3 In 1892 Robert Alison remembered that, upon his arrival in Dungog in 1839, he saw Cormack's tobacco fields on Cooreei (later Alison) - ".... all the flat from his house to the river was in tobacco, and it was the finest crop I ever saw". Cormack had six convicts to assist him.4

The 1840s saw the establishment of the first tobacco factories. Walthall and Clark, who won first prize for their product at the Sydney Show in 1844, built a factory in Bulwer Street, Maitland and were soon followed by the enterprising Boydell at Camyrallyn and James Phillips on Bona Vista. Dungog and Clarence Town also boasted factories drawing in and treating leaf.5 The industry was set back temporarily by the lifting of the import duty in 1852-53, but by 1866, still more factories had appeared. Bailliere's Gazetteer reported two at Dungog, one at Vacy and two at Clarence Town treating leaf grown at nearby Woerden, "which had lately attracted considerable
attention." Gresford later had J. Beattie's factory, Allynbrook had Buxton's, Eccleston had J. Sivyer's, Halton had Lawrie's and William Smith had a large factory at Bandon Grove. Smith also owned Bandon Grove House and the store for some time. His factory employed 15-20 hands "constantly engaged in preparing leaf for manufacturers, with prices as high as 1s 3d to 1s 1d per pound". He had also brought out cigar-makers from England. The quality of the product appears not to have met the standard of imports, though the point is debatable. MacKenzie's declaration that it "was rough on the tongue and elicited a terrible thirst" is often cited, while Jeans maintains that the local product was mainly used in a paint for sheep scab.

The fate of most of the factories is so far unknown, but it appears that the onset of blue mould which ravaged the crop led to the closure of most in the 1870s. Buxton's factory at Allynbrook was not a success, and William Smith's Bandon Grove plant closed down in 1875 - with it went a large proportion of the town's population.

A factory may have stayed open in Dungog, for in the early 1890s there was an enthusiastic attempt to revive tobacco growing in the area and the Dungog Chronicle's editor, Charles Bennett was instrumental in this campaign. In February 1893 the lead article dealt with growing, and "reported the opinions of tobacco experts who had paid a visit to the district to discuss the industry with farmers". The experts were no doubt representatives of the Department of Agriculture, which later forwarded to Bennett twelve packets of different kinds of tobacco seeds for distribution, together with "useful" reports on the tobacco growing industry. The industry had come full circle, back to the stage of experimentation, but this time it was not revitalised. By 1908 the Torryburn estate was described at its subdivision auction as "celebrated for tobacco in the past", but with no mention of further endeavour in this industry.

5 Viticulture

The lands along the Paterson and some of the Williams were planted with vineyards at the
early stage, and viticulture became a successful industry, and the forerunner of today's Hunter Valley wineries. Grape growing and wine making appear to have been more stable and long lived, and less marked by the fluctuations which characterize the pattern of many other industries.

The earliest significant vineyard in the Hunter Valley was that of J. Busby at Kirkton, which was extremely successful, with the vines still producing after 85 years. George Wyndham's Dalwood (Branxton) vineyard was planted in 1828. In the opinion of the Farmers Club, however, viticulture had not yet met with success in 1828. Some of its members, such as Edward Cory, James P. Webber and probably Alexander Park, had already planted vines. Cory's first slab house had been named Vineyard Cottage, and his neighbour Frankland's property was known simply as The Vineyard. Some of Gostwyck's vineyards were still extant when a photograph (Fig. 59) of Gostwyck House was taken.

During the 1830s, great progress was made and many new vineyards were planted, including James King's at Irrawang (outside Shire), George Townsend's at Trevallyn (2 acres 1832), and Andrew Lang's at Dunmore (outside Shire). Lang imported a German, George Smid, to plant the vines and make wines, and Alexander Park apparently followed suit - Emily Anne Manning sketched the "Germans' huts at Lewinsbrook" in 1839. When James P. Webber returned to England in 1834, Tocal was advertised as having "several acres of the most beautiful vineyard of the choicest vines from which alone several hundred pounds per annum might easily be realized". Webber probably had not made wine himself, since it was advised that the fruit be consigned to Sydney by steamer. Upon his departure, he sent a parcel of his best cuttings to Charles Boydell at Camyrallyn for his own vineyard.

Establishing a new vineyard in the 1820s and 1830s was a laborious and tedious task. The early vineyards employed deep trenches between the vines and the sites usually faced north and were well-drained. A good worker with a spade could trench the subsoil at the rate of one acre per year. The vines were planted 1 metre apart and required hand cultivation, thus winegrowers were dependent on the large,
Fig. 59: "View of Costwyck House" n.d. showing the front of the house and the vineyard beside it. (Mitchell Library).
cheap convict labourforce at their disposal. The withdrawal of this force in 1840 eventually forced the abandoning of trenching for 20–30cm depth ploughing, and after 1850 the rows were planted far enough apart to allow horse-drawn cultivators to pass between.4

Like Reynold's celebrated Tocal herds, Dungog Shire's best known early vineyard, Cawarra, had its origins in the difficult times of the 1840s. Dr. Henry Lindeman arrived in Gresford just after the convicts had departed. He was well qualified as a vintner, having travelled and studied extensively in Germany and France, and collected the cuttings which he planted at Cawarra. After practising as a G.P. for a period, he planted his vineyard in 1843, and was soon producing dry red and white wines with the help of imported skilled labour from Germany. He built his stone two-storeyed verandah'd house between 1840 and 1850, and it still stands (see Fig. 60). Disaster struck in 1851 when the shed containing his entire maturing wine stock burnt down. Undeterred, Lindeman went to practise medicine on the goldfields while at the same time studying winemaking processes at the Corowa and Rutherglen vineyards. In 1853, he returned, built three new wineries (see Fig. 60), one of which survives, and over the next fifty years built up a fine reputation and expanded his property. After the onset of powdery mildew in 1917, winemaking was discontinued and the equipment transferred to Ben Ean, another Lindeman property, in the drier Pokolbin region. Lindeman had also acquired the early Kirkton vineyard in 1914. Today Cawarra is used for cattle grazing and dairying. The extant winery and cellar contains some early equipment, including parts of a wine press, wooden grape-picking baskets, vats and ploughs.5

Lindeman's achievements led the way for other vintners in the Gresford district. Bailliere's Gazetteer reported in 1866 that "Colonial wine made in N.S.W. is manufactured at Gresford, amongst which the celebrated "Cawarra" and "Orindinna" brands may be mentioned". Vineyards of various sizes were kept on Clevedon, Lewinsbrook, Trevallyn, Torryburn and Caergrwle throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century.6 At Allynbrook "most farms had a section given
Fig. 60: Dr. Henry Lindeman's famous Cawarra Estate, showing two-storey homestead (c1840) and vineyards (1853). (Newcastle Local History Library).

Fig. 61: "J.B. Walker Sawmills, Dungog" n.d., c1900. Walker ran the older Allendale flour mill (adjacent) from the same steam engine. The mill later became Croll's Mill. (Dungog Historical Society).
over to vines" and settlers banded together to pick grapes. A winery built by William Boydell was still extant in the 1960s, together with presses and casks. At Dingadee over on the Williams River near Dungog, grapes were still being grown in the 1890s.7

Vineyards and winemaking came to an end in the Shire during the 1910s, signalled by the removal of Cawarra. Many of the old vineyards were replanted with the more lucrative orange orchards8, although Lewinsbrook was still advertised as a winegrowing concern in 1912. Its subdivision plan shows old vineyards on the various river and creek flats.9 Winemaking held on longest on the Upper Allyn, where it finally ceased at Allynbrook in 1940, although table muscats were still produced in the 1960s. E.B. Smith planted a new vineyard of five acres at Wheelabout in 1926 and maintained it until 1947 when his brother took over the management and grew black muscatels instead.10

Like wheat, sheep and tobacco, grape vines were forced away from the Shire by wetness. However, the region had been, during the nineteenth century, a major wine-producing area which made a most significant contribution to the pioneering and consolidation of the Australian wine industry.

6 Timber

When the crew of the "Lady Nelson" made their journey by rowboat up the Williams River in 1801 they had on board two sawyers and a miner. Cedar and coal were the resources for which the explorers were watching, and on this early journey they were disappointed on both counts. Lieutenant Paterson reported that there was no cedar, ash or box on the Williams.1 He had missed some isolated pockets of cedar along the river banks, and could not have seen the abundant stands beyond the site of Clarence Town and the head of navigation.

Later it was discovered that the Paterson River's alluvial soils had many fine stands of cedar and its first white inhabitant named it "Cedar Arm". The cedar cutters made temporary camps of bark huts on the rivers' banks at various points, at Wallis Plains and Paterson,
for example, and then moved on to fresh stands. The earliest cedar getters were convict groups of thirty men who were given the task of felling a hundred logs in a month, rolling them down to the river and rafting them down to the timber yards at Newcastle. The role of the river was thus vital in this early industry, as it provided the only possible means of transport. Wood describes the process:

If the logs were very large, 75 formed a raft. Huts were erected on the rafts to shelter the men and their provisions. Depending on circumstances, it usually took about eight days for the rafts to float down the stream from Wallis Plains to Newcastle. Two boats were allotted to attend each raft, and when they approached......Newcastle all the boats were sent out to assist.

At this early stage, the cedar getters simply felled the trees and floated the logs to be cut up elsewhere. When more free men began to cut cedar, they also cut the logs into planks on the site, and then floated the plank downstream. Sawpits were dug close to the trees, which allowed one man to stand on the log being sawn, and another below, each in turn pulling on the pit saw. The indefatigable Alexander Harris claims that in between his travels he spent three years cutting cedar on the Williams River, and gave a lively description of the work methods and the sorts of men who cut cedar. The period of his visit was probably the early or mid 1820s, since "only here and there amidst the lonely wilderness was there to be found a settlers farm of stockman's hut". In the first year, he and his partner were awaiting a fresh in order to carry their plank downstream over the falls and shallows. Instead the river flooded overnight, swept away half their stack of plank, filled their sawpit and drove them into a tree where they "shared their roost with rats, centipedes and spiders". They formed the remainder of their timber into a raft and sent it "down to a boat".

In the second year, the "trees continued to be tolerably plentiful" and they began to send timber to Sydney in return for goods they could sell. When suitable trees grew scarce they shifted camp to new stands, and later bought shares in a coastal craft in the following year, which boosted their profits.
He described the gigantic trees at the new site:

Numbers of trees were 60 feet in the barrel without a limb, and so thick that as they lay on the hillside after they were down, I could barely lay my hand on top of them.... They were generally sound and many of them as round as stone pillars.5

The trees were cut on hillsides, which made it easy, though dangerous, to roll them down to the pit. Chocks in the front were merely loosened, instead of "heaving them along by handspikes and levers as is done on level ground". Harris was struck by the contrast between the ancient, seemingly invulnerable forest, and the new rawness of sawn timber:

Countless and motionless and gigantic stood the forest army, up and down all the hillsides around, in strong contrast to this, stood the great red piles of plank squared with mathematical exactness which spoke of man and labour.6

Harris also outlines this first anarchic, transient stage of settlement, for "sawyers are unavoidably a wandering race in new countries". They were heavy drinkers, and there were "always idle men about these bushes where sawing is going on, either sawyers without mates or bullock drivers out of work, or labourers". The early scene was of unrooted men roaming about at will in the wilderness. Sawyers were paid by the piece and so working patterns varied between those who worked day after day "in the utmost suffering" or else they "give in every second or third day, and stroll about till the covetous fit comes on again."7

The waves of settlement and the accompanying beginnings of social and government regulation soon brought an end to the formlessness of the early cedar cutters' society. The settlers' lands had already been stripped of cedar, and the parties went further and further upriver in their search. Around Dungog, however, there was still enough cedar to maintain a timber industry into the 1850s when its income in that district was estimated at 300 pounds per week.8 The building of grand houses, tobacco sheds, dairys, barns, fences and the like from the 1830s also ensured that itinerant sawyers were always kept busy.
Sawyers set up camp adjacent to the building site and dug their sawpits to break the logs into planks and scantling. Tucker remembered that "scores of men were employed with old hand pitsaws for houses and fences", as well as for shipbuilding, wheelwrights and furniture.

Timber-getting was diminished as it wiped out the cedar forests, but after the 1860s the introduction of steam sawmills and the increased demand for hardwoods revived the industry, propelling it into the twentieth century and to the present. In Dungog, Kermode's steam flour and sawmill was established and advertised for sale as early as 1863, while at Clarence Town, the timber agents of Sydney and Newcastle merchants, like W.J. Croker, took advantage of its shipping facilities and established their businesses there, contracting for the supply of building timber both for Australia and New Zealand. Clarence Town's first sawmill began operations between 1885 and 1890, and at Paterson, Andrew and John Keppie's sawmill stood conveniently adjacent to the wharf. Many sawmills were also set up around Gresford, milling the cedar, ironbark, bluegum and turpentine cut high up in the valleys, including T.R. Hancock's mill at Gresford and Norman Joliffe's mill on the Allynbrook Road. A timber mill replaced the old Gostwyck flour mill in the 1870s, neatly symbolizing the swing in the fortunes of these two industries. In 1891 John B. Walker started a sawmill adjacent to the Allendale flour mill at Dungog, running both off the same steam engine (see Fig. 61).

The new century was a boom time for the industry. In the first decade the demand for sleepers for the North Coast Railway boosted it, and from 1918 large quantities were required for the formwork for Chichester Dam. Old mills changed hands and new mills were established. The big timber mill on the Williams near Clarence Town (possibly shown in Fig. 62) closed in 1893 after its smoke-stack was struck by lightning, but was reopened by Armstrong and Royce of Newcastle in 1901. J.S. Gam's mill at Main Creek (outside Shire) was in operation by 1909, with bullock teams of 36 beasts hauling logs to it, while the sawn timber was taken to a rail siding at Dingaadee. It continues its operation today,
Fig. 62: Ships moored near Ellis' Saw Mill on the Williams River near Clarence Town (n.d.). Milled timber was on the bank awaiting consignment. (Mitchell Library).
as A.S. Nicholas and Sons since 1982. In 1914 W. Ardinal took the steam engine from the old flour mill near Paterson wharf up to his property Orange Grove on the Upper Allyn and resited it there as a sawmill. He and his two sons managed the mill until his son Alex opened an electrically driven mill at Allynbrook in 1949.

J. Croll and Sons purchased John Walker's saw and flour mills in 1916, (see Fig. 61), and installed a steam traction engine in 1920. It weighed 10 tons, with back wheels six feet in diameter and front 3 feet in diameter. The local council was concerned over it, and blocked its use before a second tractor arrived. In 1921 the company purchased an ex-army Leyland truck which had seen service in France and could carry seven tons per load. A Caterpillar Cat 6 logging cruiser was purchased in 1928, which later gave way to a "Cletrac" with a winch. The mill burnt down in 1948, but was rebuilt on the same site, a veneer mill added in 1955 and a new mill designed in 1969. The business was taken over at this stage by Allen Taylor and was in turn absorbed by Blue Metal Industries in the same year. The mill produced a wide range of hardwood and brushwood, including Ironbark, Tallowwood, Grey Gum, Spotted Gum, Blue Gum, Stringybark, Turpentine, Brush Box, White Mahogany, Grey Box, Red Cedar, Sassafras, Coachwood, Corkwood, Prickly Ash, Rosewood, Red Bean, Beefwood, Crab-apple, Walnut, Carrobean and Teak.

Timber milling had also decentralized during the 1910s and 1920s, with mills springing up at New Jerusalem (now Chichester State Forest), Irwin's Flat, Dusodie, H.F. Deard's at Underbank and George Heath's mill at Fosterton. Heath's mill later moved away into the bush, ceased operation in 1929 and was purchased by Croll in 1934.

The Shire's timber industry was given a fillip when successful experiments in glue-laminated ("Glulam") timber were carried out in 1965. In 1977, 134,000 square feet of laminated brushbox handwood panels were ordered to be used in the flooring, staircases and wall panels of Sydney's new Opera House.
While the townships of Paterson and Dungog were growing as rural service centres, at Clarence Town, where the soil was not so fertile, shipbuilding laid the foundation for the later bustling centre. The town's location as the head of navigation and the availability of fine timbers drew the early partners William Lowe and James Marshall to the river's edge near a creek in 1830. Lowe learned his trade at the Royal Dockyard at Deptford and had gained his experience in Prussia. He arrived in Sydney in 1828, having met Marshall on the journey, and the pair bought the site at Clarence Town from Rev. Therry, optimistically naming it Deptford. Their most famous boat, the William IV was launched the following year. It was an ocean going steamer built with outside planking of 1 3/4 inch thick flooded gum, for Joseph Hickey Grose of Parramatta. The schooner-rigged vessel was taken to Sydney in 1831, where a steam engine was installed, and on 15 February 1832, the William IV steamed up from Port Jackson to Newcastle and Morpeth, only weeks after the English Sophia Jane had made the same momentous first journey. By April 1832, both steamers ran twice weekly mail and passenger services.2

While the shipyards in the Hunter Valley and on the Hawkesbury and Brisbane Waters declined, and the shipbuilding industry polarized between Sydney and the northern rivers area, the works at Clarence Town survived because of the "specialized skills in building steamships with which the north did not compete".3 Marshall and Lowe's yards built the Earl Grey, The Comet, Ceres, Elfin, and Experiment, in addition to other small craft. Their partnership broke up in 1836, and Lowe carried on the business until c1860, when he retired to become a farmer and grazier around Glen William. Deptford House, which overlooked the workshops and buildings on the flats was erected by him during his period there (see Fig. 21, now demolished). The William IV served for thirty years and was then sold and sent to China.4

During the 1870s the industry expanded considerably to meet the demands of the thriving river trade and of the increased population. Downstream from Clarence Town,
Hackett and Sons, William McPherson, James Roderick, Benjamin Oliver and Peter Scott all established shipyards, while Moynihan's was possibly located on the river below the town. Paterson had Peattie's shipyard across the river from the busy Commercial Road area, upstream from the town. Two notable Clarence Town ships were the 1800 ton wooden-hulled Shellbourne, built by Captain Hackett, and in 1875, William McPherson's Clyde. Somehow, both vessels have been claimed the "largest built in Australia", with the Shellbourne considered the largest in the Commonwealth. It traded between Australia, South Africa and the United States. 

When the Williams River Steam Navigation Company was established it also built ships, including the Cooreei in 1886, and after a destructive fire, the Erringhi in 1907. Shortly afterwards, however, with the opening of the railway and the consequent decline of the river trade, the company sold up and closed its shipyards, as others had done in the early twentieth century.

8 Mining

Mining was one area in which the Shire had, for the main part, only limited success. However, attempts to mine coal, copper and gold at various times were marked by the same enthusiasm and enterprise as all the other more successful ventures. The continued production of andacite (blue metal) is an exception to the general pattern of short-lived ventures.

During the 1830s and 1840s settlers regarded the land as a bountiful resource, and considering the presence of valuable mineral deposits entirely likely, they sought them out eagerly. In 1847, in addition to all his other pursuits, Edward Gostwyck Cory formed a company for the purpose of mining copper deposits he had discovered on Gostwyck. Mining operations were not a success and the company was shortlived. J.H. Boughton's discovery of a payable coal seam on Tillimby sent him hurrying down to Lake Macquarie to hire expert coal miners. But the project was cut short by his death by drowning at Warners Bay on the journey. When Penshurst was subdivided into six lots in 1855, the
advertisement in the Maitland Mercury gave a promising report that a large specimen of antimony had been found on Lot 4B. Whether or not subsequent owners ever attempted to mine it is not known.¹

The discovery of gold in the Shire in the late 1870s was less shortlived. The towns had already benefitted from the rushes indirectly by the through traffic along its roads to the fields further north. Attempts were made to mine gold on the Sugarloaf range about four miles west of Dungog in 1878, and in the following year three reefs were discovered at Wangat and Upper Wangat on the isolated Wangat or Little River, about 20 and 26 miles (30-40 km) north of Dungog. Other reefs were found at Cherry Tree Hill about five miles (8km) east of Dungog.²

Of the three new sites only the Wangat reefs were successful. Two stamper batteries, one with two and one with ten heads, were brought up to crush the quartz. By 1881 there were an estimated 80 people at both sites, living in tents and rough bark huts (see Fig. 32). Figure 63 shows men with hammers and gads posed in a suitably intrepid manner in a shaft at Upper Wangat. Production fluctuated in the 1880s with both sites producing widely varying quantities of gold. The Upper Wangat workings were abandoned in 1884, apart from two claims, and production at Wangat also fell. By 1887 there were ten mines, and the Golden Spur Company had "driven into the hill for about 400 feet and sunk a shaft about 50 feet at the end of the tunnel". Production in the following year amounted to 112 oz 12 dwt. from 170 tons of ore. Higginbotham concluded his study of the area's gold mining attempts:

The Dungog fields seemed to suffer from the same problems as the other Hunter Valley fields - too little capital and the lack of professional approach to mining the fields. The gold was too scattered and hard to get from the ground to the bank; gold mining simply became too expensive in the long run.³

In spite of this, local landowners like William Smith were certain the mines would be successful. The Dungog Chronicle ran regular reports on progress and returns at the diggings - for example, M. Saxby's party in December 1892 had finished retorting and got 81 oz 6 dwt from 48 tons of quartz. A year
Fig. 63: "Wangat Goldmine, workers in shaft", n.d., c1880s. A rare photograph of the short-lived gold-mining attempts at Wangat. (Newcastle Local History Library).
later a large hall was erected by miners for holding their meetings. A school had also been established for the numerous miners' children.4

In 1890 there was a revived attempt to mine at Cherry Tree, when six men arrived in Dungog to peg out their claim there. A ten-head stamper battery was to be erected there, but nothing more was heard of this project. In spite of constantly renewed and hopeful attempts, the Wangat mines were gradually abandoned over the 1890s. By 1910 only two houses were still standing at Wangat and it was cut off completely in 1924 by the construction of Chichester Dam.5

Blue Metal
Quarry, Martins Creek:
Industrial
Archaeology
In 1913 the state opened a mine at Martins Creek to produce a more prosaic commodity, andacite, to provide ballast for the railway. At first it operated with four horses and drays and 44 men breaking 100 ton of blue metal a day down to 1½ inch gauge with knapping hammers. Later the installation of a 6A crusher powered by boilers increased production to 320 tons a day. At the peak of activity both the railway and Newcastle Council quarries operated there, employing 100 men who were housed with their families in huts and tents. By 1967 there were 31 men using explosives, jackhammers, excavators, lorries and primary crushers, producing 850 tons of blue metal per day for government departments, local councils and private concerns. 6

Ventures in mining in the Shire were generally shortlived, in spite of repeated and determined attempts. Its dearth of mining industries, particularly coal, means that its future will cut a different course from those of many other Hunter Valley shires. Dungog Shire does not face the difficult negotiations, threats, and upheavals which accompany the large scale coal mining operations proposed for areas where extensive coal resources have been located.

9 Dairying

Dairying was an activity which changed dramatically in role, methods and scale during the Shire's history, and its popularity at the turn of the century was a direct cause of the
subsequent rush of estate subdivisions and the major impact they had on the face of the land.

In the earliest period, dairying was carried out on a small scale basis on the various estates and farms, each supplying butter and milk, and sometimes cheese for its own use and for the districts immediately surrounding it. The methods were laborious and it was difficult to preserve the products for long, particularly in the summer months. To obtain cream, the milk was set out in wide pans overnight and the cream skimmed off in the morning. At Crooks Park, Dungog, and Hollydene, Clarence Town, early stone dairies typical of the period are still extant. At Brisbane Grove a more elaborate brick dairy was erected with a tall roof and "great lever presses for cheese and tobacco". Butter was made during the cool months of the year and cheese in summer.1

This pattern survived until a series of technical innovations completely revolutionized dairying in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1874-79 the centrifugal cream separator, powered by steam, was invented by a Swede. It could separate 300 gallons of milk per hour, which, because it was fresher, made superior butter. At the same time, refrigeration was adopted in country areas in 1890s, and with the Babcock tester, invented in 1892, farmers and factories could measure how much cream was in the milk. As a result of these developments, labour efficiency was enormously increased, dairy products were improved, and could be transported much further away. A rise in demand for the improved butter led to increased output and also to an export industry. Butter was highly profitable to small farmers, and attractive because it brought in a weekly income.2

As with most new developments and opportunities, Dungog's farmers were quick to respond. The Erringhi creamery was set up by the Lowe Bros. at Glen William in January 1893 followed shortly by B.E. Hooke's "Butter Cup Dairy Factory" at Wirragulla in the same year. The Dungog Chronicle reported on Hooke's plans to travel to the south coast to learn about "the latest and most improved methods of butter and cheese making". Unfortunately, the factory burnt down soon after, "which was a great loss and
disappointment for everyone".3

Walter Bennett, the editor and founder of the Chronicle, championed dairying through it, forever exhorting farmers to "wake up" to this lucrative new industry. Lectures were arranged on the subject in the early 1890s and Bennett recommended herd sizes, fodder crops and stressed quick returns and the "limitless market in England at 1/- a pound". Comparisons were often made between dairying and maize growing, favouring the first as much more lucrative. H.M. Brown of Coulston circulated a catalogue of pedigree pure bred Alderney and Ayrshire cattle, "the very best strains for dairying purposes". Beef shorthorns and Devons were the cows milked in the early stages.4

F.A. Hooke at Dingadee had introduced one of the first cream separators into the district, a 65 gallon Alfa Laval, and the wonder of the machine at work drew people from miles around. This first separator was soon replaced by a 250 gallon steam turbine separator, and the cream was sent to Foley Bros. in Sydney by fast horse cart early in the morning (see Fig. 64) to catch the steamer to Clarence Town, arriving in Sydney at 3 or 4 o'clock the next morning.5

Another enterprising early dairyman was George S. Waller at The Grange at Wallarobba, who also purchased a separator to process milk from his 200 Durham cows, and made arrangements with J. Ireland at Newcastle to purchase the butter. He grew sorghum, lucerne and barley as fodder and by 1898 he milked 100 cows a day and produced 4 kegs of 56 lbs each.6

By 1893 the Chronicle was proclaiming that "dairy interest is taking deep and permanent root in our midst, and promises to prove a wealth producing factor that will greatly enrich the district".7 It proved to be a prophetic observation. Separators became increasingly common both on farms and later in the many creameries dotted about. The crowning achievement of the 1890s was the opening of Skillen and Walker's Heather Bell Butter Factory in Dungog in 1898 behind their Market Royal store. Harold MacKenzie inspected it in that year and marvelled at its modernity, cleanliness, and economical
Fig. 64: A north coast cream cart c1900. Farmers sent their milk and cream in the early hours of the morning to various creameries, and the butter factory at Dungog, and to Clarence Town and Paterson for shipment to Newcastle and Sydney. (Mitchell Library).

Fig. 65: Cream being loaded from carts onto a cream boat at Paterson Wharf c1890. Creamboats plied the rivers until the 1930s. (Newcastle Local History Library).
running, as well as the sheer size of the structure, concluding that it "gave an air of permanency to the industry that it was greatly in need of". The factory had pigs and fowls at the rear which were fed on the buttermilk byproduct. Pigs had been a profitable sideline of the earlier dairy farmers, but were now commonly attached to the large factories, which sometimes also had bacon curing rooms.8

Most of the cream from Dungog's farmers was thereafter drawn to the S. and W. factory, as it became known, and butter was despatched every morning by horse vans to J. Ireland's at Newcastle. Irelands also attracted produce from around Clarence Town and Paterson, from which cream boats plied up and down the rivers (see Fig. 65). At Gresford and Allynbrook the Boydells had established creameries in the 1890s, which sent cream down to Paterson for Irelands.9

The early twentieth century saw the industry well entrenched and brought more dairy farmers to the newly subdivided land and more creameries and factories to process their cream and butter. Gostwyck became the site for yet another industry - a butter and ice cream factory (some sources say the original Peters factory), which was established there in 1906.10 Gresford itself had the Bowthorne butter factory until it was condemned in 1928, and also a small iron and fibro butter factory at East Gresford, now used as a scout hall.11 Up the river at Penshurst, Mt. Rivers, Mr. Holden established a cheese factory which earned a considerable reputation.12 At Vacy, Uriah Heep ran a creamery on the north side of the bridge. By 1905 there was enough interest in Dungog to enable the formation of the Dungog Cooperative Butter Factory, and the site for it was selected on the Posterton Road. In 1908, 163 dairymen were sending their cream and milk to the factory, and the opening of the railway in 1911 eventually drew it to the present site in 1914. The present factory (Dairy Farmers) was completed in 1967.13

It was a sign of the complete dominance of dairying that the newly subdivided blocks, some of them formed out of the oldest estates in the valleys, were invariably advertised as "choice dairy land". The existence of
dairying facilities, such as plant and transport, and the many local factories, were also highlighted. Houses were advertised as "dairyman's cottages". A prospective dairyman buying a slice of the old Torryburn estate in 1910 had access to butter factories at Gresford, Hinton, Duckenfield and Raymond Terrace; cream carts called every other day, and one farm was already set up with "new milk bails, yards, a dairy with 2 copper boilers, stable with six stalls, a feedroom and hayshed". Tillimby (1924) nearby was close to the butter and ice cream factory at Gostwyck, and four other butter factories (or possibly creameries) besides, and dairy milk trains linked up with Dungog, Newcastle and Sydney.¹⁴

Dairying thus had a dramatic impact on the Shire's physical appearance and demographic patterns, and continued to dominate during the first half of the twentieth century. Slowly, as families grew up and left, and the industry became increasingly mechanized and centralized through further technical and transport development, dairying gradually lost this status as the Shire's major industry.

10 Citrus and Other Fruits

While dairy herds grazed on most properties by 1910, the alluvial flats which had been used for so many crops were now planted with orange and mandarin orchards, particularly along the Paterson and Allyn Rivers, right up to Carabolla.¹

The development of fruit growing in some ways mirrored that of dairying - the early settlers of the 1820s and 1830s invariably established peach orchards, while some grew a wide range of more exotic fruit for their own use and for the immediate area. In the 1820s J.P. Webber had a banana plantation and a fine orchard, and brought in bumper crops of melons and peaches. At Trevallyn George Townsend grew apples, pears and peaches and launched an early jam factory. Unfortunately the earthenware jars used to hold the jam made the cost of transport prohibitive, and the factory closed down. Townsend also ran a fruit tree nursery and supplied many of the local settlers with trees for their new orchards. Edward Cory had an orange and lemon grove which by 1842 was of "fine quality and full
Fig. 66: Orange orchard near Dungog, showing small cottage. (Mitchell Library).
During the 1890s, however, growers began to plant citrus in increasing numbers and the popularity of and demand for the big juicy Paterson oranges brought good returns. Some sources claim that this orange was identical to the Washington Navel developed thirty years later. Most of the vineyard estates also grew oranges, and it appears that one took over from the other. Lewinsbrook was famous for both these fruits, Cavarra had extant orchards at the time of its subdivision in 1912, and most of the other subdivided estates were advertised as suitable for orchards, after dairying. Fig. 66 shows a typical small orange orchard in the Dungog area, with the modest cottage overlooking the trees and flats. Bandon Grove had acres of land around creeks under citrus, which was taken to Paterson by cart.

Around Allynbrook oranges were grown on "every suitable flat spot" and much of Caergrwle was under orchard. The lack of transport in this area hindered the industry, but this was alleviated by the spread of motor transport.

Paterson became the centre of the citrus industry. The land adjacent to Tucker Park was a large orchard, and the old packing sheds there are still extant. At the height of production, up to 30,000 cases of fruit were handled through Paterson in a season. Although fruit from the Allynbrook district still "commanded a ready market" in the 1940s, over the years since, the fruit lost its wide appeal, probably because of the introduction of new strains, and by 1953, although orchards were seen on many farms, they were generally "for the farmers' use only."

11 Building Dams

The threat of water shortage as a result of the droughts of 1902 and 1906, together with the greatly increased population of the lower Hunter, led to temporary emergency measures to reduce the amount of water used for irrigation above the Walka Waterworks intake. Fortunately, this action and subsequent rains averted a major shortage, but the incident "showed the necessity for impounding sufficient water....to supply the waterworks,
Fig. 67: "Chichester River Gravitation Scheme - General Plan", E.T. Henning, 1924, showing the location of the dam, catchment area and the wood stave and steel sections of the main. (Mitchell Library).
and also for irrigation purposes. Initial investigations were made, ambitious plans for the new Chichester River Gravitational Scheme drawn up by E.M. De Burgh of the Public Works Department, and the project received government approval in 1914. The outbreak of World War I delayed the beginning of construction until 1918. The project was supervised throughout by Edmund T. Henning.

It was a colossal project, requiring an astounding co-ordination of engineering, equipment, labour and materials, technical innovation and an extensive and complex transport system to convey tools, plant and materials to the isolated site. The area at the confluence of the Chichester and Wangat Rivers was selected as the most suitable site for the dam and its catchment. In his paper on the project, Henning described its conditions:

The large area covered by virgin forests together with high ranges at the head of the rivers ensure a large rainfall together with a minimum of evaporation.

There was a high percentage of silt-free run off, resulting in an abundant supply of clear water. While Walka reservoir held 170,000,000 gallons of which only 100,000,000 could be utilized. The new dam was to hold 5,000,000,000 gallons fed through a gravitation main down the Williams Valley to Seaham, Tarro and then to an additional 8,000,000 reservoir at Stoney Pinch, and the Waratah service reservoir near Newcastle. (See Fig. 67).

This pipeline connecting the dam with the Lower Hunter districts comprised nine miles of woodstave piping, (now replaced), built by the Australian Woodpipe Company, and 45 miles of steel locking-bar or cap-welded pipes manufactured at Walsh Island. At the dam site itself, a terrace was excavated on the side of the hill near the southern end of the dam for cement and sand stone crusher, mixer sheds, engine rooms, general store for material, fitters' and blacksmiths' shops, carpenters' shops and general office. There was no outside electrical power available, so most of the machinery was steam or belt driven, although a steam-driven electric generating plant was installed to drive the cement hoist and quarry track winches. A quarry site for stone was located nearby, but the procuring of
Fig. 68: Partly completed Chichester Dam wall during flood, December 1924. The main which runs down the valley to Waratah and Stoney Pinch is shown in the foreground. (Mitchell Library).
sand proved to be a problem. Experiments with grinding the stone proved to be too costly and sand was eventually hauled in from Newcastle.4

Transport proved another major hurdle - the railway was utilized to Dungog and horse jinkers and steam motor carriages travelled the rough road up to Wangat. The road itself had to be improved considerably and continually maintained for the heavy traffic. For the pipeline, transport networks included, at one stage, twenty motor lorries, six large punts and a large number of horse jinkers. Water transport was used extensively and depots were set up and wharves built at various points. At the Hexham and Woodbury Swamps a 2ft gauge tramway was installed over the line of the pipe and a petrol locomotive used to transport pipes to their position.5

The dam itself (see Fig. 68) was designed on a gravity section, curved in plan, with a radius of 1,200 feet at the upstream face, with the shallow portion of the wall at the northern end of the structure used as a spillway. It was constructed of cyclopian concrete placed in interlocking units of 300 cubic yards capacity. The timber for the initial formwork was taken from the nearby areas by log haulers and later by a 2ft gauge tramline to a sawmill on the site. The river was temporarily deviated and the foundations of the dam excavated down to a solid base. A series of photographs by the Public Works Department, held in Mitchell Library, are a remarkable record of the dam's construction and progress.6

The hundreds of workers employed on the project were housed, many with their families, in the old gold mining town of Wangat, which had died out almost twenty years before. Dorothy Dowling in 1930 described the township on its site "above and beyond the workshop" as:

....a township with many hundreds of inhabitants - a township of wooden huts and barracks, boarding houses, shops, amusement hall, a few more pretentious cottages....Some of the community even attempted gardens, while water and electricity where laid on in a most up to date manner.7

In the later stages of construction, work went on day and night, and the site could be
Fig. 69: "Wangat Village, construction settlement" c1920. (Mitchell Library).
located at night by the glow of light above it for many miles around. After construction was complete, the workers left, and the dam cut off access to Wangat.

The dam itself was completed in 1925 after floods in December the previous year had done some damage (see Fig. 68). The construction of the pipeline, with its transport difficulties, became increasingly "the most pressing problem in the whole undertaking", as a result of the difficulty of obtaining steel plates, and "the constantly increased demand for water in the Newcastle and Hunter River district". A factory established at Bandon Grove formed the concrete sleepers on which the pipes were set, and the main itself ran uninterrupted over undulating country, small bridges and swamps, and underneath rivers. 8

More work was carried out in 1967 and 1970, reducing the height of the spillway five feet to allow for sufficient discharge under maximum flood conditions. From 1979 the dam was closed for 2 1/2 years for work costing $10 million to raise and strengthen the wall by a system of steel cables, increasing its capacity by 30%. This work involved the demolition of 2,200 cubic metres of mass concrete on the crest, apron and valve house, the relocation of the scour outlet works and a new valve house, together with the testing of pipework and valves. 9

The construction of Lostock Dam on the upper Paterson River was also prompted by severe drought conditions prevailing in the 1960s. In 1968 the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission invited tenders for the construction of the "Dam and Appurtenant Works" after investigations had been made for a suitable location, and into the geology and sources of construction material, together with 8,600 feet of diamond core drilling. 10

The dam itself was designed with a storage capacity of 16,000 acre/feet and comprised a clay core flanked by river gravel filter zones supported by rock fill zones. The design provided for the use of almost all excavated material as fill, and was also arranged to withstand overtopping by flood during the early stages of construction by the reinforcement of the downstream rockface with
steel mesh. A concrete-lined ungated spillway was excavated on the left bank and the outlet works were located in the 15 foot high combined outlet and diversion tunnel. This tunnel was plugged up with concrete after it had been used, together with a sub-coffer dam, for diverting the river.\textsuperscript{11}

The work commenced in March 1966 under contract with Dumez (Australia) with preliminary operations including the establishment of water supply, electricity, sewerage and roads. Construction of the permanent works commenced in May 1969 and the completion of the main embankment and spillway was scheduled to allow water storage to commence in February 1971.\textsuperscript{12}

Dungog Shire's two dams, one the oldest in the Lower Hunter and the other one of its most recent, thus represent the changes in dam engineering over sixty years, and also changes in the means by which these projects are accomplished. On one hand, the ambitious Public Works Department and its hundreds of workers built Chichester Dam over a ten year period, while, on the other, a contractor was employed by the Water Conservation and Irrigation Commission to build Lostock Dam over a relatively short period.

12 Tourism

During the hey-day of the Blue Mountains as a resort region in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, the businessmen of Dungog realized that the Shire's own Barrington Tops could equal the Blue Mountains' natural splendour and beauty, and they sought to promote this fact in the hope of a similarly lucrative outcome. They formed the Barrington Tops League, with the Mayor at its head, erected the monumental direction sign in Dowling Street in anticipation of the throngs who would soon pass through the streets, and produced and circulated information sheets on the natural wonders of the Tops, its healthful situation and its relative closeness to settlements. Their sheet concluded:

This great store house of Nature's treasures and blessings is but sixteen miles from Eccleston Post Office...yet for want of....short lengths of roads is as inaccessible to the vast majority of
Fig. 70: "En Route to Barrington Tops by car" 29.4.1924. The first motor cars cross the still-wild plateaux to the north of the Shire. (Newcastle Local History Library).
residents of this state as if it were hundreds of miles away. With all its great advantages, it cannot, and must not remain shut up in its precipitous walls. It is a magnificent God-given asset of a kind we have few in Australia. Let us use it to the full. The writer, W.J. Enright, conveyed an abhorrence of illused or neglected natural resources which typifies the Shire's long history of exploitation of the land.

The Tops, fortunately, never became the major tourist resort the League had hoped for. Enright touched on the reason in his reference to the "want of short lengths of road". Where the old Great Western Highway linking Sydney to Bathurst and west had crossed the Blue Mountains since 1816, and nurtured settlements along the way, the rugged Tops had only been first explored in 1915, and there were no roads or tracks at all. The first cars with their jubilant owners crossed the area in 1924 (see Fig. 70) and six years later Norman T. McLeod opened Barrington Tops House confident that it would receive "world-wide attention". Visitors did come to the House, but not in the numbers hoped for by its promoters. The house was constructed over five years of blue gum and red mahogany, and it seems that it was an isolated retreat, with no television, radio, newspapers or liquor. Visitors brought up in Harry Shelton's taxi service could enjoy the views, watch 59 species of birds, go horse riding, and be invigorated by the mountain air. The house was closed and spring cleaned during the cold winter months.

The Barrington Tops area still draws campers, hikers and guests to Barrington House, and Chichester and Lostock Dams, made softer by replanting and regrowth, are popular picnic areas. Tourists also come in large numbers, much as they did by boat in the 1870s and 1880s, to see the historic riverside towns of Paterson and Clarence Town.
THEME 8 : INDUSTRIES

NOTES

1 Management and Development of Estates

2. Cited in Madew, p.16.
7. Madew, p.5 and see separate sections dealing with various crops.
11. Ibid.

191


19. Ibid.

20. Doyle, p.3; Maitland Mercury, 21 October 1983; MacKenzie "Around Dungog".


23. See "Homestead and Property Plans, County of Durham", (1 box), Mitchell Library.

24. Doyle, loc.cit.

2 Wheat, Maize and Other Crops


3. Cattle, Horses and Sheep


2. Deamer, p.49; Archer, "The Settlement....", pp 8, 18.


6. Bairstow, "A Short History....", Chapter 3; Wells' Gazetteer 1848; Brock, p.8.


9. Mitchell, p.84; Brock, p.8.


11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.


15. Bailliere's Gazetteer, 1866; Bennett, Extracts......., p.35.


17. Doyle, p.3.


4 Tobacco

1. Australian, 23 February 1827; Dangar, p.107.
5 Viticulture

1. Madew, p.56 ff.
3. Madew, p.57; Birmingham, p.33.
5. Madew, p.57; Dungog Historical Society, "Gresford", unpublished notes, pp.5-6; Birmingham, p.33.
7. Gibson, et.al. p.6; C. Hunter, "Dingadee".

195

6 Timber

1. Dungog Town and District, p. 6; Perry, p. 56; Archer, "The Settlement...." p. 2.
2. Perry, p. 57; Mitchell, p. 139.
4. Alexander Harris, Settlers and Convicts ..., pp. 96-98.
5. Ibid., p. 109.
6. Ibid
7. Ibid., p. 108.
8. Dungog Town and District, p. 6.
9. Deamer, p. 64; Tucker, op. cit.
10. Dungog Town and District, pp. 6-7.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.; "Historic Paterson".
15. Perumal, Wrathall and Murphy, p. ; Dungog Town and District, p. 10.
17. Dungog Town and District, pp. 7-8.
18. Gibson, et al., p. 27.
21. Ibid.
7 Shipbuilding


8 Mining

1. Deamer, p.182; Archer, "The Settlement....", p.12; Maitland Mercury, 7 February 1855.
2. Higginbotham, pp.18-19.
3. Ibid., p.20.
5. Dungog Chronicle, 1890, and historical notes by Charles E. Bennett in local history file - Dungog, Newcastle Local History Library.

9 Dairying


4. Dungog Chronicle, 22 March 1892, 19 April 1892, 8 November 1892; Forster, "Some Early Dungog History", p.2.

5. Forster, Ibid.


7. Dungog Chronicle, 1 January 1893.


10. Birmingham, p.49; Vacy Public School Centenary, p.15.


13. Vacy Public School Centenary, p.9; Dungog Town and District, p.12.

14. See "Homestead and Property Plans...."

10 Citrus and Other Fruits

1. "Historic Paterson"; information from Mrs. Pauline Clements.


4. Doyle, p.3; "Homestead and Property Plans....".

5. Gibson, et.al., p.6.

11 Building Dams


2. Ibid., pp.195,198.

3. Ibid., pp.195-196.

4. Ibid., pp. 203-204,213.

5. Ibid.,p.220.

6. Ibid., pp.201, 204-208; see Small Picture File, Mitchell Library.


11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

12 Tourism

1. W.J. Enright, "Barrington Tops", information sheet prepared for Barrington Tops League, c1923, Newcastle Local History Library.

2. Ibid., T. Alitchison, Barrington House Then and Now, 1980?
THEME 9: POST WAR PERIOD: LOOKING BACK FOR THE FUTURE

During the 1930s, Dungog Shire's writers and local historians began for the first time to look back on the district's history, rather than forward to its future. Their accounts were tinged with a sense of loss and regression, and heavily overlaid with nostalgia. From the vantage point of the Great Depression and rural slump, the "golden" days of early pioneers seemed romantic and simple, the hey-day of the towns prosperous and reliable. Old people began to write down their memories of earlier times in the strong awareness that the past and its reminders were slipping away forever. Ruby Doyle described the old homes and their gardens around Gresford, many of which had been replaced by 1933:

Men like Mr. Logan, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Dagleish were the finest type of colonist that a young country could have. Starting from scratch nothing daunted them and they won, as the years passed, the reward that was justly theirs. But Torryburn estate has been cut up and the old home pulled down. Like dreams these picturesque buildings of early days are swallowed up by the years. Soon no-one will remember them at all.1

The mournful fatalism inherent in the concept of the old succumbing to the inevitable "march of progress" is threaded through many local writings of the 1930s to 1950s. Dorothy Dowling wrote about Chichester Dam in 1930:

Some of us who knew a little of the Wangat Valley before the engineers began their work could not but feel some regret at the destruction of beauty and uprooting of life......necessary no doubt, but none the less sad......2

The memory of the large jacaranda in full bloom "still calls up a sharp twinge of regret for the beauty that had to give way before the march of material progress". At the same time "this great sheet of water and the wall that holds it together a man-wrought miracle". John Tucker was another who was less convinced that the Paterson district had "progressed". His description of the early grantees contrasts sharply with the laudatory accounts found elsewhere:
The old grantees were a promiscuous crowd... endowed with these fine blocks of land, they had convict labour assigned to work and develope them. It was the old deportees who did all the work...

With the abolition of assignment in 1840 the land passed to the sons of emigrants who "learnt to work and taught their sons to work" (i.e. John Tucker himself), and "it seemed like a decree of retribution and justice that men should not prosper on the misery and misfortunes of others". Tucker's account is a wonderful instance of "history" created out of purely personal experience, and in accordance with the time of writing. For, "there was no unemployment then. Everywhere men were at work putting up houses and fences", while in 1933 "men are clamouring for food and vainly seeking work". Oddly, while the early convicts were to be pitied and their masters condemned, Tucker had no sympathy for those on the dole in the 1930s:

A large section of our people are claiming a vested right in pensions.... endowments and free education, putting forth the presumption that one half of the community shall work and be taxed to keep the other half in mendicance. The old pioneers never asked or expected these things....

Most accounts also stress the loss of buildings, industries, traffic, population, and old ways:

The old order has passed away, the bullock dray, the waggon, the spring cart, the ships and shipyard. The wheatfields and flour mills, the workshops and the tobacco factories.... All these have vanished.

Wistfulness and mythmaking went hand-in-hand - the early settlers became brave pioneers (or privileged villians), their lives were simpler and more rewarding; the "old folks sat and dreamed in their gardens"; the convicts became alternately murderous scoundrels or pathetic, exploited slaves; bushrangers became heroes, and the aborigines, once they had all died out, became "our sable brethren", a passive harmless race defenceless against the sophisticated, deadly white ways. And so the manufacture of the past began, at a suitably safe distance from the menial and labourious tasks of establishing a farm, the terrible natural disasters, the loneliness, the
menacing bushrangers and the resentful reprisals of aborigines.

Dungog's history of diverse land use continues to the present and some of the oldest industries in the valley survive today, such as timber and fat cattle. Others, like poultry raised in broiler sheds, are recent introductions, representing new phases. Dairying is still carried on to some extent, but is not as dominant or lucrative as it was during the first half of the nineteenth century. Another new form of land use emerging over the past twenty years is hobby farming, for the main part restricted to the southern parts of the Shire, particularly around Paterson. The Paterson district has thus changed from purely rural to a mixture of rural and rural-residential. The demand for small allotments by mainly "mid-professional" people has been filled by the subdivision of poorer quality lands, principally in the Dun's Creek, Martins Creek and Webber's Creek area. Other experiments are also being made in crop growing. In 1982, in the face of the depressed cattle market, one enterprising grazier was holding out great hope for his soybean crop.6

By the 1950s the effects of constant and widespread clearing became apparent in the dying of those trees still standing, unprotected from the elements, and also widespread serious gully ing which had "already ruined much valuable farming acreage because of the rapidly accelerated rate of water runoff after rains". This had been occurring at least since the 1890s when the best parts of Cairnsmore had been washed away in floods.7 A similar problem resulted not from agrarian practices, but from the recent "river improvement" operations of the Water Resources Commission. A program of removing trees and obstructions on the 65km of Allyn River above Vacy caused considerable concern because by 1981 it was apparent that the river's natural environment was being severely damaged by scour.8

The Shire's numerous bridges, which played such a vital role in its development, are still constantly threatened by floods, and the opening of new bridges is a common occurrence. Some of the more important include the Rocky
Hill Bridge over the Carowiry Creek (1966), the L.G. Clements Bridge over Webber's Creek at Tocal (1967), and the new St. Mary's Bridge at Allynbrook replaced the 1900 bridge which washed away (1970). The Bennett Bridge over the Myall Creek at Dungog was also opened in 1970, and another bridge over this creek on the Wangat Road was opened the following year (Myall Bridge). The then 60-year-old Cooreei Bridge at Dungog had $121,000 spent on new decking and girders in 1966, and the railway bridge there had new approach spans constructed in 1984 and 1985. The 1870's Wallarobba Road linking Paterson and Dungog was rerouted in 1964 on a steeper alignment.9

Other aspects of the Shire's public works program also made gradual and permanent progress. Wallarobba Shire functioned concurrently with Dungog Municipality until their amalgamation in 1958, as Dungog Shire. In November that year its president, J.R. Moylan was appointed Chairman of the newly-formed Barrington Tops Bushfire Prevention Association. Besides the bridges already mentioned, many other projects were also undertaken. In 1960, Clarence Town's first water supply scheme was officially turned on, although Paterson, Vacy and Martins Creek had to wait until 1980 for their town water. In 1963, the Dungog and District Memorial Baths were opened. They had been 25% financed by the Public Works Department, and the balance was raised by the Tourist League. A Baby Health Centre was opened in Dungog in 1964, and a new 300,000 gallon reservoir was completed there in 1966. A Shire radio station was established on Cooreei Hill in 1970, and the Dungog Branch Library opened in MacKay Street in 1975, while a library service had been established a year before.10

The Shire's community achievements included a national reputation for polo during the 1950s - the Wirragulla Club won the coveted Dudley Cup in 1948, 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1954. Significantly, both the Tabbil Creek and Cangon polo grounds were still owned by the MacKays.11

People went on celebrating great events with fervour, and one of the most spectacular was the procession honouring the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. The Dungog Chronicle's account, suitably embellished
with flags, carried much information about the 1950s community. Each float represented an aspect of its life - Bandon Grove sent a vehicle laden with farm produce, a separator, a model dairy and a real cow; Dungog Model Aero Club displayed a model aeroplane; the Fire Brigade "gleamed with highly polished brass and shining red". The Wattle Club, the Christian Endeavour Organisation, the Country Womens Association, the R.S.L., school children, houses of business and large families all presented floats. The last aboriginal in the district had died in 1905, and by 1953 "None could pierce the disguise of black boot polish, grey wigs and beards" of the Ladies Midweek Tennis Club. The Chronicle referred tongue in cheek to their costumes as depicting "the 'original' Australians" - evidently not a serious statement.\textsuperscript{12}

The end of the 1950s through to the 1970s brought anniversary and centenary celebrations of the Shire's many schools and it was these events which prompted the writing of numerous local histories. The celebrations served to sharpen the communities' knowledge and consciousness of the past, and fostered interest and pride in the subject. Other events, such as Dungog Shire's 25th Anniversary, Dungog Cottage Hospital's 75th Anniversary and the 75th Anniversary of the Chronicle itself brought special supplementary editions containing both historical and contemporary information. Today there are at least three active, official historical societies, two museums and many less formal interest groups.\textsuperscript{13}

The heightened awareness of the natural and cultural environmental heritage has grown from those early backward-looking accounts of the 1930s, but has now broken free of the simple acceptance of the necessarily destructive "march of progress". In recent years the people of Paterson in particular have taken firm stands on environmental issues ranging from the impact of hobby farms and broiler sheds, to a successful bid to prevent the demolition of an old corn staddle in Tucker Park. The issues are typical of those which have arisen and those still to come. It is obvious at this stage, however, that people are interested in taking their quality of life, the management of their heritage, and research of their past, into their own
The general and ever-widening conservation movement and the increased interest in the natural and cultural heritage also means that tourists will continue to be drawn to the Shire's outstanding natural and man-modified landscapes, its wealth of historic buildings and sites and its pleasing nineteenth century townscapes. In looking back on its past and developing strategies for managing its historic material culture and natural environment, Dungog Shire is looking to its future, and the rise of yet another important industry.
THEME 9: POST WAR PERIOD LOOKING BACK FOR THE FUTURE

NOTES

1. Doyle, p.3.
2. Dowling, "Chichester Dam...."
3. Tucker, op.cit.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., see also Mitchell, p.82; Gibson, et.al., p.8.
6. Information from Mrs. Pauline Clements, Mr. Brian Hartcher, Mr. Cameron Archer; Archer, "The Paterson Environment....", p.5; Newcastle Herald, 1 March 1982.
7. Brock, p.5; MacKenzie, "Around Dungog".