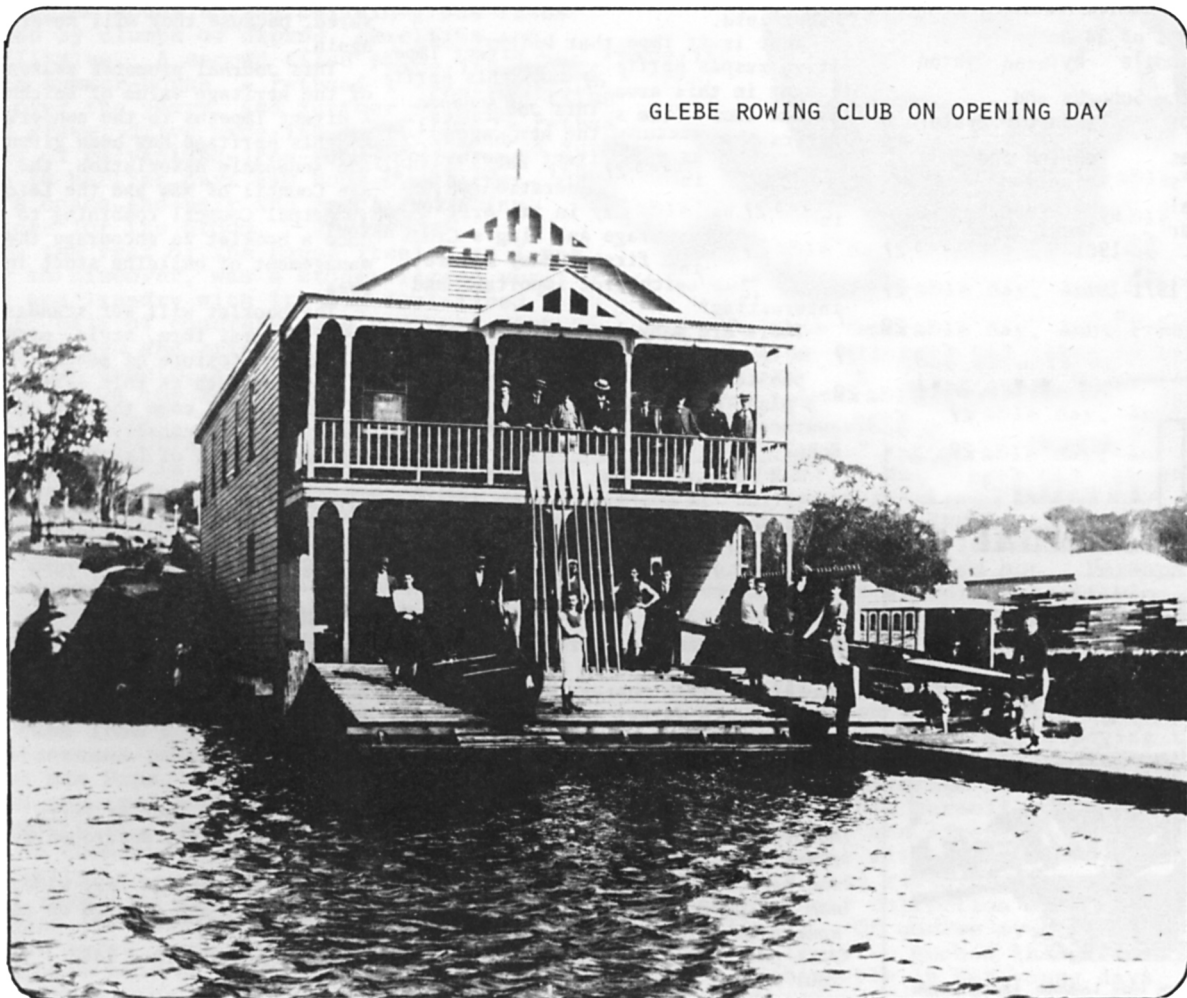


# Leichhardt Historical Journal

No 11  
1982

RECOLLECTIONS OF 34 JOHNSTON STREET ANNANDALE  
INVENTING THE SUBURBS AND MAKING A FORTUNE  
HOW SUBURBANISATION BEGAN IN BALMAIN



Annandale Balmain Glebe Leichhardt Lilyfield Rozelle

**Editors**

The Leichhardt Historical Journal is published jointly by the Annandale Association, the Balmain Association, the Glebe Society and the Leichhardt Association.

The Editors are not responsible for opinions expressed by contributors to the Journal.

Correspondence should be addressed to Dr P L Reynolds, 9 The Avenue, Balmain East, 2041.

**Acknowledgements**

The Editors gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance of the Balmain Association from its own funds and from money allocated to it by the Royal Australian Historical Society. Jennifer Bates helped with layout and production.

**Contents**

Recollections of 34 Johnston Street, Annandale by Gwen Ashton 3  
Inventing the Suburbs and Making a Fortune by Barrie Dyster 6  
Peacock, Weston, Pearson and Paul: how "suburbanisation" began in Balmain - 1 Peacock Point to Darling Street Wharf - Part I by Peter Reynolds 13  
Index LHM: 1971-1981 27  
Reviews 28

**EDITORIAL**

**WHY LEICHHARDT?**

People who live in the Leichhardt Municipality, that is in the wards of Annandale, Balmain, Glebe, Leichhardt, Lilyfield and Rozelle, respond very subjectively about their choice of area.

They feel strongly about the diversity of their neighbourhood, the closely settled streets, the idiosyncrasies of the architecture, the obvious links with the past and the mostly united efforts to improve the public amenity.

Max Freeland set out the parameters for evaluating the built environment very succinctly in 1976\*. He described them in terms of their historical, psychological, aesthetic, sociological, economic and educational aspects.

Whilst these definitions are eminently suitable for heritage buildings and conservation areas, it is more difficult to apply them evenly to the Leichhardt suburbs.

The interesting mix of residential, commercial and industrial uses preclude comparison with Paddington or Haberfield.

What is it then that brings a positive response to questions about living in this area? What is the *genius loci* - the special characteristics that make the place what it is? If the *genius loci* of Haberfield is inscribed in its Federation architecture, Watson's Bay in its origins as a fishing village and King's Cross in it being the first Sydney suburb, then why is Leichhardt important and interesting?

There are many intangibles that come to the surface - a high level of public esteem, people enjoying the place where they live, and an awareness of deep roots in their suburb.

\* J M Freeland, "The 'Whys' for Preservation" in *Conference with Affiliated Societies*, Royal Australian Historical Society, 22-24 October 1976, pp5-9.

That there is adequate transport, water views, interesting shopping, a less extreme climate, a lack of overpowering buildings and freedom from boring uniformity, are also significant factors.

But many more reasons for the significance and interest of Leichhardt lie in a detailed inventory of buildings, parks, monuments and the other components of the built environment based on the questions of what, where, when, how and why.

There is already a heightened awareness of the richness of the area. The broad sweeps of Annandale, the clusters of harbourside cottages in Balmain, and the intact streets of Glebe have already attracted much critical appraisal.

But it is to Leichhardt (the suburb) that we now look for a growing appreciation of the special qualities of its built environment - an appreciation based not upon comparison ("Is it as good as Paddington?") but upon recognition of its own intrinsic worth.

Some of the buildings are unique, some are excellent examples of what they represent and each must be treasured, because they will never occur again.

This *Journal* promotes awareness of the heritage value of Leichhardt. A direct impetus to the conservation of this heritage has been given by the Annandale Association, the Heritage Council of NSW and the Leichhardt Municipal Council combining to produce a booklet to encourage the good management of building stock in the area.

The booklet will set standards for architectural form, style, proportion, colour and texture of materials#.

Actions such as this affirm that if change must come then it should occur so as to conserve - not destroy - the *genius loci* of Leichhardt.

Peter Reynolds

# Stated in *Leichhardt: Urban Conservation Report*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney, 1979.

**A Note on Contributors**

Gwen Ashton is a writer who remembers Annandale fondly; Alan Roberts is the Field and Research Officer of the Royal Australian Historical Society; Barrie Dyster lectures in Economic History at the University of New South Wales; and Peter Reynolds lectures in Architecture at the same University.

**Cover**

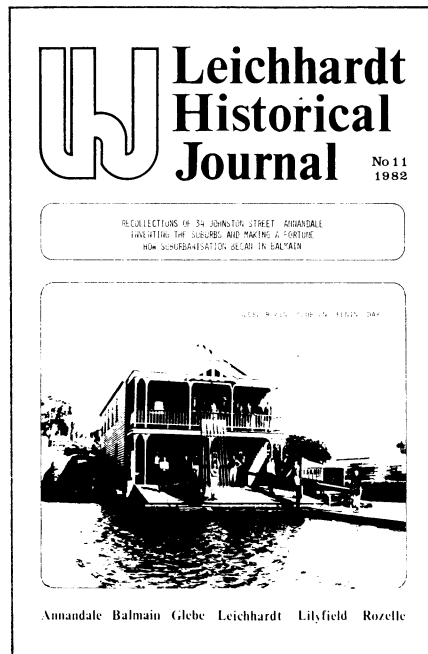
The original boatshed of the Glebe Rowing Club, at the foot of Ferry Road Glebe, was opened on 5 July 1879. It was completely destroyed by fire on 16 February 1897.

The new club house pictured here, being 61 feet long and 28 feet wide, was designed by an old member, architect Dick Shute, and erected on the same site as the old boatshed at a cost of £300.

This photograph was taken at the official opening on 12 June 1897 - just four months after the fire.

Tragically, almost 56 years later on 1 May 1953, Glebe oarsmen lost their second boatshed when it was again gutted by fire.

Max Solling



# Recollections of 34 Johnston Street, Annandale

Gwen Ashton

More than half a century has passed since I first visited the home of my great-aunt, Mrs Elise Francis, at that address. It was a time when Johnston Street was lined along its broad length by eminently desirable houses of elaborate late-Victorian architecture.

When first I walked a trifle apprehensively through the wrought-iron gate and up the tiled approaches to the imposing front door I was a schoolgirl of fifteen, and this was to be my earliest meeting with my mother's aunt. The house was set well back from the street, and I felt that the windows of the upper floor wore an expression of polite disapproval at what was beginning to happen to that once impregnable domain of the privileged and well-to-do.

To the front and side of this splendid two-storied house spread buffalo-grass lawns flanked by clumps of daphne, camellias and strellitziyas. A second tiled path led to the wooden summer-house, a retreat I was to know well over the years, and further to the left a red gravel drive made its ordered way to a series of galvanized-iron-roofed structures which in earlier days had housed my great-aunt's coach-and-pair and provided living quarters for the groom.

To the rear of the house itself, as I was later to discover, was a stone-flagged verandah and laundry with its big fuel-fired copper, pair of concrete tubs equipped with washing-board and wringer, and a monstrous black iron mangle, all the undisputed province of Hilda the Washerwoman. This great red-fisted woman, built on authentic Clydesdale lines, regularly fed the mangle a diet of snowy Marcella bedspreads, sheets, and blankets. If she had a surname, I was never to learn of it, for I fancied that my great-aunt believed that surnames for people such as Hilda the Washerwoman should be used only on Sundays - if at all.

The year was 1926, and my great-aunt had just been widowed by the sudden death of her husband, Henry Burdett Francis, the first general-manager of the Riverstone Meat Company. I had never met him; what I knew of him then came from a silver-framed photograph and reminiscences passed to me by my cousins, who called him Papa. Later I was to learn that he had acquired something of a reputation as a "womaniser", though I am convinced that no hint of this ever reached my great-aunt or her family.

I recall my feelings of surprise on first entering the vestibule of No 34 and seeing the two large flags, partly unfurled, that stood in a pair of handsome waist-high Majolica vases — the Union Jack and the Australian flag, for Mrs Francis was both Empire-conscious and patriotic to an unusual degree.

Once my sister Kathleen and I had been led inside, we came upon our great-aunt reclining on a brocade-upholstered rosewood chaise-longue (the timber of her decorating choice). She was covered by what I took to be a leopard-skin rug, but which I was later to learn was ocelet. Her silver hair was high-piled above a face noted for a pair of keen grey-blue eyes and small, well-shaped features. The pea-sized diamonds on her earlobes had me frankly goggling, for I had never before seen genuine stones of that size. Around her neck was a string of perfectly matched milk opals.

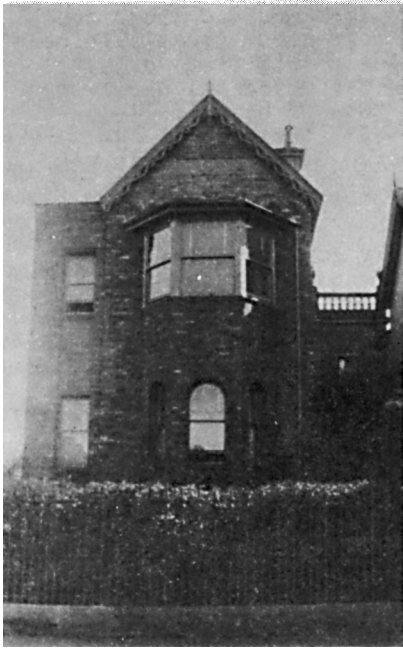


Elise Francis

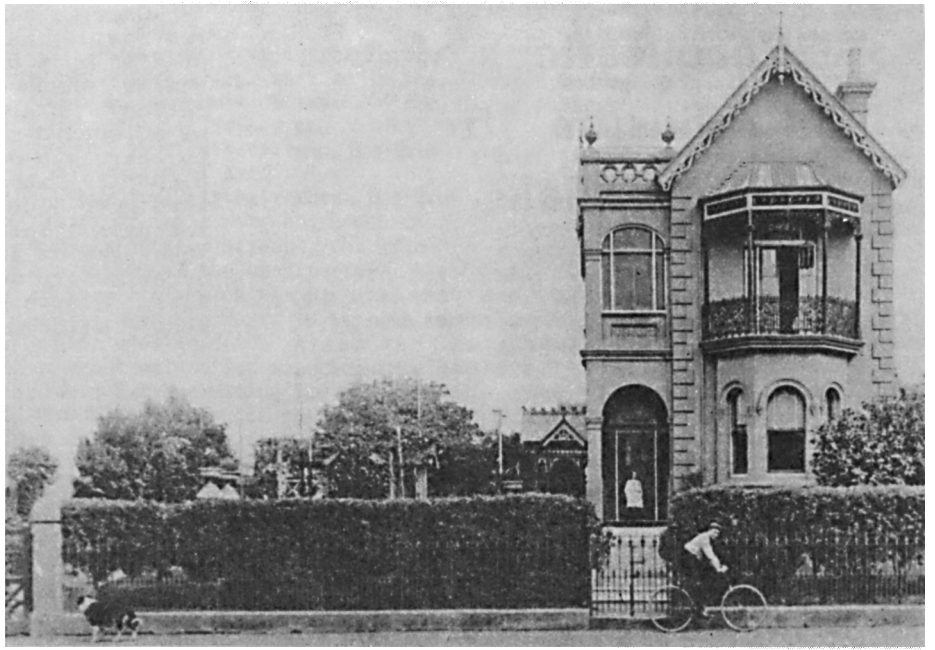
On this memorable day, Aunt Francis (as she bid us call her) had taken my sister's face between her hands and critically appraised her good bone structure. "Yes", she had decided almost at once, "you will be able to wear furs."

Whether or not it was this potential as future fur-wearers that swayed her, or the fact that we were indeed the grandchildren of her long dead, much loved sister Lucy, was never actually spelled out. Perhaps it may have been that we were presentable, intelligent, well-spoken and, above all, knew our manners. Who can say? Or then again it could have been our interest in classical music that influenced her, for even then my sister Kathleen was a violinist of more than average talent, and I was studying the piano (and destined soon to study singing at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music).

Aunt Francis herself had possessed a lovely voice, and after my cousin Myee (who studied music with the celebrated Alfred Hill) had also given up singing, I was to inherit their collection of operatic arias and lieder. Of course my great-aunt never sang publicly — such a thing would have been unthinkable in her young days. However, when the composer Wallace (who wrote the successful light opera *Maritana*) was in Sydney, he was a guest of the Geoghegans (her



34 JOHNSTON STREET, ANNANDALE  
Converted to 4 flats, 1930s



34 JOHNSTON STREET, ANNANDALE, IN MRS FRANCIS' DAY. The house, converted into flats in the 1930s, was demolished for red brick home-units in the late 1960s.

parents) and personally coached her in the leading role, with some of the rest of the family joining in, either singing or playing musical instruments, as was then the custom.

Lucy Geoghegan (the name was sometimes given as Gagen) was my grandmother. On 2nd February, 1882 she had married James McDonough, an engineer from Victoria. (The marriage certificate shows her as 'Gentlewoman'.) The union, however, was tragically ended in 1886 by Lucy's death after a difficult second confinement, aged 26. My mother, Gertrude Elise McDonough, was then three, and despite all efforts by my great-aunt to prevent it, her father arranged for her adoption by the Rogers, a childless couple living in Summer Hill. From then on, she saw practically nothing of any of her relatives, and upon her having completed her teacher's training course and being sent to the country, all contact ceased. It was not until the press publicity following her uncle's death that she again approached her aunt.

Aunt Francis was — predictably — an Anglican, though her mother had been Presbyterian and her father a Catholic of sorts. The Rogers brought my mother up as a Wesleyan, but she had converted to Catholicism when marrying my father, Augustine Logue. Aunt Francis had no great opinion of Catholics as such, and her acceptance of us was the more remarkable, and even more so when it was acknowledged that she never entertained anyone at No 34 who was not on the Government House visiting list! For many years she had been treasurer of that exclusive haunt of the socially prominent, the prestigious Queen Victoria Club, and to ensure that no-one else in the Sydney of those days would be similarly gowned she made a point of buying entire bolts of fabric.

By the time of my first encounter with her my cousins were some fifteen to twenty years my senior. Sidney Claude Francis —

tall, blue-eyed, bronzed, and with the dark auburn hair I always associate with Florentines — was to our youthful eyes a romantic figure: the fact that he had very little to say to either Kathleen or me only served somehow to equate him with some of the Bronte or Austen characters which had so captured our admiration then. Sidney had a passion for things mechanical, and in 1926 the area that had once housed the coach-and-pair was given over to a Bull-nosed Morris (to be followed successively by a Morris Oxford and a Morris Isis) with which he loved to tinker. Earlier, he had flown in England with the Royal Flying Corps, and as events proved, was again to fly — this time with the RAAF as an officer in World War Two.

Although at times we felt that he would have been just as happy if two new girl cousins had not turned up, his taciturnity was always tinged with courtesy. Later on, however, we came to realize that he did have interests other than flying or car-racing, for he took a keen interest in local government matters, and was for several years Mayor of Leichhardt. Although he was twice married he left no issue; neither did his sister, Myee Nea Francis, for she never married.

I remember wondering why an attractive, accomplished young woman like this (then) thirty-odd-years-old cousin of ours had not married. She was cheerful and fun-loving, and used sometimes to include me in parties at the old Palais Royal. It was not until I was middle-aged that she told me the reason. Her mother had affected a convenient heart condition to use as a defence against being left alone at night, and gradually, from a mistaken sense of duty, Myee had begun turning down invitations one after another, and finally, when an offer of marriage which would have involved her going to the United States needed a quick decision, her loyalty had prevailed, and the young man went off

without her.

I had taken my Aunt Francis as I found her and, in fact, really liked her. (I sometimes think I have grown rather like her!). Her daughter's revelation of my great-aunt's selfishness, however, has tended to put her into a different perspective with me.

When she died in 1929, my cousin had the unenviable job of disposing of all those bolts of cloth — rendered useless, of course, by the depredations of countless generations of moths and silverfish, which had left them grotesquely patterned like old player-piano rolls.

No 34 was divided up into four separate flats, with Myee occupying the upstairs front section, and Sidney and his wife choosing the downstairs rear flat. Now, both my cousins are dead and gone, buried in the Rookwood Cemetery family plot with their mother and the grandmother, Mary Ann Geoghegan, whose tombstone tells that she was born in 1817. (She married James Geoghegan (Gagen) at East Maitland in 1838 — as recorded in the archives of Scots Church, Sydney).

To this day I still think of the Francis family, for they were my only known maternal relatives — and not only because I sometimes use the hand-painted fine china which my great-aunt painted and initialled E.F. in 1910 (and for which she had melted down sovereigns to decorate the rims with gold).

As it so happens, too, we had another link with Johnston Street, for my sister Kathleen was to marry Francis Letters who lived five houses away from the Francis home, where his brother Leon had a medical practice. It was my cousin Myee who entertained friends and relatives at her Linen Tea, and that was to be the last occasion there for large-scale



Mrs Francis and Sidney (centre back row), Myee (right front row) and neighbours. The aviary is at the right.

entertaining prior to the reconstruction into flats.

Now I myself have attained the status of great-aunt, a relationship I bear to the three children of Dr Alan Roberts, at whose request I have written this article.

And as for the old house itself, I have never visited it since my cousin's death in 1965 when her brief funeral service was conducted there. I prefer to recall it as I first knew it, and to remember the many happy days I spent there over the distant years.

I could not bear to find that it had been pulled down and replaced by conventional home units.

---

\* 34 Johnston Street was demolished in the late 1960s and replaced by a block of red-textured brick home units.

---

#### 34 Johnston Street, a sequel... from Alan Roberts

In January and February 1980 I interviewed Mr Les Winkworth of Killara. He was then aged 87, and had grown up in Annandale in the 1890s and the Edwardian period. His father, Charles Winkworth, had a piano business. They lived in a bungalow among the large houses of southern Johnston Street.

Les Winkworth gave me a detailed picture of the homes and families and style of life in that part of Annandale at that time.

One of these families was the Francis family, to whom he was particularly attached.

He first mentioned them apropos of the habit of another neighbour to let him play with his son while excluding other boys considered undesirable:

*The same applied to another family in Johnston Street. Mrs Francis was a very strong personality, she was an extremely commanding person, and she would hunt other boys away. Besides myself there'd be perhaps just one other boy allowed to play with her son Sid...I'd be walking along the street and Mrs Francis would say, "Where are you going today?", and I'd say "I'm going over to Johnston's paddocks to have a game over there", and she'd say, "No, you're coming for a drive with us".*

*That was her attitude all of her life. She dominated people.*

*They had properties in Abercrombie Street, City,*

*and she used to collect the rents herself on a Monday - every Monday - and she was carrying a purse alone with a lot of rent in it one day when a robber came up to her and tried to get the bag from her hand.*

*She fought with him and eventually stopped him from taking the bag.*

Do you think it was unusual for a woman in her position to collect rents herself or would they normally have an agent to do it?

*No, she was that type, she wanted to see the tenants, see the the state of the property and what sort of tenants they were. She was capable of tossing them out if she didn't like them. Very strong minded that way....*

*Mr Francis was manager of the Riverstone Meat Company. There was a photograph of him in which he looked very much like a prize-fighter. It was taken of him with a singlet on, dealing with hundreds of butchers out at the works at Riverstone.*

*In those days he had to be a strong man, he was a strong man, but a likeable man. He was very fond of birds and he had an immense aviary fifteen feet high with a tree in it and other little shrubs with fine wire netting and he had all manner of birds in that aviary. We used to delight in going over to it; it was up near his stables. They had a wide block, a double frontage block, with a summer house on it and I noticed the other day there is a big block of units on the property now....*

ED NOTE: The foregoing interview has been edited by Alan Roberts.

# Inventing the Suburbs and Making a Fortune

Barrie Dyster

The census of 1846 was the first to enumerate the suburbs. In March of that year there were 38 358 people inside the city boundaries, and 6832 counted under eleven suburban classifications, ranging from Balmain (1337), Newtown (1215) and Glebe (1055) to O'Connell Town whose 40 people lived to the north of Newtown. The other settlements, in descending order of size, were Redfern, Paddington, Chippendale, Saint Leonards, Camperdown, the remote industrial village of Canterbury, and Surry Hills.<sup>1</sup>

There were two other neighbourhoods which might have been counted separately if the boundaries of the city had not been drawn to include them: these were Pyrmont and the Darlinghurst ridge extending to Potts Point. And there were areas further out, like present-day Drummoyne and present-day Northbridge, that local landowners tried to pass off as suburbs of the near future, encouraging optimists to buy their subdivisions in expectation of a speedy profit.

The suburbs in 1846 were not the dense nineteenth century landscapes we know today. The Paddington of terraces and iron lace, for example, whose evolution Max Kelly has admirably explained in *Paddock Full of Houses*, is largely an artefact of the seventies and eighties. Before the Gold Rushes, on the other hand, it was a ribbon development of inns and houses along the holiday road to South Head. It was Victoria Barracks, first occupied in 1848, and the little stone workmen's cottages for the masons and labourers building the barracks. And it was a few gentlemen's villas on the steep slope down to Rushcutters Bay.<sup>2</sup>

There were at least two major conditions for dense residence. One was simply the readiness of landowners to sell or to subdivide. The other was the availability of transport, and ease of access from the city in general; before 1851 there were neither trains nor trams running anywhere in Australia.

What of the suburbs that existed at the census of 1846? St Leonards was the North Shore in general and North Sydney in particular; there were a few shipyards, and farms to provision the ships in port, but the area was dominated by the large villas of merchants and professional men who could afford a ferry or boatride and enjoyed having the Harbour as a moat between them and the city. Balmain was similar at this time - some shipyard activity but largely patronised by gentlefolk with waterviews. Certainly workmen employed in the city were unlikely to live there; it was a

very long way around by road (there was no Glebe Island Bridge nor Pyrmont Bridge) and the Balmain ferry, like the North Shore ferry, did not run before 8 o'clock in the morning.<sup>3</sup> And there would be twelve fares a week to pay.

St Leonards and Balmain housed, among other people, the well-to-do who worked gentlemanly hours. Redfern, Chippendale and Surry Hills by contrast were spillovers along the boundary of the city, for poorer people who worked in the breweries, slaughter houses and other industries on the southern side of Sydney.

GLEBE: Glebe represented both extremes. On the elevated land towards Glebe Point there were large estates with handsome villas; it was too far out for any sensible person who did not have a horse. But along the Western Highway in the area roughly where Grace Brothers now stands the population was very different.

Many of the slaughterhouses of Sydney occupied the last valley before the Highway from the south and west reached what is now Railway Square.<sup>4</sup> In the days before refrigeration animals had to be killed as close to the customers' homes as possible and this dip in the road was where the beasts driven down the highroad from the grazing lands met the edge of town. There was also a short stream that ran down this gully into Blackwattle Swamp; the swamp covered what is now Wentworth Park and its head came close to Parramatta Road.

The slaughterhouses and tanneries clustered along Blackwattle Swamp Creek, or along Darling Harbour, so that the offal and blood could run away into the water and be carried off by the current and the tide. It did not quite work out this way with Blackwattle Swamp Creek, however. Upstream on one branch stood Tooth's Brewery, on the same spot it occupies today; on another branch there was the Brisbane Distillery (near the corner of Broadway and City Road). Both places dammed the stream so that they would have the water with which to make their drinks. In a dry summer the demand for beer and gin would rise while the supply of water in the tiny creeks would dwindle.

Consequently, there might be no water passing below the dams to flush out the slaughterhouses and tanneries yet twice each day the tide came in to wash the effluent back up the Swamp and under the bridge, across which passed the main road into Sydney.

That part of Glebe called Bishopgate, on the slope down to Blackwattle Swamp, was thus a most undesirable place to live. But poverty and nearness to work left many people with little choice. Just about the earliest subdivision was made in 1841, which was a year of depression, when the owner (soon to be bankrupt) needed ready cash. This man was Joseph Hickey Grose, trader, grazier, shipowner, brewer, miller, general industrialist, dealer in land.<sup>5</sup> He owned twelve acres along Broadway where Grace Brothers is now; the street that runs parallel with Broadway and between two of the stores is still called Grose Street.

There he slapped up a jumbled maze of cottages from 1841 onwards in the hope of restoring his fortunes, a depressing warren beside the abbatoirs and swamp.<sup>6</sup>

**KINGS CROSS:** Coincidentally Joseph Hickey Grose also owned the plot of land in Kings Cross which will be used to illustrate the first suburb of all. His purchase of just over nine acres whose narrow eastern boundary is Macleay Street, Kings Cross (where it meets Darlinghurst Road) is now directly opposite the El Alamein Fountain.<sup>7</sup> The nine acres forms a rectangle which extends back towards the city, half of it being in Woolloomooloo below the cliff. It was long enough so that sections of Victoria Street, Brougham Street, Dowling Street and Forbes Street were later constructed through it.

The mansion set back from Macleay Street on the plan was later called *Springfield*, and Springfield Avenue, probably its old driveway, is still there in the heart of the Cross. The first owner called this estate Tivoli, a popular name amongst landed Sydney gentlemen in those days.

Why Kings Cross? Well it seems that it was the first real suburb. Most of the land was parcelled out in the second half of the 1820s, when Darling was Governor and Alexander Macleay had recently arrived as Colonial Secretary. The Darlinghurst-Kings Cross ridge lay invitingly unoccupied, at least by white people (but that is another story), separated from the crime and grime of the city by the permanent green belt of the Domain and the temporarily rural valley of Woolloomooloo (Woolloomooloo was tied up in a complicated inheritance and was not carved up until the 1840s).

It was a secluded peninsula with uninterrupted water views yet within easy drive of the city. So the Governor and Colonial Secretary decided to turn it into an exclusive dress circle. They parcelled it out to the leading public servants, law officers, surveyors, commissariat officials.

The lions share went to Colonial Secretary Alexander Macleay himself, 50 acres at Elizabeth Bay, where he built *Elizabeth Bay House* which still has what is probably the finest view in all Sydney.

The rest of the land was granted in smaller amounts, but each beneficiary had to build a villa worth at least £1000 within three years, and not to subdivide or clutter with meaner buildings. Darling and Macleay intended that *Elizabeth Bay House* would have only opulent and imposing neighbours.

What of the nine acres of Tivoli? It was given in 1828 to the Attorney General, not because of his own merit, for he was an incompetent sot, but because he was Attorney General. *The Australian Dictionary of Biography* gives us a matchless portrait of Alexander Macduff Baxter.<sup>8</sup> He had the best of all possible starts in life, being the son of a Presbyterian minister. Young Alexander studied law in London but seems not to have bothered to practice it. His father the minister solicited a job for his son from a Scottish politician, perhaps, he suggested, a travelling tutorship. The politician, who was for the moment Secretary of State for the Colonies, thought of something better. The Colonies — why not send the 28-year old briefless barrister out as Attorney General of New South Wales?

Governor Darling found his new assistant useless, the more so as the Governor's opponents, like W C Wentworth, were attacking the administration through the courts and the newspapers. Baxter had married a Spanish hieress just before sailing, ran through her fortune in ostentation and liquor and beat her whenever he was displeased, as he was when she extravagantly presented him with twin daughters.

In 1830 Baxter heard from London that he was promoted to a judgeship in Van Dieman's Land; whether his father or Governor Darling engineered this is not known. Having declared himself bankrupt in New South Wales he travelled to Hobart. There Governor Arthur was tougher than Darling had been and refused to allow him into a courtroom at all.

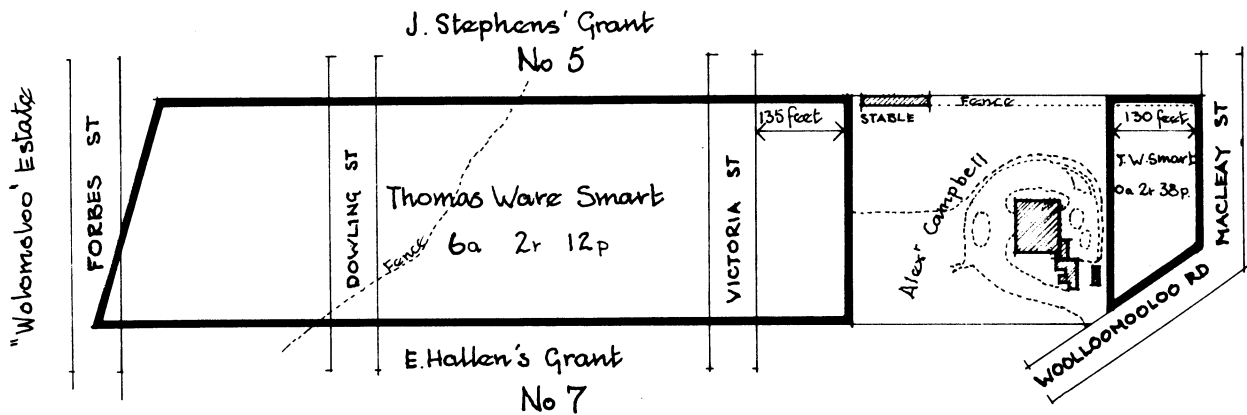
So Alexander Macduff Baxter sailed back to London, a sodden wreck, intent on clearing his name but falling into debtors' prison instead, while his wife (soon to be his widow) fruitlessly petitioned the Colonial Office for restitution of her jewels and furniture which Baxter had surrendered to his creditors in Sydney.

It was to satisfy Alexander Macleay's desire for 50 acres at Elizabeth Bay, and the land hunger of fellow officials, that such a renowned incompetent as Alexander Macduff Baxter was handed the nine acres on the Darlinghurst ridge. As he slipped deeper into debt Baxter took out a mortgage on the grant for £1300 from a commissariat official called Goodsir, who simply possessed the land when Baxter went bankrupt, not even having paid interest on the mortgage. Goodsir was a money lender rather than a landowner, preferring a regular income from mortgages to the trials of a proprietor or landlord. So in 1835 he sold the land to our old friend, Joseph Hickey Grose, for £3500; perhaps he had completed the building which Baxter had left unfinished.

The land boom which this increase in price reflected collapsed into a deep depression by the end of 1840, and the same shortness of funds which led Grose to subdivide his twelve acres near Blackwattle Swamp pushed him into the manager's office of the Commercial Bank. The bank offered him a mortgage of £6000 on the nine acres of the Tivoli Estate — going up all the time.

**T W SMART:** Despite, or perhaps because of, his building in Glebe, Grose kept borrowing from the bank until he too became insolvent in 1844. The bank now owned the Tivoli Estate, which became potentially more valuable when the Governor announced the next year that Victoria, Dowling and Forbes Streets would be laid across it and that the owner could put up as many buildings as it liked.

With the appearance of streets it now became fully fledged developers' land. But the Commercial Bank was not in the building game; its business was money. Like Mr Goodsir it preferred to lend on security of land rather than have the trouble of managing the land directly. So in 1846 it sold the Tivoli Estate to two buyers. About one-tenth of it, immediately around and including the mansion, went to a young Scots merchant called Alexander Campbell, who had once worked for Grose (for an undisclosed sum).



The bulk of it went to another young businessman called Thomas Ware Smart who had started life as the son of an ex-convict boot-maker, had married his employer's widow in the classic fashion, and was already the master of *Mona* on Darling Point.<sup>9</sup>

Land prices had been deflated by the depression which was now over, so that Smart picked up almost nine acres for £1260. For this he got the whole of Macleay Street frontage, plus the corner block along Darlinghurst Road, both sides of Victoria Street, both sides of Dowling Street and part of the frontages of Forbes Street where they crossed his property. Two and a half years later he sold the Macleay Street frontage alone for £1400, and still had six acres of the Kings Cross ridge and the Woolloomooloo valley in reserve.

It was little wonder that Smart remained one of the richest men in Sydney, sent his sons to Eton and had a private gallery attached to his house in Darling Point with paintings by Raphael, Velasquez, Rubens and other artists of renown.

**BOOM AND BUST:** In between the "dress circle" along Macleay Street and the alleys beside Blackwattle Swamp a great deal of other land was changing hands, never more so than during the boom at the end of the 1830s which collapsed in the long and deep depression beginning in 1840. The boom of the thirties had something to do with the expansion of wool growing which brought in a great deal of capital to Australia and reinforced optimism about Australia's prospects.

Free immigrants were arriving in increasing numbers and this encouraged property owners to believe there would be a high demand for building plots and farm land. The optimism was not confined to Sydney.

Both Melbourne and Adelaide were founded in 1836 as this boom accelerated in momentum. A frenzied land boom gripped Melbourne in its first four years, culminating in a two day Government auction in June 1840 when land in and around Melbourne was knocked down for £105 000.

As soon as that particular auction was over the land boom disintegrated but while it had lasted the leading Sydney and Hobart investors had bought and sold and bought again in Melbourne at prices which multiplied amazingly. Dr Charles Nicholson, for instance, one of Sydney's shrewdest and most successful investors, paid £712.10s.0d for 23 acres beside the Yarra in April 1840, which the pre-

ATTORNEY GENERAL BAXTER'S WINDFALL ABOVE THE 'LOO  
The sections outlined were bought by T W Smart in 1846.

vious owner had bought from the Crown for £154 only eleven months earlier.<sup>10</sup>

In the equally brand new town of Adelaide land speculation ran rampant too, beginning the pattern of tight rectangular subdivisions whose evidence remains in the change of name of suburbs in Adelaide every few blocks.<sup>11</sup>

Sydney at the height of the boom was just as busy. There is no single place to begin but we might join the escalator at November 1839, less than a year before depression set in. The major sale in November concerned Paddington land, belonging to James Underwood adjoining but not including his Glenmore distillery.

Underwood had arrived as a convict in the first years of the colony and now, fifty years later, wanted to return to England as a rich man and complete his life in a London mansion (which he did; he called the mansion Paddington House after his Sydney address, even though Paddington House was on the other side of the Thames from the London suburb of Paddington).

The Glenmore Estate, on the slope down to Rushcutters Bay from where Underwood Street now runs behind Oxford Street, was sold in 80 sections for about £16 000.<sup>12</sup>

In the next month, December 1839, the Macarthurs sliced the northern extremity of Pymont into forty-one pieces and raised £9 000 to finance Edward Macarthur's career as an Army Officer in the British Isles.<sup>13</sup> Some of the blocks were for waterfront purposes and some for middle class living.

There was no Pymont Bridge in those days and most of Ultimo was undeveloped, so, as with Balmain and the North Shore, the logical way to get to the city was by boat.

In the weeks to come, seeing these high prices and the shiploads of immigrants floating into Sydney Harbour, many more landowners brought their properties to their neighbours' notice. Market gardens on the Surry Hills were subdivided, sometimes reaching £1000 an acre, the Delamere estate on Darling Point brought in £13 000, and farmland just west of the city from the Enmore and Kingston estates was advertised too.<sup>14</sup> Many segments were large enough for a gentleman's villa. An auction of lots small enough and cheap enough for workmen's cottages was sufficiently unusual to draw comment.<sup>15</sup>



At a time when skilled tradesmen were striking for £3 a week a building site costing £500 or even £200 was a rich man's aberration. Yet some of these sites would be sold a few weeks later at a shiny profit.

**BOURKE TOWN:** Although there did not seem sufficient unhousted gentlemen to justify these hypothetical villas, as the autumn of 1840 turned to winter the rich and would-be rich redoubled their efforts. Auctioneers offered champagne lunches to those who attended sales of the extensive Five Dock peninsula, for instance.<sup>16</sup> A champagne lunch was the mark of an auctioneer who felt he had strong competition against his attempts to lure people into his auction room, yet who was confident of a fat commission if all the town was there and merry.

One auction room advertised Bourke Town. We can still see Bourke Town on the ground. It runs from Lyons Road in Drummoyne east towards the city, all the way down the slope to Iron Cove. We can see from the auctioneer's map a grid of streets named after colonial dignitaries, names they still bear. Nearly all of the streets are still very narrow today, designed for horses rather than for wide wheeled traffic. Exceptions are Thomson Street which runs down to the water and Plunkett Street which runs at right angles along the brow of the hill.

Thomson Street and Plunkett Street cross at the highest point of Drummoyne with superb views up and down harbour, and where these two boulevards meet there is a grand circular carriageway. Nowadays there is a tall traditional light standard in the middle and a plaque identifying it as the centre of Bourke Town, but on the original plan the circus was going to revolve around a statue of Sir Richard Bourke, the previous governor after whom this splendid town was named.

On the waterfront a market square was planned with public tanks on the little stream; on the hill near Governor Bourke's statue there would be a courthouse and watchhouse, and on Polding Street space for an Anglican and a Catholic Church.

How were people encouraged to buy Bourke Town in 1840? They were told it would be the new deepwater port for New South Wales. Instead of the wooldrags straining up Taverners Hill and going those extra miles through the congestion of Parramatta Road and George Street to the wharves in the city, they would turn off towards Bourke Town and transfer their loads to shipboard in Iron Cove.

If you were astute you would snap up land around the brand new seaport.

**GIPPS TOWN:** Also during the winter of 1840 a champagne auction sold Gipps Town, named after the current Governor. This was in Five Dock along Parramatta Road, just west of the junction with the Great North Road. Travellers along Parramatta Road or along the alternative parallel route of Queen Street which runs north of the Highway out of the Five Dock shopping centre, may know of the long narrow streets running between those two roads.

These make up Gipps Town, in 100 building sites along a grid of streets to be surrounded by orchards. The salesman claimed that

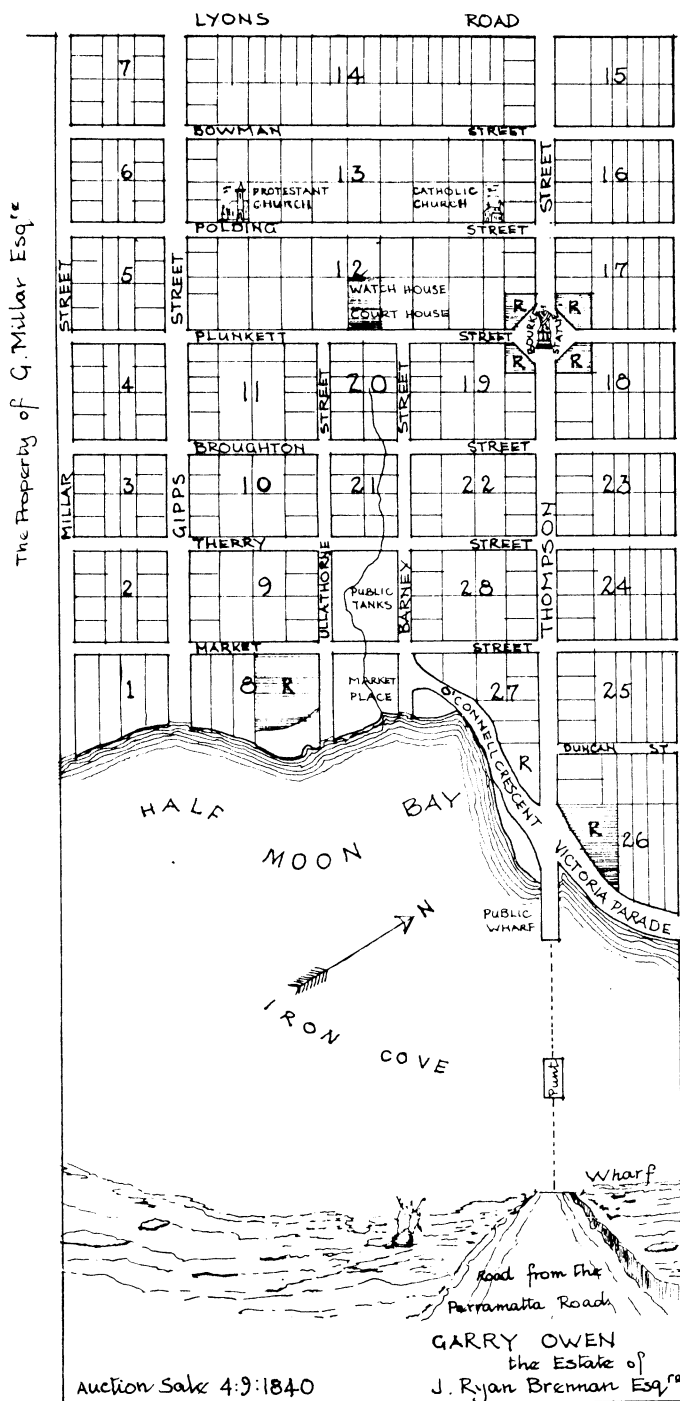
this would be a new half-way village between Parramatta and Sydney, or if you believed the rival's propaganda, a service centre where the road from the inland turned off to Bourke Town.

Within days of the first sales in Bourke Town and Gipps Town proprietors nearby in Ashfield, Burwood, Concord, Enfield, held up to public view their frontages on the highways out of the city.

The shores of the Harbour, accessible and less accessible, became unprecedentedly desirable in the winter of 1840. Bourke Town

**BOURKE TOWN AS IT WAS IMAGINED IN 1840**

*The streets survive in Drummoyne to this day.*



was merely one such project. After gentlemen and boatbuilders had shown a practical interest in the coastline of Balmain by settling there, and often selling again at a profit, neighbouring waterfronts came on the market, and the agents for the 400-acres Balmain Estate\* foreshadowed its partition.<sup>17</sup>

W C Wentworth raised £6600 when he parcelled about 100 acres of Vaucluse into 37 allotments, also in the middle of 1840.<sup>18</sup>

**ALBERT TOWN:** The most optimistic transaction involved half-acre lots amongst the rocks and scrub rising steeply out of Middle Harbour, impossible to reach from the city except by water and a long hike through the bush. The land sold was Figtree Point, roughly where Northbridge Golf Course is today. Three months later in 1840 the new owner dreamed up Albert Town on these cliffs, complete with Queen Street, King and Church and Gipps Streets - and Victoria Crescent.

He threw a champagne lunch and profitably surrendered his dream to even greater visionaries than himself.<sup>19</sup>

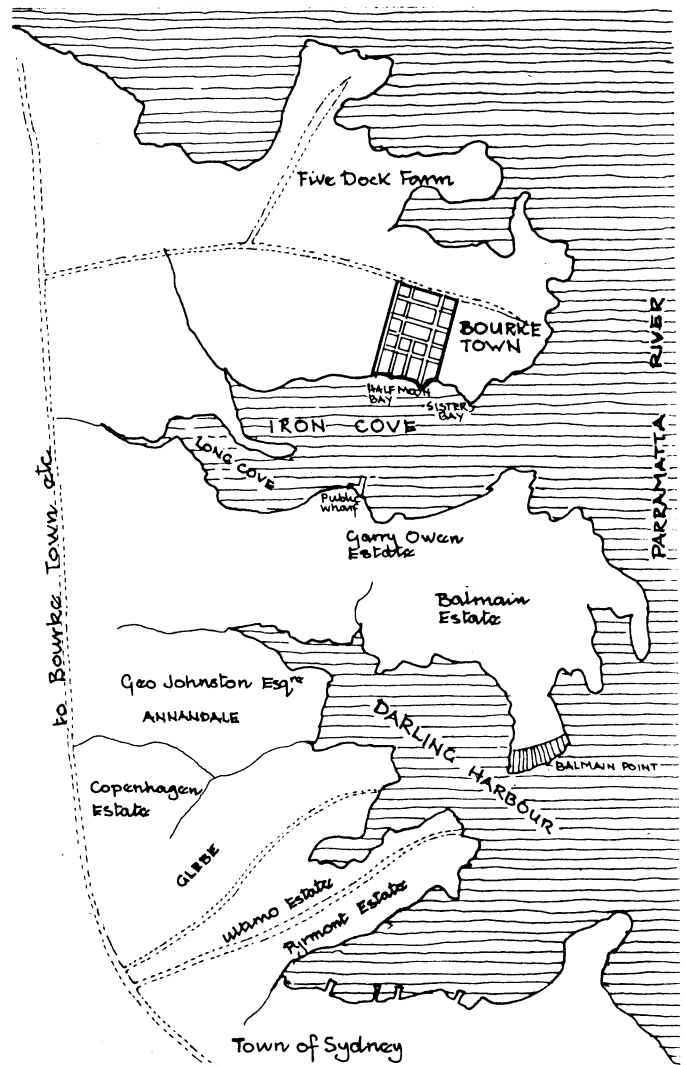
There is an exemplary sequel to this. The inventor of Albert Town was a man called Henry Brabazon. In the depths of depression there was published in Sydney a checklist of all the people who had so far been declared bankrupt; it was called *The Insolvent List of New South Wales*, edited by Henry Brabazon. His own name was on it.

**COUNTRY TOWNS:** Year by year in the thirties urban grids had been added to maps of the colony far from the city as well. The Governor gazetted towns across the countryside, and the most eminent investors prudently filled out their portfolios with surveyed plots in Dungog and Raymond Terrace, Yass and Broulee. Proprietors who happened to find a new town gazetted beside them did not neglect their opportunities. So in 1840 that patriotic Irish grazier, Henry O'Brien, advertised O'Connell Town as a suburb to the recently created government town of Yass.<sup>20</sup>

Similarly at Broulee, which is now a seaside resort for Canberra folk, halfway between Bateman's Bay and Moruya. A government town was gazetted there in 1837 around its shallow harbour. In January 1840 the first government sales divided up almost all the whole headland where the old lighthouse nowadays stands, and where the finest modern holiday houses now are. Leading Sydney figures between them bought the whole headland.

Immediately, the private landowners around the town brought out a map on which the streets which the Government surveyor had projected were continued beyond the town boundary well into the bush (the main road along the bayfront being called inevitably Victoria Parade). An auction was held in which these additional building sites and suggested farms were transferred to purchasers.<sup>21</sup>

\* The death of the owner of the Balmain Estate, John Borthwick Gilchrist, in Paris on 8 December 1840 and the subsequent Chancery litigation brought on by bequests made in his will prevented any land sales between 1840 and 1852. (ED NOTE)  
See P L Reynolds and P V Flottmann, *Half a Thousand Acres: Balmain, a history of the land grant*, pp 60-63.



**BOURKE TOWN IN RELATION TO ADJOINING ESTATES: 1840**  
The auctioneer's map gave no publicity to rivals whether Gipps Town or any other.

What was the attraction of Broulee? The advertising said that it would become the half-way port for trading ships and whaling ships passing between Sydney and Hobart, Sydney and Melbourne. And the advertising said it would become the major inlet and outlet for all the business of the Monaro region which was then opening up. The Government lighthouse and the Government wharf were thought to guarantee this. But Broulee is a very open roadstead, not very suitable for anchorage or wharfage. And the road from the inland is still a one and a half lane dirt track from Araluen winding around the cliffs above the Moruya River - a most difficult route for wooldrays to have followed.

Despite this, competing proprietors announced the birth of Garland Town a few miles south of Broulee at the mouth of the Moruya River; half-acres and small farms found buyers there in the winter of 1840. As for Broulee's future, W A Bayley has written "In 1848, at the height of its importance, it contained only four houses and 22 people. It had, however, a court-house with lock-up".<sup>22</sup>

VICTORIA TOWN: The most splendid invention in 1840 appears to be Victoria Town, twelve miles west of Bathurst. This is probably the place now known as Vittoria. The ground plan is replete with street names, with a majestic central drive 132 feet wide running through the metropolis from one end to the other, and a central park flanked by Victoria Crescent and by Albert Crescent. The auctioneer's map shows space for a market place, for Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Independent churches and for a Synagogue, and for burial grounds for each of these persuasions.

Its projector was reported happy with the prices obtained from Victoria Town at the end of July 1840.<sup>23</sup>

During these last months of bonanza more and more rural acres also were being carved up into smaller farms. The Macarthurs, for instance, tried to turn 2000 acres at North Camden into 30 farms in 1840.<sup>24</sup> The depression overtook the Macarthurs, however, just as it overtook the proprietors along the Hunter who invited yeomen investors to buy farms there, and as it overtook those purchasers of urban allotments who bought too late or held on too long, who found that there was a limit to the number of people who were willing and able to speculate.

There was the man for instance who had snapped up eleven of the eighty segments at James Underwood's Glenmore (Paddington) auction in November 1839 and who needed to unburden himself in November 1840. Not only is it likely that he received less than he had paid, but the terms which he demanded were also much less generous; at the end of 1839 the deposit had been 10% (bills or cash) and the remainder at six and twelve months, at the end of 1840 the deposit asked was 25% in cash and the rest at three and six months.<sup>25</sup>

MONTEFIORES: The process can be usefully summed up in the fate of Montefiores, a settlement on the Macquarie River near the present site of Wellington, sufficiently established to have its own classification as a village in the census of 1841. It belonged to the leading London firm of the same name. The Montefiore in Sydney decided in August 1840 that the partnership needed ready cash so he tried to convert part of the country estate into money. The sale of a new town and surrounding farms came off in the first days of 1841, too late to make a good sale, and too late for the London head office which went bankrupt in February 1841.

Travellers by Montefiores in the next few years found only a few cottages and a set of street signs standing above the long grass.<sup>26</sup>

What was happening in Australia in 1840 exemplified the conclusions presented by the historian Leonie Sandercock in her recent book *The Land Racket*. "Two linked beliefs" have persisted in Australia over the 200 years of settlement: "That it is impossible to lose money by investing in land — and that every man has the inalienable right to profit from his property".<sup>27</sup>

It exemplified these beliefs in heightened form, for the inflationary land boom which crested in that year was one of the

immediate precipitants of a half-decade of profound economic depression.

The usual explanation given for suburban sprawl in Australia has been the sheer extent of land available, which allows people to be prodigal of space. But if land is so freely available, the land booms become inexplicable. How can people be brought to pay high land prices whether for use or speculation, if land is thought to be in plentiful supply? High prices are only possible when people believe land is scarce. And high prices are only possible when people believe that there are other people around who will later pay as much or more for that land if ever the current owner wants to sell.

That is, land prices are what the seller can get away with, and the seller can get away with more if enough people are convinced that land is a commodity that traditionally brings a high profit or a regular income.

These odd beliefs and practices were so entrenched because Australia was a British settlement. There has been a lot of argument about the Agricultural and the Industrial Revolutions in Britain, and the relationship between them. It seems that the fundamental fact in rural England by the eighteenth century, more than anywhere else in Europe except perhaps the Netherlands, was that land had become a commodity from which income was to be derived.

In other areas of Europe land was a source of power and of wealth, but in England (for long complex historical reasons) it was in addition an unsentimental generator of income, either as a commodity that could be bought and sold or as the object of negotiated contracts between landlord and tenant. By 1800 about 80% of farming land in England was being rented, tenant farmers working for a profit while promising the proprietor a guaranteed cash income.

In many parts of Europe before 1800 property relations were set about with many more customary obligations, whereas in England there was at least the appearance of negotiated relationships between the proprietor and the effective user of the land, and a cash value was applicable to the property. A whole set of institutions, laws and political procedures had developed in England which turned landlord-tenant relationships, mortgages and other elements of landed life into much more business-like, profit-oriented activities than elsewhere in Europe.

It was not surprising that land in nineteenth century Australia was seen by its possessors as both the most prestigious and the most secure form of making money — and it must be emphasized, making money, not simply displaying and enjoying wealth — land for rent, land in mortgage, land for sale.

Thus the demand for land in Australia was not simply for its intrinsic use, for shelter or for food or for display, but also as a marketable commodity in its own right. It hardly seemed to matter to the investors in 1840 that there were not enough people to inhabit all the half-acre and two-acre sites that were changing hands. And although the depression of the 1840s brought down the price T W Smart, for example, had to pay for the Tivoli Estate in Kings Cross in 1846 it didn't

bring it down to a price that any but a rich man could pay.

Within a couple of years the calculations of Smart and the ambition of his customers thrust the price of the Macleay Street frontage skyhigh again.

There have perhaps been at least two consequences of this speculative tradition in land. One is that the cost of living in Australia has been high, as land costs are part of the cost of renting or owning a home, and of most other productive activities too. At the peak of a land boom as in the years up to 1840, and in the 1880s (not to come closer to the present), the effects have been particularly inflationary and have worsened and complicated the depressions that have followed.

The second consequence is that as ambi-

tious optimists pour more funds into raw land and into subdivisions well ahead of use, there tends to be a relative neglect of building and of farming in the regions where the land boom is taking place, meaning that shelter and food tend to be scarcer as well as dearer than they would have been without the land boom.

Thus paradoxically a preoccupation with making money out of land has often interfered with the uses to which the land can be put.

ED NOTE: The preceding article was read before the Royal Australian Historical Society at History House by Dr Dyster on 26 February 1980.

NOTE: For a summary of transfers of ownership in Five Dock, until and including the laying out of Gipps Town in 1840, see Abstract of Title of William Barton to several lots in Gipps Town, item 12, Box 12, Robert Towns Papers (Mitchell Library, MSS 1279).

#### REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. R Mansfield, Analytical View of the Census of NSW for the year 1846, Sydney 1847, p 17.
  2. M Kelly, Paddock Full of Houses, Sydney 1978.
  3. F Low, The City of Sydney Directory 1844-45, pp 153, 154.
  4. Report from the Select Committee on Slaughterhouses, Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council, New South Wales, 1848.
  5. Louise T Daley, 'J H Grose', Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol I, p 490.
  6. M Solling, 'The Bishopgate Estate', Leichhardt Historical Journal, Vol 1 (1971-2).
  7. The plan is at the end of item 17, 'The Title of Thomas Ware Smart to land at Woolloomooloo', Mrs Mary Sparke Papers, Mitchell Library, A5470. This item and collection provides many of the details for reconstructing the history of the Tivoli Estate.
  8. 'A M Baxter', ADB, Vol I, pp 74-5.
  9. G P Walsh, 'T W Smart', ADB, Vol VI, pp 138-9.
  10. Grant, 10 May 1839, and Sale, 9 April 1840, item 3, Sir Charles Nicholson Papers, Mitchell Library, A5323.
  11. M Williams, The Making of the South Australian Landscape, London 1974, Chapter 9.
  12. J Underwood and P Long to M Farrell, 7 February 1840, James Underwood Papers, Mitchell Library, A5444-2; D R Hainsworth, 'James Underwood', ADB, Vol II, pp 546-7.
  13. Pymont Estate Papers in Macarthur Papers, 2nd collection, Mitchell Library, A4244; Sydney Herald, 15 December 1839.
  14. Sydney Herald, 8, 10, 15 April 1840, 1 May 1840; Australian Ad. 14, 16 April 1840, Ad. 11, Ad. 18, Ad. 23 June 1840, Ad. 2 July 1840.
  15. Australian Ad. 2 July 1840.
  16. Advertisements and news items concerning sales on the Five Dock Peninsula (Bourke Town, Gipps Town, etc.) and neighbouring districts appeared in Australian and Sydney Herald throughout July 1840. A number of maps of the subdivisions are held in the Mitchell Library collection at M2811-1831 and M2811-1832.
  17. Australian Ad. 12 May 1840, Ad. 9, Ad. 30 June 1840; Sydney Herald 1 June 1840 (supplement).
  18. Australian 1 August 1840.
  19. Australian 18 June 1840; Sydney Herald 22 June 1840, 5 October 1840; Australasian Chronicle Ad. 17 September 1840.
  20. Australian Ad. 30 July 1840.
  21. Australian Ad. 9, 13 June 1840; The auctioneer's map for the sale of the private lots around Broulee is held in the Mitchell Library map collection at M2811-32/1840/1.
  22. W A Bayley, Behind Broulee, Moruya 1864, p 15.
  23. Australian Ad. 30 July 1840; Sydney Herald 3 August 1840; The auctioneer's map is held in the Mitchell Library at M2812-259/VIC/1840/1.
  24. Australian Ad. 2 July 1840; Camden Estate Papers (A4218) in Macarthur Papers, 2nd Collection, Mitchell Library.
  25. Compare items 92 and 94, Box 2, James Underwood Papers, loc. cit., with Australian Ad. 15 October 1840, Ad. 2 January 1841.
  26. J Hood, Australia and the East, London 1843, pp 208-9; Australian Ad. 15 August 1840, Ad. 15 October 1840, Ad. 2 January 1841; Israel Getzler, 'J B Montefiore', ADB, Vol II, pp 250-1.
  27. Op. cit., Melbourne 1979, p 11.
- (FROM p27)
- 49 RGD OST Bk 28 No 597 (last deed exec in NSW shows Pearson at Mt Ridley, Vic); Pearson did not die in Vic proved by Vic Govt Statist; State Lib of Vic informs that Pearson lived at Yuroke and Mt Ridley from 1848; Port Phillip Gazette, 24 August 1848, birth of a son to "the lady of Capt Pearson"
  - 50 Census of 1828, p297 and see index; SG, 1822; SG, 1 May 1823.
  - 51 MBI.
  - 52 Census of 1828, p297 and index.
  - 53 Aust., 6 February 1828.
  - 54 Aust., 30 January 1829; 2 July 1828.
  - 55 SMH, 8 February 1844; 14 Dec 1849.
  - 56 SMH, 22 December 1847 (his father, John P snr d. 2 April 1837 at Charlotte Place, SMH, 3 April 1847; his brother, John P jnr d. 15 July 1844 aged 41 at North Shore, SMH, 18 July 1844); RGD OST Bk30 No767 for John Francis P, heir-at-law of George William P.
  - 57 Aust., 2 April 1839, p2; SMH, 4 November 1839; 19 October 1939.
  - 58 SMH, 1 December 1840; 29 April 1842; 26 June 1843.
  - 59 Brabazon owned all the land on both sides of Little Nicholson St which he subdivd in 1841; see also Aust., 3 October 1840, p3a for Brabazon's sale of land at Albert Town and Balmain on 30 September 1840; see also B Dyster, "Inventing the Suburbs..." in this Journal.
  - 60 The published title was Insolvent List of New South Wales: February 1842 to April 1843, ML Q347.7/B.
  - 61 SMH, 20 February 1844, p2 (per Clara); 24 February 1844 (per Palestine); 14 September 1843 (insolvency).
  - 62 Aust., July 1837; SMH, 4 Jan 1842, p3b.
  - 63 SMH, 19 May 1842, p2; 2 Oct 1843, p2.
  - 64 Sydney District Council, Assessment Sheets, Balmain Estate, ML D65, D66; Archives Office (AO), License Butts, No 15,407,557; SMH, 5 May 1842, p3. (Refs 65-97 will appear in Part II in LHJ No 12 1983)

# PEACOCK, WESTON, PEARSON and PAUL

## How "suburbanisation" began in Balmain

1- Peacock Point to Darling Street Wharf

PART I\*

Peter Reynolds

Balmain's houses, shops and streets grew up on the scrubby, rocky hillsides around the water's edge from 1840 onwards.

But how and why did the "take-off" from bush to settled suburb take place in the way that it did? What forces determined the change? Who were the people involved? What were their occupations? What housing and shops were built? What streets were laid out? How did they get their names? What industries developed? How did the parks come to be? What original buildings still survive?

The story of Australia's development has largely been told in terms of the outback. The broad sweep of our written history soars above local, concentrated development. The rural context, certainly important for examining the ideas and beliefs which make up the nation's heritage, is not, however, the only area for historical sources.

Urbanisation, how and why Europeans clung together in pockets of settlement in this vast country, occurs as the result of economic, geographical, demographical, political and social forces. The characteristics of this human organization offer a mine of information for students of Australian history.<sup>1</sup>

The road to urbanisation is made up of the many paving blocks of "local" developments which come together to form suburbs.

"Suburbanisation", then, offers a multitude of characteristics in which are locked up the secrets of how suburbs came to be. They contain answers to the questions posed above.

Under the microscope the characteristics of "suburbanisation" reveal a wealth of detailed information about the origin of communities, the derivation of place names, and the resultant shape of the built environment.

"Suburbanisation" sometimes flows from the break-up of the great houses but, in the case of Balmain, it began with the buying and selling of land.

Buying land in the late 1830s in New South Wales was an investment. Selling land in the early 1840s, on the other hand, was a game of chance.<sup>2</sup>

\* Part II will appear in *Leichhardt Hist J*, No12, 1983



PART OF GILCHRIST'S SUBDIVISION: 1836  
Lot numbers shown are from Surveyor Armstrong's plan  
(catalogued under P L Bemi, Mitchell Library)

Unlike the dynastic landholding system in Europe, the English idea of land was that it was just as much a saleable commodity as wool, wheat, shoes, or any other article to be sold at profit. The English idea of trading in land was transported to New South Wales along with those Englishmen who founded white settlement here.

In the Colony in the late 1830s the Government and business community observed the doctrine of *laissez-faire* in land dealings with the same relish as in any other article of commerce. This lack of regulation, combined with the force of human greed, and the ease of obtaining land, caused land to be over-supplied. Speculators' borrowings exceeded their power to repay. Expenditure in excess of income and outstanding accounts brought many traders to bankruptcy.

In Sydney, in 1840, there was a rush to subdivide holdings, large and small, in a desperate attempt to capitalise on the land market while conditions held.

This rush made the already shaky land market very volatile.

Around the shores of Sydney harbour and in the inner area, seductive advertisements announced land sales. Suburbs were about to be made. "Suburbanisation" was about to begin.

The *laissez-faire* business attitude carried through into the cutting up of land into small lots. There were no constraints on minimum area of allotments; no controls on the width of streets; building regulations were minimal (and confined to the city) and planning requirements had not even been imagined.

There were no special requirements to be met for connections to services. Gas supply was in its infancy, water reticulation did not exist and electricity for domestic consumption had not been invented.

The lack of rules for cutting up land certainly applied to Balmain in the 1840s. Speed and maximum return before the bubble burst were the determinants.

Those dealing in land in Balmain, in most cases, tried to keep these factors in mind. Peacock and Paul were two who tried, but only Paul succeeded. Pearson and Weston, for quite different reasons, rode out the storm of the 1840s depression.

Each member of the quartette bought their portions at the first public auction of the Balmain Estate on 24 October 1836.<sup>3</sup> Because they bought at the beginning of the land boom, they sat back and waited for prices to appreciate.

When disturbing trends in the economy became evident, Paul moved quickly and made good. Peacock was involved in many other interests and was to suffer for being too slow off the mark.

**CAPTAIN PEACOCK:** John Jenkins Peacock, a well set up Sydney merchant and ship owner, bought his four acres on the point that took his name for £65 per acre. Peacock has his roots deep in colonial soil having been born in 1798. His parents were Thomas and Elizabeth Peacock who were married at St John's, Parramatta, on 5 September 1790.<sup>4</sup>

Peacock began his adult life as a farmer and in May 1821 received a grant of 250 acres on the Hawkesbury at Lower Portland Head (between Ebenezer and Wiseman's Ferry). By 1828 he had 70 acres under cultivation and employed four "free" and four "government" servants.<sup>5</sup>

His trading instinct developed early and in 1823 he secured the right to supply salt pork to the Government commissariat in Sydney. In the following year he won a contract to supply wheat also.<sup>6</sup>

Farms on the Hawkesbury were important sources of food for the growing Colony. Produce could be shipped down the Hawkesbury to the open sea, then down the coast and through the Heads to the commissariat wharf at Sydney Cove.

This sea journey was very likely the prelude to Peacock's later shipping activities.

Peacock seems to have been a sound member of his community and demonstrated his faith in 1825 by a handsome donation to the Wesleyan Missionary Society. His religious zeal, however, did not prevent him from engaging in the liquor trade. His success was tempered, however, by a fine in 1827 for failing to observe government regulations in the sale of spirits.<sup>7</sup>

Farmer Peacock diversified his interests and became Captain Peacock by obtaining his master's ticket at some time before 1827. On 8 February of that year, he married Maria, the 22-year old daughter of Edward Parsonage of Sydney, at St Philip's.<sup>8</sup>

Their first son, John Thomas, was born on 24 November 1827 followed by William Edward on 21 November 1829. The first daughter, Elizabeth Maria arrived at the Lower Portland Head farm on 7 July 1832.<sup>9</sup>

It seems that Maria Peacock was left to mind the farm while Peacock was away at sea. His sea-faring had got off to a bad start with

the loss of the sloop *Brisbane* off Port Macquarie in 1825 but he had more success with the barque *Sir Francis Freeling*.<sup>10</sup>

This shift to sea-trading necessitated his establishing premises at Sydney's Market Wharf in 1834. His coastal trading at that time consisted of timber and coal. He had entered partnership with Michael Gannon, his brother-in-law, and trading as Peacock and Gannon bought the Darlinghurst Mill in November 1835.<sup>11</sup>

In the following year he added his name to a memorial to the Governor and demonstrated his worthiness by subscribing to the Patriotic Fund. 1836 was an important year for Peacock - his business success allowed him to buy his four acres of good waterfront land (lots 1 and 2) at Balmain opposite his stores and wharf at Miller's Point.<sup>12</sup>

Peacock continued to expand and in 1837 he bought Bettington's Wharf and Stores and became a shareholder in the Union Assurance Co in 1839. As well as his waterfront activities, he was the proprietor of the Dundee Arms in Gloucester Street in 1840. At that time he owned the barque *Sir William Wallace* which was engaged with "South Sea fishery". His other ships were the *Lunar* and the brig *Alfred* on the Clarence River timber trade.<sup>13</sup>

His star continued to rise and in April 1842 he was appointed a director of the Union Assurance Co. Civic acclaim was his when he was elected to represent the Gipps Ward on the first Sydney City Council on 1 November 1842.<sup>14</sup>

Domestic sadness, however, balanced his rise to fame. The single share that Peacock held in the Sydney College became redundant with the death of his son William Edward on 2 February 1841 aged eleven years and two months. This sadness was offset to some extent by the birth of Mary Jane on 13 November 1842 but she too died on 4 April 1849 aged six years and five months.<sup>15</sup>

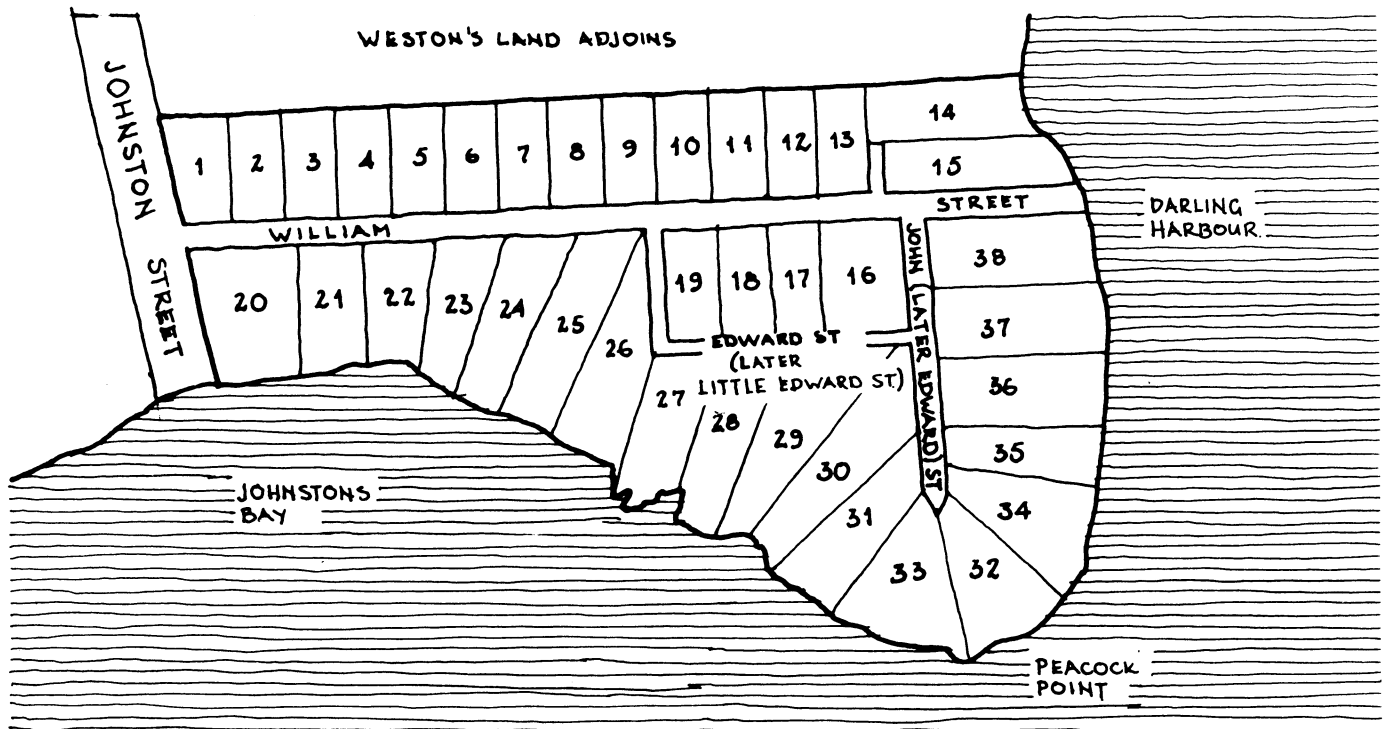
**PEACOCK'S BALMAIN SALE:** Peacock was beginning to feel the strain of his business expansion at the beginning of 1841 and commissioned surveyor John Armstrong to subdivide his four acres at Balmain. The land was rough and rocky but Armstrong cut it up into reasonably sized allotments which observed the topographical features. More importantly, the layout gave the maximum number of lots for sale.<sup>16</sup>

There were 38 lots in all and most were rectangular and based on a 40 feet street frontage.

Access to the Peacock subdivision was by one of the three first streets to be laid in Balmain. Armstrong himself had planned these for the 1836 auction sale. Darling Street (or Great Ferry Road as it was often called) was the spine coming up from Darling Harbour while Nicholson and Johnston Streets were the shoulder blades.<sup>17</sup>

Armstrong chose the point where Johnston Street plunged to meet the level of the waterfront at Johnstons Bay for his entry roadway to Peacock's land. The new street, William Street, was set parallel to the cliff face, which formed a natural boundary to Weston's land, and ran along one of the few level parts of the land down to the water's edge at Darling Harbour.

John Street (later called Edward Street)



PEACOCK'S SUBDIVISION: 1841. Edward Street shown here became Little Edward Street and John Street was renamed Edward Street. Illoura Reserve (Peacock Point Park) occupies part of lots 12 and 13, all of lots 14 and 15, and lots 32 to 38. St Mary's Street did not come through until c1865.

turned off at right angles to William Street and gave access to the fan-shaped lots on Peacock Point.

Connecting these two major streets was Edward Street (later called Little Edward Street) which bent at right angles to link them both.

It seems that Peacock named his streets after his two sons, John Thomas and William Edward.

In a flurry of confidence Peacock released his 38 lots for sale on 31 May 1841 under the heading "Salus Populi - Peacock's Water-side Dock and Shipping Property".

Mr Stubbs was given the task of laying the delights of the property before the Sydney land-buying public. He was well versed in the language of the auction room and put up Balmain as the:

*Ne plus ultra* south east portion or circular head of this valuable estate which, but for the strait or entrance into Darling Harbour, would have constituted a very fair proportion of Sydney itself. As it is however, Balmain is to the town of Sydney what Deptford is to the City of London, and the daily increase of Ferry boats, successfully plying and in constant demand, shows that there is a rising connection and mutual benefit rapidly taking place between both places.

Ten minutes only are taken in passing to and fro - so that all shipping and building operations can be transacted and inspected without any interruption to ordinary town business.<sup>18</sup>

The allotments themselves received Stubbs' lavish praise as being subdivided: with the greatest care and exact limitation, lest any omission might deprive a purchaser of

his fair ratio of advantages and gain. The greater proportion of the allotments give excellent and commanding frontages with sufficient depth of water for large class ships to drop anchor safely alongside, having the crews at the same time apart from the temptations and allurements of the town.<sup>19</sup>

Mr Stubbs' enticing language encouraged the working man to buy but at the same time completely distorted the real economic plight of the land market when he further claimed that:

*The capitalist, whether of large extent or more limited means, cannot fail in speculating upon this property. The tradesman and careful operative has now as good a chance as his neighbour of improving his circumstances and exercising his foresight and prudence. For as Sydney, at the present day, has been paying back a thousand fold upon original purchases, so in like manner will be measured back hereafter to those who now become possessors of Balmain.*<sup>20</sup>

Rising to almost fever-pitch he carolled:

*An hour in the value of property of this kind often raises its price fifty per cent. Bargains in land allotments are not to be "picked up" at all times - and those who are best acquainted with the advantages of speculation, invariably agree that it is only by a quick and resolute determination when the hammer is about to fall, that these purchases are beneficial, answering the most sanguine expectations.*<sup>21</sup>

Despite the pulsing tempo of Stubbs' writing, the hammer did not fall as often as he, Peacock and Peacock's creditors would have liked. The sale was only partially successful, realising from £2.0.0 to £5.11.6 per foot of frontage, as the following table shows:<sup>22</sup>

TABLE I - PEACOCK'S BALMAIN LAND SALE: 1841

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
2,3	Peacock	1841	Sims, J	Licensed victualler	£130
4,5	"	1842	Coss, T	Publican	£130
6,7	"	1842	O'Brien, PH	Labourer	£130
10,11	"	1841	Turnbull, J	Cooper	£120
16	"	1841	Todd, W	Gentleman	£120
17,18	"	1841	Dennis, W	Butcher	-
20,21	"	1841	Rose, J	Farmer	£360
28	"	1841	Brown, J	Shipbuilder	£114
35,36	"	1841	Mossman, T	M Mariner	£275.12.0
37	"	1842	Talbot, G	Ship and anchor smith	£200

**PEACOCK IN DIFFICULTIES:** Peacock's shipping activities continued to provide an income but the many uncollected debts owing to him became an ever-increasing burden that could not be forestalled for much longer. In February 1843, he tried to increase his income by stepping up his advertising. He urged all and sundry to buy his ten tons of coconut oil and a few tons of sperm oil. In the same month he offered the Dundee Arms for lease.<sup>23</sup>

Financial problems increased throughout 1843. Peacock's income continued to fall and his creditors, themselves feeling the pressures of an extremely depressed economy, began to seek recompense. Peacock was badly over-extended and could not pay. Two of his largest creditors gave notice of their intention to seize his entire estate and it was only by effective legal work that he was able to preserve his assets for distribution over all the creditors.

On 2 September 1843 Justice Burton granted an order of sequestration and Peacock was declared insolvent. Peacock was not a man to take things lightly as one of his detractors discovered. In September 1843 only the actions of a magistrate in binding him over to keep the peace prevented him from seeking satisfaction in a duel with John Little for an unspecified insult.<sup>24</sup>

On a more balanced level, the best that Peacock could offer his creditors was ten shillings in the £1.0.0 but it was his partner Michael Gannon who provided a temporary respite.

Of Peacock's total liability of £9027.7.5 Gannon was owed £1576.11.8, exceeded only by the Bank of Australia's claim for £2900.13.6. Gannon, on 23 May 1844, endorsed promissory notes on Peacock's behalf to the full value of the total liability. Peacock, in return, conveyed to Gannon all his real estate which included his city allotments in Gloucester Street, and at Miller's Point, land at Kingstons Farm Canterbury, at Patonga Creek, at Mangrove Creek, in Wollongong, on the Shoalhaven River, at Gosforth, in Geelong, and his half share in the bakery and mill at Darlinghurst, and land at Waitemata, New Zealand.<sup>25</sup>

TABLE II - IRVING'S DISPOSAL OF PEACOCK'S UNSOLD LAND

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1,30	Irving	1847	Taylor, R	Gentleman	£39.5.0
19	"	1846	Suddy, J	Slater	£12
29 & ) 31-34)	"	1847	Killeen, P	Carpenter	£189.10.6
8,9, ) 12-15) 22-27)	"	1847	Want, J	Esquire	£196.10.6

Ominously, on 12 March 1845, Gannon in turn was declared insolvent. He had been unable to meet any of Peacock's debts and the promissory note transaction of the previous year seems largely to have been a holding exercise. This time both Gannon and Peacock were required to surrender all interest in their property and, in the case of Peacock, to convey all real estate to the Official Assignee, Clark Irving, who was appointed by the Supreme Court. William Salmon Deloitte, a respected Sydney merchant, joined in the transaction as a trustee on behalf of the creditors.<sup>26</sup>

As well as the assets already stated, Peacock was forced to surrender his brig *Guide* and her cargo of 3000 feet of Cedar, nine casks of pork and five of beef, then in New Zealand.

Also surrendered were his and Maria's furniture, household goods and chattels. All that they had left were their "wearing apparel and necessaries to an amount of £25". Irving sold the remaining Balmain lots to help satisfy Peacock's creditors.

When Irving and Deloitte had settled his business commitments, Peacock decided to try new waters. He had previously introduced his son John Thomas to the New Zealand trade in 1842 when he was just fifteen so they knew the country well.<sup>27</sup>

Peacock senior chose Lyttleton in the Canterbury district of the South Island for his new home where he and Maria lived out the remainder of their lives in prosperity. After many years of successful trading under the name of JT Peacock and Co, Peacock retired and handed full control to John Thomas.

John Jenkins Peacock died a rich and respected man at Fendale Town near Lyttleton on 29 July 1868.<sup>28</sup>

**GEORGE WESTON OF HORSLEY:** The second of the quartet of speculators to buy land at Balmain East was George Edward Nicholas Weston of Horsley near Liverpool. Lieutenant Weston of the East India Company's Bengal Army came to Sydney in the *Vesper* on 14 March 1829. Without delay he proposed marriage to Blanche, the second daughter of George Johnston (1864-1823) of Annandale. Their marriage was celebrated on 21 May 1829 at St James', Sydney.<sup>29</sup>

After the honeymoon, George took his bride back to India for two years where their first son, George junior, was born only to die in infancy at Madras on 21 May 1831. When promoted to captain, George Weston retired from the Company's service and brought Blanche and their two other children back to Sydney on the *Caroline* on 31 July 1831.<sup>30</sup>

Blanche Weston had inherited the 2000 acre King's Gift from her father and George built a house there which he called Horsley after the ancestral home in Surrey. The house, designed as an "Indian bungalow", was built of bricks fired on the property. It was fitted out with the teak timber and brass fittings brought back from India. Blanche had the advantage of a "team of Indian servants" to help in the house. Edward Henry Weston, the second son, was born at Horsley on 30 August 1833.<sup>31</sup>

George Weston became a prosperous farmer and as an investment bought the two-and-a-half acre lot 3 at the October 1836 auction of the Balmain land. He paid £60 per acre for it -



£5 less than Peacock because of its relatively short length of waterfront.

Less than a month later an event occurred which establishes a link between Weston and the third person to buy land at Balmain. The sad notice containing news of the death of James Sturgeon Pearson, the seven month old son of a Captain James Pearson of Darling Harbour, also included that he died at Captain Weston's "lodge near Liverpool". (The "lodge" is Horsley still standing and made famous by Hardy Wilson's fine drawing.)<sup>32</sup>

There was in fact a strong bond between the two for Pearson, at Weston's request, bid for lot 3 in his (Pearson's) own name thus saving his friend from making the long journey to Sydney for the auction.<sup>33</sup>

Weston made no attempt to profit from his land preferring instead to allow Pearson to use the land as he saw fit. Actually Pearson came to be regarded as the owner of lot 3 but there is no evidence to suggest that he derived any profit from this supposed ownership.

George and Blanche Weston continued to prosper at Horsley raising cattle for slaughter and horses for sale in Calcutta. In 1844 George was appointed to the "Commission of Peace" and in that year won prizes for his farming efforts at the Penrith Agricultural Show.<sup>34</sup>

George Weston died on 26 November 1856 and his Balmain land passed jointly to his widow Blanche and to his eldest surviving son, Edward Henry. Because Weston senior had died intestate many years elapsed before the property could be sold.<sup>35</sup>

It was not until 1861 that lot 3 was subdivided into twelve lots. By that time the other three portions were well under way to being "suburbanised".

**CAPTAIN PEARSON:** James Pearson's interests were very similar to Peacock's - shipping, merchandise and land. He held his master's ticket and was skipper of the *Lady of the Lake* which he sailed on trading voyages.<sup>36</sup>

On 27 June 1835, Pearson married Jane, the third daughter of John Mackey, a leading Sydney merchant. It was their first-born son who died at Horsley in the following year.<sup>37</sup>

A far greater tragedy, however, was to occur in 1839 at the end of one of Pearson's voyages to the Swan River (Perth) settlement. On 18 November of that year, Jane died aged 21 and their second infant son also died four days later.<sup>38</sup>

Pearson bought the two-acre lot 4 at Balmain East in October 1836 for £60 per acre and proceeded to build a wharf with two cottages on it for his men. By May 1841 he had built a fine stone "mansion" (11 Pearson Street) and had subdivided the land allowing a sixteen feet wide roadway (Weston Street, see later) to cross the property to give access to his wharf.<sup>39</sup>

Again Mr Stubbs gavel-pounding oratory urged the sale of Balmain land upon the public. A little less than one month after he had done his best for Peacock, Stubbs in June 1841, told of the joy that would befall intending purchasers of Captain Pearson's land because:

*In neither of those two great countries, Port Phillip or Adelaide, have they in comparison, one foot of frontage with depth of water like this.*<sup>40</sup>

With depression clouds looming on the horizon his language became more and more exaggerated:

*Only reflect upon the population around the residences daily springing up of our most influential men in Sydney, and take also in to consideration the fact of there being always upward of "one thousand buyers" always on the look out for Balmain property and it may readily be conceived why such immense prices are given for allotments.*<sup>41</sup>

Stubbs' catch-cry for the land was to call it the "front face of Balmain". He ensured that his words would carry weight with a diverse readership by going beyond economic and topographical matters into the temperance area. He knew that many leading speculators were facing ruin and so he aimed his darts at the self-improving, and very likely debt-free, working man:

*Following in the wake of successful speculation, it is impossible not to recommend to the speculating world, commercial interests, (and) the tradesman mechanic, not to lose the opportunity presented to them, on the 14th June, of purchasing some of these allotments so as to have the satisfaction of saying "I also am a freeholder of Balmain".*<sup>42</sup>

To encourage working men to come to him, Stubbs put forward that his auction rooms were not daunting places, but were places of "mutual welfare" where:

*the unanimity and cordiality circulating through the room when any of Balmain is offered calls forth some acknowledgement to those, who now take such a prominent lead in these purchases and give such flattering testimony of public approbation due to the "Industrious Tradesmen and Operative Mechanics" who may now be entirely disabused of the charges of Intemperance so often laid against them. And that instead of wasting the substance of their earnings in loose living, they put aside the profits of their labour and having got a fair sum together, invariably attend the Mart and lay it out in the judicious purchase of an Allotment or two.*

*They thus, most imperceptably, are becoming a very preponderating and valuable Class of Freeholders in the Colony.*<sup>43</sup>

Sensing the appeal that such urgings might have on the feminine dependants of this new "valuable Class of Freeholders", Stubbs drove the sword of temperance into the hilt:

*It will remain a curious as well as an interesting "Philosophical Phenomenon of the Day" if the Temperance Question" should (after all said and done) derive its greatest interest from an Auction Room; and that the abstinence from thence should send forth her willing pupils triumphantly!*<sup>44</sup>

Becoming almost Biblical in his zeal for the betterment of the populace, he went on:

*The "Hammer" therefore would seem continually raising up, at each fall, a new and acceptable member of society. Surely the principle will be thoroughly supported by those of every sect and denomination who are so strenuously co-operating in a cause they are so desirous of accomplishing.*

*Terms liberal and made known at time of sale.*<sup>45</sup>

Allowing for Mr Stubbs' exaggeration, present-day evidence reveals that the physical characteristics of the land agree with his description for:

Stone there is in abundance, and of the best quality ... It only requires some man of energy and spirit to step forward and rescue the magnificent freestone which there abounds from its inorganic bed, and it would seem that no situation in the harbour is more calculated, or offers greater facilities, for constructing buildings of the first magnitude as warehouses for storing oil or wood, or cargoes generally, or premises for boat builders, coopers, ropemakers, and in fact every sort of business where convenience of distance, economy of means and extent of purpose are requisite.<sup>46</sup>

The waterfront from Darling Street around to Peacock Point afforded excellent stone for a variety of uses:

*The stone cut away from the wharf comes in for the purposes of building - an immense saving of expense, hard labour being all that is required. The supply of stone is in great demand for ballast, and may be considered as a bonus on the purchase.*<sup>47</sup>

As well as the cottages on his wharf and the "Mansion" Pearson built a row of four stone cottages facing present-day Pearson Street and a weatherboard house (Derwent Cottage) between 1841 and 1844.

**RUMOURS OF FRAUD:** At this time, disturbing rumours were heard regarding the validity of the Balmain land titles. The legal right to sell the land at the 1836 public auction was vested in Frederick Parbury, a Sydney merchant. He had been given this right through a power-of-attorney signed in 1833 by the owner of the Balmain Estate, Professor John Gilchrist.

The legality of this ownership was challenged in the English Courts by Gilchrist's heir-at-law after his death on 8 January 1841. When news of this reached Sydney in August 1841 a public meeting was called to thrash out just who had the power to sell. Those who had bought land already were struggling to re-sell at quick profit before the market crumbled. They certainly did not need the added difficulty of the validity of their titles being brought into question.

Captain Pearson was chosen to chair the meeting of 17 August 1841. He quite sensibly read a statement to the meeting based on a report from Gilchrist's physician that the Professor was of sound mind when he made over the land to Parbury. Pearson further allayed fears of misrepresentation by displaying a statement by one of Gilchrist's trustees and, with Parbury's consent, invited all concerned to inspect the power-of-attorney documents.

Through all these proceedings Pearson acted sagaciously and his business acumen led him to delay indefinitely any further moves to capitalise on his Balmain land on the existing unstable market.

Pearson placed his financial affairs in the hands of his father-in-law, John Mackey, leased his houses and resumed his seafaring activities. His mother-in-law Sarah Mackey lived on at Hillside House after the death of Mackey. When she died on 25 October 1849 the house was occupied by Ralph Mackey, solicitor, who very likely managed Pearson's affairs. Ralph Mackey called the house Eglantine Cottage where his son was born on 5 July 1853.<sup>48</sup>

Nothing more is known of Captain James



26-28 DARLING STREET, BALMAIN: 1840. One-and-a-half storey semi-detached stone pair with "dropped" dormer windows.

Pearson up to the time of his selling his Balmain land and houses to John Croft, a Sydney merchant in August 1853. Pearson left Sydney and went to live at Mt Ridley in Victoria and had no further dealings in New South Wales.<sup>49</sup>

**GEORGE WILLIAM PAUL:** The fourth speculator in Balmain land was the one who foresaw the economic collapse of the 1840s. George William Paul was the first of the four to put his land up for sale and reap a quick profit.

Mr and Mrs John Paul and their sons George William and John junior "came free" to Sydney aboard the *Minstrel* in 1821. In the following year George William became Deputy Superintendent of the Carters' Barracks. He was promoted Superintendent on 1 May 1823.<sup>50</sup>

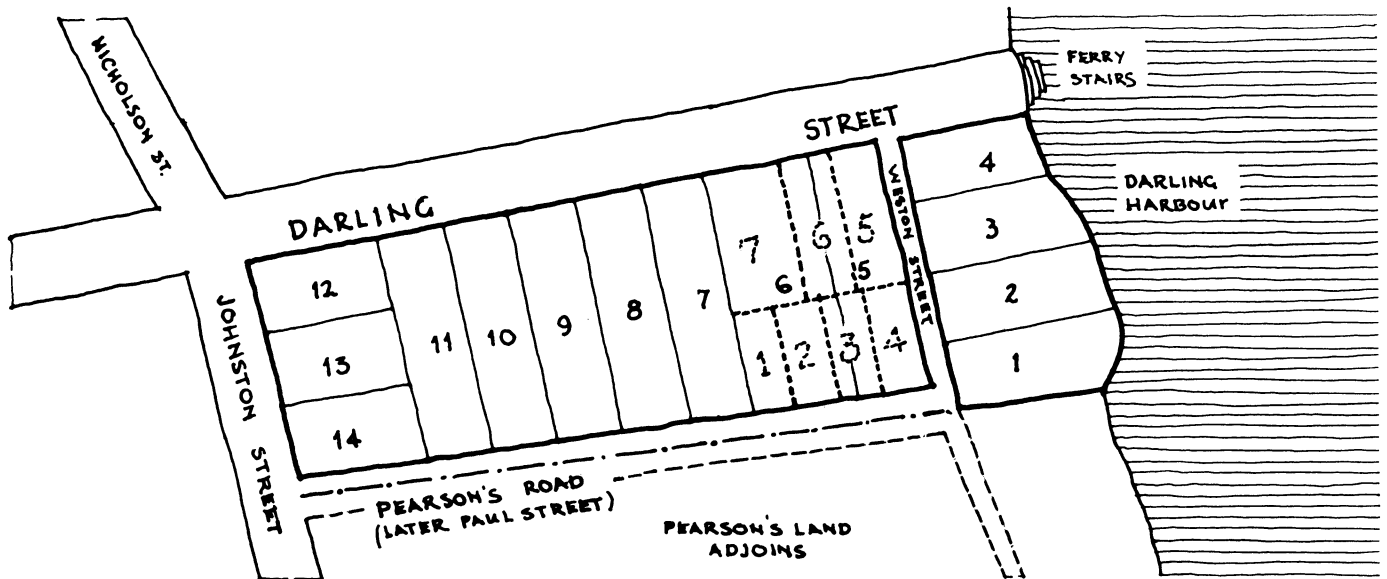
On 30 October 1823 the 25-year old George William Paul married Sarah Jane Dalton, a "free" woman then 18 years old. Their first son, George junior, was born in 1828. Another son, Charles William Paul followed on 18 May 1831.<sup>51</sup> After establishing himself on a good tract of farming land on the Saltwater Creek (sometimes called Mullet Creek) near Camden, Paul resigned from his post at the Carters' Barracks. In 1828 his 640-acre farm had 30 acres under cultivation and a herd of 20 cattle grazed on a further ten cleared acres.<sup>52</sup>

His father John Paul was a well-to-do Sydney merchant but tired of the business and, in 1828, handed over the reins to his sons George William and John junior.<sup>53</sup>

In the same year the two brothers became proprietors of the *Australian* newspaper. In 1829 their firm of Paul and Co became one of the Colony's leading auctioneers and these activities gave George William the experience that was to help him through the 1840s land crisis.<sup>54</sup>

After his purchase of lots 5 and 6 at Balmain in 1836 for £72 per acre Paul continued to buy and sell land in New South Wales. On 7 February 1844, his daughter Tempest Jane Paul married John Tindale and his second daughter Margaret Isabella married W B Lambert on 9 July 1849.<sup>55</sup>

George William Paul was not to enjoy the fruits of these unions for he died suddenly at the early age of 49 at his house in Pyrmont on 21 December 1847. His eldest surviving son, John Francis Paul (probably born in 1829) inherited the real estate as son and heir.<sup>56</sup>



PAUL'S SUBDIVISION: 1841. Darling Street (Great Ferry Road), Nicholson Street and Johnston Street were Balmain's first three streets. Pearson's Road was re-named Paul Street and the narrow road leading to Weston's land became Weston Street. Brabazon's subdivision of Paul's lots 5,6 into new lots 1-7 is shown in broken line.

**PAUL'S BALMAIN SALE:** Unlike Peacock, George William Paul did not over-reach himself in his business dealings. Because he decided to sell his Balmain land while the market was still buoyant, he was able to advertise relatively large lots. Because Peacock waited until the depression was upon him his lots were cut up small to attract those with large and small means in a desperate bid to realise as much money as possible.

Once again, Armstrong was the surveyor but this time he had the advantage of a long frontage to Darling Street. Another selling attraction was the frontage to Darling Harbour. To allow maximum benefit to be derived from the four waterfront lots decided upon, Armstrong cut a 16 feet roadway through at right angles to Darling Street. This road later was extended across Pearson's adjoining land to end at Weston's property and so it became known as Weston Street (i.e. the road to Weston's).

Paul also had the benefit of Johnston Street available to him and all that remained was to survey an access roadway separating the Paul and Pearson portions. Armstrong could see that Pearson would need a roadway as well and so he arranged the Paul lots to provide half the width of a normal road with the expectation that Pearson would provide the other half.

The easiest way to enter Pearson's estate was down just such a street which was consequently called "Pearson's Road" (later called Paul Street).

By this means, in mid-1840, Paul was able to advertise lots with 50 feet frontage with access to both Darling Street and "Pearson's Road". At the Johnston Street end three 50 feet wide lots fronted on to that street.

Paul's shrewdness in the quick sales of July and August 1840 brought in a total of £1783.0.0.

TABLE III - PAUL'S BALMAIN LAND SALE: 1840

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1	Paul	1840	Smidmore, T	Publican	£151.14.6
2	"	1840	Woodall, I	-	£104
3,4	"	1840	Brabazon, HL	Auctioneer	£500
5	"	1840	Brabazon, HL	"	£118.15.0
6	"	1840	Brabazon, HL	"	£330
7	"	1840	Davy, H	Bookkeeper	£85
8,9	"	1840	Thurlow, W	Esquire	£168.11.0
10	"	1840	Hayes, R	Builder	£90
11	"	1840	Stubbs, T	Auctioneer	£85
12-14	"	1840	Isaac, GF	Gentleman	£333.10.8

**BRABAZON'S SALE:** The largest single purchaser of Paul's lots also could see that speed of sale was the criterion for money making. Harry Lambert Brabazon, also a land auctioneer, resold the waterfront lots 3 and 4 to John Bell, a shipwright, for the nice round sum of £500 and set about re-subdividing the remainder of his purchase into seven smaller lots. Mr Stubbs with suitable journalistic blandishments sold these lots for Brabazon on 30 September 1840, just two months after their purchase from Paul, for a total of £800.0.0.

Brabazon's speed therefore netted him £1300.0.0 from these land deals alone.

Harry Lambert Brabazon was a newcomer to Sydney having only arrived with his wife from London on the *Royal Saxon* on 31 March 1839. They first lived at Gygalling on the Upper Patterson where a son and heir was born on 19 October 1839. Unfortunately the infant died there a few days later.<sup>57</sup>

This unhappy event forced them to abandon country life and they moved to Sydney where a second son was born at "Parramatta Street" on 29 November 1840. The family later moved to O'Connell Street where a daughter arrived on 28 April 1842. Their next home was in Phillip Street where another son was born on 24 June 1843.<sup>58</sup>

TABLE IV - BRABAZON'S LAND SALE: 1840-41

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
3,4	Brab	1840	Bell, J	Shipowner	£500
<i>(Brabazon resubdvd Paul's lots 5,6 on FP939725)</i>					
1	Brab	1840	Breillat, T	Esquire	£43.13.1
2	"	1840	Hitchings, W	-	£50.7.6
3,7	"	1841	Turley, W	Shoemkr	£339.11.6
4	"	1840	Dowse, T	-	£85.8.4
5	"	1841	Cavill, J	Stonemasn	£155.5.0
6	"	1841	Pearson, JA	Marble mason	£120

Brabazon had other land in Balmain and had also bought property on Middle Harbour which brought in good money at sales. He was feeling the pinch, however, and launched himself into the publishing business to improve his prospects.<sup>59</sup>

Early in 1843 he began to compile a "general directory" and offered advertising space at a guinea per item. Brabazon's *New South Wales General Town Directory and Advertiser* appeared in June 1843.

Another of Brabazon's publications carried the chilling title of "Insolvency Register Mercantile Remembrancer". This public spirited document was meant to make clear to the Sydney business community who was in the funds and who was not. A list of insolvent debtors was

vitaly important in those depressed times.<sup>60</sup>

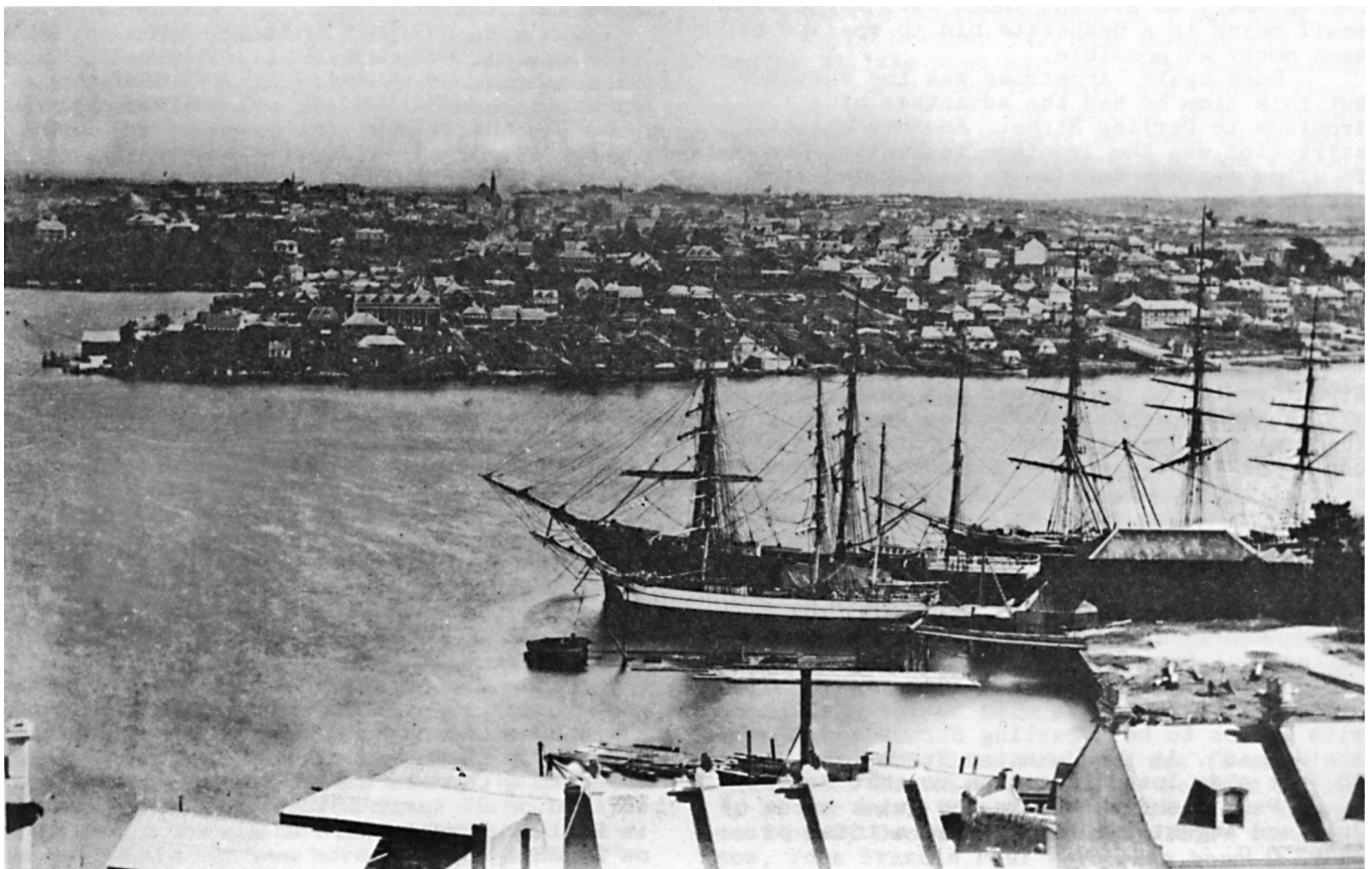
As it unhappily turned out, Brabazon himself was to head the long list of insolvents.

Despite his success with his Balmain land sales Brabazon was declared bankrupt on 5 September 1843. Placing his affairs in the hands of his trustee, John McKenna, Brabazon with his wife and surviving child left Sydney bound for London on the *Palestine* in February 1844.<sup>61</sup>

**JOHN BELL:** The major purchaser of Brabazon's lots, John Bell, came to Sydney on the *Achilles* in July 1837. Bell demonstrated the importance of buying waterfront land at Balmain when he built a stone wharf and opened up his shipwright's yard which he offered with thanks:

*to the Mercantile community of Sydney, and Captains trading to the Port, for the Patronage and Support he has for so many years received, begs to acquaint them that he has at considerable expense, erected a wharf with all necessary apparatus for heaving down vessels of any tonnage, at Balmain, opposite the stores of R Duke and Co, where he has constantly on hand ships timbers, planks, spars, etc, on the most reasonable terms.*<sup>62</sup>

*PEACOCK POINT TO DARLING STREET WHARF IN THE 1870s. On the skyline (l to r) are old St Augustine's, St Andrew's Congregational Church, the Campbell Street Presbyterian Church and St Mary's Anglican Church. Ewenton, St Mary's Parsonage, Eastcliff and 36-38 Darling Street are an the mid-ground. The vacant land below Eastcliff is the land on which Eastcliff Terrace (4-14 Paul Street) was built in 1879-81. On the waterfront are Harbour View Terrace, Beattie's Shipyard, Bell's Shipyard and the Shipwright's Arms. Darling Street Wharf is obscured by one of the ship masts. The photograph was taken from the Observatory tower.* (Mitchell Library)



Bell's terms were, perhaps, a little too reasonable for he too joined the queue of insolvents after his estate was sequestered in May 1842. Fortunately Bell's finances improved and his future looked more secure when he secured the contract for the repair of the Government brig *Governor Phillip* in October 1843.<sup>63</sup>

In the following year he leased his house on the corner of Darling and Weston Streets to William Walker who opened it as the Dolphin Hotel. Bell himself had applied for a licence in May 1842 but his insolvency, no doubt, prevented it being granted.<sup>64</sup>

In July 1846 Walker moved to Bridge Street in the city and Bell became the licensee, changing the name to the Shipwright's Arms on 5 September 1846.<sup>65</sup>

The original shape of the Shipwright's Arms is not known but in 1844 it was described as a "stone house, kitchen and yard". Its value assessed at £100 indicates that it was a substantial building and very likely of two storeys. This would be consistent with the internal planning of the time - public drinking areas downstairs, the cellar below that (taking advantage of the slope of the land) and the private living areas above.<sup>66</sup>

After John Bell's death on 6 November 1847, aged 67, his widow Sarah and the two sons, James Edward and John junior, carried on the shipyard. Sarah gained the licence for the Shipwright's Arms which she held until 1852 when she leased the hotel to Thomas Ros-tron. William Hydes was the licensee in 1853 and in the following year Thomas Moran (Morran) became the publican.<sup>67</sup>

Moran continued to slake dry throats at the Shipwright's Arms until his wife took over in 1870. Mrs Ellen Moran surrendered the licence to James Lynch in 1890 but from 1892 Ellen Lynch carried on until she was replaced in 1915 by Mrs Sarah Halliday.

The Shipwright's Arms continued to serve ferry travellers and local residents until it was de-licensed in 1966. The hotel now survives as a private dwelling at 10 Darling Street.

THE WATERMAN'S COTTAGE: Opposite the Shipwright's Arms, John Cavill, the stonemason who constructed most of Balmain's early buildings, erected the two-storey stone house later to be called the Waterman's Cottage in 1841.<sup>68</sup>

The appearance of the building suggests that it was originally intended to be a shop.

*PEACOCK POINT TO DARLING STREET WHARF IN 1982. New St Augustine's (1907), St Andrew's (1855), the Post Office clocktower (1887) and the Nicholson Street tower block (1970s) appear on the skyline. The container shed, the Hosking Street home units, the flats at 2 Pearson Street (site of St Mary's Parsonsage), Eastcliff (3 dormer windows), Onkaparinga, are in the mid-ground. On the waterfront Harbour View Terrace is obscured by the greenery of Illoura Reserve which now stretches from the Point to Fenwick's Tugs at Darling Street Wharf.*

*(Balmain Association)*





CAHERMORE, 50 DARLING STREET, BALMAIN (G Wolff, UNSW)  
Formerly the Waterford Arms built in c1845. A ground floor verandah stretched right across the footpath to the gutter. When this was demolished the entry door was lowered to its present position. A tramway photograph in the NSW Transport Dept's archives show the verandah on posts with a diagonal balustrade.

It was very well located for such a purpose and no doubt Cavill collected good rents from his investment. He sold the property with the adjoining land (now 14 Darling Street) in 1845 to Sydney's Inspector of Police, William John Wright.

The house got its name from the fact that one of the local watermen Henry McKenzie rented the building from 1880 to 1912.<sup>69</sup>

**SOME OTHER COTTAGES:** On the corner of Weston Street and Paul Street (formerly Pearson's Road) stood Uxbridge Cottage, a simple four roomed weatherboard building with verandah. Uxbridge Cottage (No 1 Paul Street) was built by Thomas Leggat, a Sydney publican, and his wife Susan between 1841 and 1844. Miss Sophie Leggat lived there until 1919 and the cottage passed through various owners until 1982 when it was demolished for re-development.

No 3 Paul Street is a two-storey stone house built by William Millar, an agent, between 1842-1844. The nucleus of the stone cottage next door (5 Paul Street) was built by a Balmain storekeeper, Jonathon Bell, in 1843-1844. The house was enlarged probably by Bell at a later date.

Carysfort was the name later given to a small stone cottage set close to the ground which is now 24 Darling Street. The house was built by William Turley, shoemaker between 1841 and 1844.

Next door to Carysfort stands the oldest "pair" of houses still standing in Balmain. 26-28 Darling Street was built by Henry Davy an auctioneer and speculator in 1840. In keeping with the rule of minimum amount of building for maximum rent return, the twin attached houses have the sleeping quarters accommodated under the steeply pitched roof. By raising the eaves line half a storey above the ground floor ceiling to receive the attic, normal two-storey living can be contained in one-and-a-half storeys. Room sizes were kept to a minimum and wasteful areas such as entrance halls and corridors were not even considered. The

staircase was completed without decoration of any kind and rose from within the living room to the attic bedrooms above. The main sleeping room upstairs was made private by a timber partition.

The house was heated by open fireplaces and the common chimney passed up through the attic rooms warming them at night. Because of the threat of fire, unwanted heat in the summer and spread of cooking odours, the kitchen was housed in a separate structure at the rear.

The typical Australian verandah on the front of the houses was small in scale but made the transition from the dusty street to the cool living rooms feasible and comfortable.

Fern Villa (7 Paul Street), a single-storey stone cottage with verandah was built in the 1840s, probably by Henry Davy.

Sunnyside (13 Paul Street), similar in style to Fern Villa, also built by Davy, dates from 1842-1844.

**THE WATERFORD ARMS:** Because of the depressed conditions the large lots in the middle of Paul's subdivision were undeveloped and left to wait until conditions improved. Just down from the Darling and Johnston Streets corner, however, Jacob Rech built his bakery (50 Darling Street), the first in Balmain, in c1841. Because the Darling Street frontage was too steep for vehicular access, a narrow block of land in Johnston Street (now 4 Johnston Street) provided rear access. In 1844, the substantial stone building was leased to James Watkinson but he removed himself in the following year to open up his own bakery in what is now the Balmain Bakery Restaurant.<sup>70</sup>

On 6 December 1845, Rech sold the property to Charles James Bullivant, a publican for £450.

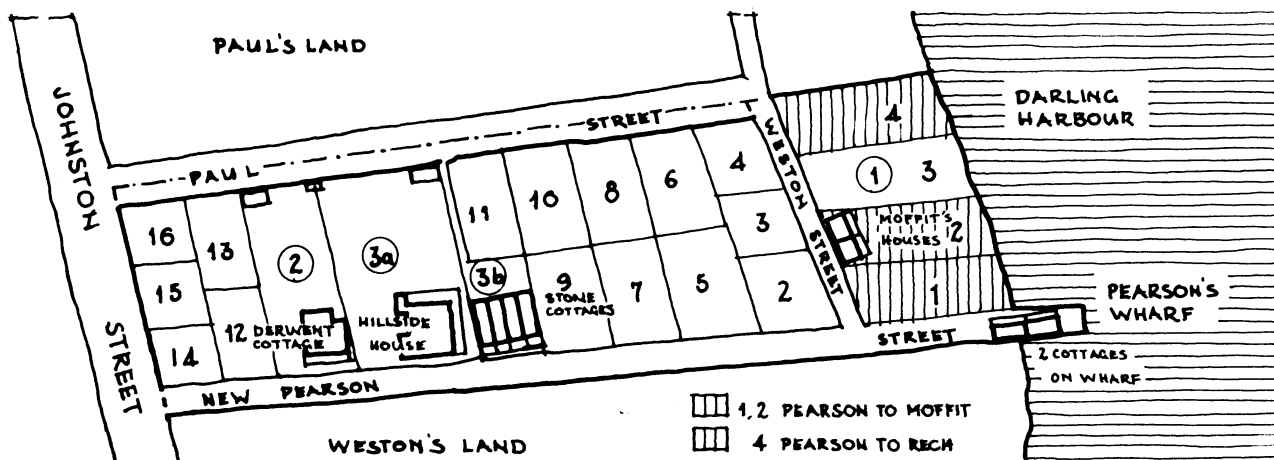
Bullivant opened the building as the Waterford Arms, a public house which he sometimes called the Marquis of Waterford. He sold the premises in 1854 for £1800 which attests to the building being the large house that it is today.

The former hotel was bought by the Turner family in 1920. George Turner was a "glass painter" who executed perfect glass designs for the glaziers, Lyon and Cottier, who supplied the painted glass for the Sydney Town Hall. An example of Turner's work can be seen in the "Christ and His Apostles" window at St Augustine's Balmain.

The Turners called the house Cahemore which means fort-on-the-hill in Gaelic and George decorated it to his own tastes. His expert painting of a naturalistic scene on one of the ceilings was so lifelike that the birds seemed to drop their feathers on the spotless floors.

After his death the house fell into disrepair and it was only through the efforts of recent owners that this fine Colonial Georgian building has been preserved.

**ROBERTSON'S COTTAGES:** At the Johnston Street frontage of Paul's subdivision Edward Robertson built two small verandahed cottages in the 1840s. These modest twin houses (6-8 Johnston Street) were set low to the ground to cut costs and were built of soft red, wood-fired bricks. The crumbly bricks were protected from the weather by a coating of stucco



PEARSON'S SUBDIVISION: 1841-1853. Hillside House (later Eastcliff, 11 Pearson St) Derwent Cottage (13 Pearson Street, demolished 1980), the four stone cottages and the cottages on Pearson's Wharf were built between 1841-44. New Pearson Street was half the width of present-day Pearson Street. Branksea (now Onkaparinga, 12 Johnston Street) was built on lots 12-16 (bottom storey c1865, upper storey c1870).

which was marked out in courses to look like stone. Simple, well proportioned doors and window openings give the houses a Regency appearance though later renovations have caused this to become a memory rather than a fact.

In the 1850s Balmain was becoming increasingly built up. The proximity to the city and the ease of water transport made it a very attractive place to live for large and small landholders alike. Balmain was seen as: *daily increasing in importance and becoming a favourite place of residence where one is free from the dust and other nuisances of the city, recently much improved by Butchers and Bakers shops in which the necessities of life can be procured as good and as cheap as from any establishment in Sydney.*<sup>71</sup>

**CAPTAIN PEARSON RETURNS:** Captain Pearson returned to Sydney from one of his voyages in 1853 and decided to sell the unsold portions of his Balmain land. His 1841 subdivision gave a small strip of land to make Paul Street trafficable, allowed Weston Street to cross his property and set aside half the width of the present-day Pearson Street as an access road.

This narrow strip brought the new southern boundary right up to the wall of his mansion Hillside House (11 Pearson Street). Hillside House was built of "cut stone", side-on to the new Pearson Street and looking out across Darling Harbour to the city. The house contained four good sized rooms on the ground floor opening out on to front and rear verandahs. The attic storey above with its three prominent dormer windows housed three bedrooms while the kitchen and servants rooms were located in the basement.<sup>72</sup>

A generous entrance hall and handsomely detailed staircase connected the three levels. The grounds, consisting of a good well of water and coach house and stables, were entered from Paul Street (old Pearson's Road).

In July 1853 Hillside House was let to Nicol Drysdale Stenhouse (1806-1973), Sydney's well-known lawyer and literary patron.<sup>73</sup>

TABLE V - PEARSON'S LAND SALES: 1841-53

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1,2	Pearson	1841	Moffit, J	M Mariner	£443.12.6
4	"	1841	Rech, J	Baker	£187.13.9
Pearson's lot 3 re-numbered lot 1 in Bk55No988					
1-16) 2 3a) 3b )	Pearson	1853	Croft, J	Esquire	£5 000

TABLE VI - CROFT'S SALES: 1854-58

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1,2,3)	Croft	1858	Cameron, EW	Auctioneer	£650
5,7,8)			McPherson, J	Ship carp	
4	"	1856	Bell, W	Printer	£185.12.6
6	"	1857	Hughes, R	Cabinet mkr	£148.10.0
9-11	"	1857	Lublin, J	Hat mfr	£300
3a 3b	"	1855	Lublin, J	" "	£2 200
2	"	1854	Mullens, J	Genleman	£ -
12-16	"	1856	Mitchell, JS	Merchant	£500

Immediately below the house and facing new Pearson Street were Pearson's four stone cottages attached one to the other. These had only two rooms each and were let at six shillings each in 1853.<sup>74</sup>

Behind Hillside House and fronting on to Pearson Street was Derwent Cottage, a weather-board building of four rooms. The kitchen and store room were in an attached wing and the attic contained two bedrooms. Derwent Cottage (13 Pearson Street) was demolished in 1980.<sup>75</sup>

Pearson commissioned Thomas Mort to sell the houses lock, stock and barrel in July 1853 along with 14 good sized building allotments.<sup>76</sup>

**EASTCLIFF:** The next important occupant of Hillside House was Theodore James Jaques (1823-1893). He bought the house from Ewen Wallace Cameron of Ewinton, Balmain, in 1864 and re-named it Eastcliff. Jaques the son of an English surveyor, arrived in Sydney in the *Roslyn Castle* in July 1830. In 1839 he became a junior clerk in the Supreme Court Registry Office and gained enough experience there to take his law examinations. He was admitted as a solicitor on 24 December 1856 and became Deputy-Registrar General for Deeds in 1857.<sup>77</sup>

In 1864, the year of buying his Balmain house, he was appointed Registrar General of New South Wales. The following year saw him appointed a magistrate and in 1865 Chairman of the Land Titles Commission.

He retired from his posts in 1870 because of ill-health but after recuperating he again practised as a solicitor and in 1874 entered partnership with his nephew, Alfred Edmund Jaques.

In local matters, Jaques joined the Balmain Volunteer Infantry in September 1860 and was promoted captain in the December of that year; major in 1868; and lieutenant-colonel in 1885. He was for many years the president of the Rifle Association of New South Wales, secretary of the Balmain Mechanics School of Arts and registrar of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney.

Theodore James Jaques died at Eastcliff on 23 July 1893.

T J Jaques made various improvements to his land, the most important being the demolition of Pearson's four stone cottages. These had been awkwardly sited close up to Eastcliff and although set on lower ground they tended to block the view. Jaques commissioned Edmund Blackett (1817-1883) to make Pearson's "Mansion" even more amenable to live in.<sup>78</sup>

**EASTCLIFF TERRACE:** His brother Arthur Theodore Jaques altered the view considerably by building a terrace of six two-storey houses at the Paul and Weston Streets corner between 1879 and 1881. A T Jaques, a solicitor and investor, called the row Eastcliff Terrace (4-14 Paul Street) and sold it to Dr David Edwards of Sydney in 1881. By 1883 Edwards added a seventh house (2 Paul Street) turning the corner into Weston Street.

The new house was identical in detail and materials with Eastcliff Terrace which had been built of painted brickwork, with cast iron balconies and corrugated iron roof.

**ONKAPARINGA:** While the Jaques brothers were carrying out these developments a fine house was growing up at the Johnston Street end of the land. Captain Francis Hixson, RN, bought the land between Derwent Cottage and Johnston Street in 1865 and built a single storey stone house of generous proportions. It was the next owner, however who have the house its present form (12 Johnston Street). John Lyons, also a master mariner, bought the property from Hixson in 1869 and added the upper storey. Captain Lyons called it Branksea (12 Johnston Street).

Branksea was all that a land-bound seafarer could desire. It was set high on the hill, even above Eastcliff, looking down the Harbour. His quarter-deck instincts led him to surround the house with an upper balcony from where he could look out to Darling Harbour or to Pyrmont across Johnstons Bay.

In style the house is a very late example of Colonial Georgian with the variation that all proportions and room sizes are very large.

Captain Lyons settled the property on his daughter Jane in 1898 and she sold it to William Rupert Snow, in 1920. It seems that



*ST MARY'S PARSONAGE: 1863. Built for the Rev Stack by architect James McDonald, the Parsonage is seen here from Pearson Street. The site at 2 Pearson Street is now occupied by a block of flats. (Redrawn from the Australian Town & Country Journal, 10 December 1902)*

Snow was a native of Onkaparinga in South Australia and re-named the house after his hometown. He did not care for the house and in the 1930s converted it to a boarding house, partitioning off the large airy rooms, installing more bathrooms and wrapping the encircling verandahs in a shroud of asbestos cement.

**ST MARY'S PARSONAGE:** The most important house on Weston's subdivision was to suffer a fate worse than Onkaparinga's. St Mary's Parsonage (2 Pearson Street), a commodious brick house, was built on lots 8-10 by the Balmain architect, James McDonald, in 1863. Balmain's Anglican community empowered their minister, Reverend William Stack; supported by Alexander Stuart, a Sydney merchant; Walter Church, a merchant of Balmain; and Captain Thomas Rowntree (1818-1902), shipbuilder; as trustees to house their minister in comfortable quarters.<sup>79</sup>

The land around St Mary's Church had been taken up and a new site had to be found for a Rectory. The trustees chose well because the site at the bottom of Pearson Street was on a high rock shelf above the waterfront. The hillside sheltered it from the hot western sun and fresh breezes from the Harbour kept it cool and pleasant.

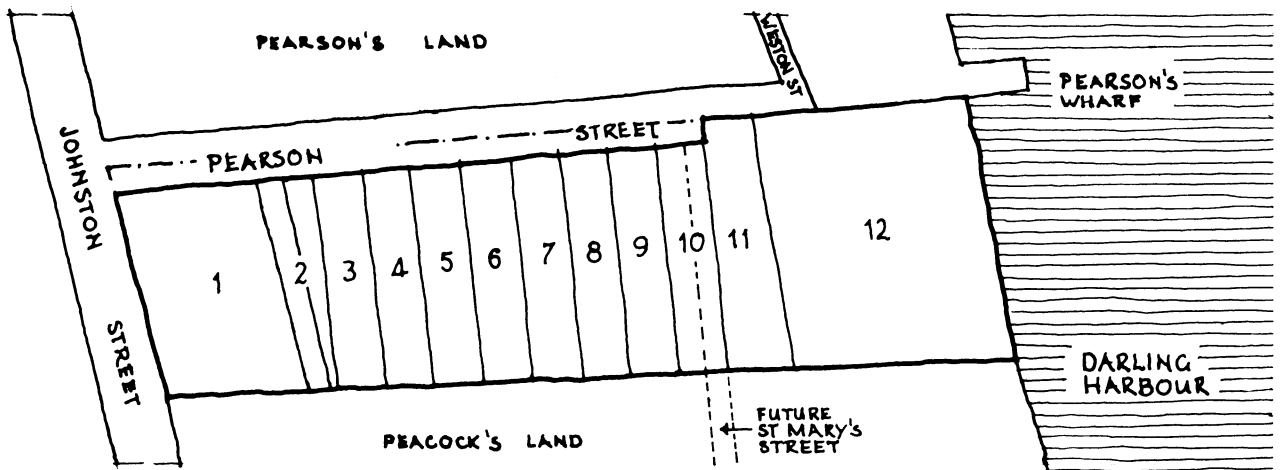
Reverend Stack lived at the Parsonage until 1871 and was succeeded in turn by Rev Henry Archdale Langley and Rev Thomas Tress.<sup>80</sup>

One of the longest serving residents of the Parsonage was the distinguished Canon Mervyn Archdall (1846-1917). Archdall was born in Clonmel, Ireland, the son of the local Church of Ireland priest. He was educated at Durham School and at Cambridge (BA 1870, MA 1883) and ordained an Anglican priest in 1870.<sup>81</sup>

On 14 September 1883, Archdall married Martha Caroline Christine Karrow, the daughter of a Lutheran pastor, at Stettin in Germany, and the couple arrived in Sydney on the *Potosi* on 27 November of that year.

Archdall took up residence straightaway in the Parsonage and involved himself in local and national church affairs. He published many pamphlets affirming his beliefs and was a leading Evangelical.





WESTON'S SUBDIVISION: 1861-74. Pearson Street reached its final width by this subdivision. Eric Villa (later Rothesay, 24 Pearson Street) was built on lot 1 in 1870-72, and St Mary's Parsonage on lots 8-10 in 1863. St Mary's Street connected Pearson Street to William Street after 1864.

In 1898 he helped found the Protestant Church of England Union and was leader of the Australian Protestant Defence Association. This very learned man read in the original French, Dutch and German and when so absorbed would often forget to go to bed.

It was said of him that his extremely well prepared sermons were often beyond his flock. One reported that he was kept awake by the Canon's enthusiasm as though he were listening to a song in a foreign language. In 1891 he founded the Bethany, next to the Church, for the training of deaconesses and so passionate was his belief in this project that he devoted a quarter of his personal income to its upkeep.

In 1902 he became Canon of St Andrew's Cathedral but in 1908 left Balmain to become the incumbent at St Stephen's Penrith. Ill-health, however, limited his career and he retired to Drummoyne in 1913 where he died on 27 November 1917.

The ministers of St Mary's continued to live at the Parsonage until 1965 when changing economic circumstances forced the Church of England Property Trust to sell the fine old house to a developer.

St Mary's Parsonage, for so long a landmark on the Balmain skyline, was demolished in 1966 to make way for a block of flats.

**ST MARY'S STREET:** The first occupant of the Parsonage, Rev Stack, sold a 20 feet strip across his land to the Balmain Council in April 1864 to allow a new street to be cut through to provide access to the Peacock subdivision. The new street, St Mary's Street, was hacked through the sandstone cliff to link up with William Street.<sup>82</sup>

Council labourers were set the task of cutting down the cliff face to the levels of Pearson Street and William Street "with a view to affording the residents in the vicinity of Peacock's Point a Dray road to Darling Street. Hand tools, horses and drays were all that the men had at their disposal."<sup>83</sup>

The technology was primitive and the hours of work and rates of pay were harsh and meagre. James Durbin thought himself better

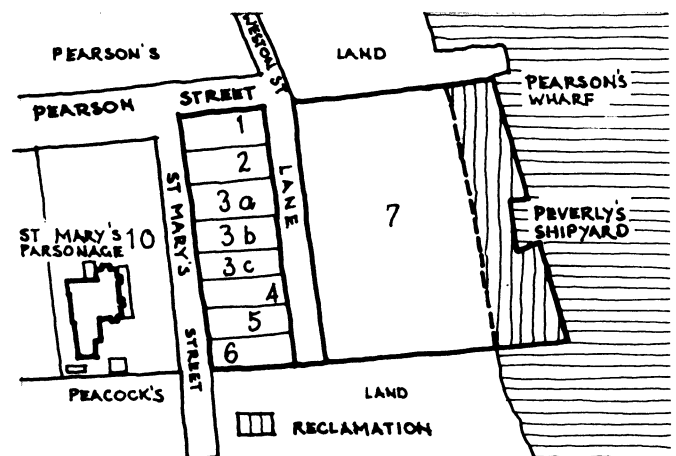
TABLE VII - WESTON'S SUBDIVISION: 1861-74

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1	Weston	1861	Mitchell, JS	Esquire	£360
pt2	"	1870	Etheridge, GO	Warehsmn	£50
pt2)					
3-5)	"	1874	Bennett, J	Esquire	£340.7.2
6	"	1864	Robertson, T	Shipwrt	£92
7	"	1864	Phegan, R	"	£92.10.0
8-10	"	1863	Stack, W	Clerk in Holy Orders	£277.10.0
11-12	"	1864	Peverly, W	M Mariner	£800

TABLE VIII - PEVERLY'S SUBDIVISION OF WESTON'S LOTS 11,12

LOT	VENDOR	YEAR	PURCHASER	OCCUPATION	REMARKS
1	Peverly	1866	McBurney, C	M Mariner	£50
2	"	1866	Castle, L	" "	£50
3	"	1870	McBurney, C	" "	£100 (2 lots)
4	"	1867	Fenwick, J	Shipwatrmn	£50
5	"	1867	Downs, C	Blacksmith	£50
6	"	1867	Peverly, W jnr	M Mariner	£50
7	"	1867	Allan, H	Esquire	£1 000 mtge
7	Allan	1873	Beattie, H	Shipbldr	£1 250

PEVERLY'S SUBDIVISION OF WESTON'S LOTS 11,12:1866-70 Captain Peverly's narrow lots were occupied by sea-captains and marine engineers. He reclaimed land for his shipyard but when he became bankrupt in 1873 his yard was bought by Henry Beattie, shipbuilder.



off than most when he was appointed to trim the Balmain roads in 1861 at £2.5.0 for a working week of six days. He began work before breakfast at 6 am and finished for the day at 6 pm.<sup>84</sup>

These were the kind of working conditions that aldermen such as Jacob Garrard (1846-1931) campaigned to ameliorate in the 1870s. In 1880 he advocated the much more humane eight-hour day worked over six days with no reduction in wages. His fellow aldermen were enraged at so radical a proposal.<sup>85</sup>

Garrard's motion was lost on the following grounds: the same work could not be done in eight hours and therefore the pay should not be the same; there was nothing to show that the men desired the change; existing contracts would be disrupted; there were plenty of good men glad to accept the current hours and pay and therefore long hours were not disapproved of; it was the wrong time of the year for a change.<sup>86</sup>

There was, however, a softening of the aldermanic outlook on working conditions in 1881 when the working day was reduced from ten hours to nine. The six-day week, nevertheless, remained.<sup>87</sup>

PEVERLY'S SUBDIVISION: The new St Mary's Street was a boon to Captain William Peverly. He had bought all the land on Weston's subdivision from the new street down to the water's edge in 1864. Peverly, a sea-faring man, copied the earlier idea of John Bell and reclaimed the waterfront for a shipyard. He also saw the benefit of re-subdividing his land to help finance this undertaking.

By cutting up eight narrow lots facing St Mary's Street he was able to supply his marine contemporaries with the chance of building simple cottages on reasonably priced land. At the rear of these lots he provided a 24-foot wide roadway which, as an extension of Weston Street, gave access to his shipyard.

Of the six men to buy Peverly's lots, from 1866 to 1871, three were master mariners, two were marine engineers and one, John Fenwick, a "ship waterman". The custom of the sea captains was to get a little piece of

land, build a cottage and register the ownership in their wives' names. The hazards of their occupation made this a wise practice.

In St Mary's Street, the 1860s sea-captains' houses (Nos 2-6) were basic timber structures but the engineer's houses (Nos 10-12) were the more permanent brick.

Two of the houses stood out among their neighbours. John Fenwick squeezed two tiny two-storey attached houses on to his 23-foot lot in c1867. The two charming, but unadorned, little houses at 14-16 St Mary's Street are easily identified by his initials "J T" in the fanlight above the entry door of No 14.

Although Peverly recouped £350 from these sales, he needed more funds to keep operating. In 1867 he borrowed £1 000 with his shipyard as security. The loan fell due in 1870 but it was a huge sum in those days and Peverly could not put off the inevitable foreclosure. The moneylender exercised his power of sale and sold the shipyard to one of Sydney's emerging shipbuilders, Henry Beattie, in 1873.

Beattie revitalised the shipyard and turned out ships such as the famous three-masted schooners *Sydney Belle* and *Lord of the Isles*.<sup>88</sup>

ROTHESAY: At the corner of Johnston and Pearson Street, on a large area of level land, now stands Rothesay (24 Pearson Street). This fine house was built in the "Carpenter's Gothic" style by George Octavius Etheridge, a Sydney warehouseman and commission agent, probably between 1870 and 1872. He mortgaged the property heavily to pay for the construction of the house but failed to meet his creditors.

The house was sold over his head in 1874 to Thomas Fitzgerald, a Sydney wine man. Fitzgerald called the house Eric Villa and substantially improved the grounds to make the most of the extensive views over Johnstons Bay.

He remained at Eric Villa until 1907 when the property was bought by John Fenwick's son, Andrew, in 1909. He renamed it Rothesay.

PART II WILL APPEAR IN LEICHHARDT HIST J No 12 1983

#### REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 S Glynn, Urbanisation in Australian History:1788-1900.
- 2 B Dyster, "Inventing the Suburbs..." in this Journal.
- 3 P L Reynolds & P V Flottmann, Half a Thousand Acres..., pp102-3.
- 4 Mutch Biographical Index(MBI): 1781-1814; B Thomas, The Original Landholders of Sydney from 1792 gives Peacock's year of birth & shows 15 acres grtd at Hunters Hill; R J Ryan(ed), Land Grants; 1788-1809, p33 shows Thomas Peacock grtd 30 acres on the Hawkesbury, Mulgrave Place, 19/11/1794.
- 5 MR Sainty & KA Johnson, (eds), Census of 1828, p297, p179, p121, p217, p245, p334, p342, p400, p352, p118; Sydney Gazette, (SG), 12 May 1821.
- 6 SG, 4 December 1823, p3; 23 December 1824, p1.
- 7 SG, 17 February 1825, p4; 10 Decem-
- ber 1827, p3a. 8 MBI.
- 9 MBI; by will JJ Peacock ser1No7866 other daus were Augusta Ann P(m. Henry Richard Webb), Theresa Australia P(m. John Evans Brown of Qld), birth details unknown.
- 10 Australian(Aust), 5 May 1825; 6 November 1835.
- 11 K Johnson, "Premises 28-32 Harrington St Sydney" in 1788-1820 Gazette April-May, 1972, No 12; Aust, 11 December 1835; 14 March 1834. Gannon was Peacock's bro-in-law for he m. Mary Parsonage, sister to Maria (Parsonage) Peacock. They were both daus of a convict Edw Parsonage and a convict girl named Jones. Letter from A Carolan to author 19 July 1982.
- 12 Aust, 15 August 1836, p3; NSW Calendar & Post Office Directory:1837, p98.
- 13 Aust, 2 May 1837, p2; 12 January 1839, p3; 7 August 1840, p3; 17 March 1840, p2; 4 January 1840, p1; 18 May 1841, p2.
- 14 Aust, 7 April 1842, p1; FA Larcombe, Origin of Local Government in NSW: 1831-1858, Vol I, p91.
- 15 Sydney Morning Herald, (SMH), 4 February 1841; 17 November 1842; 5 April 1849.
- 16 Armstrong's plan, NSW Registrar General's Dept(RGD) 239(W) is now FP939732. All other plans in this article held (copies) in the author's "Balmain:1836-1980, Land-use Mosaic".
- 17 J Armstrong (attrib to PL Bem) plan of 22 lots, Balmain East, Mitchell Library(ML), M2/811.1821/1839?/1; Nicholson St named after Capt John Nicholson, Johnston St after Johnstons Bay, Darling St after Darling Harbour - Johnston St is erroneously called LOVE LANE in Sands Directory for 1858/9 and 1861.
- 18 Aust, 4 May 1841, p3f. (CONT p27)

Index: LHJ Nos. 1-10

LHJ No 1: 1971	Page	My Granny, the Abbess, The Architecture of the Glebe Presbyterian Church, The History of the Glebe Presbyterian Church, Relics of John Young REVIEW	M Quinn 8 J Jackson 9 M Solling 10 A Roberts 16 19	L Lynch, <i>Rozelle Public School: 1878-1978, a centenary celebration,</i> P Reynolds 2
Editorial: The Foundation of this Journal, Remains of Birchgrove House, William and Annie Miller, Robert James Stuart-Robertson, Responses of the Balmain People to the Depression, Bishopgate Estate, Lot 48 Darling St Balmain,	A Roberts 2 R Irving 3 D Kernohan 3 R Stuart-Robertson 5 N Wheatley 7 M Solling 11 J Engle, P Reynolds and R Wise 13	R Irving, <i>Colonial Heritage - historic buildings of New South Wales</i> by F&J Leary	2	LHJ No 8: 1979 Editorial: Local History Resources for School Use, P Reynolds 2 Robert Johnston: Naval Officer, Explorer and Landowner, K J Cable 3 James McDonald: Architect of Balmain, J Flower 4 Reminiscences of North Annandale Public School, M Quinn 10 John Ward: Blue Bird Hunter of Balmain, P Reynolds 12 Leichhardt: the Origin of the Name, J Bates 15 Robert Blake: Soldier, Sheriff and Spec Builder, P Reynolds 16 Rozelle Public School: 1878-1901, P Reynolds 24 Football in Sydney: 1870-1920, M Solling 24 PUBLICATION FOR SALE Index LHJ: 1971-1978 31-32 REVIEWS
REVIEWS A Roberts, <i>Balmain in Time, a record of an historic suburb and some of its buildings</i> by P Reynolds and R Irving A Roberts, <i>Setting for a Campus, a pen sketch commentary on the environs of the University of Sydney</i> by A Gambi-	18 19	A Roberts, <i>Victorian Ceramic Tiles</i> by J Barnard	14	L Lynch, <i>Balmain: 1800-1882, the Gilchrist settlement a basic search plan</i> , P Reynolds R Irving, <i>A pictorial history of Balmain peninsula from 1788</i> by (Anon.)
PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES NOTES AND QUERIES History of Glebe Other Relics of Birchgrove House Balmain Miscellany A Plan for Annandale Annandale Miscellany	19 20 F Stamper R Irving P Reynolds B Mason A Roberts	LHJ No 6: 1975 The Residents' Perception of Annandale, Rowntree's Warehouses, Balmain, The Pubs of Glebe, Annandale Children's Games c1915 REVIEWS A Roberts, <i>Who Murdered Dr Wardell of Peter-sham? An historical tragedy</i> , T Kenny A Roberts, <i>The Architectural Character of Glebe, Sydney</i> by B&K Smith	L Kwong 2 M Baldwin et al 5 M Solling 8 M Quinn 14	LHJ No 9: 1980 Editorial: 1970-1980, the Local History Decade, P Reynolds 2 Leichhardt Public School: 1862, J Bates 3 Kentville and the Annandale Bowling Club, A Roberts 9 Reverend George Grimm: a Biographical Study, J Williams 13 William Bardsley: the Boss of Forest Lodge Public School, M Solling 18 Goat and Cockatoo: Two Islands off Balmain, P Reynolds 21 ANNOUNCEMENT, Sydney Centre for Educational and Social History, 26 Index LHJ: 1971-1979 27 REVIEWS P Reynolds, <i>A certain Sydney: 1900</i> by M Kelly 28 A Roberts, <i>Half a thousand acres: Balmain, a history of the land grant</i> by P Reynolds & P Flottmann
LHJ No 2: 1972 Editorial: Local Historical Studies, Lyndhurst 1: Its History, Lyndhurst 2: Its Architecture, Lyndhurst 3: Its Furniture, Annandale's Johnston Era, NOTES AND QUERIES Naked in Rozelle, Lilyfield	M Solling 2 F MacDonnell 3 C Lucas 7 K Fahy 8 A Roberts 11 16 M Greene M G Horsley	LHJ No 7: 1978 Editorial: Local History and Publishing Grants, P Reynolds 2 John Cavill, a Cornish stonemason, P Reynolds 3 The Annandale Gates Re-erected, A Roberts 9 St James' Church, Forest Lodge, J Fletcher 11 Leichhardt Post Office, Australia Post 14 Up the Tigers: the Balmain Football Club's First Seventy Years P Reynolds 16 PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE 25 PUBLICATIONS: 1971-1978 25 Index LHJ: 1-6 26-27 NOTES AND QUERIES Salvation Army Sunday School, Annandale B Mason The Balmain Waterfront Study and the P Reynolds Balmain Street Name Index, J Bates & P Reynolds The Making of Sporting Traditions in Glebe M Solling Biographical Index of Glebe, Balmain, Leichhardt & Annandale Aldermen M Solling 27-28 REVIEWS M Solling, <i>Hunter Baillie: a history of the Presbyterian Church in Annandale</i> , A Roberts & E Malcolm B Mason, <i>The Glebe: portraits and places</i> , F Macdonell	2 3 7 8 11 16 25 25 26-27 27-28	William Bardsley: the Boss of Forest Lodge Public School, M Solling 18 Goat and Cockatoo: Two Islands off Balmain, P Reynolds 21 ANNOUNCEMENT, Sydney Centre for Educational and Social History, 26 Index LHJ: 1971-1979 27 REVIEWS P Reynolds, <i>A certain Sydney: 1900</i> by M Kelly 28 A Roberts, <i>Half a thousand acres: Balmain, a history of the land grant</i> by P Reynolds & P Flottmann
LHJ No 3: 1972 The Balmain Cemetery, Callan Park Hospital for the Insane, The Balmain Watch House, Edward Hunt, Cabinetmaker, Harold Park Race Track, Ferdinand Hamilton Reuss, Snr, REVIEW M Kelly, <i>Burrowing and John Young</i> by A Roberts	M Solling 2 D I McDonald 4 W Pearson and P Reynolds 8 K Fahy 13 M Quinn 15 R Wilson & N Patrick 16 20	LHJ No 10: 1981 Editorial: Academic and Antiquarianism, A Roberts 2 J F Gray and Waterview, Balmain, P Reynolds 3 Annandale Post Office, Australia Post 20 Index LHJ: 1971-1980 23 REVIEWS H Tanner, <i>Old colonial buildings in Australia</i> , by M Dupain & J M Freeland A Roberts, <i>The Stonehouse Circle: literary life in mid-19th century Sydney</i> , by A-M Jordens	2 3 20 23 28	
LHJ No 4: 1973 Remains of the Second Balmain Presbyterian Church, John Lamb Lyon and Francis Ernest Stowe,	P Reynolds 2 M C Dobson 5			

(FROM p26)

- 19 Ibid. 20 Ibid. 21 Ibid.  
22 All refs to land titles are to be found in the author's "Balmain: 1836-1980, Land-use Mosaic".  
23 SMH, 14 February 1843, p3; 23 February 1843.  
24 SMH, 5 September 1843, p2; 26 September 1843, p2  
25 RGD Old System Title (OST) Bk 8 No 617; Bk 8 No 690; Bk 8 No 691.  
26 Ibid.  
27 G H Scholefield, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography; Cyclopaedia of New Zealand (Canterbury Vol); New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, information supplied by Canterbury Public Library, Christchurch.  
28 Death cert 33993; Maria P death cert 34259 shows that she d. 19/9/1884 aged 79 at St Albans nr Christchurch; her mother's maiden name was Evans; her father's name is mis-spelt "Parsonge"; children's ages only are given but they probably were John Thomas P(56), Elizabeth Maria P(52) and Augusta Ann P(48); Linwood Burial Book shows John Thomas Peacock d. 20/10/1905 aged 78 at Christchurch after living 45 years in Canterbury NZ; his wife Kate Mansfield Peacock d. 20 August 1914 in Peacock Rd, Christ-

- church, aged 59, b. London, came from Sydney and lived 35 years in Canterbury; the Peacock family was well known in Christchurch, there is a Peacock St, a Peacock fountain described as "ornate and has dolphin-like embellishments" and a Peacock vault in the Linwood Cemetery.  
29 SG, 17 March 1829, p2a; 23 May 1829.  
30 RGD OST Bk L No 568B (death of George W junior); Aust, 5 August 1831.  
31 A T Yarwood, "George Johnston" in *Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB)*, Vol II, pp22-23 for King's Gift; also letter to author from F Herbert, 1982; B Weston, "Horsley" in 1788-1820 Gazette, April-May, 1972; OST Bk L No 568B (birth of Edward Henry W.  
32 SMH, 24 November 1836: W Hardy Wilson, *Old Colonial Architecture in NSW and Tasmania*; B Weston writes that George Weston named the house after his birthplace "West Horsley Place" nr Ripley in Surrey which dates back to William the Conqueror, coming into the Weston name in 1749.  
33 Op cit Reynolds (3).  
34 SMH, 29 February 1844, p2; 29 August 1844, p2; 19 February 1844, p2; 24

- April 1844, p2.  
35 RGD OST Bk L No 568B (death of George Edward Nicholas W and agrt between Blanche W and Edward Henry W as to disposal of Balmain land); B Weston writes that Edward Henry W m. his cousin Emily Johnston and settled at Albion Park on 1500 acres called Macquarie's Gift. George and Blanche had 9 children George jnr, Edward Henry, Frederick, Francis, John, Julia, Isabella, Blanche jnr, Augustine. Blanche lived on at Horsley for over 70 years, she d. 1904 aged 98. George, her husband, received a grant of land at Yarralumla Plains.  
36 SMH, 28 April 1836.  
37 SMH, 29 June 1836 (James Pearson is shown as Thomas P); 28 April 1836 (birth of a son at grandfather John Mackey's house, Fort St).  
38 SMH, 29 February 1840; 9 June 1841 (death of Pearson's only dau Janet)  
39 Aust, 4 May 1841, p3f.  
40 Aust, 1 June 1841, p3e.  
41 Ibid. 42 Ibid. 43 Ibid.  
44 Ibid. 45 Ibid. 46 Ibid.  
47 Aust, 4 May 1841, p3f (Peacock).  
48 Op cit Reynolds (3).

(PLEASE TURN TO p12)

## Reviews

### A NOTE ON REVIEWERS

Alan Roberts is the Field and Research Officer of the Royal Australian Historical Society.

Howard Tanner is a Sydney architect whose practice specialises in restoration, infill and urban conservation. He is the author of an essay on Francis Greenway in *Architects of Australia*, Macmillan, 1981.

M Dupain (introduction by J M Freeland), *Francis Greenway: A Celebration*, Cassell Australia, North Ryde, 1980, 136 pp, rrp \$24.95.

Francis Greenway's life contains all the ingredients that architectural legends are made of: a fiery, passionate and not always rational nature; an English background linked to masonry and names like John Nash; an involvement in lotteries and forgery that eventually led to transportation to New South Wales, salvation in the form of Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie; a brief and illustrious career as Colonial Architect, before desperate decline and death.

Like *Old Colonial Buildings in Australia* this volume is chiefly a vehicle for Max Dupain's splendid black and white photography.

While Francis Greenway is its architectural mainstay, later additions to his buildings by James Barnet and Walter Liberty Vernon and others are somewhat cheekily introduced. It is interesting to note the subtle and respectful changes wrought over time by sympathetic later architects: John Verge's totally harmonious vestry and porches to St James', King Street; the 1923 portico to St Luke's at Liverpool; and Leslie Wilkinson's effective colour scheme to the ceiling of St Matthew's at Windsor. Such careful and responsive understatement in new work is unfortunately rare in architectural circles.

Barnet seems to have had real sympathy for Greenway's work, and his replacement of the Doric-shafted Macquarie Light with a copy is the ultimate of architectural complements. Both architects shared the great classical tradition of proportioned facades, and Barnet's colonnade to Greenway's Supreme Court, Sydney, uses a compatible language of arcades and pilasters.

However, the inclusion of the wonderfully fanciful cast iron Moorish staircase set above a pavement of glass and iron, and the curvaceous gilded interior of the Banco Court (both in the Supreme Court group) will both delight and puzzle readers, and would probably outrage Greenway, were he available for comment.

Max Freeland's introduction is competent and lucid, but offers few new insights into the man and his times. British and colonial society and its design aspirations are briefly touched on. The store and stable at Mt Gilead, near Menangle, which may be by Greenway is not mentioned; Hobartville, Richmond, is not illustrated; and his last and most sophisticated work, a house for Robert Campbell, junior, in Bligh Street, Sydney, is given a setting in The Rocks and no analysis.

Freeland examines Greenway's Gothic work and writes of the "unfortunate" results. The only surviving example, the Governor's Stables, have been integrated into Vernon's Conservatorium of Music, with a loss of much of the charm evident in early photographs. The Gothic "castle" provided a delicate screen of pointed openings and castellated turrets to the utilitarian stable yard.

While Greenway's superb Classical works such as the Hyde Park Barracks are recognised as the finest creations of the early colonial phase, it is these diverse and eclectic buildings, which draw on new design sources and the latest pattern books and herald the coming of the Victorian age, that have been the subject of recent interest and academic study.

These more curious of buildings offer real clues about Greenway's interests, and especially about the Macquaries' tastes and their aspiration to provide New South Wales with "improvement", aesthetic, environmental and social, in keeping with fashionable British attitudes.

Howard Tanner

E M Webster, *Whirlwinds in the Plain: Ludwig Leichhardt - friends, foes and history*, Melbourne University Press, 1980, xii + 462 pp, \$28.50

This book has received a number of complimentary reviews, but I found it frustrating. Despite some very considerable qualities, the book is a failure.

It deals, as the subtitle suggests, with Leichhardt's associates and the way we can discover him through them. It is not directly about Leichhardt. This is a worthwhile subject for although many of these associates have till now been obscure (disregarding obvious exceptions like Sir Thomas Mitchell) they are very interesting as individuals of the second rank.

They provide a rich content in which to see men like Leichhardt more accurately.

These associates are also vital to Leichhardt's story because so much historical comment has been based on their observations of the German explorer. And Webster has shown clearly that, too often, their testimony was coloured by various prejudices and yet has been taken at face value.

The fact that it is documentary evidence from people with first hand knowledge of the subject, has carried historians to lower their critical guard. Webster's achievement is to scrutinise that testimony critically, in the light of their backgrounds, personalities, ambitions and axe-grinding.

The book is a *tour de force*, an epic, of patient investigation of obscure people, and for such scholarship Webster deserves praise.

Her prose style is good. She describes scenes and personalities in a lively way. It is a large book, full of minutiae which she has mastered.

But where the book fails is in its overall argument: it does not have one. In her preface she notes:

*The story of Leichhardt, his associates, and his reputation, undoubtedly tells much more about the people who have made of it a kind of modern myth. What it tells us, readers must judge for themselves, since adequate discussions would require virtually another book.*

This is an admission of failure. It is the author's primary job to draw conclusions from the evidence presented, not the reader's. Had Webster done so, the book would have had a clearer and more purposeful structure, far less verbiage, with a main title which actually means something, and the reader would not be left wondering what it had all been for.

Alan Roberts