The Hills Look Down to the Sea: A Thematic History of the Ballina Shire

'Each landscape has been built up over the years, and contains within its individual features the history of settlement, with its major components of social structure, political ambitions, and technology, each reflected in particular buildings, structures, land cover and property boundaries.' [1]

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[1] Jeans, Dean, *The Open Air Museum: The Cultural Landscape*, Allen & Unwin, 1980.

THE ENVIRONMENT – NATURALLY EVOLVED

The Ballina Shire landscape lies within a broader geographic landscape known by local Goori people as the Bundjalung nation. The borders of this nation are delineated by the tribal boundary within which the Bundjalung peoples lived for many thousands of years before Europeans permanently settled here from the 1840s. The many natural features and landforms that made up the Bundjalung landscape were understood by the Bundjalung peoples to be the creations of their Dreamtime ancestors. While Dreaming stories relating to the creation of Bundjalung country are unique, in that they refer to specific localities, Dreaming stories are a shared characteristic of all Indigenous Australian cultures.

As a direct legacy of European invasion, and settlement of the Australian continent, many Dreaming stories belonging to Bundjalung peoples have been 'lost', while others remain secret, held by Bundjalung peoples and their communities as sacred and private stories. Some however have been shared with the broader non-indigenous community in an effort to foster understanding and appreciation of Bundjalung culture and peoples. Perhaps the most well known Dreaming story relating to the Bundjalung nation is the creation of Goanna Headland, the place where Bundjalung peoples say they first arrived in their territory many generations ago.[2]

While some of the first Europeans to traverse Bundjalung Country marvelled at the beauty and extent of the natural environment, it was a beauty that was subordinate to the primary interest of developing the colony and, later, the nation economically. Preoccupied with scientific ideas that suggested Anglo-Saxons, and most things associated with their culture, were superior to all other cultures, nineteenth century European thought justified both seizing 'new' lands and transforming the landscape to, perceived, better ends.[3] However intriguing to the early European settlers, the native vegetation was considered inferior to the European farming landscape, because it was believed unproductive, a virtual wasteland in its native state.

As noted in the shire's Wardell Heritage Study, land within the immediate vicinity of the Richmond River near Wardell was considered valuable to the first European settlers because of its alluvial rich fertility. The proximity of this land to the river also enabled the convenient transport of produce such as maize and then sugar cane to markets and for processing at nearby sugar mills.

The topography of the river plains also slightly eased the hard work of growing crops by European farmers with tasks such as ploughing aided by the flatness of the ground. The alluvial rich floodplain areas around Ballina and North Creek also saw early sugar cane farming emerge in these areas. In contrast to alluvial areas, the soils away from North Creek in the vicinity of the present day Lennox Head village were 'poor', supporting only hard shrubby heath plants, which saw these areas survive the Europeans' hunger for

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[2] Cook, Lois, 'Jinda Walla News', *The Advocate*, November 1, 2001.

[3] Here both the Linnean idea of the "Great Chain of Being" which classified animal and plants (including people) in an evolutionary hierarchy ranging from the least, to the most advanced is referred to. Later Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (1859) challenged the Linnean concept that all living things were in a fixed state and were unchangeable. Darwin's theory argued that species were able to adapt but only the strongest would survive the course of adaptation. For references to these ideas see White, Richard, *Inventing Australia*, Allen & Unwin, 1981 & Griffiths, Tom, 'Past Silences: Aborigines and Convicts in our History-Making', *Australian Cultural History*, No. 6, 1987.

profitable farming land. To the east of these floodplain areas lays the sea, though Europeans later used this environment for recreation (see theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life*). It also aided the successful farming of cane, and other activities, in these areas. This vast expanse of water ensured warmer temperatures along the coast reducing the risk of winter frosts, which could devastate cane crops and did so in areas further inland. That this environment was intrinsic to a significant natural beach and dunal system, and its cycles, would only be fully appreciated in later decades.

To the north west of Wardell, where the Alstonville Plateau rises and the soil turns to 'red', dairy farming emerged as the dominant economic enterprise of the first Europeans to settle here. Dairy farming in these areas had been preceded by cedar-cutters camped in a number of localities on the Plateau and around its fringe. These camps were within the south-eastern extremity of the Wollumbin[4] larva flow and hence, the red basalt soils which sustained the 'Big Scrub' cedar.[5] Other Big Scrub and dry forest timbers (located in pockets at Coolgardie and Bagotville) were also sought once the cedar was exhausted, including rosewood, teak, pine & beech. That, above all, the elevation of the Alstonville Plateau/red soil areas had the fertility to sustain the grazing of dairy herds meant this country was cleared of more than 99 percent of its natural 'scrub' over the decades since European settlement, to shape the farming/rural landscape of the present day Plateau.

The Uralba valley farming landscape - 1940s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

The appreciation of the shire's diverse natural heritage for its intrinsic natural heritage value is a relatively new phenomenon, in that it has begun to engender widespread support and frameworks put in place to appropriately conserve these areas. Though, some accounts dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrate the occasional voice that advocated for the conservation of some natural

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[4] Also known as Mt Warning.

[5] Johnson, Ross, *A geographic information systems inventory of the Big Scrub remnants as a conservation management tool*, Integrated Project, Faculty of Resource Science and Management, University of New England, Northern Rivers, 1992, see especially pp. 3-5.

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vegetation areas. Most, however, in this period may have lamented the demise of the diverse natural areas the shire boasted but rationalised the destruction of native vegetation as part of the 'march of progress', as suggested by the following account of a 'pioneer' recalling the landscape of Alstonville Plateau area in the 1860s.

> 'What a vast contrast to its primitive state of eighty years ago! The whole district was then covered with a dense and almost impenetrable jungle – trees, undergrowth and vines. Mammoth cedar, pine, beech, teak, bean, rosewood, cudgery, Booyong and yellow wood with their enormous spurs: the parasitical fig, and numerous other trees in endless variety towered one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height. Fern, bangalow palm, climbing bamboo, treacherous lawyer vine, and an amazing wealth of vegetation covered the banks of the creeks and moist levels nearby, creating in places an impregnable labyrinth. Almost every little gully had its streamlet of clear, cold water, with only an occasional broken ray of sunshine falling upon it.
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> The wilderness of scrub was the home of myriads of birds, many being of unsurpassable beauty. Here were great flocks of harsh screaming cockatoos, black cockatoos, with their plaintive cry, parrots and pigeons in wonderful variety and countless numbers, laughing jackasses, beautiful riflemen, dragon, regent, satin and cat birds, lyre-birds with their remarkable tails and mocking cries, coach whips noted for their striking calls, bower-birds with their curious playgrounds, brush turkeys, the builders of immense nests of heaped rubbish and leaves, pheasants, tollewongs and numerous others, both large and small. Wonderful was the melody ringing through the bush on a spring morning from ten thousand birds' throats! Here also dwelt the bandicoot and bush rat, the porcupine, the cunning "goanna", the lizard and the treacherous snake.
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> The stillness of the night was broken by the mournful howl of the dingo, the hoot of the mopoke, the laughing call of the opossum, the dull thud of the paddymelon as he bounded along his well-beaten track, and by the shriek of the quarrelsome flying fox, whose camp was in the swamp below or in the wild rocky gully on the side of the mountain.'[6]

The natural heritage areas nominated as part of this study process do not encapsulate all of the shire's significant natural heritage areas – to consider in greater depth all of these is beyond the scope of this work. Most of the natural areas nominated however are already zoned as environmental protection areas under Council's current local environmental plan (LEP). The intrinsic natural heritage of all of these areas cannot be extensively documented here either as this information is vast. However, that most of these areas have to some degree been documented in support of current environmental protection zones has seen this study focus more on the documentation of cultural heritage values associated with these areas.

The intrinsic values of the shire's diverse natural heritage nominated for this study are however noted. The extensive coastal rainforest stands that once carpeted the above noted floodplain areas are now represented only by small pockets in the shire. The uniqueness, and scarcity, of these vegetation communities makes remnant coastal rainforest areas highly significant environmental heritage. These include areas north of Shelly Beach, at Boulder Beach and in the South Ballina area. Similarly, only small pockets of the shire's sub-tropical rainforest areas remain, including areas protected at Victoria Park, Uralba Nature Reserve and at Coolgardie and Lumley Park on the Alstonville

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[6] Extract 'Alstonville – Its Early History and Progress', RRHS Files, Alstonville locality file.

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Plateau. These plant communities also support several endangered flora and fauna species.

The heathland area around Lennox Head is also a highly valued natural environment, which also skirts Lake Ainsworth. A significant area of heath also surrounds the East Ballina cemetery and contributes significantly to its setting. At East Ballina the Chickiba Wetland is protected by SEPP 14 Wetlands legislation. Unique pine forest areas also border this wetland area, which is protected by an environmental protection zone under the LEP.

Rock platforms at Flat Rock and Shelly Beach are protected by coastal reserve environmental zonings, that also protect the broader beach dune environments. The values of the Flat Rock rock platform have been more broadly recognised as being highly significant, the documentation of this significance remains however insubstantial. The escarpment areas at Shaws Bay, Lighthouse Hill and at Pat Morton Lookout, Condon's Hill at Lennox Head, and at Coolgardie have local geological significance and are valued for their visual amenity. The view south from the Ballina waterfront area, adjacent River Street, is also valued for its visual amenity that the natural environment creates.

The themes *Peopling Australia, Developing Australia's Cultural Life & Developing Local Regional and National Economies*, document the cultural values associated with the shire's beach, dune systems and escarpment areas, as well as Lake Ainsworth, the Richmond River and the waterfalls that lie on a number of the shire's small creeks and the rainforest remnants located at Lumley and Victoria Parks.

PEOPLING AUSTRALIA

EXPLORATION – HENRY ROUS' 'DISCOVERY' OF THE RICHMOND RIVER

When Cook sailed the Endeavour along the east coast in 1770, both he and his companions overlooked the entrance of the Richmond River as it was, then, 'well-concealed'. Not until 1828 did Captain Henry Rous aboard the HMS *Rainbow* 'discover' and name the Richmond River.[7]

Henry John Rous, captain of HMS Rainbow, the first European to discover the mouth of the Richmond River in 1828.

EUROPEAN MIGRATION TO THE BALLINA SHIRE AREA

Cedar cutters and families

It is well documented that cedar cutters and their families were the first Europeans to 'settle' on the Richmond following the news of an overland journey of a small party of cutters from the Clarence in the spring of 1842. Equipped with bullocks and a whaleboat these men, after reaching the Richmond at Codrington (near Casino), launched their boat and rowed to the mouth of the River at Ballina. After checking the bar at Ballina they journeyed back to the Clarence to collect their families and tools before returning on board the *Sally*.

Within several years of the first cedar cutters coming to the Richmond, Ballina had become a small cedar settlement boasting huts and sawpits, and the landscape dotted with stacks of cedar. The settlement, then known as Richmond River Heads, was from the mid-1840s and early 1850s also servicing other smaller cedar settlements along the larger tributaries of the river including at Duck and Emigrant Creeks (Uralba and Tintenbar) and further down River at Wardell, or Blackwall as it was then known. [8]

Other accounts of the settlement of cedar men and their families in the Ballina district provide important information about the location of early cedar camps in the Ballina

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[7] For greater detail of Rous' voyage see Daley, Louise, *Men and a River*, Melbourne University Press, pp. 1-13.
[8] Hall, Glen, *The Port of Richmond River: Ballina 1840s to 1980s*, Northern Star Print, Lismore 1983, pp. 7-8.

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Shire as well as the nature of day to day living in these camps. The earliest of these camps to establish was at Shaws Bay, or East Ballina as this area was first known.

In 1922 Jas Ainsworth, urged by a former editor of the *Richmond River Times*, Thomas Russell, made a written record of his recollections of early Ballina. Recalling his arrival at the East Ballina settlement as a child in 1847 Ainsworth described Shaws Bay as 'the little colony of whites at East Ballina'. His account also provides important insights into why the first Europeans to settle at Shaws Bay chose this spot. 'A small stream of water, which emptied into the river at the pilot sheds, supplied the necessary commodity.' This site also allowed for the convenient loading of ships that took the cedar from the Richmond to be sold in Sydney and Melbourne. In the earliest years the difficulty in traversing further up the River thwarted its loading from other locations.[9]

The first cedar families at East Ballina also established themselves in huts, which were 'plain slab structures with bark roofs and mudfloors'. Unable to own land at this time, the earliest cedar families settled the East Ballina area by the 'right of pre-emption' granted upon the purchase of a cedar license. Jas Ainsworth also recalled these facets of the East Ballina settlement. 'We occupied a rough shelter on the land. My father's title to the land was by pre-emptive right – a right recognised in those days, in the case of first settlers.'[10]

Another prominent early feature of the East Ballina settlement was the sawpits that were established there. Ainsworth recalls that in the early days the number of sawpits grew to six. 'Beside the stream and underneath the big fig tree, was dug the sawpit, at which the first Richmond River cedar was cut. The number of sawpits rapidly increased to six and the camp became a scene of much activity. These sawpits, it might be mentioned, were situated about where Pilot-boatman Johnson's house now stands'.[11]

The rapid expansion of the East Ballina settlement saw the emergence of another cedar camp on the riverbank at West Ballina in the early 1840s, (now Ballina proper in the vicinity of present day Norton and Martin Streets). The precise date of when the camp emerged in West Ballina is not certain. Surveyor James Burnett however indicated on his survey maps of the river in July 1945 huts on the riverbank at West Ballina.[12] Ainsworth's accounts also indicate the establishment of sawpits in this area. 'At the beginning, the first cedar was felled at Prospect and up the North Creek, and rafted down to the pits at East Ballina, and later on to the pits at West Ballina at the present ends of Norton and Martin Streets.'[13]

Ainsworth has also suggested that the 'second cedar waterway to be opened up and developed after North Creek was Emigrant Creek'. The settlement at Emigrant Creek, like the settlement at West Ballina, established within a short time of Europeans' settlement of the area with Surveyor James Burnett's maps also indicating the presence of 'huts' at Emigrant Creek. 'The name Emigrant Creek was given to the fine tributary owing to the fact that Henry Williams and Tom Brandon, who were immigrants fixed their camps at

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[9] Ainsworth, Jas & Russell, Thomas, *Reminiscences: Ballina in the Early Days*, 1987 Edition, Economy Printing Service, Knockrow NSW,
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[11] Ainsworth, Jas & Russell, Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 4.
[12] Sketchbooks of Surveyor James Burnett, NSW State Records, AO Reel 5293.
[13] Ainsworth, Jas & Russell, Thomas, *op. cit.,* p. 5. Simpson's hut and sawpit is recorded to have been positioned at the north end of Norton Street, nearby the site of the Returned Servicemen's Home.

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Cumbulam, on the land later free-selected by the late Mr Geo[rge]. Topfer, senr. In due course larger and more important camps were formed, the principal ones being at Duck Creek, Teven and Tintenbar'. At Wardell a cedar camp was established at least from the early 1850s (see *Wardell Community Based Heritage Study* for further details).[14]

It has been later recorded that Joe McGuire, one of the first cedar cutters to come to the Richmond is noted as being the first to establish a hut at Tintenbar. Moreover, it is suggested that the cedar camp at Tintenbar was deliberately established at the junction of Emigrant and Teven Creeks.

> 'Emigrant Creek flows from the north and skirts the base of a basalt ridge. It was quiete deep at this point and enabled fairly large vessels to come in. It was therefore ideal for the shipment of cedar from the surrounding hills.'[15]

Ainsworth has noted that the discovery of gold (in other parts of the country) saw a sudden growth in cedar camps in the mid-1850s as well as the nature of the lifestyles experienced by cedar families.

> 'The general conditions of the river settlement were bad in the extreme until about the middle fifties, when the discovery of gold took place. They were of such character, indeed, as to be scarcely intelligible to the men and women of nowadays. At the beginning there were neither horses, nor cattle, no police, no doctors, no schools, no clergy, no churches, no banks, no money, no roads and only scant and interrupted supplies of the bare necessities of life. The outbreak of the diggings, however, brought widespread prosperity to the colony and better days for the river. The price of cedar which had hitherto ranged from 10/ to 15/ per 100ft. in Sydney at once bounded up to 3/2/6 per 100ft. At this fabulous sum it was as valuable as the gold itself. As a result men flocked to the river to seek their fortunes in the scrubs, but the matter of transport became a serious difficulty owing to the sailors deserting the sea for the various "rushes"'.[16]

Though Ainsworth explains that the fortunes created by the gold rushes began to transform the basic conditions that had characterised Ballina and its settlement of cedar cutters, in the early years this change came gradually, or not at all for some. Not all cedar men who made good money harvesting red cedar were to dress according to the standards their earnings may have allowed as one newspaper report suggested. Mr .V . J. Norris who came to the Richmond in 'the early years' later described his first observations of one cedar cutter to a newspaper journalist.

> 'When he [Norris] landed he was dressed up with a bell topper hat, frill shirt and tail coat. The first man he met was old Dan Woods with torn moleskin trousers and his legs too far through them. He was rather astonished to hear the old man ask Eyles [the storekeeper] for his account and see the latter hand over £250 to the man with the tattered clothes. He asked himself what sort of a place have I come to?'[17]

Few other sources provide greater insights into the work and lifestyle history of cedar cutters and their families in the region. In all, this history is narrowly understood to date. Records that do exist however reveal interesting facets of the lives of these early settlers. The diaries of Richard Glascott are significant in that they provide an extremely rare day-

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[14] Ballina Shire Council, *Wardell Community Based Heritage Study*, Ballina Shire Council, February 2004, see especially pp. 23-24 & 26-27.
[15] Henderson, Margaret, 'Tintenbar: Frontier Town', *The Northern Star*, 6 February, 1999.
[16] Ainsworth, Jas & Russell, Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[17] 'The Gathering of the Grey Beards', *The Northern Star*, May 21, 1902.

to-day account of families living in the Newrybar and Tintenbar areas in the 1860s.[18] Glascott worked in these localities cutting cedar and in mixed farming and, as his diaries reveal, supporting a wife and children, as were other cedar men. Importantly Glascott's diaries debunk the stereotype that all cedar cutters were single, and engaged in constant drunkard behaviour.

Other records of the camp at Duck Creek provide insights into some of the activities and hint at the personalities associated with the harvesting of cedar and life in cedar camps.

> 'A camp was established at the head of the tidal waters at Duck Creek, a stream which derived its name from the fact that great numbers of wild duck were found there. From here the cedar getters radiated into the 'Big Scrub', cutting tracks just wide enough to permit the timber wagons to be drawn along. They were not unduly troubled about easy grades. The shortest routes to the cedar were often over a succession of hills and hollows, and these were the routes almost invariably taken. …[T]he 'Big Scrub' was honeycombed with tracks, the wagons in wet seasons gouging out deep ruts which seventy years have not been able in all cases to obliterate. …The cedar was sometimes sawn into pieces, in sawpits, before removal from the bush, but generally it was hauled in logs to Duck Creek, and loaded into schooners or rafted to Ballina, for shipment to Sydney or overseas.

> … To very few living men will the names of the earlier cedar getters be known. When the late Pearson Simpson came to Duck Creek about the year 1848, the others in residence were Joe Eyles, Fred Bacon and Billy Woodward. Billy Woodward suffered a tragic fate, being burned to death. A keg of rum, coming into contact with a naked light, exploded and his clothes caught fire. …Other early men were "Manny" Davis, Frank Moorish, Billy Dais, Jimmy Johnson, who cut for years about the old camp and up the Uralba Valley, Jim Brown, "Ruggy" Ned, …Bruffie and Weaver…'.[19]

The sites of some cedar camps may have the potential to reveal further information about the work and lifestyle of cedar cutters and their families. These places are also important sites that tell of the history of European settlement of the Ballina area and the beginnings of the timber industry on the far north coast.

Timber workers, Lennox Head area, n.d. Image courtesy of BSC records.

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[18] Lester, Marlene (ed.), *The Glascott Diaries: The Diaries and Account of Books of Richard Donovan Glascott A Timber-getter on the Richmond River in the 1860s and 1870s*, The Xerox Shop, Lismore 2001.
[19] Author unrecorded, 'Alstonville: its Early History and Progress', extract in RRHS Files, Alstonville Localities,[date of publication estimated to be around 1930], pp. 4-5.

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Early European merchants and other service providers follow cedar cutters

As the number of cedar camps on the Richmond increased steadily throughout the 1840s and 1850s other settlers moved to the area to take advantage of the economic opportunities that surrounded the cedar cutting trade. Sawyers, storekeepers, ship-owners and shipwrights were some of the many occupations burgeoning cedar-camps supported. With many of the camps accommodating women and children also, the need for clergy to guide and take care of the moral and spiritual lives of settlers, as well as, teachers to instruct the children of the cedar–camps added further diversity to the Ballina settlements.[20] (See later themes *Developing Local, Regional National Economies & Developing Settlements Towns and Cities*).

Farmers and farming families

With the passing of the *Robertson Land Acts* from 1861 opportunities were opened up for those already settled in the area, as well as those living further a field who had heard of the good fortunes to be made on the Richmond. Since the Robertson Land Acts changed the way land was allocated beyond surveyed towns and required selectors to *occupy* their chosen tracts of land, farmers and farming families dominated the next wave of early settlers to the shire.

Farming activities were to drastically transform the cultural landscape in the proceeding decades following the introduction of the *Robertson Land Acts*. Settlers who took up farming both crops and animals gradually cleared the land of much of its natural vegetation, to enable their activity. 'Improvements' that marked the landscape included the making of roads and the construction of buildings and fences.

Like the earlier cedar-settlements, the growth of farming settlements spurred on the movement of other occupations and services to the area also.[21] A memorial to Alstonville's European farming pioneers is located in Freeborn Park. (For further detail of the histories of activities and people associated with Agriculture, Forestry, Commerce, Industry, Mining and Fishing in the Ballina Shire see these theme *Developing Local, Regional National Economies*).

Ethnic peoples and cultures

The history of Ethnic communities remains one of the poorest documented aspects of the shire's history. Scant evidence uncovered for this study however reveals that significant communities of Chinese, Indian, Italian and Eastern European peoples have made important contributions to the social and/or economic development of Ballina or its villages and other localities. However, only the histories of Chinese and Indian families associated with the Ballina Shire are featured in this study as only items or places relating to these peoples remain distinguishable features in the cultural landscape.

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[20] Lester, *op. cit.*
[21] See Wardell Pioneers Folder, Blackwall Historical Society, Wardell.

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- *Chinaman's Wharf – Bagotville & Chinese retailers – River Street, Ballina*

Features relating to the history of Chinese peoples include a stone wharf at Bagotville and the site of Yum's General Store in River Street Ballina. Both these items represent occupations traditionally taken up by Chinese Australians during this era – namely market gardening and retailing.[22] The histories of families associated with the wharf at Bagotville have not been uncovered to date. This does not diminish the significance of this item, it simply makes it more difficult to interpret the item's history aside from being associated with market gardening in the district.

While the past Chinese population on the North Coast generally has always been small compared to many NSW cities, country towns or other rural areas, it is known that significant numbers of Chinese families settled on the North Coast in the late nineteenth century. Records pertaining to the Wardell area also record Chinese market gardeners living at Pimlico and camping at Meerschaum Vale. Sites relating to the experience of the Chinese in the shire and on the North Coast are indeed rare and represent an important part of the region's history.

Norman and Junnie (Olga) Yum came to Ballina in 1952 from Texas (Queensland). Their move to Ballina at this time meant they were the only Chinese family living in the town. However, the business they purchased was owned by another Chinese family – the Yees, who moved away from Ballina following the sale of their business to the Yums.

The Yums apparently moved to Ballina to take up this new business opportunity. Initially they operated the store under its former name Harry Yee's & Co. Memories recorded by the Yum's daughter suggest her parents laboured tirelessly in their store, as was the work ethic of many Australian Chinese.

> 'My parents brought the business and there began many years of hard work, much of it very tiring, but they always enjoyed the interaction with their customers. Yee's had sold everything from drapery, manchester, crockery, groceries, and much more. My parents decided to concentrate on groceries, hardware and toys, but their remained a plethora of odds and ends for sale right to the end … fishing hooks, sinkers, nails, bolts. My Dad knew exactly where everything was. My mother spent far too many hours dusting the chinaware and trying to keep some semblance of order throughout. For us children the memories are varied … of being able to choose a special toy for Christmas, and hoarding a goodly supply of fire works for Empire Day, and eating biscuits of choice from the Arnott's Biscuits boxes. The downside was having to work during the Summer holidays before and after Christmas, while everyone was at Shaws Bay or Lighthouse Beach!! It took years to learn how to close the bags after we weighed up the sugar. Basil, my brother remembers working out in the shed with the tin roof filling the methylated spirits and kerosene bottles. HOT!!'[23]

The Yum's daughter also recalled that their ethnicity made their lives difficult at times, and in the face of prejudice from others in the town. Apparently too the Yees had had this experience, and it has been suggested that the fire that destroyed their first store in River Street in 1939, the night before it opened, was deliberately lit in response to their presence in the town. 'It wasn't easy moving to a town where being Chinese was still

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[22] Wilton, Janis, *Golden Threads: The Chinese in Rural New South Wales*, New England Regional Art Museum, 2004.
[23] 'A Brief Personal history of Norman and Junnie (Olga) Yum's life in Ballina 1952-1988 & 1996, Yum Family files, RRHS.

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something of a novelty'.[24] The Yums however sought to prove their worth and became active members of the community. Norman Yum was an active member of the Ballina Public School P & C, including holding the position of President for many years. Junnie Yum was also a dedicated worker in the school canteen. The Yums also became involved in the town's sporting & community associations, including the Bowling Club and the Ballina Quota Club. The dedication of Norman Yum to the community saw him receive 'Citizen of the Year' in 1970.[25]

- ### *Indian Farm labourers – Henderson Farm, North Creek*

Local records show that the earliest Indian or "Hindoo" (as they were often called) families to come to the North Coast arrived in the 1890s. They took up work on farms as labourers in the broader Richmond River area. 'Indians were very much a part of the local farming community. They were often from a rural caste known as Jat and from villages in central Punjab.' A number of farms in the Ballina Shire area also employed Indian labourers. Some of the Indian families that settled in the shire were to become landholders or married into European families.

Among the histories of Indian families recorded is that of the Singhs who were employed by Ted Henderson at North Creek.[26] Here the Singhs were engaged to undertake a variety of labouring tasks.

> 'Ram Singh, Churder Singh and "Jimmy" Nudda Singh employed by Ted Henderson, cleared lantana, ploughed land, cultivated and cut sugar cane and bananas. Ram and Churda lived in huts on the property while "Jimmy" resided with the Henderson family. Cane was carried by drays to wharves on North Creek and loaded onto punts to be taken to Ballina, while bananas were transported on the "Wollongbah" and "Pulgerbah" from Byron Bay.'[27]

It is also recorded that Indian farm labourers assisted construction of dry stone walls on the Henderson farm, though it not clear which walls these are.[28]

Stories of Indian labourers in the shire and at the Henderson farm, like the experience of Chinese families, suggest they were often subject to prejudice. Among the ways this prejudice manifest was in these labourers being paid less and doing work Europeans preferred not to undertake as the following documents. 'In this particular locality it is not an easy matter to obtain white labour at a reasonable price for the work of clearing the land of lantana which grows profusely and Hindoos are frequently employed for the purpose. Indeed, in a further recorded instance a "Hindoo" was refused the contract to

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[24] *Ibid.*
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Ted Henderson, is the son of John Austin Henderson, who selected land at North Creek in the early 1860s.
[27] Centenary Committee, *Lennox Head Public School Centenary, 1882-1982*, Northern Star Print, Lismore, 1982, pp. 44-45.
[28] For reference to assistance given by Indian labourers to construct dry stone walls on the Henderson farm see, Milner, Malcolm, 'Dry Stone Walls of Lennox Head', unpublished manuscript, BSC Files. Milners' work was compiled from records and reminiscences relating to/and told by members of the Henderson family. His work on dry stone walls in the Lennox Head area suggests that Indian farm labourers assisted John Austin Henderson in the construction of walls. It is likely that walls built before the early 1890s were not constructed with Indian labour as records suggest Indian labourers came to the district in the 1890s.

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clear the new North Creek school site [on North Creek Road] of lantana and weeds in 1903. Though the school Inspector at the time recommended the 'coloured man['s]' labour, the Minister for Education, Mr John Perry, advised that 'he was "not disposed to accept any of the tenders".[29]

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[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

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BUILDING SETTLEMENTS, TOWNS AND CITIES

TOWNS AND VILLAGES

The very few Bundjalung place names that remain in the shire's cultural landscape only hint at the complex network of names that Europeans paid little attention to when exploring and settling the area. There are of course some exceptions and the reasons why these place names were kept varies. Indeed it has been recorded that the name Ballina is derived from the Bundjalung word 'Bullenah'. Many variations of its meaning have also been documented.

In *Across Three Rivers* Cliff Murray cites the Australian Encyclopedia as suggesting the name '… comes from Bullenah and relates to fish and oysters. A more common belief is that it derives from fighting, wounding and dying', i.e. the actions associated with a *bullen-bullen,* the Bundjalung term for a fight or warfare. A number of other sources cited by Murray also suggest that 'Bullenah', 'Bullinah' or 'Boolinah' (and other spellings) was recorded by both Surveyor Peppercorne in the 1850s. These terms were suggested to him by cedar-cutters living in the area as being of 'native origin'. Other 'old hands' of a later generation have also argued that the origin of the name is 'aboriginal'.[30]

A more recent and thoroughly researched source of information suggests, however, the name of Ballina is less likely to have originated from the ideas of fighting, wounding and dying, than water or fish and oysters. This research is based on linguistic analysis and suggests Ballina is derived from the Gidhabal or Widjabal (a dialect of the Bundjalung) word *balluna* meaning where the river enters the sea, with the shorter word *balun* being the term for a river or creek (i.e. water in the form of a river or creek).

The further suggestion that Ballina was named after the town Balliná (pronounced Ballin–nah) in Northern Ireland is also linked to the argument that the term is of 'Aboriginal origin', but a different term than that suggested by linguists in more recent times. It seems this idea was first recorded Mr Ewen MacKinnon in 1899, (who was the first returning officer for Ballina Municipal Council), and he claimed his source was 'the old hands' of the area. Mackinnon, though doubting the old hands' version, suggested that Surveyor Peppercorne chose the name Ballina after the town in Northern Ireland (his homeland) because of the close sounding term *bullen-bullen;* a term others have noted was used to refer to Ballina by the Bundjalung. Whether Peppercorne recorded that he named Ballina because he knew of the term *bullen-bullen*, or like MacKinnon, relied on the old hands for his information is not clearly indicated by gathered sources. Reference to Peppercorne's notes and sketchbooks held by NSW State Records might give further insights.

Whatever the precise circumstances surrounding the naming of Ballina, its gazettal followed the official survey of the town by Frederick Peppercorne in the mid-1850s. Peppercorne's survey map marks the present day Shaws Bay area as an area allocated for 'Town Allotments [sic]', and the southeast portion of the present day Ballina Island as 'Suburban Allotments [sic]'. While Shaws Bay remained an area that was busy with the work of saw-millers, shipping and the Pilot in the earliest decades of Ballina's settlement by Europeans, it was in the area Peppercorne originally surveyed for suburban allotments that the present day town developed.

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[30] Murray, *op. cit*, pp. 9-14.

Before Peppercorne's survey of the present day town centre however, Norton Street was Ballina's 'main street'. An array of businesses emerged along Norton Street in the earliest years of settlement including The Sawyer's Arms and Ross' General Store, which housed the first Post Office. Though from the 1860s, at least, businesses began to operate from Ballina's riverfront area Norton Street remained an area from where businesses also operated. In addition, both the Anglican and Methodist churches established on Norton Street in the 1880s given it remained a prominent part of the town. One of the reasons for its importance of course was that its northern wharf on North Creek remained an important docking point for ships bringing goods to and from Ballina until the late 1890s. Norton Street also provided a direct route from its wharf to the government wharf that operated form its southern, or the Richmond River, end, from where goods and people were then transported to other settlements along, or connected to, the river and its estuaries.

The growth in the number of ships coming into port meant vessels eventually made their way into the main river to dock and deliver or receive goods and people. It was the eventual commencement of the construction of the breakwall that led to the disuse of the north Norton Street wharf by vessels coming into port. This wharf, following the cessation of ships docking here, remained in position for some years.

The area where the present day township is situated was, and remained, low lying, having emerged from areas Peppercorne also described as 'Flat Forest'. Over the decades, however, these areas were raised, or 'filled', with shell or sand to encourage better drainage of both tidal and flood waters that frequently came into the town. Ballina's earliest businesses that were established here were constructed of weatherboard and included inns or hotels and general stores; catering to both those who had settled here and passed through on ships, or by other means. These businesses were located close to, or fronted the river, given the reliance on it for the transport of people and goods to and from Ballina. As the number of business outlets expanded many began to be located back from the river, along River Street, and eventually a great variety of commercial enterprise emerged. (See theme *Developing Local Regional and National Economies*).

The early decades of the twentieth century saw the construction of an increasing number of business buildings from masonry or brick. This development was encouraged by Ballina Municipal Council and following a spate of major fires in the main street. The Post Office and Court House, however, were the first brick or masonry buildings constructed in the town, two decades earlier. As the decades proceeded, more and more businesses and shops were built from brick or masonry, or at least incorporated facades made of these materials. It is intriguing to note that on the very edges of all this development much of Ballina Island remained rural in character in that small farms existed. These farms included dairying and mixed farming activities.

The emergence of the shire's villages, as detailed in the earlier theme *Peopling Australia*, stemmed from cedar and farming settlements. The cedar camps at Emigrant Creek and Uralba led to the growth of the villages of Tintenbar and Duck Creek Mountain (Alstonville). Duck Creek Mountain village, originally located on the crest of Perry's Hill also serviced travellers moving to and from the settlement of Lismore. The relocation of the Duck Creek village to its present locality occurred in the early 1900s following the

growth of business in Alstonville's present day Main Street. This growth resulted from the eventual farming of the plateau, both mixed and dairy.

While Alstonville was named by John Perry in 1873, by adapting his wife's maiden name Alston, to Alstonville, Tintenbar is documented to derive from the Bundjalung language. Records indicate its varied meanings; place of short-tailed paddymelon; junction of two creeks; wild cucumber; right-hand creek; place of strong winds.[31] It is further recorded that the names Newrybar and Teven are also derived from the Bundjalung language. Newrybar is recorded to mean 'place of climbing vines' that were found in this area.[32] Teven is understood to mean the place of the stinging tree.[33] Nearby Pearce's Creek however is named after cedar cutter Jimmy Pearce.[34]

The growth of the village of Lennox Head, as later themes detail, is closely linked to the shire's recreational history; the village emerging with the first subdivision that took place in 1922. The broader Lennox Head/North Creek area however was farmed by Europeans from the 1860s, and farming was further preceded by the activities of cedar cutters. The naming of both Lennox Head and North Creek derives partly from prominent landscape features at these localities. Lennox Head after Lennox headland which was named by Rous after in recognition of his friend and patron the Duke of Richmond and Lennox.[35] North Creek was so named given its location to the north of the Richmond's main arm.

MURRAY VIEWS No. 2. OVERLOOKING LENNOX HEAD, N.S.W.

Lennox Head Village - 1950s. Image courtesy Lennox Head Heritage Committee

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[31]From NSW Geographical Names Board records, http://www.gnb.nsw.gov.au/name_search/extract?id=TRwGvqWATR
[32] *Ibid.*, source cited as Anthropological Society of Australasia, 1899.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Holmes, Hazel, *Ballina & District Pioneers*, Southern Cross University Press, 2004, pp. 238-239.
[35] Daley, Louise, *Men and a River: Richmond River District 1828-1895*, Melbourne University Press, 1966, p. 12.

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As many of these villages grew with the arrival of more settlers over the decades they required halls, better schools and bigger churches. Land was either donated or re-claimed for such purposes. Demand for housing also increased. While the earliest houses were slab huts, sawn timber cottages later emerged along with timber 'homesteads' and bungalows. A number of the shire's historic houses remain evident in both the rural townscape, the shire's villages and in Ballina. These are detailed below.

COMMUNICATION

- *Post Offices at Alstonville and Ballina*

While the development of housing was significant to the physical survival of Ballina's early European settlers, a post office was also important to its social and economic development. Ferry has argued that, '[a]bsolutely essential to the smooth economic and administrative functioning of a district was an efficient and reliable mail service.[36]

The former Post Office building in Main Street Alstonville is the fourth Post Office to have been built. It was constructed in 1908 by S Percival for £700. The building was initially designed to administer mail from, as well as house the postmaster. 'The Post Office initially occupied a front room on the eastern side of the house with a separate entrance onto Main Street. French doors opened onto the verandah and four chimneys extended from the roof. A small garden separated the residence from the Main Street.[37] Modifications to the building in the early 1980s altered this original configuration. While these changes have altered parts of the internal significance of the building, this does not diminish its social/historic significance. Significant internal fabric remains, notably its timber interior and high ceilings. Its external aesthetic makes an important contribution to the Main Street streetscape.

Alstonville Post Office - 1909. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[36] Ferry, John, *Thematic History, Parry Shire*, 2000, Unpublished Report, p. 64.
[37] Gardiner & Knox, *op. cit.*, Alstonville Post Office summary sheet.

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Adjacent the Court House in Ballina, and like many early post offices, the Ballina Post Office is prominently oriented on the corner (of River and Martin Streets). The main section of the Post Office Building was completed in 1888, with the clock tower completed two years later in 1890.

Like the Post Office at Alstonville, the present Ballina Post Office building was predated by earlier post offices. 'The first post office at Ballina was established under the name of Richmond River Heads on 1st January 1856, in [the] charge of William Clement. Little is known about the early post office. Like most non-official post offices it was probably conducted in conjunction with a private business, the postmaster receiving about £12 per annum for his postal duties.' [38] Edmund Ross ran the second Post Office from his store on Norton Street. In May 1868 the name of the Post Office was changed from Richmond River Heads to Ballina.

By the mid 1870s there were calls from townsfolk to have the Post Office moved from Norton Street to be closer to the ships that by now had begun to dock along the waterfront close to River Street. This option however was only convenient to some as many services continued to operate from Norton Street and this locality was more convenient to the Pilot at Shaws Bay. Eventually however, and following a petition of influential business people in Ballina, in 1880 the Post Office was moved to the store of Thomas Mobbs, in the vicinity of the present day Court House.

The construction of the present Court House buildings followed further complaints by a number of townsfolk that Mobbs was interfering with mail. This accusation hastened moves to establish a purpose built post office building, that incorporated the telegraph service office and the appointment of a Post and Telegraph Master in 1886 to manage these amalgamated communication services. [39]

Ballina Post Office - 1949. Image courtesy of National Archives of Australia.

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[38] Hall, *op. cit*, p. 216.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

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Designed by (another) significant colonial architect Walter Liberty Vernon, the Post Office is of important aesthetic significance. It is of late Victorian Italianate design and is positioned prominently on the Corner of River and Martin Streets in Ballina.

ACCOMMODATION – HOUSES, BUNGALOWS AND COTTAGES

The Ballina Shire area has an array of historic houses. Predominantly, these houses are timber and date from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Also, the majority of these houses are of timber (weatherboard) and (corrugated) iron, with varying degrees and styles of late Victorian and Federation ornamentation. Federation housing of historic significance in the shire also includes a number of examples of 'worker's cottages'.

The abundance of timber in the Ballina Shire area saw a clear preference given to timber for buildings well into the twentieth century. Indeed, the fabric of these buildings is at the centre of their significance as historic buildings – these buildings are distinct vernacular architecture that predominate in North Coast rural and town areas. The timber used to construct these buildings was generally sourced and milled locally, adding to their historic heritage values. These buildings are under increasing threat in a number of areas, including on Ballina Island and in the Alstonville village centre areas.

Fewer of the shire's historic houses are masonry, the most well known example being Fenwick House. Fenwick House is among the oldest houses, and certainly the most opulent historic house, surviving in the shire. Other masonry housing dates from the 1940s, these being good examples of art deco architecture, as well as being significant given their distinctiveness compared with historic timber housing stock.

The array of sizes and styles of older housing in the Ballina Shire at first glance reflects the different degrees of 'success' the earliest settlers and those following achieved. Larger Victorian and Federation style homes were established as the dwellings of successful farmers or other semi- and/or professional occupations. Bungalow type housing housed less well to do settlers, but successful nonetheless. Cottages, the most modest and/or simple form of timber architecture represented in the shire, were typically the homes of labourers and/or their families, both in rural areas and in towns.

The shire's historic houses also, to varying degrees, reflect other historic/social phenomena. For example the economic differences that existed between the occupants of some households in past eras is reflected by the servant's quarters at Fenwick House. That some housing had former uses such as maternity hospitals reflects changing attitudes/approaches to women's confinement and care given during childbirth and after (*See theme Marking the Phases of Life - Birth & Death*). There are many other phenomena that the nature and fabric of housing reveals.[40]

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[40] See for example, Archer, John, *The Great Australian Dream: The History of the Australian House*, Angus & Robertson, 1987; Boyd, Robin, Australia's *Home: A Pioneering social history of our Domestic Architecture*, Melbourne University Press, 1991 edition; Drew, Phillip, *Veranda: Embracing Place*, Angus & Robertson, 1992.

Crawford House, originally known as *Olivene* **- c 1910**. **Crawford House is an important example of weatherboard Federation architecture in the shire. Image courtesy of Alstonville Plateau Historical Society**

The schedule of the shire's historic houses in the table below demonstrates that its historic iron and timber houses are not only of aesthetic heritage significance, but they represent important aspects of the shire's social history. Further investigation of many of these houses may also reveal other heritage values.[41] The significance of some of these houses also lies in what they represent or demonstrate as a class or group of items. Two historic residential areas in the shire have been identified as proposed conservation areas. The areas are proposed because they demonstrate a mix of historic timber housing types and of different eras, as well as other features that contribute to their historic aesthetic character or appearance, e.g. low timber and brick fencing and a uniform setback. This pattern of streetscape is representative of a 'typical' residential streetscape that is becoming increasingly rare in the shire. In addition to historic appearance, the individual houses incorporated in these streetscape areas have potential to reveal other values as individual items. These areas as shown in the table below are on Ballina Island and in Alstonville.

The Manager's cottage at Wollongbar Experimental Farm, 1890s, demonstrates features typical of Federation, or workers, cottage architecture. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[41] Davison, Graeme, in Troy, Patrick (ed.), *European Housing in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 6-25. Davison talks about the different housing styles found among English, Scottish and Irish in Colonial Australia.

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INDIVIDUAL HOUSES & COTTAGES		
ITEM	LOCATION	HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE
Ainsworth's House (early 1900s)	54 Swift Street, Ballina	(A)The property is associated with the early European history of Ballina. (B)The item is associated with the Ainsworth family, who are noted pioneers of the North Creek/Lennox Head area. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Ballina/the shire.
'Araluen'	9 The Avenue, Alstonville	(A)The property is associated with the early European history of Alstonville. (Development of the Village). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire. (G)The item is one of a number of Federation houses located in The Avenue, Alstonville.
'Bellington' (1910)	191 Ballina Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early farming history of the Alstonville area. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Blair Athol' (1908)	Smith's Lane, Wollongbar	(A) The item is associated with the early farming history of the Wollongbar area. (B) The item is associated with early European farming families of the Wollongbar area (dairying). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Wollongbar/the shire.
'Beau Villa'	104 Main Street, Alstonville	(A)The property is associated the early European history of Alstonville. (Development of the Village). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard architecture in Alstonville/the shire. This cottage is a rare building form in the shire.
'Braeburn' (1905)	29 Main Street, Alstonville	(A)The property is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville area. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Brookida' (1909)	Wardell Road, Alstonville	(A)The property is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville area (dairying). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Brundah' (1908)	37 Norton Street, Ballina	(A)The property is associated with the development of Ballina and the Lang family (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Ballina/the shire. (G)The item is an important element of the Norton Street streetscape (being one of a group/class of historic timber buildings located on Norton Street).

'Bonnie Doon'	Lismore Road, Alstonville	(A)The property is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville area. (Dairying) (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Bulwinkle House' (1870)	Lismore Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville area (dairying). (B)The item is associated with the life and career of Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Victorian architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Crawford House'	10 Wardell Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the European farming history of the Alstonville area (dairying). (B)The item is associated with early European farming families of the Alstonville area (Crawford family). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
Cawley's Cottage	Wardell Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the European farming history of the Alstonville area (dairying). (B)The item is associated with early European farming families of the Alstonville area (Cawley family).
'Fenwick House' (1888)	Shaws Bay East Ballina	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of shipping in Ballina. The item is also associated with the history of education in Ballina. (B) The item is associated with life of Tom Fenwick and his descendants. (C) The item is the only example of residential Victorian Italianate architecture in the Ballina Shire.
Green Street Mill Cottages	5, 7 & 9 Green Street, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Alstonville area (timber). (B)The item is associated with mill workers at Freeborn's Green Street timber Mill. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation cottage architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
'Killarney' (1890s)	Bruxner Highway, Wollongbar	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Wollongbar area. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Wollongbar/the shire.
'Laurel Hill'	Smith Lane, Wollongbar	(A) The item is associated with the early European farming history of the Wollongbar area (dairying). (B) The item is associated with early European farming families of the Wollongbar area. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Wollongbar/the shire.
'Myholme' (1915)	Lismore Road, Wollongbar	(A) The item is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville /Wollongbar area (dairying). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Alstonville/Wollongbar.

'Nestle Brae'	Rous Mill	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Rous Mill area (development of the village/sugar production). (B)The item is associated with the Rous Mill Manager. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in Rous Mill/the shire.
Norton Street timber houses	61-67 Norton Street, Ballina	(C) The items are important examples of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard architecture in Ballina/the shire. (G)The items are important element of the Norton Street streetscape (being one of a group/class of historic timber buildings located on Norton Street).
'Rosleigh House' (1920s)	58 Commercial Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early twentieth century history of the delivery of heath services (doctor's surgery) in the village of Alstonville. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard interwar architecture in Alstonville.
'Russelton'	103 Bruxner Highway, Wollongbar	(A) The item is associated with the early European farming history of the Alstonville area (dairying). (B)The item is associated with early European farming families of the Alstonville area (Robert Gibson family). (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Victorian architecture in the shire.
'Severn Lodge'	Ballina Road, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Alstonville area (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation cottage architecture in Alstonville.
Federation Cottage	!0 Carrington Street, Ballina	(C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation cottage architecture in Ballina/the shire.
Art Deco House	Corner Crane and Martin Streets, Ballina	(A) The item is associated with the history of post war development in Ballina. (C) The item is an important/rare example of art deco architecture in Ballina.
Art Deco House	Corner of Grant and Burnet Streets, Ballina	(A) The item is associated with the history of post war development in Ballina. (C) The item is an important/rare example of art deco architecture in Ballina.

E. J Stone's House	282 River Street, Ballina	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Ballina Town Centre. (B)The item is associated with the town's late 19th and early 20th century saddler, EJ Stone. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard Federation architecture in the shire.
Timber House	49 Main Street, Alstonville	(A) The item is associated with the early European history of the Alstonville Town Centre. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture and a rare example of Late Victorian weatherboard architecture in Alstonville/the shire.
Dr Yeate's House	Martin Street, Ballina	(A) The item is associated with the early twentieth century history of the delivery of heath services (doctor's surgery) in Ballina. (C) The item is an important example of vernacular north coast architecture/weatherboard interwar architecture in Alstonville.
'Playgroup House'	Williams Reserve, Lennox Head	A) The item is associated with the early European history of Lennox Head. (C) The item is an example of typical holiday housing that emerged at Lennox Head from the 1920s.
SIGNIFICANT RESIDENTIAL STREETSCAPES/AREAS		
AREA	**LOCATION**	**HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE**
Commercial Road and South Street, Alstonville	South from Bugden Avenue to Green Street & Commercial Road from South Street to Bugden Lane	(A)The area is associated with the early European history of Ballina (development of the town). (These buildings have the potential to reveal further historic values). (G) The area incorporates mixed examples of vernacular domestic north coast/ architecture. These houses are representative of north coast timber architecture/the historic village streetscape.
Moon, Crane and Swift street areas, Ballina	18-24 Moon Street 80-94 Crane Street 21-30 Grant Street	(A)The area is associated with the early European history of Ballina (development of the town). (These buildings have the potential to reveal further historic values) (G) The area incorporates mixed examples of vernacular north coast/ architecture. These houses are representative of north coast timber architecture/the historic town streetscape.
The Avenue, Alstonville	Area including from 1-18 The Avenue and 59 & 61 Main Street,	(A)The area is associated with the early European history of Ballina (development of the town). (These buildings have the potential to reveal further historic values). (G) The area incorporates mixed examples of vernacular domestic north coast/ architecture. These houses are representative of north coast timber architecture/the historic village streetscape.

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OTHER SIGNIFICANT STREETSCAPES

- *Norton Street - Ballina*

It has been noted that Norton Street was Ballina's first 'main street' and thoroughfare, linking North Creek and the main arm of the Richmond River. This history is important to its heritage significance, as are a number of notable elements of the street today. Of the buildings along Norton Street, some of its remaining historic timber houses are among the oldest on Ballina Island. All the historic timber houses remaining in Norton Street reflect its changing historic use, and, not least, are important examples of North Coast vernacular timber architecture. The most well known of these is *Brundah*; currently listed on the State Heritage Register as an item of State significance. *Brundah*, together with its surrounding gardens and fencing is considered an important example of north coast architecture/domestic housing.

Other significant buildings and features along Norton Street include the Ballina Manor, its wide street and grass verges, Meldrum Park, the Norfolk Island pines and the palms that surround the Anglican Church. The Manor, as is discussed later, was established in 1925 as a Girl's College. The wide street setting was established in response to the humid climate of the north coast, enabling the breeze to circulate the street and ventilate buildings. This innovation was adopted by the British as a result of its colonial experience in India.[42] The street's grass verges clearly reflected the eras before kerb and guttering and Meldrum Park bounds the area that housed the old wharf and where early river baths were located (See theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life - Leisure*). The majestic Norfolk Island pines are the product of an early street beautification project by Ballina Municipal Council following WWI.[43]

Together, these elements reflect Norton Street's late nineteenth century history as well as its early twentieth century history, which are significant to the history of the development of Ballina township.

- *The Avenue – Alstonville*

Alstonville's The Avenue developed in the late 1890s and early 1900s. The northern end of the Avenue boasts several Federation style houses that have seen some additions, but on the whole retain important original fabric. These buildings date from the early 1900s and are good examples of Federation architecture and in a village setting. Among these houses also is the original Anglican Rectory and a former maternity hospital. Other houses too reveal different facets of the town's social history. Other timber housing on the eastern side of The Avenue is more modest in nature, but nonetheless these are 'older style' timber houses (that tell their own story) and as importantly contribute to the overall historic character of the streetscape. The Avenue also includes St Bartholemew's original timber church and the, later built, stone church.

Like Norton Street, the present day streetscape also reflects the history of later decades, as demonstrated by the present day tibouchinas that line the street. These shrubs were

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[42] Jeans, *op. cit.*

[43] Murray, *op. cit.*

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planted in the late 1970s following the connection of the street to the town sewerage system that replaced camphor laurels planted in the early 1900s as shade trees.[44]

UTILITIES

- ### *Duck Creek Weir - Alstonville*

Alstonville's Duck Creek Weir was the source of Ballina's first permanent water supply. The supply was established following the passing of a resolution by Ballina Municipal Council to, through the local MP Mr Hutchinson, 'urge on the Government with a view of introducing a comprehensive scheme for a permanent supply of water to the Municipal district of Ballina'. This motion was made, (on September 3 1883), within one month of the first meeting of the newly established Council.

Seven years passed before the Council moved again to request a survey and assessment to have water laid from Marshall's Falls, where the weir was eventually constructed. A further ten years passed before Marshall's falls and a surrounding catchment was considered for resumption to enable the weir's construction. Within two years of this consideration the first sod was turned (14 May, 1902) and the construction of the weir and the laying of iron pipes was underway.[45]

It is recorded that the opening of the water supply 'became Council's first celebration'. To mark the occasion the local (State) member, Mr John Perry was the guest invited to turn on the water supply. *The Northern Star* was there to report this development.

> 'Though the weather was windy and extremely changeable on Friday afternoon, a very fair crowd of people, including a few ladies, assembled in front of the Ballina creamery to witness the ceremony of turning on the water for the first time. An improvised platform was provided for the convenience of the Ho. John Perry and the members of the Council, and around it about 250 people had gathered by 3pm. [A third of the town's population!] After a couple of tunes by the Ballina Town Band, the Member for the District ascended the platform, followed by the Mayor and Ald. Webster, Fenwick, Greenhalgh, Smith and Love.'

At first the Mayor spoke on the project and then Mr Perry took centre stage. Acknowledging the project's critics (who argued that its cost was too great and not justifiable) Perry expressed that he 'was pleased to see that Ballina meant to be in the van of progress, and was not prepared to lag behind. Perry's thoughts then digressed to public suggestions that 'the source of the supply was … a bath for Hindoos'. He sought to appease (the covert prejudice of) these suggestions by announcing that 'anyone, black or white, found contaminating the water, [would be] severely punished'.

Following Perry's address each of the Councillors took turn to speak on the project. On their concluding,

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[44] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, pp. 86-89.
[45] It is recorded that the original iron pipes were replaced with timber pipes in 1915, timber pipes were covered with tar and bound together with iron hoops. In 1936 some timber pipes were replaced with cast iron pipes. It was reported earlier in 1926 that some timber pipes in red soil areas were eaten away by white ants.

'Mr Perry than turned on a valve from his place on the platform and a few moments later streams of water were issuing from two stand-pipes in the Creamery paddock, to the accompaniment of the cheers of the crowd. Cheers were given for Mr Perry and also to the success of Ballina and its water works, and the ceremony ended.

Several days later the *Ballina Beacon* reported that the turning of the water works ceremony had not in fact really turned on the supply from Duck Creek. Rather it suggested that 'the water turned on by Mr Perry was not coming from the water pipes at all, but was being pumped from the Creamery [!]' This occurred, *The Beacon* further suggested because 'owing to the connections under the canal being completed an hours previously, the pipes were blocked up with air and the water could not be brought through in time. With the aid of a steam pump from the Creamery however, a makeshift supply was provided.' Not until half an hour later was the water following from Duck Creek.[46]

Such was the significance of the occasion that a half day holiday was declared in Ballina. Celebrations also continued into the evening with a 'banquet' held in the Australian Hall. 'The catering was carried out in first class style by Mr McClure of the Commercial Hotel, and the attendance was very satisfactory, every seat being occupied.' In the tone of proper English tradition, the evening's formalities included a toast to 'The King' (which was reported to be 'loyally received') and 'The Ministry' (for Public Works) for its support of the project.[47]

The Crawford sisters at the Duck Creek Weir - 1935. Image courtesy of Alstonville Plateau Historical Society.

The ensuing history of the Duck Creek water supply has some intriguing highlights, such as the replacement of the original iron pipes with timber pipes! This occurred in 1915 after

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[46] Reported by *The Northern Star* (citing the *Beacon* as its source), 14 January, 1903.
[47] Records on history of Duck Creek Weir (compiled by Rous Water), BSC files, p. 10.

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serious leaks in the original pipes rendering them ineffective. Apparently to make the timber pipes water tight these were covered with tar and bound together with iron hoops. Ten years on, however, it was discovered that some of the timber pipes in red soil areas were eaten away by white ants. The pipe supply company replaced pipes affected in this way at no charge to Council. In 1936 however, some timber pipes were again replaced with cast iron pipes and until recent times some of the timber pipes remained in use. Samples of some of these pipes form part of the 'heritage display' in Lumley Park and are considered important pieces of moveable heritage associated with the history of the Duck Creek Weir.

Until recent years also, Duck Creek Weir continued to supply Ballina residents with water. This supply however was augmented in 1955 from Marom Creek Dam and in 1968 from Emigrant Creek Dam.[48]

- *Fire Stations – Alstonville Fire Shed and Ballina Fire Station*

The Alstonville Fire Brigade was established in 1925, following 'agitation' by the community. The Tintenbar Shire Council responded by preparing a report and submitting it to the Council for its endorsement.

> 'A meeting of ratepayers was called and the scheme endorsed. In May 1926 an application was made to the [NSW Fire Brigade] Board for the establishment of a fire brigade under the 1902 Act. The application was granted.' [49]

The establishment of the Fire Brigade was notified by the Board in early 1927 and Mr Sidney Howard (the engineer at the butter factory) was appointed the Brigade's first Captain.

Throughout the Brigade's history it has operated from two sites. One of these was on the south east corner of the (present) public school grounds. Here a 10, 000 gallon concrete tank was constructed in 1927 to hold water pumped from Maguire's Creek for fire fighting purposes. Meanwhile the Brigade's gear was stored in a building on Main Street leased to the Brigade by CH Wright. Ironically, this building burnt down in 1929 which led to the securing of land by the Brigade in Main Street, upon which a new fire shed was built in 1930.[50] While another new fire station was built in June 1980 to cater to the changing needs of the Brigade, the old 1930s Fire Brigade Shed still exists in Main Street. It is significant to the history of the Alstonville Fire Brigade.

An important item of moveable heritage associated with the Alstonville Fire Brigade is the Garford Fire Truck that replaced the turbine engine first used by the Alstonville Fire Brigade in 1932. This truck was used by the Brigade (from 1932) until 1969, when it was sold at auction in Sydney. In 1977 local business man and collector of historic transport vehicles, Bob Trevan, purchased the truck and brought it 'back home' to Alstonville. The truck has been restored and its historic missing fire equipment was tracked down and replaced. The truck is housed in the new fire station and is paraded on special occasions in the village.[51]

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[48] I*bid.*
[49] Crawford, *op. cit*, p. 274.
[50] Crawford *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.
[51] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, pp. 322-323.

Curiously, little information has been uncovered regarding the history of the local Ballina Fire Station, in Crane Street. The significance of fire services in Ballina has in the past been critical, to say the least, given the predominance of timber architecture in the town until recent decades. It has been further uncovered that the fire shed and cottage was built with local bricks, from the Alstonville cutting brick works site. Further information on the history of the Ballina fire station is keenly sought.

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Public Tree Plantings

- *Norfolk Island Pines, Norton Street, Ballina*

Studies of significant trees suggest that they are often an important facet of the cultural landscape that is undervalued. The heritage value of trees can embrace all heritage values, even though it is their aesthetic values that are often emphasised. Many significant trees dot the Ballina Shire landscape. It is suggested that the trees identified as part of this study as having cultural heritage values are not exhaustive of the numbers of historic trees in the shire, nor has all the detail of the values of the historic trees nominated been uncovered by this study to date. Nonetheless, the trees noted here are considered to have important heritage values for various reasons.[52]

The Norfolk Island pine trees along Norton Street demonstrate historic tree plantings undertaken by the Ballina Municipal Council in the early decades of the twentieth century. This was era of prolific tree plantings by local government authorities as part of town beautification schemes. Historically the planting of trees by local government to beautify townscapes also sought to mark out or distinguish significant elements of local townscapes.

The Norfolk Island pine trees along Norton Street mark the significance the street played in the early economic development of the town as a vital transport link between North Creek and the Richmond River.[53] Significantly also, Norfolk Island pines have an historic association with coastal towns. That coastal areas were seen as traditional 'resort areas' is considered the reason why Norfolk Island pines were chosen. Popular resort areas such as Manly in Sydney are among the many examples of coastal areas that are marked by these trees. That Ballina also from this era promoted itself as a resort town is almost certain to have contributed to the choice of planting Norfolk Island pines along Norton Street.

- *Mercer Park*

Mercer Park was declared a park in the early 1960s in recognition of the contributions Max and Diana Mercer made to the Ballina Shire community in the 1950s and 1960s. The nature of the Mercer's contributions to Ballina is broad ranging, including conservation of the natural and cultural heritage of Ballina, the promotion of tourism and a number of other facets of Ballina's civic life. There are many features and documents demonstrating the Mercer's legacy including copies of the Ballina Pilot and tourism brochures as well

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[52] Note other historic trees have been dealt with in the earlier themes of *Governing*.
[53] NSW Department of Planning, *Street Trees in New South Wales: Guidelines for Management and Conservation*, 1990, p. 9.

stands of native trees throughout the shire that were propagated by the Mercers. The following is an account of Diana and Max's life as told by their daughter, Stephanie.

Max and Diana Mercer moved to Ballina in 1951, renting a house in Hill Street overlooking Shaws Bay. Several years later they purchased land in Elizabeth Street, overlooking a wild piece of bushland dominated by a large fig tree.

Max was a keen swimmer and recognised the need for people to learn how to swim and enjoy the pleasures of Shaws Bay, to that end, he organised swimming lessons in Shaws Bay during the summer holidays which were very popular with both adults and children alike.

Diana was passionate about conservation and heritage issues (things we take for granted now were unheard of then) they joined the East Ballina Progress Association and were instrumental in organizing Pioneer Park – having the vision to tidy up the overgrown and neglected old cemetery and set the old headstones in the semi circle as we see them today. They were founding members of the Ballina Camera Club, served on the, Richmond River Historical Society, Ballina Primary Parents and Citizen[s] Committee and various fledgling conservation and heritage movements [sic].

In 1955 they established a free weekly newspaper called 'The Ballina Pilot'. Max used his gregarious charm to woo the advertisers. Diana wrote and edited all the copy and Stephanie and Frances [their daughters] collated, folded and delivered the paper to all houses in Ballina and East Ballina. 1955 was a special and creative year – Michelle was born in March and the house in Elizabeth Street was completed (overlooking now what is Mercer Park). It was at this happy time that the idea of conserving the original bush directly below the house was conceived.

Diana wrote and historical novel for children called 'Cows Can't Eat Cedar' based around the timber getting industry on the North Coast – Subsequently it became a text used in the South Australian Education Department for primary schools.

Together with local artist Coral Newton, they [Diana and Coral] wrote a series of craft books dealing with basketry and plastic tubing (a popular hobby during the 1950s) and a tourist map of Ballina. Max met with an untimely death in a car accident in 1959. Then six months later Diana gave birth to her fourth daughter, Georgina. She continued to run the newspaper, raise her four daughters and pursue her community, environmental and heritage activities until 1971 when she sold the newspaper, went into semi-retirement and moved out to a property at Coolgardie which she named 'Crystal Hill'.
At Coolgardie she propagated many native tree species, distributing them to school (Wardell Public School and Ballina High Schools now have rows of eucalypt species providing shade that were provided by Diana) gave plants away to interested members of the community and attempted to regenerate the property by planting eucalypts to encourage koala. She continued writing, with articles being published in *Earth Garden* and the *The Northern Star*, hosted field days at Crystal Hill and gave freely of her knowledge of the environment. Like her husband before her, she met with an untimely death whilst riding her bicycle on the Pacific Highway near Wardell in 1978.[54]

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[54]Unpublished Manuscript on the lives of Max and Diana Mercer, BSC Records. See also account of Diana Mercer's life by Glen Hall in, *The Port of Richmond River, op. cit.*, pp. 160-16, which roughly details the above facets of her life. Hall notes that Diana lobbied the local member Jack Easter to have Pioneer Park dedicated as a Memorial Park.

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- *Lumley Park & Croquet Club House*

While histories of Lumley Park emphasise its natural heritage values, its heritage significance also lies in its value as an important cultural landscape. Though considered an important rainforest remnant, it is documented that cedar and other timbers were removed from the park in the late nineteenth century. So in part, the park tells the story of the local early timber industry.

Moves to conserve rainforest remnants at Lumley Park are among the earliest recorded examples of local people acting to save the natural environment. Though Lumley Park was reserved for *public recreation* in 1924, its recognition as an important remnant of sub-tropical rainforest, or the 'Big Scrub', was not formally acknowledged until the early 1930s. In recognition of this, in 1934 the park was re-dedicated by the Tintenbar Shire Council as a 'Preserve for Native Trees'. The rededication of the Park followed a deputation by a group of concerned citizens to the Council requesting 'not to allow the area to be felled and grassed, as had been rumoured'. That a grassed area of the park was set aside for croquet in 1931 may have been what spurred this idea. Instead of grassing the park, the 'members offered to clear the land of lantana and other weed growths from amongst the standing trees'.[55]

With the successful conservation of the park a Scrub Reserve Committee was formed to oversee its ongoing management. The committee met in the Tintenbar Shire Chambers from 1935. Ambrose Crawford, an original and long term member of the committee continued working and recording information about the Park until 1974. Ambrose's sister Dorothy has recorded that

> 'Weed removal was commenced soon after the first meeting [of the committee]. Maidera Vine was present in the Park at this early stage. Planting of Native Trees was commenced with seeds collected from roadsides, creeks and from interested farmers. Records were kept as the locations of these trees'.[56]

Hunter has suggested that '[t]he oldest rainforest regeneration area (in Australia) is likely to be in the weeding and planting of natives and exotics in 1936 at Lumley Park in Alstonville.' Whether or not this is the case, it is significant to understand the reasons behind early conservation concerns. It is understood that early conservation in Australia was essentially spurred primarily by utilitarian attitudes to the landscape, as opposed to a 'concern for the land and its aesthetic and spiritual values'. For example, forest conservation began with the Murray River red gums in the 1870s following the scarcity of timber for building. Later sections in this history indicate that by the late nineteenth century the aesthetic appreciation of the landscape had grown. These attitudes were however still motivated by utilitarian interest, in this case tourism. Local interest in the natural environment for tourist promotion is evident in local tourist brochures from this era.

The naming of the park 'Lumley Park' after former Tintenbar Shire Councillor, Clarence Lumley who was killed in action during WWI, reflects the hold the impacts of war had on communities and their need to publicly acknowledge these impacts(See further section on War Memorials in theme Governing). Despite the area being set aside for the 'Preservation of Native Trees' in 1934 the croquet lawn was maintained and played in the

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[55] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 303-304.
[56] Cited in notes submitted by private individual on the history of Lumley Park, BSC Records.

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park until the 1970s; the timber croquet clubhouse a quaint reminder of this aspect of the park's history. The croquet building has been nominated for heritage listing. A further dimension to the park was added in 1978 with the introduction of an historic display of 'old-time vehicles and implements'. The museum, which was apparently established in recognition of the bi-centenary of James Cook's 'discovery' of the east coast of Australia, also symbolizes the celebration by the community of the nation's history. The collection of vehicles and implements also holds local historic significance, and may even hold broader heritage significance values.

Official opening of the Alstonville Croquet Club by Sir Phillip Game, Governor of NSW, September 1931. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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DEVELOPING LOCAL REGIONAL AND NATIONAL ECONOMIES

AGRICULTURE

Mixed, Dairy and Beef Farming

- ### Dry Stone Walls – Lennox & Skennars Head, North Creek

The above theme *Peopling Australia* has outlined that the earliest settlers in the North Creek area grew cane and undertook other mixed farming activities, from growing crops to the raising of livestock for both domestic use and profit. Among the early European settlers at North Creek was the Henderson family who, over a number of decades and two generations, are understood to have constructed the majority of Lennox Head's dry stone walls.

These walls are considered to be of heritage significance for a number of reasons, including as historic reminders of the early farming history of the North Creek and Lennox Head area – they are an important element of its rural cultural landscape. These walls are also significant given their association with the Henderson family, who were not only an early European pioneering family of this area, but have maintained continuity with the district to the present day – the farm remaining in the family until the 1990s. The walls also demonstrate aesthetic and technical skills of the men who built them as well as the transference of the skill of dry stone wall building from the ancestral homelands of the Henderson family – Scotland and Ireland – to the North Coast area. In both Ireland and Scotland dry stone walls are widespread and conserved as important heritage items.

It is further noted that the tradition of dry stone walling is 'one of the oldest crafts known'. 'Archaeologists have established that the art of building these types of walls goes back to the Neolithic age (10, 000 years ago). The historic dry stone walls in the shire extend from this tradition.[57]

The dry stone walls of Lennox Head (and others in the shire) are also part of a larger grouping of walls on the North Coast – these walls traverse areas in both the Byron and Lismore Shire areas. Together, the walls of the Ballina, Byron and Lismore local government areas form one of only two locations in NSW where dry stone walls have been extensively constructed. The unusual nature of the distribution of these items in NSW contributes to their significance.

The first of the Hendersons to take up land at North Creek was John Austin, who came to Ballina from the South Coast of NSW after being appointed First Constable at Ballina. John Austin selected the land in 1860 that is today referred to as 'the Henderson farm'. John Austin's son, Edward, later took over his father's original selection as well as the farm known as the 'the Lennox headland property'. Over 600 acres, this property was originally selected by another 'pioneer' to the area, James Hodgkinson' in 1932.[58]

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[57] Duggan, Geoff, *A Guide to Building Kiama's Dry Stone Walls*, Botanic Gardens, Sydney for Kiama Municipal Council, n. d. See also, 'Rural Heritage - Kiama turns to Stone: Conserving the dry stone walls of Kiama, *Heritage NSW*, Autumn 200, pp. 14-15.

[58] 'The Henderson's of North Creek and Lennox Head', in *Ringing the Bell Backwards, op. cit.*, p. 66.

Edward's son Jim in 1932 purchased the original Henderson selection and worked it as a dairy farm. In the 1970s the property was transferred again to his son, Ted, who then sold the farm to Ballina Shire Council in the late 1990s.[59] Two of Edward's other sons, Joe and Eddie, also took up dairy farming at Skennar's Head and North Creek. Joe's farm was a Soldier Settlement block, which he took up after having served in France during World War I. Eddie's farm at North Creek was purchased by him.

The Hendersons built the walls on their properties as a means of removing the basalt rock from the paddocks to enable cattle to graze. The building of these walls also fenced in cattle. Walls on the NSW south coast, and in the countries of Scotland and Ireland, also served these purposes.

Of the dry stone walls indicated on the following map, walls A & B (on the original Henderson farm selection) were built by John Austin Henderson, 'with the aid of Indian farm workers who collected the rock and bought them to the site by sled. John Austin Henderson then selected the rock he required and built the wall himself.

John Austin's walling skills were handed down to his son Edward, who it is thought may have also built walls on the original Henderson property and on other land that he owned. Edward in turn passed his knowledge to sons Joe and Eddie (who built walls on their properties). Wall C (located on the west side of North Creek Road) is understood to have been built by either Edward or his son Eddie Henderson. This land was owned by Edward but taken over by Eddie in the 1920s. Diaries kept by Eddie confirm that he built walls on this property, but do not indicate the exact location of these, making reference only to the 'wall out back'.[60] Wall C demonstrates high technical skill, making it one of the most technically aesthetic walls in the Lennox Head area. (Wall C is currently listed on Ballina Shire's LEP).

Walls D & E (on the east and north sides of North Creek Road) are likely to have been built by Edward Henderson, who owned and leased a number of properties in the area. This wall, like wall C, also demonstrates high technical/aesthetic values, which further suggests it was built by Edward Henderson.

Walls F, G, H & I (Skennar's Head) were constructed by Joe Henderson. These walls are all located on the Soldier Settlement block Joe took up following his war service. He retained the farm until recent times. It now forms part of the Lennox Palms Estate. It is believed that wall H may have originally fenced an orchard while wall F contained one side of 'the bull paddock'.[61] Like many of the other Henderson walls these walls demonstrate high technical and aesthetic skill.

Though wall J is not located on land ever known to be owned or leased by the Hendersons, it is suggested it may have been built by Edward Henderson, who owned land in close proximity to it. The wall also demonstrates the same technical skill evident in other walls built by the Hendersons. Further information is required to conclusively determine this.

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[59] *Ibid.*, p. 67
[60] Milner, Malcolm, 'Dry Stone Walls of Lennox Head', original manuscript, BSC records, p. 4.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

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Map showing Dry Stone Walls located in the Lennox Head area. [62]

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[62] Milner, *op. cit.*

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- *Dry Stone Walls –Pearces Creek, Tintenbar & Meerschaum Vale*

Historic dry stone walls are evident in other parts of the shire also, notably at Pearces Creek, Tintenbar and Meerschaum Vale. These walls have also been part of the landscape for many decades and are associated with the early settlement and farming history of these areas. Little documentation has been uncovered by this study to date to enable a broader understanding of these walls. Further research is needed and recommended to better understand these historic items as individual walls and as part of the broader grouping of walls in the Ballina and other North Coast shires.

- *Wollongbar Experimental Farm*

Early farming practice in the shire, as already noted, was not only mixed but largely experimental. Though many early settlers had farming experience, many also had never been farmers before. The passing of the *Robertson Land Act* had enabled the inexperienced farmer to emerge, given land could be allocated to men of little means. The *Act* 'opened small farms on time payments to any one who would apply.'[63]

That Europeans had no experience with the sub-tropical climate of the North Coast also saw a range of crops grown, and livestock raised, in the early decades of farming in the shire. Experimental crops included maize, sugar cane, arrowroot and ginger. Early farmers to the broader Richmond River area also experimented with sheep and beef cattle to find that sheep did poorly in the hot climate and cattle farming here could not compete with broad acre livestock farming of the New England tableland areas.

That early farming on the North Coast was characterised by its experimental nature was drawn to the attention of the colony's leaders in Sydney by local members of parliament. Local parliamentary representatives requested of the Minister for Mines in the early 1880s that an official be appointed to 'examine the farms on the Richmond and Tweed rivers and to advise the farmers on the most suitable crops to grow. The appointed official was Mr W. S. Campbell, and as part of his investigation was instructed to 'choose a site for a model farm if he considered an experimental farm would be of any assistance.' Investigations commenced in May 1886, and Mr Campbell was accompanied by Mr Dewdney, the Government Surveyor. The trip was on horseback and started in Ballina (in pouring rain), it took about six weeks and they covered between 600 and 700 miles. Mr Campbell made the following record of the trip.

> 'I think it will be most advisable for the Government to establish the proposed experiment or demonstrating farm, for most of the farmers and settlers in this district are working blindfold; the farming is, with a few exceptions, wretched and primitive in the extreme: apparently few of the settlers have any knowledge whatever of the most elementary principles of farming; their chief production is weeds, and these grow to perfection. Nor do they appear to have any idea that one acre of land here, well and systematically farmed, will yield a greater quantity and a better quality product than three or four (or even more) cultivated under the present slovenly system. One rare occasion only did I see, during my journey through the district, even the smallest vegetable or fruit garden: and still more rarely a few cultivated flowers, although vegetables and fruit and flowers will grow to perfection with very little care.

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[63] Jeans, D., N., *The Open Air Museum: the Cultural Landscape*, Allen & Unwin, 1980, p. 14.

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The district is simply magnificent, and its natural fertility is almost unequalled. Blessed with beautiful undulating land for the most part, and rich, alluvial flats along the rivers and creeks: an annual rainfall second to none in the colonies: a wonderfully temperate climate absolutely free of malaria and extremely healthy: an absence of hot winds, and watercourses every few miles, fresh and ever flowing even in the most severe "drought". In such country may be seen some of the worst and most slovenly farming in the world.

There cannot be the least doubt that a demonstrating farm here will be of extreme value not only to this particular district but to the colony.'

Following Campbell's recommendation Wollongbar Experimental Farm was established. G.M McKeown was the first manager appointed to the Wollongbar Experimental farm in 1893. Virtually 'unimproved', his task began with the clearing of land of thick 'scrub'. Establishing a dwelling for his family was also a priority, having to 'make camp' until the manager's cottage was built. Early experimental works focused on crops. ' A great variety of different classes of plants were tried including sub-tropical species, cereal crops for oil and fibre, sugar cane, pulses, fruit and vegetables. Trials with pasture grasses, legumes and fodder crops were also undertaken.'[64] Early herd improvement experiments in 1897 brought an Ayshire bull, imported from New Zealand to the farm.

Experiments and research associated with improving dairy farming in the region was however to become the Wollongbar Experimental farm's main focus in the early decades of its operation. 'More interest is attached to this branch of farming than any other, and naturally so, as dairying is the principal industry in the district.'

Panoramic view of Wollongbar Experimental Farm with single mens' quarters in the background. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[64] Trudgeon *et. al., op. cit.*, p. 4.

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The North Coast was considered prime dairy land because of its fertility, high rainfall and warm temperatures. The industry's methods, already established on the South Coast, of using improved pastures to generate increased milk production were expected to be more successful in the North Coast climate. These predictions however, proved disappointing as grasses brought from the South Coast produced less than satisfactory results. However, research and experiments conducted at the Wollongbar Farm by Edwin Seccombe found new solutions to the problem of sustaining suitable pastures, most notably the introduction of *paspalum dialatum* in 1895, which went on to sustain the industry, both here and in other areas for many decades.

Seccombe apparently accidentally came across paspalum in a shipment of Japanese clover in 1892. This discovery led to the experiments he conducted first at his property, *Bau Farm* and then at Wollongbar. Through lectures and field days at the Wollongbar Farm station 'he spread the news of papspalum'.[65] The early development of the dairy industry on the North Coast was also due to the ongoing improvement of refrigeration and milk processing technology. The herd improvement programme at the Wollongbar Farm also contributed significantly to the industry's health.[66]

The Wollongbar Farm's focus on dairying also saw a dairy established as part of its operations. 'The Minister having decided that in future this farm should be devoted to dairy school and dairy experimental work … approval has been given for the erection of new milking bails and an up-to-date factory. In 1916 the Minister reiterated the Farm's aim.

> 'The chief purpose of the institution is to provide up-to-date instruction in dairying and in all its branches. A complete equipment for cheese making is provided [sic]. Experiments in the cultivation of maize, lucerne and other fodder crops are conducted, and also experiments in the improvement of pasture. Students attached to the farm's operations assisted in the dairy.'

A further significant development associated with the Wollongbar Farm was its function of training young boys and men in agriculture. To accommodate these boys a two storey building was added to the Farm in 1901. During the era of educating these young men, the Farm also participated in the national Dreadnought Scheme. The Dreadnought Scheme was among a number of child migration schemes that operated in the early twentieth century to assist in placing youth in employment in areas where there were labour shortages.

'Dreadnoughts boys' as they have come to be known were boys, aged 16-19, who migrated to Australia from Britain from 1911 to train in Agriculture. Boys who came to Australia under this scheme were the first youth migrants to New South Wales brought out by the Dreadnought Trust in 1911 under an agreement with the New South Wales Government.[67]

The education function of the Farm ceased in 1930 when new research links were formed with Sydney University focusing on livestock development. In the 1980s the

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[65] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] NSW State Records, Archives in Brief on the Dreadnought Scheme, www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives_in_brief_91_2751.asp

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Farm became the administrative centre for the newly created North Coast Agricultural Region and the name of the Farm changed to the North Coast Agricultural Institute.

There are a number of items and features of heritage value associated with the former Wollongbar Experimental Farm including its rural setting and tree lined driveway. Four cottages that were used by the manager and staff at the farm also remain on the property and are currently listed as heritage items under the Ballina LEP.

- *'Russelton', 'Blair Athol', 'Laurel Hill', 'Waratah', 'Bonnie Doon, 'Brookida', 'Bulwinkle House', 'Olivene' ('Crawford House'), Cawley's Cottage*

It has been noted that '[t]he first (milch) milking cows came to the Richmond River district with the squatters in the early 1840s. A dairy herd was always part of the station's stock'.[68] However, the properties in and around the villages and localities of the area known as the Alstonville Plateau were not turned over to commercial dairy farming until the passing of the *Robertson Land Act* (which enabled closer settlement to develop commercial dairy farming). As other histories of dairying on the Far North Coast have highlighted, dairying was suitably compatible with closer settlement and thus encouraged by governments during this era.

> 'The nineteenth century politicians were married to the belief that closer settlement was the key to progress, so the demand for dairying land received quick endorsement from governments ever anxious to release crown land for agricultural purposes. Throughout the five counties of Rous, Richmond, Clarence, Fitzroy and Raleigh, millions of acres of land fell beneath the selector's axe and the land was sown to pastures for the dairy cow.
>
> "Grow cows", the NSW Premier, Sir George Reid had advised, and all the locals heeded his advice.'[69]

The above noted properties on the Alstonville Plateau are historically associated with the developing dairying industry in the shire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That this industry, from this time, became the mainstay industry on the plateau for almost 100 years demonstrates the historic prominence dairying has had in the shire. As the Wardell Heritage Study has also documented, dairying was not confined to the plateau; dairy farms also emerged in the Wardell area. As noted above, and in the earlier theme, *Building Settlements Towns and Cities*, dairy farming occurred in the Ballina and Lennox Head areas also. It was on the plateau however that it derived most success and endured for almost ten decades.

The history of dairying on the North Coast is not only significant to the telling of the establishment, and development, of dairying in the area but also of a number of significant social aspects associated with it. It is well documented that many of the men who migrated to the North Coast in the later decades of the nineteenth century to take up dairy farming migrated from the South Coast, where dairying had also prospered. 'During the 1880s Illawarra men were taking up unsettled Richmond River land and proving that dairying could be successfully pursued in the hot northern summers.'[70]

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[68] Trudgeon, *op. cit.*
[69] Ryan, Maurice, A Centenary History of Norco, 1895-1995, The Northern Star Ltd., 1995, p. 5.
[70] Jeans, Dean, *A Historical Geography of New South Wales*, p. 263.

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Significantly also, these migrations were spurred by the prohibitive costs of farms on the south coast to many.

> 'Former Illawarra dairy farmers giving evidence to the select committee on the proposed railway from Grafton to the Tweed in 1890, declared that land was scarce and expensive in good positions on the south coast, and that tenants or the sons of farmers preferred the rich northern basalt soils (similar to those around Kiama and Robertson) to poor land on often inaccessible selection in the south.'[71]

The numbers of South Coast men migrating to the district were considerable. One eyewitness account of these migrations was noted by J. H Munro, a Grafton Auctioneer.

> 'I visit the Richmond every month or six weeks. Nearly all the land we have sold there lately we have sold to farmers from the South Coast Districts. It has been chiefly in the Big Scrub. They are all going in for dairying and are making it a big success.'[72]

Family farms characterised the pattern of dairying on the plateau in the early decades of settlement and after. Some of these farms were family owned and operated, while others were farmed by families who share farmed, or were employed by farm owners to operate the dairy. In the early decades of farming milking was done by hand and usually with the assistance of wives and children, however some farmers did employ dairy hands. It is interesting to note of the broader history of dairying that women have a long historic association with its tradition. 'The word dairy itself comes from an old Scandinavian term meaning a room for a 'deye', that is a milk women or farm servant. So it would seem that the dairy work was traditionally women's work...'[73]

Early dairy farms also usually involved the production of other foods for domestic use such as vegetable gardens and orchards, and the keeping of pigs, raised on skimmed milk, a by product of dairying at this time. This meant dairy farms could be virtually self sustaining for families.

Developments associated with dairying on the North Coast have also included the 'pioneering' of *papspalum dialatum* as a successful pasture grass, the mechanization of the industry, the establishment of co-operative based factories and the change to the processing and sale of bulk milk in the 1960s and 1970s.[74] The demise of the dairy industry from the 1980s onwards marked the beginning of a significant change in land use on the plateau that has virtually rubbed out much of the industry's fabric making surviving items associated with this industry in the shire identified by this study to be of immense heritage value.

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[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[74] See especially, Ryan, *ibid.*

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Sugar Cane

- ### *North Creek Sugar Mill Site and Sugar Wharf*

Sugar Cane was one of a number of crops early European settlers of the Ballina Shire cultivated for commercial return. Some of the earliest crops were grown in a number of locations in the shire. Before the establishment of the Broadwater Sugar Mill in 1881 sugar production was characterised by small scale farms, a number of which established their own mills to process cane. Among the more well-known cane entrepreneurs were the Sharpe brothers, who settled at Prospect and North Creek during the 1860s. As part of their operations at Prospect, the Sharpes first established a horse driven mill to process sugar, and then later a steam powered mill. John Sharpe's grandson gives an account of the origins of Sharpe's sugar production and his mill on North Creek.

> 'In 1865 my grandfather John and grandmother Anne, with my father's three eldest siblings and my great uncles, David and Neil Sharpe, left Kiama on the south coast of New South Wales where the Sharpe family had settled on arrival from Ireland, and journeyed to Ballina, having heard the stories of the great timber resources of the area.
>
> Settling on land at East Ballina, in the area which is now known as Prospect, the three brothers cleared the land…. In late 1866, grandfather [and] his brothers… had a visit from an acquaintance from Port Macquarie who had tried to cultivate sugarcane in that area without success. The acquaintance, a Mr Thomas Scott, recommended that sugarcane growing be tried at North Creek and he volunteered to supply the plants.
>
> This family venture was history in the making because during the growing of the crop my great-grandfather [who had joined his family at Ballina] built a Mill to crush the cane to create raw and refined sugar, golden sugar and treacle. The three brothers, and other settlers on North Creek and along the river, supplied the cane for the mill . Although my grandfather and great uncle David ran cattle on their properties and did not grow cane, other North Creek farmers planted cane, including Albert Hodgkinson who had 11 acres on his property, John Skennar, with 3 acres of the crop, and George Williams, with a crop of 8 acres.
>
> At first, wooden rollers were used in the mill, then iron rollers and later more successfully, centrifugal boilers, which had the effect of separating liquids from solids.
>
> The Mill served a dual purpose at this time because timber-getting was a thriving industry, and to satisfy the needs of the men in that industry, saws and other cutting facilities were installed. So the family mill became a sugar and saw mill.'[75]

Hall's record of the Sharpe's milling enterprise suggests that the Sharpe family's saw mill was separate to the early sugar mill. Hall notes that 'later they extended the farm production up North Creek, and built a saw mill and arrowroot mill.[76] The site of the sugar mill at Prospect is however marked by trees.

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[75] 'The Pioneering Sharpe family', *op cit.*, p. 11.
[76] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

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Some time before 1894 the mill was dismantled and the bricks re-used to construct what would have been one of Ballina's grander rural houses, 'Roseville' at Cumbulam. In early 2006, 'Roseville' was demolished by the NSW Roads and Traffic Authority (RTA), to make way for improvements to the Pacific Highway. An archaeological report on this site identified the bricks that came from the North Creek Mill site. A number of these bricks have been salvaged and stored by Council for future heritage promotion projects in the Lennox Head area to tell the story of Sharpe's Mill.

Other tangible remains signifying the early production of sugar along North Creek is a wharf constructed of local basalt rock. Known as the Sugar Wharf, it was most likely constructed following the establishment of the Broadwater Sugar Mill to enable the transportation of cane to it. The establishment of the mill had led to the dismantling of Sharpe's mill, and others like it, as CSR came to monopolise the processing of sugar cane on the Richmond.[77]

Cane cutters camp, North Creek, undated. Image courtesy of BSC records.

- *Fishery Creek Sugar Mill Site*

A further small sugar mill operated on Fishery Creek at West Ballina. This mill was established by Scottish born, George Martin, who came to Ballina in 1879. According to Hall, George Martin 'took some land at Fishery Creek (against the advice of some growers who held that this land was not suitable for cane). However, George Martin put

[77] Smith, G., *Sweet Beginnings: A history of sugar cane growing on the Richmond River of New South Wales, compiled from the letters, reports and people of an ongoing history*, New Dimensions, Byron Bay, 1991.

in drainage ditches, planted his cane and was again very successful.' On his property he also constructed 'a large crushing mill'. Evidence of the existence of this mill remain at this site, it is marked by a large Norfolk Pine and a broken concrete slab. A painting of the mill is also exhibited at the Richmond River Historical Society. The mill did not cease operation until 1905, which was relatively late for small mills. Further research may reveal why Martin's mill was able to continue to operate until this time. The site has the potential to reveal relics associated with the mill and sugar production during this era.

Cane cutters at West Ballina, early - 1890s. Image courtesy of private collection.

- *Rous Sugar Mill*

The establishment of Broadwater sugar mill in 1881 meant either that small mills closed, or privately owned mills had to be large enough to compete with the might of the Broadwater and other company mills. The early history of the Rous Sugar Mill conforms to the latter scenario.

In 1882 'a young man named Staines' purchased large tracts of property at Marom Creek to develop the growing of sugar in the area.

> 'Mr Staines purchased about 1100 acres. He set to work and repaired the roads and imported the best machinery then procurable and erected a sugar mill at the cost of £14, 000. Mr Staines also made fair and equitable agreements with the farmers to plant and cultivate sugar cane'. [78]

Staines' venture sought to adopt a model being used by the company mills, like the CSR at Broadwater that were being established in the region at this time, by buying up large

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[78]Graham, Robert, 'Industrial History of the Richmond River – The Rous Sugar Mill', in unidentified newspaper clipping, dated 6 December, 1901, RRHS file, Rous localities.

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tracts of land that was worked by local farmers or other (imported) workers. Staines' venture was short lived and the mill was taken over by the Richmond Sugar Company in 1887. 'The company bought up estates and aimed to produce a large quantity of cane for their mills as well as purchasing cane from local farmers. Numbers of indentured Indian labourers (known locally as "Hindoos") were brought in to work on the plantations, but by 1887 the owners of the Rous Sugar Mill were following the example of the Colonial Sugar Refining Co. [at Broadwater] in selling land on easy terms to settlers who would supply the mill with cane, so developing the concept of "central" mills.'[79]

Like in the Wardell area, tram lines were laid to transport the cane from farms at Alstonville to the Rous mill on railway trucks. This development co-incided with the closing of another small mill, the Melbourne Company's Mill, on Maguires Creek at Alstonville.[80]

The establishment and development of the Rous sugar mill enormously shaped the development of the present Rous Mill locality.

> 'Fields of sugar cane took the place of big cedar scrub and every acre of land in the parish was selected, and at Rous Mill alone the population increased to about 380. A new public school had to be built and the place soon assumed the appearance of a town. A place that only a few years before was known as the Big Scrub.'[81]

Established on Youngman's Creek at Rous, the mill eventually folded in 1901, after the Union Bank took it over in 1900. The mill equipment and the building's materials were sold up and the farmers in the Rous district who grew cane turned to pasture and cattle. The locality known as Rous Mill tells the story of the history of the mill, which is far more colourful and detailed than can be covered in this history. Significantly, a small number of sites and items associated with the mill tell the details of some aspects of the mill's history – these included the arch on Youngman's Creek and *Nestle Brae*, the Mill manager's house. In addition, at White's Lane Rous Mill is the remnant of a tram line once used to transport cane to the mill. The site of the Rous Mill itself is also likely to reveal relics associated with the mill.

FORESTRY

The Harvest of Cedar and other timbers in the Ballina Shire

- #### *Sawmills at Shaws Bay & Fishery Creek Ballina (Bagot's Mill)*

As noted in the theme *Peopling Australia*, the European men and their families who settled in Ballina in the 1840s came specifically to take cedar from the 'Big Scrub'. From the early 1860s, when the land was opened up for free selection, demand for cedar remained significant, as it did for a further two decades. Other timbers also became increasingly important during this period. Free selection had also enabled access to other timbers, as the taking of timber was no longer restricted by the stipulations of cedar licenses. All men could now cut timber on their own land or other's land with permission.

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[79] Browning, J, 'Alstonville and Rous Sugar Mills', manuscript, 1983, RRHS file, Rous localities
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] Graham, Robert, *op. cit.*

The harvesting of other timbers on the North Coast soon saw it establish a reputation for these.

The influx of selectors to the area from the early 1860s, in turn, increased demand for timber locally to build houses, businesses and villages. Pine, beech and teak were popular timbers used in local buildings, most of the cedar continuing on to city and overseas markets. However, some cedar was used in the finer houses constructed on the North Coast (see Fenwick House), and even some less well-to-do settlers have told of extensive use of cedar in the construction of local homes.[82]

Local demand for timber also led to calls for the establishment of timber mills on the Richmond. The new influx of European settlers in the 1860s, Daley argues, demanded mill sawn timber to build their houses, churches and halls. A number of mills were established on the Richmond to meet this demand.

These mills were preceded by the saw-pits that were established to square cedar logs to enable their stacking onto ships to be transported to markets. Ainsworth notes that 'Messrs Snow and Essery' established the first saw mill on the river, noting in the 1920s that a large mound of stones at the base of the hill skirting the old rifle range still marks the spot.

> 'This site was chosen because in the earlier years of settlement at East Ballina the small trading vessels could proceed no further up river than Shaws Bay owing to the shoal crossing above Pilot Point. … It was therefore imperative that the mill should be in operation where the timber could be transferred to the ships conveniently and with dispatch. Snow and Essery continued to work this mill for a few years until the river entrance improved and the centre of timber activities shifted to West Ballina and other camps up river.' [83]

It is understood that Snow and Essery's Mill was purchased by the Breckenridge Brothers who shifted the mill downstream to Wyrallah in 1865.[84] However, the history of Snow and Essery's mill is important in demonstrating the heritage significance of the Shaws Bay precinct.

The next important mill site to establish on the river was built at Blackwall (Wardell) by Thomas Carter, for his son Ernest. Thomas Carter, a timber merchant, also owned a mill on the Clarence, but according to Daley established the mill at Wardell to take advantage of the 'best softwoods' found on the Richmond.[85] (See *Wardell Community Based Heritage Study* for further details on Carter's mill).In the mid 1890s the Bagot brothers – John, Walter, Toby and George - established a saw mill on the junction of the Richmond River and Fishery Creek at Ballina. The Bagot brothers had previously operated a mill at Bagotville (hence the name of this locality), across river from the Broadwater Sugar Mill. The Bagot's established the mill at Ballina following the destruction of the Bagotville mill by fire, in the early 1890s. The mill was owned and operated by the Bagot brothers until

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[82] Taped Interview Allan Lumley; 'Golden Wedding, Baker-Hendley' from *The Northern Star*, August 7, 1928, Clip in Wardell Pioneers Folder, private collection.
[83] Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. Ainsworth also notes that Snow and Essery's Mill 'was ultimately purchases by the late Mr Breckenridge and removed to Wyrallah, where it was largely extended and continued in successful operation for very many subsequent years.'
[84] Daley, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
[85] *Ibid*, p. 121.

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1955 when it sold its operations to Tullocks Ltd. 'The business was mainly concerned with sawing hardwood until the First World War when an Army Contract for wheel spokes gave the brothers their start on handle making. After the war they expanded this and made axe and mattock handles'; the advent of the car almost diminishing demand for spokes. Bagot's axe and mattock handles were to become renowned and were exported overseas. Tullocks continued to operate the mill until 1964, its closing marking the end of an era of timber processing on Ballina's waterfront.

While Bagot's mill site is now covered by housing its history is nonetheless significant to the early history of Ballina township and its waterfront. The mill was a landmark business on the river as well as an important facet of the river's social history that to date is poorly recorded. For instance, former employees of the mill have noted that for some time it was the biggest employee of men and women in the town, 'everybody in the town had a father, brother or uncle that worked at Bagot's mill some time in its history'.[86] The Bagot brothers owned a number of houses on Ballina Island, which were often leased to employees of the mill, a saw-milling practice common at the time. The Bagots were also known to be very efficient in the running of the mill and kept abreast of sawmilling technology.

Above image: Bagot's Mill workers, Ballina - 1940s. Image courtesy private donor.

- *Green Street Mill site & Mill Cottages - Alstonville*

The importance of milled timber to the economic and material development of the region and the lives of European settlers saw further mills establish in the shire's villages of Wardell and Alstonville.[87] At Alstonville a saw mill was established by William Freeborn, the son of Andrew Freeborn who, along with his brother Thomas, selected portions 1 & 2 at Alstonville in 1865. The history of the mill is poorly recorded. It was however located on the corner of South Street and Green Street, Alstonville and dates from the 1890s. Apparently the mill operated for a short time only, its end hastened by fire that destroyed it. Freeborn did not re-construct the mill and sold his property in 1905. Whether Freeborn chose not to reconstruct the mill given he planned to sell the property, or whether he sold his property due to the failure of the mill is uncertain. It is however documented that other small saw mills in the shire during this era closed. The competition from other larger saw mills such as Bagot's at Ballina may have proven too competitive for smaller milling operations.[88]

The town-house development at the site of Freeborn's mill is named The Mill in recognition of the site's history. The history of the mill is significant to the history of Alstonville in general as well as the timber industry on the North Coast, especially the history of milled timber for

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[86] *Pers. Comm.* Mr Alan Philp.
[87] See *Wardell and Surrounding Localities community Based Heritage Study, op. cit.,* for history of saw mills at Wardell.
[88] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.,* pp. 144-146; Crawford, *op. cit.,* p.221.

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local use. The history of the mill is also significant to the history of the Freeborn family, who were among the early European 'pioneers' of the Alstonville area.

While the fire left no tangible evidence of Freeborn's mill itself a number of items demonstrate the mills history in the vicinity of this site, including three 'worker's cottages' and a well site. These cottages are significant for a number of reasons, aside from their historic association with Freeborn's mill and the local timber industry; they are constructed of local timbers milled at Freeborn's mill; they demonstrate features that are classic workers cottage architecture; they are rare examples of workers cottage architecture in Alstonville/on the plateau built from locally sawn timbers and constructed by a local proprietor.

The well associated with the site supplied water to the mill. This feature is an unusual example of a well dating from the late nineteenth century and in the shire. The well has the potential to reveal important information about Alstonville's early European history.

COMMERCE

It has already been noted that the first commerce to emerge among Europeans to settle the Richmond was the selling of cedar, and goods to sustain the cedar cutters and their families. As the number and type of European settlers broadened, commerce expanded to meet this change. For at least two decades however the type of commerce that took place in Ballina remained basic, servicing simple needs of the sawyer and an early wave of farmers.

In the early decades of the settlement at Ballina, and other localities in the shire, European settlers were also necessarily adept at meeting many of their own needs. Accounts of Europeans eating 'bush foods' are evident in the local historic record, though this was often supplemented with European foods, such as flour and salted meats. However, with the growing availability of European foods the reliance on the natural bounty of the 'bush' declined.

General stores were among the earliest shops to emerge and carried a range of foods and goods. Other early commercial enterprises also included hotels; these not only served alcohol but provided accommodation facilities for the colonial traveller.

Early commercial establishments in the Ballina township were located on Norton Street, as ships' access to the main arm of the river was limited, so deliveries were made to the wharf at the northern end of Norton Street. The surveying of the town of Ballina in 1857, by Frederick Peppercorne, led to the growth of what was then called West Ballina. As Hall has noted, the survey of the town co-incided with the first land sale of allotments [in Ballina] on the 20th of November that year.'[89] Peppercorne's survey of the town is still identifiable, as Hall notes.

> 'We are able to recognise immediately the main streets of Ballina from the Peppercorne map. He ran the main street parallel to the river, with Tamar, Crane and Swift streets as its parallels to the north. The north-south streets, cutting the town into

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[89] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

blocks are Moon St., Cherry St., Martin , Norton and part of Owen Street. Such was the original plan for the town as such it has remained – all that has happened since is that it has grown and outgrown to its town boundaries many times and each time new streets have been added. Still the main business area remains within those first few blocks of the Peppercorne map.'[90]

The passing of the *Roberston Land Act* brought increasing numbers of settlers to the Ballina Shire area and as a consequence of the development of farming, this multiplied goods and services available in Ballina and in other areas. By the end of the nineteenth century Ballina boasted stores that sold luxury items such as cordial and 'fine' goods.[91] The shire's villages also expanded as the population increased and took up farming, predominantly sugar cane and dairying.

The fabric of the nineteenth century commercial township of Ballina is almost no longer visible, its history however is an important context to the twentieth century development of the town. Many buildings from this era have not survived due to fire that reduced a number of these early timber buildings to rubble and ash. Many were also 'replaced' by sturdier brick or modern structures, as this was considered a mark of 'progress' and evidenced the 'advancement' or 'modernisation' of the town and brought status to the town's entrepreneurs. This ideology was also prevalent in other shire localities; however the shire's villages have managed to hold on to some of their older commercial buildings for longer than Ballina has.

BANKS

Banks are customary, and often iconic, townscape buildings. The shire has only four remaining historic bank buildings, two at Alstonville, one in Ballina and one at Wardell. Banks began to establish in the shire around the turn of the twentieth century to provide a range of financial services to the shire's residents. The general buoyancy of rural economies in this era (including Ballina's) spurred the establishment of country bank branches.[92]

The shire's remaining historic banks are significantly different buildings and represent the history of two different banking institutions in the shire. These banks, of course, were not the only banks to establish here.

- ***Former CBC Bank - Elders Real Estate building, Ballina***

The Commercial Banking Company (CBC) established its first branch in Ballina at the turn of the (nineteenth) century. (The history of its earliest building has not, as yet, been uncovered). The brick building on the Corner of River and Moon Streets Ballina, that now

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[90] *Ibid.*

[91] 'The Northern Rivers – Town of Ballina, Richmond River', *The Town and Country Journal*, November 22, 1890.

[92] Jeans has noted that despite the 1890s depression many rural economies continued to prosper due to expanding rural industries. *The Open Air Museum*, *op. cit.*, p.

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houses Elder's Real Estate, was however constructed by the bank in 1924. The building was designed by local architect Frederick. J. Board. (The significance of Board's architecture is detailed in the theme *Governing*) and cost £4000 to construct.
The construction of the building in brick was in keeping with new regulations imposed by the Ballina Municipal Council, in the early 1920s, that stipulated new buildings in River Street were to be of brick. Significantly also, as noted above, commercial brick buildings on the North Coast was symbolic of optimistic economic times. Bank's in particular also sought to construct their premises in brick given the status of greater prestige associated with brick.

The bank building was also constructed in an era of growing prosperity in Ballina that followed the Great War and was spurred by the increasing popularity of the beach as a holiday destination. This was an era that saw the construction of a number of other major commercial buildings in the town, including the Wigmore shops by Florence Price.

The Elder's building is a prominent early twentieth century building in Ballina's River Street and is symbolic of the town's 1920s period of economic growth. The building not only housed the banking quarters but also accommodated the Bank Manager and his family. This was a common feature of bank buildings in rural areas until the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1991 the building was sold to Elder's Real Estate by the National Australia Bank.

- *Former CBC Bank – Alstonville*

The CBC bank opened in Alstonville in 1902, with the first branch established in a converted house in Main Street. This included additions made to the front of the house to provide banking facilities. The existing building accommodated the Manager's quarters. Alterations made in 1908 added a strong room to the building. In addition to its historic values the building also makes an important aesthetic contribution to the Alstonville, Main Street streetscape.[93]

The former CBC bank building retains significant historic fabric and is currently listed on Council's LEP, as well as is acknowledged as being significant by the NSW National Trust.

- *Former Bank of NSW – Alstonville*

The former Bank of NSW Wales building in Main Street, was also designed by Frederick J. Board and built in 1921 by local builder Dayal Singh. Prior to the opening of the branch it operated from the home of Mrs Lumley. Like the two bank buildings noted above, the building incorporated a Manager's residence. The building functioned as a bank until 1941, when it was forced to close due to depressed wartime conditions. Since closing as a bank the building has been used for various purposes including as a doctor's surgery

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[93] Gardiner & Knox, *op. cit.*, CBC Bank summary sheet.

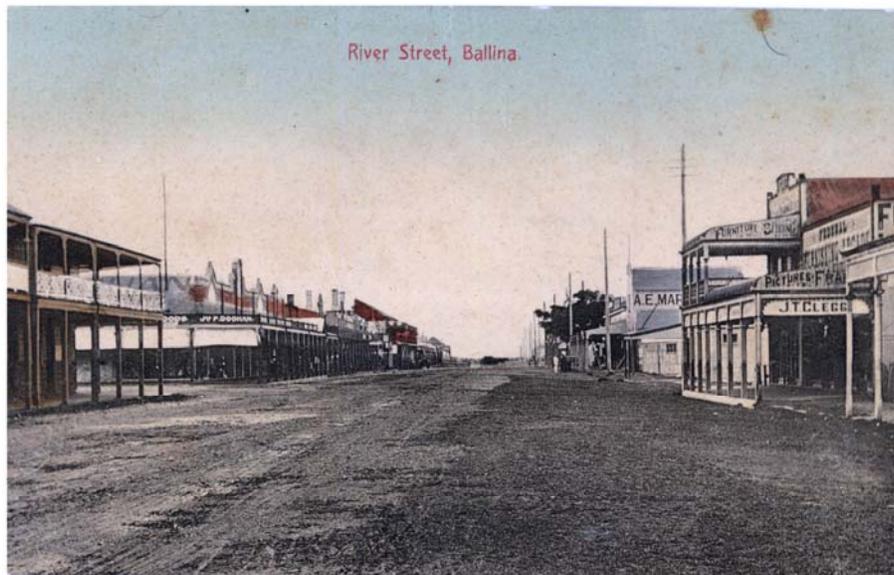*Draft Shire Wide Community Based Heritage Study: Thematic History*

(1942-1972), a residence (1972-2005), an opportunity shop (1972-2005) and consulting rooms (present).[94]

The building is an important contributory building to the Alstonville Main Street streetscape. The building retains a high degree of historic fabric, its weatherboard finish reflecting the historic character of the Alstonville village built environment. It is also one of only a few remaining commercial timber buildings in the shire.

SHOPS

- ### River Street historic facades

As outlined in the theme *Building Settlements, Towns and Cities,* the earliest commercial buildings along River Street in Ballina were of timber, reflecting the ready availability of this material. The often elaborate style and decoration of these early buildings further reflecting their Victorian era origins. This period of Ballina's commercial history has disappeared. Only a few, but important, photographs demonstrate how the Ballina town streetscape presented into the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Ballina's River Street, 1910s. Image courtesy BSC records.

While many of these buildings were replaced due to fire, others were demolished to make way for a new style of main street commercial building in the early decades of the twentieth century.

'Building styles changed at the turn of the century towards plainer fashions. In the commercial buildings of the main streets, facades showed much exposed brick,

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[94] Gardiner & Knox, *op. cit.*, Bank of NSW summary sheet.

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though sometimes with stuccoed panels. Parapet lines became simpler and geometrical, instead of florid and classical.' [95]

A number of historic building facades in River Street date from this era of change, from the florid to the plain. These facades are located predominantly on the northern side of River Street and include the facades from the Curran's building (1909) and the Wigmore Arcade façade (1929).

These facades along with the Wigmore facades (and arcade), the former CBC Bank building, The Australian Hotel and the Tattooist building (on the south side of River Street) are the only remaining early twentieth century historic commercial buildings in the town. These facades are aesthetically distinctive and symbolise the history of the architectural shift that occurred in commercial building at the turn of the century, but more importantly reflect the economic growth of Ballina during this era.

Central River Street - 1930s, showing Wigmore and other historic facades. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

Other studies of main street shops have highlighted the heritage significance of these buildings and the values they have the potential to bring to regional towns and villages.

'The character of a particular street or locality sets it apart from any other place, and a town that has a range of shop fronts reflecting different eras and fashions is an interesting place to visit and shop. These shop fronts become landmarks of changing fashions and fortunes. They are an important part of the history and streetscape of a place.

[95] Jeans, *Open Air Museum, op. cit.* p. 58.

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Many suburban streets and country towns still retain shop fronts in styles that were popular in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In older shopping streets the verandahs or awnings, signs, entrances, tile finishes, scale and design of the windows, even the entry porch, all represent a time capsule of changing styles and fashions.

Shop fronts are also the public face of the shops that lie behind the facades. In many cases, the architectural detail of the shop front might be all that is left intact after the shop itself has been gutted. Intact shop fronts are still an important part of retailing history. They add to the flavour of their street, and are often part of our architectural history as well.'[96]

- *Wigmore facade*

The Wigmore building is significant building for a number of reasons. As noted above, it is among a group of buildings that represent the economic development that took place in the town in the early decades of the twentieth century, replacing a former historic streetscape dating from the period of early European settlement of Ballina. The building is another of Frederick J. Board's designs, featuring art nouveau archways that were characteristic of much of his work during this era. Board's plans of the Wigmore shops survive and are an important piece of moveable heritage relating to this building and Board himself.

The Wigmore building is also significant given its associative history with the 'benefactress' Florence Price and her father William Wigmore. Wigmore came to Ballina in the 1870s as a trader of goods or storekeeper. In the 1880s he purchased a paddle steamer from boat builder William Yeager and began a floating store service along the river. Known as Wigmore's Floating Cash Store he traded up the south arm to Duck Creek, the north arm to Wyrallah and up Emigrant Creek 'for a few miles'.[97] While Wigmore was highly successful in his commercial ventures at Ballina he also had earlier successes at Grafton. Wigmore's success saw him accumulate considerable wealth which his daughter Florence inherited upon his death in 1908.

As the past history of women was (usually) recorded through the lives of the men they associated with, the (poorly) documented history of Florence Price tells us she was the daughter of William Wigmore and the wife of a Mining Engineer from New Zealand. Records also tell us she 'was [in her own right] a shrewd and intelligent business woman [who] made wise business investments.'[98] As a result of her good financial fortune Florence bequeathed a number of properties in Ballina to various institutions, including the Wigmore building to the Ballina Municipal Council.

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[96]McCann, Joy, 'The Shop Front', in *A Lot in Store: Celebrating our shopping heritage'*, NSW Heritage Office & NSW Ministry of Arts, 2002, p. 17.
[97] *Town & Country Journal* extract, RRHS Files, Ballina locality, 1880s; Holmes, Hazel, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
[98] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

- *Former McCurdy's Store, Norton Street*

The former McCurdy's Store building at 52 Norton Street, Ballina, was established by William McCurdy in 1913. Aside from being linked to the commercial history of Norton Street the (hi)story of William McCurdy's store is an intriguing story that intersects with many other facets of the history of the shire and its people, not least the story of Irish migrant success. The store building is also a rare example of a historic timber shop front in Ballina.

William McCurdy was one of eight children and the son of Boyd McCurdy who came to the district in the early 1850s cutting and shipping cedar. Boyd McCurdy came to Australia as a free Irish migrant in 1838, no doubt to escape the impacts of the potato famine in Ireland at this time. Boyd spent his early years in the district at the Emigrant Creek cedar camp. By 1875 he was growing sugar cane on North Creek and by 1881 he was living in Ballina with a wife and eight children. Apparently McCurdy ran a two storey boarding house in Fox Street, in the vicinity of the busy Norton Street area. Records from 1881also indicate he kept thirteen boarders and had one employee. Despite running the boarding house McCurdy continued to own his 44 acres at North Creek along with a number of livestock.

Boyd McCurdy died in 1907, his enterprising spirit giving William the means by which to establish the store in Norton Street. It is noted that the 'advertising motto' for William's store was 'the little store with the big turn over'. While Ballina's River Street was well developed by this time the success of this store demonstrated the fact that conditions enabled the viability of small general stores throughout the town. As outlined in other sections of this history, Norton Street remained a significantly busy strip, with many houses developing in this area also. Residents patronised commercial enterprises that continued to operate in this vicinity into the middle decades of the twentieth century. Advertising for McCurdy's store from the 1920s indicates it sold 'everything from groceries to sandshoes and bathing caps.'[99]

In addition to its link with the McCurdy family, the store is also linked to former Ballina Municipal Council Alderman, and Mayor, Ray O'Neill. In 1946 William McCurdy sold his store to Ray and Nancy O'Neill. In 1950 Ray became an Alderman, serving as Mayor three times during his career in local government (1953-61, 1969-71, 1974-75).[100]

- *Riversleigh (former home & boarding house)*

The building known as *Riversleigh* is the oldest two storey timber building remaining in the Ballina Shire. The building also is one of only two double storey timber buildings left in the shire. It is a unique example of a timber Victorian Georgian style building. All these aspects of this building make it a rare example of a building of this type in the shire.

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[99] *Norton Street Heritage Trail* brochure, researched by Ballina Shire Heritage Committee, 2003, BSC Records.
[100] Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-405.

Riversleigh was built by Alexander Huegh in the late 1880s. Huegh's father operated a sawmill at Pimlico in association with trading in cedar. Timber used to construct the building was sawn at the Pimlico mill.[101] Local timbers featured in the building include cedar and teak. Cedar is used throughout the building in wall paneling, the main staircase and architraves and skirting boards. The floors are of wide cut teak. The building retains other important features of its original fabric and is in good condition.[102]

The social history of the building is poorly recorded to date. It is understood however that the building was initially constructed as a residence and then was operated by Huegh's sister Mary as a boarding house. Apparently the vicinity of the building close to Ballina's waterfront and wharves saw it patronised by many seafarers who came to Ballina. One account tells the tale of the sailors who visited, enjoying themselves in the house's drawing room into the small hours of the morning to the accompaniment of Spanish guitars and mandolins. (Play on!)

For most of its life from its time as a boarding house Riversleigh has been used for guest accommodation and/or as an eating house.

- *Former Spearing's Butcher Shop, Lao Thai Restaurant, Alstonville*

Alstonville's Main Street began to develop in the 1890s, along the main route from Ballina to Lismore. A number of commercial buildings from the early decades of the twentieth century survive and are significant to telling the history of the economic and social development of Alstonville.

The former Spearing's Butcher Shop was built in the 1930s by H. K Gough. Gough's Butcher Shop was the first to operate on Alstonville's Main Street, an earlier butcher's shop having operated on the corner of Bugden Lane and Commercial Road. (This shop was later converted to the dwelling now on this site). Geoff Spearing was the third butcher to operate from this site, with Gough and the Morrow brothers preceding him.

In 2007 the former butcher shop was converted to a bakery.

Opposite the former Spearing's Butcher shop is another historic commercial building that now houses the Lao Thai Restaurant. Little documentary evidence has been identified relating to the history of this building. Photographic evidence shows, however, that the building was part of the Main Street streetscape from the early 1900s. A photograph from 1911, taken after the Main Street was kerbed in 1911, shows the building was occupied by Chew & Burns Auctioneers. The images also show the building over the decades has maintained its original form of a timber building with a predominately glazed shop-front with an over path awning. Further documentation of the building is likely to reveal other heritage values aside from known historic and aesthetic values.

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[101] Norton Street Heritage Trail, *op. cit.*
[102] 'Truly Splendid Original Features', Real Estate Feature, *The Northern Star*, 14 September, 2002.

Main Street, Alstonville - 1940s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

HOTELS

- ### *Australian Hotel*

The (present) Australian Hotel located on the corner of River and Cherry Streets in Ballina was built in 1936, replacing a timber hotel that was destroyed by fire. The original timber building was built by William Webster, a local businessman and former Mayor of Ballina, who constructed his hotel in the 1890's after moving permanently to Ballina.[103] The name 'Australian Hotel' was given to Webster's original hotel, but photographic evidence suggests it was originally called Webster's Hotel. The name change had occurred sometime before 1909, perhaps coinciding with Federation in 1901. The name Australian Hotel may have been suggested given the patriotism Federation spurred at the time. Nonetheless, the name the Australian Hotel is attributed to William Webster who is recorded to have had a reputation for generosity. Webster apparently had a penchant for grand buildings, having also built 'Garr House', a double storey federation weatherboard building, which stood on the corner of Crane and Tamar Streets in Ballina.

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[103] Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171.

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The rebuilding of the Australian Hotel saw it constructed in brick, a new stipulation of the Ballina Municipal Council for buildings located in River Street, given fire had over the years destroyed so many. The new Australian Hotel was designed by Fredrick J. Board; the hotel's plans survive indicating the original layout of the new hotel. In keeping with the vernacular of country hotels of this period, and earlier, the building also had external verandahs that wrapped around the building and orientating its entrance toward the corner.[104]

Like the old, the new Australian Hotel building made a magnificent aesthetic contribution to River Street. Its modernity was also promoted in tourism brochures from this era. The growth of tourism in Ballina, from the 1920s especially, saw many of Ballina's hotels marketed as an accommodation alternative to camping. One advertisement for the Australian Hotel urged 'When Visiting Ballina – Stay at the Australian Hotel – The Home of the Tourist and Traveller.' The Australian Hotel was also advertised as being 'Noted for Comfort and Service' and 'The most up-to-date hotel on the North Coast.'[105] In addition, the hotel building, along with other historic buildings and facades in River Street, tells the history of the twentieth century economic development of the town.

Though the Australian Hotel today has been extensively altered from its original appearance, it retains aesthetic, as well as historic and associative heritage values. The hotel retains much of its historic fabric, and its heritage values could indeed be enhanced by the re-instatement of significant historic components of the building.

Australian Hotel, River Street, Ballina - 1950s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

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[104] BSC Records.
[105] *Beautiful Ballina*, [Tourist Brochure], Northern Star Print, 1935, original located in Richmond Tweed Regional Library, Local History Room, Ballina.

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- *Federal Hotel*

The Federal Hotel, located in Main Street, Alstonville, is the oldest of the shire's historic hotel. It was constructed and 'opened in 1901 for the owner and first licensee John T. Daley.' The history of the hotel is well recorded, reflecting past debate regarding the nature of its heritage values. The hotel has important historic and aesthetic heritage values.

The hotel was built in a new era of optimism that was felt nationally and locally. 'By 1900 New South Wales was coming out of the depression and preparing optimistically for Federation in 1901. It was the end of one era and the beginning of another and this was reflected in the simpler architectural Edwardian style replacing the ornate Victorian style. Consumption of beer dropped by 9 gallons annually per head in 1885 but crept back to 11 gallons in 1900 and this led to a spate of hotel building. Between 1885 and 1911 publicans' licenses increased in Australia from 53 to 558. The hotel was also important for providing accommodation for travellers usually situated one day's travel by coach, and later, motor, vehicle apart.[106]

Important architectural features of the hotel include its double storey L-shaped form, its weatherboard construction (the only weatherboard hotel in the shire and one of a class of four timber hotels on the North Coast), verandah with iron (first floor) balustrading corrugated and bull nosed roof, double hung windows and timber French doors with coloured glass highlights, a central timber lined entrance and timber staircase leading up to timber lined accommodation rooms that lead onto the verandah. The hotel setting, including its setback and the open area to the west of the hotel are important elements of its aesthetic heritage values.

Federal Hotel, Main Street, Alstonville - 1940s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

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[106] BSC Records, Federal Hotel.

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INDUSTRY

Factories

The early history of the dairy industry on the Far North Coast of NSW is marked by a series of technological changes that were to transform the industry enabling it to prosper for many decades. Among the advances in technology was the invention of the cream separator that assisted the butter making process considerably, enabling greater quantities to be made and with greater efficiency. The application of these methods to the dairy industry on the North Coast, it was considered would, 'put the industry on a sound footing.'[107]

Prior to the cream separator, butter was made manually in a butter churn on a cottage industry basis. The innovation of the cream separator not only aided the butter process but led to the development of the co-operative factory system of making and selling butter. These developments were to occur first on the NSW Far South Coast. The relationship between dairy farming in the south and north soon saw these practices transferred here. These developments were preceded by overseas influences also.

> 'The cream separator was invented in Scandinavia in the late 1870s, and was soon imported to Mittagong by the Fresh Food and Ice Company to use its surplus summer milk. The machine was adopted by Kiama dairy farmers who combined it with the idea of Co-operation to found the co-operative dairy factory movement which has subsequently been the foundation of most Australia dairying regions.'[108]

- ***Spring Hill Butter Factory, Wollongbar (potential archaeological site)***

John Seccombe was the driving force behind the establishment of the first butter factory on the North Coast, known as Spring Hill Butter Company at Wollongbar. John was well connected to dairying *per se* and the industry on the South Coast. 'John Seccombe was descended from a long line of Devonshire [dairy] farmers, dating back to pre-Norman times. His father settled at Ulladulla on the south coast of NSW where he 'engaged in dairy farming'. (As noted above his brother Edwin introduced paspalum grass to the North Coast). John Seccombe came to the Richmond and selected land at Wollongbar in 1878.[109] It was on his property at Wollongbar that the Spring Hill Butter Company built and opened its factory in 1889. In recognition of his contributions to this development Seccombe was the company's first Chairman.

The importance of the opening of the first butter factory is indicated by the crowd of 'between 200 & 300' people that turned out to celebrate the event.

> 'The building was decorated with evergreen, flowers and oranges. Over the entrance, there was inserted in bold letters 'Welcome to All'. ...Mrs J Seccombe, wife of the Chairman broke the orthodox bottle of milk on the machinery and named the factory Spring Hill Butter Factory.
>
> The machinery was set in motion and the age of factory production and the industrial revolution came to the Richmond River district and the County of Rous.

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[107] Ryan, op. cit., p. 76.
[108] Jeans, *The Open Air Museum, op. cit.*, p. 29.
[109] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

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Marvel of marvels, these engines drove the two De Laval separators which could handle 150 gallons of milk each, powered the rectangular butter churn of 500 pounds capacity; pumped water from a permanent spring; and delivered hot and cold water to various points in the factory. This new magic soon found ready acceptance as it meant the end of the sweated labour of churning the butter and all the other chores associated with it. If there were any doubts in the minds of the spectators about the revolution that was taking place before their eyes, James Barrie [Lismore's Mayor] soon removed it by quoting some trade figures between England and the colonies which showed that Australia was actually importing butter when it had the potential to achieve a similar position for butter as it had done with wool.' [110]

Despite the fanfare and optimism surrounding the Spring Hill Butter Company its life was short-lived, though it has not been uncovered as to the exact year of its closure. It is noted however that the competition posed by other butter factories establishing in the area throughout the 1890s saw the Spring Hill Factory flounder, as local farmers chose to patronise these other factories for various reasons.[111]

Spring Hill Butter Factory, Wollongbar - the first butter co-operative to be established on the North Coast. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

- *Alstonville Dairying Co-op/Norco Factory Alstonville*

The building known as the 'old' butter factory on the Bruxner Highway at Alstonville is the second butter factory to be built on this site. The processing of milk into butter on the site began in 1900 with the establishment of a timber factory building by the NSW Creamery Butter Company. Like the Spring Hill Factory, the NSW Creamery Factory was short-lived

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[110] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
[111] Ibid; Crawford, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.

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due to the competition from other local factories. It went into liquidation in 1904 and the site and factory was purchased by the Rous Co-operative Dairy Company. The Rous Co-Operative then operated the Alstonville factory as the Alstonville Co-operative Company.

The Alstonville Co-Operative Company brought stability to the factory for a further 25 years, until in 1929 Norco purchased the factory. It has been noted that during the 25 years of its operation as the Alstonville Co-operative Company the factory flourished, experiencing steady growth in production and suppliers during these years. In this time the factory was also awarded many national and international prizes for its butter.

In the early 1920s the factory saw the need to 'modernise' its plant and equipment. New advances in understanding food safety had identified that the old factory's equipment contributed to the mould that had begun to damage the Company's butter in the early 1920s. Thus plans were drawn for a new factory and the contract for the building was completed by November 1923. Following completion of the new building new machinery was installed, the total cost of the building and machinery being £ 12 000.[112]

Soon after completion of the new factory Norco began negotiating terms of purchase of the factory from the Alstonville Co-operative. Norco continued to operate the factory until 1947. It is not certain what year the factory began operating as a peanut processing factory before its present use as a retail furniture outlet.

The former butter factory building is significant to the development of factory butter production on the North Coast/in the shire. The building is the only remaining butter factory in the shire. The building also demonstrates significant aesthetic industrial architecture features. While some alterations have been made to the building it retains significant original fabric that is important to the telling of the building's former use as a butter factory.

- ***Ballina Butter Co-Operative/ Norco Butter and Bacon Factory, Ballina***

Another co-operative factory to emerge in the 1890s was established at Ballina; though it is more commonly appreciated that Norco operated the creamery and bacon factory on the river at Ballina, and indeed it did for a time. Ballina was one of the later co-operative companies to emerge and by this time there were two significant proprietary companies in the district competing with local co-operations – the NSW Creamery Butter Company (at Alstonville) and Foley Brothers (at Lismore).

The Ballina Co-operative established in November 1899 and opened its factory on the river in September 1900.

> 'The director's have secured an excellent site, viz., the two acres block in River Street on which the old Royal Hotel of twelve years ago was located. It has a wharf with a deep water frontage opposite to Stavert's Hotel [now the locality of the Ballina Hotel] and is admitted to be the best site for the purpose in the town.'[113]

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[112] Ryan, *op. cit.*

[113] Ryan, *Ibid.*, p. 106. Ryan also documents that the Royal Hotel site 'had a frontage of 2 chains to River Street. It had been built in 1878 by James Britton who utilised sandstone block ballast from the sailing ships to construct a wharf opposite the pub.'

In association with producing butter, the Ballina factory also processed bacon. The raising of pigs in association with producing milk was a common feature of dairy farming, these animals being fed on the skim milk from the separation process that preceded butter making.

Familiar business names in Ballina were associated with the establishment of the Ballina Co-operative including William Webster, and the pioneer of the first butter factory on the North Coast at Wollongbar, Mr John Seccombe. Though these men, and others, on the Co-operative's Board were most enthusiastic about its establishment, the co-operative's early years of operation were met with difficulties in sustaining and growing its supply of cream from local farmers. In all however the company managed to survive until after the war, as a result of a boom in dairying during this period.

By the end of WWI however the factory, like the one at Alstonville, required upgrading to meet changing standards, and due to deterioration of the 'old' factory infrastructure. It was reported that the white ant eaten ceiling of the old factory had begun to drop into the cream and butter![114] The new factory was thus opened in August 1919 (near the old factory building).

> 'The shrill shriek of the siren re-echoed through the town betokening another victory for industry and dedicating its existence to the advancement of the great industry of the North Coast. The Chairman declared the creamery opened and all present drank in bumpers to its success.' [115]

The fanfare of the Co-operative's celebratory opening of the new factory did not result in the improved efficiencies that were anticipated.

> '[While e]very effort had been made to make the factory mechanised and labour saving. Trolley lines led from the factory to the wharf for conveyance of produce. This proximity to shipping facilities should have given the company an edge in production costs but it didn't. Both the butter and bacon factories were to [again] be plagued by insufficient suppliers and consequently, could not realise their potential.' [116]

Another feature of the new factory that is important to its history, and the history of the development of Ballina, was the construction of plant for generating electricity in association with butter and bacon manufacture. 'Much of the factory business in the decade of the 1920s was taken up with meetings and proposals concerning the sale of electricity to Ballina Municipal Council and other organisations.' This aspect of the factory's operation was also to be a failure, in that it generated a loss, not its anticipated profit, for the Co-operative.

> 'The contract for supplying the town with electricity ran until February 1928[.] At a meeting of Shareholders in the Centennial Hall on Friday 26th February 1926, John Seccombe outlined the sequence of events and the sad story of the Butter Factory's sweetheart deal with the Ballina Council, which had not, according to Seccombe, honoured the deal.' [117]
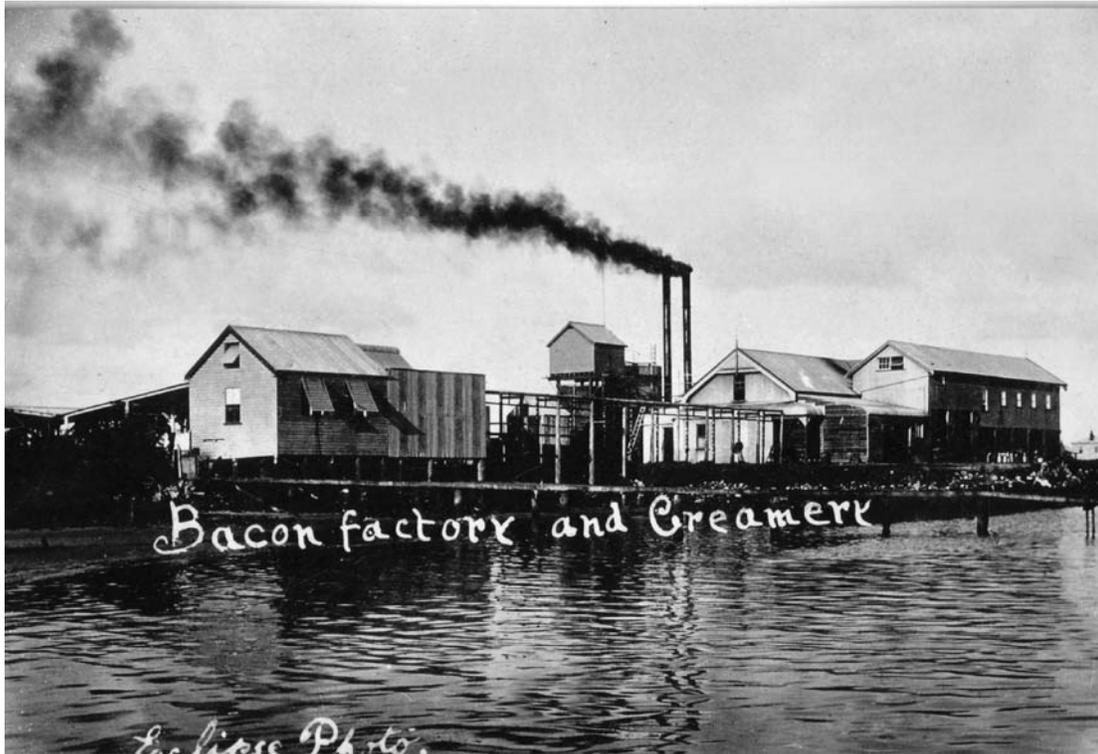
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[114] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

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The Co-operative's foray into electricity led also to a change of name in 1925 to the Ballina Refrigerating and Produce Company Limited. The continued poor performance of the Company had placed it in the sights of Norco's amalgamations by the late 1920s. Indeed, in 1929 Norco took control of the company and continued to operate the factory, manufacturing butter and bacon until 1945 at this site. The closure of the factory by Norco in 1945 was the result of its centralisation of manufacture in Lismore.[118]

Ballina Butter and Bacon Factory. Image courtesy of Local History Room, Richmond Tweed Regional Library, Ballina.

- *Ballina Cannery Site*

While the Ballina cannery is no longer extant, the history of its establishment in 1954 is an important facet of the industrial history of Ballina's waterfront. The history of the cannery however is poorly documented, with only brief details of its establishment and operations having been uncovered to date.

It is known however that the cannery was established by IXL to process pineapples. From 1963 the cannery also processed beetroot, gherkins, paw-paw, passion fruit and other tropical fruits.[119]

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[118] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[119] *Here's Ballina – Travellers' Pilot*, 1963, History Room, Richmond Tweed Regional Library – Ballina. Oral histories and further documentary searches are required to broaden the history of the cannery in Ballina for interpretation projects relating to Ballina waterfront.

- *Slipways – Fenwick's/Ballina Slipway and Engineering Company, Barlow's Slipway*

Several slipway sites have operated on Ballina's waterfront. These sites are also significant to the telling of the industrial history of Ballina's waterfront.

The most well known of these areas is the site of Fenwick's, and later White's, slipway (located at the south end of Martin Street, Ballina). In 1875, Thomas Fenwick acquired the site and in 1891 the slipway was established and the first vessel slipped. Fenwick operated the slipway until his death, but not until 1920 was any part of Fenwick's land on the riverfront sold, along with the rest of his estate. In 1943 S. G. White [Sidney George White] acquired the land from Norco who had mortgaged the site in 1931.

Thomas Fenwick's ownership of the site was for the maintenance of several vessels he operated as tugs and for other commercial purposes, including passenger services along the river.[120] Fenwick of course is well noted. The existence of Fenwick House at Shaws Bay has ensured his past participation in the Ballina Shire community is remembered. Hall has noted that Fenwick had a penetrating personality. 'He dominated the Port of Ballina in the 1870s and 1880s' given his business as tug operator, bringing vessels safely into port. Such was Fenwick's success he built Ballina's most opulent historic home surviving, or indeed only historic mansion, Fenwick House.[121]

Workers at Fenwick's Slipway. Image courtesy of Ballina Naval and Maritime Museum.

The history of the slipway during S.G White's ownership is better documented than Fenwick's, and the activities undertaken at the site were more broad-ranging. S.G. White's operations at the site in the early 1940s were dominated by the servicing of war contracts for the construction of wartime tugs, trawlers and patrol boats. During this era White was also undertaking timber boat building. The 1950s and early 1960s saw the

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[120] For reference to vessels operated by Thomas Fenwick see Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[121] Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-23.

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slipway's involvement with engineering projects associated the whaling industry at Byron Bay and Norfolk Island. From 1966 the Company began the construction of steel vessels, including cargo, trawlers, tugs and pleasure boats. By the late 1970s the repair work of large vessels began to decline. It was during its latter era however that the Company repaired or restored a number of well known vessels including the *New Endeavour*, the *Krait*, the *South Steyne* and two First Fleet re-enactment vessels the *Bounty* and the *Soren Larsen*.[122]

Like Bagot's Mill, the Ballina Slipway was a prominent business in the town for a number of decades. Its operation on the waterfront and as a highly successful economic enterprise shaped the town visually and socially during these decades.

Two slipway sites have been also associated with Barlow's operations on the riverfront at Ballina. The first of these was established in 1952, the second in 1962, by Keith Barlow. Operations at these sites have involved both the construction and repair of vessels. Vessels constructed have included local fishing trawlers and prawning equipment.[123]

TRANSPORT

RIVER

Notwithstanding the access the river enabled the early settlers to land; the centrality of the river to European settlement in the shire is reflected in the development of Ballina *on the river*. The river's tributaries were also well used for daily transport needs, with these being navigable much farther in past decades than is possible today. The livelihoods of settlers relied on removing goods to markets, and bringing in supplies by boat. As the development at Ballina grew so did the number of vessels that came to Ballina. Indeed, until the 1930s the river was integral to life of residents in the Ballina Shire and beyond.

Rafts made to transport cedar logs from upstream to depots at Ballina were also an early sight on the river. Later cane barges became a familiar sight on the river also and for many decades. The river was also busy with the punts of local residents going about their daily lives or travelling from smaller village settlements to 'town' for supplies or to conduct business at Ballina. Individuals and families would 'pull' their way shorter distances along the river from home to church, school, the doctor or the homes of relatives and friends for social gatherings.

Shipping also would have had significant social impacts on the Ballina Shire community. The history of the culture that grew up around shipping in Ballina however is to date poorly documented. It has been noted however that shipping brought men of many different nationalities to the Richmond.

> 'One would expect a large portion of Englishmen, Irishmen, Welshmen and Scots and so there was, but there were also Shetland Islanders (who deny being Scots!) and numerous Danes, Norwegians, Swedes and Finns. "Russians", actually Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, as well as Prussians, Germans, Dutch, Belgian, Frenchmen, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks and Yugoslavs are also recorded.

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[122] Private Records of Ballina Slipway.
[123] 'Barlow Dynasty Closes in Ballina', *The Northern Star*, March 1, 1997 & *Here's Ballina – Travellers' Pilot, op. cit.* Oral histories and further documentary searches are required to broaden the history of Barlow's engineering operations in Ballina for interpretation projects relating to Ballina waterfront.

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Many of these men came during the gold rushes and later, having often "jumped ship" and settled here illegally, when there were no passports and few immigration laws.'[124]

- *Ballina Waterfront & Wharves*

The prominence the river has held in shaping the economic and social lives of the residents of the Ballina Shire is reflected in the many wharves that were dotted along the Ballina waterfront, and the wharf on North Creek at the northern end of Norton Street. It is difficult to track all the wharves that once existed along the waterfront, as over the decades many have come and gone.[125] Most of these wharves were private wharves, constructed to assist the functioning of enterprise that established along the river. The history of at least some of these wharves is important to the telling of the significance of the waterfront to the history of the Ballina Shire community.

Of these wharves, the wharves at the end of Norton Street and Martin Street were government owned wharves. Government wharves were subject to regulations under the *Wharfage and Tonnage Rates Act* of 1880.[126] Another significant wharf was operated by the North Coast Steam Navigation Company (NCSNC) (at the end of Cherry Street). The NCSNC established this wharf in 1917 and operated it until 1954, when it ceased operations due to declining river trade. From this time, however, the wharf remained in use until the 1970s, used predominantly by sugar vessels. Due to poor maintenance of the wharf in the years following the closing of the NCSNC's depot the wharf was demolished.[127]

- *Ballina Break Wall*

For Europeans living on the Richmond in the early decades of settlement, river transport, as noted above, was vital to their daily lives. The reliance on shipping however was not without risk. One of the most significant risks vessels entering the river at Ballina faced was the bar crossing. It is well documented that the Ballina bar frequently caused havoc for vessels coming to and leaving the area with supplies and goods.[128]

In an attempt to alleviate the dangerous conditions the Ballina bar was known for, the State Government, in 1885, commissioned Sir John Coode to examine the bar and make recommendations on making it a safer bar to cross. Coode's investigations provided a solution of constructing a north and south breakwater that would 'confine a wide estuary into a comparatively narrow channel a few hundred yards in length, then the ebb current [would] scour out a channel' deep enough for vessels to cross.[129]

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[124] Richards, Mike, *Shipwreck Heritage of the Richmond River: A Survey Study*, January 1997, unpublished manuscript, NSW Heritage Office, p. 27.
[125] See for example, plans of Carlson's Subdivision, 1885, showing numerous private wharves along the Ballina waterfront. RRHS Files, Land Subdivision and Development.
[126] *Wharf Regulations* relating to the *Wharfage and Tonnage Rates Act* of 1880, in NSW Ports – Public Works file, NSW State Records, 6/5450.
[127] 'Fire may remove last link with early transport system', *The Northern Star*, 3 November 1976.
[128] See for example, Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
[129] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

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The construction of the breakwater was an incredible feat in its time. The large stones used to construct the wall were quarried from two locations, at Shaws Bay and Rileys Hill (near Broadwater). Most of the rock however came from Rileys Hill where it was loaded onto railway trucks and drawn by horses to the river bank where they were loaded onto big wooden barges '30 to 40 feet long and about 20 feet wide'. The barges were then towed down river to Ballina and unloaded at the breakwater.[130] The towing of the large stones became a familiar site on the Richmond, as the breakwater took twenty years to complete.[131]

Quarrying columnar basalt for construction of the Ballina breakwall. Image taken by photographer Joseph Check, 1890s, and courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

The building of the breakwaters had a greater impact on Ballina than just making the passage of ships crossing the bar safer. Constructing the walls required significant manpower; this brought newcomers to Ballina to undertake this work. With new men coming to the town, this in turn impacted on demand for goods and services. That the job was long term also saw some men settle here, marrying local women and raising families. As other themes note also, the construction of the walls saw them also used for recreational activities, such as walking, sightseeing and fishing (see theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life*).

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[130] Broadwater CWA, *A short history of Broadwater*, Quality Plus Printers Ballina, 1994, p. 3.

[131] Glen Hall has noted that even though Coode made his recommendations in 1885 it was not until some time in the 1890s that construction began on the south breakwall and another source suggests it was not completed until 1906.

- *Ship Wreck Sites*

The risks involved in shipping along the east coast meant ship wrecks were often incurred, including at the mouth of the Richmond, prior to, and even after, the construction of the breakwater.

> 'Shaws Bay, from Pilot Point [near existing caravan park] to North Head [Lighthouse Hill], was literally piled high with the wreckage of vessels …. South Beach and the beach immediately to the north of Lighthouse Headland were littered in every direction with the flotsam of broken ships.' [132]

Several sources indicate that a number of ship wrecks are located in the vicinity of the river (both in relation to its existing and former channels), which have significant heritage values.[133] These items/sites are protected under the *NSW Heritage Act* and the *Commonwealth Historic Shipwrecks Act*. A number of these sites are concentrated in the area below Lighthouse Hill, which before the construction of the breakwater, was the point at which vessels entered the river. Other sites are located on the area known as the South Spit (again before the construction of the breakwall).

- *Florrie*

One of the vessels to ply the Richmond for many decades was the Florrie. The *MV Florrie* was built in 1880 at Brisbane Water by the well known boat builder Rock Davis for George Crouch of Casino. Crouch, like many entrepreneurial men of this era, did a number of things in his business and professional life. Crouch was a storekeeper as well as the Mayor of Casino and went on to be a State Parliamentary representative. Crouch commissioned the construction of the *Florrie* to transport goods and passengers to Casino from Ballina. Crouch named *Florrie* after his eldest daughter, Florence.

Crouch's ownership of *Florrie* ended when she was wrecked at Ballina in 1882. Thomas Fenwick then purchased Florrie for £400, repaired her at his slipway on the Ballina waterfront, and returned her to the water to undertake trips between Ballina and Coraki until his death in 1896. From this point *Florrie* had a series of owners that used her for a number of purposes during her 95 years of work on the Richmond River. During this time her tasks included towing rafts of timber for milling and dredging sand and gravel.

Florrie is also of heritage significance for technical/aesthetic reasons. She is one of the oldest surviving timber craft in Australia; her hull shape is representative of a style of design aesthetics common at the time of her construction and used for working craft intended for use in sheltered waters with low powered engines and her framing system represents a technique used in European vessels for many hundreds of years, but rarely seen in Australia after the early years of the twentieth century.[134]

In 2007 *Florrie* was listed on the Australian Maritime Museum's historic vessels register in recognition of her heritage values.

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[132] Ainsworth, op. cit.
[133] Richards, Mike, *Shipwreck Heritage of the Richmond River: A Survey Study*, January 1997.
[134] Staples, Michael, *Florrie - Conservation Assessment*, October 2002.

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- *Richmond Pilot Boat*

The Richmond Pilot Boat is a significant historic timber vessel *per se*, as well as being important in telling the history of the Pilot at Ballina. Pilot services were introduced by the NSW Colonial Government in 1849 to assist the safe passage of vessels in and out of harbours and ports.

It is well documented that George Easton was the first Pilot to be stationed at Ballina in 1859. The growth of trade going to and coming from Ballina, combined with the reputation of the Richmond bar, saw this appointment.

> '[E]veryone was gratified to learn of the appointment of a pilot to the Port. To a place like Ballina there could hardly be anyone more important, for this port was 'the heart valve' through which life on the river was maintained, pumping in men and money and supplies, and pumping out hundreds and thousands of feet of cedar.'[135]

The appointment of Easton to Ballina saw a Pilot Station established at Shaws Bay. The Pilot's Station was made up of a Pilot's Cottage as well as cottages for his assistant boatmen/crew. A flagstaff was erected to signal to vessels approaching and leaving the river. Hall has also noted that Easton was 'a dictator of sorts' when it came to performing his roles, 'for no ship dare enter or leave until the flag was raised and signal given.'[136] The Pilot also took daily soundings of the bar and executed rescues when required. Later, with the construction of the lighthouse at North Head [Lighthouse Hill], the Pilot and the Lighthouse Keeper functioned collaboratively.

Sketch of Pilot's cottage at Shaw's Bay - 1860s. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[135] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[136] *Ibid.*

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The presence of the Pilot at Shaws Bay was to shape the landscape here for many decades. The areas where the Pilot Station and cottages operated from are the present day locations of the Shaws Bay Caravan Park and Easton Park. Easton himself was the longest serving Pilot in Ballina, retiring from his position in 1890. There is still much to be told regarding the history of the Pilot at Ballina. The Richmond Pilot Boat, as well as surviving records relating to daily functioning of the Pilot, can no doubt cast more light on this significant part of Ballina's history.

Shaws Bay, showing buildings associated with the Ballina Pilot and 'quarry holes' formed by the removal of columnar basalt to construct the Ballina breakwall. Image courtesy of BSC records.

ROAD TRANSPORT

Much has been written of the prominence river transport played in shaping the lives of Ballina Shire's early European settlers, which to some extent, understates the importance of road links to areas positioned away from the immediate vicinity of the river during this era. For both cedar-cutters and other timber workers, as well as some farmers, road travel was as much a part of their lives as the river was to those whose properties were close to it. Proximity to the river however did not preclude the need for residents to use roadways.

As in other nearby settlements, the first roads were 'cut' by the cedar-getters enabling them to access cedar trees and then draw it to the river to be rafted further downriver to sell. The continuous use of these tracks by timber workers, along with their bullocks and trucks, to and from the river ensured these roads remained defined. Selectors wanting to

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access land beyond the reach of cedar later extended cedar tracks further.[137] Most of these roads remained mere bridle tracks for many decades after Europeans took up land. Over the years the traffic of pedestrians, horses, bullocks, and buggies that travelled these routes for supplies, to deliver produce, attend school, church and for visitations only increased. Dairy farming too relied on the roads to deliver cream directly to factories or for loading on to boats.

Many families living on the river did not always access the town villages by boat. For those who had horses and buggies or sulkies no doubt the task of riding or driving their horses, for whatever errand they were running, was a more enjoyable way to travel than pulling a punt against the river tide. Also, living on or near the river did not always mean one owned a punt, therefore walking or horse riding was for some the only way of getting around.

The surface of roadways in the shire was continually hampered by wet weather making them 'boggy' and sometimes impassable.[138] Early road maintenance carried out by the Tintenbar Shire and Ballina Municipal Council was limited primarily by funding. Bridging creeks was a priority, but one that had to wait the availability of funds. Roads determined 'main roads' by the NSW government generally were serviced more frequently because greater allocations were given for this purpose, regardless of whether more traffic used these roads. Any early road maintenance that took place along minor road routes was undertaken by the council at the part expense of residents living on these roads through either offering money toward the costs or giving of their labour.[139]

Not until Council developed its own quarries in the shire from the late nineteenth century were the minor roads surfaced gradually and usually in response to requests from local Progress Associations that had sprung up as a means to lobby Council on these issues. Main roads and roads within the town in the early decades of the twentieth century were surfaced with rock from Rileys Hill and East Ballina. One reference also reveals that some roadways in the town before this were surfaced with shells sourced from a midden at North Creek.[140]

While the advent of cars and motorised trucks may not have changed the importance of the links roads provided to farms and communities living further away from the river, it did however change the attention given to the quality of roadways. By the 1940s the Council was using metal and bitumen on the roads and had considerably increased the amount of heavy machinery it had for road making. Cars did however change the importance of roadways between major centres along the coast and to the city. Where schooners and other boats had previously maintained links with other coastal towns and cities, by the 1940s shipping was in decline and road travel increasing. The 1950s and

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[137] Early bullock drawn wagons used to haul timber from the 'scrub' were called trucks.
[138] Tintenbar Shire Minutes, May 5, 1933, Residents writing concerning the impassability of the Meerschaum Vale to Bagotville Road in wet weather.
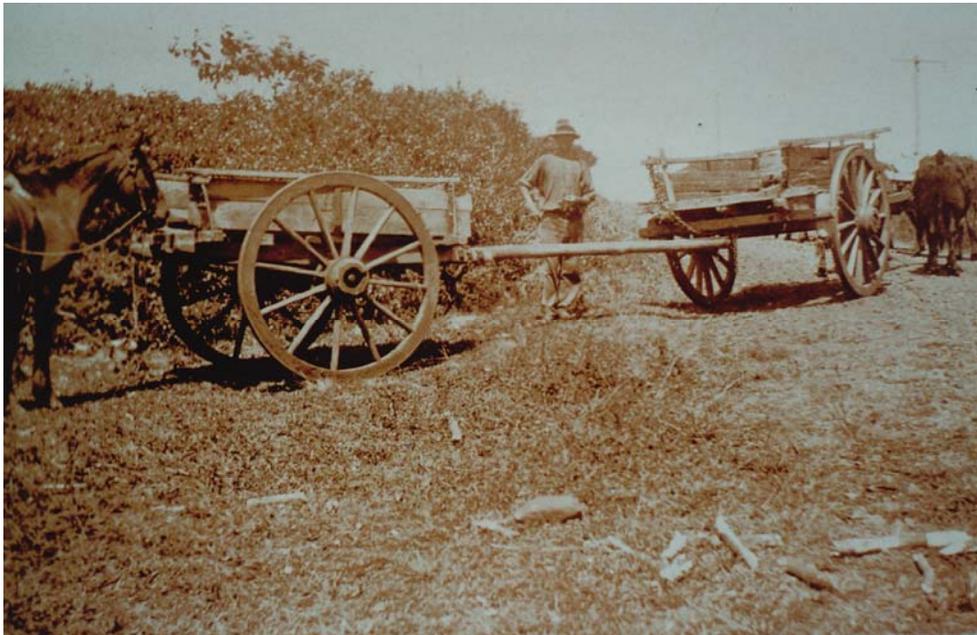[139] See for example, Tintenbar Shire Council Minutes, November 24, 1923.
[140] Arthur Cousins, *in* Lockton, H. I., (ed)., *Wardell School and District Centenary, 1867-1967*, Ballina, Summerland Printers, 1967.

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1960s also brought increasing numbers of tourists to North Coast beaches from the south and inland to camp and caravan. The increasing traffic coming into the region placed stress on the ferries that crossed the river at Wardell and South Ballina. As a temporary measure of overcoming this problem the shire began operating a second ferry during the summer holidays to move vehicles across the river to Ballina at Burns Point.[141]

- *Buggies Wagons and other farming implements & site of horse troughs – Ballina & Alstonville; Mile Marker Main Street, Alstonville*

Aside from historic road transport routes, a number of items are significant reminders or important symbols of the development of road transport. The collections of buggies and drays (as well as other farming implements) at Lumley Park in Alstonville are considered significant items of moveable heritage associated with the history of road transport in the shire. It has been recommended that these items be further assessed as a collection of items and a management plan prepared to promote their conservation.

A further item includes the mile marker positioned on Main Street in Alstonville, in front of the Federal Hotel. The marker demonstrates historic road infrastructure as well as marking the route that has always connected Ballina and Lismore. A further site indicates the position of the last horse trough to be removed from Ballina Island, signifying the importance of horses as an early form of road transport.

Horses and drays used for farm work at Lennox Head. Image courtesy of Lennox Head Heritage Committee.

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[141] See for example, P.J. O'Connor to Tintenbar Shire, expressing appreciation for the service of extra ferry at Burns Point during Christmas School holidays and asking for same during the coming December holidays, 22 May, 1957.

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- *Bagotville & Burn's Point Ferry*

Prior to the construction of bridges, several vehicular ferries operated in the shire to enable river and creek crossings – namely across North Creek to Shaws Bay, the Richmond at Wardell and at Burns Point at West Ballina. A further crossing of the Richmond, at Back Channel (Bagotville, Meerschaum Vale) was also serviced by ferry.

Ferry services were important to the growing efficiency of local communities in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, when ferry crossings emerged. Residents relied on these services to get produce to markets, children to school and families to church on Sundays. The Council's 'Scale of Toll' for the Wardell Ferry for 1908 reflected the many purposes ferries served in accepting, 'foot passengers', 'mare, gelding, ass or mule', 'gig, buggy, wagon dray or other vehicle', 'sheep, lamb, pig or goat', and 'bicycles' and so on, to travel on the ferry.[142]

Ferry services were not unique to the Ballina Shire area. Indeed these were common across the state and in many cases until recent decades. The North Creek ferry was replaced by the construction of the first (of two) bridges in 1906, whereas the Wardell ferry was not replaced until 1964. Relics of the original hand operated Bagotville ferry are still in position on the Back Channel Road. The Ferry at Burns Point continues to operate.

- *Teven Bridges*

The Teven Bridges were built in 1908-1909 and are linked to the natural, cultural and historic landscape of the Richmond River district. The Teven Bridges are aesthetically/technically significant and are associated with the broader history of the development of road transport routes, agriculture and industry in northern NSW throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Percy Allan, a well known and accomplished Department of Public Works engineer, designed the Teven Bridges. (Allan became Chief Engineer for the Department of Public Works in 1911). Allan's association with timber bridges is marked by his re-design of timber beam and timber truss bridges in 1894 to cut both the cost of constructing and maintaining timber bridges. The Teven Bridges are a good example of Allan's work.

Local contractor Mr W. E. Oxenford constructed the Teven Bridges. These bridges are two of only five examples of timber beam bridges in the Ballina Shire, but are the oldest and largest surviving examples.

The Teven Bridges were an important engineering initiative of the newly formed Tintenbar Shire to improve creek crossings and to assist the movement of people, livestock and goods. In addition, the construction of the bridges using local spotted and green gum timbers tells of the broader history of bridge building at this time, which due to cost cutting measures by the State Government constrained the use of imported (metal) material for the building of bridges. The route of the Teven bridges also indicates the boundary between the former Tintenbar Shire and Ballina Municipal Councils.[143]

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[142] Tintenbar Shire Minutes, July 1908, Ballina Shire Council Records.
[143] BSC Records, Teven Bridges.

The Teven Bridges also historically represented a vital link between local farming families living in the outlying localities of Teven and Tintenbar to the town of Ballina and its services.

- *Trace of the Ballina to Booyong Railway*

Those not familiar with the history of the development of Ballina in the twentieth century may be surprised to learn that the train once came to Ballina, via Booyong. Though the Booyong to Ballina line was not opened until 1930, agitation for its construction dates back to the 1890s.

> 'Ever since the Tweed to Lismore line had gone through in 1894 there had been agitation, argument, pressure on Parliamentary representatives for an extension or branch line to link with the seaport at Ballina and indeed, Government had endorsed no less than two Parliamentary committees of Enquiry, one in 1900, and again in 1913.' [144]

Parliamentary approval to construct the line was finally given in 1919 and construction began in 1923. Ballina rejoiced in the news that the construction of a rail line to Ballina was to take place. The railway, like in other centres, was considered to mark great progress in the development of transport and would create new economic opportunities for business. Two of Ballina's prominent businessmen, John Bagot and Richard Barlow, argued the case for the new economic opportunities at the 1913 Enquiry. 'John Bagot felt more sawn timber would be delivered [from] his mill, while Richard Barlow talked of increased production of bananas, beans, tomatoes and honey.' [145] That the development of the railway followed soon after the cessation of the Great War meant it was also embraced with the optimism that its end created.

To mark the commencement of construction a weekend programme of celebrations was held! – commencing with an open air concert on Friday 8 June.

> 'The Ballina Municipal and District Band played, St Francis Xavier's School performed choral songs, dances and humorous sketches and at 9pm there was the Great Brilliant Carnival and Confetti Armageddon. The town was brilliantly illuminated.
>
> On Saturday 9 June 1923 a procession started the day's celebrations. A large [model] loco[motive] headed the procession, consisting of bands, cars, floats, [the] Ballina Fire Brigade, Boy Scouts, police and mounted military. There was even a window dressing competition.' [146]

The procession ended with a turning of the first sod ceremony by the Minister for Public Works, Mr RT Ball, at the site of the Ballina Railway station at the northern end of Tweed Street. Celebrations than continued into the afternoon and evening with a children's sports afternoon in Clement Park and a community sing-song in Ballina's River Street!

> 'In the evening large crowds in the streets again gave expression of enthusiastic rejoicing. The dazzling rows of coloured electric lights suspended over River Street lent a carnival air to the celebrations, which found echo in carnival costumes among the throng, in confetti freely scattered, in squeakers, balloons, whistles, ticklers and a

[144] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[145] Kirkland, Ian, *Out Of Puff*, Alstonville Plateau Historical Society Press, 2006, p. 9.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

bombardment of crackers. Portions of the street were enclosed for the fun and parts of it were densely packed with people. The largest crowd assembled about a platform from which a strong choir led in community singing.' [147]

Further community celebrations were held to *open* the line in September 1930. The life of the line was however short-lived, closing in 1948 due to damage to the line caused by flooding. In turn, the government argued that to repair the line would be costly, and intimating that this cost was not justifiable. This met great opposition from locals. The Editor of *The Northern Star* reported that the line hadn't been given a chance, especially given it had not been extended to the wharves at Ballina.[148] The line ended about a mile from the wharves and this meant cargo had to be doubled handled.[149]

Mr R Nuts expressed his opposition to the closing of the line in a response to *The Northern Star.*

'Sir, So they're pulling up the Ballina line because it doesn't pay! Sydney Harbour Bridge will also be dismantled, I presume and steel girders used in the construction of some other public (f)utility that will in its turn be taken apart because it doesn't pay. Will the government of the day also pull up all other country lines that don't pay? If this were done we would be isolated from Sydney, except by road, sea and air.

But then, the government is hard to get, cement is practically unobtainable, tractors, trucks, road-building and earth moving plant all cost dollars – dollars – dollars – so the roads go to pieces. Anyway, what use are roads when you can't get cars and trucks or if you can get cars and trucks, you can't get petrol? If we haven't these things we can't produce wheat, wool, butter and meat for export. But even if we could produce them, we couldn't carry them to a port in a wheelbarrow and if we could get them to a port there would be no ships to take them away. And if there were ships, they couldn't be loaded because everybody would be dead – of starvation. Leave the so-and-so line where it is.' [150]

A number of items and features pertaining to the Ballina to Booyong line are still prominent in the landscape. These include the piers to all the bridges, cuttings made to construct the line, a water trough (for horses), remnants of Teven Station and Tyumba Station has been rebuilt. The line's remaining bridge piers are considered relics under the *NSW Heritage Act.*

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[147] *Ibid.*, p. 13. Quoted from original source, *The North Coast Beacon Souvenir*, 12 June 1923, p. 1.
[148] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[149] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[150] Kirkland, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. Quoted from original source, *The Northern Star*, 28 January, 1949, p. 6.

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DEVELOPING AUSTRALIA'S CULTURAL LIFE

DOMESTIC LIFE

The majority of items or places associated with the history of domestic life in the Ballina Shire are residential buildings. As noted in the theme *Building Settlements, Town and Cities* of these items, historic domestic architecture has much to reveal about the changing ways in which families have lived over the decades since Europeans first came to the shire. Aside from domestic buildings a number of other items and places in the shire are documented to have important associations with the historic development of domestic living.

Domestic Farm Life

- *Henderson Farm items*

The property historically known as the 'Henderson Farm' at Lennox Head has a long association with the Henderson family, who were early residents and farmers to the area - the first generation of the Hendersons taking up land in the 1860s. The Henderson family's continuous use of the Henderson Farm has to varying degrees conserved traces of domestic farming life at Lennox Head. The significant expansion of Lennox Head in recent decades has transformed the Lennox Head rural landscape, obscuring or demolishing physical evidence of its rural past, making known surviving items rare.

Items and features of the Henderson Farm documented to be associated with farming of the property include the location of original farm dwellings on the property, historic tree plantings, stone structures or features and a walking and animal track. As a group of items, together with a number of other items and sites associated with farming practices on the property, these items/sites have heritage significance because they demonstrate the ongoing use of the landscape for farming/agriculture (dating from the 1860s), along with the various adaptations made to buildings and amenities utilised in farming processes since Europeans first settled the North Creek/Lennox Head area.

- *Norfolk Pines – North Creek Road Lennox Head*

Historically trees have been associated with domestic life for various reasons, including for aesthetic and shade purposes, domestic food production, as memorials to loved ones, and as landmark features. For some of the significant trees discussed here the precise reasons why these trees were planted have not been uncovered. Nonetheless the association of these trees with early pioneers and domestic rural life in the shire is documented, making them significant.

The stand of Pine Trees located on the North Creek Road are associated with early farming families of the area. Four of these pines are documented to have been planted by Albert Hodgkinson, the son of James Hodgkinson who took up land at Lennox Head in 1866. 'The land [on which the trees stand] was purchased for Albert by his father in 1869, when he was 14 years old.

Later the property was transferred to the ownership of Jack Meaney and a further ten pines were planted by his employee Jack McLeod in the late 1930s. The Meaney farm is

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known to have held a special place in the social life of the North Creek/ Lennox Head community in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s as was the site of 'the Barn' where dances and other social gatherings were held.[151]

- ***Norfolk Pines - Fairfield Estate (Freeborn Selection) Trees - Alstonville***

The Norfolk Island pines on the reserve adjacent to the Fairfield Estate mark the first European land selection in Alstonville by Andrew Freeborn. Freeborn is known to have planted these (eight) trees in the 1890s.

- ***Norfolk Island Pines, Bruxner Highway, Alstonville & Wollongbar***

Norfolk Island pine trees on the Bruxner Highway at Alstonville and Wollongbar, were planted to mark the homes/farms of the Crawford and Seccombe families. Crawford House, today the home of the Alstonville Plateau Historical Society, was once the home of the Crawford family, who are associated with the history of dairy farming on the plateau. The Norfolk Island pine on the Bruxner Highway at Alstonville indicates property owned by the Crawfords. Similarly, the pines at Wollongbar mark the property owned by John Seccombe, who, as earlier themes have detailed, was associated the developments in the dairy industry and dairy manufacturing on the plateau and in Ballina.

Domestic Life & Leisure

- ***Boulder Beach settlement relics***

In 1910 the Bulwinkles, along with other family members and their friends, established a beachside holiday settlement at Boulder Beach.[152] 'The settlement was almost self-sufficient. Cottages were on blocks leased from the Department of Lands for 10/- ($1) a year. They carted timber by bullock teams from their farms to build about 15 cottages, which were painted white and had timber shutters on the windows…. Water tanks were tarred to withstand seaspray.' [153] Relics at Boulder Beach are understood to mark the positioning of some of these early cottages.

The establishment of the holiday settlement during this era coincided with the increasing popularity of beachside holidays. The Boulder Beach settlement pre-dates the first sub-division in Lennox Head and is thus significant to the early history of the recreational or holiday use associated with the beach in the shire.

CREATIVE ENDEAVOUR

The Ballina Shire boasts a number of items that demonstrate aesthetic and historic technical merit. These buildings include both domestic architecture and public buildings. Given all the buildings identified in the Ballina Shire as demonstrating technical merit have multiple heritage values, these items have been discussed in greater detail in other

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[151] Lennox Head Heritage Committee research notes, BSC Records.
[152] See theme *Governing – Armistice Day Norfolk Pine* for brief history of the Bulwinkle's historic association with the Ballina Shire.
[153] Correspondence from Mrs Marelle Lee to BSC, 13 November 2006, BSC Records. Information obtained from interview with Wilhelmina Blanch, the daughter of Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle.

parts of this history. Criteria C indicates items assessed as having aesthetic or technical heritage values in the Schedule of Nominated Items and Places shown in the introduction of this report.

LEISURE

Natural Areas associated with Leisure

The Beach and River as places of recreation

The first Europeans to come to the Ballina area relied on the ocean and the river as a means of survival, with ships taking away timber and other produce from, and bringing goods and people to, the area. The construction of the lighthouse positioned on the hill above Lighthouse Beach and the appointment of a Pilot at Ballina in the early decades of European settlement reflects the importance placed on ocean and river transport for survival from these early years. (See theme Developing Local Regional and National Economies for further discussion). In addition to its utility, from the late nineteenth century the shire's 'sea side' areas were also used and promoted as places of recreation, reflecting the growing popularity of the beach in the broader Australian community from this time. While the popularity of the shire's beaches for recreation sustained itself throughout the twentieth century, the ways in which the shire's beaches have been used recreationally has seen changes overtime.

- ### South Ballina & 'Tomki' or Lighthouse Beach

During the latter and closing decades of the nineteenth century, generally, the beach was promoted as a place experienced from the shoreline, with families or groups visiting the beach to either picnic or promenade by. It was also not unusual that when picnics were taken at the beach games such as cricket or 'rounders' were part of this experience. Beach bathing at this time was widely considered an 'immoral practice' given bathing required the removal of clothing. This belief had emerged in response to protests from 'beach goers' in the Sydney area who objected to observing (male) swimmers remove (most of) their clothes to enter the water. Such behaviour, in particular was seen to be offensive to women, justifying the introduction of the 1894 *Bathing Bill* in the NSW Legislature, allowing NSW council's to draft their own regulations regarding surf-bathing.[154]

Little is documented of the ways in which local residents used the shire's beaches in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Existing evidence clearly suggests however that aside from beach mining (for gold) the beach was commercially exploited as a place to recreate. This also was a practice that had grown in popularity in many parts of Australia. 'From the 1870s hotels and guesthouses were built overlooking the ocean at a number of key sites around Australia, including Lorne in Victoria and the Sydney localitites of Bondi and Manly.[155] Early records of Ballina indicate it also provided accommodation catering to seaside venturers. The *Town and Country Journal* in August 1881 described Ballina's

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[154] White, Cameron, 'Picnicking, Surf-Bathing and Middle-Class Morality on the Beach in the Eastern Suburbs of Sydney, 1811-1912, *Journal of Australian Studies, 'Write/up'* , no. 80, 2004, pp. 103-104.
[155] Skinner, James *et. al.*, *Some Like It Hot: The Beach as a Cultural Dimension*, *Sport, Culture and Society*, Vol. 3, Meyer& Meyer sport, UK Ltd., 2003, p. 25.

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Union Hotel; 'It is commodious, pleasantly situated, and contains 27 rooms. It is the stopping place for commercials and those who visit the locality for a change of air.' [156]

Of the evidence relating to early beach bathing in Ballina it is perhaps suggested that it was more acceptable for children to bath at the beach than for adults. Children were in part excluded from strict modesty, though were clad in the neck to knee attire of this era introduced to avert concerns surrounding this issue. These accounts further reveal that going to the beach was associated with a number of activities.

> 'We liked our Aunt Mary coming down [to stay]. Mother never went to the beach. Before the breakwater and Missingham Bridge was built we used to swim at North Creek. When we went to the beach we would take our lunch, and go swimming, gathering shells & flowers. Mother made costumes for us girls to swim in of tough thick flannelette, one piece costume. We also had sunhats that came down over our shoulders. The costumes were made one piece neck to knee, buttoned down the front & easy to get into. The girls had costumes, the boys had to do with a shirt and pair of old trousers. Aunt Mary always wore a hat, she wore a long dress & carried an umbrella & she kept a sharp look out for us children that we didn't go out too far (the older children piggy backed the younger ones to the beach). [157]

The increasing use of the beach by local residents for recreation in the early decades of the twentieth century is also evidenced in both documentary and photographic source material, reflecting its growing popularity and acceptance as a leisure space from this time. In contrast to late nineteenth custom, Herbert Peak has recalled the popularity of South Beach (South Ballina Beach) (from around 1910) as a surf bathing beach. The popularity of South Beach followed the legalisation of day-time surf bathing in 1902, which also saw the introduction of the requirement to wear neck to knee bathing costumes. It is interesting to note the suggestion from one Sydney-sider that neck to knee costumes, especially those worn by men, were even more offensive than nudity. 'After contact with water, the V-trunks favoured by many of the male bathers show up the figure … in a very much worse manner than if they were nude'. Peak's recollections of surfing at South Beach, however, reveal a different perspective on neck to knee bathers.

> 'The recreation of surf bathing had made its debut on South Beach, like the first flush of a rosy dawn heralding the delights of a glorious day. … It is sad to recall how prudishness of that era compelled the use of neck to knee costumes. When made of a clinging diaphonous material they had merits from some points of view, it is true. Obese matrons of billowy contours may have favoured them, as vertical stripes in the material conspired dishonesty of course, to subtract from their rotundity. Gaunt angular females wore the stripes circumferential like the hoops of a barrel. This gave them the illusion of the fleshiness quiet foreign to their figures.' [158]

In addition to neck to knee costumes, other measures also facilitated the acceptance of the use of the beach for recreation. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century it had become common practice to enhance beach environments with man-made structures such as piers and jetties and dressing sheds that aimed to make the beach a more 'civilised' and modest place.

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[156] 'A Trip to the Richmond River', *Town and Country Journal*, August 13, 1881, RRHS. This extract also reflects that going to the beach was also promoted as health giving during this era.
[157] *Reminisences of Eileen M. Boorman*, 1888-1986, unpublished manuscript, n.d., p. 8.
[158] Peak, H. G., 'Action and Observation at Ballina During 1909 & 1910', RRHS, Ballina locality file.

The popularity of South Beach meant that on most weekends in summer locals would line up to catch the launch from Ballina Island across to Mobbs Bay, where they disembarked and then walked to the beach. One oral history account has noted that Ballina on Sundays in summer was 'empty' as everybody was at South Ballina, only perhaps with the exception of the couple of men who would sit out front of the billiard hall in River Street.[159]

In the early years of the patronage of South Beach 'one of the Fenwick brothers ran a ferry motor launch to the South Side [sic]'.[160] Later W. D. Foster serviced the trips to South Beach in his 'commodious motor launches'. One of Foster's advertisements reveals also that the beach was used for more than just sun-bathing. Foster's launches, the advertisement read, '... convey visitors regularly from BALLINA TO SOUTH BEACH PICNIC GROUNDS. Plenty of water and shady spots. Splendid oyster walls and fishing grounds.'[161]

Other sources also suggest that horse racing was a feature of recreation at South Beach, though how frequently this occurred has not been uncovered. 'Improvements' were also made at Mobbs Bay, and closer to the South Beach, to make the beach itself more commodious. Improvements here included the installation of a tap at Mobbs Bay to provide fresh water, a toilet block and dressing sheds to ensure modesty whilst at the beach, and a band rotunda was constructed enabling the Ballina Municipal Band to provide musical entertainment. A kiosk sold refreshments such as ice-creams and soft-drinks.

The use of South Beach as a recreation spot declined in popularity by the 1920s. Oral sources and other analysis suggest that a number of factors had come together at this time that saw 'Tomki' or 'Lighthouse Beach' become the favoured beach for recreation. Firstly, only with the construction of the breakwall in the 1890s and early 1900s did Lighthouse Beach emerge, the wall encouraging the depositing of sand and preventing its removal by the ocean's tide, hence creating a beach. The advent of the motor car during this era enabled visitors to the beach to transport themselves to the Lighthouse Beach area, which was otherwise a remote and relatively undeveloped location prior to this time.[162] With an increase in the number of residents living in the East Ballina area, Lighthouse Beach for them was the closest beach. Residents of the East Ballina Depression Camp also began using the beach from this time. The increased use of the beach by nearby residents also began to dispel a belief that Tomki Beach (as it was then known) was unsafe, as it was an unnatural beach and close to the river mouth.[163]

Like South Beach, Lighthouse Beach was patronised as a swimming and surfing beach as well as a picnic spot for couples and families. Throughout summer the beach was busy with locals and visitors each weekend. The rising popularity of the 'going to the beach' in Ballina into the 1930s saw the construction of the first Surf Life Saving Club on the point

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[159] Alan Philp, *Pers. Comm.*, 20 November 2007.
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] Advertisement Clipping for W. D. Foster's Launch Service, Ballina Localities File – businesses, RRHS. The clipping has n.d, cross referencing however dates that article to be from the 1920s.
[162] Early records relating to the Richmond River Lighthouse have described the lighthouse as being remotely positioned from Ballina.
[163] Trevan, Jack, 'Ballina Lighthouse and Lismore Surf Life Saving Club', *Ballina Club Life*, December 2005/January 2006, p. 6.

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between Lighthouse Beach and Shelly Beach. While the Club emerged to assist the safe patronage of the beach by locals it also promoted itself to tourists, as the marketing of Ballina as a tourist destination had begun to flourish from this time. An advertisement for the Club from 1930s boasted that 'Every Facility is here for the Tourist and the Camper [sic]'. Like at South Beach also, the surf club both sought to ensure the safety of visitors providing 'Commodious Dressing Sheds, with showers, lockers etc.' along with refreshments and hot water. To service or entertain beachgoers, other facilities were made available or constructed at Lighthouse Hill around this time, including camping, a kiosk and a band rotunda.

Lighthouse Beach, East Ballina, showing second clubhouse to be built. Image courtesy of BSC records.

While the local tourists were important to tourism in Ballina during this era, tourism promoters also appealed to visitors from as far away as Sydney and Brisbane. Indeed one brochure claimed Ballina was the most popular tourist destination between Sydney and Brisbane to entice interest. Tourist publications from this era appealed to 'honeymooners' and other likely travellers to come to Ballina to sightsee. Tourists coming from Sydney were urged to take the bi-weekly State Rail passenger service from the city to Lismore from where they could take service cars daily to Ballina. In the late 1920s tourists who came by train could come all the way to Ballina, connecting at Booyong. (See theme *Developing Local, Regional and National Economies* for further detail on the Ballina to Booyong Railway).

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The growing prominence of the motor car also enabled the tourist to get to Ballina. In the 1920s, Edgar Blanch offered a twice daily motor service between Bangalow and Ballina, where tourists could travel in 'Roomy Cadillac Cars' chauffeured by 'Careful, Competent Drivers'. In the 1930s, the New England Motor Company also operated 'regular motor services' throughout the Northern Rivers and Southern Queensland bringing visitors to Ballina. In the 1930s also the bus company Turners was established operating a daily service between Ballina and Lismore and accommodated tourist needs by offering the services of all Trains Met. Four Modern Omnibuses [and] Special Trips Undertaken Anywhere.'[164] Turner's Service grew throughout the 1930s and 1940s by catering to the needs of beachgoers. (In the 1950s Turner's was taken over by Kirklands who continued to operate similar services catering to tourists coming to the North Coast).

Turner's Buses at Lighthouse Beach, 1940s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

The rising popularity of the motor car from the 1920s also saw some families drive themselves to Ballina, or hire them once they arrived there. The establishment of local garages or service stations in Ballina at this time reassured these tourists first class service in the maintenance of cars. The numbers of families driving themselves to the beach increased considerably from the 1940s as camping and caravanning became more accessible to ordinary families.

Ballina residents and visitors to Lighthouse Beach over the decades were also entertained by a number of activities centred on the beach. The Ballina Band, as it did at South Beach, would play at Lighthouse Beach. Surf carnivals from the 1930s attracted spectators and visitors to the beach and the surrounding Lighthouse Hill area. The continuous functioning of the surf club in this locality from the 1930s adds significantly to

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[164] *Beautiful Ballina*, *op. cit.*

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the cultural heritage values of this precinct. [165] In the early 1940s on New Year's Day families could participate in a 'Sand Garden competition'.

In the 1950s and 1960s the Miss Sun Girl beach competition, promoted by Brisbane's *Courier Mail*, also sought to entice visitors to the beach. Essentially a beauty competition, Miss Sun Girl saw locals and visitors flock to Lighthouse Beach to see Ballina's most attractive young women parade on a platform clad in bright fashionable swimsuits before the competition judges. Similar competitions were to run in proceeding decades to promote the beach including Miss Summerthon in the early 1980s and Miss Summergirl into the 1990s.

Cars parked at Lighthouse Hill, East Ballina - 1940s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

- *Shaws Bay, East Ballina*

Earlier and later themes highlight Shaws Bay's natural heritage values as well its association with early European settlement. This area too has a long and colourful history with the cultural life of Ballina's residents and visitors. Oral history accounts reveal that at least from the early 1910s the areas around Shaws Bay were used for passive recreation, notably walking or promenading. [166] The general inaccessibility of Shaws Bay and construction of the breakwall prior to this time would have limited earlier recreational opportunities in this area. Indeed the construction of the breakwall facilitated recreation at Shaws Bay. To enable the wall's construction the first bridge was built across North

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[165] For more detailed history of the Ballina Surf Club see Flanagan, Jim, The *Bronze Northcoasters*: 50 Years of lifesaving, Far North Coast Surf Life Saving Association of Australia, Northern Star Print n.d. [1980s].
[166] This is despite the fact it was not officially dedicated for public recreation until 1926. Cited in Ballina Shire Council, *Shaws Bay Promontory, Historical Overview* -, 2003, p. 27.

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Creek – joining Shaws Bay to Ballina. This made Shaws Bay and the remainder of East Ballina far more accessible. The holes created by the quarrying of columnar basalt at Shaws Bay also created a 'pool' for swimming. It's use for swimming was officially recognised by the Department of Lands in 1912.[167]

Many of Ballina's older residents well remember swimming in these holes.

> 'Near the [Pilot] crew's cottages were the two quarries from which stone was taken in building the breakwaters. The one on the left contained fresh water, the one on the right salt, because waves used to break into this at high tides. The hill cut away to make the fresh water quarry was the site of the original pilot's house… The salt one became the chief swimming pool at East Ballina. Starting board's and springboards were erected and swimming races and diving contests were held.[168]

Among further recollections of the quarry holes were that they became associated with sickness. Easton's memories also record tragedy. '…Some parts of the quarry were very deep and once a horse tied up outside one of the houses in its sulky became frightened, broke away and plunged into the quarry. Grappling irons had to be brought to bring them to the surface. The horse of course drowned.'[169]

Aside from at the quarry holes others swam in the salt water along the area known as The Serpentine. The safety of these sheltered and shallow waters especially appealed to families with young children and tourist brochures promoted the 'calm water bathing' at Shaws Bay. Later, the popularity of the calm salt waters of Shaws Bay for swimming saw Ballina Council erect diving towers to enhance the enjoyment of swimmers.

When the wall was completed it was also used for passive recreation by residents who liked to walk along it to view the ocean and the vessels that travelled upon it, as Keith Easton has recorded.

> 'We spent a lot of time on the wall. For some years, in our teens, we probably walked along it nearly every Sunday afternoon – it was the thing to do. Out at the end we could see, when the tide was right, the remains of the "Tomki" which went ashore on the beach in 1907.'[170]

Easton also records that the wall was also a popular fishing spot for recreational fishers.

> 'The wall itself was made up of huge irregular blocks of stone which made excellent places for fishermen to stand. It was quiet a common sight to see their lanterns winking along the wall on a dark night.'

For Easton too, as a child, the greater Shaws Bay area was a playground, carved out of both its natural and altered features.

> 'From the wall it was easy to get on the "beach" which included all the sand built up over the years and gradually encroaching on Shaws Bay. It was a great place to play as it was like a minature Sahara, covered with hill sand hollows made of fairly

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[167] *Ibid.*
[168] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
[169] *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
[170] Easton, Keith S. W., 'East Ballina 1909-1925 – Childhood Reminiscences', RRHS, Captain G. Easton File.

loose white sand with some beach grasses growing in spots. On the hill near the "Lismore" were what we called the "avalanches" – long steep tracks of white loose sand down which we used to run, often ending up head over heels before we reached the bottom.'

Easton's accounts also indicate that during this era Shaws Bay was visited by local and others for holidays and day trips in summer. Council records also indicate that camping took place here from at least 1917. The use of the area for recreation also saw the introduction of a kiosk to the area known as 'the flat' (see below map).

> 'This was the grassy open space where sulkies and cars were parked by the people from town, Lismore or elsewhere who came to the beach for the day. In summer especially there were large numbers of visitors who swam, walked or fished. There were always lots of fishermen – on the wall, on the bridge, along North Creek, on the sand spits at low water, or from rowing boats – jewfish, sea bream, rock cod were caught from the wall and bream, whiting, flathead, butterfish and garfish from the boats and sand spits.[171]

Tourist brochures from the early 1920s also urged visitors to Ballina to partake in the 'increasingly popular sport' of line fishing. As Easton observed, line fishing, its was suggested, could be enjoyed 'from the walls and from the many beaches' where from 'phenomenal catches of jew, tailer [sic], whiting and flathead are made.'

Like at the beach, the growing popularity of Shaws Bay throughout the 1920s saw a number of 'improvements' made to the area by both Council and private interests. In the 1920s, for instance, dressing sheds were introduced near the quarry holes, to make swimming here modest. In the early 1930s, and perhaps the most intriguing of all additions to the area, was the introduction of a giant slippery dip in late 1931. Among other additions to the site at this time was a dance hall (known as the Waterfront) knock-em, ladies and men's WCs and a store room. These buildings were transferred from Bangalow to Ballina and were collectively referred to as the carnival buildings. The East Ballina Amusements Committee was set up to run the carnival buildings, with part of the profits from functions held being donated to the community through various community organisations.[172]

Crowd at Shaws Bay, East Ballina - 1920s. Image courtesy of BSC records.

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[171] Easton, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[172] Lester, Marlene, *The East Ballina Waterfront Dance Hall & Skating Rink*, Marlene Lester, 2007, pp. 15-16.

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A 'Grand Gala Opening Carnival' was held on Saturday 12 December 1931 to celebrate the re-erection of the Bangalow carnival buildings at Shaws Bay. One of the Amusements Committee Members, (Byron Bay) Councillor Joseph Snow, 'spoke of the work of the committee controlling the amusement park venture and their aspirations to make the seaside town one of the most attractive. Ballina's Deputy Mayor at the time, Alderman Edmund Hogan, officially opened the amusement park. The evening's entertainments included dancing, spurred on by the extremely popular Ballina Jazz Band.

Until its demolition in 1966 the Waterfront Dance Hall was an extremely popular attraction at Shaws Bay during the summer months. Patrons travelled to the Waterfront from all over the North Coast, many making it to Shaws Bay by bus services established to service the dance hall. The Waterfront was also promoted in Ballina's tourist brochures from the 1930s. One advertisement noting that dances were held 'every Saturday night and holiday nights' and asked tourists to 'come ye [and] – dance the hours away'. Not only did the Waterfront Hall claim to have 'the finest dance floor in the state' but that it showcased the 'most popular jazz band on the Far North Coast - "Kewpie" Harris' Ballina Jazz Band.

Tourism boosted patronage of the Waterfront. In 1941 for instance it was reported that 1000 people had attended the opening dance night that season. The Waterfront's regular, as well as special or 'Gala', dances were held to celebrate the many events that shaped or were important to Ballina residents over these decades. Dances acknowledged for example the season's 'Grand Opening', the New Year, the King's Birthday, Coronation Night, St Patrick's Day or the Allied Forces during war time. Various church and other organisations in the town also hosted their own dance or entertainment evenings during the season at the Waterfront as fund raisers.
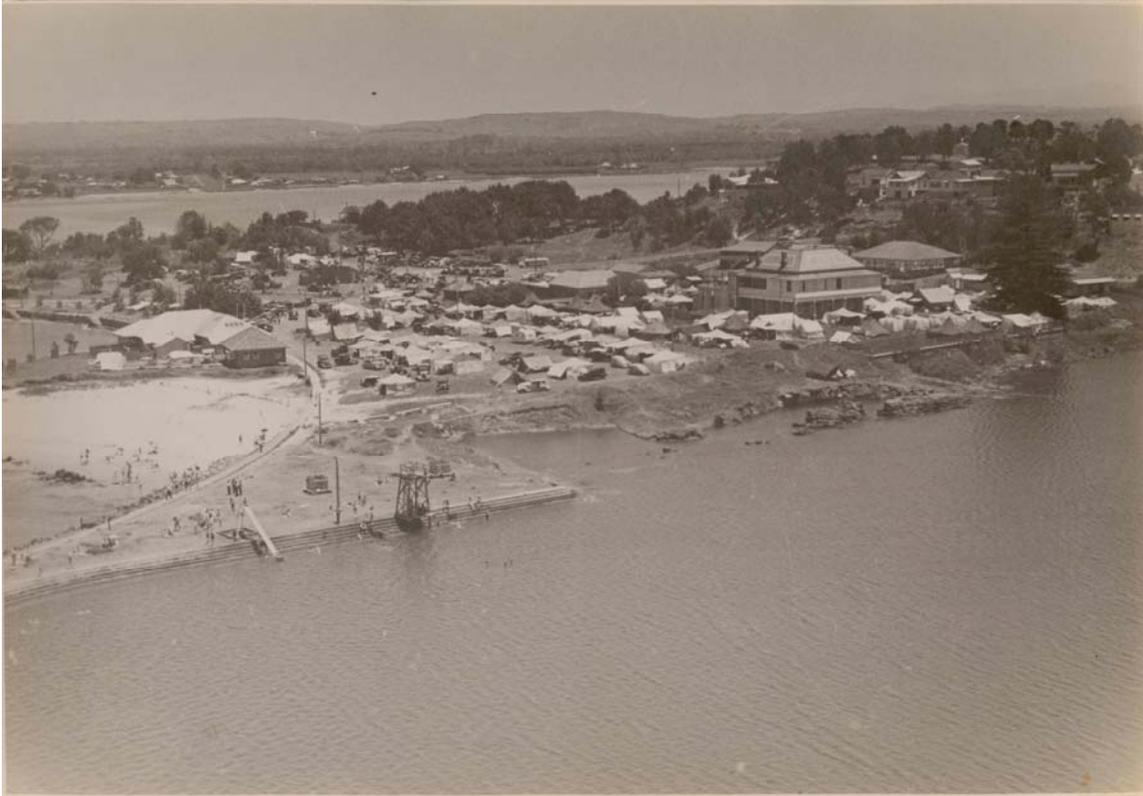
The popularity of the dance hall outlived the giant slippery dip, with it being dismantled by the summer of 1933. 'Although the slippery dip initially proved to be popular it was found that the dance floor was the main attraction and the slippery dip and knock-em were probably removed to allow more room for patrons to mingle on the grassed areas between dances.'[173] In 1958, however, a new attraction was added – a Skating Rink - by the then owners of the dance hall, the Ramsays.

> 'The Ramsays had noticed dance halls in other towns holding skating sessions and, after being asked by many to hold some in their hall, they opened for skating on a couple of nights. Although the sessions proved popular, the effort of cleaning the pops off the floor before each skating night was too much for Jim [Ramsay]. The pops, which made the floor smooth for dancing, made it too slippery and dangerous for skating. However the exercise convinced Jim & Hilda there was demand for a skating venture in Ballina and they decided to build a skating rink. They chose an indoor hardwood floor rink which could also be utilized and an extra dance floor during the busy Christmas holiday period as well as an excellent place to serve a sit down supper during the winter ball season.'

The improvements made to the Shaws Bay area over the decades saw camping also grow in popularity. Increasing private car ownership, from the 1920s, made camping and its associated attractions, at Shaws Bay a popular recreation choice for many. That

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[173] Lester, *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

camping made family holidays affordable continues to apply today, as camping remains a popular mode of holiday for locals and tourists at Shaws Bay.

Camping and other recreational facilities at Shaws Bay. Image courtesy of BSC records.

Public Bathing areas

- *Ballina's 'River Baths'*

Prior to the popularity of Shaws Bay as a recreational area Ballina residents either swam in the ocean or, from the late 1880s, in (the first) river baths that were constructed at the northern end of Norton Street. Ballina Municipal Council oversaw the establishment of these baths in line with the Municipalities Acts of 1858 and 1867 'that gave councils the authority to build baths and other recreational facilities'.[174] Murray has noted that these baths were 'pulled down during the building of the training wall for the harbour works, but in 1899 a move brought about its replacement.' Murray also notes that in 1912 Council allocated £5 'for the purchase of a lifebuoy, reel and line for the area. A dressing shed and signage banning horses from the area was also erected.[175] Alan Philp has recalled that as a boy in 1928 he swam in the area for school sports, noting that only the 'dressing sheds on a wharf platform' signalled the area was used for swimming.

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[174] Goddard, Jacqui,' Ocean Pools: a colourful contribution to our swimming culture', *Reflections Magazine*, NSW National Trust, August 2006.
[175] Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-267.

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River baths, or 'a sea bathing establishment', was also erected at the south east end of Norton Street in an area dedicated in 1884. These baths, like those at the northern end of River Street incorporated dressing sheds, to ensure modesty, but also had the addition of 'Keeper's Residence. The baths itself was of timber and wire construction. In 1891 a severe storm caused such damage that the baths were closed and were not re-opened again until 1911.

Concerns about modesty at the town's river baths were not only dealt with by erecting the dressing shed, but also by introducing some rules around bathing times for the town's womenfolk. Murray notes, in the lease drawn up for the baths in 1920 provisions included the reservation of the baths for women from 2pm to 4pm on Tuesdays, with the exception of school holidays. He further notes that in 1923 Alderman Wallace raised the question of whether the baths had been closed to the public in favour of others. The Mayor's response to the enquiry indicating that it was closed to the public each morning between 9 and 10am to allow the Catholic nuns exclusive use of the pool!

River baths at southern end of Norton Street, Ballina. Image courtesy of BSC records.

That the nuns were allowed exclusive use of the pool has an interesting and broader historical context. 'From the late nineteenth century, many coastal communities had Catholic primary schools run by Catholic nuns', and from this era the exclusive use of pools by nuns in other areas emerged.[176] 'Nuns were a readily identifiable and distinctively dressed group of professional women, their behaviour attracted a lot of public scrutiny. Nuns had well documented concerns about modesty and sought privacy in their bathing and dressing arrangements.' It is documented that given nuns held these concerns a group of them supported the Ladies Baths in Wollongong and at Coogee and avoided using nearby continental baths for themselves and the pupils at their

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[176] Some of the larger centres also had Catholic boys schools run by the Christian Brothers, in these places similar circumstances applied to them.

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schools into the 1940s.[177] Clearly at Ballina these concerns manifest in the exclusive bathing times for the nuns. (This development had further precedent with respect to the Christian brothers at Kiama. 'After Kiama converted its baths at Blow Hole Point for continental bathing, Kiama Council agreed to impose special men-only hours at the baths during the visits of the Christian Brothers from the Sydney suburb of Burwood, as the Brothers had holidayed at Kiama for many years.')[178]

The use of the baths at the northern end of Norton Street appears to have ceased some time in the early 1930s. The baths to the south east of Norton Street were in continued use until the existing pool was erected. Though the fabric of Ballina's river baths are no longer in place the history of the baths, and the acknowledgement of the location of these areas, is an important piece of the cultural history of the Ballina's waterways and residents.

- *Shelly Beach Ocean Baths*

The ocean baths at Shelly Beach have a more recent history, being built by the Ballina Rotary Club in 1956. With a growing population of East Ballina following the allocation of 'Week- End Leases' by the Department of Lands in 1954 the patronage of Shelly beach by residents and visitors increased. The construction of the pool during this era reflects the growth in population and popularity of East Ballina at this time. Cut from the rocks at the southern end of the beach, the pool was built as a children's wading area. Both the pool's construction as a modification of the natural environment, and that it was specifically built for children, are important aspects of its significance but not unique to Ballina.

> 'Children are seen as important patrons of most ocean baths. Ocean baths designated as children's baths were usually shallow and more protected from wave action than the ocean pools intended for adult use.'[179]

The construction of ocean pools in NSW dates from the early 1820s, the siting of the Ballina pool reflecting its construction being much later than the earliest pools. 'Ocean pools sited away from the beach are generally older than pools sited near the beach, created before bathing from the ocean beaches was fashionable.' In light of the history of Ballina's river baths, noted above, it is clear these pools served the function that earlier ocean pools served in other areas.

The Shelly Beach ocean pool not only reflects the growth of the use of Shelley Beach from the mid twentieth century but is an important example of simple ocean pool construction in NSW.

- *Bulwinkle Pool (& Park)*

Bulwinkle Park at the western end of Alstonville's Main Street lies adjacent to the town's first swimming pool. Formed by damming Maguires Creek the pool was patronised from

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[177] http://www.nswoceanbaths.info. Mc Dermott, Marie Louise, 'Making Waves in Pool Research', *Heritage NSW*, NSW Heritage Office, Autumn 2005.
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] *Ibid.*

the 1890s until 1975, the declining use of the pool in 1975 co-inciding with the construction of the Olympic Pool in Alstonville.

As with the adapting of natural areas for swimming in other localities in the shire, 'improvements' were made at the waterhole over time. It is documented that dressing sheds were built at the site, but no evidence of these remains today. Aside from its general use as a place to cool off in the hot and humid months, locals have also recalled its significance as the place where many of the town's children learnt to swim.[180]

- *Lake Ainsworth*

The emergence of Lennox Head as a holiday village in the 1920s centres much of its early European history on recreation. Following the first subdivision of land in the village in 1922 cottages began to crop up and used as weekenders or for summer holidays, mostly by local tourists who travelled from inland locations such as Lismore and Casino. 'Blocks "fronting the recreation reserve at the Lake" were keenly sought'.[181] Lake Ainsworth soon became a popular swimming spot, despite its fresh water being turned black by the ti-tree that continues to grow on its banks. The safety of the sheltered water especially appealed to families with young children, as photographic evidence of the lake's use, and tourist brochures, suggest.

Bathers at Lake Ainsworth, Lennox Head - 1960s. Image courtesy of Lennox Head Heritage Committee.

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[180] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, p. 227.
[181] Goodman, Jill, 'Lennox Head as A Village', RRHS Bulletin, September 1997, pp.13-14.

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Like at Shaws Bay, Ballina Municipal Council made 'improvements' to the lake over the years to enhance its recreational experience. In the 1940s the first of two diving towers was constructed at the lake from ti-tree poles. 'The second tower, constructed later, contained timber supplied by Council and had two timber platforms and a diving Board.'

As the Johnson girls who grew up at Lennox Head recalled, recreating at Lake Ainsworth was often associated with special occasions.

> 'Every Year on Boxing and New year's Day we would have picnics at Lake Ainsworth. There were a lot more trees around the Lake then, and in the 1940s we would dive from the towers that had been erected in the Lake.'[182]

- ***Seven Mile Beach, the Bream Hole & Boat Channels at Lennox Head***

From this era also Seven Mile Beach was used for swimming as well as fishing. Indeed many locals and holiday makers to the area regularly ate fish they caught off the beach. Given the basic conditions that existed at Lennox Head, fish had to be caught each day.

> 'Most of our meals consisted of fish as we did not have any meat due to the difficulty in keeping it fresh. Big blocks of ice would be purchased from the ice delivery man and stored in a container at the top of the icebox, which looked like a small refrigerator. Occasionally a freshly killed chook was purchased from Mr Hutley: otherwise we ate fish, even for breakfast – we *lived* on fish, which my father and others caught locally.
>
> Only men did the fishing, as it was a 'men's thing'. The men would walk for miles looking for 'the perfect spot' along the beach. It was quiet a competitive pastime, each vying with the other to catch the biggest and the most fish.'[183]

It is understood that the natural reef areas off Seven Mile Beach attracted the numerous kinds of fish caught at Lennox Head. Despite the bounty the natural environment provided from the early 1920s, visitors and locals to the area sought to shape the environment to improve fishing and swimming conditions at the southern end of Seven Mile beach. These areas include the 'bream hole' and the various 'channels' named after some of the early families that came to the area. The names of these channels are used in the stories told by long term residents.

> 'Local swimming spots had names such as the 'bream hole', near the pandanus trees towards the headland. I have mentioned previously the boat channel [also known as Langdon's channel]. It was always wide and sandy – good for both fishing and swimming all year round. Further north where the lagoon eventually broke through the sand dunes to empty into the sea in the late 1940s, there was another man-made channel called the Bevan's channel. Then came the Tresise channel. This was created by hours of back breaking work, particularly by Bill and us kids, Mal, Max and any

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[182] 'The Johnson Girls', in *Ringing the Bell Backwards*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[183] Allen, Sue, in *Ringing the Bell Backwards: Memories of Early North Creek and Lennox Head*, Norsearch Reprographics Unit, Southern Cross University, 2003, p. 102. Sue Allen's story of the significance of fishing to holiday makers and residents of Lennox Head over the years is one among many referenced in this publication.

other conscripts available. Bill had a wonderful philosophy on life. He believed that if you enjoyed God given benefits of life you were duty bound to contribute towards their maintenance and improvement. By example he moved those rocks to create the channel. If the tide was right it was amazing how many and even how big were the rocks we moved. Perhaps Archimedies's theory was right after all!' [184]

It is suggested that the bream hole was built by local fisherman who' camped and stayed in makeshift huts along the village beachfront'. Eileen Byce (nee Allen) also 'recalls swimming in the Bream Hole with her sisters in about 1925/26, and that the local children helped to make the area by moving the rocks.

Mrs Mac's channel, Also known as Coopers channel, is understood to be the first of the man-made channels at the southern end of Seven Mile Beach. It was built by Mr Cooper for Mrs McIntosh,' the owner of a boarding house in what is now Ross Park. At low tides his horse and cart were seen at the water's edge while loaded and unloaded rocks to form the channel. A number of [current] residents, who were children at the time, recall helping Mr Cooper to move stones'. [185]

Bevan's channel is 'sited in the water immediately opposite the Bevan house at 6 Rayner Lane. The channel was constructed by Mrs Edna Bevan who brought the property in 1937. The Bevans were from Casino and frequently holidayed at Lennox Head. 'In the years between 1938 & 1940, Edna spent many a day lifting and clearing boulders from the surf to create a channel in which the children could paddle and swim, and in which she could fish without snagging her lines on the rocks'. [186]

The Boat Channel, also known as Langdon's channel, was built in the late 1920s as a fishing channel by Digger White, 'a pensioner who lived with his dog in a tent at the seaward side of Ross Park'. It is understood that 'this channel was built for Digger's own fishing convenience'. The channel created by Digger White was later altered. First by Bill Landon, in the 1930s. 'The rocks were moved [by Bill] to create rock-edged pools which would stop the wave and make swimming safe.' In 1946 by the Gibbon brothers, Syd and Ken, who' widened the channel to enable them to net fish… which became their livelihood in the post war years.'

The oral accounts associated with these channels reveal that their significance is indeed localised. Importantly however, these stories reveal important characteristics of the early Lennox Head community – the simple existence the landscape enabled and the co-operative spirit of those that came to experience it.

- *The Iron Peg- Skennars Head*

The spot known as the iron peg is also indicative of the co-operative spirit of the early Lennox Head area community. The peg marks the spot where 'two fishermen where swept off the rocks in the late 1920s. 'As a result of the near disaster, neighbouring residents installed an iron peg for fishermen to use to secure themselves.' [187] The peg has been replaced several times in the proceeding decades as earlier pegs have been rusted away by the environment of the sea.

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[184] Excerpt from Max Tresise Story, Lennox Head Heritage Committee Files.
[185] Notes from oral histories taken by Marelle Lee for the Lennox Head Heritage Committee, 1998.
[186] *Ibid.*
[187] Lennox Head Heritage Trail brochure, published by the Lennox Head Heritage Committee, 2006.

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The folklore of the iron peg has seen it become an important geographical landmark and appears on topographical maps to mark this point.

- *Cawleys , Dalwood, Tosha (also known as Grays or Elliots) & Marshalls Falls– Alstonville Plateau & Killen Falls - Newrybar*

While the appeal of the beach predominated in the early years of tourist promotion in the Ballina Shire, its hinterland was also promoted to local and other tourists for recreation. Naturally scenic spots, as well as the transformed farming landscape, was promoted as interesting sightseeing that could be taken while driving between the villages of Tintenbar, Teven, Alstonville, Rous and Wardell.[188] That these places were being promoted to the tourist was well entrenched by this era, with different localities competing by offering the best natural experience.

Women at Marshalls Fall, Alstonville, 1900s. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society

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[188]*Beautiful Ballina, op. cit.*

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Historical accounts of the ways in which the natural environment was harnessed for tourism in the nineteenth century suggest that fundamentally at this time natural values 'were highly praised in terms of the 'scenery' or the 'awe' that a sublime view provides.[189] Histories of the particular natural characteristics or experiences offered by waterfalls further suggested these places (like beaches) were not only picturesque but gave an energy that was health, or life, giving. Interestingly this contrasts with an account of an early pioneer who has recorded that one waterfall on the plateau was a 'great inconvenience' to cedar cutters, as it obstructed the sending of logs down the creeks to the river. This anecdote demonstrates the changing attitudes to the landscape's features over time.

The shire's known waterfalls that were utilised by the public for recreation include Cawleys , Dalwood, Tosha and Marshalls Falls on the Alstonville Plateau and Killen Falls at Newrybar. Evidence of the use of these falls is scant, mostly derived from oral accounts and photographic evidence (these photos taken to promote these places). The scant nature of this evidence does not diminish the significance these areas had as places of recreation. The broader context of the history of the use of the natural environment for leisure demonstrates the popularity and widespread patronage of natural recreational spots.

The use of these places was passive, with sightseeing, walking and picnicking enjoyed in these areas. Miss Lois Gray, whose family were early 'pioneers' at Alstonville made notes on its early history in the 1960s from accounts passed to her, including the cultural and recreational history of the area. Lois notes that '[i]n the early days' … Lots of picnics were held in the area. Marshalls Falls and the Cascades [Tosha] on Mr. Moses Gray's farm was popular places [sic].'[190] Similarly Ida Clothier (nee Crawford) remembers outings to the shire's falls.

> 'The bountiful rainfall of those days kept the creeks full and clean, and the rushing water-falls were a popular place to take our visitors. Marshall's Falls further down the creek, having a straight drop of 70 feet, was a favourite picnic spot for visitors from Lismore. The scrub track leading to it being an added attraction with its border of tree ferns, bungalows, vines, giant fig trees and the chance of seeing the little paddymelons, attractive little creatures with their strange mode of traveling by springing off their long hind legs.'[191]

- *Victoria Park*

Like the shire's waterfalls, Victoria Park has been associated with leisure at least since the late nineteenth century. Its dedication as a public reserve by the Department of Lands dates from December 3 1898. In 1971 the Tintenbar Shire Council became the trustees of the Park and from 1974 it was managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service following the introduction of the *National Parks and Wildlife Act*. [192]

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[189] Ryan, Simon, 'Sublime Utility: Early Tourism Propaganda and the Cairns-Kuranda Railway', *Journal of Australian Studies, Terra Incognita*, 2006, p.37.
[190] Gray, Lois, 'History of Alstonville', RRHS Files, Localities – Alstonville.
[191] Clothier, Ida, 'When Alstonville was Young – Memories of my Childhood There', 1878-1961, RRHS Files, Alstonville Localities.
[192] 'Council Takes Over Victoria Park', *The Northern Star*, 18 February, 1971.

As with other naturally scenic areas, moves to preserve Victoria Park are closely tied to the rise of commercialised leisure. Oral accounts indicate that Victoria Park was a popular scenic area, appreciated for the nature of plant and animal life that existed there. Many local residents have also grown up being told that Cook used the Park's 'Big Fig' to navigate his way along the east coast in 1770.[193]

Both walking and picnicking were popular things to do while visiting Victoria Park. Elsie Johnston recalls 'people walking several kilometres from their homes around Uralba and Rous to picnic under the big fig and wander through the rainforest. One newspaper article from the 1920s suggests people came from broader a field to appreciate and take leisure at the park. The advent of the motor car during this era would have significantly increased the patronage of Victoria Park, and other areas like it. Indeed an unknown 'business man' revealed to the *Northern Star* reporter in the 1920s that:-

> '…he would spend time and money an motor cars to introduce to residents and visitors to such spots, and the idea of a landowner cutting out a pretty piece of bush or destroying one of the indigenous trees wantonly, rouses him to dire anger.'

The same articles also reflected other popular views about natural scenic locations or sites. 'As a change from the seaside, the park is a most healthful tonic, and is within easy car reach from Lismore'. [194]

Victoria Park remains a popular scenic and picnic spot.

Buildings associated with Leisure

- #### Shaws Bay Ambulance Station & the 'old' Laundry, East Ballina

As noted above, recreational camping at Shaws Bay is known to have taken place from the 1910s, with Council charging camping fees during the summer and Easter holiday period from this time. The evolution of the area's use for various recreational purposes in the following half century not only sustained interest in the area as a popular camping spot but saw it grow in tremendous popularity. Its popularity during key holiday periods is reflected in the introduction of the ambulance building in 1941. The building was staffed during the summer and Easter to treat the holiday ailments of those camping in the park. Similarly, the old laundry building is a reminder of the recreational past of Shaws Bay. Though both these buildings are, to many, simple or 'ordinary', the significance of these structures lies in their historic and social values, a reminder of the hey-day of the recreational use of the Shaws Bay area. It is suggested however, that over time these buildings will grow in significance aesthetically, as architecture from this era in Ballina becomes increasingly rare. The conservation of these buildings is made even more possible given their amenability to be adapted and re-used for the functioning of the caravan park.

- #### 'old' Ballina Cinema

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[193] See for example *Milestones and Memories*, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
[194] H.E.S, 'Victoria Park – A Reserve of Virgin Scrub – An interesting Locality', *The Northern Star*, 15 August, 1925, RRHS Files , Rous Localities.

Going to the 'pictures' is nostalgically remembered by older people everywhere. In Australia, the emergence of the movies as a popular leisure pursuit dates from the 1920s, Ballina's history of movie going is no exception. The first movies to be shown in Ballina were at the Centennial Hall, which was located on the present day old cinema site. The destruction of this grand timber building by fire in 1938 saw it immediately replaced by the present building, known then as the Plaza Theatre.

In contrast to the Centennial Hall, the Plaza Theatre was purpose built as a movie going theatre, whereas the Centennial Hall catered to various community events. Ted Henderson (of Lennox Head) had owned the old Centennial Hall and also rebuilt the new Plaza Theatre building. Ted ran the cinema with the assistance of his two daughters Agatha and Laura. One long term resident has recorded that the Henderson sisters ran a tight ship, noting they were 'strict and not to be trifled with! Running of the theatre with the Henderson sisters at the helm meant '[r]olling jaffas down the aisle was strictly taboo!'[195]

For many Ballina residents in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s going to the movies was truly exciting. The world of Hollywood, its romance and western films bringing new and significant influences to the community's young.

> 'Early on, entertainment was provided by slide shows, often in support of missionary efforts to get financial support for their work amongst the poor people of Africa. Later, the 'movies' were to arrive and herald an entirely new entertainment. I can still remember my first visit to the picture theatre when the lights were dimmed and not knowing what might come next, the Columbia Pictures trademark came up in all its sparkling glory. … Westerns were pretty much the staple diet on Saturday afternoons, with Tom Mix, Tim Holt, Gene Autry, the Cisco kid – Roy Rodgers or Hopalong Cassidy starring. The programme was filled out with Ripley's believe it or not, sing-alongs with the dancing ball, cartoons and the unmissable [sic] serials such as the Green hornet. Later we would get the 'latest' Cinesound News at the beginning of the programme. Often, the film would break and this would lead to catcalls and whistles until the film was re-loaded and the projector fired up again.'[196]

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[195] Bushell, Ted, *Growing up in Ballina During the 1930s and 1940s*, unpublished manuscript, Local History Room, Ballina Library.
[196] *Ibid.*

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Plaza Theatre, River Street, Ballina, showing art deco facade. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

While the old cinema building has been stripped of its deco façade and interior to be used for different commercial purposes it remains an important building in the Ballina CBD for historic, social and aesthetic reasons. It is significant in its own right (as a surviving historic cinema building on the North Coast) as well as being part of a class of historic buildings/facades that tell the history of the economic development of the town in the 20th century. (See theme *Developing Local, Regional and National Economies*).

RELIGION

The Shire's Churches

Historically, churches not only provided places of worship and spiritual guidance to European settlers in the community, but also fostered social cohesion and re-enforced community and religious identity within church groups. Significantly also, many of the shire's churches were established by early residents of various localities, thus these buildings not only have important associations with European 'pioneers' in the community, but also reflect the early self sufficiency that characterised the shire's rural communities. The shire's churches therefore are considered to be of heritage significance for historic and social reasons. However, given churches are places of worship and prayer, and symbolise the act of communing with God, they were also constructed to be aesthetic. Not only were church buildings constructed to be aesthetic but often their setting also.[197] Many of the shire's churches reflect these aesthetic values too.

Presbyterian Churches

- *St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Ballina*

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[197] 'Liturgical Change and historic church interiors', *NSW Heritage*, NSW Heritage Office, August 1998, pp. 8-9.

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Like most early churches in the Ballina Shire, the first Presbyterian Church in Ballina was 'a small timber church built facing Cherry Street' on land dedicated in February 1882. This church was opened in April 1885 and the early Presbyterian congregation in Ballina is noted as being 'mostly of Scottish background'.[198] With the construction of the existing brick church in 1915 by local builder H. R. Gibson, the original timber church was adapted to be used as a church hall. This building was replaced by the current hall building in 1960. The Hall building was designed by D. Board (the son of Frederick Board).[199]

The present day manse was constructed in 1954, it also replaced an earlier timber building on this site. The existing church buildings and their history tell of the development of the Presbyterian Church community in Ballina, including its associated activities such as Sunday School and other youth services. Like most other churches in the shire also, the Presbyterian church community also held social events that raised money to go toward the works of the church.

The church building is also of important aesthetic value. Of Federation Gothic style, it enjoys an open and exposed position on the corner of Cherry and Tamar Streets that contributes significantly to its setting. The church building was once adorned with a characteristic spire, which was damaged in a storm in 1937 and removed. Though a later addition to the setting of the church, the palm trees also make a significant aesthetic contribution to the Presbyterian Church precinct.

- ***St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Alstonville (now dance studio)***

The former St Andrew's church is the third Presbyterian church to be built in Alstonville. The first church was built at the western end of Main Street and was an 'upright timber slab construction'.[200] The first church building was completed in 1879. This building and site was sold 1899, and a new church constructed on the present site in Bugden Avenue. Prior to the building of the first church Alstonville's Presbyterian community met for services in Perry's General Store.

The first church on the Bugden Avenue site was a simple Carpenter Gothic style church. It was replaced in 1939 with the existing building. This church was built bigger to accommodate the growing Presbyterian community, its ornate features reflecting the increased prosperity of the church community. The building of the new church followed the bequest of Alstonville 'pioneer' Mrs J Gray and Bert Wright is noted to have built the church.

Like the history of many churches, the sequence of Presbyterian church buildings constructed in Alstonville reflected the growth of the congregation as well as its prosperity over time. The Presbyterian community of Alstonville, like many other church communities also, paid for the construction of these early churches, many of the churches furnishings (its moveable heritage) also being donated by various families.[201]

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[198] *Ballina Presbyterian Church – 1885-1995*, Parish booklet, 1995, pp. 2-3.

[199] 'Presbyterian Church Hall Opened', *The Northern Star*, 19 September 1960.

[200] *The Northern Star*, 1 June, 1878, Richmond Tweed Regional Library, Genealogy Centre, Goonellabah.

[201] New Church Opened and Dedicated at Alstonville', *The Northern Star*, August 31, 1939.

The former church building is one of only five remaining timber church buildings in the shire.

- *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Newrybar*

Opened in 1911, the former St Andrew's Presbyterian Church at Newrybar is also an important Carpenter Gothic building in the shire.[202] It is the most ornate of the remaining timber church buildings in the shire.

Like many early churches, in the shire and elsewhere, St Andrew's was built by the early community through fund raising activities. Land on which the church stands was donated and substantial donations made by local residents to enable the church to be built. The church is reported to have cost £350. 'Due to the efforts of the members of the congregation, the debt on the new church was liquidated by 1920.' The fundraising bazaar in 1920 that paid for the church raised £220. Items for sale at the bazaar reflected the rural nature of the community. 'A pig was sold for three pounds twelve shillings and sixpence and a pair of fowls brought in eighteen shillings.'[203]

The changing nature of the community saw the church closed in 1973, with parishioners attending church in Bangalow. The church was later sold to a 'private purchaser' and now operates as a tourist facility.

Anglican Churches

- *St Bartholomew's Anglican Church - Alstonville (timber & stone)*

The first St Bartholomew's Church was built at Ocean View, (the site of the first Duck Creek Mountain village) in 1895. Like the Alstonville Presbyterian community, the Anglican community's first church services were held in Perry's store before the church was built. Perry also donated the land on which the first Anglican Church was built. Local carpenter/ builder S Philpot constructed the church, as well as crafted beechwood pews for it.

In 1905, the church was moved by bullock dray to its present location at The Avenue, Alstonville, its transfer to this location no doubt was of intense spectacle.

> 'The removal was made by two bullockies Tom McClymont and Obed Brooker. Wooden wheels were made from a hollow log, while the axles were made from young trees, with a box of butter being used for axle grease.[204] … Henry Gray, then a youth of 17 years, was given one pound to transport the outside wooden toilet which he did with the aid of two horses and a slide.[205] … While the church was hitched up and ready to move in the afternoon the wedding of Peter Mathie and Caroline Johnston took place on the morning of that day!'[206]

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[202] Newrybar Hall Committee, *Newrybar Through the Century, Newrybar School of Arts and Community Hall celebrating 100 years – 1899-1999,* Northern Star Printery, 1999.
[203] 'Parishioners honour old church', *The Northern Star*, 20 November 1973.
[204] Lewis, W, Reverend, 'Beautiful St Bartholomew's Church', in *The Pioneer*, No. 62, November/December 2007, p. 7.
[205] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
[206] *Ibid.*

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The timber church continued to function as a church until the present sandstone building was dedicated, the old church being then used as a church hall. The church is now used as the Anglican op-shop, continuing its long association with the Anglican Church and community in Alstonville. The old Anglican church building's aesthetic values is derived from both its simple Carpenter form and that it is of constructed of local timber.

The foundation stone for the stone church was laid by the Bishop of Grafton, The Right Reverand Cecil H Druitt on 20 August 1913 and on land purchased in 1909 in The Avenue. Designed by architect Alex Stuart Jolly, the building was constructed by Messrs Brown & Jolly with sub-contractor Walter Tiplady.

The sandstone used to build the Church was donated and quarried locally. The first service in the new church was conducted on 11 March, 1914. As with other churches, community contributions over the years paid for the church, the original debt of £257 being paid in full by 1928.[207]

Significant architectural features of the stone church include its bell tower and mini buttresses. The Church also has many stained glass windows, the most prominent featuring a rose, situated high on the back wall of the building. The interior is also made of sandstone, with Gothic arch ceilings supported by timber arches. [208]

Uniting (Methodist) Churches

- *Alstonville*

'Alstonville holds the unique honour of being the pioneer in Methodist Church building on the Richmond'. The first church was erected in 1873 of slab timber and a shingle roof on the present Uniting Church site.

> 'The [original]church was about 30 feet long by 20 wide, with a platform 12 inches in height extending right across the northern end. Lengths of calico, tacked to the rafters, provided the "ceiling"
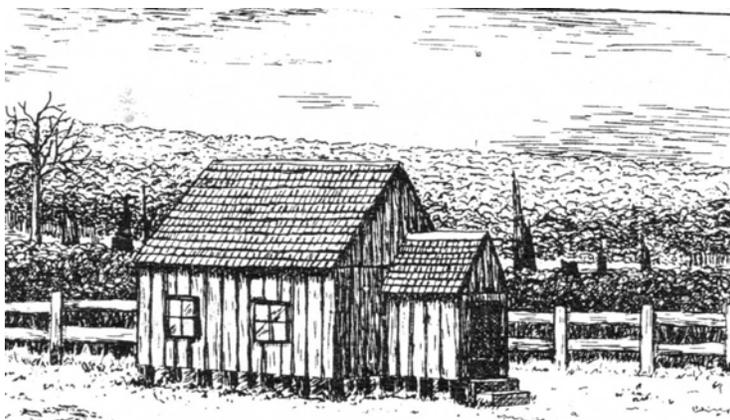>
> The land was cleared and the church built by worshippers. These included John Robertson (he and his wife being the first Methodists to settle in Alstonville), William Crawford, who brushed the undergrowth and, with the assistance of Jas. Towner senr., W. J. Towner, George Towner and Samuel Barlow, felled the scrub. The Towner's also split the slabs, which were of shea beech: and the timber for the seats which were of sassafras, was cut by James McAndrew. Other willing helpers included John Vidler, Robert Crawford, Joseph Staines, Joseph Perkins, and William ("Billy") Barlow. The roof was of Rosewood shingles and the flooring of san boards, which were handcut in the saw-pits in the vicinity.
>
> Thus the first Church on the Richmond was built, and opened free of debt: the only monetary outlay being £45 for the sawn timber, windows, tools and other materials.'[209]

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[207] *Ibid.*
[208] Gardiner and Knox, *op. cit.*
[209] 'The Methodist Church in Alstonville', extract from RRHS files, Alstonville, pp. 14-15.

Sketch of first Alstonville Methodist Church.

A second Methodist Church building was erected in 1883 and also of timber but more in keeping with the carpenter gothic style of other churches in the shire built in this era. Described as a more 'more commodious building' the second church was made of 'sawn timber with [an] iron roof'. This building too was constructed by the community and was opened free of debt. With the continued growth of the Methodist Church community a third church was built in 1908, being the present church building.[210]

'The church [was] built on a brick foundation, with walls of re-inforced concrete, roofed with slates of fibro-cement, and with steel lining, [this] was quite a new departure in church building [in the region]. The total cost, inclusive of lighting and furnishings, was a little more than £1000, the whole of which was raised within four years of its completion in 1909.'[211]

The Methodist church bell also is an important feature of the history of the Methodist church in Alstonville. It is recorded that the Methodist church bell was dedicated in 1894 after being acquired by the Rev William McCallum, the Minister for the Lismore Circuit from 1894. The story of the bell's acquisition was told by Rev McCallum some years later in 1923. Formerly the property of the Robb's Sugar Mill on Maguires Creek, which ceased operation in 1887, the bell had earlier been used to mark the change of worker's shifts at the mill.[212] With the closing of the mill the bell was purchased by William Crawford, who offered the bell to the church. As Rev McCallum recalled;

> 'One day in company with the late William Crawford, walking round his farm, I spied a bell, lying half buried, on a debris heap. I asked Crawford how he came to have that bell; and, if I remember correctly, he replied, "It belonged to the sugar mill. I brought it with some other things."
>
> "It is no good here", I said. "Why don't you give it to the Church?"
> "I once offered it to the Trusteess, and they wouldn't have it." [Crawford replying].
> "Offer it again", I said, "and I'll accept it".
> "well I will," he replied, "on the condition you put up a belfry."

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[210] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[211] *Ibid.*, p. 17.
[212] Robb's sugar mill was located on the western side of Maguires Creek opposite the present day Bulwinkle Park. See *Milestones and Memories*, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

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"Done!", I said.'[213]

In keeping with Crawford's request, a wooden belfry was erected on the Corner of Main Streets and Bugden Avenue to house the bell. Since this time the belfry has been replaced three times, the present one erected in 2000.[214]

- *Ballina (timber & brick churches)*

Early Methodist Church services in Ballina were conducted in the Ballina Court House prior to the construction of the first Methodist church in Norton Street in 1888.[215] In 1920 the timber church was moved to Cherry Street (the present Uniting Church site) to make way for the construction of the Ladies Methodist College in Norton Street (this building is now known as the Ballina Manor-see theme *Education* for further details). The original timber church still stands, but is obstructed by contemporary buildings, its orientation toward Swift Street. It is however a significant timber church building as it is the oldest in the shire, and the only timber church remaining in Ballina.

The foundation stone for the present church was laid on St Valentine's Day 1920 and in September of that year was opened. Of Gothic Federation style, the present church has a series of fine stained glass windows that were dedicated as memorials. The first of these windows dedicated at the church's opening in 1920 were to former ministers and preachers in the Ballina circuit, as well as to men of the church congregation who lost their lives during WWI. In 1932, on the occasion of the church's anniversary, new memorial windows were dedicated to 'honoured pioneers of Methodism in Ballina'.[216]

Catholic Churches

- *Holy Family, Lennox Head (former St Lawrence O'Toole Church, Alstonville)*

The Holy Family Catholic Church in Lennox Head was established here in 1954. Its history however is much longer and associated with the Catholic community at Alstonville. Constructed in 1887, the church was the first Catholic church constructed in Alstonville on the present site of the existing Alstonville Catholic church. As in other communities, the church was afforded by the congregation, its opening and blessing was a momentous occasion. In keeping with the vernacular tradition, its construction was Carpenter Gothic style and of local hardwood timbers. The pews in the church, which survive, were also made of local cedar.

At the church's opening in Alstonville,

> 'Bishop Doyle congratulated the people on such a substantial and neat church. He made special mention of Messrs O'Connell and Owen Daley in collecting for the building fund: The satisfaction given by the builder, M P Farrelly and the generosity of Mr Fanning in drawing up the plans free of cost.'[217]

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[213] *Ibid.*
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 301.
[215] 'Churches Established – Religious Influence', *The Northern Star*, December 18, 1935, RRHS Files, Ballina Localities.
[216] 'Methodism – Richmond River, 1855-1932 – Ballina Church Anniversary', *The Northern Star*, 1932, RRHS Files, Ballina Localities.
[217] Cited in *Jubilee Journal 2000 – A Faith Journey*, Michelle Desktop Publishing, 200, p. 43.

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The Church served the Alstonville Catholic community until 1954, when a new brick church was built. Significantly also, the church building was used as the first school building in Alstonville when the St Joseph sisters first came to Alstonville in 1919. (See theme *Education – St Joseph's Convent School, Alstonville*). The building then was 'cut into pieces and moved down to Lennox Head' to become its Catholic church.

The building's present day appearance has been altered somewhat, especially by its stuccoed cladding and new roof. An addition to the northern side of the church has also been made. Despite these changes the church has significant historic and aesthetic values.

- *St Francis Xavier's, Ballina*

Architecturally, the existing St Francis Xavier's Church in Ballina is a unique church building in the shire pertaining to the post war era. Though established in 1962, its site, like other churches in the shire, has a long history with the Ballina Catholic community. The first Catholic church was built in 1881 and a second in 1901. Both churches were replaced as they became too small for increasing congregations. (Only recently, however, was the second Catholic church demolished).

The existing St Francis Xavier's church is of historic significance given its associated history with the history of the Catholic community in Ballina and its dedication as a War Memorial church to those who served in the two World Wars. The dedication of the Church as a War Memorial was commemorated at the church's opening in December 1962. That the war had ended almost 20 years earlier further reflects the intense and long hold the sentiment of remembrance of the town's war dead had on the community.

The aesthetic of the existing church is likely to grow in significance over time, though it remains significant now for its contemporary nature. Its architects were S.G Hirst and Kennedy of Sydney and it was built by R. J. Want of Grafton. The church was built with a combination of cream face brick and Hawkesbury sandstone and was designed to seat up to 600 people in the main body of the church and 100 in the gallery.[218] In architectural jargon, the building can be described as being of Late Twentieth-Century Ecclesiastical design.[219]

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

- *CWA Hall – Captain Cook Park, Ballina*

The Ballina branch of the Country Women's Association was formed in February 1946. It is probably no coincidence that the association's formation in Ballina followed the first Annual Conference of C.W.A of Australia, held in Adelaide, that same year. The association formed as social support to country women, to overcome the often isolated circumstance that surrounded country living as well as the nature of women's work as home makers and mothers. The Country Women's Association also rallied around many other issues relating to women, including the issue of race. The Ballina branch is no

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[218] *Ibid.*
[219] See Apperly, Richard, Irving, Robert, Reynolds, Peter, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture: Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, Angus and Robertson, 2000 Edition, p. 230.

exception. In the 1950s it co-operated with the NSW Aboriginal Welfare Board to 'assist' Aboriginal women living on Cabbage Tree Island with various issues. (Further details of the history of this co-operation will be outlined in the forthcoming Shire Wide Aboriginal Heritage Study).

Opening CWA Rooms - 1958. Image courtesy of Ballina CWA.

From its inception the Ballina Country Women's Association branch sought to raise funds to establish 'Rest rooms' in which women could meet for social activities and provide each other with the practical support regarding mothering. In 1956 the CWA was granted use of a site in River Street, next door to the RSL club. The first rest rooms were opened at this site 'free of debt'. In April 1970 the rest rooms were resited, to its present position, by the Ballina Municipal Council. At this time the building was extended and veneered with assistance from Council.

The CWA Hall is symbolic of the history of the CWA in Ballina. A national organization formed in NSW and Queensland in 1922, its role in assisting the lives of women is broadly documented and celebrated as an iconic women's institution. The history of the CWA's branches are each important chapters in its national history, each branch's history shaped by the particular circumstances of locality. Importantly also, the CWA Hall in Ballina is one of the few physical reminders of the public roles performed by women historically in Ballina.

- *Public Halls – Newrybar School of Arts (c. 1899), Pearce's Creek Hall (c. 1926)[220], Tintenbar School of Arts (c. 1880), Senior Citizens Hall, Ballina, Lennox Head Recreation Hall*

Despite the different origins of community halls in the Ballina Shire, each of these buildings has a colourful history as places where many cultural activities undertaken by communities took place.[221] Dances, if not one of the most regular events, are among the more well-remembered events held in halls. While dances were popular social events, the local dance was also one of the more acceptable places where local residents could meet their future spouses in small rural communities. Dances enabled the opportunity for young men and women to practice and display their social graces and those of musical talent to share it amongst the community and with other musicians. Concerts and other social events like cards were also held in many local Halls.

Other social activities popular in halls included cards, table tennis, parties, kitchen teas, Sunday School and community celebrations. Halls also served as the gathering places for local community and or political organisations.

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[220] The first Hall constructed on the site was built in 1896.
[221] Trustrum, Helen, *Old Time Country Halls*, p. 217, 289, 231.

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The activities outlined above are a small sample of the many social/cultural activities that depended on Halls as important meeting places in the shire. These activities are symbolic of many of the ideas that shaped the European culture of Ballina and its surrounding rural communities since their establishment. These Halls remain important community facilities.

SPORT

- *Clement Park (including area now known as Hampton Park)*

Clement Park was Ballina's first formally declared space dedicated to organised recreational activities. The park was dedicated following the request of Ballina Municipal Council in 1883. The original area was bounded by Martin, Moon, Burnet and Bentinck Streets. Its official gazettal was made on 20 August 1886.[222] The Park was officially named in May 1887 and after Ballina's first Mayor William Clement. The playing of sport at Clement Park soon saw 'improvements' made to make it a more comfortable experience for players and spectators.

'A tree-planting programme for the park started in May, 1891, with an order to D. Sharp for 40 fig trees for 1/- [shilling] each. The Clerk, Mr Stamford, was also directed to write to the Botancial Gardens in Sydney for a box of ornamental trees. Twenty trees were also ordered from the Director General of Forests.'[223] Later early improvements included the construction of a pavilion/rotunda and the replacement of dead trees as well as the introduction of new trees to the Park.

The early sporting history of Ballina is poorly recorded. Only snippets of information reveal the kinds of activities that took place at the park and the significance sport held in the cultural life of this era. Murray has noted that the first record of sport played at Clement Park was cricket following a request of the Ballina Cricket Club. The Ballina Cricket Club and Council contributied to the cost of installing an asphalt wicket. Cricket apparently has a long tradition in Ballina, the 'local' Ballina team often competing with men that came in on the many ships that called to Ballina in this era.

It is also recorded, in the early years, that Ballina held annual sports days (a popular sporting tradition at this time). These days would also have been held at Clement Park following its dedication. In 1909 the Bowling Club was first established at Clement Park. It remains today though greatly expanded. Early photographs from 1910 also indicate a Gala Day being held at Clement park. The Gala held various events including 'national dancing'.

Eillen Boorman's recollection of Ballina includes her memories of the Caledonian Sports day held at Clement Park.

> 'We always had the Caledonian Sports or Highland Sports. The river boats used to go
> up the river & bring down all the dancers from up there [Woodburn], where quiet a
> few Scottish people lived. These dancers would come down in the afternoon before &
> the pipers with them, playing the pipes – it was a really lovely sound.

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[222] Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
[223] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

> Mother used to always let us up on the river bank to listen. That was one of the enjoyments of our lives & we really did enjoy the Caledonian Sports – all the lads and lassies dressed in their highland costumes. I looked at those little girls & wondered how they could dance in those woolen suits as the Sports were held on 25th January & it was nearly always a very hot day.' [224]

Further cartographic evidence from the 1950s shows that football, basket ball, croquet, tennis and hockey was being played at Clement Park.

In the mid 1960s Clement Park was downsized (following the planned improvements of Russell Park/Kingsford Smith Park as the main sporting facilities) with the transfer of the area to the east of Cherry Street to Ballina High School. This area has retained the name Clement Park and forms part of the school's playground. The remainder of the park was renamed Hampton Park and retains the Bowling and Tennis Club facilities.

- *Ballina Tennis Club Clubhouse (old and new)*

It has not yet been uncovered as to when the playing of tennis commenced. It is known, however, that the first tennis courts at Clement Park were established in 1906-07. The establishment of these courts followed an application to Ballina Municipal Council in September 1906 from E. H Price to establish a court at the park. It is noted the Ballina Tennis Club gave a £10 contribution to the cost of establishing the court. By 1908 an additional court had been added to the park and the club made a further offer of £10 to Council to build a 'shelter shed'.[225] The shelter shed survives and is still used by the club for coaching and storage purposes. A simple weatherboard structure, this building is significant because of its historic association with the club. It also reflects the clubs beginnings and is part of the early history of Clement Park.

That the club established much earlier than this era is unlikely, as tennis by the turn of the century was a relatively new sport, the first tennis tournament in Australian being played in Melbourne in the 1880s. No doubt this spurred the beginning of the popularity of tennis in Australia. The history of many rural communities includes the community's interest in tennis. That sport in general was popular in this era also accounts for its widespread uptake. A further characteristic of the sport was its social nature, and this was often the focus of the game in rural communities. Indeed, like dances, the local tennis courts were considered an acceptable place for couples to meet.

Later records show that the Ballina Tennis Club continued to use only two courts until the 1930s and 1940s; the following decades however brought further expansion. By the end of WWII tennis in Australia had become a more egalitarian sport (prior to this time it was a predominantly middle-class activity), which also saw its expansion in other localities.

> 'The Club's own records indicate, '[t]hese two clay courts plus a court at the hospital and the high school were the only courts in Ballina and were used for all social and inter-town tennis. By the end of the 1950s the courts had been upgraded to three

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[224] Reminiscences of Eileen M. Boorman, 1888-1986, unpublished manuscript, Ballina Library Local History Room, n.d., p. 8.
[225] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

bitumen courts. These proved unsuccessful due to cracking so during the 1960s once again the club expanded and had five green cement courts'. [226]

The club's history of expansion has continued into recent decades. Its growth and success has been attributed to the commitment of its members to the game of tennis. Like many community organisations, the club has a history of fund raising that has assisted its expansion over the decades.

In the early 1980s the Tennis Club purchased its present club house building from the Bowling Club, it had previously been used as the Women's Bowling Club clubhouse. This building is historically significant given its association with women's sport in Ballina. The building also has historic significance demonstrating simple form elements and features of 1950s architecture.

[226] Marchment, Anne, 'History of the Ballina Tennis Club', notes completed for Ballina Shire Council, 2007, BSC Records.

GOVERNING

DEFENCE

The wars in which Australians fought during the twentieth century have left only small but significant traces in the shire's physical landscape. This evidence also is predominantly tied to the emotional response to war, than to demonstrating activity associated with the act of defence. In general however, how war shaped the daily lives of individuals and families in the Ballina Shire area is, to date, only briefly documented. Some understanding of what these impacts were can be derived from other accounts of the impacts war had on daily living in the broader Australian society. Broadly, these accounts highlight the changed roles and responsibilities war had on women, the material shortages it imposed, the emotional anxieties it evoked as well as the efforts communities went to assist the war effort and to commemorate those who went to war.

Structures and Places associated with war

Inglis has outlined that debates that emerged around the War Memorial movement included disagreement over the issue as to whether or not memorials should be a monument or a utility. A survey of structures and monuments in the Ballina Shire memorialising the war dead reveal its residents opted for both.

- ### Domestic Air Raid Shelters

As in other localities, the anxieties imposed by war spurred some families to construct their own air raid shelters in case of attack. It is unknown how many families constructed their own shelters in the Ballina Shire area during wartime. The actual location of one of these shelters built during WWII has been uncovered by the study and is currently subject to an independent archaeological assessment. Future management recommendations for this item are still being determined.

- ### War Memorials – Buildings, Monuments, Honor Rolls & Plaques

What is recorded of how war shaped the lives of Ballina Shire residents emphasises the ways in which the local councils, and the public, sought to assist the war effort, as well as commemorate the local men and women who enlisted to serve at war. Cliff Murray has noted that the Great War (WWI) was in its first three weeks when the Ballina Municipal Council made its initial move to help the war effort. In August 1914, Council called a public meeting to start a fund to contribute to the Lord Mayor's Patriotic Fund in Sydney. Other assistance that followed included co-operation with the Ballina Red Cross' contributions to the war effort, granting use of Clement Park to the Girl's Patriotic League to undertake a fund raising carnival and contributions to the Commonwealth War Loan, were among other wartime gestures. The Council also sought to assist and recognise the effects of the war by advocating for employment and rate concessions to returned servicemen. It also promoted and acknowledged the cause of Empire by endorsing the Manly Municipal Council's request to boycott business with German and Austrian firms,

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granting its employees a paid holiday for Empire Day and acknowledging the name change of German Creek to Empire Vale.[227]

Council also acted swiftly, in resolving in March 1915 to purchase an Honour Roll to publicly acknowledge Ballina residents who enlisted for the war. Later that year Council also made its first announcement of public condolence to the MacKinnon family whose son, J MacKinnon, was killed at Gallipoli. J MacKinnon's father was a former Alderman; the sons of other Aldermen killed at the Great War were also later to be acknowledged at Council meetings. The return of men during the war, and at the wars end, also saw the Council issue Certificates of Service to these men. Murray too notes that Tintenbar Shire Council also acted to assist the war effort and make material contributions to the families implicated by war. In 1921 a repatriation committee was formed to raise funds to assist in the adjustment of families to normal life following the war.

Armistice Day march in Ballina, 1919. Marching later became a feature of Anzac Day ceremonies. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

A number of community organisations also acted to offer assistance to the war effort and this occurred in various localities throughout the shire. The better known group to provide material assistance was the Red Cross, which from WWI had branches in Ballina, Wardell and Alstonville.**[228]** Further, numerous groups and individuals throughout the shire

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[227] Murray, Cliff, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-258.
[228] For reference to Ballina Red Cross and their contribution to the WWI & WWII war effort see Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 200 & Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

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were behind various quests to erect buildings & monuments or to commission the making of Honour Rolls that now hang on community halls, churches and schools throughout the shire.

Moves made by councils and community groups to commemorate or remember those who enlisted in the wars of the twentieth century were not unusual. Indeed, in cities and regional and rural communities throughout the nation the landscape is repeatedly marked with buildings, monuments and plaques, demonstrating the particular response of individual communities to the losses war resulted in.[229] The nature of monuments varies significantly, some grand others modest. The generally modest nature of the buildings & monuments constructed, and the Honor Rolls or plaques crafted, to remember local men and women by does not make the shire's memorials any less significant than those of a grander nature in others parts of the country. Importantly, the nature of the shire's war memorials is telling of the particular or local context in which they emerged, defining their historical and in many cases aesthetic significance.

Inglis has also noted that in deciding what kind of memorial seemed appropriate and where it might be placed were issues many communities debated and even fought over. Evidence uncovered to date suggests that this was not the experience of communities in the Ballina Shire, or if these differences were felt they were not subject to local public debate. That the Ballina Shire boasts a variety of memorials, and with a number in each small locality, would have lessened the likelihood of there being differing feelings about their nature and location.

- *'Old' Ballina Council Chambers*

The push for the construction of (what is now referred to as) the 'old' Council Chambers in Cherry Street took place over many years, with financial shortfalls in Council's budget delaying the construction of the present building for a number of years after the idea of a new building was first proposed. (Further detail of this is described below in the theme *Government & Administration – Local Government Buildings*). The coinciding of the push for a new Chambers building and the end of the Great War saw its vestibule marked as a memorial to the Ballina men who had served during this war. In the vestibule would also hang the Honor Roll that Council had approved the purchase of in 1915, that acknowledged both returned and 'lost' soldiers.

Council's lead and enthusiasm in acknowledging and memorialising returned, and dead, soldiers reflected its leadership role in the community and a dedication to the cause of Empire. Notwithstanding its official capacity as local government authority however, a number of Aldermen were spurred to remember the loss of their own sons or the sons of relatives and friends by their support of the memorial dedication of the vestibule and Honor Roll.

Financial circumstances continued to delay the construction of the building and it was not until June 1927 that the building officially opened and its memorial dedication publicly celebrated. That eight years had passed since the war had ended did not diminish the community's need to publicly acknowledge the grief that war dealt the community. Indeed, by 1927 the community was in part rehearsed in the public

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[229] Inglis, K.S, *Sacred Places: War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*, Melbourne University Press, 2nd Edition, 1999.

acknowledgement of the sacrifices made by WWI diggers and the grief this imposed on the community. The dedication of the Chamber vestibule and Honor Roll was preceded by the planting and dedication of the Crane and Cherry Streets Memorial Grove, in 1926.

Old Ballina Municipal Council Chambers just prior to completion, 1926. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

Mrs A Lang, who had lost three sons during the Great War, unveiled the Honor Roll at the opening of the new Chambers. Inglis has argued that, though the majority of war memorials throughout the country were unveiled by men it was not uncommon for women to step up to this task. And in most cases the women who unveiled memorials were relatives of soldiers and nearly always mothers, the figure of the grieving mother seeming the most proper representative of a dead soldier.[230] Like ceremonies throughout the state to unveil other memorials, the unveiling of the Chamber Honor Roll also saw other dignitaries present, illustrating the significance public remembrance of soldiers had in the community. Aside from sitting Aldermen and Parliamentary representatives, state representatives of the Returned Service's League attended, the RSL donating two pictures and a clock to the Council. Community groups represented in the official ceremony also included the Junior Red Cross, Boy Scouts and the Ballina Band. Returned servicemen also formed part of the official ceremony. The Norfolk Island Pine trees that currently stand in the old Council Chambers garden were also planted as part of the opening ceremony as memorials to the men who fought in the Great War. (See below section on War Memorial Trees).

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[230] Inglis, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

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The old Council Chambers is listed on Council's LEP as an item of local environmental heritage. The Chambers building demonstrates both historic and social heritage significance. The later theme of *Government & Administration – Local Government Buildings* outlines further its historic significance in relation to the history of local government in the shire, as well as its aesthetic significance as an item of architectural interest in Ballina and as an important work of the local and prolific architect Frederick J. Board.

- *Ballina's Trophy Guns*

Inglis has noted that the distribution of war time trophies, or trophy guns, by the British 'belonged to an age old tradition of disarming the vanquished and giving spoils to the victors'. In keeping with this tradition, thousands of weapons captured by Australian units were distributed to 'every locality that wanted one' following the Great War.[231] Interestingly, Inglis explains that not all councils embraced the receiving of trophy guns, the symbolism of possessing them represented, or that it was a British tradition.

> 'The allocation of trophies was accompanied by two strikingly different controversies, as some councils complained that they were being insulted by the offer of a mere machine gun when their municipality warranted at least a mortar, and others refused to accept objects which had been instruments of war and would remain forever its symbols, emitting a message of militarism to a world in a hard won and precarious state of peace.'[232]

Records from the Australian War Memorial indicate that Ballina Municipal Council responded favourably to the offer of war trophies. In correspondence to the Minister of Trade and Customs in May 1920 the Town Clerk indicated that 'Ballina will be entitled on the basis as set out, having a population of 3000 to 10000, to 1 Gun'.[233] In further correspondence it is indicated that Ballina, at first, was to receive 1 machine gun. Whether it was Council or the NSW State Trophy Committee that made a further request or offer of a field gun instead of the machine gun is unclear. Nonetheless Council agreed to receive a field gun over the first offer of a machine gun. However, following a period of some to-ing and fro-ing of correspondence over what type of trophy Ballina would be issued, Council received advice that it would be allocated both, despite being only entitled to one under the conditions set down for the allocation of trophy guns.

In return for its allocation of the trophy guns Council signed an official agreement agreeing to: -

> '(a) Arrange for it to be permanently housed in a public park, garden or building within the town, whichever may appear most suitable, and for its subsequent preservation and safe custody.
> (b) Arrange a simple ceremony, at which it will be formally taken over.
> (c) Bear all expenses connected with the transport and installation after arrival at the nearest railway station.'

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[231] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[232] *Ibid.*
[233] Ballina Municipal Council to The Minister for Trades and Customs, 5 May 1920, Australian War Memorial Archives, AWM194 N51.

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The guns were received by Council in October 1921 and included a 77mm field gun captured by the 33rd AIF Battalion at Accroche Wood, on August 8 1918. The second gun, a trench mortar, was captured by the 41st AIF Battalion. Ballina advised the NSW State Trophy Committee that '[a] ceremony is being arranged for in connection with the trophies.'[234] Developments from here are harder to trace in any detail. Murray notes that they were 'sited for many years in Cherry Street near the Chambers after being removed from Clement Park and later from River Street on an allotment at Winton Lane. Council Minutes further reveal that in 1933 the guns were painted and at the Chambers. Despite the guns being shifted to various sites in the early years of their coming to Ballina it is clear that they formed a display, as the plaques that were once attached to the guns are now housed in the Ballina library. Further evidence from here suggests that eventually a wheel fell off the field gun and it was moved to the Council depot site (where the present administration building is sited). From here the guns were reported buried at the Ballina tip.[235]

While the site of the trophy guns is protected by the *NSW Heritage Act* as an archaeological site, it is not considered a heritage management priority to excavate the guns. This recommendation has been made given excavation would *not* reveal any new knowledge about the nature of the type of field allocated to Ballina, as a key aim of excavation is to broaden historical understanding of relics, and events associated with these. That the type of field gun allocated to Ballina exists in other collections in Australia further lessens the need to undertake excavation. The allocation, and disposal, of Ballina's trophy guns remains however an important aspect of the shire's history.

Alstonville RSL Sub-Branch Hall – Former School of Arts building

The Alstonville RSL Sub Branch Hall was formerly the Alstonville School of Arts building. Records gathered to date do not indicate when the Hall was first constructed or by whom. The building however was later transferred to the trusteeship of the Alstonville Branch of the Returned Soldier's League in the 1930s. The erection or re-dedication of existing halls by, and in honour of, ex-servicemen was not an unusual phenomenon after the two world wars. Some communities were given government assistance for the purpose or erecting or dedicating halls to returned servicemen. Some halls simply stood as memorial places while others were developed as social clubs, not only to honour the war lost but for returned men to continue to share in the comradeship that developed between them while at war.

The Alstonville RSL Sub Branch developed as s social club. Unlike the Ballina branch, it did however allow women to partake in its activities held at the hall, and this was aside from providing the supper for the opening of the club on 25 May, 1933. For instance '[t]he recreation committee reported that the billiard table was popular and that arrangements had been made to have the billiard room open every night, also that a tournament had been arranged…. It was agreed on the recommendation of the committee, that on the first, third and fourth Thursday in each month, the billiard and ping pong tables be reserved for lady members.'[236] Other activities available at the Sub-Branch Hall included a library room and cards.

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[234] Ballina Municipal Council to the Minister for Trades and Customs, 10 October 1921, Australian War Memorial Archives, AWM194 N51.

[235] *Pers. Comm.* Mr Bruce Buchannan, 2007, BSC Records.

[236] Alstonville Diggers and Their Control of School of Arts, *The Northern Star*, 17 May, 1933.

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The Alstonville sub-branch hall still operates and also houses an intriguing collection of war time objects, many of which adorn the wall of the building, adding significantly to its heritage values.

- *Rous Mill Memorial Hall*

Built and opened in 1959, the Rous Mill District Memorial Hall was dedicated to the memory of local men who served during WWII. Curiously, it is recorded that the hall is also known locally as the potato hall, as a portion of the funds raised to establish the hall were the profits of local potato crops grown by the community on land made available by local farmers. Over a two year period 'peanut and potato crops were grown by voluntary labour' to go toward the building of the hall.[237] In addition '[s]ports days were held and the local younger set organized functions in aid of hall funds.'[238]

While the dedication of Rous Mill Memorial Hall honoured the war efforts of local men it also served an important practical function. Established in the hey-day decades of community dances, the hall would serve an important social function for Rous Mill village. Indeed, the importance of dances to local communities significantly shaped the planning and finish of the hall.

> 'The main dance hall is 45 feet by 28 feet of selected teak, which was procured and dressed under the supervision of the building contractor, Mr N. J. Gower. Entrance to the main dance floor is by a nine feet entrance hall, with ticket office and drink servery on one side and a small store room on the other side.'[239]

Records of community dances also note the role of women in organising such events, in particular as providers of the dance supper. The new memorial hall catered to this important role. 'The kitchen has all modern facilities and the supper room has an area of 45 feet by 14 feet with seating accommodation on each side of two rows of 30 foot tables.' It is also noted that women were the decorators of halls for dances. In the case of Rous Mill Memorial Hall the community's women also played a role in decorating its permanent interior fabric. 'The interior is painted in soft pastel colours, selected by the women of the district…' Importantly also, women were expected to look good at dances and the new hall also catered to this expectation. 'The women's powder room, which is finished in pastel shades, includes a septic unit and porcelain hand basin and is nine feet by 11 feet.'[240]

- *Alstonville Showground Memorial Gates & Ring, Alstonville Memorial Wall – Elizabeth Ann Brown Park*

In 1925, the Tintenbar Shire Council publicly honoured residents in its localities who served during the Great War, with the erection and unveiling of Memorial Gates (at the Alstonville showground) and by dedicating the show ring as a 'Memorial Oval'. The location of a memorial here signifies the dominance of agriculture in the Tintenbar Shire

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[237] 'Community Effort. Crops Helped New Rous Mill Hall', *The Northern Star*, (September 1959), RRHS Files, Rous Locality.
[238] *Ibid.*
[239] *Ibid.*
[240] *Ibid.*

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community as well as the eminence of the Agricultural Society in the social & cultural life of the village.

'During the war years most of the society's efforts were directed towards raising money for patriotic purposes, large sums of money being donated to the "Soldier's Comfort" and other war effort funds.' The Show Society also dedicated the 1915 Show to the war effort – calling it the Patriotic Show. The following year also, the proceeds of the 'Grand Annual Exhibition' went to the Tweed and Richmond Rivers District & Wounded Soldiers Fund.[241] Prominently positioned on the western rim of the show ring plaques fixed to the rendered brick gates displayed in alphabetical order the names of these local men. The show ring memorial was to become the place where many Anzac services were held over the years following.[242]

In 1985 the name plaques from the Show Ground's Memorial Gates were removed and placed on a new memorial wall erected in Elizabeth Ann Brown Park. The Elizabeth Ann Brown Park Memorial Wall also included plaques listing the names of soldiers who lost their lives during WWII and the Korean and Vietnam Wars. On Armistice Day in 1987 two pine trees were added to the park. 'These were grown by seed sent by the Turkish Government, which were taken from the famous Lone Pine area of Gallipoli.'[243]

Elizabeth Ann Brown Park is named after the daughter of Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle. Charles Bulwinkle came to the area through his involvement in the early cane industry. The below section on the Armistice Day Norfolk Island Pine at Boulder Beach provides further detail on the life of the Bulwinkles and their association with the Ballina Shire. The Park was so named as it once formed part of the Bulwinkle's land holdings in Alstonville.[244]

Parade at Alstonville showground - 1930. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[241] Alstonville Agricultural Society Inc., *Looking Back: Commemorating the establishment of the Alstonville Agricultural Society Inc. 1888-1998*, Northern Star Print, 1998, p. 17.
[242] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[243] Milestones and Memories, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
[244]*Ibid.,.,* pp. 309-310.

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- *Paddy Bugden Memorial*

Dedicated in 1948 by the Alstonville RSL, the Paddy Bugden Memorial is a tribute to local man Private Patrick Bugden. Born on the 17 March 1897, at South Gundurimba, Bugden was 'posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for bravery during several days of fighting with the 31st Battalion and Polygon Wood in Belgium, [in] September 1917.'[245] The tribute to Bugden is all the more significant given the Victoria Cross is the highest award for acts of bravery in wartime. Though the award is open to any servicemen and was instituted in 1856 (by Queen Victoria and made retrospective to 1854 to cover the period of the Crimean War) those who have received the Victoria Cross remain a select group. [246]

Details of Bugden's bravery were published in the *London Gazette* on 26 November 1917 and read as follows.

> 'For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty when on two occasions our advance was temporarily held up by strong defended 'pill boxes', Private Bugden, in the face of devastating fire from machine guns, gallantly led small parties to attack these strong points and , successfully silencing the machine guns with bombs, captured the garrison at the point of a bayonet.
>
> On another occasion when a corporal, who had been detached from his company, had been captured and was being taken to the rear of the enemy, Private Bugden, single-handed, rushed to the rescue of his comrade, shot one enemy and bayoneted the remaining two, thus releasing the corporal.
>
> On five occasions he rescued wounded men under intense shell and machine gun fire, showing utter contempt and disregard for danger. Always foremost in volunteering for any dangerous mission, it was during the execution on one of these missions that this gallant soldier was killed [on the 28 September, 1917].'[247]

Private Bugden is buried in Hooge Crater cemetery, Zillebecke, Belgium. His medal is held by the Queensland Museum, Brisbane.[248]

- *Moruya Granite Column*

The Memorial Pillar at the north end of Owen Street, Ballina, was erected in 1961 by the Ballina Ex-servicemen's Home in memory of all soldiers. Made of Moruya granite (from the NSW Far South Coast) the column once formed part of the Queen Victoria Building in Sydney. Following renovations to the building in 1916 the pillar was purchased by Beckinsales monumental masons in Lismore. The column was eventually donated to the Ex-Servicemen's home to be erected as a memorial, with an eternal light fitted to it. (The light has since rusted away and never been replaced). The column was raised by a crane that belonged to Bagot's Mill (See theme *Developing Local Regional National Economies* for further detail of the history of Bagot's Mill).

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[245] *Ibid.,* pp. 211-212.
[246] http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/vic_cross.htm
[247] Cited in *Milestones and Memories*, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.
[248] http://www.anzacday.org.au/education/medals/vc/details/bugden.html

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Trees associated with wartime

- *Crane & Cherry Street Memorial Grove*

While memorial buildings, monuments and Honour Rolls were the most popular ways to remember those who served at war, memorial trees or groves were also not uncommon symbols of remembrance. Public tree plantings were, by the WWI, an institution, with the annual Arbor Day having been observed since 1906. Indeed, Murray notes that the trees that made up the Memorial Grove were obtained from the Government Botanist, the usual source of Arbor Day plants. It seems the trees were requested under the auspice of Arbor Day plantings but in association with Anzac Day.

The planting of a memorial was also consistent with emergent urban beautification schemes at this time. That creating a memorial would also serve the function of street beautification was further consistent with the civic pride and progressive outlook that was felt by many Ballina residents during this era. Many memorials elsewhere also sought to combine utility and remembrance, be they tree plantings or the construction of civic and other public buildings. Importantly also, a grove planting was an inexpensive means by which to create a memorial, which otherwise often incurred a significant outlay.

According to Murray, Mrs J Torrens (the then Mayor's wife) was the 'originator of the [tree planting] project'. The Mayor however played a role in getting the project underway by calling a public meeting, in February 1926, to plan the Memorial Grove. According to Cliff Murray the meeting '… had a poor attendance but, with £20 in hand, the committee decided to go ahead with the preparation of the ground for the trees and the erection of tree guards. The trees were planted in four sections in the pattern of a cross. Enough funds were raised by the committee to erect the guards and the Council dug the holes and provided soil to give the 68 trees a good start.'

The unveiling of memorials on Anzac Day was common practice in many communities for a number of years after the cessation of the two world wars. The planting of the Memorial Grove saw Ballina observe many aspects of Anzac Day ceremonies that were commonly observed elsewhere. Relatives of men who died participated in the ceremony, by planting trees. It was also common practice to observe the day with the playing of *Reveille*, *The Northern Star* reporting that with the last handful of earth placed in position around the trees as the last note rang out. The tree plating ceremony saw 'the citizens of Ballina' also dedicate a tree to the memory of the Unknown Soldier.[249]

- *Norfolk Island Pine - Boulder Beach*

The memorial Norfolk Island pine at Boulder Beach was planted by Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle to mark Armistice Day, November 11, 1918. Like the planting of memorial trees, the Armistice Day tree at Boulder Beach not only signifies local responses to wartime and its end, but is also significant given its association with the Bulwinkles. Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle are considered notable pioneers of the Ballina Shire area for a number of reasons.

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[249] The *Reveille* is a bugle call that was, and is, played by military forces to wake up the soldiers at the start of the day. It is now noted for its association with Anzac Day Services.

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Charles Bulwinkle has a significant association with the pioneering of sugar cane in far northern NSW from the late 1860s onwards. Charles Bulwinkle first came to the shire as manager of the Rous Sugar Mill, after it was purchased by the Richmond River Sugar Company in 1885. Charles' association with the sugar industry also extends beyond the immediate shire area. Before taking up his position at the Rous Sugar Mill Charles is noted to have spent time on the Clarence River establishing a number of small mills there after obtaining engineering qualifications with the CSR company in Melbourne. During Charles' time at the Rous Mill he is noted to have won first prize for his (sugar cane) entry at the Centennial International Exhibition in Melbourne in 1888.

During Charles Bulwinkle's time at the Rous Mill he also established himself, and his family, at Alstonville; purchasing the property he named 'Fountaindale' in 1892. Fountaindale was considered to be one of the finest dairy farms in the district (see theme *Building Settlements, Towns and Cities* for further detail concerning 'Bulwinkle House' c. 1870). Bulwinkle's purchase of Fountaindale not only foreshadowed his foray into another pioneering North Coast industry, namely dairying, but also led to his involvement in the establishment of the Alstonville Co-op Refrigerating Company in 1904. Indeed, Bulwinkle became the first largest shareholder of this company. The subsequent establishment of the Alstonville Butter Factory was also built on part of his Fountaindale property on the Bruxner Highway.

The Bulwinkles' involvement in agriculture and dairying also saw Charles Bulwinkle's involvement with the historic Alstonville Agricultural Society. Charles was elected a member of the first Society Committee in 1888 and remained involved with Society until his death in 1919. Further research would no doubt shed more detail on the Bulwinkle's involvement in the Alstonville civic community.

The Bulwinkles' interest in planting the Norfolk pine at Boulder Beach stemmed from their association with this place also. It is recorded that in 1910 the Bulwinkles, along with other family members and their friends, established a beachside holiday settlement at Boulder Beach. (See theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life – Domestic Life* for further information about the Boulder Beach holiday cottages settlement). The Bulwinkle's and others spent time at Boulder Beach in the summer months until 1922-23.

An interesting side note to Bulwinkle's planting of the Armistice tree is the story of his having to defend his inclusion on the Electoral Roll in 1916. Following the outbreak of the First World War considerable anti-German sentiment emerged in the community. This phenomenon led the local police officer recommending his removal from the Electoral Roll as he was considered a person of enemy origin, being of German descent. A court case ensued wherein Bulwinkle had to defend his right to be included on the Electoral Roll. 'The case was heard in Lismore Courthouse with the outcome being that his name was retained on the Roll. Charles told the court that he knew nothing about Germany. He was born in 1844 in the independent Kingdom of Hanover and at 15, after his father died, he went to London to train as a sugar refiner with his uncle'.[250] Perhaps Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle's planting of the Armistice tree was also a statement of their allegiance to Australia and the British Empire, as he had argued during the above noted case.

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[250] Correspondence from Mrs Marelle Lee to BSC, 13 November 2006, BSC Records. Information obtained from interview with Wilhelmina Blanch, the daughter of Charles and Wilhelmina Bulwinkle.

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- *Honour Rolls*

One of the most popular and affordable ways of honouring dead and returned soldiers was by dedicating and erecting Honour Rolls. Memoralising and honouring those that sacrificed themselves during wartime was an important expression of public grief. The proliferation of Honour Rolls was also strongly influenced by the political environment of post war society, which promoted the legend of the Anzac and the brave soldier as proof that the Australian nation had come of age through the sacrificing of its men.[251]

Many organisations throughout the Ballina Shire dedicated Honour Rolls. These included rolls erected at the Ballina Council Chambers (see above), St Stephen's Presbyterian Church, Ballina, Ballina Public School, Lennox Head Public School (now hanging in the Lennox Head Library), The Alstonville RSL Sub-Branch Hall, St Bartholomew's Church, Alstonville, Newrybar School of Arts, Pearce's Creek Public Hall and the Tintenbar School of Arts. All these rolls are considered important moveable heritage items specific to the social and/or community history of each of these institutions and/or localities.

GOVERNMENT & ADMINISTRATION

Local Government Buildings

- *Ballina Municipal Council – Council Chambers*

The 'old' Ballina Council Chambers building and site is significant to the telling of the early history of the establishment and development of local government in Ballina.

The Ballina Municipal Council was established in 1883 following the petitioning of the NSW Colonial Government by 54 Ballina 'householders and freeholders'.[252] The boundaries of the first municipality were set out by the petitioners as follows.

> 'County of Rous, parish of Ballina, on the east from Black Head by the waters of the Pacific Ocean to the Richmond River: on the south by the waters of the Richmond River to the waters of Emigrant Creek: on the west by the waters of Emigrant Creek to the North West Corner of Chas McNeill senr.'s conditional purchase of 100 acres, No. 68, following same to the suburban boundary of Ballina, and thence to the point of commencement.'[253]

Among the petitioners for a municipality was the man who would become Ballina's first Mayor, William Clement. Otherwise a carpenter and farmer, Clement was a popular Mayoral choice, winning by a unanimous vote cast by the six elected Councillors of the time.

Early meetings of the Ballina Municipal Council were held in a rented room of the Exchange Hotel in River Street (the Exchange Hotel stood on the former Rous Hotel site, now being rebuilt as the Henry Rouse [sic] Tavern). These meetings also, it seems, were

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[251] Garton, Stephen, 'War and Masculinity in Twentieth Century Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*. White, Richard, *Inventing Australia*, Allan & Unwin, 1981, Chapter 8.
[252] See Notice from *NSW Government Gazette*, January 1883 cited in Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
[253] Ibid.

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held on an as needs basis. Within 12 months of its election, the first Council made a request of the Department of Lands for a site on which to build a Town Hall (obviously with plans to administer from here). A site was soon dedicated on what was known as the Customs House reserve on the corner of Norton and Swift Streets. Four years later Council made a further request to the Department of Lands for the dedication of a different site, closer to the new burgeoning main centre of town, along River Street. In January 1891 the Government Gazette indicated the revocation of the original dedication and the dedication of the Cherry & Tamar Streets site.

Council's plans to build a Town Hall building never eventuated, as in these early years it was endlessly constrained by 'a lack of funds'. The construction of a very modest weatherboard building in 1895 instead served as its meeting place until the erection of the present building in 1927. The first Chambers cost a modest £11, the site was fenced and a flagpole installed in 1896. In 1907 Council altered its original building by adding 20 feet to it! Over the following years other minor alterations were made to the site. The events leading up to moves to building the new brick Chambers building have been detailed above, as has the social significance of the building's association with the Great War.

In addition to its historic and social heritage values, the old Council Chambers at Ballina also demonstrates aesthetic or technical heritage significance. Not only are these values evident in the building's historic architectural features inside and out, but given it was also designed by local architect Frederick. J. Board. F. J. Board, as he was professionally known, has left his mark on many of the Far North Coast's towns and villages. Board's work is identified in many building forms including public, religious, commercial and domestic architecture.

Board first came to the region in 1901 on business. Following his initial visit Board moved permanently to the region and built himself a home in Cathcart Street, Lismore. Being a resident of Lismore, Board was most active in its civic and social life, belonging to a number of community organisations and involving himself in many activities to do with the economic and social development of the town.[254] During WWI Board did military service, his military experience perhaps influencing the dedication of the Ballina Council Chamber's vestibule as a Memorial to WWI servicemen.

Some of his more prominent buildings include Lismore's Winsome Hotel, the Lismore Medical Clinic and the Presbyterian Church in Lismore. The building now known as The Ballina Manor was built by Board as the North Coast Ladies College. The present day Elder's building and the Wigmore Arcade and shop and the (now demolished) Henry Rous Hotel (formerly the Exchange Hotel) in River Street, Ballina are also prominent buildings among the work of Board's.[255] Aside from buildings, Board is even known to have undertaken urban design projects (including Spink's Park in Lismore) and dabbled in monument design in the region.
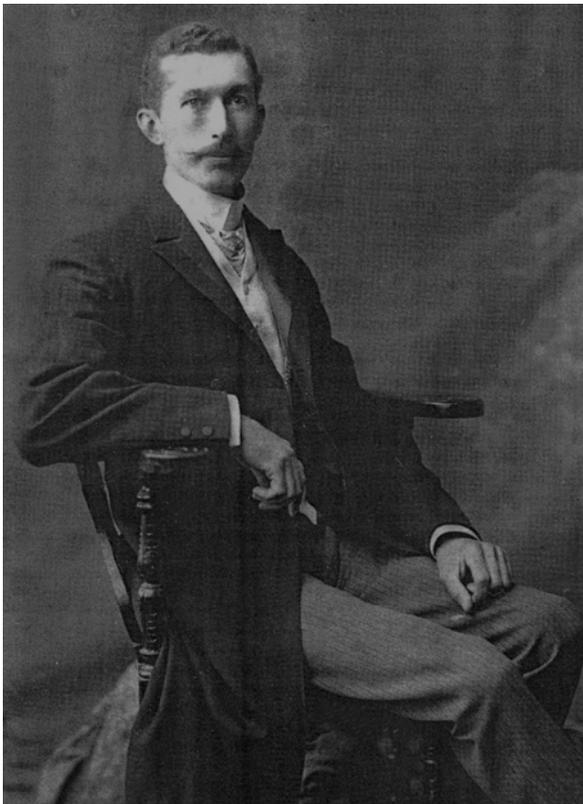
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[254] *Ibid.*

[255] 'Architect left his mark on Lismore District', *Monday Magazine* in *The Northern Star*, May 23, 1994, pp. 23-24.

Interestingly also, Board designed many of the other Council buildings on the North Coast aside from at Ballina. These include Murwillumbah, Lismore, Terania (in Lismore), Byron Bay, and Mullumbimby. Reflecting the limited funds Council had to erect a new building, Ballina's Council Chambers was a fairly modest building compared with other of Board's buildings constructed during this era. Ballina's Council Chambers, however, demonstrates features that were characteristic of Board's work and architecture at this time.

Like the Ballina Council Chambers, much of Board's work was brick, though he often included timber detailing and features as part of his buildings. The old Council Chambers also demonstrates archways, running across the building's front verandah, reflecting the influence of Nouveau and the emerging Art Deco in his work.

Below: Frederick J. Board. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

The simple layout of the Chamber reflects the small bureaucracy that characterised local government in Ballina for many years. Yet other features of the Council Chambers building demonstrates that despite limited funds Ballina's Aldermen of the time desired a building that made a statement about the importance local government played in the 'progressive' community Ballina had become. Indeed, at the opening of the new building officials congratulated the Council on the symbolic nature of the building. 'The proceedings were of an enthusiastic character and the warmest congratulations were extended to the Council on the progressive spirit, of which the building was a manifestation of.'[256]

Though it seems Board had a preference for brick architecture, other historians have noted the symbolism of brick, including representing power and authority, as well as modernity. All of the administrative rooms also had fireplaces, high and decorated ceilings and sturdy timber architraves and doors, all comforts or features associated with civility.

In keeping with civility the Council also authorized the hand crafting of furniture for the Chamber by the Bangalow joiner Mr Rays. Rays' furniture included '1 Oak Table, 9ft. 6in. x 4ft., with ten drawers, 8 Oak Chairs (Aldermen) and 1 Oak Chair (Mayor)'.[257] The Mayoral

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[256] Quote from *The Northern Star*, cited in Murray *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[257] *The Northern Star*, 5 February 1927.

Chair eventually placed in the Chamber building (which has recently been re-instated to the old Chamber) was the second Mayoral chair to be crafted by Rays, following the Mayor's decision that the first chair he completed was not suitable. The second chair was then crafted to be a replica of the Speaker's Chair in Canberra and Westminster.[258]

Ballina Municipal Council continued to administer from the old Chambers building until the early 1980s. With the expansion of local government bureaucracy in the 1970s additions were made to the rear of the 'original' building. While operating from this site the amalgamation of the Ballina Municipal Council and the Tintenbar Shire Council took place. In attempts to improve the efficiency of local councils and along with a number of council's throughout the state, a decision was made by the NSW government to amalgamate the two councils on 1 January 1976. However, until the official Council elections were held in September 1976 a provisional Council was formed of six Councillors from each Council, as a transition measure. The merger of the two Councils also saw the adoption of the riding system, with three representatives from each of the three ridings forming the new elected Council.[259]

In 2007 the old Chambers building was adapted for re-use as a Community Gallery.

- *Tintenbar Shire Council – Council Chambers*

The establishment of the Tintenbar Shire in 1906 followed the making of the *NSW Local Government Act* in 1901. Prior to the establishment of the Tintenbar Shire Council requests relating to the development of the shire area were presented to the local Member, for consideration by the NSW Government. The first Tintenbar Shire Council was a government appointed Council of five members who were given the immediate task of holding a plebiscite to elect six Councillors, two from each of three ridings. Following an election held on 24 November 1906 the first elected Council took office on January 1 1907.

Early Council meetings were held in the Ballina Court House and the Alstonville Agricultural Hall until the construction of the Tintenbar Shire Council Chambers in Alstonville in 1908 – standing as a quaint but impressive weatherboard Chamber.

Tintenbar Shire Council Chamber building, Bugden Avenue, Alstonville, 1906. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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[258] Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
[259] For more detailed history of the Ballina Municipal and Tintenbar Shire Councils see Murray, *op. cit.*

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NSW Colonial Government

- **Ballina Lighthouse & Curtilage**

The Ballina Lighthouse (originally known as the Richmond River Heads Lighthouse) is Ballina's oldest surviving historic building or structure. Erected in 1879, the lighthouse was designed under the direction of well known Colonial Architect James Barnet (1827-1904). The Ballina Lighthouse is an important example of the work of Barnet.

Aside from the Richmond Heads lighthouse, Barnet also designed 3 other North Coast lighthouses in the later decades of the nineteenth century, being Tacking Point (Port Macquarie), Clarence Heads (Yamba), and Fingal Head (Tweed Heads). Lighthouses built at the Richmond and Clarence Heads were of the same design and the earliest of the North Coast lighthouses to be built (1879). The Richmond River Lighthouse is currently understood to be the earliest of Barnet's lighthouses surviving.

The lighthouse was constructed by builders Mr Henry Watson & Mr John Perry who resided in Ballina during the construction of the Lighthouse. (Both Watson and Perry are known to have built a number of many other public buildings on the North Coast).[260] More is known about John Perry than Henry Watson however, John Perry being one of Alstonville's earliest European settlers, and whose wife Alstonville was named after.

Image of Ballina Lighthouse and Light-keeper's cottage. Image courtesy of Australian National Archives.

[260] Obituary of Mr Henry Watson, *The Northern Star*, 14 February, 1932.

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The importance of the Richmond River lighthouse to the historic development of the Port of Ballina is also significant. While the breakwall was seen as a vital salve to the notorious nature of bar conditions on the Richmond, the lighting of North Head was essential to the safe navigation of craft in darkness or hazy weather, as Ballina 'frequently experienced' in the summer months . The absence of the lighthouse though had not kept ships away, but had meant travel to the Richmond could only take place in daytime, under fine conditions, or otherwise under extremely hazardous conditions. Given the absolute reliance on the river to transport goods and people to and from other centres during this era, and until the early twentieth century, the importance of the service of the lighthouse was significant.

The history of the keeping of the lighthouse itself demonstrates the historic and social significance it also has. The construction of the lighthouse in 1879 was predated by the erection on North Head of an oil light and flagstaff in 1866. The facility was run in conjunction with the Pilot Station at Shaws Bay (which was established 1855). The paramount concern to maintain the light also indicates the significant difference it made to the efficiency of shipping. The replenishment of the light required daily attention from a light keeper, who, until the establishment of the light keeper's cottage in 1870, lived at Pilot Point at Shaws Bay. The duties of the light keeper required more than refueling and maintaining the lights. The harsh environment of the seaside meant the light-tower and store room were also frequently painted. The 1913 Annual Report of the Department of Trade and Customs indicates other duties were also involved.

> 'All light-keepers and their assistants at coastal lighthouses at the present time are expected to make themselves familiar with signals and to be able to read and transmit signals by the Morse code as laid down in the British Signal Manual.
>
> Although the exhibition of the light is an obligation which no other duty must be permitted to imperil, it is quiet reasonable that a certain amount of attention should be given to passing vessels which might at any time be exhibiting signals of distress or otherwise.' [261]

The life of the light-keeper could also be isolated, which it seems created an obstacle to the retention of light-keepers in certain locations. The location of the Richmond Heads lighthouse was relatively isolating being 2 1/2 miles from the township of Ballina by Road. Neither was the lighthouse ever connected to Ballina by telephone, as the Pilot Station had been from at least 1913.

The era of the light-keeper came to an end at Ballina in October 1920. With the Commonwealth taking over the administration of lighthouses in 1901 it, from this time, sought to automate lighthouses and thus reduce the cost of lighting the coast. From as early as 1913 the automation of the Richmond lighthouse was recommended.

> '(a) The two lights be replaced by a single modern and more powerful light of a distinctive character, of the automatic (U.) acetylene type.
> (b) The light-keeper be withdrawn. (The signal duties are performed by the signalman who, with the pilot and four boatmen, is quartered at the adjacent pilot station.)' [262]

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[261] Commonwealth Department of Trade and Customs, 'Lighting of the East Coast of Australia – Report, March 1913, p. 5, Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, National Archives Office, Reports on the Lighting of the East Coast of Australia. 1912-13, C4147/2.
[262] *Ibid*, p. 12.

With the automation of the lighthouse and the withdrawal of the light-keeper coastal lights were kept in check by an inspector that made a regular circuit of all coastal lighthouses in NSW. During these visits the gas bottles were fueled, lights replaced, the lamp cleaned and other maintenance work carried out to the light-tower. The automation of the light also lead to the demolition of the store annexe of the lighthouse. Automated lights meant the store room was no longer required in which to keep the oil and other supplies that fuelled the light. The demolition of this part of the lighthouse was carried out in 1938, given its roof leaked. The demolition was approved to avoid repair and continued maintenance of the roof.

The demolition of the light-keeper's cottage and the annexe to the light-tower has significantly altered the 'original' built setting of the Ballina lighthouse. The positioning of the present day cottage roughly marks where the first light-keeper's cottage was positioned. The concrete slab adjacent to the light-tower marks the position of its original store annexe. The natural setting of the lighthouse, although also altered overtime, remains important to the item's aesthetic and historic significance. The need for cleared open space around the lighthouse structure was also important to the non-obstruction of the light. Indeed in the 1930s trees surrounding the tower were lopped after complaints were received about their interference with the light's transmission. The open-space surrounding the lighthouse importantly also facilitated the use of the site as a popular picnic spot from the 1920s onwards (See section on the history of the Lighthouse Hill area as an important recreation site in theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life*). As an addendum to the lighthouse history, in 1938 the Lighthouse Inspector's report noted the popularity of the site for picnicking. Given this he recommended the fencing of the lighthouse as 'there is some call on the signalman to prevent vans backing against the annexe and children climbing on the balcony [of the light-tower]!263

LAW & ORDER

Police Stations & Court Houses

- #### Ballina Court House building & site

The completion of the present day Court House building in 1882 followed the destruction, by fire, of an earlier timber police station, lock-up and Court House building on this site (built in 1865). The history of police buildings on the site however pre-date the 1865 buildings. 'The first proposal for the establishment of law and order at Ballina resulted in the preparation of a plan and specifications for a watch house (lock-up) at Richmond River Heads in 1856 under the Colonial Architect, Alexander Dawson.'264 A very simple building, it contained a guard room with a fireplace, a bed room for the constable and two cell rooms.

In 1860 it was determined that "His Excellency the Governor General, has been pleased to appoint Ballina and Lismore as places for the holding of Courts of Petty Sessions under

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263 'Inspection Report of the New South Wales Lighthouse Stations During the Year 1938', National Archives Office, Lighthouse Records, Chronological Series, 1937-38, C4147/3.
264 Historic notes supplied by Archives Office (now State Records) 1982, History of Ballina Court Houses, Ballina Shire Council Court House File.

the *Act of the Colonial Legislature 3 Wm. IV, No. 3"*. 'As a result the watch house guard room was used for Court sittings on occasions. Before too long however it was determined that this arrangement was unsatisfactory and in November 1961, the Police Magistrate, Henry Garrard reported 'there was no building in Ballina appropriate for holding Courts of Petty Sessions'. Following this request £200 was placed on the government estimates to build a new Court House. Before tenders were called for the new building the existing watch house burnt down and so interrupted plans for the building of a separate Court House.

That the town's police watch house and lock up also needed replacing saw new plans for a Court House to be incorporated in the one new building; and so a new weatherboard purpose built Watch and Court House was completed in 1865. 'This second building served until the 1880s when the growth of the district rendered the provision of a new Court House imperative. Accordingly, the Colonial Architect James Barnet called for tenders for a new building. William Kinnear (who incidentally built the former watch and Court House) was the successful tender in 1881.

Historically, the Court House building is also the only building in the Ballina town centre that is associated with the history of early relations between Aboriginal and European peoples. In keeping with the NSW Colonial Government's 'initiative' of providing benevolent assistance or 'protection' to Aboriginal people throughout the nineteenth century, government blankets and rations were distributed to local Aboriginal people from the present day Court House site and building.

The aesthetic appreciation that is attributed to the Court House (and the adjacent post office building) buildings has long been acknowledged. Early travelling correspondents to the town in the 1880s and 1890s wrote admiringly of the present day Post Office and Court House.

> 'Among the public buildings in the town, the Court House is one of the best. It was built four years ago and is of a neat and appropriate style of architecture.'[265]

> 'The public buildings of the town, the post and telegraph office must rank first, being one of the finest buildings in the north, and as shown in our illustration, it is the only building on the river that has a tower to which a clock is to be furnished, the contract having been accepted. ... Next to the Post Office is the Court House, which is also a fine building having been in a neat an appropriate style of architecture.'[266]

Today these buildings are still admired and considered to be among the 'best' historic buildings in the town. Among the reasons why the aesthetic of these buildings is of heritage significance is importantly about more than that they *look old*. The Court House, along with the Post Office and Richmond River Lighthouse, are the only colonial era public buildings, or structures, in the Ballina Shire. In addition, the Court House demonstrates particular architectural features only evident to this building in the whole of the Ballina Shire.

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[265] Unnamed Correspondent, 'Coastal Districts of New South Wales – Scenes on the Richmond River', *Town & Country Journal*, January 1, 1887, p. 10.
[266] Unnamed Correspondent, 'The Northern Rivers – Town of Ballina, Richmond River, *Town and Country Journal*, November 22, 1890.

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As noted above, the Court House building was designed under the guidance of the celebrated architect, Barnet. As noted above, James Barnet is especially recognised for his works associated with his 30 years of service to the NSW Colonial Architect's Office. Among other significant government buildings he designed are the defence works at Port Jackson, Botany Bay and Newcastle, court-houses, lock-ups, police stations and post offices throughout New South Wales.[267] Ballina is fortunate to boast two of Barnet's creations, the other being the Richmond River Heads lighthouse. Significantly also, the Court House is described as being of a simplified Victorian Italianate building.[268]

In addition to noting its design significance, the fabric used to construct the Court House (notably masonry) also reflects important elements that are part of the building's aesthetic. As noted above, earlier buildings that served law and order functions were of timber. The investment by the government in masonry buildings to administer these services symbolised the growing confidence the government of the day had in the development of the town of Ballina as well as its recognition of Ballina's emerging civility. The admiration of these buildings by the above noted correspondents also reflected these sentiments.

- ***Alstonville Police Station & Court House***

Scant documentary evidence associated with the Alstonville Police Station has meant little detail of it history has been uncovered as part of this study to date. The known history of the building and its site however reveals significant insights into its historic significance.

Built in 1902, the present day Alstonville Police Station was once part of a larger holding, which provided for the accommodation of police horses and stray animals. Police horses were essential to the activities of policing in this era with the impounding of animals being a significant part of rural law enforcement. The Alstonville Police Station also provided for a resident Police Officer. Like many early rural police stations, a lock-up was also once part of the police complex as was the adjacent Court House section. The Court House here operated until 1965, it than became part of the police residence.

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[267] McDonald, D. I., 'James Barnet — Colonial Architect', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 55 (1969).

[268] Historic notes supplied by Archives Office (now State Records) 1982, History of Ballina Court Houses, Ballina Shire Council Court House File.

The building of the Alstonville Police Station in timber reflected the abundance and dominance of this material for domestic style buildings during this era. That the Court House section was also of timber reflects the village status of Alstonville.

Constable Laidman, his wife and daughter in front of Alstonville Police Station, 1910. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

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EDUCATION

Both State and denominational schooling in the Ballina Shire have a long and varied history. Each of these schools' history is significant to the history of the development of education in the shire. It is also significant that the history of each of these schools is at the centre of the history of development of the shire's towns and villages. As families settled in the shire, following the development of the early timber and sugar industries, this in turn created demand for the services of education. Schools served not only children's education needs but the establishment of small schools in rural areas also fostered social cohesion and a sense of community identity by bringing communities together at school events. Many of the shire's villages, as well as Ballina township, retain historic buildings and/or other traces of the history of early education and the social history associated with it.

That a number of the shire's schools were established before the introduction of Compulsory Schooling in NSW, in 1880, meant these schools were established with assistance from parents and or benefactors who saw the education of children to be of paramount importance to the social and economic development of these communities. The early history of Ballina Public School is significant in this respect (see below). Assistance from parents (and other community members) was required prior to compulsory education given 'any establishment of schools prior to this time required financial assistance from parents toward the School building and payment of the teacher's salary'.[269]

As the early history of primary schooling in NSW reveals, denominational schools were also provided government assistance prior to 1880.

> 'During the period 1848-66 education in New South Wales came under the joint control of the Board of National Education and the Denominational School Board. The Board of National Education was responsible for the establishment of the public school system, teacher training and classification and the setting up of model schools. The Denominational School Board was responsible for the distribution of government subsidies to church schools.
>
> Changes to the schooling system in 1866 saw the establishment of a Council of Education 'to assume responsibility for the centralised administration of government schools in New South Wales. The Council of Education controlled expenditure and government grants, the establishment and maintenance of public schools and the appointment, training and examination of teachers. Both provisional schools and half-time schools were created under the Council of Education. The school sites, buildings and furniture for these schools were provided by the parents of enrolled pupils.'[270]

The introduction of compulsory schooling saw further changes to the administration of primary schools in NSW. This history provides important context to the history of the shire's early primary schools.

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[269] *Archives in Brief 26 - Schools c. 1788 -c.1979*,
http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives_in_brief_26_1937.asp
[270] *Ibid.*

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'In 1880 the Minister for Public Instruction assumed responsibility for education in New South Wales. The *Public Instruction Act*, 1880 provided for the establishment of Public Schools, Superior Public Schools, Evening Public Schools, Provisional Schools and separate high schools for boys and girls. The Department of Public Instruction was responsible for both the introduction of compulsory education and the withdrawal of government funding from denominational schools. The Department of Public Instruction changed its name to the Department of Education in 1915.'[271]

School Buildings

- *Ballina Public School*

In 1961 a small publication was put together to celebrate the Centenary of the Ballina Public School. The history of the school in this publication, as previously suggested of early schools, is strongly linked to the economic development of the area. Compiled with information taken from the Department of Public Education files, the publication details the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the school. [272]

'A school was considered necessary in West Ballina [Ballina Island] during the late [eighteen] fifties and, by February 1861, a committee of local patrons of education had been formed. Messrs. Henry Garrard, Charles Fawcett, Joseph Eyles, James Brown and James Campbell comprised this committee. The committee applied for a non-vested school to be established in a building offered by Mr Eyles at a rent of five shillings per annum. The building was two storeyed , [sic] with two rooms upstairs and three on the lower floor. One 20 ft. by 12 ft., was to be used for the school room while the remainder were for the use of the teacher as a residence. Mr Eyles also offered to convey the "Master", his wife, family and luggage in one of [his] ships free of expense." Meanwhile a tender had been accepted from Mr J. Mitchell to erect a school building.' [273]

So begins the history of schooling in Ballina. The purpose built school building was not completed until 1863, and built by local carpenter William Clement (Clement later became Ballina's first Mayor, see theme *Governing – Local Government Buildings and Administration).* Apparently its delay was due to the combination of rain and Mr Clement, who it is suggested 'enjoyed his leisure not wisely but too well.' As with many rural schools, the history of Ballina Public school in these early years is embellished by the flux of enrolments, as many children were [at times] kept at home to do their share in helping to establish new farms or simply to do housework. Fluctuating enrollments in turn impacted on the certainty of tenure of teachers, as the number of children they instructed influenced the salary paid. As the running of the school was heavily subsidised by parents, issues such as the maintenance of buildings and supply of schooling materials was a constant struggle. The conditions at the school soon however led to calls for a 'new' building, which remains in use today.

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[271] *Ibid.*
[272] Centenary Committee, *Ballina: Education and the Community 1861-1961*, "Star" Print, Lismore, 1961, p. 10.
[273] *Ibid.* p. 10.

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'By 1875, attendance at the school had improved to an average of 41 but [again] there emerged great dissatisfaction about the school amenities and its general condition. The children at this time had to carry their own supply of drinking water. A threat by the parents to keep their children at home in the dry summer months resulted in the supplying of new tanks. The building was considered old and the site unsuitable, as it was said to be unhealthy, inaccessible and wet. Feeling ran very high in the town on the question of the best site for the new building that was planned to replace the one that was "being blown away as dust by the wind". This was apparently the result of white ant infestation. The floor "warped beneath one's tread", smoke from the kitchen filtered into the schoolroom from the back of the fireplace, the shingles (now of bloodwood), were too heavy for the state of the building and threatened to collapse upon the children.'[274]

A new brick school building was completed in 1882 and enrolments doubled from the time (1875) when parents' complaints about the state of the old school led to the planning and establishment of a new one. Increased enrollments resulted from the introduction of compulsory schooling, which sought to prevent the apparent rise in delinquency of youth during this era. In the new building '[t]he main school room was made larger than the stock model, a small room was attached to it and a proper hat room was substituted for the usual porch. … The existing site was retained in spite of the accusations of inaccessibility and permanent swamps. … The enrolment was now more than 80.'[275]

In the ensuing years enrolments at the school continued to increase along with the development of the town. By 1887 140 pupils attended the school and an assistant teacher was appointed.[276] By 1890 the population increased to 240 pupils. New buildings and teachers were again added to cater to these increases. Enrolments generally continued to rise throughout the twentieth century which saw continued changes in teacher numbers and school buildings.

School files also reveal something of the nature of schooling in this era. Indeed this was an era when the different expectations education placed on boys and girls was exceedingly apparent. It is reported that in the early 1900s '[s]ome parents at this time objected to Fifth Class girls having to do "excessive brain work in the study of home lessons" (in Algebra and Latin) as these subjects "unsettle their minds for housework and house keeping". This was also an era where physical activity was considered an important component of the syllabus, as it taught discipline of the body and mind as a means of curbing idleness. 'A shield, which was won by Ballina at that time [the early 1900s] for marching drill and foot races, was unearthed in 1959', suggests physical activity was competently embraced by students of this era.

The school's Centenary history also indicates that the school was used 'extensively' as a meeting place of a number of Ballina's community organisations including the Ballina Players Theatre group and the town's Swimming Club. Interestingly also, the school is linked to many couples in Ballina, as during its 'early history' the building was used for weddings! The school over the years has also contributed to the town's community

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[274] *Ibid*, p. 13.
[275] *Ibid.*
[276] *Ibid*, p. 15.

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organisations and events through fund raising and participation in annual Anzac Day activities held in the town.

The school's early brick building is symbolic of its early history as well as is an important example of public school architecture from this era and in the region. Other items of significance to the history of the school include the present day brick administrative building, the school bell and the school's Honour Roll (for further detail on Honour Rolls see the theme *Governing*).

- *Village Public Schools*

  Rous Mill Public School (1882), Rous Public School (1881), Tintenbar (1884), Teven Public School (1886), Newrybar Public School (1890), Fernleigh Public School (1894), Tuckombil Public School, Wollongbar Public School (1900), Pearces Creek Public School.[277]

A number of village public schools emerged in the shire in the late 1800s and to 1900. The history of these village schools is part of the broader history of rural schooling in NSW, as well as reflects the history of each of these localities. These rural schools continue to make use of early school buildings which are a tangible reminder of their humble beginnings and the communities that vied to establish these.[278] Together, the currently documented histories of each of these schools paints a rich picture of the nature of early schooling in the shire.[279]

The first of these village Public Schools to establish in the shire was Rous Mill. Rous Mill Public School emerged with the establishment of the Sugar Mill there in 1882. In the same year the mill was established '[t]he first meeting to agitate for the formation of a school in this district was held…'.[280] With the introduction of compulsory education in 1880 the NSW Department of Public Instruction was compelled to establish a school as long as sufficient enrolment numbers were available. Consequently, in September of that year, a temporary school was opened in the Rous Temperance Hall with 58 pupils attending.[281] The School operated in the Hall for two years, 'until in 1894 a well-lit large two roomed building with enclosed porch was erected…'.

In 1925 Sylvia McLean (then Sylvia Basham) arrived at Rous Mill School, her family moving there so that her father could take up the position of teacher. Her mother also had charge of instructing girls in sewing and crafts. She recalls many aspects of the school building and school life at Rous Mill which are significant to the heritage values of the historic Rous Mill school buildings which survive today.

> 'The School building next door [to the teachers residence] had two classrooms with a full length closed in verandah along the side. One room was the main classroom for everyone – for six classes as well as older children who continued on until they could leave at fourteen years of age'. … In this room desks were long with long backless

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[277] Other Public Schools in the shire are documented in the Wardell and Surrounding Localities Community Based Heritage Study, 2004.
[278] Further information is needed regarding the historic school buildings associated with the early Tintenbar and Teven Schools.
[279] See *Rous Public School Centenary, 1881-1981*, Summerland Printers, Ballina, 1981.
[280] *Status Quo*, NSW Department of Education, n.d., p. 10.
[281] Ibid.

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stool-like forms to sit on. It was the time of the old fashioned pens with inkwells and ink made from powder. Children were very honoured to be allowed to mix and distribute the ink to the inkwells – as it was a messy job.

Pictures of King George and Queen Mary hung in a prominent position with pictures commemorating World War I on either side. These pictures were of Flanders poppies, which looked like tin hats when observed from a certain angle.

The second room was used as a sewing room and library. All girls from Grade 3 on were taught to sew. My mother was clever with crafts and really enjoyed teaching the girls. The library contained mainly government-issue books, with other books donated by the Parents and Citizens Association. Once a term a box of books came by post , on loan from the Sydney public library.' [282]

Other village schools established in the shire following local applications or petitions for a school, as was the protocol during this era. Tintenbar and Rous established in 1884, Teven in 1886, Newrybar in 1890, Fernleigh in 1894 and Wollongbar in 1900. All these schools had emerged to service the communities that sprung from a growing dairy industry. The histories of each of these schools tells of the basic conditions that was school life in this era, the school buildings being constructed of local hardwood timbers, the wet roads or tracks children traversed on foot or horseback, or the distances covered, to get to school; the dedication of rural teachers and a curriculum that included teaching skills in domesticity for girls and horticulture for boys, among other things. [283]

These histories also tell of the support parents gave to establishing or assisting these schools through the formation of active P&C Associations. At Rous for instance 'all residents set to work to fell, burn, stump and level the grounds ready for the erection of the first school.' At Wollongbar residents sustained an eight year battle to establish their school. That Wollongbar was in close proximity to Alstonville and Alphadale was the justification by the Department not to establish a school prior to 1900.

The social activities that centred on the school were also about sustaining it financially. Oral histories pertaining to the history of Rous Mill School reveal significant insights into the kind of social events that were part of the life of public schools in rural localities.

'Special events at the school included Empire Day, the annual school concert and Christmas party and prize giving. The P&C fundraisers were fancy dress evenings and concerts by local guests and artists.

The school concert was held in the local hall where there was a stage with a piano. This was a special event, important to the whole township. My mother supervised the props and costumes with the help of parents. … The fancy dress nights were held in the hall too. It was amazing what mothers could create from crepe paper – true works of art!'

Empire Day was more than a significant social event at public schools. Its observance signified the dominance of British cultural tradition in the Australian

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[282] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; Centenary Committee, *Lennox Head Public School Centenary, 1882-1982*, "Northern Star" Print, 1982; Centenary Committee, *Rous Public School Centenary, 1881-1981*, Summerland Printers Ballina, 1981: Wollongbar School File, RRHS; Newrybar School File, RRHS.
[283] *Ibid.*

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community into the mid-twentieth century. The importance of enforcing this message saw Empire Day designated as a Picnic Day and was often celebrated at schools in the company of special guests and treats.

> 'Empire Day was 24 May and was a very patriotic affair. Parents and important guests visited for the morning ceremony with children presenting items (songs, poems and plays). This was followed by an outdoor picnic (with two cases of Johnathan apples from Tasmania and lots of homemade cakes). In the early afternoon we had sports with races tug-o-war, etc. Everything had to finish early, however, because parents had to be home for milking by 3pm. Rous Mill was a dairying district then and many of the children did their share of the milking before and after school.' [284]

In addition to the histories associated with early village public schools, the physical nature of these buildings is also important. Early surviving school buildings in the shire are varied in architectural form, layout and size. Common features of these buildings include their timber fabric, which reflects the buoyant timber industry that existed in the region during the era of the construction of these buildings.

- ***School residences – former Rous Mill School House (1889), Former Alstonville Public School House, 7 South Street Alstonville, Former North Creek School House, North Creek Road, Lennox Head***

Also characteristic of the architecture of some rural village schools established in the late nineteenth century was a school house or residence. Given the remoteness of rural schools, a school house provided accommodation for appointed teachers and their families while at the school. These were also important to attracting teachers to such areas. The nature of these buildings, like school rooms, varied according to the era of construction and/or the nature of material available. Documentary information available on the history of these buildings to date is scarce. The buildings themselves therefore are an important reminder of this facet of the history of rural public schools.

It is understood that four school houses survive in the shire being at Rous Mill, Alstonville, North Creek and Meerschaum Vale.[285] Like school rooms, these buildings vary in fabric, layout and size. In cases too, these buildings have been moved from their original localities, either to be used as ordinary domestic housing as the need for them dwindled (Alstonville), or as part of the relocation of a school (North Creek).

At Rous Mill the school house was established in 1889, following the establishment of the school. This building remains part of the fabric of the present day school. Sylvia McLean's recollections of the school house at Rous Mill provide some detail of the external and internal features of the building in the 1920s.

> 'The residence had a red roof and many chimneys because every room contained an open fireplace. The interior weatherboard walls were painted dark blue and green but the doors and mantelpieces over the fireplaces were made from solid local cedar.

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[284] *Ibid.*

[285] The history of Meerschaum Vale school house is detailed in the *Wardell Heritage Study*, 2003.

No electricity was available at the school or residence when we went there. We used kerosene lamps. No sink was provided in the kitchen. We used tank rainwater with the taps outside.'[286]

- *Ballina High School*

Secondary education did not come to Ballina until the early 1920s, though prior to this time students of high school age stayed on at the primary school to continue their education, unless parents could afford to send their children to secondary schools in other centres. Despite provision for students to stay on at Ballina Public School after completing the Qualifying Certificate, (sixth class), this was the exception rather than the rule at Ballina. The creation of a seventh class to cater to these children in 1919 had an enrolment of only four students. The infant teacher at the school at this time requested of the Department the provision of resources to allow Ballina students to undertake the Intermediate Certificate at the school. The Department declined to meet the school's need in that year, arguing this would lead to pressure from other schools in the area for the same provisions!

By 1923 however the school was classified as a District School and thus could provide for secondary enrolments. This increased the number of secondary students to 95 and secondary teachers to 4. School records indicate however that it suffered ongoing shortages in attempts to meet curriculum requirements. These issues were ongoing until provision was made for a separate high school, which was not completed until 1931. However, in 1926 the school was again reclassified as an Intermediate High School, which increased enrollments to 111. The Inspector's report for that year provides a glimpse of the conditions shortages at the school created in this era.

'Unfortunately insufficient accommodation is a serious drawback. Only two ordinary classrooms and the science room are available for four High School classes and two classes have constantly to occupy one room in which two teachers have frequently to give oral lessons with a space of only three or four yards separating them while the Science Room has to be used for general work. In order not to interfere with each other the teachers have habituated themselves to speaking in subdued tones. Nevertheless one additional room at the very least, is an urgent necessity.'

This request was not met and the school was forced to improvise with reports that needlework was taught 'in a recess of an upstairs corridor and the teaching of cooking in "a Sunday School Hall which is some distance from the school and is most unsuitable."'

By 1928 the Department of Education had negotiated the acquisition of the present high school site and completed the main building by 1931. (This site incidentally was formerly used as a sale yard site). The first brick building was constructed by Sydney contractor, H. Brown 'and a team of men brought from Sydney. Most of the bricks were made in the old brickworks at the foot of the Ballina cutting, but some face bricks were made in Sydney'. The low lying nature of the site saw it filled with, apparently, 4000 yards of fill. The job was completed by local contractor 'Nuggett' Saunders.

The completion of the 'new' building coincided with the 1930s depression and for the next 10 years enrolments in the new school did not grow, which then threatened the closure of the new school! The rural nature of the Ballina Shire clearly meant sustaining

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[286] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, pp. 203-204.

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labour intensive family farms took priority over children's education during these years. The end of the depression again led to increased enrolments in the 1940s and 1950s along with additions to the school. It is noted that the development of the commercial fishing and canning industries in Ballina during these years assisted in the growth of the school population. In 1955 the Ballina Primary School and the Ballina High School officially became two separate Schools.

As in the case of the shire's public schools, the 'original' high school building is significant to telling of the school's early history and development. Later school buildings are also significant to the ongoing history of the school including the two story brick and weatherboard building along Swift Street and the weather shed building that skirts the school's oval. Further research on the nature of these buildings is likely to reveal other information that will contribute to the buildings' historic significance or reveal other heritage values.

Convent Schools

The establishment of small Catholic schools has a history of strong support and involvement from parents/the community in common with the rural public schools. In contrast to public schools however, the early Convent schools took on boarders. The distance between Catholic schools in the region meant Catholic children travelled greater distances to school. The issue of distance in turn meant it was necessary for some children to board to enable their schooling.

The day-to day history of Catholic schooling no doubt shares many further similarities as well as differences. The most apparent difference being the denominational focus of the school and it's observance of different significant days, such as St Patrick's Day (or Irish Catholic cultural traditions), rather than Empire Day (or English cultural traditions). While aspects of the social history of Catholic education in the community have been recorded there is still much that remains in the memories of community members and needs to be captured.

- ### St Francis Xavier's Convent School, Ballina (1910)

St Francis Xavier's Convent School was the first Catholic School to open in the Ballina Shire, (followed by Wardell and Alstonville). The history of the school is important to the history of Catholic education in the shire, as well as the region.

The school opened in July 1910 with an enrolment of 44 students. The Presentation sisters ran the school from the then new Catholic Convent building on Cherry Street Ballina. Their involvement with the school is significant also to their history in the region. The Presentation nuns came to Ballina in 1892 and first lived in a house in Swift Street. The nuns also lived for a short time in the Catholic Presbytery until the new Convent building was completed in 1910. Until recent years the Convent building continued to house the Presentation sisters and thus has a long association with their history and the history of the Ballina Catholic community.

The school expanded with the addition of a two storey brick building in 1924. This introduced facilities to enable boarders for both junior boys and girls. 'When a secondary school was established in 1935 the majority of boarders were secondary girls drawn from

a wide area including the Richmond and Tweed districts, Sydney, Darwin - even from New Guinea'.[287] The secondary school closed again in 1965.

The convent building has historic aesthetic values. Its timber construction and traditional form elements (including gable and iron roof, external timber cladding and internal timber joinery) emulated the vernacular building form that dominated Ballina until the late 1970s. Other aspects of the building's fabric, notably its construction of local timbers, adds to its historic significance. Further information about the building also may reveal other heritage values.

- ***St Joseph's Catholic Primary School, Alstonville (1919)***

St Joseph's Catholic Primary School at Alstonville was the third Catholic school established in the shire and is also important to the development of Catholic/denominational education in the community.

As with the Convent school and Presentation nuns at Ballina, the history of St Joseph's School is also an important chapter in the history of the (St Joseph) nuns, who ran the school, including providing for the early boarders. The establishment of the Convent school followed some years after the establishment of the Church at Alstonville (1887). One account of the circumstances surrounding the sisters and their arrival at Alstonville reads as follows.

> 'Father Charles Cullen negotiated with the Mother General, Mother Lawrence, to open a convent and school at Alstonville. By 1919, a house belonging to the Ainsworth family had been purchased and prepared as a convent. The Church was to serve as a school as well.
>
> The three sisters chosen to open the Convent were sisters Dara, Marie Therese and Dunstan. They embarked at Sydney on 16 January, 1919. Srs. Dara and Marie Therese had left their previous appointments at Dulwich Hill and Guildford respectively and Sr. Dunstan was fresh from the novitiate. To them this was an exciting adventure.
>
> The boat eventually steamed into Byron Bay but to the dismay of the passengers it was too rough to land. But pioneers are not easily daunted and before long the three Sisters were once more on solid land, for coal baskets were used to swing them onto the wharf from the boat.
>
> The Sisters of the Bangalow community were their companions and it was to the convent at Bangalow, a journey of eight miles, that the newcomers were taken to be met by Father Cullen. On the Saturday Father drove them twenty miles to their new home in Alstonville. This drive was somewhat of a novelty, too, for none of the Sisters had ever ridden in a car before.
>
> Sunday 19 January had been set down for the opening day. At 10am His Lordship, Bishop Carroll, arrived and a procession was formed. This procession, in which all the people joined , led them to the convent which the Bishop blessed. Mass was celebrated at 11 am and afterwards the Sisters were introduced to the people. His Lordship lunched at the Convent but by 3 pm the grounds were empty and quiet deserted.

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[287] Contributing Authors, *Jubilee Journal 2000: A Faith Journey of Catholic People Living in the Lower Richmond Region on the Far North Coast of NSW*, Colourmatch Printers, Ballina, p. 48.

> The Sisters then went to the Church which the next day was to be the school. Pride of place was given to a statue of St Joseph which they had brought from Sydney. Around this statue the Sisters and children would gather to pray. The Blessed sacrament had been removed from the school Church. Catholic education had begun at Alstonville.'[288]

The introduction of the first lay teacher to St Joseph's Convent school in 1976 saw the eventual withdrawal of the St Joseph's order in 1987, ending an era in Catholic education in Alstonville. Despite this the school has prospered into recent decades. The school's convent building and other timber class rooms are significant to its history as a small rural Catholic school.

- ### *North Coast Ladies Methodist College (Ballina Manor)*

The prominent building on Norton Street known today as The Ballina Manor was first established as another denominational, but single sex school - the North Coast [Methodist] Ladies College. Built in 1925, the College was established on the site of the first Methodist church built in Ballina. (This building survives and was relocated to Cherry Street where the brick Methodist church was also established. See theme *Developing Australia's Cultural Life – Churches* for further detail).

Little is recorded locally of the day-to-day history of the college. The college's own records however suggest that its objectives were to;

> '...combine facilities for the best education of Protestant girls, with the cultivation in them of the graces of Christian character and womanhood. It will provide mental and moral equipment for life's larger duties, whether of home, business, social or professional life, amid all the comforts and security of a home, where everything conduces to the real end of education, enlightenment, refined, true and worthy views of life, and of their duty to God, to themselves and to others.'

The college's prospectus also provides important insights into the reasons the college was established in Ballina. This it seems had as much to do with the learning environment of the locality than to service the needs of the immediate community. The prospectus clearly indicated the benefits of the school's seaside environment.

> 'The College is situated at Ballina, a rising town at the mouth of the Richmond River. Ballina is noted for its beautiful scenery and the mildness of its temperature. Thousands of visitors come here every year to recuperate, and go away feeling that its climate has brought back health of mind and body.'[289]

The seaside climate, it was believed in this era, enhanced learning.

Despite its appeal to all 'Protestant girls' locals did attend the college, as secondary education in the district was limited (see above section on Ballina High School). Moreover, its establishment occurred in a period of optimism following the end of the Great War, its solid architecture reflecting this as well 'the latest ideas of college architecture'.

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[288] Gahan, Greg, *Sisters of St Joseph Alstonville, 1919-1987*, Northern Star Print, 1987.
[289] North Coast Girl's College, *Interim Prospectus*, Northern Star, 1925, BSC Records, courtesy of Ballina Manor.

> 'The rooms are lofty and well ventilated, and there is ample accommodation for sleeping out of doors. Electric light and hot and cold water services have been installed, and the sanitation is on the latest model'.[290]

However grand or 'commodious' the building, the College only functioned as a school for five years and it is recorded that the 'school closed due to difficulties in administration'. It has been later interpreted that these difficulties were due to the 1930s depression that prohibited families from affording the luxury of a boarding (seaside) college education.[291]

The Manor building is an important historic building, not only given its associated history as the Methodist Ladies College, but as a building it demonstrates aesthetic merit. Designed by architect Frederick J. Board, whose career has been discussed in the earlier theme *Governing*, the building demonstrates features characteristic of his work. These include its predominate brick fabric, timber detailing and archway features.

- ***North Coast [Boys] College (at Fenwick House)***

Fenwick House is less well known as being associated with private education in Ballina than with the personality of Captain Tom Fenwick. Nonetheless, it is recorded that in 1922 'an Evangelical religious group' purchased the building from the estate of Tom Fenwick and 'converted it to become the North Coast Grammar School for Boys'.[292] The school's prospectus dating from this era gives important insights into how the building was used and conditions at the college, as well as the nature of education it provided.

> 'The Dormitories are upstairs, and arrangements may be made for sleeping out in the balcony if desired. There are two bathrooms, and water is laid on from the supply which comes from a mountain stream at Alstonville. The table will be furnished with plenty of plain, wholesome food, and parents may rest assured that their boys will be well fed, carefully looked after, and receive every home comfort. '[293]

The object of the college indicated, like the girls school, it sought to cater to both Ballina and boys from other localities, as well as the benefits the sea could bring to both academic and recreational learning.

> 'The College has been inaugurated so that an up-to-date educational institution, centrally situated on the North Coast, may supply a long-felt part of the parents who do not approve of sending their sons to a very cold climate, nor to a locality altogether out of reach of emergency, and who moreover lean to the opinion of many leading educationalists - that **seaside** [emphasis in document] conditions constitute, for **boys** at any rate, a powerful ally which, under proper control, will undoubtedly result in their mental, moral and physical activities mutually reinforcing each other, and producing that desideratum – by no means too common in these days – a manly and **evenly balanced character** [emphasis in original document].'
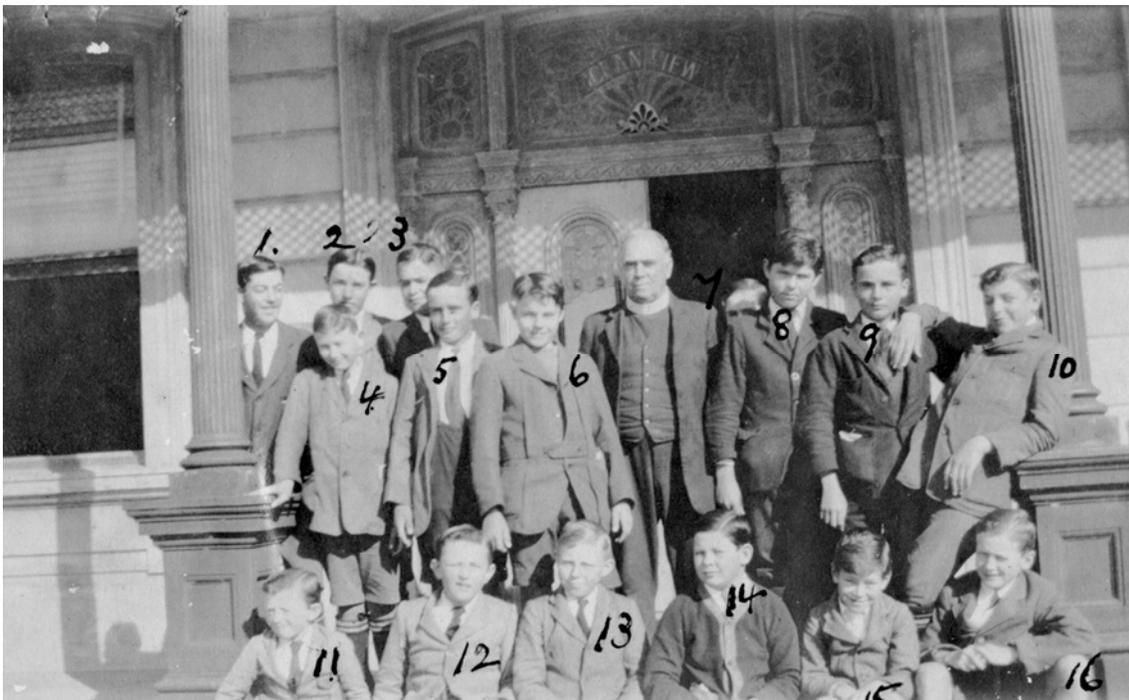
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[290] *Ibid.*
[291] Hall, Glen, *op. cit.*
[292] Hall, *op. cit.*
[293] Prospectus for North [Boys] Coast College, RRHS files, n.d.

That the nature of education the college provided was in the 'the old English school tradition' saw it adopt the motto 'With all our Strength' (but spelt and recited in Latin); the school prospectus also emphasising a 'classical' education and discipline.

'The curriculum embraces all the subjects required by the Department of Education, and boys are prepared for all examinations including those of the Naval and Military Colleges. Shorthand and bookkeeping are taught also, while Art is taught in Drawing, Design and Modelling. Latin and French are taught by the Direct Method. The Principal, who has specialized in Science, imparts a good working knowledge of the Physical Sciences, which are in these days of scientific achievement such an important factor in every present day enterprise. The physical training is in the charge of Major Burke, who, besides having twenty-one years' experience of teaching in secondary school, is a highly qualified specialist in this most important branch of instruction, with which he correlates Hygiene and Philosophy.'

The discipline will be firm but kindly, and all work must be satisfactorily finished before the afternoon privileges are allowed. Bathing and boating are permitted only at stated time and under strict supervision. School will be opened by Scripture reading and suitable selections from the Church of England Prayer Book and Bible and Prayer Book instruction will also be imparted; but exemption may be granted to members of other denominations by written requests of parents.' [294]

Rev Clarke and boys pictured at North Coast Boys College (Fenwick House) at Shaws Bay, East Ballina, 1920s. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

Like the North Coast Ladies Methodist College, the North Coast [Boys] College was short lived. To date it has not been recorded in local sources as to why the College closed. Further research is required to determine the circumstances surrounding its folding. The

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[294] *Ibid.*

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history of the boy's college at Fenwick House is only part of the historic values attributed to this building.

BIRTH & DEATH

Cemeteries

- *Pioneer &, East Ballina Cemetery*

Ballina's Pioneer Cemetery is the oldest European cemetery in the Ballina Shire. The historic significance of the cemetery is widely appreciated and during its history has been the subject of outcry concerning its poor state, or other inflicted or potential threats to it.[295] This facet of its history is part of its historic heritage values, demonstrating concern within the community over the years regarding the need to conserve Ballina's European or 'pioneer' history.

That many of Ballina's earliest 'pioneers' are buried here is perhaps the most noted reason for public support of it as a place of historic significance. While the cemetery is important to the telling of the history of Ballina's earliest European pioneers, other facets of the cemetery are also important elements of the town's history.

Pioneer Cemetery at East Ballina - 1920s. Image courtesy of Richmond River Historical Society.

The location of the cemetery at Shaws Bay meant it was in immediate proximity to the settlement that established there in the earliest years of European migrations to the area.

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[295] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 115; See also for example, 'Campers Not on Graves', *The Northern Star*, 21 February 1963; RRHS Pioneer Memorial Wall file.

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The importance of the cemetery's location near the early settlement however lies more in the fact that it was high ground away from, but convenient to, the settlement that had begun to develop across the river in West Ballina.[296] Sources differ as to who was the first to be buried in the cemetery. What matters most however is that the histories of those buried in the cemetery are an important and intriguing aspect of Ballina's European history. Both firsts however are recorded to have taken place in the early 1850s and both were cedar cutters.

Ainsworth notes that Jack Farrell was the first to be buried in the cemetery.[297] Farrell came to the area around 1847. Incidentally, Jack's time at Ballina was short and met a tragic end. As Jack's story goes, he was drowned while rowing to another ship to obtain liquor. When trying to board the ship Jack slipped and fell between logs and drowned.[298] Hall, however, has indicated that Pearson Simpson (of Duck Creek cedar camp fame) was the first to be buried in the cemetery in May 1853.[299]

With the gradual development of European settlement away from Shaws Bay to the area (then) known as West Ballina, the burial of pioneers at the cemetery meant coffins were transported by boat for burial. Boats carrying coffins to the cemetery would often disembark from the North Creek wharf at the end of Norton Street. The pioneer cemetery remained in use until 1915 following the dedication of the present cemetery at East Ballina. A number of graves were 'transferred' to the new cemetery following its dedication.

Records pertaining to the pioneer cemetery also suggest that in 1928 concern was raised in the community about the state of the cemetery, following the dedication and use of the new cemetery at East Ballina. This year was also the year Ballina celebrated the 'discovery' of the Richmond by Rous, which no doubt raised the interest of residents in Ballina's pioneers at this time. Concerns about the nature of the cemetery were that the grass was long and many of the early graves and headstones were slumping, leaning and falling over due to the cemetery's sandy soil. Apparently this concern led to little action until the issue was taken up again in the 1950s following its formal declaration as a Rest Park.

The declaration of the area as a Rest Park saw the establishment of the Pioneer Park Memorial Committee by Ballina Municipal Council. The committee made a decision that the historic headstones were to remain part of the Rest Park by 'conserving' them in a horseshoe shaped stone wall. At the same time a record was made of all those buried in the early cemetery as a record of Ballina's European pioneers. The making of this record was seen to be particularly significant given many of the graves did not contain headstones. Records held at Grafton, Casino and Lismore, where the town's early deaths were recorded, were searched to compile the list. Only following the establishment of the Court House in Ballina were deaths recorded here.

It is interesting to note that not all those buried in the cemetery were of Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. For example, a number of Northern European men came to the area in these early years on goods ships. A number of these men stayed, took up local

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[296] Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12.
[297] *Ibid.*
[298] This account of how Farrell died is documented in Holmes, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
[299] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

occupations and raised families here. In addition records indicate that an Aboriginal woman was buried in the cemetery. The reasons for this apparent anomaly will be subject to further research as part of the Aboriginal Heritage Study process.

The pioneer wall was designed by the son of Frederick Board, D.J. Board. The construction of the wall was undertaken by Charlie Hodges. Monies raised to undertake this were sourced from the Council, relatives and other concerned individuals as well as many of the town's service clubs. The broad support given to the project further suggesting the community's concern to acknowledge the importance of the town's 'pioneer' history publicly.

A further personality associated with the establishment of the wall was Louise T. Daley. A New Yorker, Daley moved to the North Coast in the 1950s, making Alstonville her home. Daley soon became intensely involved with documenting and conserving the area's past and is the author of one of the best of the area's local histories, *Men and a River*. Daley also became involved with the Richmond River Historical Society, indeed resurrecting it following its activity stalling after the (Second World) War .Those that have recorded and remember her note she was a tireless historian. Indeed many of the known early records of the district came to light through Daley's efforts.[300] Her prominence and efforts in establishing the wall were publicly recognised by her unveiling of the Pioneer Wall at its dedication on Sunday 14 March, 1961.[301]

- *East Ballina, Alstonville, Rous & Tintenbar Cemeteries*

The general cemeteries at East Ballina, Alstonville, Rous and Tintenbar all have historic heritage values given their association with the early European history of each of these localities. Each of these cemeteries also has unique settings. East Ballina is surrounded by natural heath; Alstonville is located on the outskirts of the town in a rural setting on the rise of the plateau. Similarly, Tintenbar is situated on Frederickson's Hill in a rural treed setting. In contrast, the Rous cemetery is set in a relatively flat rural landscape, as though sitting in the middle of a paddock.

It is noted that 'the public cemetery, as distinct from the churchyard, as a proper place for burial, originated in the Victorian period [1837-1901].'[302] Prior to this development burials usually took place in the graveyards attached to churches. That public cemeteries were also located away from towns also originated from concerns with urban sanitation and public health in the Victorian era. Each of the cemeteries in the Ballina Shire reflects this thinking, demonstrating the continuing practice of (English) Victorian mortuary tradition in the colony and on the North Coast. The differing cultural traditions surrounding death and grief that came with Europeans (i.e. English, Irish, Scottish, Northern European etc.) were no doubt practiced. Indeed, that this occurred is evident in the nature of monuments located in each of these cemeteries. The cultural connections settlers had with their homelands were often expressed in the inscriptions on monuments, such as the sentiment of belonging to 'native' lands.

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[300] Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.
[301] Programme for 'Unveiling and Dedication of Pioneer Memorial Wall', in RRHS files, Ballina Localities/Pioneer Memorial Park.
[302] May, Trevor, *The Victorian Undertaker,* Shire Publications Ltd., 2006, p. 24.

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The heritage significance of these cemeteries is also associated with the number of old monuments of varying designs and size. Further research of these will no doubt reveal other significant insights into the historic values of these. Some of the oldest monuments and headstones are of sandstone and many of the more successful pioneers' graves are distinguished by larger and more elaborate monuments. Many older monuments also have iron work surrounds. The division of each of these cemeteries into denominational sections is also telling of the changing burial practices that the development of general cemeteries spurred. The earlier practice of burying the dead in graveyards attached to churches did not require a division of graveyards based on denomination. However the development of the general cemetery created denominational divisions in recognition of the significance religious identity had.

- *Maternity Hospital*

The historic values associated with the house located at 5 The Avenue, Alstonville includes its association with the history of women and their maternal care in the Alstonville area. From the early 19th century, and until the 1950s, many maternity, or lying–in, hospitals operated in Alstonville and Ballina. Records relating to many of these hospitals no longer survive, or do not precisely locate where these hospitals were. Hence much of the history associated with these institutions in the area has not, and perhaps will not, be uncovered.[303]

The development of lying-in hospitals in the second half of the nineteenth century followed concerns regarding infant mortality at birth, as well as the death of mothers during childbirth. Prior to, and even during this change, 'usually, babies were delivered in the family home with the assistance of midwives, of varying degrees of experience and training.'[304] It is noted also that Lying-In Hospitals made it more obtainable for women of less means to afford maternal care.[305]

This study, to date, has only located one of the many Lying–In Hospitals that operated in the shire in the first half of the twentieth century. 'A license was issued to nurse Ethel Thomas on 18 January 1921 to operate a six bed [purpose built] maternity hospital at 5 The Avenue, Alstonville. A newspaper report describes it as 'beautifully designed' and 'everything as compact and labour-saving as local conditions will allow. Spacious verandahs did much for the comfort of convalescents and the waiting patients.'[306] Apparently Ethel Thomas conducted her work in association with Dr Bluett, who assisted her in building St Leonard's Hospital. Ethel gained her midwifery training at St Margaret's Maternity Hospital in Darlinghurst, Sydney, gaining her registration in July 1915. She apparently worked at Tesville Private Hospital in Alstonville before going out on her own.[307]

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[303] Records pertaining to licenses issued for Lying-in Hospitals in Alstonville and Ballina include the following hospitals:- 'Dalhousie', Tamar Street, Ballina; St Roche's, Norton Street, Ballina; 'The Ranch', Cherry Street, Ballina; 'St Leonard's', The Avenue, Alstonville; 'Edgerton', South Street, Alstonville; 'Owassa', Swift Street, Ballina; see Register of Licensed and Private Hospitals, NSW State Records, 5/5857-9.

[304] History associated with Lady Bowen Lying-In Hospital Brisbane.

[305] *Ibid.*

[306] *Milestones and Memories, op. cit.*, p. 90.

[307] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

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Following Ethel Thomas' marriage in 1936 the license for the hospital was issued to nurse Emma Rugg. Some time in the 1940s or early 1950s the hospital ceased. (Nurse Emma Rugg then operated a maternity hospital on the corner of The Avenue and Main Street, Alstonville, however this building is no longer there.) From 1954 Ethel Thomas' husband lived in the house and rented rooms out to tenants.[308]

Aside from its historic heritage values, the former Lying-in Hospital at 5 The Avenue has aesthetic/technical heritage values. The building's external form presents to the street as a conventional bungalow style timber house, typical to the North Coast. This facet of the building also contributes to the character of The Avenue streetscape. (See *Theme Developing Settlements, Towns and Cities - Significant Streetscapes - The Avenue, Alstonville*.)

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[308] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

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Map of the Parish of Pimlico, County of Rous, Lismore Land District, Tintenbar Shire.

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The following list of files and other records were searched:-

Alstonville
Ballina

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Newrybar
Rous
Rous Mill
Shaws Bay
Teven
Tintenbar
Norco

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