

INNS OF THE HAWKESBURY

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Table of Contents

<u>Chapter</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
1	Introduction	1
2	The English Tradition	3
3	The Australian Scene	16
4	Inns in the Hawkesbury Valley	22
5	Macquarie Arms Hotel, Windsor	41
6	Royal Oak Inn, Rouse Hill	48
7	The Bell Inn, Windsor	51
8	The Daniel O'Connell Inn, Windsor	55
9	The Settlers Arms, St. Albans	58
10	The Gold Finders Home Inn, Kurrajong	61
11	Conclusion	74
12	References	75

In English history, the pub or inn has had great social importance, as a meeting place for people, a place of entertainment and a place where travellers could get food and lodging for the night. In Australia it is of at least equal significance, reflecting many colourful features of Australian life, and the architecture of which provides an interesting and valuable insight into the development of Australia. However the Australian pub of today, with the trend to very large establishments catering mainly for males, is very different to the typical English pub of today, which is smaller and caters more as a social meeting place for both sexes. It is not intended to trace the complete development of the Australian pub from its earliest days to the present, but to examine certain early inns and pubs and to look for similarities or otherwise in design between these and their English counterparts, having sprung from the same source. A second intention, equally important, is to look at the inns and pubs in one area, the Hawkesbury River area, which was one of the very first areas settled in this country, and trace the development of inns in this area in the first half of the 19th century. The examples chosen for detailed study all come from this area, and were established between 1815 and 1851. To a degree, the study of inns is a social as well as architectural exercise.

It should be pointed out that the term 'inn' is used in its general sense. The term 'pub' could be equally substituted. In the first half of this century, the primary function of licensed houses in the country areas was to provide meals and accommodation for travellers. In addition, the majority of the establishments studied in depth were originally advertised as inns. This is therefore not a study solely on coach inns, but on inns and pubs in a significant early area of settlement of Australia.

The English Tradition is the first thing to be examined, to see the development of inns and pubs in the mother country. Laws and regulations in Australia have had a great effect on

the development of inns. This is briefly examined in The Australian Scene. A social history of all known inns in the area is then attempted. The studies of particular inns range from the nationally significant, magnificent 'Macquarie Arms' at Windsor down to the unpretentious style of the 'Gold Finders Home Inn' at Kurrajong, which the world seems to have passed by.

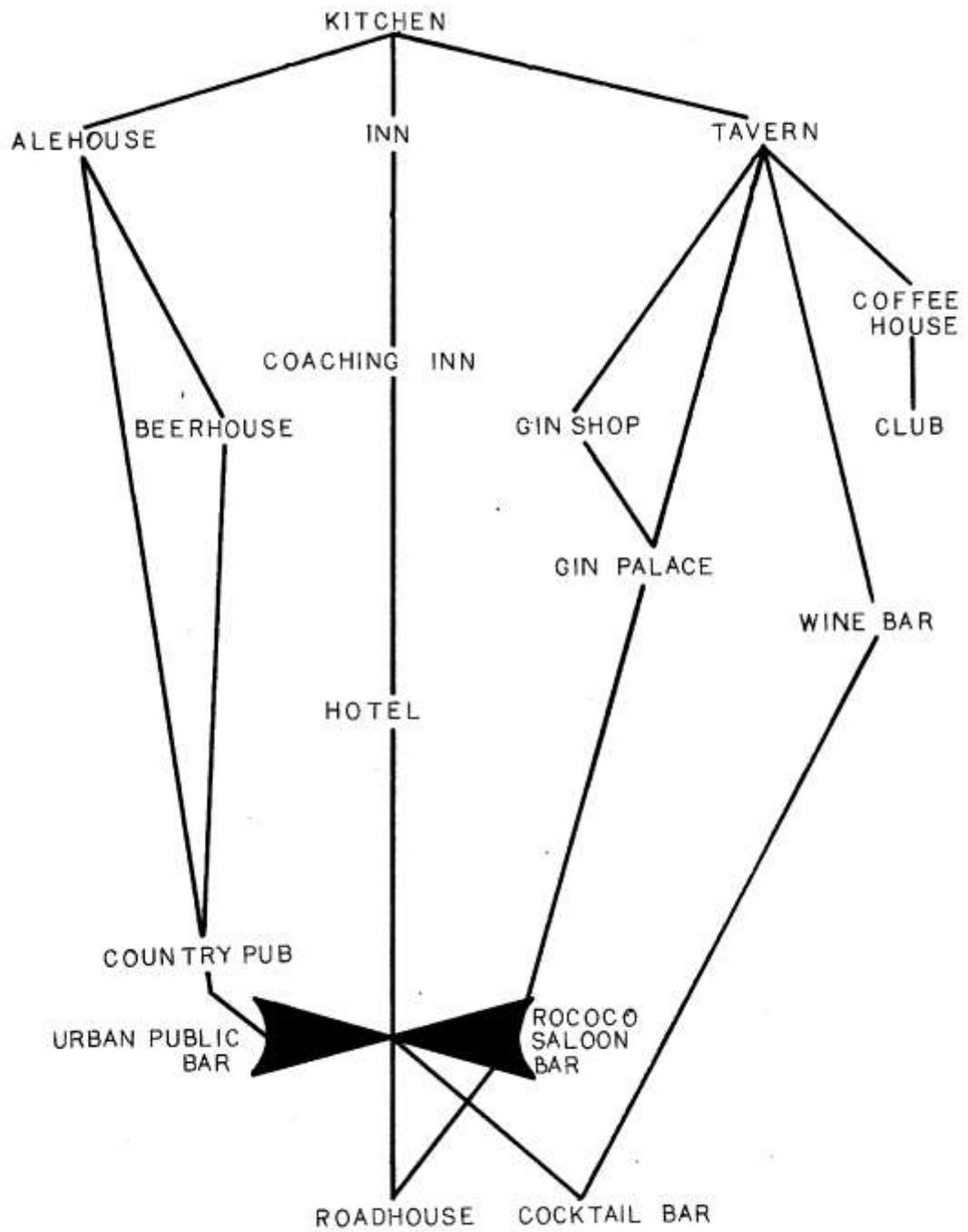
## 2. The English Tradition

### 2.1 Introduction

The evolution of inns and pubs in England followed three main streams, the alehouse, the inn and the tavern. See Figure 1.(1) Initially, many wayside houses opened their kitchens for the sale of drinks to passers by. It had no architectural pretences, and was merely a 'home from home'. Following from this start were the simple alehouse, the inn, which provided beds as well as food and drink, and the tavern which provided for the more sophisticated demands of the town customer for wine as well as beer. The alehouse evolved into the simple beerhouse of the country village or town by-street, and from it derived the architectural character of both the country pub and the Public Bar in the big town pub. The inn became 'grander than home' in style, becoming the coaching inn, then the railway hotel, and lately as the road house or motel of the motor car era. The modern cocktail bar evolved from the hotel. The tavern developed into the coffee house and thence into the club. The Wine Bar and Cocktail Bar were other developments. The tavern also developed through the gin shop and Gin Palace into the typical corner pub found today on English street corners. As the Gin Palace, it created a specialist kind of interior decoration, with a 'theatrical' appeal, which had little in common with domestic interior decoration. The theatrical style is still evident in rococo style Saloon Bars. Also often present in the same pub is the simply styled Public Bar, whose architectural descent comes separately almost direct from the alehouse kitchen.

### 2.2 The 'Home from Home' Pub

The 'Home from Home' pub was the country pub with no pretensions but plenty of homely frills. It represents the eighteenth-century tradition by-passed almost completely by the urban tradition of the nineteenth, and is still to be found in many places today. It has no particular plan, but has just grown from the days when the kitchen was the main room. This pub developed from the kitchen by way of the tap-room to the public bar. Records show the kitchen as



(REF.1)

FIGURE 1

the operative room prior to the nineteenth century, having a rough interior, solid settles and large fireplace with all the necessary cooking paraphernalia of the hearth. The only other decorative features of the room are shelves and rocks above the fireplace loaded with polished pewter and copperware or saucepan lids.

In the towns they were frequently more elaborate, corresponding to their higher standards of decoration, using panelled walls, large ornately carved fireplaces and plaster ceilings in high relief, and it is apparent that the kitchen as a cooking room was, by the end of the eighteenth century, withdrawing from the room occupied by the customers, though probably the lower order of customer retired with it.

'This feature of the kitchen continued well into the last century, at least in rural areas, for new ideas spread slowly and it was probably not till the urban pub established the idea of separate bars linked by a bar-counter that the kitchen became a tap-room and later a public bar, or that bar-counters appeared in country pubs at all.

The bar-counter, which is discussed in detail later on, did not become a popular feature till the nineteenth century. Its function was to help the staff to maintain control and to stop the customers from helping themselves. When it was established it was usually of oak, ... though ash was also used, and probably elm and chestnut, the indigenous woods preferred for a solid job of that sort by generations of country carpenters. In shipbuilding towns and ports, where foreign woods were more readily obtainable, these were used too. ... The vertical front of the counter was generally from boards of the same wood as the top, or of softer woods such as pitch pine, which served the purpose just as well.

In rural areas the wood surfaces were probably untreated oak, the tops of the bar-counter and tables assuming a pleasing natural polish from the daily spillings of ale. ...

Furniture in both country and town pubs was very limited, often consisting of a table, a bench and two or three chairs.

Floors in country pubs were of stone flags, bricks and sometimes boards, while walls and ceilings were of plain or whitewashed plaster.

All pubs, however, being normal domestic dwellings, had the usual private quarters for the proprietor and in particular the parlour. This was the private room to which guests were taken if they did not wish to mix socially with the lower orders in the kitchen. It was equipped with the publican's best furniture and probably boasted a table, any upholstery he had managed to acquire - there was little available to the poorer classes of the eighteenth century - a dresser and a collection of his most prized personal odds and ends. These would reflect his interest in some sport or pursuit, perhaps earlier days spent in foreign parts and probably a small collection of family heirlooms.

These parlours still exist today, particularly in the north of England where, often, the bar-counter does not extend outside the public bar. Where conditions changed, it became the private bar, subsequently fading away when the saloon bar pushed it into the background.

Colour in the 'Home from Home' pub has always stemmed from home-grown woods, particularly oak in its natural state. Paintwork, and particularly graining, has always followed this tradition of natural oak, though the popularity of mahogany during the nineteenth century led to the use of this wood and its grained imitation too, and the same applied to teak. Walls have tended to keep to wood or plaster colours even when papered, decorated papers being more common in the parlour when that room has retained its identity. Decoration really owes more to the incidental additions of the publican himself, some pubs being veritable museums of traditional ale pots in pewter and glazed slipware, and ranges of spirit measures in pewter and copper which have outlived their usefulness and often their accuracy. Floral decoration rarely goes beyond ferns and the evergreen plants that seem to live



in pots for ever. In latter days, however, the advertising efforts of the brewers, distillers and the soft drink, tobacco and potato crisp manufacturers have provided unlimited supplies of enamelled and cardboard wall placards, china jugs, dogs and brisk-stepping gentlemen in fancy dress, and any pub nowadays would look barren indeed without its quota of advertising bric-a-brac.

The resulting colours, furniture and lighting all merge unobtrusively, as if by instinct, to form a quiet background to the people for whom the pub exists.

### 2.3 The Origins of the Bar-Counter

When the bar-counter originated is not clear. ... The bar-counter almost certainly developed first in the coffee house, that is, it had an urban origin. It is also very probable that a form of bar developed independently in the kitchen of the country alehouse and for rather different reasons, but ultimately the two knit together to become a single line of development sometime in the mid-nineteenth century.

The early alehouse kitchen had no pub characteristics and was no more than a humble domestic farmhouse kitchen. The brewhouse was across the yard at the back and whenever a fresh supply of ale was required, someone had to go out with a pitcher and draw it off. This naturally became rather inconvenient when there was, perhaps, a friendly invasion by the military and business was brisk, and particularly so when the yard was dark, dirty and muddy. The obvious thing to do was to provide a room or cubby-hole inside the house where a bulk supply could be stored, sufficient at least for the requirements of one evening. So in a corner of the kitchen, a little area was partitioned off and turned into a store. ... This was undoubtedly the origin of the alehouse tap-room. Such a room may have existed outside the actual public room, but it is its situation within it that is of particular interest here, for it only needs the upper part of the partitioning to be removed and a table to be stood in front, or better still a shelf

put round it, to make it ideal as a servery as well as a store. As the kitchen lost its identity as a place for cooking, the name 'tap-room' passed to the public room and the private part was called the 'bar'. Later the same fate overtook the bar. In course of time the names for the different rooms that were taken over by the public changed several times under the influence of urban usage. In due course the bar-counter was moved into the centre of the room on the urban model, and quite logically, for there it was more conveniently placed to serve all the rooms.

The evidence suggests, however, that in the country, the bar as we know it did not appear generally till Victorian times. There is certainly not much information to go on, but Loudon's Cyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, published in 1833, (2) gives a number of architects' plans for public houses of various sizes and not one makes provision in a country pub for a bar-counter as we know it. Where a bar is shown, it is the publican's private room. The room for the general public, apart from the parlour, is the tap-room. Since no supplies are stored in that room, it shows that already the name had changed its meaning.' (1)

The urban form of the bar-counter evolved from the coffee house, where a niche in the wall with shelves behind for crockery and a small counter in front for serving was the original counter.

This niche was gradually expanded for greater convenience and better storage and soon became a substantial counter to lean on, which developed with the nineteenth century habit of perpendicular drinking around which the whole of bar design has since evolved.

By the early nineteenth century, the urban bar-counter had grown yet bigger to deal with the greater traffic of the towns, and was beginning to acquire its specialized equipment. The counter became much bigger, while the 'niche' vanished completely and in its place was the formal fore-

runner of the decorated Victorian bar-back with casks, bottles and glasses thoughtfully arranged to be decorative as well as handy.

The use in this way of the essential equipment of the pub as decoration became traditional and it is apparent not only in the gin shop and early Gin Palace but today in the Victorian pub and even more strongly in the wine bar. It is, moreover, a tradition that comes directly from the kitchen where the polished pewter and copperware filled the racks about the fireplace in orderly splendour.

Figure 2 illustrates the development of the pub and bar from its kitchen origins to its more common form today.

#### 2.4 The Gin Palace

Developments moved rapidly following the industrial revolution. In the nineteenth century, particularly from 1830 onwards, the theatrical style of pub design evolved in the form of the Gin Palace. Great expense was incurred by publicans in fitting out their bars. Dickens gave the following description of one in 'Sketches of Boz', published in 1836.

'... the gay building with the fantastically ornamental parapet, the illuminated clock, the plate glass windows surrounded by stucco rosettes, and its profusion of gas lights in richly gilt burners, is perfectly dazzling when contrasted with the darkness and dirt we have just left. The interior is even gayer than the exterior. A bar of french-polished mahogany elegantly carved, extends the whole width of the place; and there are two side aisles of great casks, painted green and gold, enclosed within a light brass rail, and bearing such descriptions as "Old Tom 549", "Young Tom 360", "Samson 1421" - the figures, we presume, agreeing with gallons, you understand. Beyond the bar is a lofty and spacious saloon, full of the same enticing vessels, with a gallery running round it, equally well furnished.'



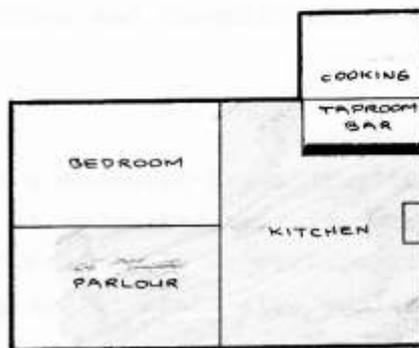
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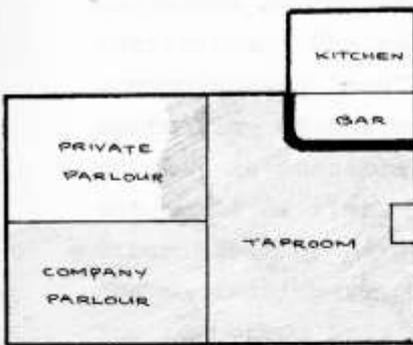
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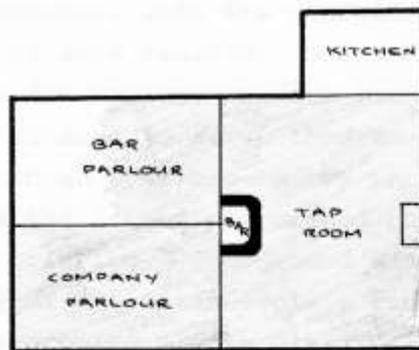
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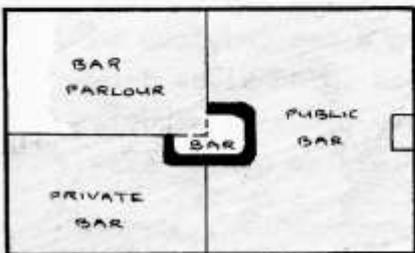
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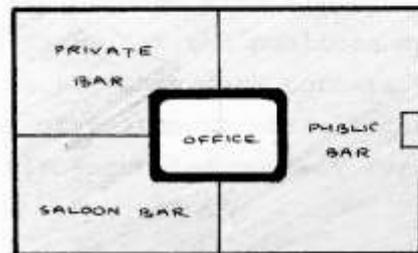
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KEY  
 1 RESERVED FOR 'QUALITY' AND LATER, CRONIES.

2 PUBLIC BEGINS TO ENCRUCH ON PRIVACY

3 THE PUBLICS' HOLD FIRMLY ESTABLISHED.

(REF.1)

FIGURE 2

Another source, H. Vizetelly in his *Glances back through Seventy Years*, published in 1893, says: 'It was near Field Lane that the first London Gin Palace was built; the polished mahogany counters, the garish bar fittings, the smartly painted vats, inscribed "Old Tom" and "Cream of the Valley", the rows of showy bottles of noyau and other cordials, and above all the immense blaze of gas light within and without these buildings as soon as dusk set in, were all so many novelties and came as a vision of splendour to the besotted denizens of the neighbouring slums. I remember that one of these so-called palaces had a second and lower counter for the accommodation of the children and juvenile thieves whom it counted among its patrons.'

## 2.5 The Victorian Pub

The Victorian Pub marked a definite break from the style of the Gin Palace. It is suggested that it came into being following the 1851 Exhibition or perhaps it was just a sign of increasing social stability, wealth and respectability.

The most obvious change was the development of the horseshoe or 'O' shaped bar-counter, with its radiating partitions. The reasons for it were twofold. The first, common to the long bar of the Gin Palace, was the concentration of customers and the need to serve them as quickly as possible and as much as possible in the shortest space of time. This resulted in and encouraged the urban habit of perpendicular drinking. The second was the increasing respectability of Victorian society from top to bottom and, with it, a growing middle class which subdivided itself into multiple social strata.

The Victorian pub often combined the dual qualities of decoration and utility. The mirrors, for instance, elaborately embossed and cut and painted with all manner of designs, had a practical aspect, for the publican could, with their help, keep an eye on the many dark corners and alcoves or could see the faces of customers whose backs were turned to him. Mirrors also provided company for

the solitary customer and expanded the room when it might have felt crowded.

In Victorian times, the 'Grander than Home' pub appearing in country towns became a wealthy, lavish Victorian home, catering for a respectable body of customers who preferred its 'upper class' marble and potted palms to the country pub atmosphere. It had rooms instead of partitioned sections, flowered wallpapers, pictures, stained glass and leaded lights instead of decorated mirrors, and marble often replaced much of the mahogany. Its decoration was intended to reflect its social standing.

Returning to the usual style . . . , 'the Victorian pub was a landmark in the evolution of pub design, for, in contrast with the earlier practice of linking, as required, a series of small rooms to a central service area by knocking down partition walls and opening up doorways, the customers' space and the service area were, for the first time, regarded as one unit, which then could be subdivided to suit the local needs.

This great room was proportioned in accordance with current thought and techniques. The result was far loftier than pubs of an earlier date, achieving an effect of opulence and grandeur, which was increased by the vistas and impression of scale. Even from the smallest subdivision it was possible to get alluring glimpses of the rest of the room. This was achieved by stopping the partitions a few feet short of the ceiling, and not allowing the bar screens to obstruct entirely an oblique view along the length of the bar-counter. A ceiling, decorated in high relief and common to the whole room, provided a unifying feature which was all the more effective by being patterned rather than plain. The obscured glass partitions, although providing privacy and preventing a complete view, still transmitted light and atmosphere from adjoining bars and produced an effect of intrigue and mystery.

The bigger bars were often of sufficient size to be independent of the other parts of the room for this effect

of scale, but the smaller bars would have indeed been box like had they not had the dramatic focal point of the bar-counter and the ornamental bar-back or the island bar wagon. These formed a fourth wall which, though a barrier in the physical sense, was no barrier to the imagination.

For the bar-counter and the monumental fitments behind the bar were reserved the full activities of the Victorian craftsmen of wood carving. Always in mahogany, the bar fitment rose from shelf to shelf, each supported by numerous columns and pilasters, to a classical crescendo at its summit, where cornices, minarets and architraves competed for pride of place, backed by panels of plain, embossed or brilliant cut mirror reflecting the glasses, bottles, containers, ferns and polished copper measures and funnels which crowded the shelves, to combine the functions of advertisement, display, decoration and merchandise rack.

The shape of these counters varied with the site and size of the room. If the site had, for example, a longer frontage than depth, the bar fitment would line the long back wall and the bar would be in shape a half lozenge somewhat flattened. In this case it approximated nearest to the earlier development of a bar - where it was a counter across a room. More usually in plan it would vary in shape between a horseshoe and a magnet, with the main fitment across the open end tacking on to the service and publican's quarters.

The longer this 'U' shape extended, the farther the server found himself from the stock. This resulted in the island fitment or wagon, which was a double-sided stock rack extending down the centre of the loop formed by the bar-counter thus reducing the distance that the staff had to walk to reach the stock.

These were not usually as elaborate as the main fitment but they were likewise loaded with a multiplicity of bottles, wine and spirit containers and glasses, with rows of spirit kegs, porcelain barrels and the like, each with its polished pipeline to service level.

In some cases, more usually in small pubs, this bar shape became an unbroken elongated 'O' shape, the publican having no space for private quarters abutting on to the service area. In this event the wall fitment disappeared and the 'island' took its place.

The bar-counter, too, was often a most elaborate affair. Its only unrelieved surface was the top, made from huge slabs of solid mahogany, and polished repeatedly to retain its glossy richness, broken here and there by a group of beer-pulls, fussy and fantastic glass spirit containers, polished mullers and shining brass lamp standards.

The real features of the bar-counter, at least in the saloon and private bars, were the 'snob screens' set in their framework of mahogany. These screens were embossed or brilliant-cut glass panels often gilded or painted with designs of birds and flowers, sometimes plain bevelled. They were small half-opened windows, pivoted on their vertical axes, and screened the frequenters of the saloon bar from the commoners drinking in the public bar. These were one of the characteristics of the Victorian bar and one of the most decorative. When they first came into use is not clear, though they probably date from about 1860.

The entrance to the Saloon Bar was usually via a side street, rather than from the main face of the building, providing a certain anonymity for its clients, usually artisans, white collar workers and others with social positions to maintain.

The saloon bar was the decorative and financial highlight of the Victorian pub. ...

As the entrance door with its protective frosted panel embossed with the legend 'Saloon Bar' shut behind one, the first impression was of a wall of mirror glass, semi-obscured by an intricate embossed and cut pattern, divided into panels, each framed in mahogany, reflecting in an infinitely broken and confused pattern the lights and features of the room. Sometimes these larger panels covered the wall to a height



of twelve feet or so and then, usually, the lower part of them only would be decorated, leaving the upper part unobscured. Sometimes their smooth contours would be interrupted by a little mosaic surround of mirror and mahogany. When these mirrors were carried round a curved corner a very interesting effect was achieved.

Breaking into this wall there was usually a large open fireplace, surmounted by a towering and highly elaborate mahogany overmantel rising to the ceiling and enthroning the inevitable clock, which might, perhaps, be set in mahogany intricacies or clutched by a bevy of whirling metal maidens.

Equally elaborate and dramatic, the bar-counter opposite would curve out into the room carrying its secluding array of little screens, mahogany supports, and top shelf garnished with polished brass, bearing its load of glasses, ferns and flowerpots. Beyond there would probably be a glimpse of the length of the bar, a glimpse into space, flanked by the magnificent bar fitment.

Shutting off the view from the private bar adjoining was a partition, panelled in mahogany to a height of four or five feet and, above, a mahogany framework surrounding panels of embossed and brilliant-cut glass, sometimes rectangular, sometimes curved shapes, and frequently to be seen in panels that resembled the plan view of a Victorian pub with its partitions radiating from it.

Beneath the wall mirrors and partition glass there were built-in seats well padded in horsehair, upholstered in black leather and dimpled all over with those retaining buttons reminiscent of ancient first-class railway compartments. Groups of similarly upholstered, upright mahogany chairs clustered round heavy cast-iron circular tables with little brass rails encircling their polished mahogany or marble tops. They were heavy, solid tables, with bulging legs bearing all manner of effigies on their curving knees.

Dotted about, oblivious of the lay-out of the 'room', sheathed in Lincrusta and crowned with corinthian capitals, cast-iron supports supplied a practical note to the profusion and served as useful props for the perpendicular drinker.

The plan of the saloon bar was not always regular, for the snug and the alcove were much appreciated by the regular groups who preferred to sit and keep themselves to themselves. These broken lines multiplied still further the broken pattern of the decoration and added to the cosiness of the atmosphere.

The Public Bar. In the Victorian pub, the public bar, from the decorative point of view, comes rather a poor last to all the other bars. The customer paid less, had no desire to be screened from anyone, and did not mind anyone knowing it. He could come in his working clothes and jostle his fellows without causing offence or undue notice, which meant far more in the nineteenth century than it does today. Towns were not the clean places that they are now, and the labourer did all the heavy and dirty jobs in his everyday clothes, unprotected by overalls and special clothing or by hygenic packaging.

For these reasons alone it would have been unpractical to furnish the public bar with padded seats and the other refinements of the saloon bar. Mirrors were hardly appropriate, for not only did they run considerable danger on the rowdy nights, but a man prefers to look at himself when he is dressed for the shock. Lastly, of course, the publican spent as little as he could on this section, because he knew that if the liquor was all right and he and his staff played their part, he would get his customers just the same.' (1)

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This was the pattern and style until the end of the nineteenth century and often well into the twentieth century. What is worthy of looking into further is whether or not the style of inns and pubs in Australia, and in particular, in the Hawkesbury area, followed the English pattern,

after starting with the same origins, or whether the social climate in Australia affected the situation sufficiently for different styles to emerge. Following Federation, social pressures were certainly different to those in England, resulting in obviously different styles, as is immediately apparent today. Styles in the nineteenth century are not so immediately apparent.

3. The Australian Scene

Until the time of Governor Macquarie, controls on public houses and inns were variable and ineffectual, resulting in a rash of lowly grog shops in the new colony. Controls were sometimes introduced, but until 1810, they tended to be inconsistent. In 1798, licences were issued for periods of 12 months, requiring a renewal by the magistrate at the end of the period. In that year, Governor Hunter brought in a limit on the number of licences issued:

'As the time of granting new licences ... has been some time passed ... the magistrates shall proceed as early as they conveniently can to the renewal of such licences that none may believe that such licences are unnecessary; but as it has been found that the number granted was by far too many, and nearly became a public nuisance, his Excellency recommends that they allow only the following numbers ... Sydney, eight; Parramatta, four; Hawkesbury, three.' (1)

Many changes took place following Macquarie's appointment as Governor on 1 January, 1810. On 16 February, 1810, Macquarie issued an order, providing for a total of six licences for the Hawkesbury and adjacent district, and one half-way house between Sydney and the Hawkesbury.

'... the very great and unnecessary number of Licensed Houses ... in the Town of Sydney and adjacent districts ... (which) cannot fail of being productive of the most mischievous and baneful effects on the Morals and Industry of the lower part of the community and must lead to Profligacy of Manners, Dissipation and Idleness.' (2)

Macquarie initiated further changes in January, 1816, when he caused work regulations to be issued. It directed that brewers could not retail beer or spirits and that 'people receiving spirit licences must also take a beer licence and supply beer when called upon.' (3) This resulted in the disappearance of the alehouse and the private

inn and the creation of the public house either as a tavern or a town inn. A man's choice of pub was now determined by the relative attractiveness from considerations of service, atmosphere and location.

'The better-class innkeepers, attempting to attract newly-arrived free settlers and newly-prosperous old hands, offered service and facilities comparable to those at 'Home'. Fine food, imported wines and clean, airy accommodation appeared. But the most significant effect was the elimination of the inn which offered drink to its residents only.... Because of the provision whereby all licensees had to provide beer when called upon, such 'non-public' town inns could not exist. Every licensed house, no matter what its social ambitions, had now to provide for the casual drinker. Those whose ambitions led them to maintain a reserved area for the sole use of their guests, designated the parlour of the home as 'private' and were forced either to add another room or convert an existing room into a 'public' room. Gradually a distinction evolved between the service offered in each of the two rooms. The private parlour for the guests continued to be, in fact and not merely by tradition, the parlour for the publican and his family as well as his paying residents. The furniture, the furnishings, and the finishes of the room were refined and domestic, suitable for family living where the decorum and behaviour were those expected in any home of a similar status. For the privilege of eating from fine crockery with silver cutlery set on crisp laundered linen, sitting on upholstered chairs and having his drink brought to him by his host, the guest paid, but apart from this he was regarded and treated as an honoured member of the family.

The public room provided for the casual was a different proposition. The finishes of the room were spartan and utilitarian. Uncovered timber floors and timber-panelled dadoes withstood the drubbing given by careless patrons, and drinks were served in pewter mugs. The better public rooms were furnished with wooden chairs and tables. It was virtually the tavern, taken into, and attached to, the town inn. Its

entrance was as direct as possible, firstly to attract custom and secondly to keep the casual and the guest separated as far as possible. The terms tap-room and bar-room or bar were used loosely and more or less interchangeably until the middle of the last century. Strictly speaking, the tap-room was the area containing the barrels from which the drinks were tapped. In taverns, where the publican was continuously present, both the barrels and the customers were in the one large room and for this reason drinking took place in the tap-room. But in the public section of the inn the licensee frequently had to leave to serve his guests in the parlour and some security was necessary. The barrels, which in the earliest taverns and alehouses had stood on a table at one end of the room, were screened off with a timber partition for protection from light-fingered occupants while the publican was absent. The entrance to the small tap-room thus formed was from the main part of the building. In such arrangements the tap-room was a non-public storage area for the barrels, while the customers drank in the public bar-room. Hence the two meanings and the confusion associated with tap-rooms. In the screen-barrier was a small opening with a shelved bottom large enough to allow the passing of a mug of rum but small enough to prevent the passage of a human body. Over the succeeding thirty years the hole was to grow bigger as conditions changed, until it developed into the bar as it is known today. The solid screen with its small opening was the precursor of this ubiquitous symbol of the pub.' (4)

Wayside inns were subject to special treatment. In 1818 Macquaire exempted them from the requirement to hold a liquor licence. Thus, trading hours in the inns were determined only by the presence of customers and the ability of the proprietor to keep awake. This resulted in many inns which were little better than grog shops. In 1827, a condition was attached to the licence exemption that the wayside inn provide 'suitable accommodation for travellers including at least two good sitting rooms'. Many of the earlier inns which followed the English pattern of using one room of the host's home as a public drinking room thus disappeared, unless the host was able to expand his establishment.

Wayside inns building design evolved in a consistent way '... to be as much a sign to the weary traveller as were the traditional signboards they wore. Only the materials varied with the location and the period. From the beginning of the wayside inns to their death a hundred years later, from the old Sydney-Bathurst Road to the Perth-Albany Road, they were basically the same; single-storeyed affairs, one room thick with an entrance to every room from a verandah. At each end of the verandah and in line with the front of it was a small square room for special guests. The result was a long low building with a verandah protected at both ends. One of the central rooms served as a parlour where guests could relax aching muscles before a blazing log fire and suffer the exquisite torture of tantalizing smells of country cooking. In meaner establishments, the parlour was the kitchen but, in others, it was a separate building detached from the main house. Whatever the standard of the place, accommodation was provided for horses and coaches at the rear. The building contained anything from four to twelve bedrooms containing comfortable wooden beds with slatted bases and firm horsehair mattresses. The roof was invariably hipped in one span and covered with whatever was locally available, thatch, split shingles or, most often, bark slabs weighted down with cross saplings. The structure also depended on local materials and the work that could be encompassed by one or two men - wattle-and-daub, slab, weatherboard, or, when the area developed, brick. Neither the form nor the plan of these inns varied much in the fifty years from 1830 to 1880 that was their heyday.' (4)

From 1830, publicans were required to keep whale oil lamps burning outside their premises all night and also to paint their names over the door. The 1830 Act (12 May, 1830) also had significant effects on all pubs because of its accommodation clause. It insisted that every licensed public house should provide accommodation of 'at least two sitting rooms and two sleeping rooms for public accommodation independent of the apartments occupied by the family of the publican'. This clause caused taverns to disappear from

the Australian scene.

The 1833 Act separated the two functions of general retailing and selling liquor for consumption on the premises, allowing the hotel to sell liquor only. The Act of 1835 provided that there should be no ingress or egress except to the street named in the licence and that 'no spirituous liquors (were) to be sold in that part of a Licensed House called the "Tap".'

'The restriction was primarily intended to make it easier to police after-hours drinking by bringing people into the open bar-room where they could be seen. But the effect was more far-reaching than that. Henceforth tap-rooms were for storage only. The solid wall with its small opening separating the tap-room and bar-room was modified until it became an open screen with a solid counter supporting, on a light framework, a series of shelves above head-height for mugs. The advantages of the counter bar as distinct from the partition of the tap-room, particularly in the increased speed of service and ability to keep a watchful eye over the customers, had been realized as early as 1825, when the bar had made an appearance in a few of the busier taverns. After 1835 it became standard. But it was not until the fifties that the term 'tap-room' finally died out and the term 'bar' took its place.' (4)

On 26 September, 1838, an Act temporarily revived the tavern. This Act provided for four types of liquor licence: a publican's general licence, a publican's wine-and-bar licence (no spirits), a packet licence, allowing the sale of liquor on ships at sea, and a confectioner's licence, allowing confectioners to sell ginger beer. Holders of a publican's wine and beer licence were exempted from the accommodation clauses governing the general licence. However the wine and beer licence only lasted until 1849.

By the 1850's the Australian pub had developed into a set type, with four types of bars being in operation.



Over the next hundred years, only the public bar retained its character and style. The saloon bar and private bar changed in character appreciatively in this time. The parlour bar gradually lost its privacy and comfortable seats.

It is thus to be expected that the Australian pub will have developed in a different fashion to its English counterpart, after coming from the same rootstock. However it is of interest to see where similarities do exist, despite the difference in laws.

4. Inns in the Hawkesbury Valley

As in Sydney, there was a demand for liquor from the earliest times of settlement on the Hawkesbury. Many settlers sold their crops for spirits, to satisfy their demands. The situation was not helped by the fact that the economy was organised on a system whereby goods and services were frequently paid for in rum.

Governor Hunter introduced a licensing system in 1796. The earliest recorded licences for the Hawkesbury were in 1798, when six were issued. John Stogdell traded under the sign of the 'Bush' at his hut on the Peninsular. Thomas Rickerby opened for trade under the sign of the 'Coach and Horses' on the terrace, where his hut overlooked the river in line with the continuation of the present Catherine Street, Windsor. John Harris traded under the name 'Cross Keys' while Giles Mower traded under the 'Wheatsheaf', at his hut where the Old Hawkesbury Road reached South Creek. John Morris named his establishment the 'Highlander' and at Lower Wilberforce Francis Fawkes operated under the sign of the 'Caledonian'.(1)

Since controls were difficult in outlying areas such as the Hawkesbury, illicit selling continued. Governor King reported on his arrival that 'Charles Scoldwell, a convict is now keeping a most disorderly Hutt on the Green Hills at Hawkesbury and retailing spirits at a most exorbitant rate without licence or authority'.(2)

With the coming of Macquarie in 1810 and the return of the Rum Corps to England, stricter controls were enforced. In 1809, twenty three licensed premises operated at the Hawkesbury. Macquarie's orders of 1810 reduced this to seven. There was an average of four during the later years of Macquarie's governorship.(3) Succeeding governors liberalised the licensing system, such that in 1822 there were ten licensed houses in the Hawkesbury area, (4), but by 1853 there were thirty five, the peak number.(5) The highest number of licences for one year at Richmond was eight in 1837, and for Windsor seventeen in 1853.

As an early attempt to reduce the spirit consumption in the colony, Hunter and successive governors encouraged the brewing of beer. A large three-storey brewery was built by Andrew Thompson on the banks of South Creek in 1806. Following the death of Thompson in 1810, Henry Kable and Richard Woodbury continued the operation of the brewery. Following the 1811 licensing regulations, they were quick to 'acquaint settlers on the Hawkesbury that they are carrying on brewing business on same terms as before'.(6) Due to insufficient demand, Kable ceased brewing in 1813. His son George had a Brewer's Licence in 1821, followed by Robert Fitz in 1822. Thomas Cadell succeeded where the Kables failed when he commenced operation of a successful brewery in the 1830's. He rented premises from William Cox on Rickerby Creek near Cornwallis Bridge.(7) It was noted in October, 1844 that Cadell had a 'very handsome and commodious Brew House and Stores now nearly completed'.(8) Governor Gipps visited the brewery in April, 1846 and was surprised to find such a large establishment outside Sydney.(9) It was closed about 1870 due to floods.

With the number of inns which came and went in the area in the nineteenth century, it is extremely difficult to trace all of these. It is equally difficult to get dates of operation. However mention can be made of some.

In February, 1811, licences in the Hawkesbury area were as follows: (10)

SPIRIT LICENCES

- Mathew Lock - Windsor
- William Hayden - Windsor
- William Barker - Windsor
- Lawrence May - Windsor
- Thomas Gilberthorp - Pitt Town
- Henry Kable - Windsor
- Edward Powell - Half-way House to Parramatta
- Samuel Craft - Windsor
- Edward Robinson - Windsor

BEER LICENCES

- John Embry - Windsor
- Samuel Haslam - Parramatta Road

In 1821 Windsor had 'The Royal Oak' in Baker Street, run by William Baker, 'The Plough', whose licensee, Charles Beasley also built ships at his wharf between Richmond and Windsor, 'The Hope and Anchor', run by George Kable and often incorrectly referred to as 'The Crown and Anchor', 'The Lord Nelson', run by Jas. Doyle and 'The Green Dragon', run by Thos. Dargon.(11)

Extensive information on inns in Windsor is found in James Steele's 'Early Days of Windsor'.(12):

1. Court Street - 'Court House Hotel', built by John Shearing, opposite the court-house, about the year 1870. Mrs. Shearing died at Stanmore, 17th February, 1893. Robert Leddra kept the premises about 1877. He died 6th June, 1882, aged 60 years. This building was afterwards used as a private school by Mr. J. G. Young, 1888-92.

2. Bridge Street (corner of Court Street, next the South Creek.) - On this site one of the first hotels was built, in 1813, by Andrew Johnston, Clerk of Court, called at first the 'King's Arms', and later 'Macquarie Arms', and finally the 'Windsor Hotel' (1857). It was here the banquet was held in 1817 to celebrate the laying of the foundation stone of St. Matthew's Church. It was occupied by - Ransom (1815), and William Cross (1837), and sold by his executors in 1845; and by J. Mawson (1857). The place was swept away by the 1867 flood, and not a trace of it remains to-day.

3. At one time we believe two public-houses stood on or near this corner. (See Crosse's executors' sale notice in S.M. Herald, 15th May, 1845).

4. On the opposite side, now the 'Carrington' (Lord Carrington was Governor of New South Wales, 1885-90), formerly stood the 'Currency Lass', and later the 'Dove Inn'. It may have also been known as the 'Harp of Erin', kept by

E. McDonald, in 1857. The premises were damaged by flood waters, and the present building was subsequently erected. It was greatly improved, and a balcony added in 1880, when it was re-opened as an hotel, a thousand loads of material being carted to raise the yard above the flood level in 1892. The site has not been in continuous use as an hotel. It was used as a school, and also as a residence, for many years. Among the old landlords have been such names as Thos. Cullan, 1837; John Shearing, 1843; D. Maher; - Clare; A. Dalton, 1857; McDonald, 1864; Jas. Gosper, 1877-67. After a lapse of twenty years a license was again obtained by R. Huggins, 1886-1904.

5,6. Thompson Square - Two sites, both stillstanding, one a balconied house, just below the 'Royal Hotel', and the other for long, and still occupied by the local doctors, close to the river. We have not the names by which these were known, but in the forties the Show meetings were held here in 'Coffey's Hotel'. This was the 'Daniell O'Connell Inn', licensed by Edward Coffey from 1842. See Chapter 8. The building next to it, commonly known as the Doctor's House, was also possibly an inn, run by James Doyle, who in 1830 was licensed to sell wine at the house known by the sign of the Lord Nelson at Windsor Terrace, In 1831 Joseph Delandre is listed as the Licensee of the Lord Nelson, Thompson Square; by 1835 Delandre had moved to the St. Patick's Inn in George Street. In 1837 Edward Coffey appears to have taken over as the licensee. However it is not certain if the present Doctor's House dates back to this period, and also there is confusion with the 'Daniell O'Connell Inn'.(13)

Returning to Steele's narrative:

7. At the corner of Freeman's Reach and Wilberforce Roads, just across the river, stood the old 'Squatter's Arms', kept by one Ryan. The old ruin has only recently been removed. The house originally resembled the old Government House. It was open from about 1846 to 1867.

8. Macquarie Street (corner of Bridge Street, south side) - In a very old plan of Windsor this corner is marked as 'McQuade's Inn'. We have not been able to find the latest name of the hotel, but one, Morgan Carroll, was in the business here in 1843-45. McDonald, Dunstan, Bullock (1857), Donnelly, and as late as 1870, Maher, were, we believe, on this or some neighbouring site. In 1857 the building was known as 'The Sportsman', and at another time as 'The Traveller's Rest'.

9. In Macquarie Street (on south side near Baker Street), stood the 'Jim Crowe'. This was an early house, kept by Henry Hudson (1837-46), who ran a coach to Sydney in opposition to that run by Ridge; and afterwards by Jas. Lane and others. The house, which is still standing, was closed about 1878 as an hotel.'

Lane married Hudson's widow, running the inn under the name of the 'Farmers Home' until the 1860's. The building was demolished in 1964, when the words 'Parramatta and Sydney, Coach Office' could still be discerned on it.

'10. Next door to the above stood the 'Hole in the Wall', kept, we understand, by J. Rafter (1833-45), and later by Chafe, Gosper, Egan and Lovell. The hotel was called at one time, "Help a Lame Dog over the Stile," and also the "Erin go Bragh." It has now disappeared.' As the 'Lame Dog' it carried '... an exceedingly well-painted sign of a dog with foreleg bandaged trying to cross a stile.'(11)

'11. In Macquarie Street (north side, near the Wesleyan School Hall), an hotel was kept for a short time by R.Dunstan, but we have neither date or name.

12-13. Macquarie Street (near Suffolk Street) - Two buildings near here were once used as hotels. We have not the names, but here the Dorset family were going strong in the sixties and the early seventies. Thompson and Levy also kept the place later. One may have been known as the 'Oddfellows' in 1857.

14. Macquarie Street (opposite the Convent gates) - Here the 'Rising Sun' was found in 1837-52, kept by William Heath, J. Gough and J. Dorset.

15. George Street - We will take first the south side, beginning opposite Thompson Square, next Moses's store. The 'Sir John Young Hotel'. Sir John Young was Governor of New South Wales, 1861-67, so we presume the place was licensed about that time. It was kept by G. Hall (1866-68); Bushell (1868-74); Cain or Kane, and R. Leddra. The name was changed to 'Hawkesbury River Inn', then shortened to 'Hawkesbury Hotel'. The balcony was added in 1893. Later names found over the door were, we think, Walmsley, Crowley, Horwood. Booth, and the last James Walsh. It was closed about 1912 by an electorate reduction vote, and the place was destroyed by fire early in 1913, and demolished in 1915.

16. Between Baker Street and Fitzgerald Street. These are the sites of at least six hotels, although we have found difficulty in exactly locating and describing them, but we believe the order was first, the 'Butcher's Arms'. This place was near Baker Street, on the east side, kept in the seventies by Cavanough. Political meetings in 1843 were held here.

17. 'Red Lion' stood near Baker Street, on the west side, about Dyer's shop. It is mentioned in Charles Harpur's play called "Bushrangers." It was kept by Mary Dargin in 1835-37, and may have been the site of the 'Green Dragon' in the twenties.

18,19. 'Barley Mow', close to Kable Street, was kept in 1837 by Robert Smith, known as "the Ginman;" and later by Jas. Cullen. Another hotel stood close by, perhaps next to the Congregational Church. It may have been the 'Golden Nugget', 'Cricketers' Arms', 1857-60, or 'Barley Corn' at different times. It was, we understand, kept by the Kable family at one time, and also by G. Freeman (1857). These two are difficult to trace. There may have been only one here.

20. Between the Bank of New South Wales and the Post Office stood two hotels side by side. The 'White Hart', kept by Durham in 1840, then by W. Blanchard and Charles Beasley, 1843-65; also by J. Baker, Byrnes and by Hall, at the earliest period of its history in the thirties'

John Tabbutt the astronomer, remembered the 'White Hart' as having two anacondas and an ourangoutang, which dressed in the height of fashion.(11)

'21. 'Plough Inn'. This was even an earlier house than its neighbour. It was associated with the name of Edward Robinson in 1835-45. Some of the earliest meetings connected with the Agricultural Society were held there.

22. 'Bird in the Hand'. - This old hotel stood in Fitzgerald Street, between the Post Office and the Methodist Parsonage. Here William Bowman's political meetings were held in 1843. It was kept at different times by Primrose (1837-45). Henwright, Gamble, and Burnes. We have not been able to trace it after the fifties.

23. 'Barraba'. - This hotel stood on the corner opposite the Post Office, and was built by John Hoskisson, about 1857. It was kept by C. Blanchard (1857), Reid and Seymour, and then in 1866-68 by Charles Beasley, who removed here from the 'White Hart', then Hopkins, (1869-73), and Miss Bushell (1873-74), when it was burnt down in the big fire (see Chapter I.).

24,25. Lower down George Street, near where the water-course crosses the street, and now O'Brien's Produce Store, was an hotel, kept in the forties by C. Eather, and later by Alfred Dalton, J. Daley, and Hull. There may have been two sites about here, but they were very old, and their names are not known.

26. Further along George Street, about opposite to Catherine Street, where Ward's store now stands, was a public-house, kept in the forties by P. Burns, or Byrnes,



and by J. Gough, who was at another time in charge of the Rising Sun. Others who kept the house were: Thomas Freeman, H. McCourt and Ed. Watt, who also kept the St. Patrick, in 1857.

27. The last on this side of George Street is at the corner of Brabyn Street. - The old Benevolent Society's Home demolished in 1915. It was built in 1835-36, and used as a home for the old folks up till 1846. Additions were made to it in 1841; but in those days there was no balcony. After 1846 it was used as a private school for a time. It was licensed as the 'Railway Hotel' in 1866, then the 'Farmers' Hotel' in 1878, or earlier, and there were many changes of landlords, among whom were: Norris, Carroll, Loonan, Hopkins, Martin, and Ingate. The license was transferred to the 'McQuade Park Hotel', whose license had been previously forfeited, in 1894 (see also Chapter XIX.).

28. We now return to George Street, on the north side, opposite to Thompson Square, where we find the 'Royal Hotel'. ...' A full account of the Royal Hotel (Macquarie Arms Hotel) is given in Chapter 5.

'29. In Baker Street (off George Street), stood the 'Royal Oak', kept away back in the thirties by Wm. Baker. The 1867 flood waters entered it. The place was afterwards occupied by Panton and Betts, storekeepers; F. Beddek, and R. Coley, solicitors. It was demolished some years ago, but the interesting old foundation may still be seen on the west side of Baker Street.

30. George Street, corner of Kable Street, where the Commercial Bank now stands, was the site of Ridge's 'Horse and Jockey'. The coaches for Sydney used to start from here. It was also kept by Gaddersly, as early as 1842, George Seymour and John Booth. As Ridge built the 'Fitzroy Hotel' in the sixties, or earlier, we believe this hotel was closed at that time.'

Another source, (7), gives the 'Horse and Jockey' as operating from 1838 to 1848. In the latter year, Richard Ridge moved to another house in George Street which became the 'Fitzroy'. The 'Fitzroy' of today was built on the same site in 1857 but underwent substantial modernisation in 1955.

'31. 'The Fitzroy' stands nearly opposite the Bank of New South Wales. It is the oldest continuous license in Windsor. Amongst the occupants in its earlier days we find Holmes, 1866-1881; J. Gough, 1882-1894; Wheatley, 1895-6; Rivett, 1896; Figg, 1897; Smith, 1898-1901; and Eagles, 1902-4. Governor Fitzroy, after whom the place is named, was in office, 1846-1855. One report says the Parramatta coaches ran from here in 1847. The meetings in connection with the building of the School of Arts were held here in 1860.

32. 'The White Swan' stood two doors nearer to Fitzgerald Street, in the same building now occupied by Mr. A. Berckelman. This is an old hotel site. It may have been the Green Dragon of 1821, kept by T. Dargin. George Freeman kept the hotel in 1837-45, and John Smith later, but it does not appear in the fifties.

33. In Fitzgerald Street, at the corner of Union Lane now Miss Dick's fine property, stood an hotel, kept by Robert Smith in 1837, and later by G. Freeman. We are not sure of the name - 'Barley Corn', perhaps, or 'Barley Mow'.

34. On the opposite side of Fitzgerald Street, next to water tower, is the site of a very old public-house known by different names. 'Cross Keys', kept by Daniel Dickens, in the early thirties, whose two daughters were burnt to death when drawing off rum in the cellar. It was known also as the 'Australian', kept by H. Beasley, the boat builder, in 1837, and 'Help me Through the World'. The names Smith, Gilman, and Primrose appear from 1837-1852, but the reference may be to other sites in Fitzgerald Street.'

The sign for the 'Help me Through the World' was a large globe with the body of a man half way through.(14)

'35. At the corner of Johnston Street is the 'Royal Exchange', built by George Freeman, probably when he left the White Swan. We have not the date, perhaps in the sixties, or earlier. It was kept by Freeman, Hudson, Windred, Wood, and Nutter. The license evidently lapsed, or had been transferred, for we learn that when the Barraba, nearly opposite, was burned down in 1874, that Miss Bushell transferred her license to this building, which was kept by her for over thirty years, since when it has frequently changed hands.

36. The two-storey building, with the old coachway under part of the upper storey, and now occupied by R.T. Clerke, was for long a public-house. It may have been J. Delander's St. Patrick, in 1837, or E. Watt, 1857. It is best remembered by old hands as P. Doyle's 'Rose Inn', 1870-77. The name must have been well painted, for it is still very distinctly visible on the side after the lapse of thirty years.

37. Another hotel stood further down, before the water-course is reached; but we have no name to give it, nor are we sure of its occupants, for it has been mixed up with its neighbour, the Rose. McCourt, J. Dorset, or T. Freeman may have been located here, also the name White Horse.

38. Further along George Street, opposite the Salvation Army Barracks, was an hotel kept by Frank McDonald, 1864-70. Mrs. McDonald died 14th August, 1874, aged seventy-six. The house may have been known as the 'Erin-go-bragh' in 1866. McDonald was a great politician in his time.

39. Next door, near the corner of Catherine Street, was an hotel known as the 'Australian', kept by J. Primrose. The sign is still legible. Also by J. Fewings as the 'Butcher's Arms', and later the 'Oddfellows' Arms', 1876-78.

40. At the corner of Church Street and Catherine Street, on the south side, in the two-storey building still standing. T. Primrose kept the 'Bell Inn', 1857-1870. It may also have been known as the Blue Bell at one time. (See Chapter 7)

41. In George Street, opposite the Presbyterian Church, in a large three-storey building, was the 'Royal Hotel'. The sign is just barely readable on the high gable, and also a few letters in front. Sir Henry Parkes was entertained here on 7th September, 1869, when he laid the foundation stone of the Public School. It was kept by C. Blanchard, Mrs. Edward, and Mrs. Hopkins. The latter afterwards moved to the railway end of the town, while the name Royal Hotel went to the opposite end.

42. 'Commercial Hotel', known for a time as the 'McQuade Park Hotel', is at the corner of George and Tebbutt Streets, opposite the Park. It was built by Michael McQuade in the forties. At first it was but one storey, the second storey being added at a later time. It was kept in 1843 by T. N. Fisher, then by members of the McQuade family. But the name best known is that of Harris, who was in charge for about fifteen years, 1867-1881. In the earlier days of its history more than one of the Governors were entertained here and held receptions. In later years it has seen many changes; Meads, 1882-86; Wheelright, 1887-89; Buckley, 1890-92; Cross, 1895-99; Cobcroft, 1901-2. Other names: Burns, Atkinson and Nash have been seen over the door. The license was cancelled in 1892, and much money was spent in law appeals to get it back without effect, till an arrangement was made to transfer the license from the Farmers' Family Hotel, near the railway.

(From 1874 to 1893 it operated as the 'McQuade Park Hotel' and then reverted to the original name. It was demolished in 1939 and the present 'Tate's Hotel' occupies the site.)

43. 'Railway Hotel', corner of Braby Street. The railway was opened to Windsor in 1864, and soon after this hotel, which is one of the last built in Windsor, was opened. It

was built by Mrs. Hopkins, who died 26th November, 1882, aged seventy-two. Other occupants have been Edwards, 1867-74; Norris, 1879; Gillas, 1882; Solomon, 1886; A. J. Viney, 1892-1901, and Cornwell.

44. Another hotel stood opposite the Park on the Richmond Road, near Cox Street. It was, we believe, built by James Upton in the forties, and afterwards was kept by Jas. Cullan, who is said to have kept the 'Sportman's Arms' in 1843, and that may have been the name of this hotel.

45. A Michael O'Brien is said to have kept an hotel on the green at the back of Fairfield, near the railway yards, but of this we have no data.

46. The last site we have to mention is on the Cornwallis Road, near the bridge. Here Thomas Norris kept a public-house in 1845, a brewery being at work close by about the same time.'

This inn was called the 'Currency Lad', and was a favourite spot for cockfighting and pugilistic contests.(7)

Other inns in Windsor, not located, were 'William IV', kept by Thomas Greaves, about 1830-37; 'Rose Inn', kept by John Tindall, in 1835; 'Prince of Wales', kept by Mrs. Onus, 1857; 'Holy Go', Charles Eather, somewhere near Catherine Street; 'Settlers Hall' of Richard Lynch; 'Governors Arms' of Alfred Smith.

The 'Rose Shamrock and Thistle', on the corner of Bridge and Macquarie Streets, was conducted by Morgan Carroll. In 1846 he appeared in court 'for failure to keep a lamp with at least two burners lighted over his door on the night of the 1st June, between sunset and sunrise thereby forfeiting the sum of 5 pounds.'(15)

Across the River at Wilberforce, the occasional inn has stood. The 'Old Retreat Newly Revived' stood directly across the road from the present Wilberforce Public School. It was

opened by James Winton in 1837, who was followed by William Jasper in 1840. When Jasper retired in 1856 it was continued by his son-in-law George Cobcroft and his descendants until 1901 when the licence lapsed. Halfway between Windsor and Wilberforce there was a half-way house of call called the 'George and Dragon', kept by John Cobcroft, which operated from 1822 to 1846. Closer to Windsor, on the River was the 'Squatters Hotel'. "One of the earliest landlords was a man named Gardiner. After him came Suffolk, who dispensed refreshments there over 60 years ago. Cunningham succeeded Suffolk about 1846. During Suffolk's occupancy he made additions to the Windsor side of the building, which was evidently, in the first place, a farmhouse. After Cunningham came John Rodge, followed by James Roots, both of whom hailed from "down the river." The last occupant was Tom Ryan, whose name is still inscribed over the doorway as a "retailer of fermented and spirituous liquors." Tom was a brother of Mr. Johnny Ryan, who lived for many years opposite the old hostelry. Ryan conducted it until 1867. The big floods of 1864 and 1867 flooded the building. It has been unoccupied since 1867 - except as a stable for stock or a camping place for tramps. Prior to Tom Ryan's reign the old place was a dwelling, and for a short time was occupied by Mr. John Ryan, whose brother Tom had been a small squatter on the Lachlan. Coming to the Hawkesbury he took the place from John Ryan and re-opened it as an Inn, calling it the "Squatters' Hotel." Tom Ryan did a good business, especially in the days of the punt, before Windsor bridge was in existence. It frequently happened that something went wrong with the punt - a fresh would cause it to overturn, or it would get stuck in the mud at low tide, and then team after team would line the two roads for a considerable distance. ... From information supplied, we learn that it was a very comfortable old place, containing 6 or 7 rooms, and was clean, well-furnished, and well-conducted. Visitors from Sydney came and stayed for a time for a quiet life after the turmoil of the town. In the early days, too, there was considerable boating traffic on the river, and small craft were always at the wharf. In the early regatta days the hotel side of the river was quite gay and lively.' (16)

Richmond had fewer inns than Windsor. In 1837 there were eight:

- 'General Darling' - Robert Aull licensee.
- 'Union Inn' - Thomas Eather.
- 'Plough' - Thomas Mortimer.
- 'Welcome Inn' - Christopher Moriz.
- 'Packhorse' at the ferry - Thomas Parnell.
- 'George IV' - John Town senior.
- 'Woolpack' - North Richmond - John Town junior.
- 'Black Horse' - Paul Randall.

The 'Woolpack' was built in about 1836. It later became the 'Travellers Rest'. Town operated the hotel for about 20 years. The 'Riverview' hotel built in 1932 replaced it.

The 'Black Horse Inn' had great significance in the area. It was built sometime in the period 1815-1819 and was first licensed on 20th February, 1819, to Randall. Randall was amongst the very first settlers in the area. He died in 1834, after which the business was conducted by his daughter, who had married a Dr. Seymour. Margaret Seymour appeared on the license board for many years, until a licensing official demanded that the licensee be a male. Dr. Seymour's name then appeared on the board until his death in 1858, at which time was Seymour's name again appeared on the board. The Inn was the favourite honeymoon hotel for many Sydney couples. New arrivals became obvious as they arrived in a closed carriage, with the horses decorated with white ribbons and the coachman in white gloves and ribboned whip. (17) Samuel Boughton writes of Mrs. Seymour: '... from the good hostess down to the meanest official, one would receive every civility, and Mrs. Seymour was politeness itself, and her quiet, ladylike dignity commanded respect from all. ...the whole of her staff, with the exception of old Mason ... were trained by her from their youth. There was William, her trusted out-door manager - who held that position from the date of his arrival in the colony - and his good wife, each remaining with her until grim death caused a separation and whom Mrs. Seymour made her heirs. ... four sisters, each one entering Mrs. Seymour's service at an early age, remained

there until they were married, the younger succeeding the elder in each case. ... the time that elapsed between the elder entering Mrs. Seymour's service and the youngest leaving to be married was nearly 40 years.' Mrs. Seymour died in 1875, the hotel passing to her adopted child, who married William Sly, long the outdoor manager, and their son William in turn succeeded them.

Many of the most respected names in the colony honeymooned here:

'Mr. Thomas Jones, son of Hon. Richard Jones, M.L.C., Woolloomooloo and Frances, daughter of Mr. Joseph Moore; Alexander Campbell and bride; George Hart, Speaker of the Provincial Council, New Zealand and Julia Kerrison James, daughter of Bishop Broughton's secretary; and another sister, Fanny Ada Mary, who married Henry Edward Chauvel; Sophia Towns and George Osborne, of Michelago; Frederick Milford M.D., son of Judge Milford, and Adelaide, eldest daughter to Bobby Fitzgerald of Springfield, Darlinghurst, and Windsor; Captain Mann and Miss Hely; Alexander Macarthur and Miss Boyce; Captain Addison and Miss Wentworth (daughter to D'Arcy Wentworth); Frederick, son of Mathias, Governor of Holstein, Greenland ... are only a few of several hundred.' (18)

At its heyday, the Inn was covered in roses and was sheltered from the public gaze by lilac bushes and white cedar trees. The 'Black Horse' also figured as the finishing post for horse races down the main streets and some race-horses were stabled there, while being trained.

The drink servery at the Inn was in line with its date of construction.

'There was no counter with carved brackets and marble top, and no glass cases with artistically labelled bottles exposed to view. When you required refreshment it was, for many years, handed to you through the little parlour door, and later on through a small hole cut in the wall.' (17)



Numerous other inns opened and closed at Richmond over the years. The 'Lion and Unicorn', kept at one time by Thomas Silks, later became the 'Horse and Jockey', following renovations by J. Bates in about 1864.(17)

The 'Royal Hotel' on the corner of Windsor and East Market Streets has held a licence continuously since it was opened by W. Reid in 1865. It continued much the same in appearance, with its high colonnade supporting the balcony along the front, until 1957, when, with extensive additions and alterations, it lost much of its character. (See photographs)

The 'Union Inn' was run by Thomas Eather and had a reputation as an inn patronised by the most respected inhabitants of the district. The 'Queens Arms' was operated as a hotel by Thomas Onus.

McGrath's Hill has had two inns, the 'Royal Oak' and the 'Killarney' from 1853 until the 'Killarney' closed in 1911. At Clarendon, Higginson's 'Bird in Hand' was 'Chester', which finally closed in 1911.

At Pitt Town, Thomas Gilberthorpe was the first licensee, in 1811, working also as a wheatgrower. During most of the nineteenth century, Pitt Town had two main hotels. In 1819 George Hall gave a house as a dowry to his daughter, May, who married William Johnston. It was licensed to Abraham Johnston in 1830 and William Johnston from 1831-42 as the 'Macquarie Arms'. Thereafter William followed his farming activities until his death in 1878. It has since remained a private dwelling, now known as Mulgrave Place.

Daniel Smallwood opened the 'Bird in Hand' at Pitt Town in 1825. He died in 1839 and his wife Elizabeth continued the licence until the end of 1842, at which stage George Buckridge became the licensee, until 1848. In the 1850's, Richard Mawson renamed it the 'Maid of Australia', under which title it operated until 1896, when it closed as an inn.

Out on the extremities of the Hawkesbury area was the location where the old North Road crossed the Hawkesbury River, at what was to become known as Wiseman's Ferry. Solomon Wiseman was transported for stealing timber from the London docks in 1805 (19), arriving in Sydney in August, 1806. In 1813, he was the licensee of an inn in Bligh Street, Sydney.(20) In 1817 Macquarie granted him two hundred acres of land on what was to become known as Wiseman's Ferry. In 1819 Wiseman built a substantial two storey sandstone structure. He obtained a liquor licence for his home on 17th February, 1821 (21), naming it the 'Pocket', after one of his ships, the 'Hawkesbury Pocket'. The licence lapsed in 1825, but one was granted on application the next year.(22) The name was then changed to the 'Branch Inn', which operated until 1832. Wiseman died in 1838. However in August, 1836, Michael Darcy obtained a licence and re-opened the 'Branch Inn'.(23) In 1842 his son Thomas took on the duties of publican.(23) The Darcy family continued to operate the inn for many years. It has intermittently opened and shut its doors, publicans have changed, and is currently operating under the sign of 'Wiseman's Inn'.

Further up the Macdonald River was St. Albans, at which the 'Settlers Arms' was a well known inn. See Chapter 9.

West of Richmond was the area of Kurrajong. At a point near the six mile post on the road to Kurrajong Heights, the road was called Rascal Street, and at this point was situated an inn known as the 'Currency Lass', but usually locally called the House of Blazes. It was most probably usually unlicensed, but one reference considers that it was at one time licensed.(17) The inn sign was a picture of a beautiful girl. It had a bad reputation locally as a rendezvous of robbers and murderers. It became known as the 'House of Blazes' after an alleged incident:

'They played cards and gambled, weekdays and Sundays making no difference. It was on one particular Sunday they were

playing cards as usual, when a stranger came and watched them through the window, passing different remarks about the game. At last they invited him to try his luck, which he did, and won all before him. A card happened to drop. When the man stooped to pick it up, he discovered that his partner had a cloven foot. At the same time there came a gust of wind and smell of brimstone, and through the window he vanished out of sight. They all vowed it was the devil they had played with, and ever after gave the house a wide berth, and of a night would go a long way out of their road to avoid it. So, eventually, it was pulled down'.(17) The authenticity of this story is of course doubtful.

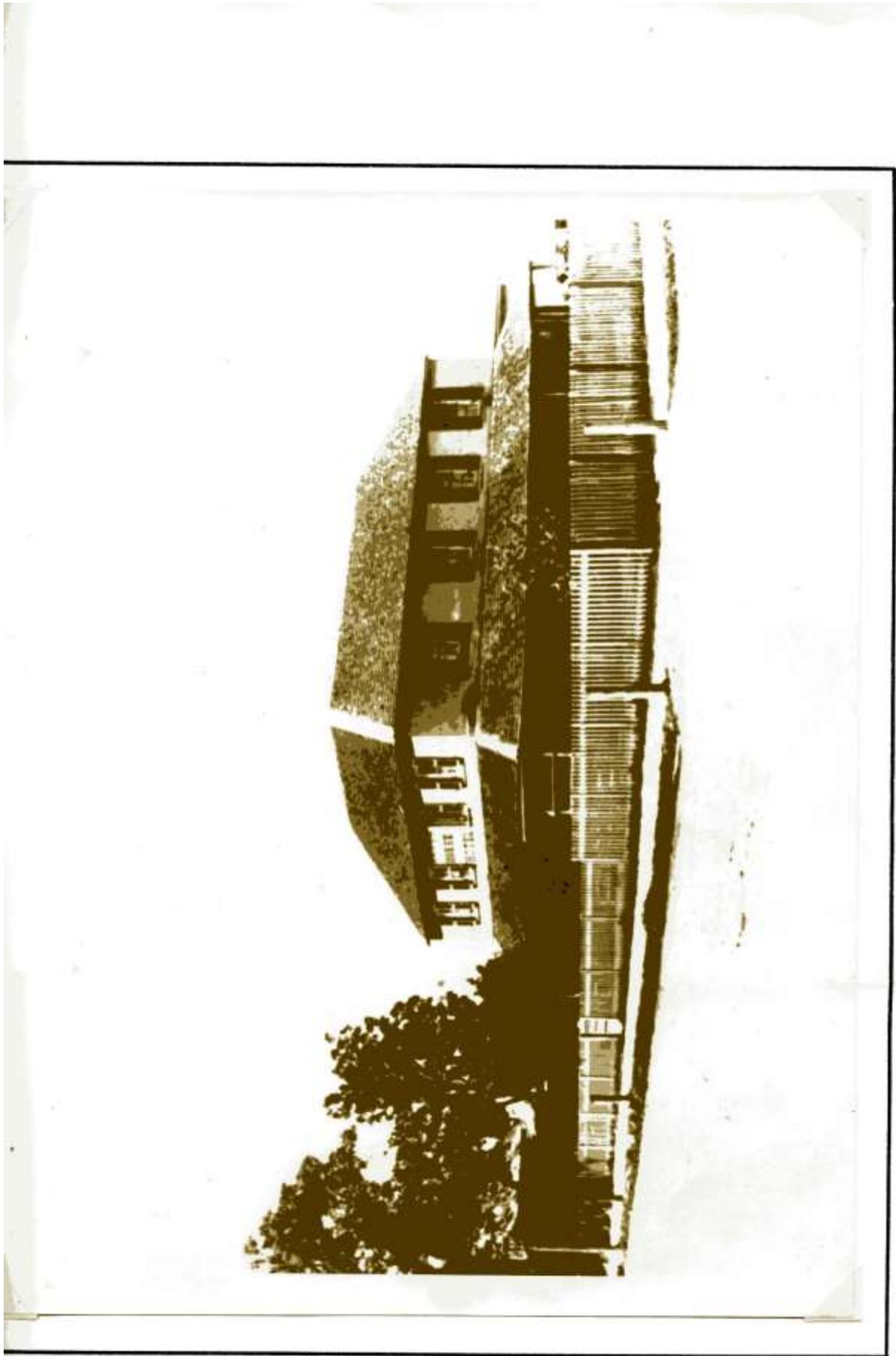
Near the 'House of Blazes' was another inn originally called 'Donnybrook', situated on the original crossing of Wheeney Creek. At the same point also were two flour mills, originally built by a Bob Singleton. The inn was first opened by Joe D'Landers, and on the sign was the picture of an Irishman flourishing his shilalah and shamrock. The next licensee was John Horan, who changed the name to the 'Five Alls'. It was licensed under this name and licensee in 1842.(23) The sign was of five alls, represented by figures painted on the sign. 'There was the parson in his clerical robes, who prayed for all; the lawyer in his gown and wig, who pleaded for all; the soldier in uniform, who fought for all; the farmer in top boots and breeches, who paid for all (this old chap had his hand in his pocket as if in the act of feeling for the cash in order to do his part); and the Queen, seated on her throne, who ruled over all'.(17) The next licensee was Paddy Welsh, and then Tom Tarrant. Its later history is unknown.

Another public house in the area was the 'Travellers Rest', kept by William Freeman on Comleroy Road.

Upstream of 'Donnybrook' was the 'Gold Finders Home Inn'. See Chapter 10.

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This covers the history of a large proportion of the inns which have been established in the Hawkesbury. Photographs on the following pages show several of them at various times, illustrating their architectural style at the time.



BLACK HORSE HOTEL , RICHMOND



BLACK HORSE HOTEL, RICHMOND  
1977



ROYAL HOTEL , RICHMOND  
c 1900



ROYAL HOTEL, RICHMOND  
1956





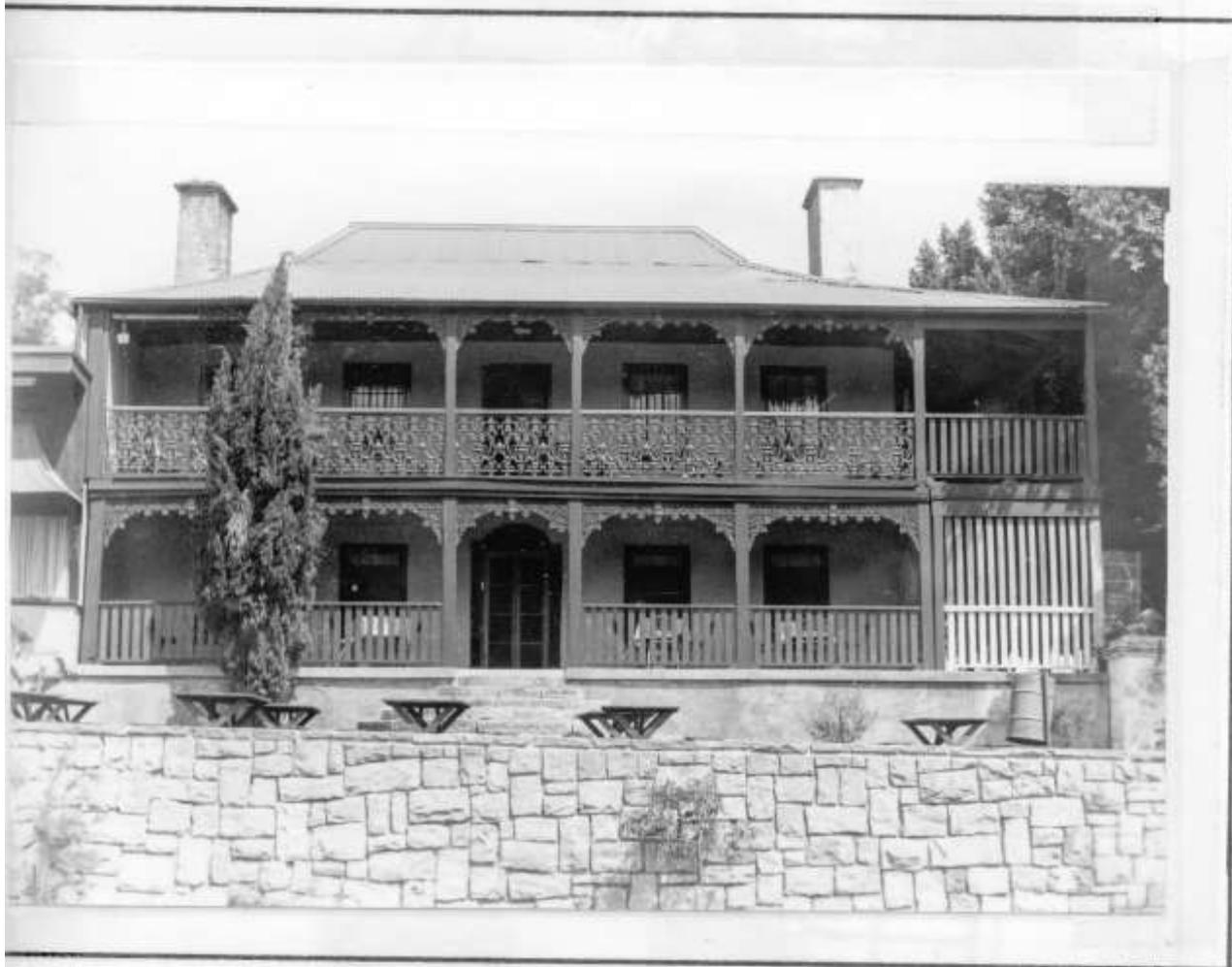
ROYAL HOTEL, RICHMOND  
1977



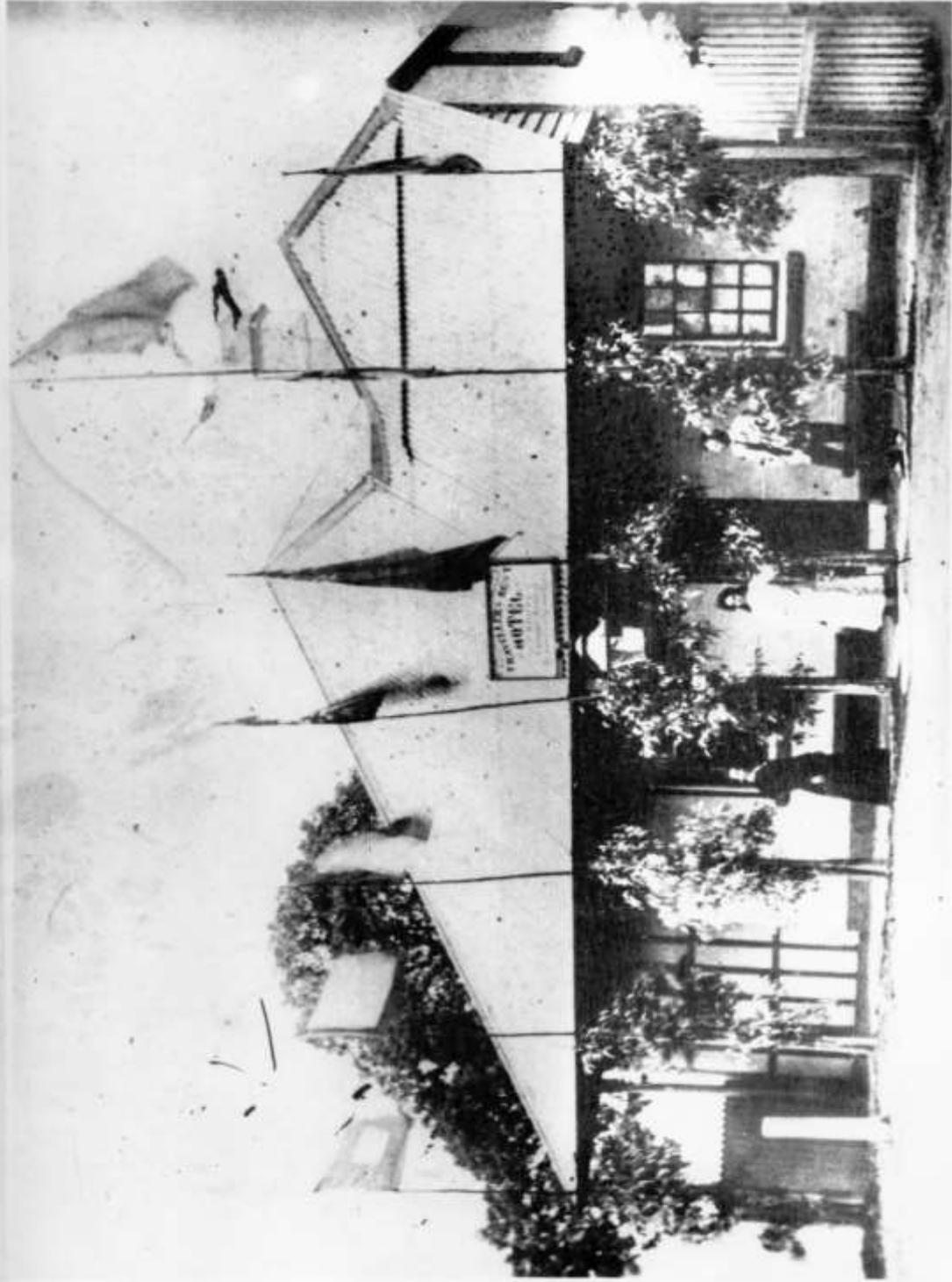
WISEMAN'S INN , WISEMAN'S FERRY  
c 1900



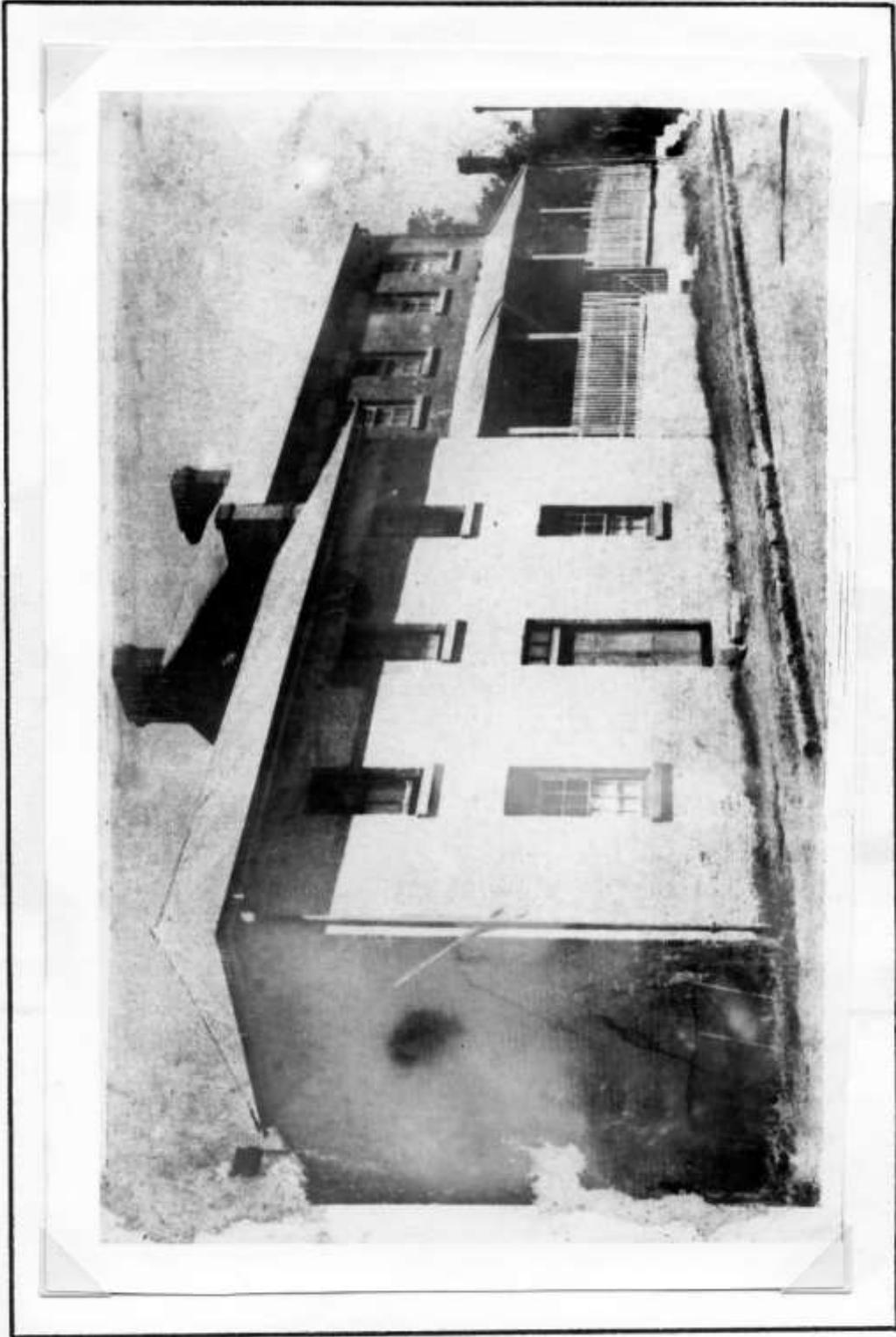
WISEMAN'S INN, WISEMAN'S FERRY  
1913



WISEMAN'S INN , WISEMAN'S FERRY  
1977



TRAVELLERS REST HOTEL, NORTH RICHMOND  
1901



CURRENCY LAD AND SPORTSMAN (LATER NAMED TRAVELLERS REST)  
WINDSOR



FORMER INN , 265 GEORGE ST., WINDSOR



COURT HOUSE HOTEL (?), WINDSOR



The "Bird in Hand" is the most significant local building not only in the immediate area but also in Australia as a whole. It is the oldest existing hotel in Australia still serving its original purpose. It was built by Richard Fitz Gerald and opened by Governor Macquarie on 26 July, 1810.



BIRD IN HAND (LATER MAID OF AUSTRALIA) PITT TOWN

c 1825

5. The Macquarie Arms Hotel, Windsor

5.1 History

The 'Macquarie Arms' is the most significant hotel building not only in the Hawkesbury area but also in Australia as a whole. It is the oldest existing hotel in Australia still serving its original purpose. It was built by Richard Fitzgerald and opened by Governor Macquarie on 26 July, 1815.

Richard Fitzgerald came to Australia as a convict. On 4 January, 1787 while only fourteen years of age, he was sentenced at Westminster to seven years transportation.(1) He arrived in Sydney on the 'William and Ann' in August, 1791. He was pardoned in 1792 (2). He seems to have developed a reputation as an industrious man. John Macarthur described him 'as honest and useful as any in the colony'.(3) He became Superintendent of convicts and carried out extensive building and roadworks in the Toongabbie, Windsor and Emu Plains area, where he also 'raised, cultivated and prepared' tobacco (3). In 1804 he was living in Windsor - Green Hills - and acting as agent for Macarthur and as Government Storekeeper.(4)

Macquarie visited the Hawkesbury district in January, 1811, to lay out and name the five Macquarie towns. On 12 January he recorded in his journal:

'I walked over the whole of the present village on the Greenhills forming the beginning or basis for the town of Windsor, in which I planned a square and several new streets; directing the old ones to be enlarged and improved in various respects and at (the) same time marking out several new allotments in the town for building new houses according to a prescribed plan not to be deviated from. I gave Mr. Fitzgerald a large allotment in the square on the express condition of his building thereon a handsome commodious inn of brick or stone and to be at least two storeys high ... The square in the present town I have named Thompson Sq ...'(5)

As Fitzgerald was a busy man as Superintendent of Government Works and also with his private affairs, it wasn't until 1815 that the inn was finished. He engaged Thomas Ranson, formerly an innkeeper of England, to keep the inn for him.(6) The following announcement appeared in the 'Sydney Gazette' on 29 July:

'That spacious and commodious New Inn at Windsor, called the 'Macquarie Arms', was opened by the Governor on Wednesday 26th inst., when His Excellency entertained at dinner the magistrate and other principal gentlemen residing at Windsor and in that neighbourhood. Mr. Ranson, who has taken on himself the duties of Innkeeper is, from his experience in the avocation, thoroughly competent to the undertaking - which we are convinced will be conducted on a liberal footing. Its necessity has been long manifest as there was no house of public reception at Windsor capable of accommodating large and genteel companies, whereas the Macquarie Arms, from its extent, plan of building, and adequate number of apartments, will be doubtless found worthy the most liberal patronage and support.'

Philip Russell was listed as the licensee in 1817 (7) and he didn't last long, since Soloman Joseph was in charge at the time of the Bigge enquiry.(8)

The 'Macquarie Arms' continued as an inn until 27 January, 1835, when it was leased to the Government to serve as Officers' mess for the 50th West Kent Regiment, for which purpose it served until 1840. On 25 May, 1840, Richard Fitzgerald died, at the age of 68, in his private home next door to the inn. His son Robert Fitzgerald, M.L.C., then made the 'Macquarie Arms' his residence until his death on 9 May, 1865. Between 1865 and 1874 it was leased as a residence.

The cottage adjoining the inn was erected in 1817 from the discarded material used in the building of the first church of St. Mathew. In the original period of operation as an inn, this cottage provided additional accommodation when required.(9)

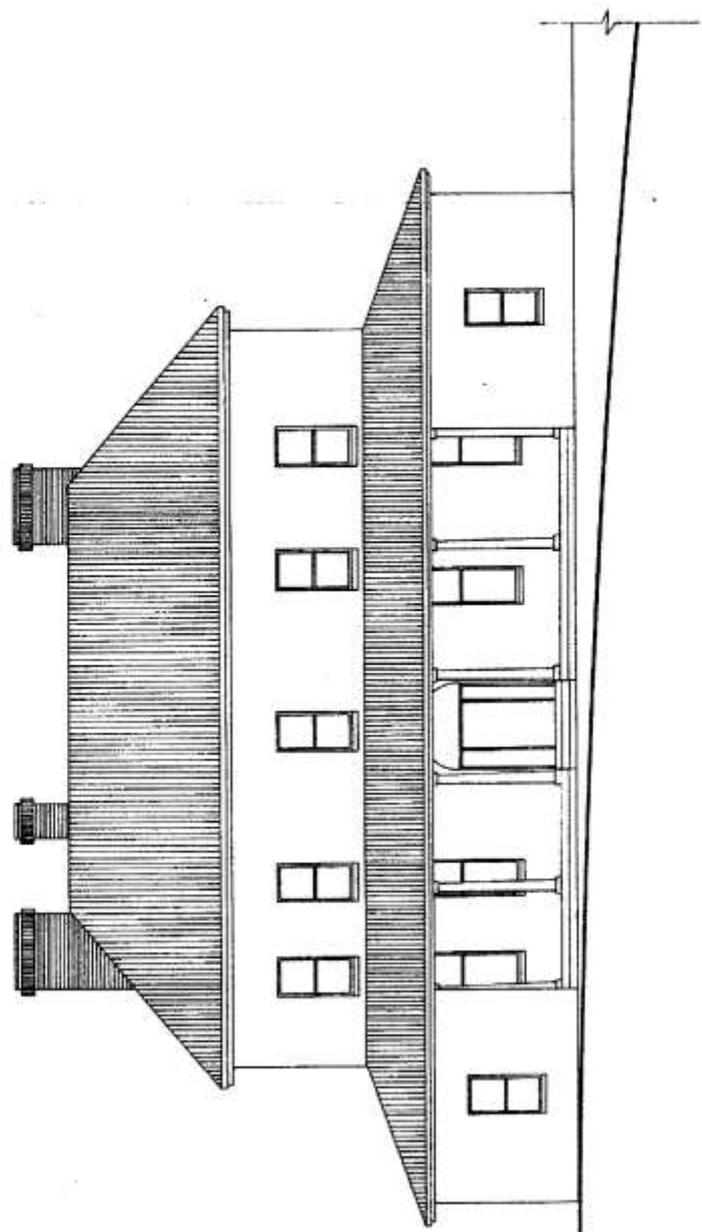
In 1874, while still owned by the Fitzgerald family, the inn was leased to George and Jane Bushell, who re-opened it under the name 'Royal Hotel'. It was run under various licensees between 1900 and 1913, when the Fitzgerald family sold it to Thomas Curl, who took on the job of publican. Ownership was retained by the Curl family until 1961, under various licensees. In 1956, Jack D'Melio was licensee. In 1958 Joseph McGrath took on the duties. In 1961 it was sold to John Ross, who renamed it the 'Macquarie Arms', and who was still running it in 1977.

## 5.2 The Building

The building has two storeys and an attic floor over basement cellars. It is built of salmon-coloured sandstock bricks set in a mud-lime mortar. The stucco rendering was probably applied in the 1830's, when lime was more readily available, and rendering was often used to help waterproof the porous soft bricks. Basement walls are 0.69m thick, exterior walls above ground 0.46m and internal walls 0.33m: The roof, currently in corrugated iron, was originally shingled. The overhang on the roof has walls of about 0.5m. A single-storey shingled verandah ran around both street fronts and perhaps the third side as well. The verandah floor is paved with large square slabs of sandstone, a common practice with quality buildings of the period.

The joinery of windows and doors, the interior wall panelling and the staircases are of cedar brought from near Illawarra on the Hunter River, fireplace surrounds are marble from Italy, while the glass for the windows would have come from England.

Elevations 5.1 and 5.2 show the building as it originally was. It is possible that the verandahs were added in about 1830, but it is equally probable that they were original. The George Street face is symmetric, in best Georgian fashion - apart from the chimneys - while the outline of the Thompson Square face is symmetric, but the window placement is not. The building style is very reminiscent of other colonial buildings of the period.

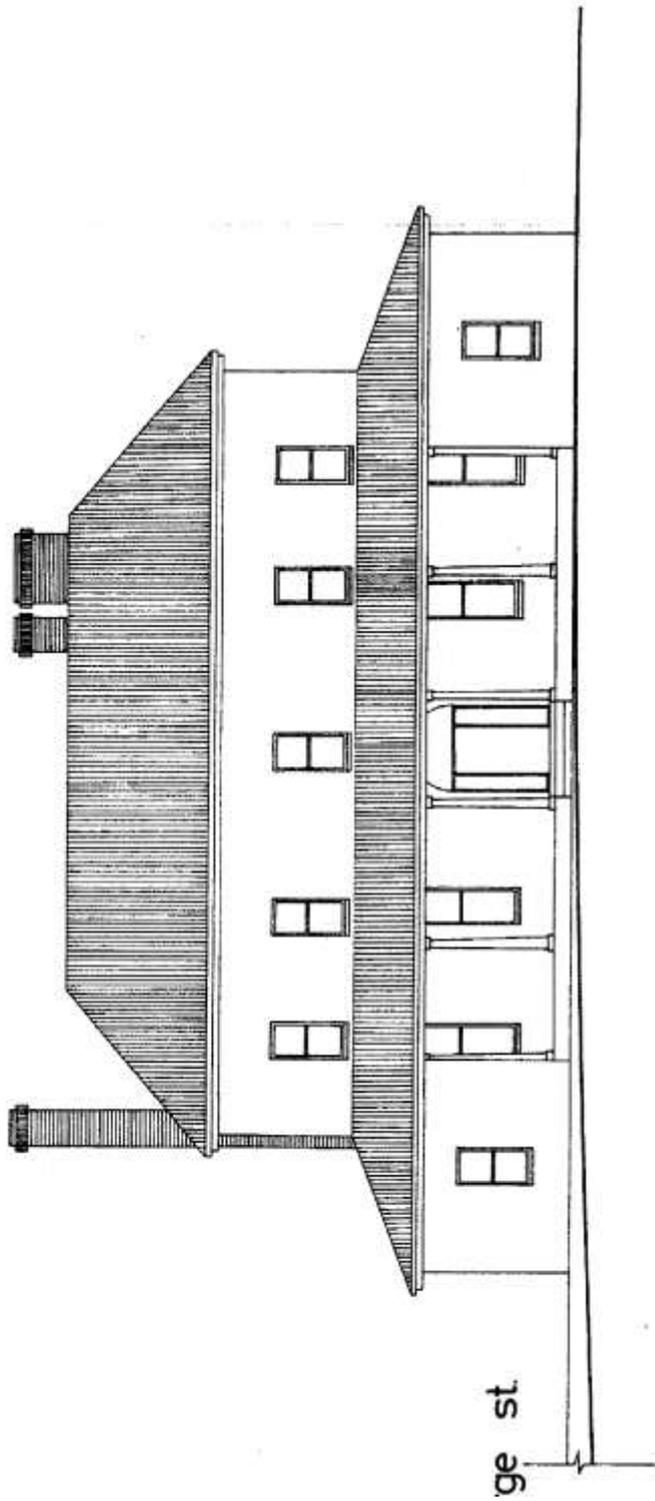


mpson st.

ELEVATION 5.4



MACQUARIE ARMS HOTEL  
WINDSOR



ELEVATION 5.J



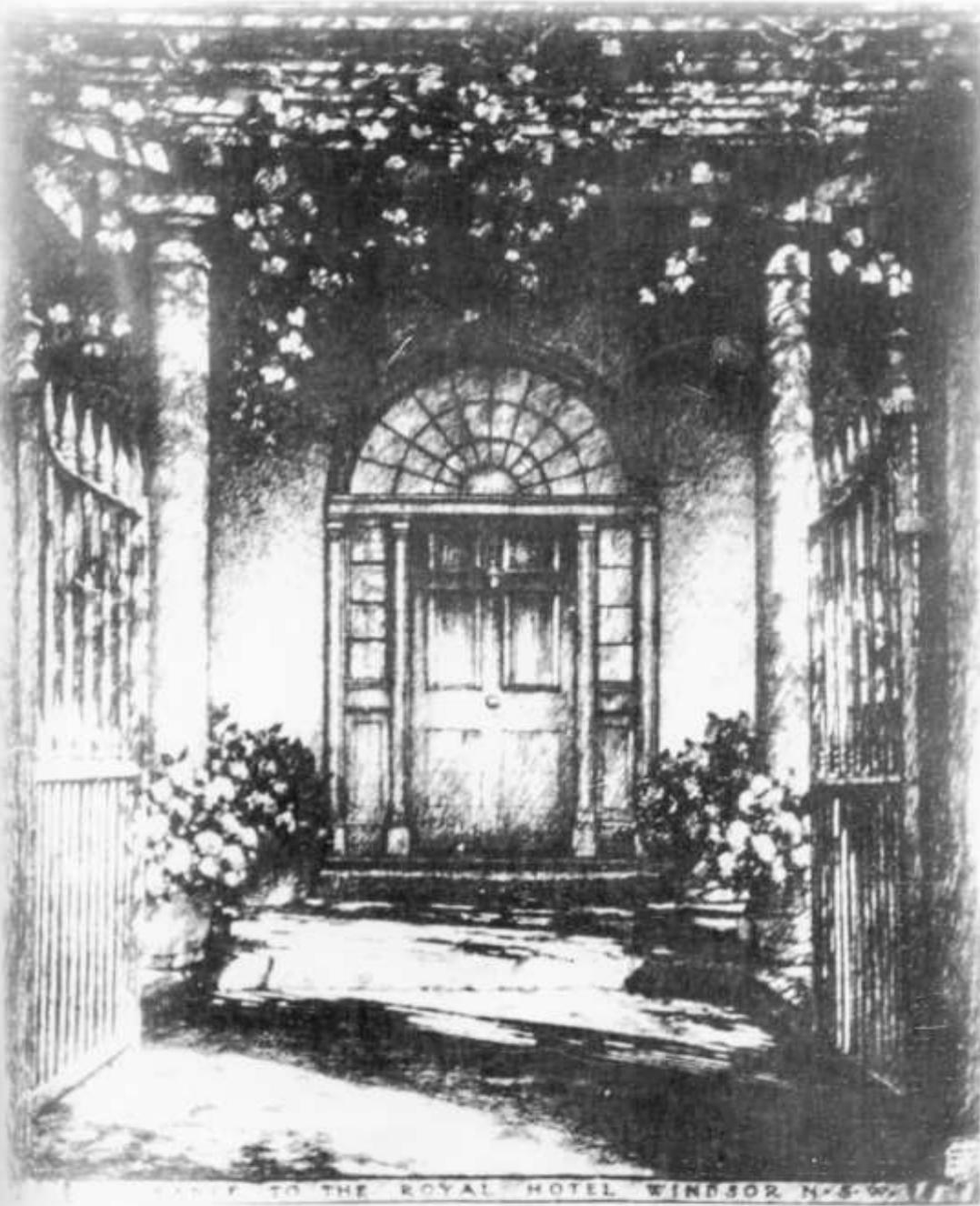
MACQUARIE ARMS HOTEL  
WINDSOR

The main doorways on both faces are identical: round-headed openings with simple but beautifully-worked radial barred fanlights, glazed sidelights, and six-panelled doors. Hardy Wilson captured the style of the Thompson Square entrance in his sketch - Photo<sup>51</sup>. The ceilings are ten feet high on both floors but the original doorways remaining on the first floor and in the attic are only six feet, which was the standard height for upper-floor doorways until 1850. On both floors, the windows, which have light and fine sectioned cedar sashes, used to have louvred shutters externally while those on the ground floor have splayed jambs with solid shutters on the internal face, folding into doored recesses in the splayed jambs. The cedar stairs, with slim turned balusters and delicately-wreathed handrails are of excellent workmanship, as are the mouldings of architraves, skirtings, doors and jambs.

The cellars have fine brick vaulting and stone flagged floors. Ventilation is provided from barred openings at ground-level with ledged and braced top-hung internal shutters which can be held up and open by an ingenious wooden latch to the underside of a ground-floor rafter. Access is provided from a circular wooden stair.

The turned wooden Doric verandah-posts possible replaced square originals in the 1830's. The marble fireplace surrounds with their carved oak-leaves and acorns above each pilaster and their cast-iron grates were also added at a later date.

Photo 5.2 shows the building as the 'Royal Hotel', sometime about the turn of the century. Its appearance was considerably altered in about 1935, with brick corner rooms being added on the upper floor corners facing Thompson Square, George Street and the south-west. Verandahs were built between the corner additions on the upper floor. At the same time some upper floor windows were converted to French doors for access to these verandahs. Attic windows have been added to the roof, which were certainly added after Photo 5.2 was taken.



HARDY WILSON DRAWING OF ENTRANCE





'ROYAL' HOTEL

Many detail changes have also taken place. Side lights and the fanlight over the main entrance from George Street have been painted over. See Photo 5.6. The windows on the same face - Photo 5.7 - remain unaltered. Two rooms have been added to the ground floor - one large 'sports room' added to the west corner of the building and a smaller room fitted between the columns and the wall at the south corner of the building, facing George Street. The middle window on this side of the hotel has been converted to a door for access to this added room.

The small ground floor room at the northern corner of the building (now used as the Ladies Toilet) has had its verandah door blocked off and its north-east facing window converted into a door. At the southern corner of the ground floor the small room which is now the Bottle Sales has had glass double doors built in, facing George Street. On the south-west side of the ground floor, a 1.7m opening was made in the wall and a metal awning constructed to create a drive-in bottle shop. Also on the south-west facade, windows have been added to what was once the corner room (now the Mens Toilet). The south-west facing windows in the kitchen have been altered to incorporate more glazing.

Photos 5.3 and 5.4 show the main elevations today. Photo 5.5 shows the rear of the building and the drive-in bottle shop.

Most of the interior has been maintained in a reasonable state of preservation, apart from the extensive changes in the bar and drinking area. The cedar joinery is in good condition, as is the cedar circular staircase which winds up from the Thompson Square entrance. The Dining Room is very well preserved. The Lounge is in basically sound condition apart from modern electrical conduit.

A lobby now exists in what used to be the open courtyard, with the stone floor covered and bathrooms, lounge and extra bedrooms added over it on the upper floor.



THE GEORGE ST. ELEVATION



THOMPSON SQUARE ELEVATION



REAR VIEW



GEORGE ST. DOORWAY



WINDOW ON GEORGE ST. FACE

The George Street stairway has been extended beyond the upper floor to the attic, which has been made habitable with the fitting out of several new rooms and windows.

### 5.3 Form and Function

Plans 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 give details of the layouts of the cellar, ground floor and first floor. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 give sections through the building.

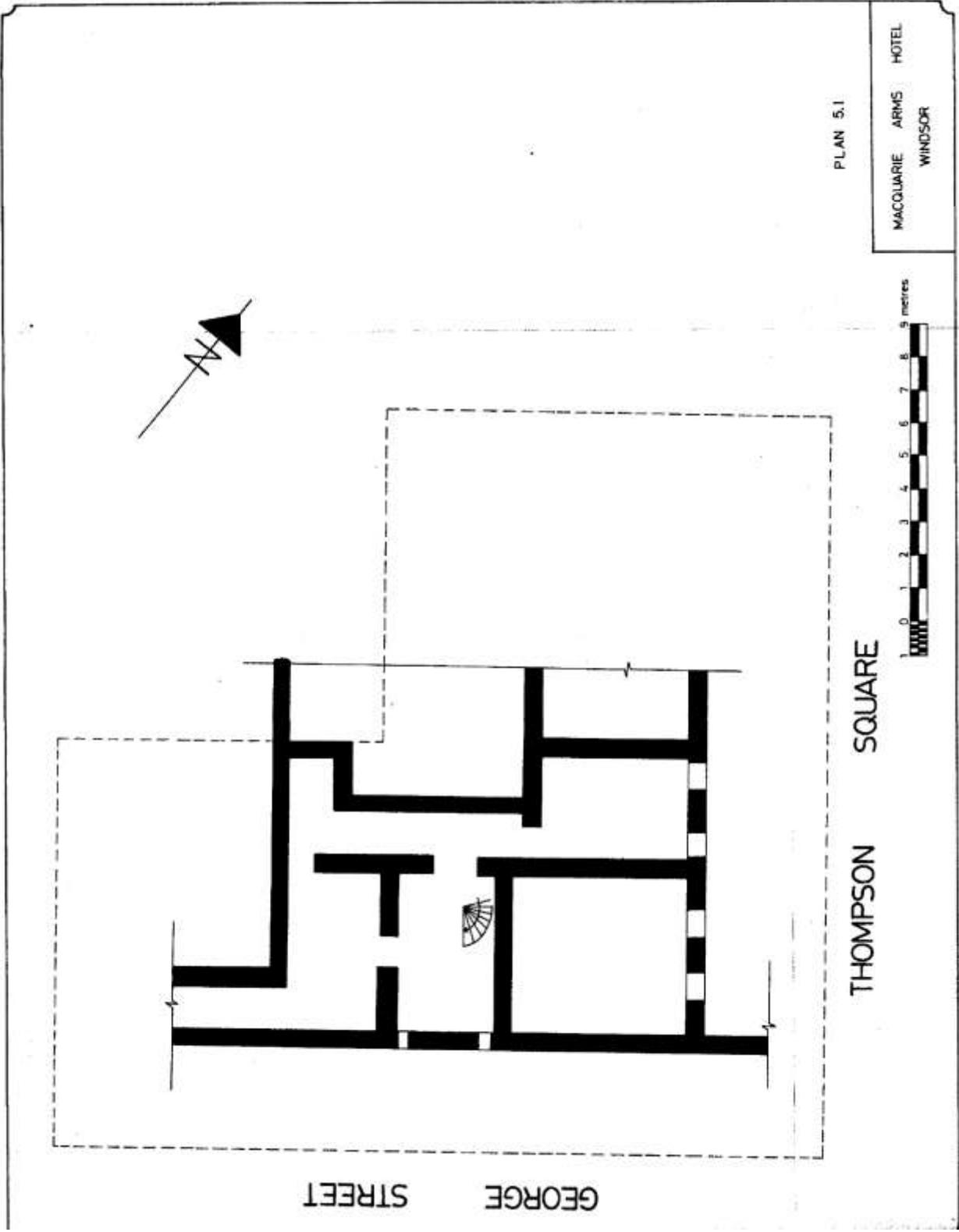
From the outside, one could at first think that the building was built as a large colonial home, since its style is similar to many. However the first thing that gives a hint to its purpose is the fact that there are two main doorways, each of the same size and equally important. There was probably no distinction between which door one entered by, other than that perhaps the Thompson Square entrance was more used by travellers stopping for a meal in the Dining Room, rather than going into the bar area to drink.

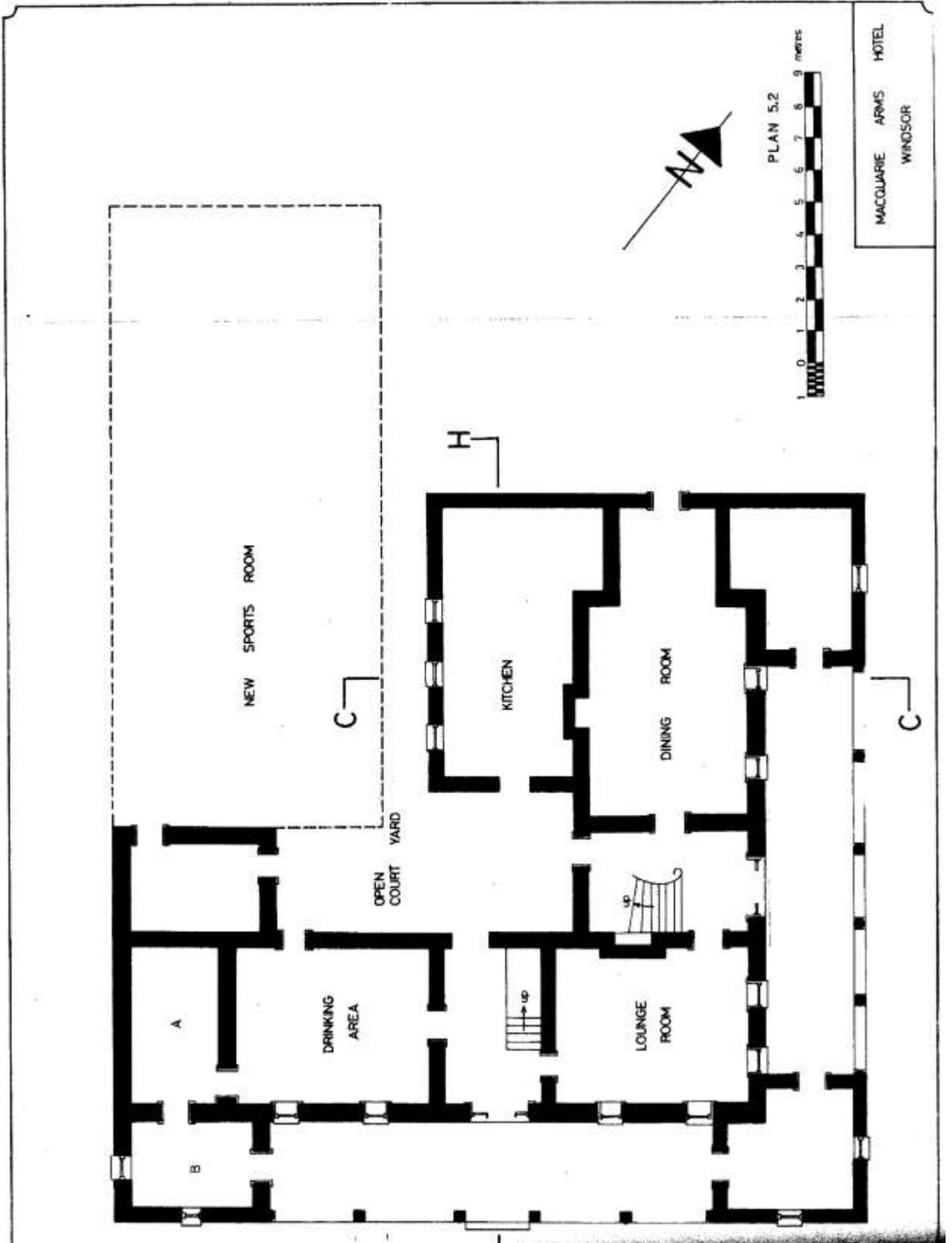
There is nothing particularly different about the cellars. The only changes that have been made have been facilities to store and use beer kegs. It is highly unlikely that there ever would have been beer brewing equipment on the premises, since beer was brewed locally.

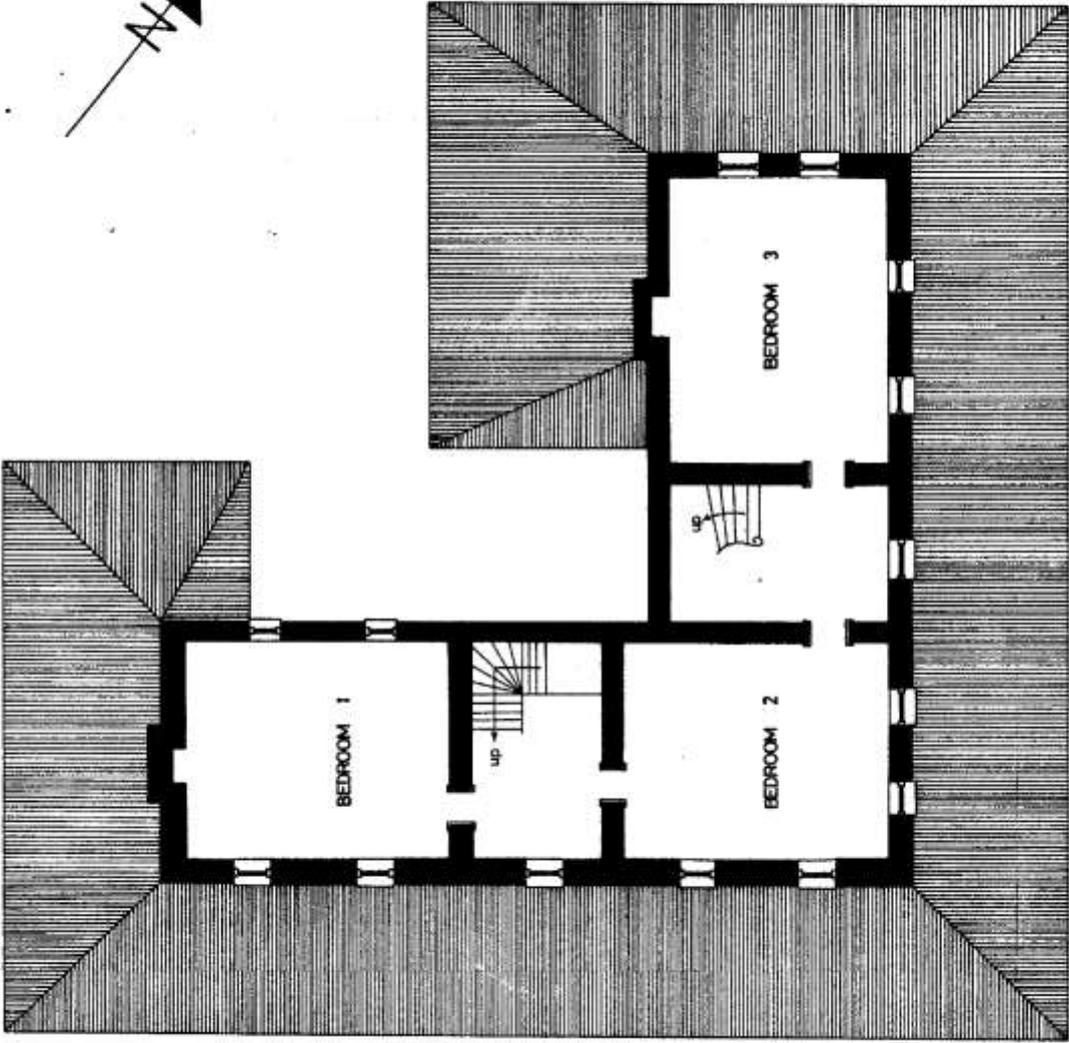
While the plan does not reflect any similarities with the basic style of English pub, in it can be seen a local version of the 'Grander than Home' pub, found in English country towns, catering for a 'respectable, perhaps genteel, body of customers'. The usual form of this was to have separate rooms, rather than separate drinking areas within the one main room. The building of such a sizeable Dining Room also fitted into this style. It emphasised the fact that this was not just a place to drink but had a major function to fulfil in feeding travellers and giving them overnight accommodation.

In terms of drinking, originally there would have been two rooms, labelled Drinking Area and Lounge Room on the plan.







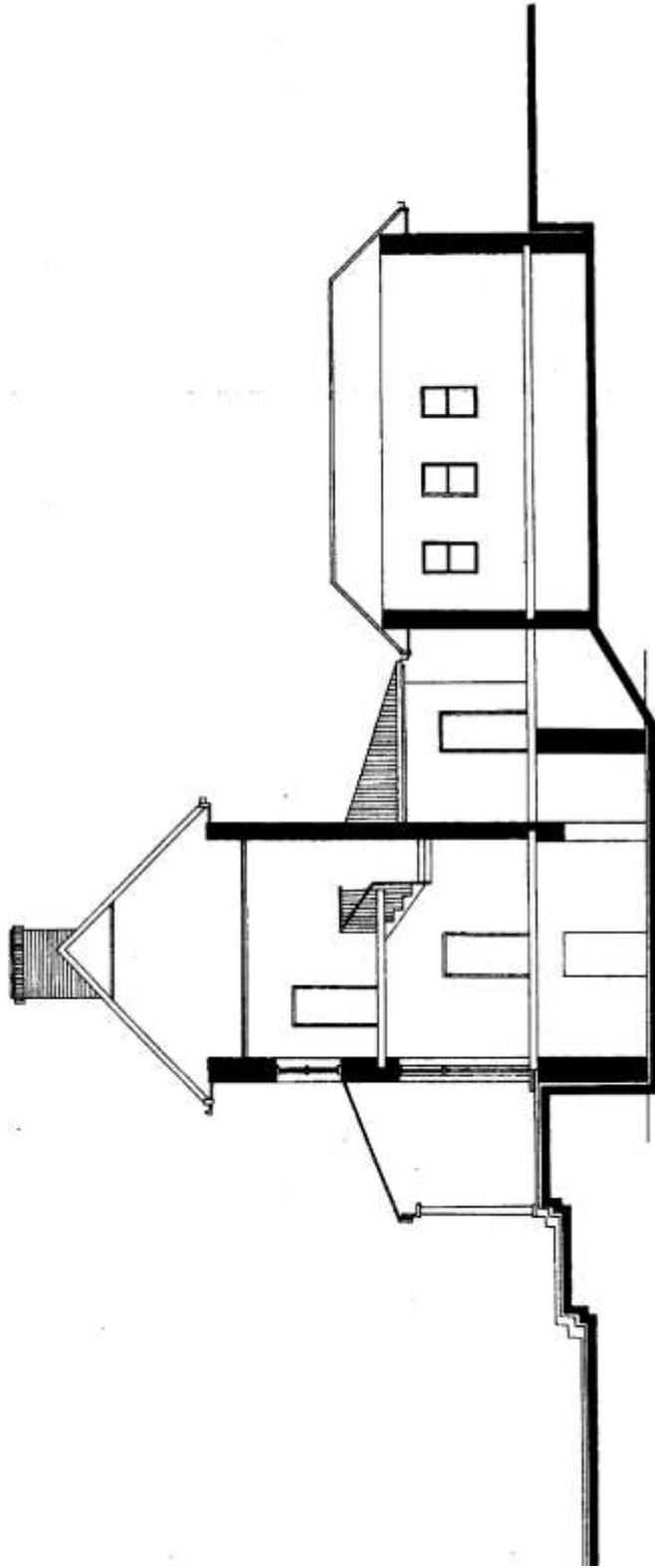


PLAN 5.3

FIRST FLOOR

MACQUARIE ARMS HOTEL  
WINDSOR

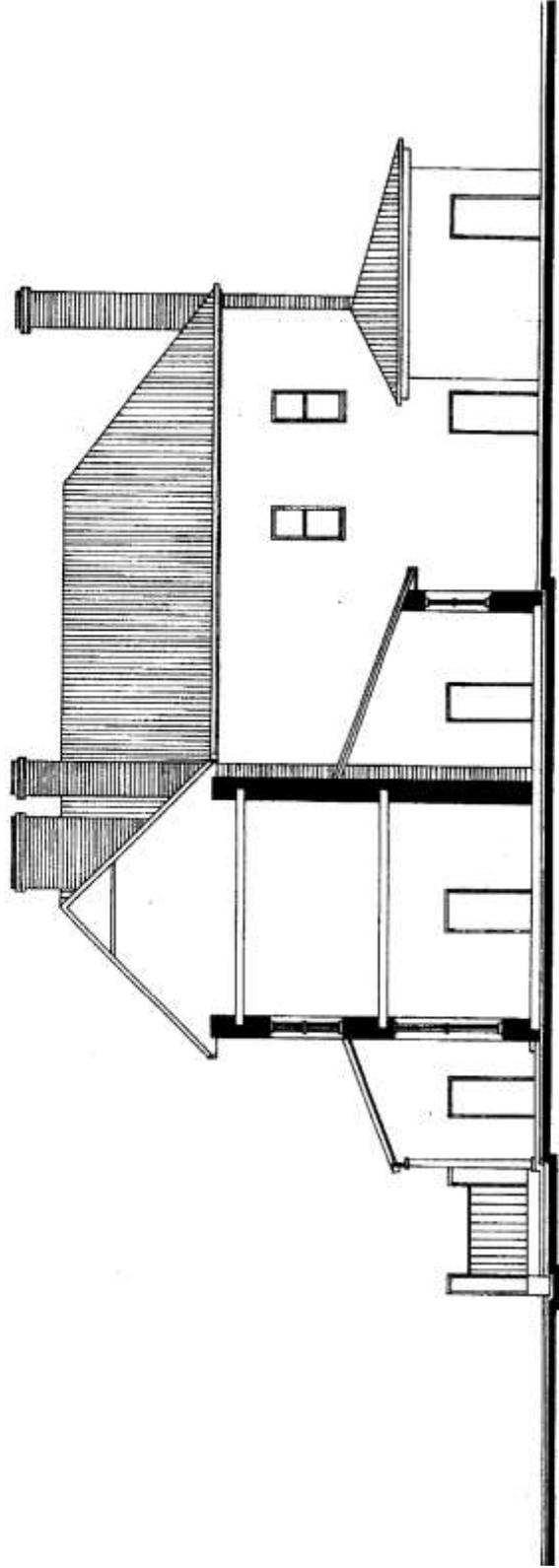




SECTION 5.1

SECTION H H

MACQUARIE ARMS HOTEL  
WINDSOR



SECTION 5.2



SECTION CC

MACQUARIE ARMS HOTEL  
WINDSOR

Room A was probably the original taproom and store. Its present function as a cold-room is not dissimilar. It is uncertain what the original arrangement of the bar counter was, and what part Room B played in the function. The Drinking Area would definitely have been the Public Bar of the hotel, for which purpose it currently operates. In the Lounge Room which approximates to the Private Bar of its predecessors or the Lounge Bar of today, the comfort of patrons was looked after by the inclusion of a fireplace. Drinks would have been delivered by hand from the taproom.

The current operation focuses primarily on the Drinking Area, with a larger opening onto the courtyard which of course is now a lobby, opening onto the new sports room. The Beer Garden, situated on the Thompson Square face of the building functions as a third drinking area. The Bottle Shop in Room B and Drive-In Bottle Shop section behind it function in a way which would not have been foreseen when the inn was built.

On the first floor the three bedrooms would have provided sufficient accommodation for a few travellers, but there would be difficulty in providing for a few coaches. The additions improve this situation.

In conclusion, the 'Macquarie Arms' is an example of indigenous architecture whose origins cannot be definitely linked to its English predecessor, other than in very general terms. In its style, execution and continued function, it presents a very significant example of an Australian inn and a building of national importance.

6. The Royal Oak Inn, Rouse Hill

6.1 History

Records indicate but do not accurately cross-reference the fact that the 'Royal Oak Inn' was built at Rouse Hill in 1826, being one of three inns situated on the road between Parramatta and Windsor.(1) It is thought that it is convict built, which, considering the year and the standard of building, is quite possible. Of the other inns, 'On the road from Parramatta to Windsor and Richmond, at 18 3/4 miles, James Pye had an inn ... At 23 miles on the right, just beyond Haywood, the residence of Mr. Acres, Hugh Kelly had an inn called the 'Bird In The Hand'. Here is now the township of Kellyville. About two miles further on, on the right, was the 'Swan Inn', kept by John Cross, and considered the half-way house between Parramatta and Windsor.'(2) The 'Bird In The Hand' was also referred to simply as 'Kelly's'. The 'Swan Inn' was later called 'The White Hart', a name which is perpetuated in a restaurant on the site today.(3)

Originally the 'Royal Oak' stood back several hundred yards from the original coach trail and the entrance to the building was through long winding approaches through an orchard. It is only in latter years that the building has been brought by resumption to front the present main road.

The name of the original licensee is thought to be Davies, although no definite evidence has been found of this. It was licensed to John Hannabus in 1848.(4) The last and the most famous licensee was John Seath, who held a licence up to 1910, when the property was delicensed. Legend has it that Seath buried a fortune in the ground and that on occasions his ghost returns to look for its lost treasure. The other reputed ghost is a black stallion which is said to have killed a groom in the yard behind the building. The stallion's ghost is reputed to appear at the same spot, rearing on his hind legs in the moonlight.

Seath sold it to a person called Peterson in 1916, who in turn sold it to a Mr. S. Binns in 1949, who owned it until 1963.(5) Currently it is leased by Mr. Kiaran Warner, who operates it as a restaurant/wine bar.

## 6.2 The Building

The main building is in an excellent state of preservation, being constructed of squared, polished smooth, stone blocks. The service wing at the rear is made of sandstock bricks. The roof, presently tiled, was originally of slate. The symmetrical Georgian facade has finely turned pairs of verandah posts and a fine carved valence board. The front french doors are of beautiful cedar workmanship, as are the internal doors (six panel) architraves, skirtings and fireplaces. Photos 6.1 and 6.2 show the front and front corner elevations. Photo 6.4 shows the large front door, with its superb fanlights, above which can still be read the original lettering of the name. Photo 6.5 shows one pair of french doors on the front, with very fine glazing bars and a rectangular fanlight. The blackwood and Tasmanian jarrah flooring inside the building is of note.

The service wing at the rear of the building comprised a kitchen, where the present bar is, a coach entrance and a smoke room and hayloft. The latter two are now replaced in function by a wine storage and sales bar.

## 6.3 Form and Function

Plan 6 shows the floor layout. Room A was the original tap-room. Photo 6.6 looks into it from Room B. Rooms B and C were bar rooms, with direct serving from the tap-room. It is not known what form the servery doors were. Either a waitress walked out into the bar rooms, or there were 'horse-stall' type doors on Room A, serving through the top gap. Room B was the Public Bar, with direct access from the road. Room C would have been the Private Bar, expected to be frequented by inn guests and the better-off locals. The cellar is underneath Rooms A and C. The only obvious access is through a door in the outside of the north-east wall. It is logical that there would have originally been a trap-door between the tap-room and the cellar.

Room G was the Dining Room, served directly from the kitchens. (Room H plus perhaps some of I). This left three rooms for accommodation, each with its own fireplace for comfort on cold winter nights.





FRONT ELEVATION



SOUTH CORNER ELEVATION

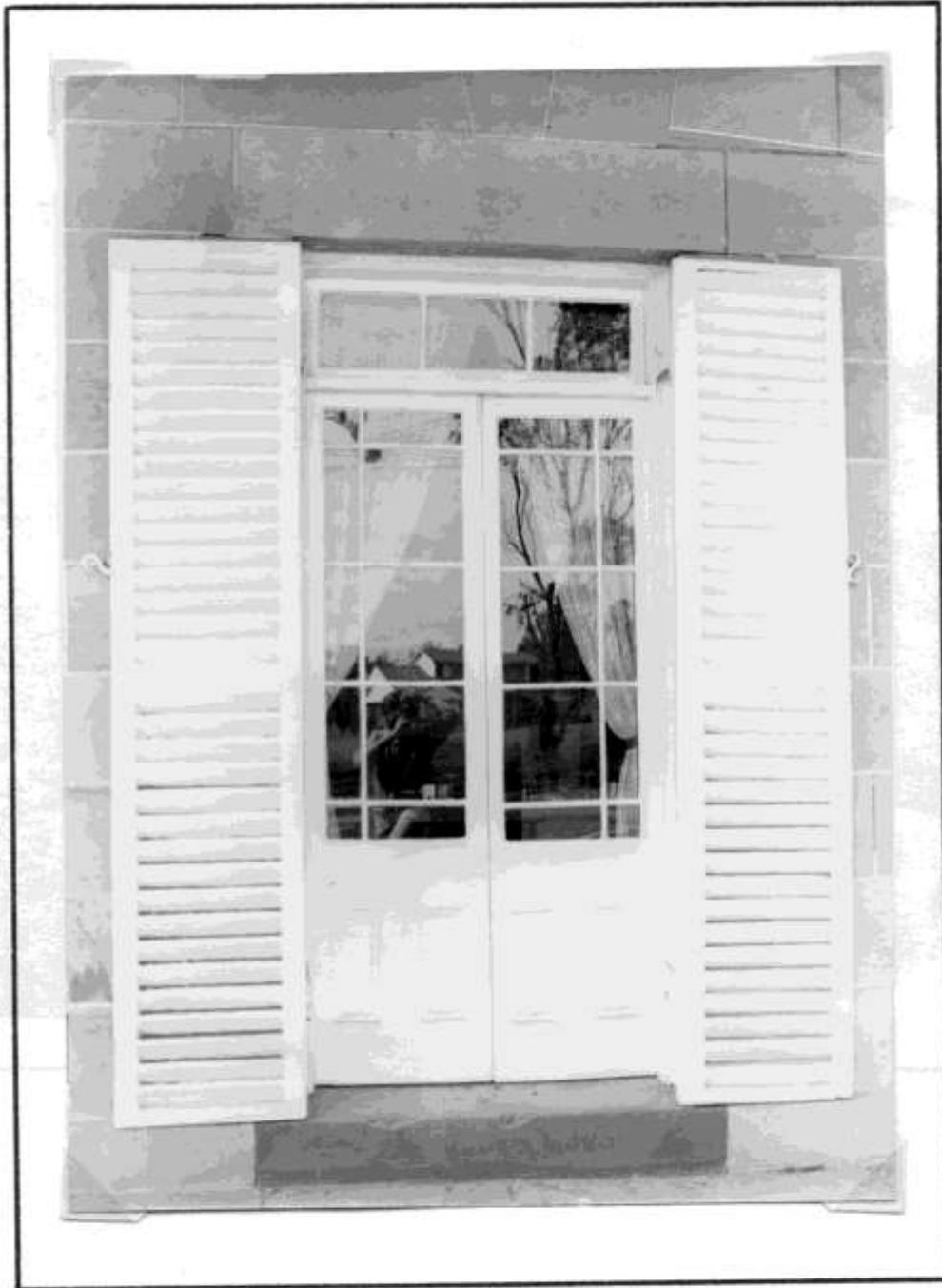


REAR COURTYARD

FRONT DOOR



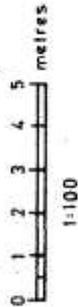
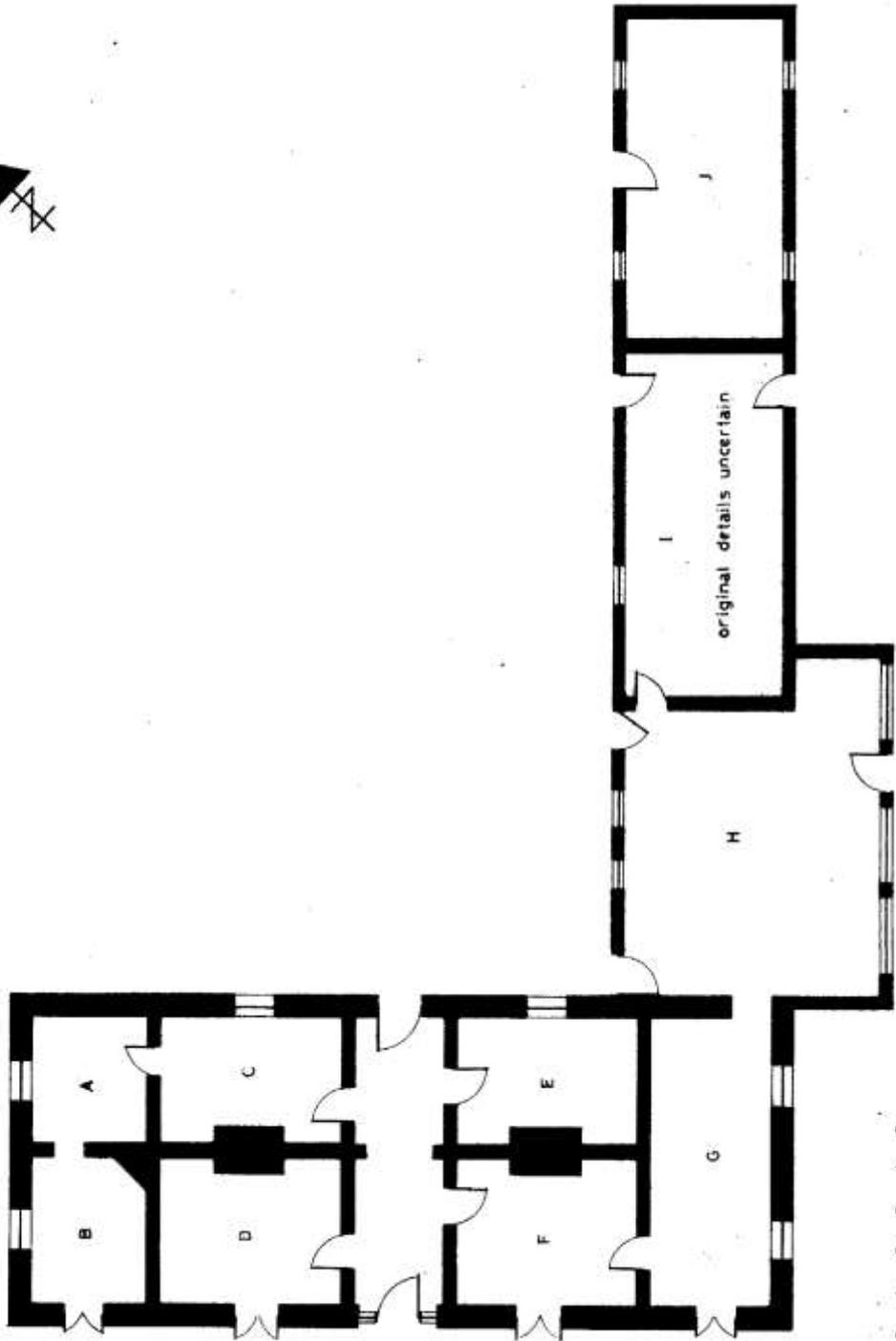
FRONT DOOR



FRONT FRENCH DOORS



ORIGINAL TAP-ROOM



ROYAL OAK INN  
ROUSE HILL

PLAN G

All of the rooms of the original stone building currently contain tables and chairs for the current restaurant operation. The former kitchen, Room H, is currently fitted out as a bar. The present kitchen and toilets are in Room I.

Photo 6.3 illustrates the rear courtyard and service wing. The cellar entrance can be seen on the right, down several stairs. Originally in the courtyard was an open air slab floored 'ballroom', thought to have been added in the 1880's, and also the stables. These have now disappeared.

This was definitely a wayside inn whose prime operation was to refresh and accommodate travellers between Parramatta and Windsor. While the outward forms, with the verandahs, give it a colonial flavour, it is very much a coach inn designed along the English lines.

Under its current management, with guests inside the rooms, around the bar or in the courtyard, the country and western music played there on weekends blends in surprisingly well with the style and character of this well preserved example of a wayside inn.



7. The Bell Inn, Windsor

7.1 History (1)

The 'Bell Inn' is situated on the corner of Church and Catherine Streets, Windsor. The land on which it stands was part of a land grant made to Thomas Rickerby.

Rickerby was convicted at the Old Bailey in 1787 of 'stealing 3 trusses of hay valued at 5/-, the property of Lord Lonsdale'. For five years he had been coachman to his Lordship and had enjoyed the customary privilege of gathering the loose hay for his own use. Because he exceeded this privilege he was transported for seven years, coming in the First Fleet at the age of 37.

Upon completion of his sentence in 1794 Rickerby received his first grant of 30 acres on the west bank at the mouth of the creek that bears his name.

Catherine Street derives its name from "Catherine Farm" which was a second grant of 20 acres made in 1798 to Thomas Rickerby. (This spelling is that used by Rickerby himself; Rickaby or Riccaby have been used in early musters or deeds of grant.) He rose somewhat above most of his neighbours being Chief Constable from 1789 to 1804. In 1800 he owned a horse being the only person other than Andrew Thompson to have such an animal at the Hawkesbury.

Some parts of Catherine Farm were sold by Thomas Rickerby as building allotments, particularly the area on the "south of the government road" adjoining the present Presbyterian Church. The road became George Street later at Governor Macquarie's direction.

Thomas Rickerby had become a successful settler by the time of his death in 1818 at the age of 67 years.

Samuel Terry and Richard Fitzgerald were the executors of his will in which he provided for Catherine Smith, his de facto wife. This he did by the sale of 'Smallwoods Farm' purchased about 1800. Having no children of his own he left 'Catherine Farm' to his godson Thomas Rixon.

In 1834 Maria Cope acquired 'Catherine Farm' with which she consolidated the northern parts of 'Smallwoods' grant bought in 1833. The Cope subdivision opened up the streets of New, Catherine, Little Church and The Terrace with numerous adjacent building allotments.

Upon one of these allotments John Primrose built the 'Bell Inn' about the year 1841. This was a fast developing part of Windsor, and the 'Bell Inn' apparently prospered.

With the death of John Primrose in 1856 the 'Bell Inn' passed to his son Thomas who occupied it for half a century. It continued as an inn for some years but the railway was to divert business to another part of the town and by 1870 it had faded from the list of licensed houses.

Thomas Primrose continued to take a prominent part in town affairs. At a public meeting in the Court House in 1858 to form a Municipal Council, Thomas Primrose moved the vital resolution which was strongly opposed. In the poor light of the whale oil lamp, eggs were thrown from the back of the room. No one was hit but the portrait of Macquarie was. Reports of the time said that 'the meeting broke up in confusion'.

Thomas Primrose maintained his belief in municipal government. He was elected an alderman on the first Windsor Municipal Council in 1871 and continued until his death in 1905 at the age of 74 years. During this long period of thirty years he was Mayor for the years 1879, 1883, 1886 and 1903.

Primrose was also well known in the area as a furniture maker. At his funeral it was stated that 'there was scarcely a house in Windsor that did not have at least one item of furniture made by Thomas Primrose'.

The 'Bell Inn' was then bought by a member of the Gosper family, a family whose origins went right back to the first settlers on the Hawkesbury. It remained in the Gosper family until 1956. After changing hands a couple of times it was



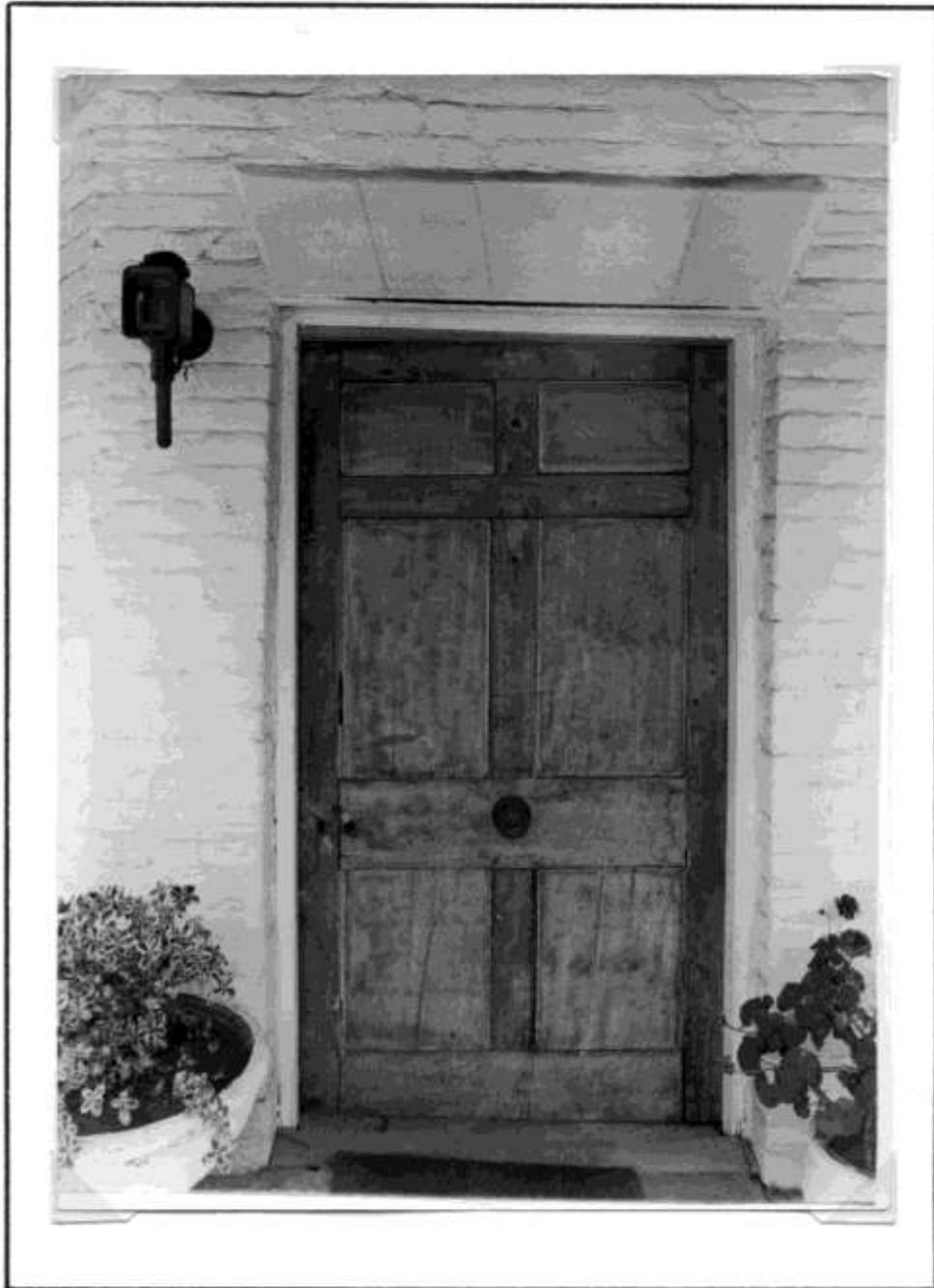
CORNER ELEVATION



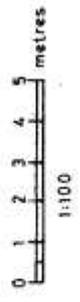
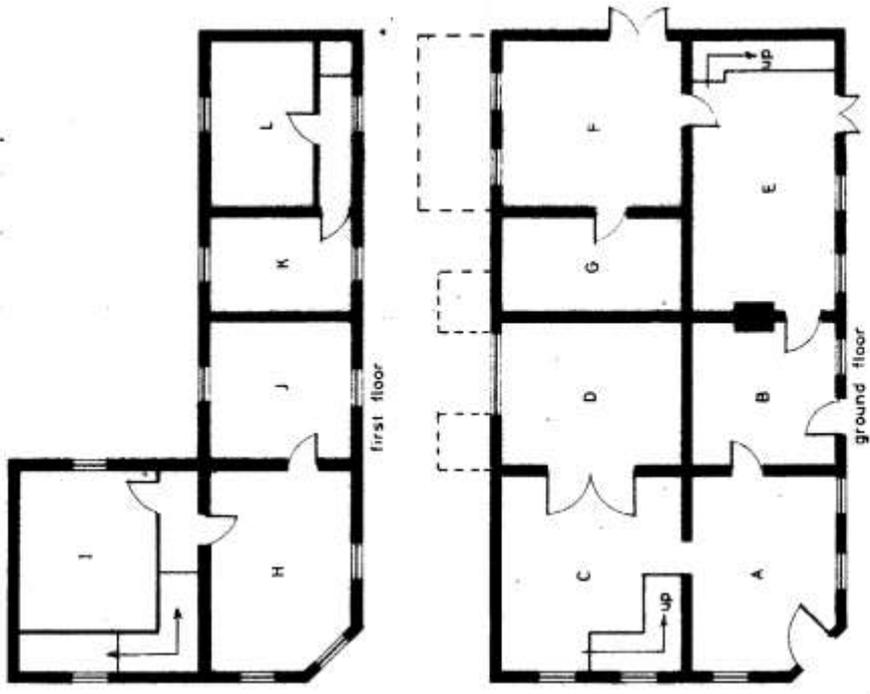
CHURCH ST. ELEVATION



VERANDAH DETAIL



FRONT DOOR



BELL INN  
WINDSOR

PLAN 7

purchased in 1965 by Alan Coulter, who started on its restoration. It was subsequently purchased by its present owner, Kay Stubbs, who has completed its restoration.

## 7.2 The Building

The inn is a two-storey sandstock brick building, typical in style to others of the period. The hipped iron roof is of interest, with its bell cast eaves overhanging the building to a degree. The verandah roof is given greater emphasis by the heavily curved timber valence boards. The picket fence along the verandah post line of both street faces of the building gives an extra overall delicacy to the facade. Photos 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate the main elevations and verandah details.

The windows are double hung with twelve panes for those on the ground floor and originally nine panes for those on the first floor. Some of these have been replaced with six pane casement windows. Doors are of six-panelled cedar construction. The verandah has sandstone paving blocks. Photo 7.4 illustrates the front door, set on the corner of the building.

The interior, while in good condition, has been altered to a certain degree. Most of the ceilings have been replaced and the stairway has also been replaced. Plan 7 illustrates the room layout. A fireplace was originally situated somewhere in the south-east wall of Room C. Entrances and windows into the current kitchen, Room D, have been changed. The fireplace in Room E has been changed. Extensions have been added onto the south-east face of the building. The doors into Room F from the exterior do not appear to be original.

## 7.3 Form and Function

Room A, with its large, squat corner doorway opening onto the corner of Church and Catherine Streets, would have been the original public bar-room. The exact position of the cellar is uncertain, so it is difficult to work out the original serving arrangement. Room D appears to be the most likely serving point, with drinks being delivered by hand from here. Alternatively, it could have been from Room C,



with Room D as a kitchen only. Room E, with its fireplace and  
large window, was probably the private lavatory. The location  
of the tub and 'quality' pattern. This is Room F, the  
bath, with Room G being a possible linen closet. Rooms H, I, J, K,  
L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z, AA, AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, AG, AH, AI, AJ, AK, AL, AM, AN, AO, AP, AQ, AR, AS, AT, AU, AV, AW, AX, AY, AZ, BA, BB, BC, BD, BE, BF, BG, BH, BI, BJ, BK, BL, BM, BN, BO, BP, BQ, BR, BS, BT, BU, BV, BW, BX, BY, BZ, CA, CB, CC, CD, CE, CF, CG, CH, CI, CJ, CK, CL, CM, CN, CO, CP, CQ, CR, CS, CT, CU, CV, CW, CX, CY, CZ, DA, DB, DC, DD, DE, DF, DG, DH, DI, DJ, DK, DL, DM, DN, DO, DP, DQ, DR, DS, DT, DU, DV, DW, DX, DY, DZ, EA, EB, EC, ED, EE, EF, EG, EH, EI, EJ, EK, EL, EM, EN, EO, EP, EQ, ER, ES, ET, EU, EV, EW, EX, EY, EZ, FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FF, FG, FH, FI, FJ, FK, FL, FM, FN, FO, FP, FQ, FR, FS, FT, FU, FV, FW, FX, FY, FZ, GA, GB, GC, GD, GE, GF, GG, GH, GI, GJ, GK, GL, GM, GN, GO, GP, GQ, GR, GS, GT, GU, GV, GW, GX, GY, GZ, HA, HB, HC, HD, HE, HF, HG, HH, HI, HJ, HK, HL, HM, HN, HO, HP, HQ, HR, HS, HT, HU, HV, HW, HX, HY, HZ, IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ, IK, IL, IM, IN, IO, IP, IQ, IR, IS, IT, IU, IV, IW, IX, IY, IZ, JA, JB, JC, JD, JE, JF, JG, JH, JI, JJ, JK, JL, JM, JN, JO, JP, JQ, JR, JS, JT, JU, JV, JW, JX, JY, JZ, KA, KB, KC, KD, KE, KF, KG, KH, KI, KJ, KK, KL, KM, KN, KO, KP, KQ, KR, KS, KT, KU, KV, KW, KX, KY, KZ, LA, LB, LC, LD, LE, LF, LG, LH, LI, LJ, LK, LL, LM, LN, LO, LP, LQ, LR, LS, LT, LU, LV, LW, LX, LY, LZ, MA, MB, MC, MD, ME, MF, MG, MH, MI, MJ, MK, ML, MM, MN, MO, MP, MQ, MR, MS, MT, MU, MV, MW, MX, MY, MZ, NA, NB, NC, ND, NE, NF, NG, NH, NI, NJ, NK, NL, NM, NN, NO, NP, NQ, NR, NS, NT, NU, NV, NW, NX, NY, NZ, OA, OB, OC, OD, OE, OF, OG, OH, OI, OJ, OK, OL, OM, ON, OO, OP, OQ, OR, OS, OT, OU, OV, OW, OX, OY, OZ, PA, PB, PC, PD, PE, PF, PG, PH, PI, PJ, PK, PL, PM, PN, PO, PP, PQ, PR, PS, PT, PU, PV, PW, PX, PY, PZ, QA, QB, QC, QD, QE, QF, QG, QH, QI, QJ, QK, QL, QM, QN, QO, QP, QQ, QR, QS, QT, QU, QV, QW, QX, QY, QZ, RA, RB, RC, RD, RE, RF, RG, RH, RI, RJ, RK, RL, RM, RN, RO, RP, RQ, RR, RS, RT, RU, RV, RW, RX, RY, RZ, SA, SB, SC, SD, SE, SF, SG, SH, SI, SJ, SK, SL, SM, SN, SO, SP, SQ, SR, SS, ST, SU, SV, SW, SX, SY, SZ, TA, TB, TC, TD, TE, TF, TG, TH, TI, TJ, TK, TL, TM, TN, TO, TP, TQ, TR, TS, TT, TU, TV, TW, TX, TY, TZ, UA, UB, UC, UD, UE, UF, UG, UH, UI, UJ, UK, UL, UM, UN, UO, UP, UQ, UR, US, UT, UY, UZ, VA, VB, VC, VD, VE, VF, VG, VH, VI, VJ, VK, VL, VM, VN, VO, VP, VQ, VR, VS, VT, VU, VV, VW, VX, VY, VZ, WA, WB, WC, WD, WE, WF, WG, WH, WI, WJ, WK, WL, WM, WN, WO, WP, WQ, WR, WS, WT, WU, WV, WW, WX, WY, WZ, XA, XB, XC, XD, XE, XF, XG, XH, XI, XJ, XK, XL, XM, XN, XO, XP, XQ, XR, XS, XT, XU, XV, XW, XX, XY, XZ, YA, YB, YC, YD, YE, YF, YG, YH, YI, YJ, YK, YL, YM, YN, YO, YP, YQ, YR, YS, YT, YU, YV, YW, YX, YY, YZ, ZA, ZB, ZC, ZD, ZE, ZF, ZG, ZH, ZI, ZJ, ZK, ZL, ZM, ZN, ZO, ZP, ZQ, ZR, ZS, ZT, ZU, ZV, ZW, ZX, ZY, ZZ.



INTERIOR - BAR AREA

with Room D as a kitchen only. Room B, with its separate entrance and fireplace, was probably the private bar, for friends of the publican and 'quality' patrons. Thus we have two bar rooms, with Room C being a possible third. Above these rooms are three bedrooms, Rooms H, I and J. It is uncertain whether these were rooms for guests or for the family of the publican. Their location suggests they were for guests, since the other rooms of the building - Rooms E, F, G, K, L - effectively form a separate apartment. However it is perhaps unlikely that the publican would give the largest bedrooms in the building to guests, preferring to give them Rooms K and L, with access through his private parlour, Room E. Whatever the combination, the 'Bell Inn' could certainly provide 'at least two sitting rooms and two sleeping rooms for public accommodation independent of the apartments occupied by the family of the publican', as required by the 1830 Act.

Photo 7.5 shows the bar room - Room A - looking from Room B.

The 'Bell Inn' is rather of the type derived from the English 'home from home' model, but has some elements of a more respectable town pub. It is not situated in an area which would have picked up many passing coaches, and so its custom would have been local town dwellers and the occasional countryman. If you removed the verandahs and placed this building on a town street corner in England and gave it a licence today - together with appropriate interior decoration - it is easy to imagine it blending into the visual and social context.

8. The 'Daniel O'Connell Inn', Windsor

8.1 History

The present museum of the Hawkesbury Historical Society, situated in Thompson Square, Windsor, in a significant town grouping with the 'Macquarie Arms Hotel' and the 'Doctor's House', was formerly licensed as the 'Daniel O'Connell Inn'. The land on which it stands was part of a grant of 30 acres to William Baker in 1800. This site was then given as a town allotment to John Howe in 1811, and he lived there for thirty years. (1)

Howe migrated in 1802 and settled first at Ebenezer. He became Andrew Thompson's manager in 1809, and was the Chief Constable at Windsor from 1813 to 1825 as well as the local auctioneer and appraiser. He was deeply involved in civic affairs of the district, supervising the building of Howe's Bridge over South Creek in 1813, and running a punt service across the Hawkesbury River. He led a party of Windsor men on two exploring expeditions northwards along the route now taken by the Putty Road to Patrick's Plains and the site of Maitland in 1818 and 1820, and was the first man to be given a permit to graze stock there with the promise of a later grant. (2) After that, many Windsor settlers took up land in the Hunter Valley, venturing as far as three hundred miles to the north-west by 1827. In 1838 John Howe had a licence to depasture stock as far away as the Liverpool Plains.

A map of Windsor made in 1841, (3), shows a building on Howe's allotment in Thompson Square marked as an Inn. Hawkesbury Historical Society records show it as being erected about 1842 and licensed in that year as the 'Daniel O'Connell Inn', with Edward Coffey as publican. There is confusion between this building and the present Doctor's House. In 'The Australian' of July 21, 1837, the following notice appeared:

'Daniel O'Connell Hotel, Windsor. The Undersigned begs leave to inform the Gentry and Public generally that he has opened the above Establishment adjoining the King's Wharf,

in those spacious premises formerly occupied by the late James Doyle Esq., which for salubrity of situation cannot be surpassed, commanding a full view of the Hawkesbury River, the fertile plains of Wilberforce, and the surrounding country. The House has been fitted up in the very best style, and (is) fit for the reception of the most respectable visitors, who will be treated with the utmost attention. The Cellars are well stored ... and the Stabling commodious, with an attentive Ostler...'

It is suggested that either the present 'Doctor's House' or the building on its site before it was the original 'Daniel O'Connell Inn', and that when the present museum building was built in about 1842, the licence was transferred to it.

The inn was one of the most important inns in the Hawkesbury in the 1840's. In 1843 it was the headquarters of the Fitzgerald Committee in the first Legislative Council elections. In 1845 the inaugural meeting of the Hawkesbury Agricultural Association, under the chairmanship of Robert Fitzgerald, was held here. Also in that year was a dinner for the establishment of 'The United Loyal Hawkesbury Lodge'. In 1846 the establishment was visited by both governors Gipps and Fitzroy, on separate occasions. In 1846 a public meeting was held there requesting a railroad to Windsor and a road from Richmond to Bathurst. The inn was the setting for the Bachelors' Ball of 1847 where the polka was danced at Windsor for the first time, and where they danced till 'The dawn of morning through the window peeps'.(4)

In 1876 John Howe's son sold the building to George Davies, Printer, who published 'The Australian', a lively weekly newspaper. until 1899. The building was bought by Mr. E. A. Stevens in 1961.

## 8.2 The Building

The building in its original form, was a typical two-storey Georgian structure. It originally had a verandah only on the ground floor, and a shingle roof, as is shown in an 1879 photograph in Reference (1). The original ver-



FRONT ELEVATION (THOMPSON SQ.)



andah roof sloped up, on approximately the same pitch as the main roof. The positioning of the windows and door is perfectly symmetrical. Two of the first floor windows have been converted into french windows, for access onto the balcony. An addition in timber has been added onto the rear of the building.

Externally, the building is in a good state of repair. The interior is not quite as good, particularly on the first floor.

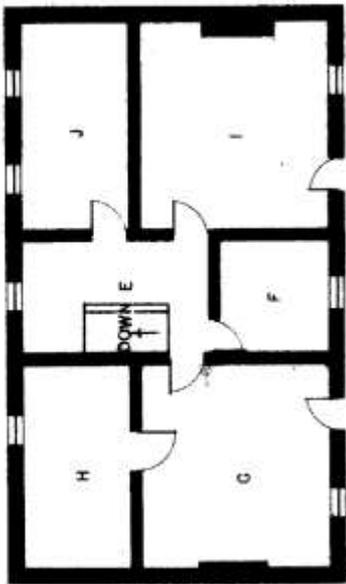
### 8.3 Form and Function

Plan 8 illustrates the floor plan. The layout resembles a standard house more than anything else, with the central corridor with rooms to either side. No-one knows the original position of the bar or drinking areas, so any conclusion on this is conjecture. There is part of a kitchen fireplace in the rear section of Room A. This section could have been used as a kitchen or dining room. The main part of Room A would probably have been the public bar. There is a cellar underneath Rooms B and D, with its manhole at the rear of the corridor B. Room D thus forms a convenient tap room, serving drinks from here by waitresses. It is quite likely that Room C would have been a Private Bar.

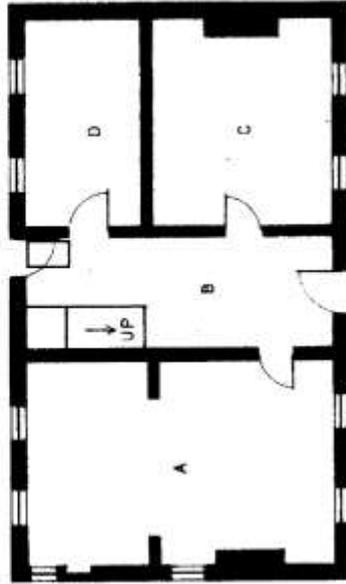
An alternative serving arrangement would be for the rear section of Room A to be a kitchen servery/bar area, perhaps with a bar counter along the wall partition. However this is unlikely since then beer and spirit barrels would have to be rolled down corridor B and through the main section of Room A.

Accommodation upstairs would have been suitable for the needs of the publican and his family and at least a couple of guests.

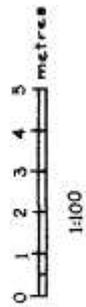
In conclusion, the building does not appear to be built along the lines or form of any English inn and appears not different to a building built as a house and used as an inn.



FIRST FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR



DANIEL O'CONNEL INN  
WINDSOR



9. 'Settlers Arms', St. Albans

The present day settlement of St. Albans on the Macdonald River was started when the main road between Sydney and Newcastle ran through the Macdonald Valley. In 1841 a 'site was fixed upon for the Township of St. Albans at the Bullock Wharf, Macdonald River'.(1) The date of building of the 'Settlers Arms' is uncertain. A primary reference to the date has not been found. The consensus view is that it was built in 1842 and licensed from that date. Treasury Liquor Science records do not record a 'Settlers Arms' inn at St. Albans in the 1840's. However there is record of the 'Bullock Wharf Inn' on the Macdonald River, operated by Richard Palmer. There was a licence issued for this inn at least between 1839 and 1843, and probably later. It is considered that this was the original inn of the area, which no doubt helped the choice of Bullock Wharf as the future site for St. Albans, and that the present 'Settlers Arms' was built in 1842, becoming initially the 'Bullock Wharf Inn', with the licence transferred from the original building, and at a later date being renamed the 'Settlers Arms'.

The builder and first owner was thought to be John Sullivan. It was then acquired by a member of the Jurd family, who continued the inn licence. It continued as an inn until 1939. The Jurd family held the licence for most of this time, the exceptions being for a short period about 1870 - John De Landre was the licensee in 1868-9 (2) - and for the last five years of its operation. The inn flourished while the road was the main communication to the north, but the opening of the Pacific Highway resulted in a downturn in trade, finally causing its demise. Following the Jurd family, the owners have been Bernsdorff, Taylor, Sneesdy, Stratford and the current owner, Mr. I. Robinson.

9.2 The Building

The inn is two storey stone, with a detached single storey kitchen at the rear. The facade is not quite symmetrical, the main principle of the design seeming to be function. It has a jerkin head gabled roof, characteristic of the

Hawkesbury area. The stone used in the construction is finely dressed. The interior joinery and doors are first quality cedar.

The current state of preservation is good, and remains very original, with little evidence of remodelling, apart from furniture, shelves and modern conveniences. The present liquor sales room and lounge room - Rooms A and E on Plan 9 - are very much in keeping with the style.

Photo 9.1 is an undated photograph, showing the south-west elevation. Photos 9.2 and 9.3 show the present south and south-east elevations.

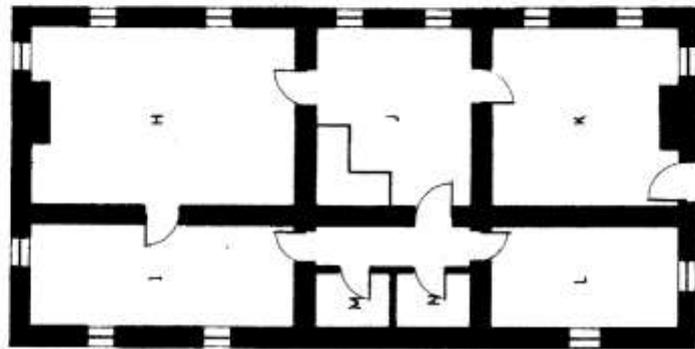
### 9.3 Form and Function

The building was made in a strictly functional fashion for its main purpose. The bar room was Room A, a room well suited to its use with its large fireplace and direct access onto the street. It would appear that Room B was the original tap room. Certainly either Rooms B and C would have been the tap room. Room B is favoured because of its window design, complete with ledged shutter. This is similar in size and style to that in what is considered to be the tap-room of the 'Gold Finders Home' Inn, Kurrajong.

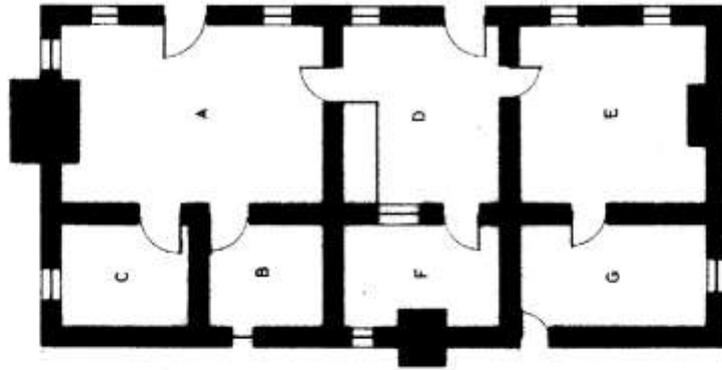
Room E would have been the original parlour of the publican. It is considered that Room A was the only room used as a bar.

From Room D, where a door direct into the street, there is a stairway to the ample accommodation rooms on the first floor. As an inn, meals would also have to be provided. The dining room position is uncertain, but with its ready access to the external kitchen, the publican's parlour, Room E, probably served a dual purpose as a dining room.

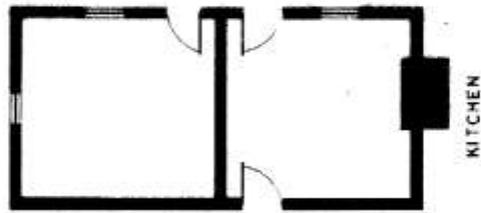
An interesting feature of the first floor of the building is the doorway to the exterior from Room K. - See also Photo 9.1 - This enabled the travellers' luggage to be transferred directly from the top of the coach into the accommodation area, without the need to manually carry it down off the



FIRST FLOOR



GROUND FLOOR

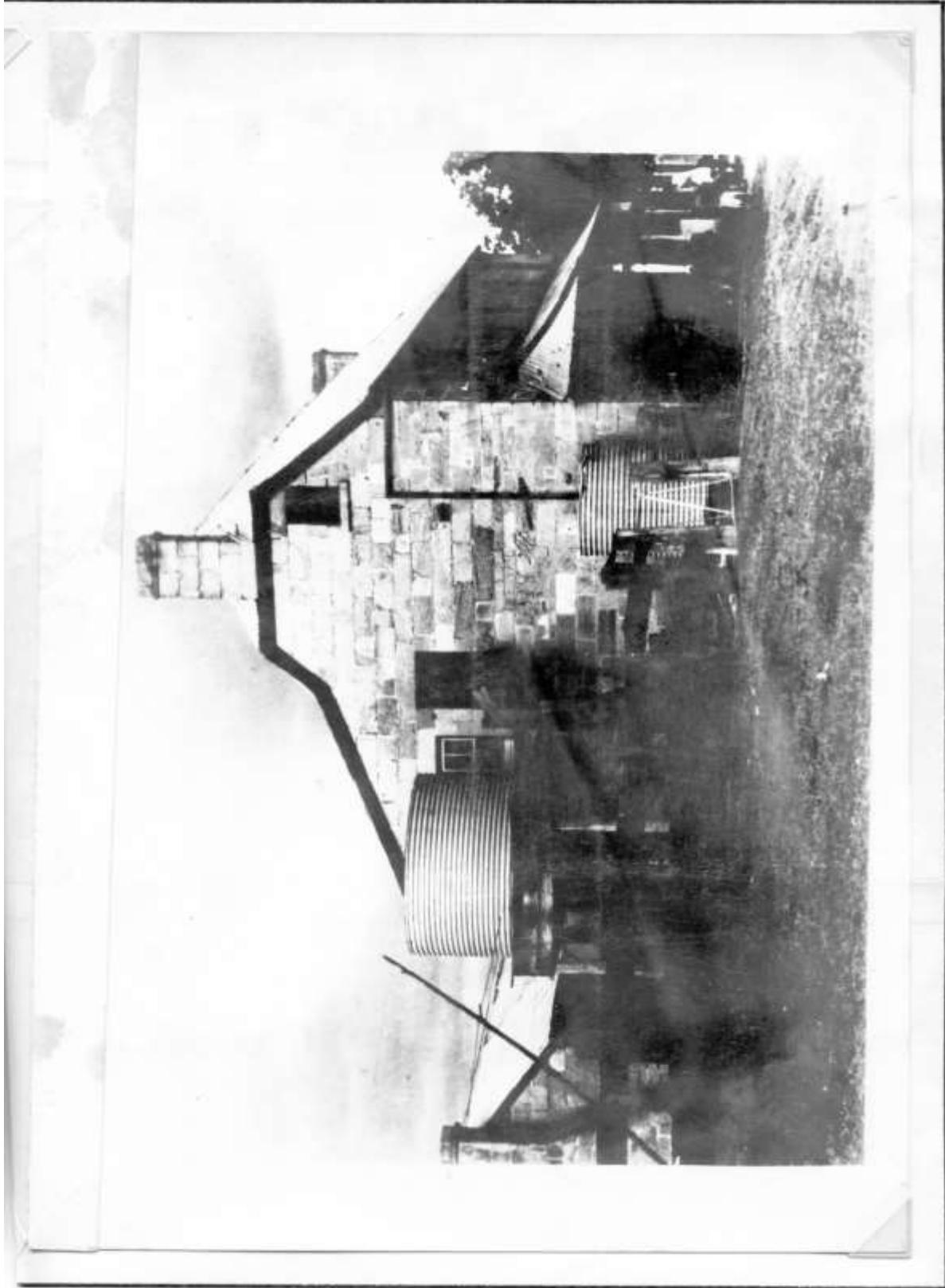


KITCHEN



SETTLERS ARMS  
ST. ALBANS

PLAN 9



EARLY VIEW , SOUTH-WEST ELEVATION



SOUTH ELEVATION



SOUTH-EAST ELEVATION

top of the coach and then up (and down) the stairs. The building as a whole thus appears as a very well thought out, strictly functional inn.

Its present use is as a liquor store and home, the store part being in the bar area - Room A - with Room B being a bottle storage area and Room C a coldroom. Room D provides office space for the building. The remainder operates as the home of the licensee.

There is nothing particularly English in the design, which is purely functional, providing drinking, eating and sleeping facilities. However it would not be surprising to see such a building in England, in terms of its layout rather than architecture. Looking at both, it is a home grown, indigenous example of a building built to the needs of the country. Professor Freeland describes it as '... an almost perfect and unspoilt example of the good-class, two-storey, stone inn of the period'.(3)

10. 'Gold Finders Home' Inn, Kurrajong

10.1 History

The land on which the property is situated is part of the land grant of 80 acres made to Rowland Edwards in 1819 (1). Its early history is obscure. No specific reference to it has been found before 1851. In that year it was reported that John Lamrock opened an inn on Wheeney Creek called the "Goldfinders Rest".(2)

'As Bells Line was a short cut to the Turon (gold fields), and this was the last place of call before proceeding over the mountain, and the first on returning, many travellers would lay in a stock of refreshments to assist them on their journey, or stay and rest on their return. As money was plentiful, both in that and the following decade, things were often very lively, not only with returning diggers, but with the local inhabitants generally.'

Since the route west was successfully navigated by Alexander Bell in 1823, what became known as Bells Line of Road was used as an alternative route west, being slightly shorter than the main route blazed by Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth in 1813. However it remained basically a bush track. In 1840's, a road trust was formed which gradually effected a road of a certain standard. However it remained essentially a foot route, also used in the eastbound direction by drovers herding their cattle to Sydney.

Of the inn and the cottage on Wheeney Creek, it is considered that the two storey stone inn was built about 1850/51. The original part of the cottage was almost definitely built before this time. The construction is very primitive. The date 1835 has been suggested locally, but no evidence to substantiate this has been found to date. It is probable that this cottage served as an unofficial 'sly-grog' shop prior to the stone inn receiving its licence.

Local knowledge (3) suggests that John Lamrock was the first person to settle on this land, which he did at the age of 18, building the initial cottage. Lamrock watered and



changed the coach horses. When he married, he added numerous extensions to the cottage as his family grew. It was also suggested that the stone inn was convict built, with arrowhead marks on some stone blocks - (these have not been seen) -.

The precise inn name at the start of its trading period is uncertain. One reference (2) called it the "Goldfinders Rest" another record (4) refers to it as the "Goldfinders Arms", licensed in 1851. The Treasury Liquor Licence records (5) have a discontinuity between May, 1849 and April, 1853. On the 19th April, 1853, a licence was issued to John Lamrock for a general publicans licence under the sign of the "Gold Finders Home". John Lamrock remained the publican until 1868, when his son-in-law, John Bensen, took over. It remained under the sign of the "Gold Finders Home" until 1870, when the name changed to 'Lamrock's Hotel', for one year. The licence was not renewed in 1871. John Bensen was killed in a fall from a horse in 1873 (2).

John Lamrock was definitely known in the area before 1851. The Hawkesbury Benevolent Society records a donation by him in their Financial Statement of April-June, 1849 (6). He appears to have been a generous man, reportedly donating the site for St. Stephens Anglican church and parsonage. He also took an interest in local affairs, being a member of the Road Trust for many years. (2) Lamrock remained the owner of the property until he died in 1899. Between 1868 and 1899 census details record his occupation as 'farmer'.

In Reference (2), extensive references were made about the inn:

'Here old friends would meet for the purpose of having a friendly chat or a social glass, and for the time being would place themselves under the happy influence of Jupiter. Or was it Nectar? One thing certain, a beverage could always be obtained at this hostlery meet for the Gods, and these old fogies knew it.

Some would meet to do business, others by appointment to decide a long standing dispute - not by arbitration, but by a more speedy and less expensive proceeding, the costs amounting only to a little exertion or a few bruises...

On one of these occasions an old gent who, in his young days, had figured in the prize ring with more or less success, and still had the conceit in him to think he was an expert in the noble art as in days of yore, was offering a sum of 2 pounds to any person in the crowd there assembled who would place himself before him for two rounds only. The money was held aloft for inspection for some considerable time without any apparent response, when a certain well-known Jehu drove up, with his coach and four, whom we will call Ned (not the coach, but the Jehu). Now, Ned was a remarkably quiet, unassuming fellow, never known to be a partis(an) in any brawl. When he came on the scene and saw the commotion, he naturally enquired the cause, and being informed, sat and meditated thus: "2 pounds for two rounds; that is more than I can earn in a week on the coach, and he cannot kill me I'll take him on!"

Preliminaries being arranged, the contest commenced.

Round No. 1 - No advantage on either side. The old pug exhibited his science, Ned his bull-dog pluck.

Round No. 2 - Slightly in Ned's favour.

The old veteran, warming up to the occasion, wished to continue the encounter. But Ned says, "No; pay up, and you can have two more at the same price."

Agreed, and the contest proceeded. Suffice it to say, that at the end of the fourth round, Ned had a considerable lead, and the old man had had sufficient for his money. Ned was 4 pounds the richer man, less drinks all round, which made a hole in one of the notes. But all the same Ned was heard to remark, "that he would take on a similar contract every day in the week."

This was also the rendezvous for others of a more peaceful nature than those which I have been describing.

The old Kurrajong racecourse was near by. The same course where old Veno, the erstwhile champion of Australia, won his first race.

I have spent many pleasant days since then in the neighbourhood of this old hostelry, and met many pleasant people there. One very interesting old gentleman - Mr. W.P. Wilshire - I often met in the '60's. He was of a very old and respected family in the State, and who was descended on his mother's side from an old lady whom I mentioned some time ago as having arrived here in 1800. He was possessed of superior talent, being a no mean artist, and a frequent contributor to the Sydney press, principally on topics of the day. One of his subjects was the advocacy of a railway to Kurrajong, which was much to the point, and was always read with interest. At the time of which I write he was engaged on the model of a double keeled ship, which I believe has claimed attention from some of the ship-builders in England. It was through this model that I first became acquainted with him, my knowledge of timber being somewhat useful to him in selecting and preparing the most suitable kinds.

But there is one amusing incident, in which he was the principal actor, that I must relate.

He was a great reader, and, being an elderly man, he loved to get near a fire with his book. It was a cold wet day. He had been out for a walk, and came in with his book and umbrella, and took up a position at one corner of the fireplace in the kitchen.

The cook - not Rolfe Boldrewood's "New Cook," but one perhaps quite as expert in the art - who has no up to date range to cook with, but a large open fireplace with a crane in one corner, on which was hung the fountain and the old three legged iron pot, in which was a piece of corned beef boiling. In the other corner was the camp oven with a peach

pie cooking or some other dainty dish, and we might add the spit with its surloin of beef revolving in the centre.

Well, that being so, our cook did not wish to tell the old gentleman he was in the way, but thought he would move him by a little diplomacy. He accordingly piled the wood on to the fire in the hope of making the position too hot for him, and move him in that way. But no, not a move; he just simply opened his umbrella and used it as a screen between himself and the fire. So the cook was beaten, and had to reduce the fire for fear of burning his dinner, and so the old gentleman read on.'

In 1860 the inn became the Wheeney Creek branch of the Post Office. In 1868 the branch was renamed Kurrajong Post Office. It remained a Post Office until about 1916. During this period its Post Office custom increased substantially. In 1862-3 details of the mail delivery service were as follows (7):

"Mail closes at G.P.O.	: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 4 p.m.
Mail arrives at Post Office	: Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, 10.30a.m
Mail leaves for Sydney	: Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, 2 p.m.
Mail arrives at Sydney	: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 8.25a.m."

By 1884-85, there were deliveries on six days of the week (Sunday excepted). By 1899 it had acquired telegraph facilities. It ceased business as a Post Office in 1916.

During its time as a Post Office, it also functioned as a general store. After Bensen's death in 1873, these duties were taken on by various people, until the death of Lamrock in 1899, when the property was sold.

On 10th January, 1899, Henry Pitt and Robert Essington Pitt became the owners of the property. Henry is the great grandfather of one of the present owners, Deborah Hallam (nee Pitt), and so it is of interest to trace the family history.

Mary Pitt, widow of Robert Pitt, arrived in the "Canada" December 14th, 1801, with her son Thomas Matcham Pitt, and daughters Lucy (m. John Wood), Susannah (m. William Faithfull), Ester (m. James Wilshire) and Jemima (m. (1) Austin Forrest, and (2) Robert Jenkins). Mother and son were given adjoining grants of 100 acres each in 1802 within two miles of the present town of Richmond. Mary Pitt was a cousin of George Matcham, who married Catherine, sister of Lord Nelson. On the strength of this relationship, land grants were made on November 1st, 1808, to Jemima Pitt (500 acres at Strathfield), James Wilshire (570 acres at Strathfield) and William Faithfull (1,000 acres at Burwood) in consequence of 'a strong recommendation from the late illustrious and lamented Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson to His Excellency Governor King, and of no grant having hitherto been made in compliance therewith.' These grants were confirmed by Governor Macquarie January 1st, 1810. Mary Pitt died on 7th November, 1815, aged 67. (8)

Further grants were made to two sons of Thomas Matcham Pitt, George Matcham and Robert Pitt, the former grant becoming the property "Bronte" at Agnes Banks and the latter grant being named "Trafalgar" at Kurrajong, in honour of Lord Nelson. George Matcham Pitt became well known as the head of Pitt, Son and Badgery, the stock and station firm. He had a son also called George Matcham Pitt, who established a property on the Hawkesbury River at North Richmond called "Sunnyside", in 1860. Henry and Robert Pitt, who bought 'Goldfinders' in 1899, were both descended from Robert Pitt from "Trafalgar".

Robert continued to live at 'Trafalgar' as a farmer, while Henry assumed the duties of Post-Master and storekeeper.

'Goldfinders' was mortgaged in 1908 to William Logan, for the sum of 700 pounds at 6½% interest, to be repaid by 7th May, 1913. The mortgagors defaulted and the property was finally sold by the mortgagee on 27th January, 1922, to James Pye. (1) Pye's family had also been in the area a long time, mention being previously made of a James Pye having an inn on the Parramatta-Windsor road sometime in the first half of the 19th century.

Pye sold the property to Lawrence Adolphus on 28th January, 1944. The property took on a new lease of life under Lawrence and Marjorie Adolphus, becoming used as an artist's retreat. An apartment was built in the grounds from the slab wood off the stables and used as a retreat by such artists as William Dobel and Sidney Nolan, and poets such as Peter Hopegood and Kenneth McKenzie. Architects such as Walter Bunning and John Oldham also came. One of the rooms - Room 'B' on Plan 10.3 - was used as the music room where pianists such as Nancy Salas regularly entertained, on three occasions to the accompaniment of Joan Sutherland.

At the same time, the property also served as a hostel for refugees from the war, the bulk of whom slept in the inn. Room A in the cottage served as the school room. Amongst the nationalities who passed through here were Latvians and Germans, the latter including a community of Knights Templars, from the Middle East. Devonshire teas were also occasionally served to travellers.

The property passed to Marjorie Adolphus on 28th June, 1951, as part of the settlement for divorce. William Wells became the owner on 20th January, 1953. Terry Paul acquired the property on 25th November, 1958. During his ownership the grounds were considerably improved and many European trees were planted. He sold it on 15th February, 1972, to P.P. McGuinness and three others, who sold it on 3rd December, 1975 to the present owners, Christopher Hallam and Deborah Hallam (nee Pitt). Deborah's father, Harold Noel Pitt, was the son of George Allan Pitt, who was the son of the previous owner, Henry Pitt.

## 10.2 The Building

### (a) Inn

The inn is constructed of two thicknesses of ashlar, giving a total thickness of 0.46m. The stone is Hawkesbury sandstone. The courses of ashlar are of uniform height 0.30m. The surface finish on the outside of the north and west elevations is finely smoothed, with no borders as such around individual blocks. On the south and east elevations the surface is a

rougher picked finish. The string course only protrudes on the north and west elevations. It appears that the building was generally left unpainted on the outside, with the exception of signs painted on the north and west elevations. The words 'POST OFFICE' clearly appear over a window on the north elevation.

The front of the building - north elevation - is asymmetric on both floor levels. However a false chimney has been put onto the east elevation, to match the chimney on the west. There is no trace of a fireplace on the inside of the east wall, where the staircase is.

See Elevation 10.1

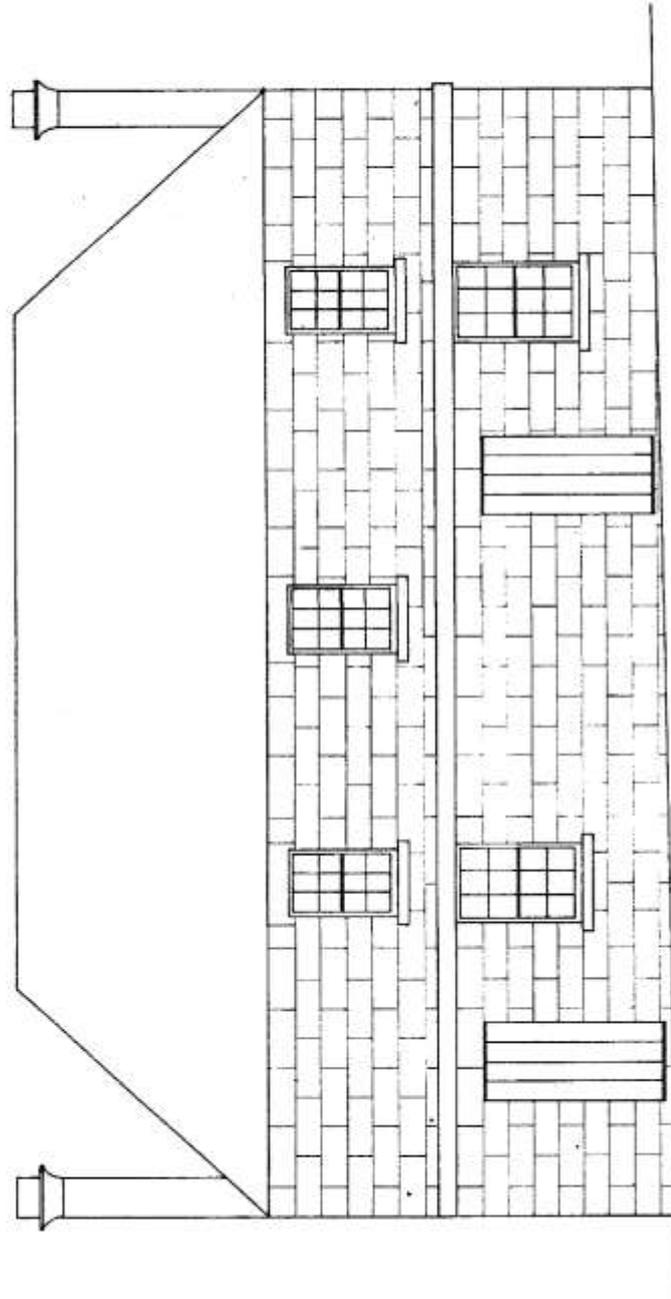
The floor boards on both floors have been pit sawn, as have all the other timber beams in the building. The floor boards on both floors are all similar in dimensions, and are butt jointed, rather than tongue and grooved.

The interior walls are smooth finished ashlar. There is no evidence of plaster ever covering them. They are currently painted and from the evidence of the layers of paint, have been painted for a long time. The fireplace in the west wall is of very simple form, with no evidence of there being a mantelpiece or surround. Neither is there evidence of skirt-ing boards. The ceiling of the ground floor consists of strips of wood nailed to the cross beams, with narrower strips covering the joins in the wood. The ceiling of the first floor consists of overlapping weatherboards nailed to the rafters.

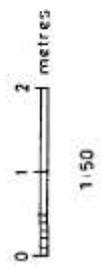
The roof was originally covered in shingles. Some of these remain, under the corrugated iron which has replaced them.

Elevations 2 and 3 show the south and east plus west faces, as originally built.

The inn has not altered significantly since it was built. At present there is no cellar as such. It appears to have

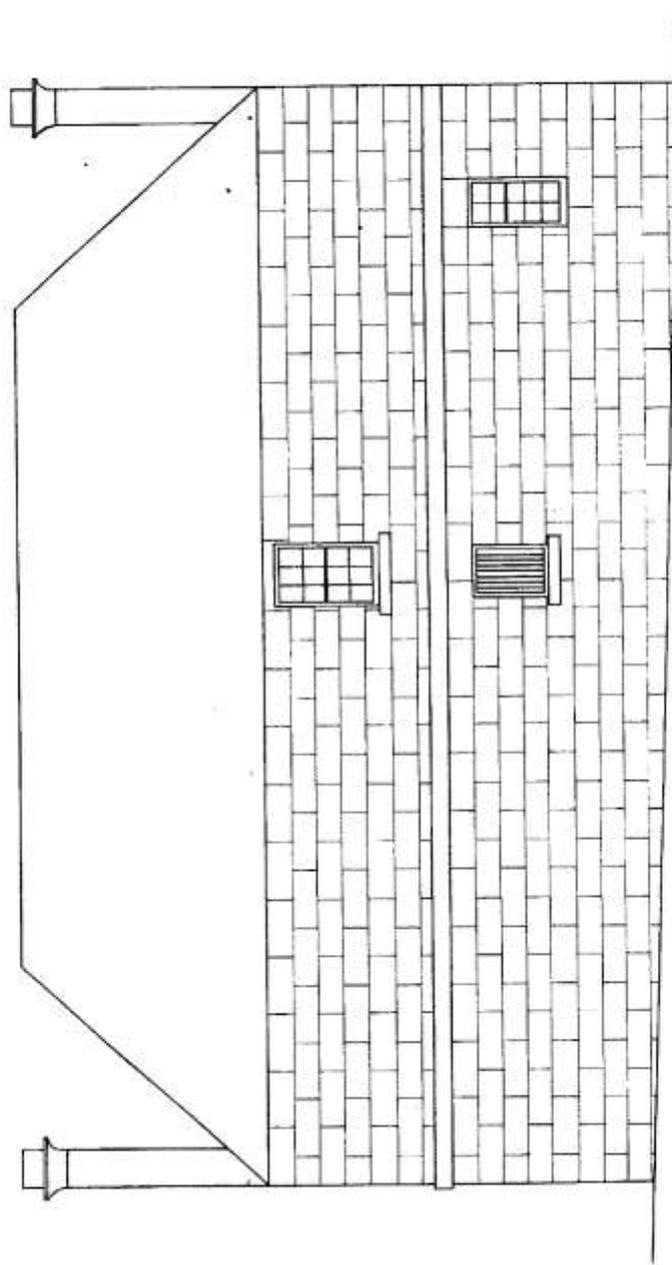


NORTH ELEVATION



GOLDFINDERS HOME INN*
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM





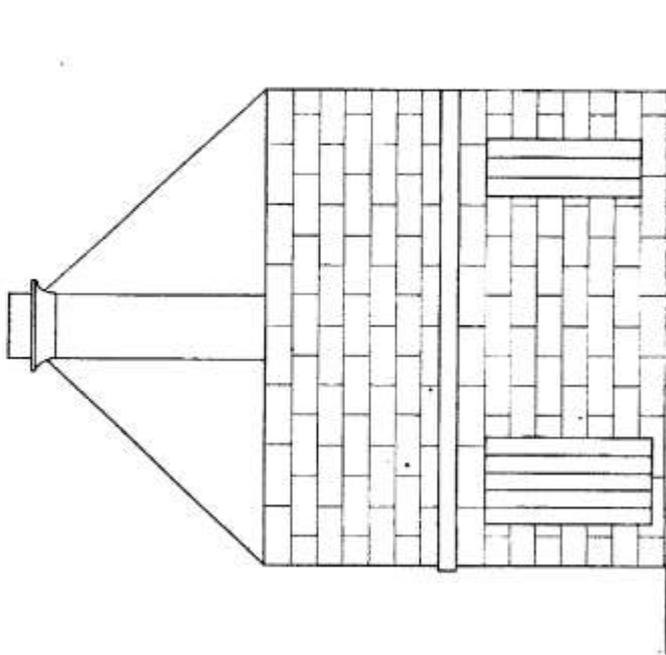
GOLDFINDERS HOME INN  
KURRAJONG  
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

SOUTH ELEVATION



1:50

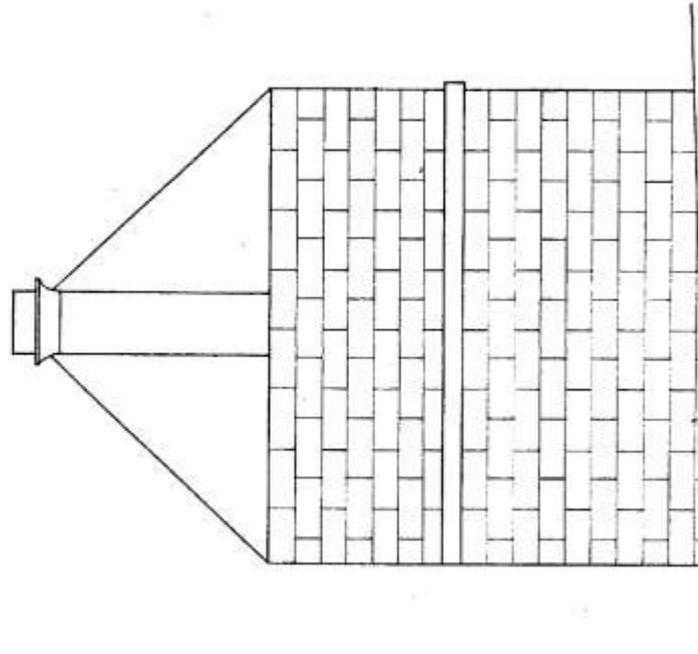
ELEVATION 102



WEST ELEVATION



1:50



EAST ELEVATION

'GOLDFINDERS HOME INN'
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

ELEVATION 10.3

been filled in with soil and rubbish at about the turn of the century. It has been reported that there originally was some cellar because police returning from the goldfields used to lock their prisoners up in the cellar and sleep in the bar themselves.

Partitions were erected on the first floor in the 1880's. It is considered that the partitions which used to be on the ground floor were original. Most of these partitions were removed by William Wells.

When it operated as a store, there was a weatherboard extension on the western end of the building, linking up through the two doorways out into this face. There is no longer any trace of this extension. A skillion type extension was added to the north side of the building by Pye. The only trace remaining of this is the joist sockets in the wall.

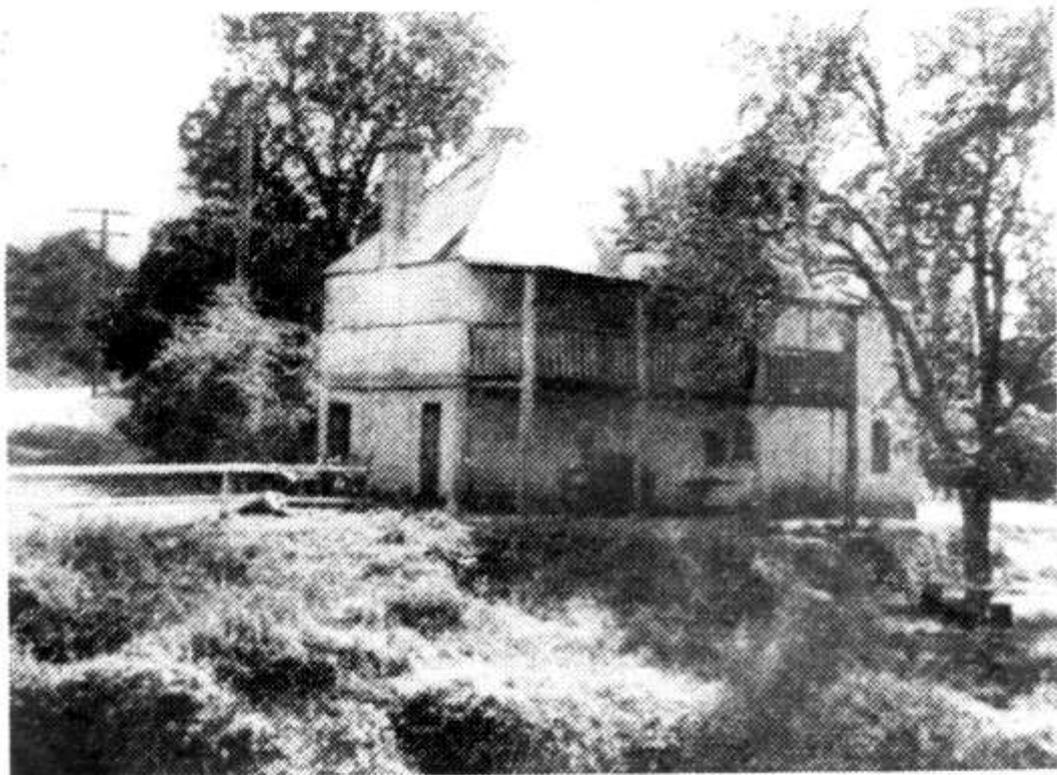
The verandah on the south face was erected by Pye, who converted the first floor window into the present doorway.

Photo 10.1 shows the inn in 1956. Photo 10.2 shows the inn and the creek at c1900.

Considerable foundation movement has taken place, resulting in settlement both longitudinally, in which case it has occurred from both ends towards the centre, and transversely towards the creek. In the latter case, the lintel course over the first floor windows on the north elevation has remained, relatively speaking, in its original position which effectively means that it has been displaced from the body of stonework making up this wall which has moved inwards. This downhill displacement towards the creek is not even along the length of the building.

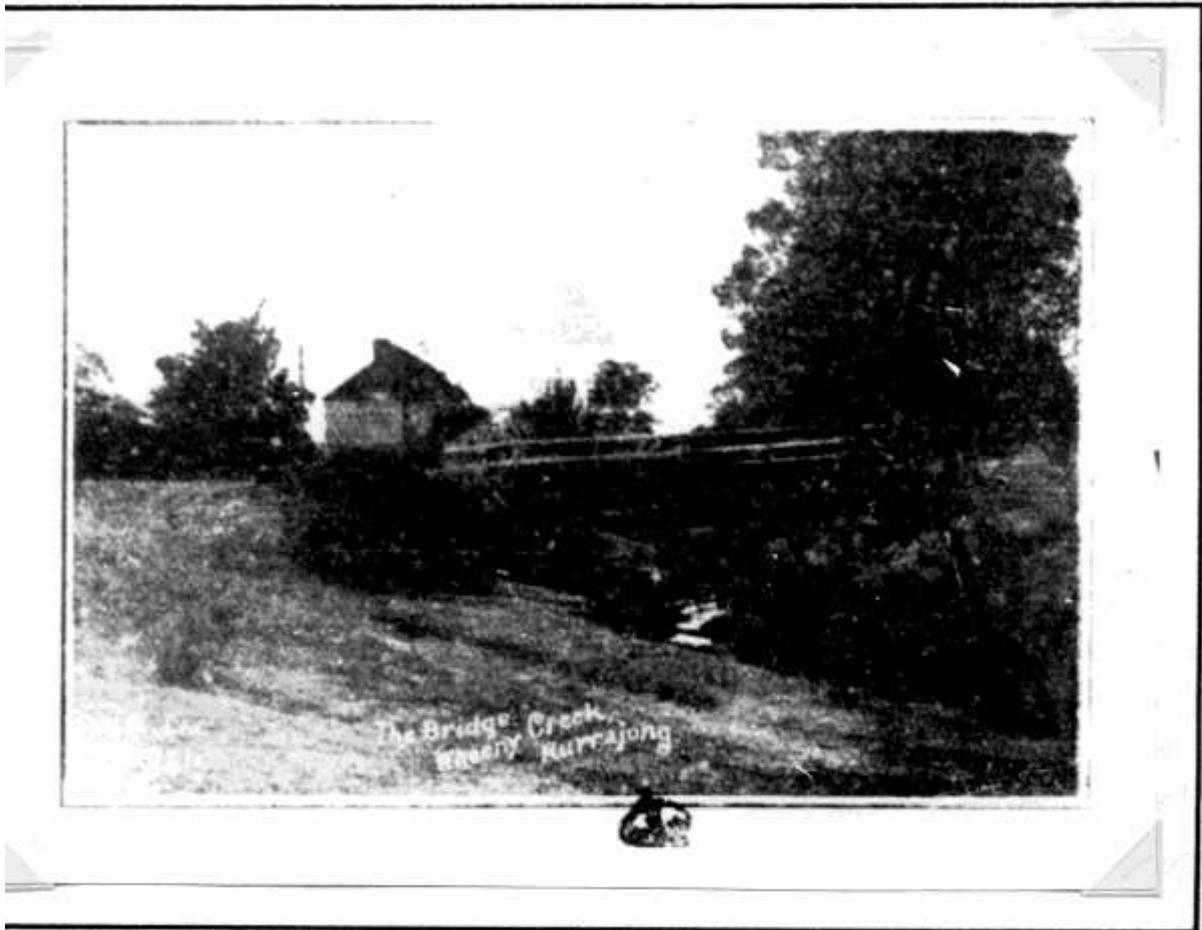
Within the north elevation, the string course at first floor level has dropped and shows signs of cracking over one of the windows.

In the east elevation there is vertical cracking of individual stone blocks at the north-east corner, whilst a



OLD INN, WHEENY CREEK, KURRAJONG.

c 1956



INN & WHEENY CREEK, c 1900

number of joints in this wall have opened up as a result of the downhill movement. In the west elevation there has been a cracking of the lintel at both door openings with subsidence of the string course over and bellying in the stonework at first floor level. There are signs of subsidence in the fireplace built into this elevation. The south elevation does not exhibit the same signs of subsidence although some cracks and open joints exist.

Section 10.1 shows a north-south section of the inn.

Photo 10.3 and 10.4 show the north elevation from the west and east, showing the effect of the foundation movements.

Photo 10.5 illustrates the roof structure. Photo 10.6 shows the interior of the ground floor as it currently is.

Plans 10.1 and 10.2 show the ground and first floor plans.

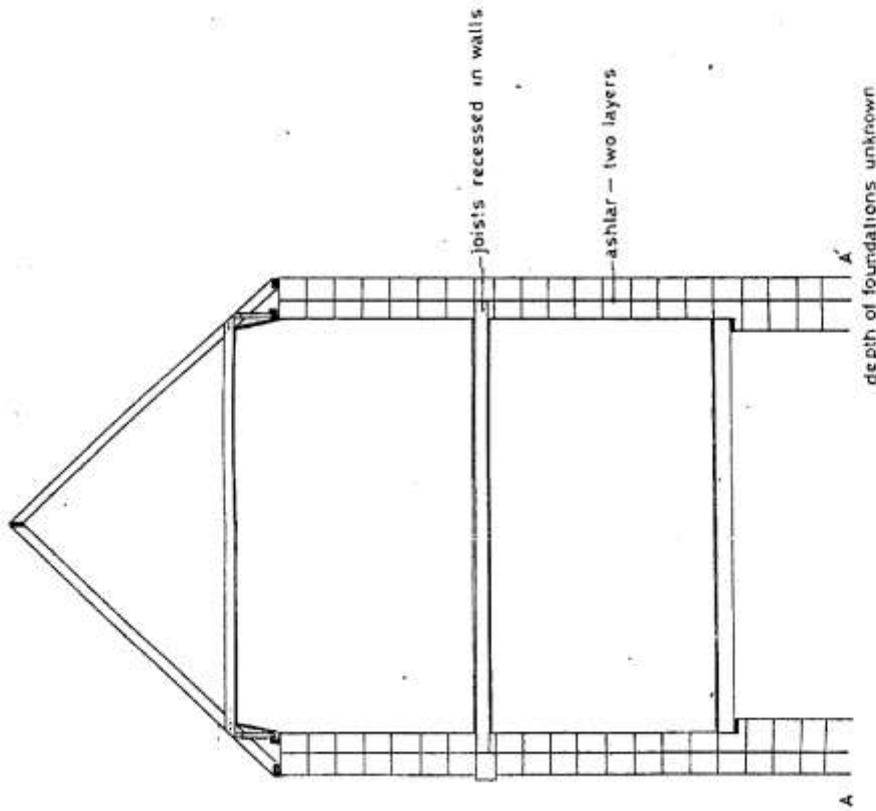
Plan 10.3 shows the location and site plans.

(b) Cottage

As was mentioned, the cottage was probably an unlicensed inn before the main building was built. Thus a full description of it is of interest.

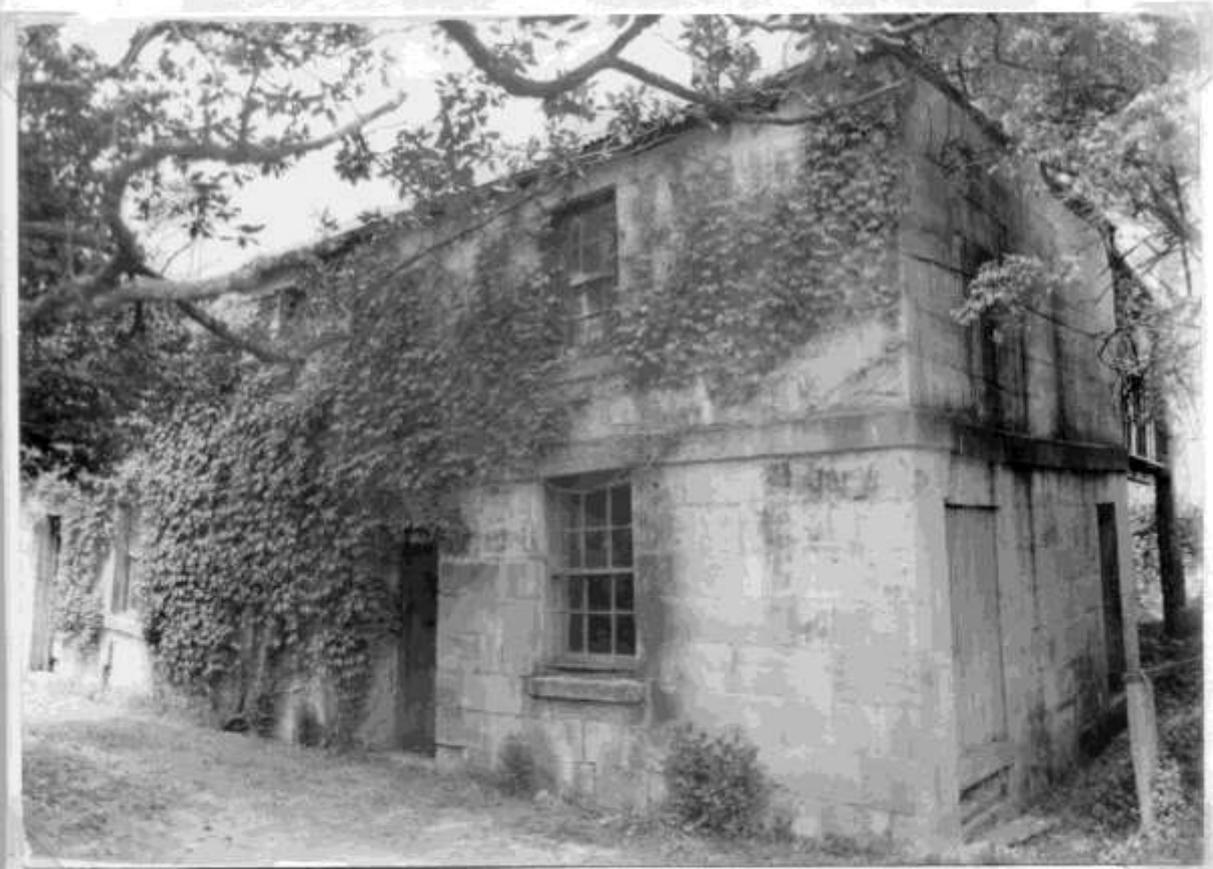
Plan 10.4 gives the cottage floor plan.

The original cottage consisted of Rooms A and B, with the front verandah probably original. Room C was added very soon after. Its roof structure is identical to that above Rooms A and B, consisting of round sapling rafters, with some pit-sawn timbers, covered over with shingles. The roof structure at first appears continuous over the three rooms, but in fact there is a discontinuity above the north wall of Room B. Rooms D, E and F would have next been built, as the owner's needs expanded. The skillion roofed back section - Rooms G to I - was the last addition. Considerable interior renovations were carried out by Adolphus in the 1940's. These are in sympathy with the style.



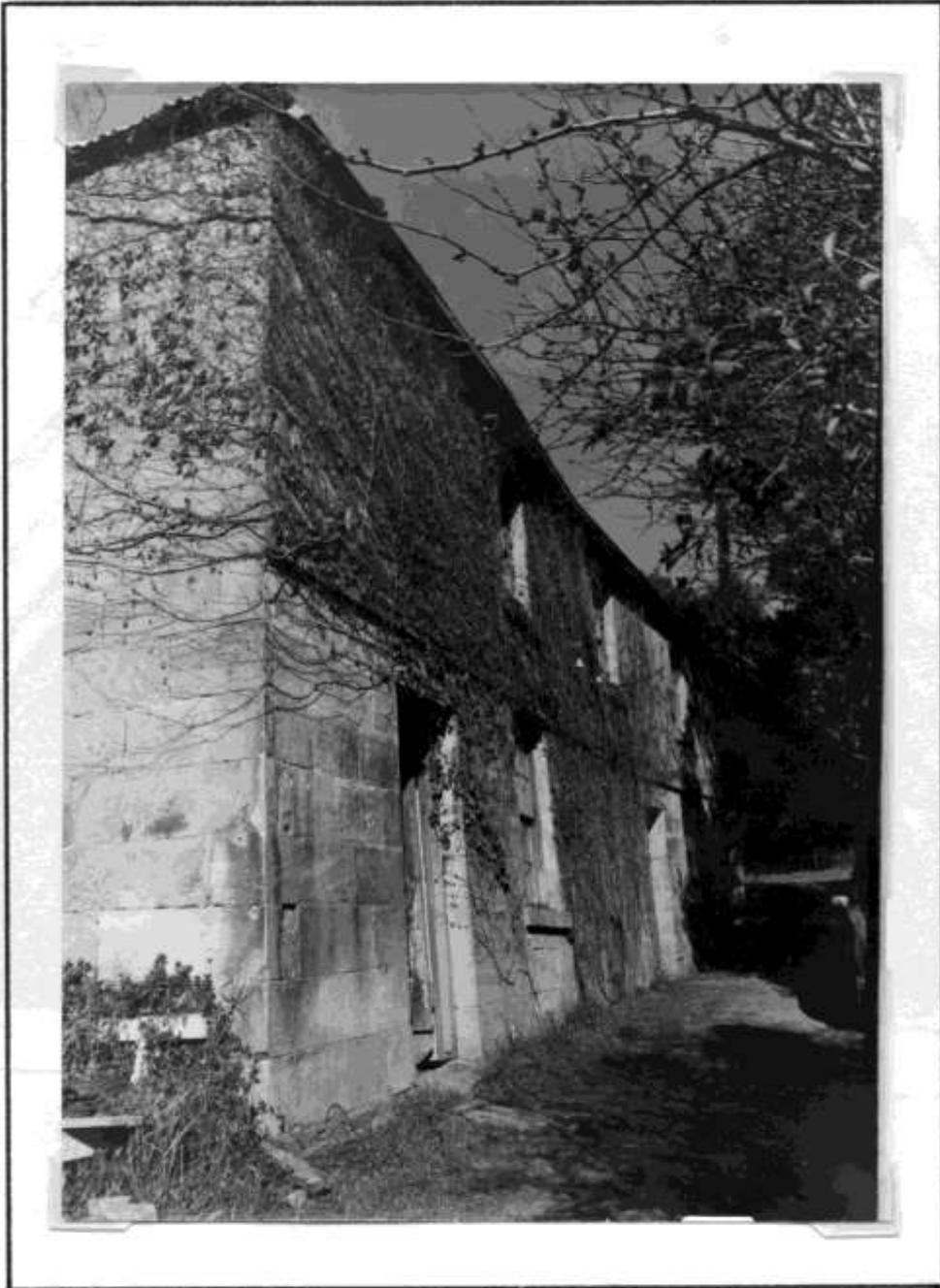
SECTION 'A A'

"GOLDI' INDEERS HOME INN"
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM



INN : NORTH-WEST ELEVATION



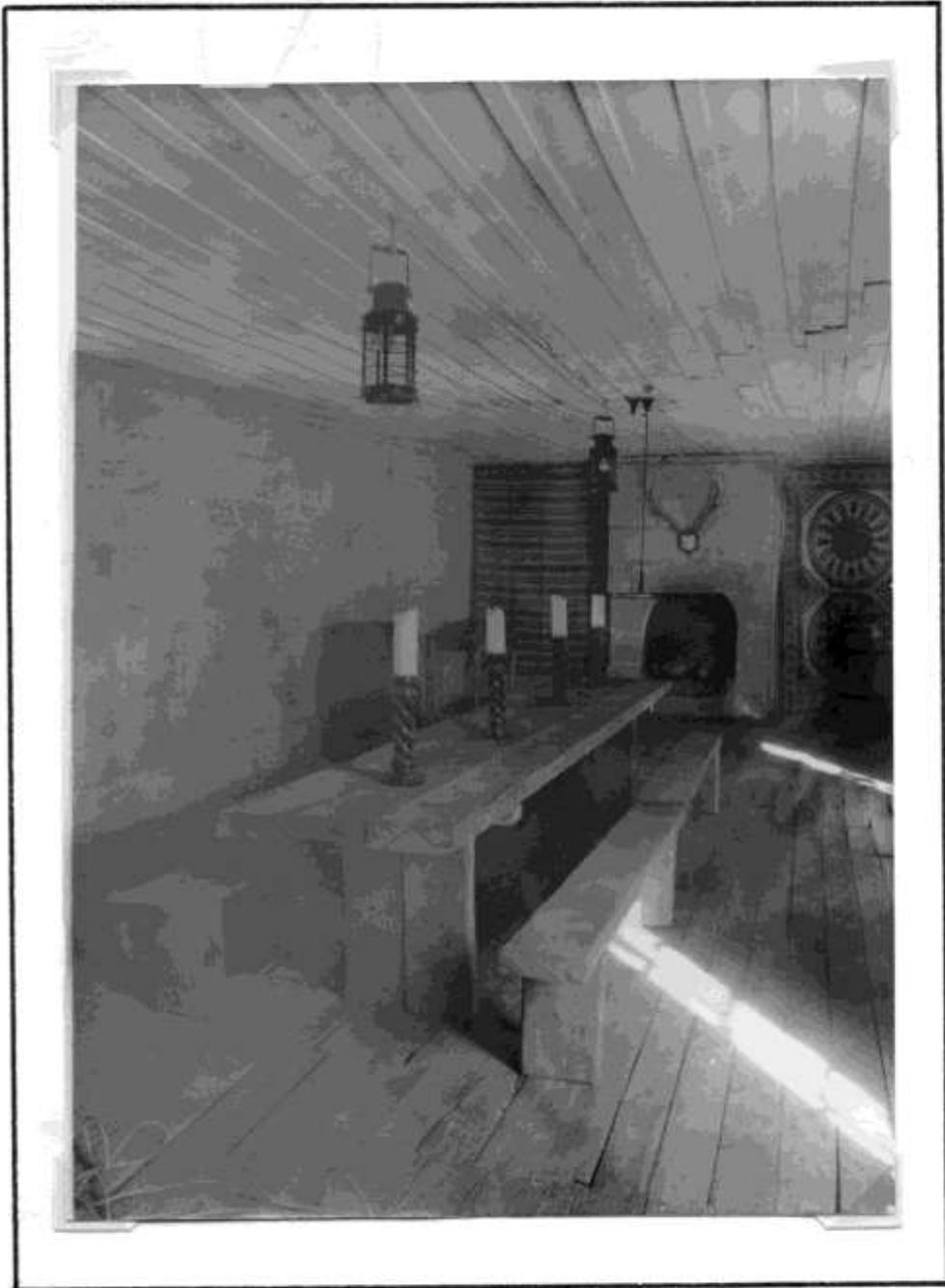


INN, NORTH-EAST ELEVATION



INN: ROOF STRUCTURE

INN - GROUND FLOOR INTERIOR

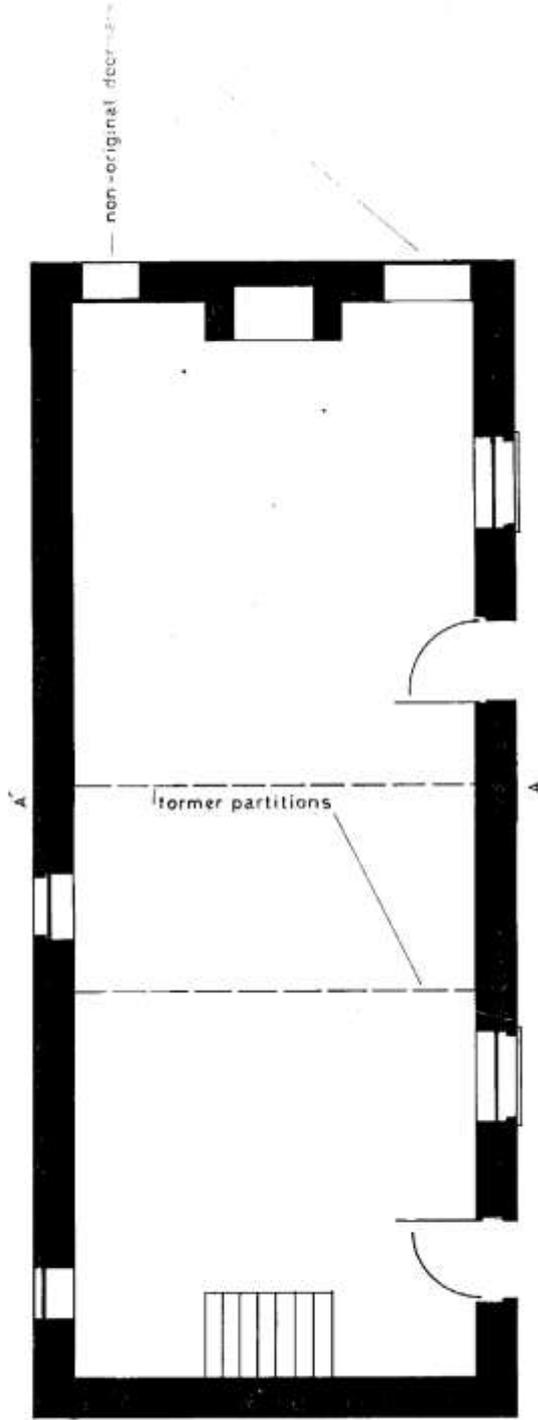


INN, GROUND FLOOR INTERIOR



1:50

GOT PRINTERS FROM THE  
BY UPRA 10/15/15  
CHRISTOPHER W. WILSON

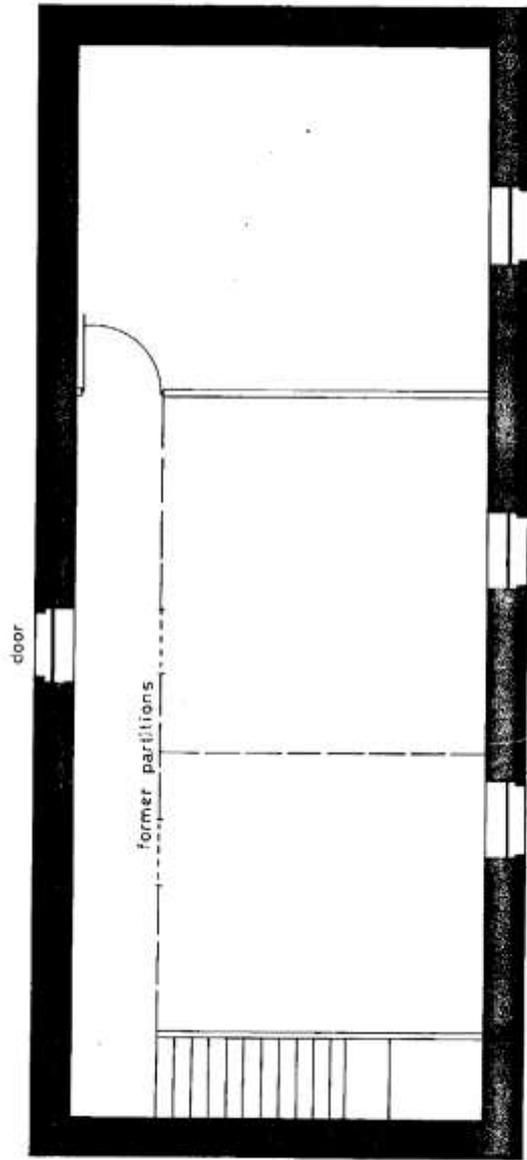


GROUND FLOOR PLAN



1:50

GOLDFINDERS HOME INN
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

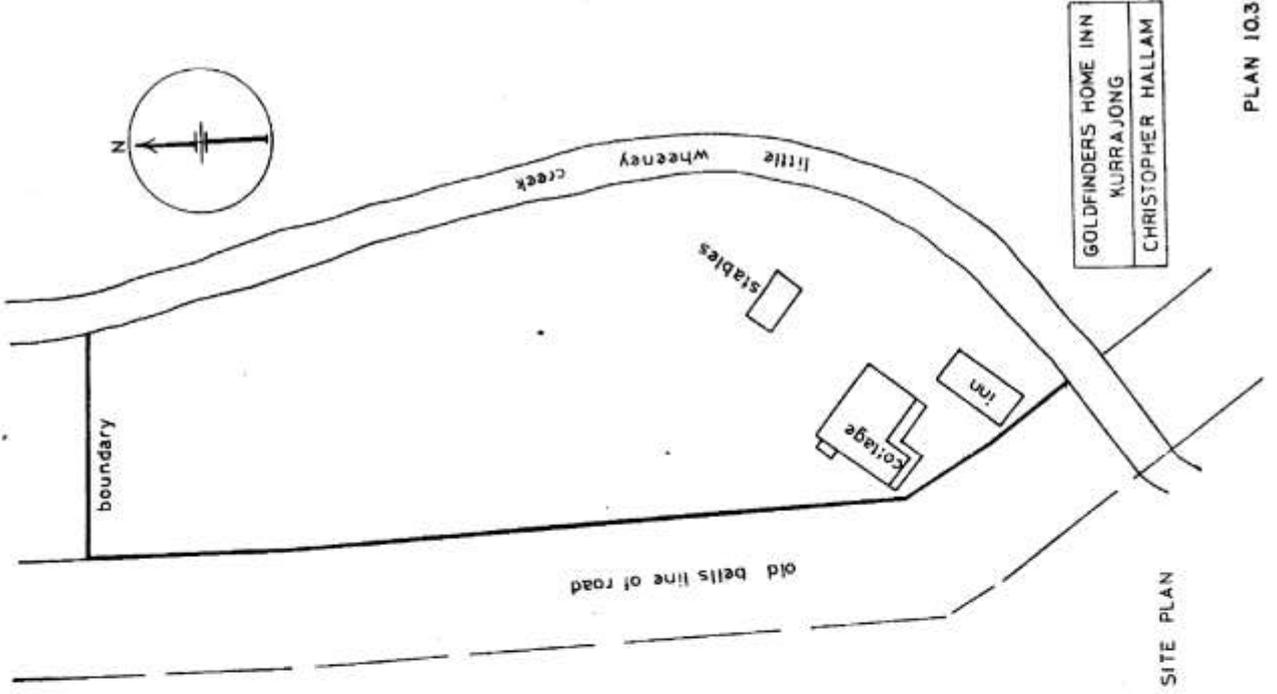


FIRST FLOOR PLAN



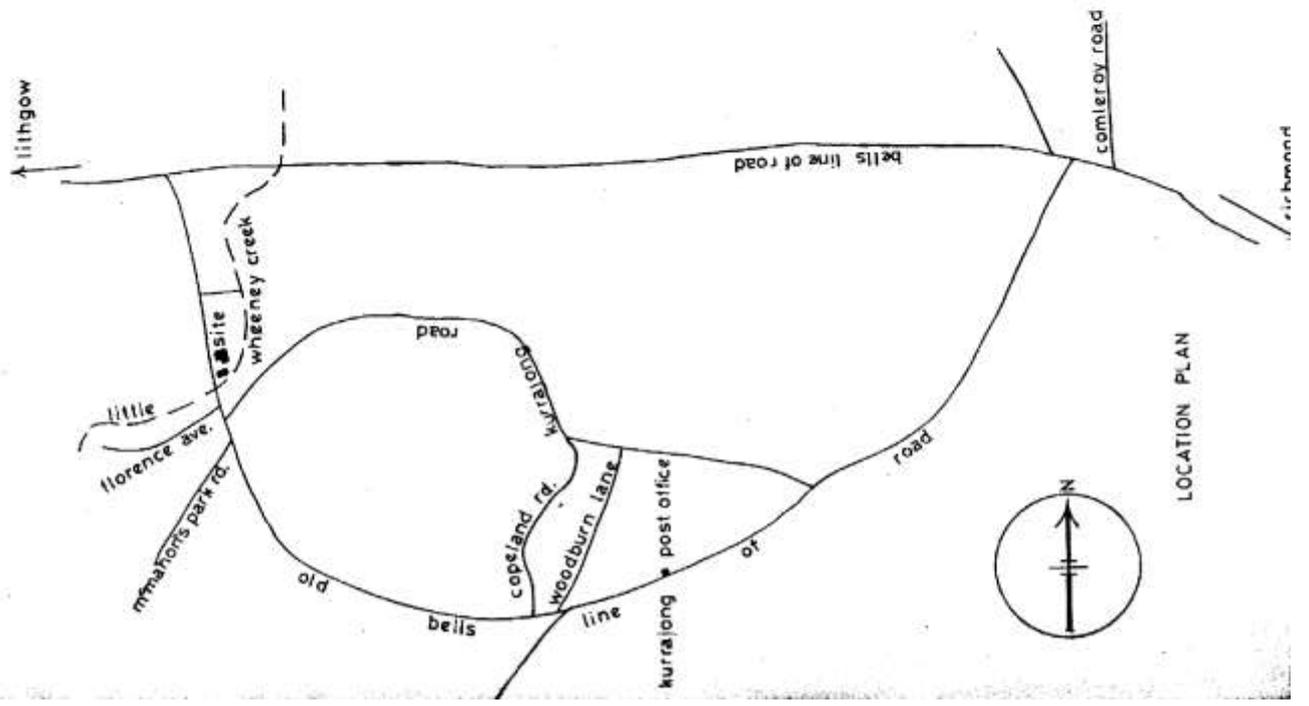
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GOLDFINDERS HOME INN <sup>1</sup>
KURAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

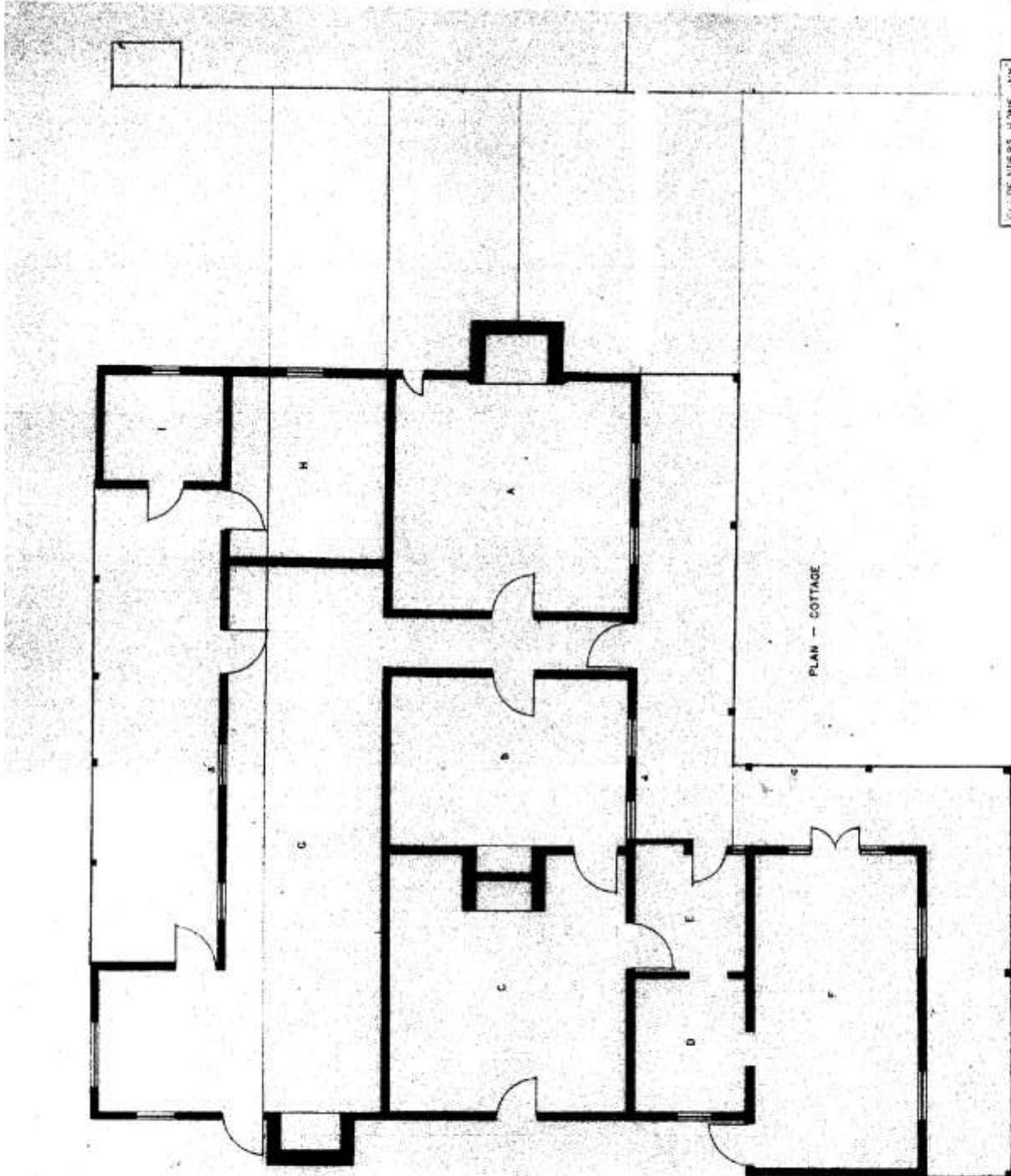


GOLDFINDERS HOME INN  
 KURRALONG  
 CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

SITE PLAN



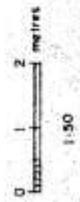
LOCATION PLAN



PLAN - COTTAGE

GILDF NERS HOME -NN  
 KURPAALUS  
 194 (1970) 44,1 m<sup>2</sup>

PLAN 10.9



The original cottage walls are wood frame, externally clad in weatherboard, with rubble infill, and canvas or tin for internal walls. The remainder of the walls have either weatherboard or corrugated iron on the outside and tin or plaster board on the inside, with no infill. The roof which was originally covered in shingles, is now covered in iron, with some shingles remaining underneath.

Elevations 10.4 - 10.7 show the cottage as it currently is. Section 10.2 takes an east-west cut through the cottage, illustrating the way the roof line has changed with the additions.

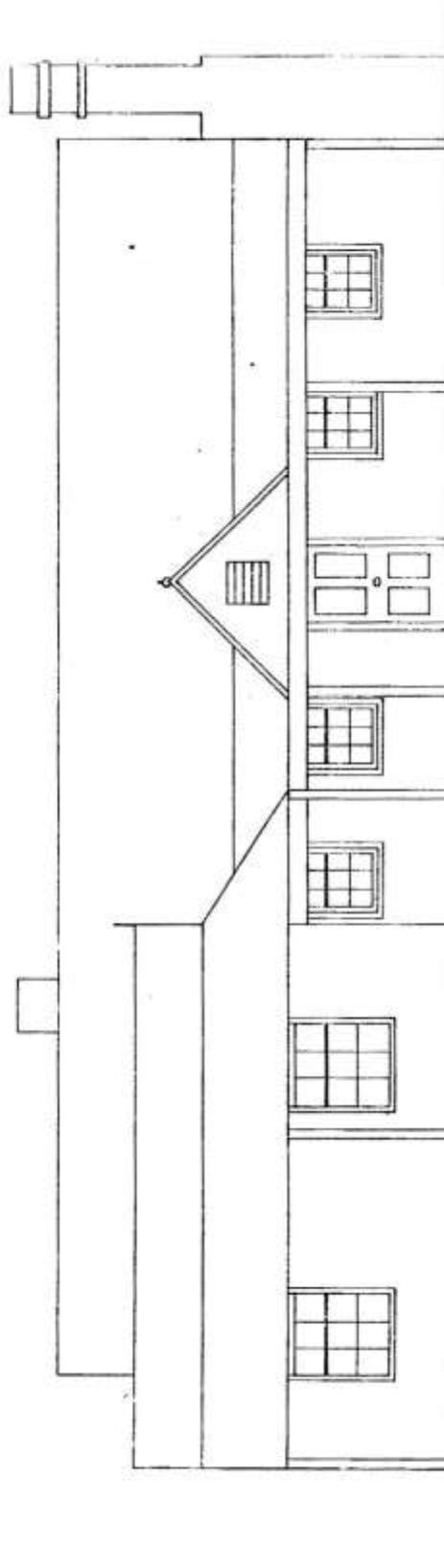
Photos 10.7 and 10.8 show the south-west and east elevations of the cottage. It is typical in appearance to many buildings of its era, and in particular is similar to many of the first inns which sprang up on the colony's first roads.

Photo 10.9 shows a mural painted on the wall in Room G. It was painted some time in the 1940's by Adolphus, and illustrates the inn as he understood it to be. There is obviously a bit of artistic licence in this, but the additions on the cottage were meant to be the way they are portrayed, as confirmed in a recent discussion with the wife of Adolphus. These rear additions, in the form of a wing off the main structure, housed service rooms for the coaches and travellers, no doubt including a harness room, pantry and perhaps even a small forge. The use of the front courtyard as a drinking area is interesting, foreshadowing the current popularity of beer gardens by many years.

Photo 10.10 shows the inside of the front door. The timber is cedar. The stone rubble construction can be seen above the door, being stone infill between timber beams.

Photo 10.11 shows the Georgian fireplace in Room C. This is not original. Originally, the fireplace between Rooms B and C only opened into Room B. Some time in his ownership, Terry Paul installed this fireplace, dividing the flue into two sections, feeding into the same chimney. This fireplace was originally in the first Windsor Post Office.



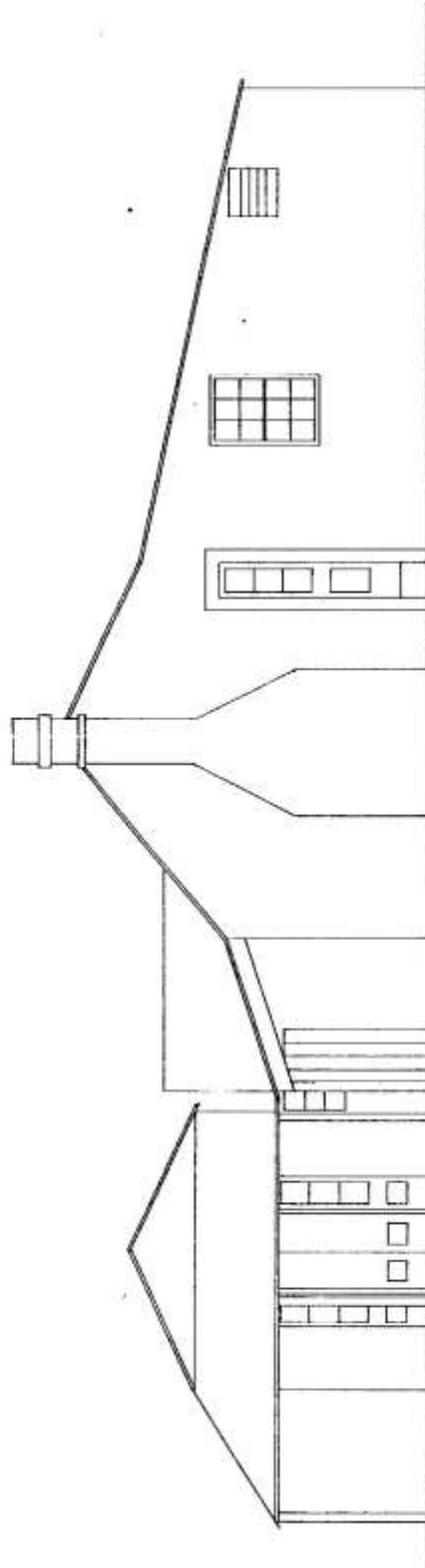


WEST ELEVATION — . COTTAGE



1:50

'GOLDFINDERS HOME INN' KURRAJONG CHRISTOPHER HALLAM
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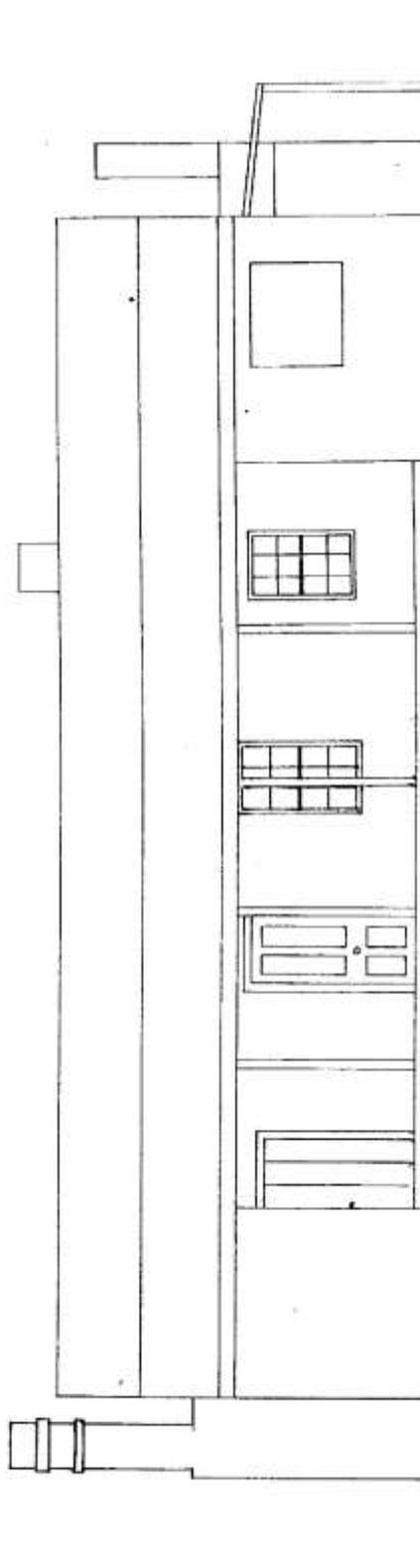
SOUTH ELEVATION — COTTAGE



1:50

GOLDFINDER'S HOME INN
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER MALLAM

ELEVATION 10.5



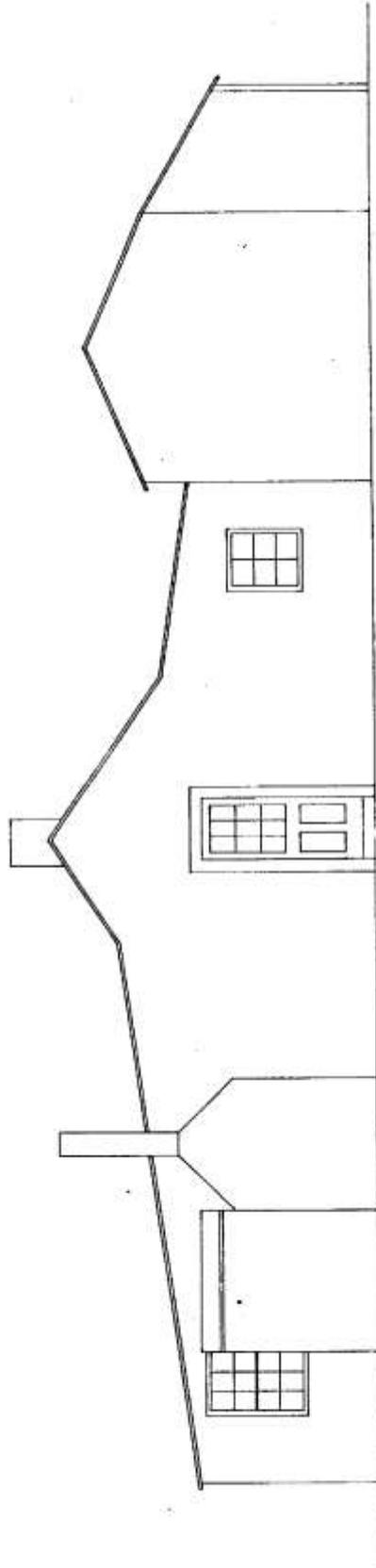
EAST ELEVATION — COTTAGE



1:50

GOLDFINDERS HOME INN  
KURRAJONG  
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM

ELEVATION 10.6

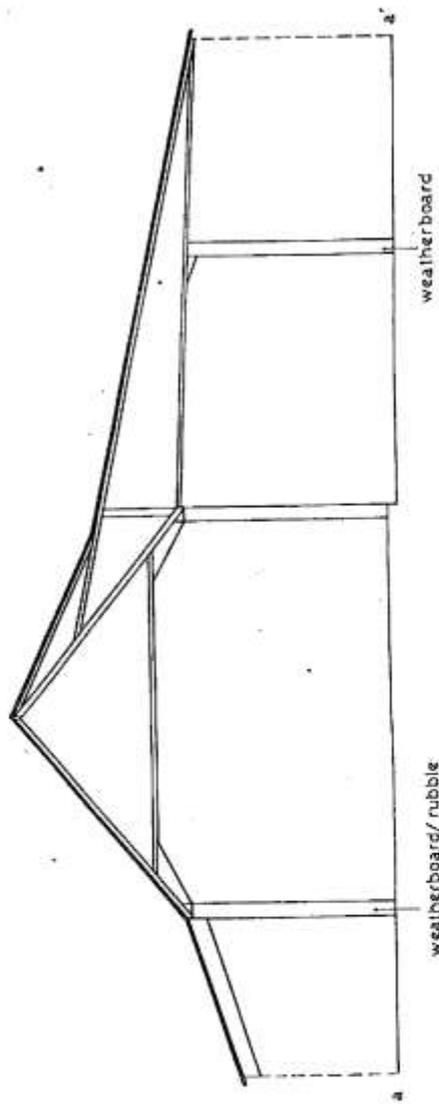


NORTH ELEVATION — COTTAGE



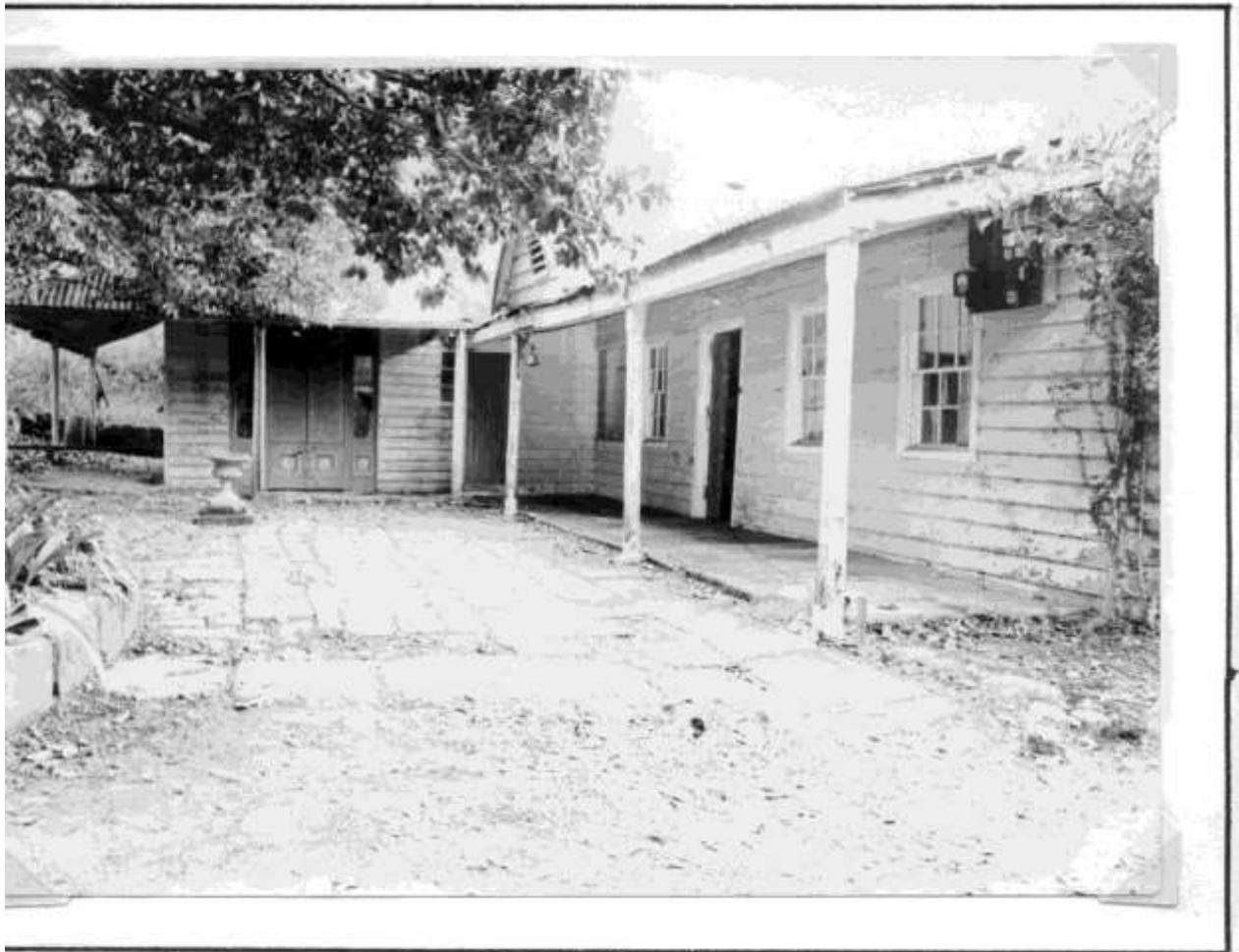
1:50

'GOLDFINDERS HOME INN'
KURRA JONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM



SECTION a-a COTTAGE

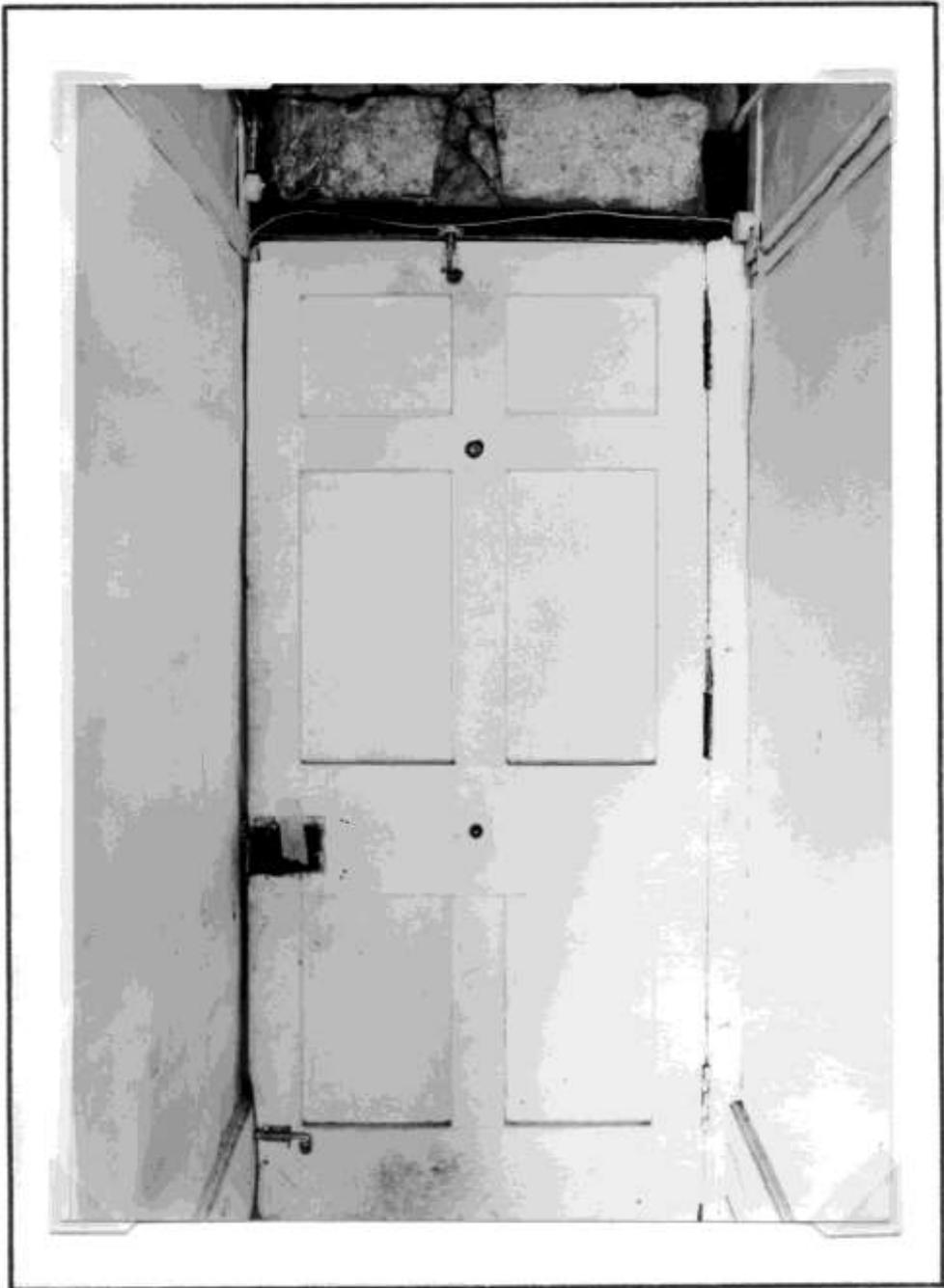
GOLFINDERS HOME INN
KURRAJONG
CHRISTOPHER HALLAM



COTTAGE : SOUTH-WEST ELEVATION



COTTAGE: EAST ELEVATION



COTTAGE , FRONT DOOR





COTTAGE, FIREPLACE IN ROOM 'C'

Photo 10.12 shows Room A. The fireplace is an interesting example, with a carved stone mantelpiece.

### 10.3 Form and Function

Accepting the hypothesis that the cottage was the original inn, its operation as such can be discussed.

It was definitely not built as an inn, but as a private dwelling. It would have operated in much the same function as the primitive English style, with guests first gathering around the kitchen fireplace, and when a separate parlour was available, using it, and having drinks delivered. As a two room building, Room A was probably the kitchen/parlour, with Room B the bedroom. Rooms C, D, E and F were probably additions to provide more accommodation. The position of the rear service wing - as shown in the mural - is not known.

Having established a custom, Lamrock built the stone building as an inn, in a high standard of construction for such an outlying area. Photo 10.13 shows the licence for 1853-4. The original tap-room was in the centre of the ground floor, the only window being barred, and equipped with a solid shutter. The exact form of serving arrangement is not known, but was possibly through a hole in the wall. The original point of access into the cellar is also not known, but would logically have been from the tap-room. Since some sections of the floor are non original, evidence cannot be found of the original trapdoor.

The western end of the room would have been the drinking area, with its fireplace for comfort and direct access to the outside. It is possible that the eastern end of the room formed a second drinking area, with drinks being served direct from the tap-room.

Sufficient accommodation would have been provided by the rooms on the first floor. However a former owner, Terry Paul, considers that originally there were no partitions upstairs, and that bunks were installed around the walls, where the men slept, while ladies slept in the cottage. This is possible



COTTAGE: ROOM 'A'

1853 June 21

G 83.

CERTIFICATE BY JUSTICES TO AUTHORISE THE GRANTING OF A LICENSE.

NEW SOUTH WALES,

TO WIT.

At the Annual Licensing Meeting

of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace, acting in and for the district of Wauchope, holden at the Court House, Wauchope, on the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three, pursuant to the Act of the Governor and Council passed in the thirteenth year of the Reign of Her present Majesty Queen Victoria, intitled, "An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the Licensing of Public Houses, and to regulate the sale of fermented and spirituous liquors in New South Wales," for the purpose of considering applications made to us for licences, pursuant to the said Act, the majority of the Justices assembled at the said meeting, and notice as required by the said Act, and the requisite notices of application for a General Publican's License having been proved before us to have been duly served and posted, do, in virtue of the power vested in us hereby authorise

The Colonial Treasurer to issue to John Lawrence of Narragong, the license in the said Act called a Publican's General License, for a house and premises situate at Narragong in the district of Wauchope, under the sign of the "Gold Miner's Home"

until the first day of July next; and we do hereby certify that we are satisfied that the said John Lawrence is a person of good fame and reputation, and fit and proper to be licensed as aforesaid; and also that we have taken from the said John Lawrence and his sureties Stephen Henthorne and North Robinson, and James Lawrence of North Robinson, a recognizance in the sum of fifty pounds each, according to the form prescribed in the said Act of the Governor and Council.

GIVEN under our hands and seals the nineteenth day of April 1853, at the place aforesaid.

John Lawrence J.P. Stephen Henthorne North Robinson James Lawrence

The Annual Licensing Meeting; or "an adjournment of the Annual Licensing Meeting," or "a Special Petty Sessions for the transfer of Licenses," as the case may be. Having obtained and read the returns made at the said Meeting or Sessions, or at the only Justice present after such adjournment of the said Meeting or Sessions. A General Publican's, or "Publican," or "a Confectioner's License," as the case may be. The Colonial Treasurer, or other proper officer. Here state the house, sign, district, shop, room, street, parcel, vessel, or other particulars, according to the description of houses and nature of the case; and, if a Confectioner's License, specify the particular liquors allowed to be sold.

but unlikely, since if someone was going to the expense of building a two storey ashlar structure with well smoothed walls, then they would probably not skimp on any aspect of construction. However another possibility is that after the main structure was finished, news of the gold discovery at Ophir came, so most of the workmen downed tools and went to the goldfields, leaving the new inn unfinished internally.

As previously mentioned, use was perhaps made of the front courtyard for drinking. The mural also shows a man walking from the rear of the establishment to the courtyard, with a mug in his hand. Perhaps there could have been a brewing room in one of the outbuildings, from which supplies were brought. However this is probably a bit of artistic licence, since the tap-room in the inn would have been a lot closer. More likely, the whole idyllic setting of the courtyard figures was composed in the mind of the artist.

The 'Gold Finders Home Inn' is thus very similar to the 'Settlers Arms', since it was probably purpose built, not to a fashion or to English tradition but to carry out a function. The original supposed operation of the cottage as an inn could be said to be similar to the traditional style, but what would have been an alternative arrangement? The two buildings remain a picturesque link with the past and an interesting home of the present.

11.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the English tradition of inn and pub design did not have a significant effect on the design of the inns built in the first half of the 19th century in the Hawkesbury area. It is not so much that traditions and styles were lost but that function was the prime importance. The new country was of a harsher climate, with transport more difficult and was less class conscious than the old country.

In looking at only six of over a hundred inns and pubs that have been in existence in the Hawkesbury area since settlement began, one can only draw general conclusions about design and function. However such a study is still valuable in its own right in providing a sample of historical and architectural information on this subject.

12.

References

Abbreviations of Sources of Information

- H.R.A. : Historical Records of Australia.  
H.R.N.S.W. : Historical Records of New South Wales.  
M.L. : Mitchell Library.  
A.O.N.S.W. : Archives Office of New South Wales.  
R.A.H.S.J. : Royal Australian Historical Society Journal.
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