Bombala Literary Institute 2018. Photo P Giovanelli

Bombala Shire Area Heritage Study

Volume 1 - Report

August 2018

Giovanelli and O'Keefe
for
Snowy Monaro Regional Council

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Bombala Shire Area (former) is rich in European heritage, with a large number of places from the 19th century still in existence in both rural and urban areas. Several rural homesteads from as early as the 1850s continue to be lived in and the pattern of rural occupancy from squatting, security of land tenure and closer settlement is clearly legible in the landscape. Evidence of evolving land management practice can be seen in places such as the stone sheep-folds near Bungarby, large woolsheds at Gunningrah and railway sidings at Jincumbilly.

The settlements typically grew up around transport nodes, especially where these crossed water courses. The George and Dragon Hotel (former), which still survives at Cathcart, the former Bibbenluke Inn and the commemorative plaque to Hibburd's Inn in Bombala are significant reminders of the establishment phase of urban settlements.

Gold mining brought people to Craigie and evidence of mining by Chinese and others can still be seen in the modified landscape along the river bank. Mining at Nelbothery and Quidong also left significant and distinctive features in the landscape, and although providing employment, the mines were not noted as being particularly profitable.

Bombala grew relatively rapidly in the latter half of the 19th century, developing service industries including tanning, brickmaking and wheat milling. The government provided police, education and administration facilities, and the general community engaged in self-improvement and recreation in various clubs and societies. The town is fortunate in having such excellent examples of the above including the Bombala Courthouse, the Literary Institute and the Masonic Lodge.

Religion played an important role throughout the Shire as is evident in the number of churches and associated buildings to be found in each settlement. The first stone building in Bombala was St Matthias' Church in Caldwell Street built in October 1856. Bukalong Homestead had a room set aside for religious worship and generally throughout the Shire area the churches, parsonages, presbyteries and convents demonstrated excellence in use of material and craftsmanship.

The arrival of rail in Bombala in 1921 had a significant impact on transport as did the shift from horse and bullock to car and truck. While new businesses such as vehicle sales and service developed, older ones like blacksmithing and saddlery faded away. Improved transport in the 20th century saw the local economies of Cathcart, Bibbenluke and Delegate stagnate and then contract, leaving redundant buildings behind.

As Bombala grew in the 1920s and 30s many commercial buildings had their Victorian facades removed and upgraded with modernised shopfronts featuring large sheets of glass, bronze mullions, leadlight windows and decorative wall tiles in Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles. The Imperial Hotel is one of the few buildings to have resisted this trend.

Many of the dwellings in both rural and urban areas were built using the available materials, technologies and design aspirations of the day. An exceptional example is the split-timber slab homestead of Old Delegate Station. The high quality of the local hardwoods is evident in the large number of surviving weatherboard buildings, and many dwellings demonstrate excellence in the use of brick and stonework.

The study identified in the order of 130 places that demonstrate aspects of the former Shire area's history and heritage and that meet the threshold for entry onto the local heritage schedule. One Aboriginal place has been listed under the National Parks and Wildlife Act and it is recommended that it also be included in the Local Environment Plan (LEP) heritage schedule. The report also

recommends that a specific Aboriginal Heritage study be commenced in the near future as Indigenous history is currently under-represented.

The Report considers that Council's current planning instruments (LEP Standard Instrument) and heritage clauses in the Cooma-Monaro (former) Development Control Plan (DCP) are appropriate and could be used for the former Bombala Shire Area. However there needs to be adequate staff-time and resources allocated to heritage management, especially given the number of heritage places across the amalgamated Snowy Mountains Regional Council (SMRC).

During the Study it became apparent that many owners, and even some Council staff were unclear about the implications of heritage listing and it is recommended that Council undertake programs to promote heritage, educate and inform the community and assist them with grant programs. Most community members that the study team encountered clearly valued their heritage but were nervous about constraints on their actions and having to deal with another layer of bureaucracy.

Good management of heritage places will improve the appearance of individual items and will have a positive impact on the streetscapes in Bombala and the villages. This will make them more attractive as tourism destinations and as a place to live, and should contribute to a stronger and more diverse economy in the local area.

External wall detail of historic dwelling. Photo P Giovanelli

CONTENTS

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background to the Study

This Study has been prepared for Snowy Monaro Regional Council (SMRC) with assistance from the Heritage Division within the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH). Following the amalgamation of Bombala Council with Snowy River and Cooma-Monaro Shire Councils it was apparent that the heritage of the Bombala Shire Area had not been reviewed since 1988 and that this should be rectified before the heritage schedules of the three Councils are merged in a future LEP.

1.2   The Study area

The Study focuses on the former Bombala Shire Area as shown below outlined in heavy red.

Bombala Shire Area outlined in red. Map sourced from the Bombala Historical Society

1.3   Report Structure

The Report is in two volumes.

Volume 1   includes the Executive Summary, the background to the Study, a list of recommendations to Council and the Thematic History of the former Bombala Shire Area.

Volume 2   is an inventory of places assessed as having heritage values above the threshold for entry into the heritage schedule of the Local Environment Plan.

1.4   The Brief

The project brief provided to consultants closely followed the Community Based Heritage Study Guidelines prepared by OEH. A copy of the brief is included in APPENDIX 1.

1.5   Methodology

The project was undertaken in a very short timeframe between the beginning of December 2017 and April 2018. Community meetings were held in early December in both Delegate and Bombala to introduce the project to interested community members. Site visits were conducted by the consultants, mostly with community members, in December, February, March and April and documentary research was undertaken in Canberra, Queanbeyan and Sydney. A number of property owners kindly opened their places for inspection.

1.6   Limitations

The primary limitation has been time, and although the project started in December, the Christmas and New Year holidays meant that connecting with community members and undertaking inspections was very constrained. It should be noted that studies such as this often take between one and two years to complete.

1.7   Acknowledgements

The consultants are particularly grateful to members of the community who attended various meetings and to property owners who allowed us to inspect their places. In particular we are indebted to Stuart Hood who guided us around the area over several days and provided a considerable amount of information from the Bombala Historical Society archives.

The Delegate Progress Association members were invaluable in showing us the special places in their area and providing detailed advice on the history of the buildings in Delegate and Craigie, and our gratitude is extended to Natalie, Penny, Doreen and others.

David Goodyer provided us with many historical photographs of early Bombala that helped to underpin our understanding of the town's development. His photographic record will be an enduring asset for Bombala.

2   ASSESSMENT

2.1   Definitions and terminology

For a complete list of definitions refer to the Australian ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance (the Burra Charter), which is the accepted Australian Standard for conservation processes. Some of the commonly used words and acronyms are explained below.

Conservation	All of the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance including restoration, reconstruction maintenance and adaptation.
Place	A geographically defined area. It may include elements, objects, spaces and views. Place may have tangible and intangible dimensions. Place can be large or small: for example, a memorial, a tree, an individual building or group of buildings, etc.
Cultural significance	The aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.
Heritage Schedule	The list of places entered in a Local Environment Plan.
Citation	A short report that identifies the place and provides a brief description, a summary history and a statement of significance.
Fabric	All the physical material of the place including elements, fixtures, contents and objects.
OEH	Office of Environment and Heritage. The State government department within which the Heritage Division is located.
LEP	Local Environmental Plan.
DCP	Development Control Plan. A set of guidelines used by Council when managing individual places or conservation areas. Note that the DCP covers many types of development in the Shire and only a small part of the DCP is specific to heritage places.
SHR	State Heritage Register. It is a list of places of State heritage significance.
SHI	State Heritage Inventory – An electronic database managed by OEH. The SHI includes citations for State and Local places, as well as places that have been identified by State Government agencies such as those responsible for policing, rail and health. The SHI can be searched on-line through the OEH website.

2.2   Assessing Significance

Places are assessed in accordance with the NSW Heritage Office guidelines *Assessing Heritage Significance 2001* that can be downloaded from the Internet. There are two primary components to an assessment:- why the place is significant; and to what degree is it significant. Places are assessed against established criteria used throughout Australia and are graded according to their degree of significance from Intrusive through to Exceptional as explained in the table below.

Criterion (a)   An item is important in the course, or pattern, of Bombala Shire Area's cultural or natural history;

Criterion (b)   An item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Bombala Shire Area's cultural or natural history;

Criterion (c)   An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in Bombala Shire Area;

Criterion (d)   An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in Bombala Shire Area for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;

Criterion (e)   An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Bombala Shire Area's cultural or natural history;

Criterion (f)   An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Bombala Shire Area's cultural or natural history;

Criterion (g)   An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of Bombala Shire Area's

    • cultural or natural places; or

    • cultural or natural environments.

Grading	Justification	Status
EXCEPTIONAL	Rare or outstanding element directly contributing to an item's local and State significance.	Fulfils criteria for local or State listing.
HIGH	High degree of original fabric Demonstrates a key element of the item's significance. Alterations do not detract from significance.	Fulfils criteria for local or State listing
MODERATE	Altered or modified elements. Elements with little heritage value, but which contribute to the overall significance of the item.	Fulfils criteria for local or State listing
LITTLE	Alterations detract from significance. Difficult to interpret.	Does not fulfil criteria for local or State listing
INTRUSIVE	Damaging to the item's heritage significance.	Does not fulfil criteria for local or State listing.

2.3   Current listing in Bombala LEP 2012 - Schedule 5 Environmental Heritage

Twenty one places were listed in BLEP 2012 as of April 2018

It is recommended that each of the currently listed items be retained in the heritage schedule with corrections where necessary to amend changes in significance along with updating addresses, curtilage any property description.

(See **APPENDIX 2** for the list of these places)

2.4   The 1988 Masterplan Consultants list.

An inventory of items of environmental heritage in Bombala Shire was prepared in October 1988 by Masterplan Consultants of 1 Lee Street Sydney, NSW, 2001. The inventory is a very useful list and identified many significant places in the former shire. Unfortunately very little information was gathered to substantiate the claims for significance. Many of the places on the Masterplan list have been recommended for listing in this 2018 study however some places were unable to be assessed due to the reluctance of owners to allow an inspection, or lack of time available for field work. The Masterplan list of 1988 is included in **APPENDIX 3**.

Quidong mine furnace tower

3   LOCAL NOMINATIONS 2018

3.1   Individual places

The following places have been assessed as part of the 2018 study as being above the threshold for listing in the local heritage schedule. A citation for each place is included in the INVENTORY in **Volume 2** of his study.

Legend;

SGOV   Places listed by State government agencies under Section 170 of the NSW Heritage Act.

SHR   Places listed on the State Heritage Register.

LEP   Places at the local level in the Bombala LEP 2012.

Aboriginal Place – listed under the National Parks and Wildlife Act.

Study Number	Item name	Address	Current Listings
ANDO			
1	Ando Public School (Former)	Monaro Highway	
BIBBENLUKE			
2	Bibbenluke (Former Inn and House)	Burnima Street	LEP Item 1
3	Bibbenluke Public Hall	Burnima Street	
4	St Mathew's Anglican Church	Cross Street	
BUNGARBY			
5	Bungarby Hall and Memorial	Sherwin's Range Road	
6	Stone Walls and Sheepfold (Former)	Bungarby Road	
BOMBALA			
7	Stradone	50 Burton Street	
8	St Matthias' Anglican Church	41-47 Cardwell Street	LEP Item 2
9	Boomah	37 Cardwell Street	
10	Tweedie House	47 Mercy Street	
11	Weatherboard House	65 Caveat Street	
12	Inter-War Bungalo	67 Caveat Street	
13	Masonic Lodge	69 Caveat Street	
14	Bombala Literary Institute	73 Caveat Street	LEP Item 4
15	Brick Cottage	87 Caveat Street	
16	Victorian Brick Dwelling	66 Caveat Street	
17	Victorian Weatherboard Cottage	72 Caveat Street	
18	Brick Dwelling	78 Caveat Street	LEP Item 10
19	The White House	102 Caveat Street	LEP Item 11
20	Roman Catholic Presbytery	4 Chusan Street	
21	Anglican Rectory (Former)	Delegate Road	
22	Olympia Theatre	76-78 Forbes Street	LEP Item 16
23	Bombala War Memorial	Intersection Forbes and	

		Maybe Streets	
24	Police Stables (Former)	66 Forbes Street	
25	Bombala Police Station	64 Forbes Street	SGOV
26	Weatherboard Cottage with Attic	7 High Street	
27	Plowright's Grocer Store (Frmr)	19-21 High Street	
28	Bombala Court House	35-39 High Street	SGOV
29	Bombala Official Police Residence 2	High Street	SGOV
30	George Kellond's House	Keys Street	
31	Bombala Railway Station and Yard Group	Mahratta Street	LEP Item 5, SGOV, SHR 1091
32	Bombala Museum	Mahratta Street	
33	Station Master's House (Frmr)	Mahratta Street	
34	Victorian Cottage - Hillside	10 Manning Street	
35	Weatherboard Cottage	55 Maybe Street	
36	Uniting Church	57-59 Maybe Street	
37	Victorian Dwelling	67 Maybe Street	
38	Cottage - Myora	85 Maybe Street	
39	Collectables Gallery (Former)	89 Maybe Street	
40	Bombala Butchery	91 Maybe Street	
41	Landcare	93-97 Maybe Street	
42	Imperial Hotel	99 Maybe Street	LEP Item 12
43	Lou Lou's and Bombala Library (Former)	103-105 Maybe Street	
44	Bakery	111 Maybe Street	
45	The Globe Hotel	127 Maybe Street	
46	Bombala Newsagency and Butcher Shop	129 Maybe Street	
47	Robbos and Cosmo Cafe	137 Maybe Street	
48	Bombala Post Office	143 Maybe Street	
49	National Parks and Wildlife Service	153 Maybe Street	
50	National Australia Bank	155-157 Maybe Street	LEP Item 14
51	Weatherboard Dwelling	179 Maybe Street	
52	Charlie Pierce's House (Former)	207 Maybe Street	
53	Painted Brick Cottage	48 Maybe Street	
54	Bombala Hotel	102 Maybe Street	
55	Maybe Furniture	126 Maybe Street	
56	FoodWorks	128 Maybe Street	
57	Stewart Lee & Co Rural Marketing	142 Maybe Street	
58	RSL Club (Former Shire Office)	138 Maybe Street	
59	Bombala RSL Club (Former Bank of NSW)	148 Maybe Street	
60	The Humble Tortilla Restaurant (Former Post Office)	180 Maybe Street	
61	Weatherboard Cottage	192 Maybe Street	

62	Weatherboard Cottage with Dormer Window	200 Maybe Street	
63	Bombala Public School (Frmr)	6-12 Wellington Street	
64	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church	Wellington Street	
65	Bombala Showground Agricultural Hall	Wellington Street	
66	Bombala Showground Complex	Wellington Street	
67	Weatherboard Dwelling	63 Wellington Street	
68	Miss Wallcott's House (Former)	65 Wellington Street	
69	Soldiers Memorial Club Room	67 Wellington Street	

CATHCART

70	St Paul's Anglican Church	via Scott Street	
71	Cathcart War Memorial Hall Complex	Eden Street	
72	Cathcart Store	Eden Street	
73	Cathcart Police Station and Stables (Former)	Eden Street	
74	George and Dragon Hotel (Former)	High Street	
75	The Croft House	Mead Street	LEP Item 17
76	Featherstone's Grave	via Scott Street	

CRAGIE

77	Craigie School and Residence (Former)	Commins Street	
78	St Stephen's Anglican Church	Lawson Street	
79	Craigie Station	Big Flat Road	
80	Little River Bridge and Setting	Newton Street	

DELEGATE

81	Delegate Cemetery	Delegate Road	
82	Delegate Station Homestead	Delegate Road	LEP Item 19
83	Delegate Station Slab House	Delegate Road	LEP Item 20
84	Old Delegate Station Homestead Slab Stables (Frmr)	Delegate Road	
85	St Andrew's Presbyterian Church (Former)	7 Bombala Street	
86	St Phillip's Anglican Church	Hayden Street	LEP Item 21
87	Ashby House (Former)	Bombala Street	
88	The Argus Printing Works Hall (Former)	Bombala Street	
89	Dwelling with Skillion Verandah	47 Bombala Street	
90	Delegate Hotel (Former)	49 Bombala Street	
91	Delegate RSL Sub Branch	57 Bombala Street	
92	Race Mudie's Barber Shop (Fmr)	59 Bombala Street	
93	Daisy Armstrong's Boarding House (Former)	61 Bombala Street	
94	Geoff and Nellie Stewart's	63 Bombala Street	

	Residence (Former)		
95	Hotel Delegate	71 Bombala Street	
96	Earle's Chemist (Former)	83 Bombala Street	
97	Dalgety Winchcombe (Former)	47 Victoria Street	
98	Jone's Boarding House (Frmr)	49 Victoria Street	
99	CBC Bank (Former)	64 Bombala Street	
100	Ford's Saddlery (Former)	60 Bombala Street	
101	Dwelling and Former Argus Office	58 Bombala Street	
102	Delegate Post Office (Former)	40 Bombala Street	
103	Delegate School of Arts (Frmr)	38 Bombala Street	
104	Delegate Police Station and Office Residence	30 Bombala Street	LEP Item 18 SGOV
105	Convent (Former)	Church Street	
106	St Joseph's Catholic Church	Church Street	
107	Delegate Public School	Campbell Street	
108	Victorian Cottage - Glenora	Corrowong Road	
109	Masonic Hall (Former)	Hayden Street	

RURAL AREAS NORTH

110	Bukalong Homestead	Gunningrah Road	LEP Item 6
111	Bukalong Railway Stockyard	Bukalong Siding Road	SGOV
112	Burnima Homestead	Burnima Road	LEP Item 7
113	Old Burnima Homestead	Burnima Road	
114	Crankies Plain Bridge	Carthcart Road	LEP Item 8 SGOV SHR1466
115	Gunningrah Homestead	Gunningrah Road	LEP Item 9
116	Jincumbilly Railway Stockyard	Snowy River Way	SGOV
117	Mt Cooper Cemetery	Mt Cooper Road	LEP Item 13

RURAL AREAS SOUTH

118	Mahratta	Roseneath Road	
119	Lilianfels	Monaro Highway	
120	Springvale	Mila Road	
121	Monument to Lord Ancram	Meriangah Road	
122	Knockalong	Tombong Road	
123	Ashton Cemetery	Delegate Road	LEP Item 3
124	Old Cambalong Store and Homestead	Cambalong Road	LEP Item 15
125	Quidong Mine Workings	Quidong	
126	St Peter's Church and Cemetery	Wallendibby Road	
127	Nelbothery Mining Site	North of junction of Delegate and Little Plain Rivers	
128	Woodglen Public School (Fmr)	Corrowong Road	
129	The Bundian Way	Corrowong Delegate Craigie	SHR 1906
130	The Common	Delegate Road.	Aboriginal place 119

3.2 Conservation Areas

3.2.1 Bombala Conservation Area

Location

Proposed Bombala Conservation Area shown outlined in red.

Statement of existing character

The Maybe Street Conservation Area includes a rich collection of buildings dating from the 1850s through to the 1960s that demonstrate the historic, economic and social forces at play in the relatively isolated southern Monaro town.

Some of the buildings such as the Imperial Hotel and former Commercial Bank (the NAB in 2018) have very high historic integrity while the NPWS building is rare as a surviving timber and weatherboard shop. The NPWS building and several others in the street also include distinctive modifications to their shopfronts that were undertaken during prosperous times in the 1920s and 1950s. At the core of the Bombala Hotel for example is one of the oldest surviving structures in the town. The former Shire Offices (now part of the RSL) also demonstrates the practice of façade upgrading with its 19th century origins clearly evident from behind.

Also of interest is the rear view of several of the buildings facing Maybe Street, where the earlier 'unmodified' exterior with traditional window openings, unpainted brickwork and historic form and details is able to assist an understanding of the structure's origins.

Within Maybe Street the varied parapets create a sense of 'containment' that provides an interesting contrast with the open landscape typically found on the Monaro.

The conservation area includes the Olympia Theatre which is a significant landmark at the entry to the commercial area from the bridge. Several smaller-scaled shops and a dwelling extend the historic precinct north along Maybe Street in the direction of Cathcart.

The influence of Spanish Mission styling can be seen on the elevation of Robbos, and a very good example of Art Deco styling was used on the facade of the building now known as Foodworks. Inter-War Bungalow styling was used for the front elevation of the Globe Hotel whereas the adjacent newsagent is a very good example of a Federation (1900) shopfront with a prominent curved parapet. The conservation area includes the War Memorial at the junction of Forbes and Maybe Streets.

Most buildings make some degree of contribution to the streetscape even though they may not reach the threshold for individual heritage listing.

The condition of the buildings varies considerably and in 2018 most would benefit from some degree of maintenance and repair.

Statement of desired character

This report recommends that the main street will read as a well maintained historic streetscape with each building conserved/restored in keeping with its individual significance. Detailed and specific guidelines for each building have been provided in the Bombala Main Street Heritage Study 2018.

No significant or contributory building should be demolished and any additions or modifications should be done in a manner that is sympathetic to their heritage character.

A small number of buildings have no heritage significance and, if demolished, their replacement should be sympathetic to main street character, while being contemporary in their architectural expression.

Signage will be controlled so that the historic character of the building rather than the signage or advertising remains paramount. Signage will be sympathetic to the building regarding design, colour, size, location and content.

Streetscape upgrades should reflect and reinforce historic character and it is considered appropriate to introduce additional or enhanced landscaping at street corners and planter beds. A planted median strip would also be appropriate.

Logging and transport trucks will be diverted around the conservation area to improve the community's amenity within the historic commercial precinct.

3.2.2   Delegate Conservation Area

Location

It is recommended that the main street of Delegate (Bombala Street from Hayden Street to the Corrowong turnoff) be managed as a conservation area. This could allow contributory places and others below threshold to benefit from heritage assistance so that the whole streetscape is upgraded.

Proposed Delegate Conservation Area outlined in red.

Statement of existing character

The Delegate main street is along straight stretch of road encompassing the commercial area of the rural township. The scale of development is low, there are no two-storey buildings and there are vacant blocks along either side of the road. There is a very interesting collection of buildings from the late 19th and early to mid-20th century however only a few of the historic structures are in a good state of heritage presentation. Other buildings would benefit from repairs and maintenance, especially painting but possibly structural work as well. Some structures have large floor areas and adaptive re-use is likely to be the preferred outcome. Several buildings are for sale and there is a strong sense that the town is not what it used to be.
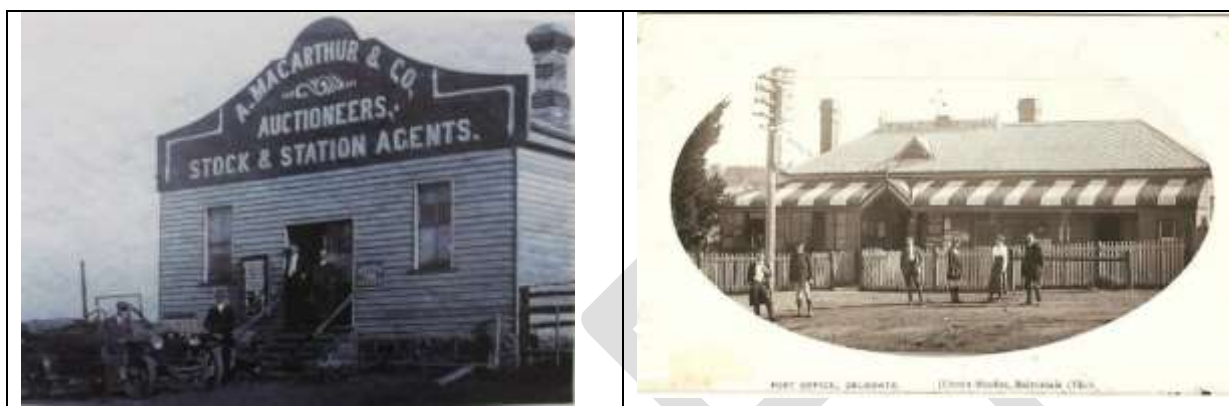
Statement of desired character

Historic photos show a more active streetscape that is defined by a complex of buildings and fences. These photos provide a good model for a streetscape enhancement program. It is envisaged that all buildings will be restored to good presentation.

This will include less significant as well as more significant properties and through this the evolution of the town will be recognised. The key attributes of some building facades such as upstands and decorative features may be reinstated. There may also be an opportunity to remove or modify unsympathetic elements should the owners wish. Buildings would be repainted to appear valued and appealing, with their heritage details restored. Repainting would also protect decaying building fabric.

Fencing would again be introduced, with the style of fence suitable to the period of building. The fences would help to both frame the building and define the street.

There would be some limited tree planting in the main street to provide summer shade and frame views, but not to the extent of blocking outlook to the surrounding countryside or impinging on the sense of Delegate's location in a rural setting.

The Cooma-Monaro DCP contains a generic set of heritage guidelines that have been used in managing several conservation areas in Cooma and would be adequate for Delegate considering the low levels of development anticipated there. The Delegate Main Street Study 2018 has investigated the town's main street in detail and prepared a set of recommendations and guidelines for its restoration

Both the buildings above are still standing in Delegate and would benefit from restoration

3.3   State Heritage Register nominations
This study has not identified any additional places of State significance.

3.4   Aboriginal Places
'The Common' was gazetted as the Delegate Aboriginal Reserve on 11/9/2012 under the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Act and is listed in the State Heritage Inventory. It is recommended it also be included in the SMRC LEP heritage schedule.

There appears to have been little work to date to identify Aboriginal places in the study area. The Local Aboriginal Land Council for the Bombala Area is located in Eden and discussions with the Aboriginal Liaison Officer at Bega Valley Council indicated that there are other places of significance in the Bombala area that are known to the Aboriginal community. This is borne out by some of the research undertaken in developing the Bundian Way and recorded in the book *On Track, Searching Out the Bundian Way* by John Blay 2015.

There were insufficient resources or time in this 2018 project to undertake any meaningful research or consultation to identify these places and it is recommended that the SMRC initiate such a study in the near future.

3.5   Noted places
During the study a number of places were noted but either not assessed or assessed as below threshold for local listing. Those not assessed were either not able to be accessed, or lacked sufficient information to substantiate an assessment. The list of identified places is at **APPENDIX 4**.

4   RECOMMENDATIONS, STRATEGY AND IMPLEMENTATION

4.1   Recommendations from the study

This report recommends:

1. That council consider listing in Schedule 5 of the LEP, each of the places identified in the study inventory, including the two conservation areas.

2. That council undertake consultation with property owners explaining the management process and benefits of being heritage listed.

3. That the significant curtilage around items be further refined during consultation with individual owners and where relevant the detailed curtilage is reflected in the citation and in Council's mapping system.

4. That Council continue to offer a local heritage grant program and ensure that it is sufficiently resourced.

5. That Council actively promote the grant program and encourage worthy projects to apply.

6. As gazettal of nominated places can take several years it is suggested that places that have been nominated for listing be eligible for heritage funding even though the place may not be formally listed at the time.

7. That Council consider allocating some of the windfarm revenue to community related heritage assets, possibly through the local heritage grant program or similar.

8. That Council continue to offer a Heritage Advisory Service that is free to owners and managers of heritage places and other interested members of the community.

4.2   Strategy and implementation

In order to formally recognise the Bombala area's heritage and to assist owners in their management of places, the following tasks should be undertaken:

- Complete the consultation phase of this project in accordance with the Community Based Heritage Study Guidelines,
- Consult with Individual owners,
- Consider feedback from owners, OEH and council staff ,
- Review the draft report and finalise the study,
- Undertake public exhibition of the study and further Consultation with owners and managers where relevant,
- Adoption of the report by Council,
- Commence the listing process,
- Publicise the heritage advisory service on local media,
- Promote the Local Heritage Grant Program,
- Ensure there is a council staff member whoso responsibility is to manage all heritage issues within council. In most councils this person sits within the Strategic Planning section and takes all public enquiries regarding heritage. They co-ordinate the heritage advisor and liaise with the Heritage Division at OEH regarding recurrent funding and annual reports. The officer will need to build a rapport with staff in the Bombala office.

5 PLANNING FRAMEWORK FOR HERITAGE ITEMS IN NSW

5.1 The listing process

Places are listed because of their heritage value or significance and are assessed against the relevant criteria. A place can be significant at the local, State, national or even world heritage level. Most places in Bombala Shire have been assessed as having local significance only. Local Council make the decisions as to which places are listed on the heritage schedule. Listing on the heritage schedule is a statutory process in which the heritage items are formally 'gazetted' to Schedule 5 of the LEP. Places can be removed from the schedule at Council's discretion – ie if a place loses its significance.

5.2 Development of heritage listed places

Decisions regarding development of locally significant places are made by local council or their delegated staff. Council is often assisted by a heritage advisor as part of this process. The basic planning guidelines are set in the Local Environment Plan (LEP). Most LEP's across NSW have been standardised and are known as 'The Standard Instrument'. The heritage clauses are usually at Part 5.10 of the Standard Instrument.

The heritage clauses in the LEP may require a referral to council of proposed work depending on the nature of the work intended. Maintenance does not usually require referral. Minor work that might other-wise be exempt (eg small sheds, decks etc) should be discussed with council staff or the heritage adviser and a letter obtained stating that there will not be an adverse impact from the proposed work. Responses to minor work applications are prompt and no fee is charged for minor works approvals.

Most major work will need development approval whether it is heritage listed on not. When making decisions about major work to listed places council uses a series of heritage guidelines set out in the Development Control Plan (DCP). For most locally-listed places heritage management is NOT concerned with interiors. Heritage recognises the need for alterations, additions, upgrades etc and the guidelines seek to encourage development to be done in a manner that won't have an adverse impact on a place's significance. The heritage adviser can usually assist in finding solutions that meet the owner's requirements while still meeting the heritage guidelines.

5.3 Demolition

As with any building, council approval is required to demolish a heritage item and council are obliged to consider the impact on the heritage values of the place that is proposed for demolition. Where development including demolition is likely to have an adverse heritage impact, council may require the applicant to submit a Statement of Heritage Impact justifying why there is no suitable alternative to the proposal. In many instances there will be components of a listed item that have been assessed as having no heritage value, and there is usually no heritage objection to their removal.

5.4 Conservation incentives

Clause 10 of the LEP heritage clauses provides some very attractive incentives for property owners as set out below. Owners who are seeking to take advantage of Clause 10 should discuss their proposal with council's planning department.

Clause 10) Conservation incentives

The consent authority may grant consent to development for any purpose of a building that is a heritage item or of the land on which such a building is erected, or for any purpose on an Aboriginal

place of heritage significance, even though development for that purpose would otherwise not be allowed by this Plan, if the consent authority is satisfied that:

(a) the conservation of the heritage item or Aboriginal place of heritage significance is facilitated by the granting of consent, and

(b) the proposed development is in accordance with a heritage management document that has been approved by the consent authority, and

(c) the consent to the proposed development would require that all necessary conservation work identified in the heritage management document is carried out, and

(d) the proposed development would not adversely affect the heritage significance of the heritage item, including its setting, or the heritage significance of the Aboriginal place of heritage significance, and

(e) the proposed development would not have any significant adverse effect on the amenity of the surrounding area.

5.5 Privacy

Heritage listing does NOT require owners to open their buildings to the public.

5.6 Forced maintenance

Heritage listing at the local level does NOT oblige an owner to maintain their property.

Aston cemetery

6   THEMATIC HISTORY

The following history has been prepared from primary and secondary sources by historian Brendan O'Keefe.

European Exploration and Early Settlement

The first Europeans to cast eyes on the Monaro plains were Mark Currie, a captain in the Royal Navy, Brigade-Major John Ovens, aide-de-camp to Governor Thomas Brisbane, and Joseph Wild, a former convict who was overseer of Dr Charles Throsby's station at Bong Bong near Bowral. Leaving Throsby's property on 22 May 1823, the three men set off southward to explore the country beyond Lake George. After passing the then most southerly grazing run – Hannibal McArthur's *Arthursleigh* station at the junction of the Wollondilly and Paddy's Rivers – they traversed the Goulburn Plains, passed down the eastern side of Lake George and continued southward across the Limestone Plains.

Currie and his two companions then rode for over two days through timbered country until, on 4 June, they saw clear and extensive 'downs' stretching away to the south in front of them. From a group of Aborigines they encountered, they learned that the native name for the plains was 'Monaroo'. Currie named them Brisbane Downs. Two days later, they crossed the Bredbo River and from a hill a little to the south observed the plains extending southward a further 65 kilometres. On the following day, the three men reached the farthest point of their journey when dwindling provisions compelled them to turn back. Claire Schofield states that this point 'has been calculated to lie four and a half kilometres east of the present day crossing of the Numeralla River by the Monaro Highway, south of Bredbo.' To commemorate the 150th anniversary of the occasion, a plaque was set up at the highway crossing in 1973. It would appear that this and another 1998 memorial in Bredbo Park are the only physical evidence – and very much latter day ones at that – to be associated with the explorations of Currie, Ovens and Wild.[1]

The fact that extensive tracts of unforested land suitable for grazing stock lay in the Monaro would have piqued the interest of pastoralists in NSW. With the expansion of the highly profitable wool industry in particular, they were eager to find and exploit good grazing lands. However, they took no immediate steps to move their flocks and herds into the Monaro. One reason for this was that the Monaro plains were simply too distant as yet from existing pastoral stations. But there was also the highly pertinent question of the legality of depasturing stock and settling on Crown Land without any form of title to it. While pastoralists may have contemplated the Monaro plains with a hungry eye, they were constrained for a time by the colonial administration, acting on instructions from the British government in January 1825, to define and survey the land available for settlement in NSW. In September 1826, Brisbane's successor as governor, Ralph Darling, officially set out the territorial limits outside which no land could be purchased, leased or settled upon.[2]

Notwithstanding that Darling's boundaries were not well defined at first, they did not provide the impediment to illegal use and settlement of Crown Land that he hoped for. Such were the pressures

---

[1] Claire Schofield, *Bombala, Hub of the Southern Monaro*, Bombala, 1990, pp. 18-19; Felix. F. Mitchell, *Back to Cooma Celebrations*, 1926, pp. 18-20; W.K. Hancock, *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on his Environment*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 3-5; Alan E.J. Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang 1790 to 1840*, Palmerston ACT, 1998, pp. 85-6.

[2] J.F. Campbell (edited by B.T. Dowd), *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1968, p. 4; Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang*, p. 87.

from a growing land-hungry population and the profits to be made from pastoralism that the pastoralists sent their employees with their flocks and herds streaming in all directions outside the official limits. They well knew that the colonial administration did not have the resources to police their use and occupation of these lands.

In the Monaro, Eric Andrews argues that it was the employees of Richard Brooks who first moved stock onto the plains and settled, specifically at *Gegedzerick*, this occurring in late 1827. However, as Brooks' *Gegedzerick* run is outside the Study Area for this project, the identity of the first European settlers in this area must be sought elsewhere. Schofield and Peter Jeffreys, a Campbell descendant, have claimed that employees of Robert Campbell, senior, of Duntroon took up the *Little Plain* (or *Delegate*) station on his behalf around 1827. The claim is apparently based on John Lhotsky's account of his journey through the Monaro in 1834. Andrews strongly disputes the claim, suggesting that Campbell's occupation of *Delegate* has been confused or conflated with two other properties he held near Michelago. He suggests that Campbell did not occupy *Delegate* until the early 1830s.[3]

Both Schofield and Andrews canvass various other claimants as the first European settlers in the general area of the southern Monaro. Schofield postulates that business partners Daniel Cooper and William Klensendorlffe – or actually their employees – 'might well have been' the first to occupy land south of Nimmitabel and well to the east of *Gegedzerick*. Whether or not this was the case, her evidence does not indicate that they or any other Europeans were definitely in the Study Area before 1828. John Trengrove has extracted the names of all of the people – nineteen of them – who gave their address as 'Maneroo' in the November 1828 Census of NSW, but adds that the Household Returns show that they were not in the Monaro at the time of the census. He concludes by saying that 'we don't really know for sure just where they were.' The overall point here is that it was probably not until 1827 at the earliest that Europeans began to move into the southern Monaro. This occupation, moreover, was by herdsmen, shepherds and hutkeepers who lived in primitive, temporary dwellings of timber and bark.[4]

The first trickle of Europeans into the southern Monaro soon became a torrent. This was in spite of the introduction by Governor Darling in October 1829 of new regulations that better defined the Limits of Location. These were the official Nineteen Counties that were then under survey by Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell. Within them settlement was allowed, while beyond them settlement was forbidden on threat of prosecution. Already at the time of their promulgation, however, the new regulations were ineffectual. The profits to be made from wool and meat were so handsome that men of means continually looked to increase their flocks and herds by expanding into unoccupied grazing land. Soon to become known as squatters, such individuals were simply too wealthy, too well-connected and, ultimately, too powerful for the colonial administration to control their illegal occupation of Crown Land. The administration was in any case reluctant to take decisive action against them both because of the economic importance to the colony of their enterprises and because of the British government's deep aversion to the colony becoming a financial burden.[5]

---

[3] Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang*, pp. 94-6, 103; Peter Jeffreys, 'Delegate's Early History', address to the Bombala Historical Society, undated; Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 21-2. John Trengrove in his recent CD database, *Land users of the Monaro of NSW 1823-1870*, February 2018, pp. 18, 26, accepts a date of 1826 for Campbell's occupation of *Delegate*.

[4] Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 21-3, 25-8; Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang*, pp. 94, 96, 98-103; Trengrove, *Land users of the Monaro*, p. 20.

[5] Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, pp. 4-5.

Nevertheless, in a further attempt to curb the activities of squatters, Darling's replacement as governor, Richard Bourke, enacted legislation in August 1833 aimed at preventing intrusion, encroachment and trespass on Crown Lands. He appointed three Commissioners of Crown Lands charged with the responsibility of evicting trespassers on territory outside the Limits of Location. Before the year was out, however, Bourke confessed his unwillingness to have expelled any 'temporary' illegal occupiers of these Crown Lands who had already established pastoral runs on them. It was at once a small step towards regulating the squatters' illegal occupation and an admission that the new legislation was unworkable.[6]

The Nineteen Counties of 1829, showing the Limits of Location
within which settlement was authorised
(Australian Encyclopaedia, Sydney, 1965, vol. 6, p. 344)

The futility of the legislation was already evident in the Monaro. By the time Lhotsky made his journey in the first quarter of 1834, he found pastoral stations well established all through those parts of the Monaro that he visited beyond the Limits of Location. The same situation was observed by John Jauncey, who travelled through the area almost contemporaneously with Lhotsky. Bowing to the inevitable, Bourke had new legislation enacted in July 1836 under the title of 'An Act to restrain the unauthorised occupation of Crown Lands'. The name was at once both optimistic and misleading. The law and its attendant regulations allowed each pastoralist grazing stock on Crown Lands outside the Limits of Location to occupy the land on payment of an annual licence fee of £10. In order to avoid giving squatters the impression that the licences would be routinely renewed each year, the regulations made it explicit that any improvements they made on the land were entirely at their own risk. This warning notwithstanding, the most significant aspect of the legislation was that

---

[6] *Sydney Herald*, 16 September 1833, p. 4; Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, p. 6.

for the first time the squatters gained a legal right, albeit only on a year-to-year basis, to occupy the land.[7]

The new licensing regime came into effect at the beginning of 1837. To administer the system in the Monaro, John Lambie was appointed Commissioner for Crown Lands for a vast area, including the Monaro plains, that lay outside the official Limits. As part of his duties, he was obliged to travel throughout his area of responsibility, visiting all the stations that had been established up to that time. Partly because of the size of his territory, it was not until the second half of 1839 that he was able to visit the stations of the southern Monaro.[8]

From the outset, though, serious defects were manifest in Bourke's legislation of 1836. If he really hoped his Act would restrain the illegal occupation of Crown Land, it had precisely the opposite effect. By effectively condoning the occupation of Crown Land outside the Limits of Location, he inadvertently touched off a rush as land-grabbers pushed further out beyond the boundaries to squat on as yet unclaimed Crown Land. His licence fee, moreover, encouraged existing occupiers to add to and consolidate their grazing runs. With each occupier needing to hold just one licence, it allowed them to lease as much land as they could control. As the land was unsurveyed, this led to fierce competition and hostility between squatters as they disputed the boundaries of their runs. The most intense hostility, however, was directed against Aborigines as the stockholders pushed them further off the lands on which they depended for their existence. When the Aborigines resisted, they were subjected to brutal reprisals.[9]
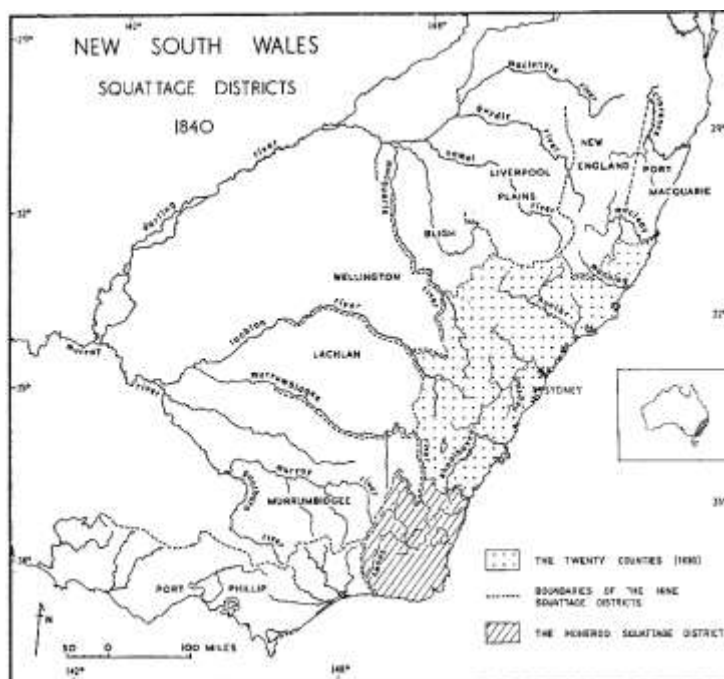
Bourke's successor as governor, Sir George Gipps, was alarmed at the situation and attempted with an amending Act in March 1839 to 'further restrain' the illegal occupation of Crown Land. Nine so-called Squatting Districts were proclaimed beyond the Limits of Location, with Lambie taking charge of the Moneroo Squatting District.

---

[7] Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang*, pp. 97, 101-3, 104-12; *Sydney Gazette*, 20 August 1836, p. 4; 8 October 1836, p. 4.

[8] *Sydney Gazette*, 8 October 1836, p. 4; Andrews, *Earliest Monaro and Burragorang*, pp. 121-33.

[9] Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, p. 13.

The Moneroo Squattage District, which extended to the coast, and the Twenty Counties in 1830. An extra county, Macquarie, had been added in that year (W.K. Hancock, Discovering Monaro, p. 7).

A principal feature of the new Act and its regulations was the establishment of a small force of mounted police to bring some law and order to the unsettled areas, as well as to provide Lambie and his fellow commissioners with some muscle to enforce their decisions. Importantly, these decisions now included determining boundary disputes between squatters. The cost of the police force was to be partly met by the imposition on leaseholders of a new levy on the stock they ran on their squattages. This amounted to a penny, threepence and sixpence, respectively, for each sheep, head of horned cattle and horse they had grazing on their leaseholds. These new taxes were in addition to the annual £10 licensing fee that they still had to pay.[10]
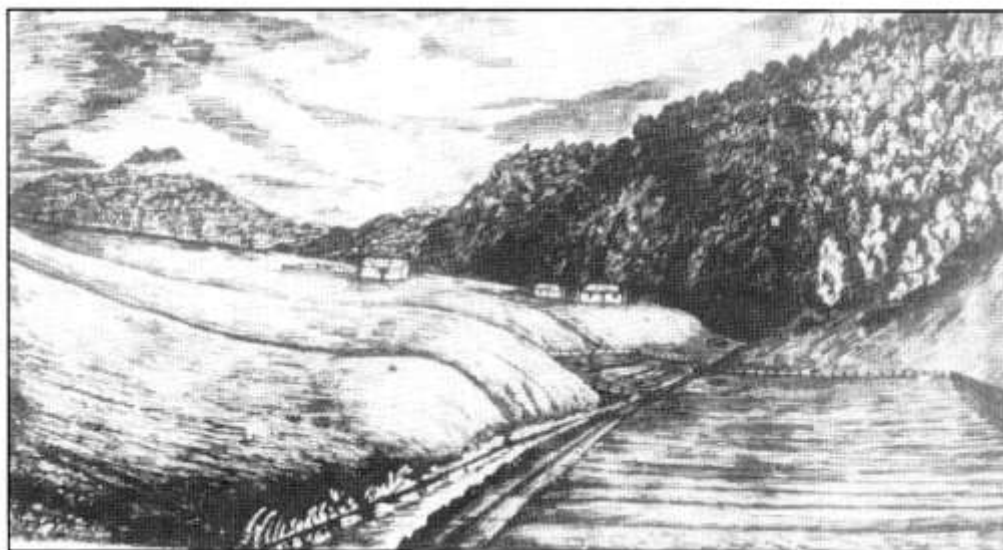
As before, the amended law did nothing to retard the unauthorised occupation of Crown Land, while it also favoured the larger, well-to-do squatters. They were the ones who possessed the resources to cover the new levy on stock and, at the same time, continue to lease extensive tracts of land on payment of the single £10 licensing fee. The new legislation, moreover, retained Bourke's system in which squatters had to apply each year for a renewal of their licence. This afforded them no assurance of long-term tenure and thus gave them no incentive to fence their land or to erect anything other than rude, temporary structures on them.[11]

Such temporary structures were what Lambie found when he toured the squatting runs of the southern Monaro in the latter six months of 1839. By way of example, on John Irving's station of three square miles on the Delegate River, there stood just a slab hut and stockyard. A sketch of Irving's run in August 1841 (see below) shows that another two simple hipped-roof structures had been erected on the property by this time. An overall list, set out below, of the stations in the Study

---

[10] *Sydney Monitor*, 18 February 1839, p. 6; *Sydney Gazette*, 7 March 1839, p. 2; 16 November 1839, p. 4; Hancock, *Discovering Monaro*, p. 44.

[11] Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, pp. 11, 12 (quoting C.J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1957, p. 48) and 26.

Area that Lambie visited in 1839 shows *inter alia* the basic types of structures that existed on them at that time. Any buildings within the Study Area that survive from the earliest occupation of the Monaro from the late 1820s up to the end of the 1830s would be of this type.

John Irving's Station on 1 August 1841, showing three huts and a stockyard on the property
(Mitchell Library Ar18, reproduced in Andrews, Earliest Monaro, p. 126)

STATION NAME	LICENSEE(S)	SUPERINTENDENT	AREA (SQ MILES)	STOCK, CROPS, ETC	STRUCTURES
Arable	William Hirst & Henry Buckley	Alexander McKeachie	70	9806 sheep; 1008 cattle; 45 horses; 25 acres wheat	1 slab cottage; 1 kitchen; 1 store; 1 stables; 8 shepherd's slab huts; 1 stockyard; 1 shearing shed
Aston	Edward Lord	Edward W. Bayliss	8	3908 sheep; 595 cattle; 15 horses, 20 acres wheat.	10 slab huts
Bendock (east of Delegate, a/c to Andrews, pp 128-9)	Joshua John Moore	Charles Lawson	8	330 cattle; 2 horses; 1 acre wheat	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Bibbenluke	Joshua John Moore	Charles Lawson	30	1635 sheep; 1804 cattle; 43 horses; 10 acres wheat	5 slab huts; 1 dairy; 1 woolshed; 1 stables; 3 stockyards
Boggy Creek	Joshua John Moore	Charles Lawson	12	460 cattle; 2 horses; 1 acre wheat	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Bondia	Thomas Luscombe	Thomas Luscombe	4	390 cattle; 12 horses	2 slab huts; 1 stockyard
Mount Piper (later Bukalong)	John Palmer	John Walker	28	4065 sheep; 9 cattle; I horse; 13 acres wheat	5 slab huts; 1 woolshed
Mount Pleasant	George Garnock	George Garnock	16	320 cattle; 20 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard

Bungarba / Bungaba	George & Henry Tingcombe	George Tingcombe	9	3000 sheep; 152 cattle; 19 horses; 20 acres wheat	6 slab huts; 1 woolshed; 1 stockyard
Warby's Station	Joseph Peters	Patrick Byrnes	4	1100 sheep; 152 cattle; 5 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Burnima	Thomas M. Moore	Alexander McCallum	32	8289 sheep; 10 horses; 40 acres wheat	1 slab hut; 1 kitchen; 1 store; 1 woolshed; 9 shepherd's huts; 1 stockyard
Taylor's Station	James Martin	James Rixon	10	501 sheep; 490 cattle; 45 horses; 16 acres wheat; 4 cwt butter	4 slab huts; 1 dairy; 1 stables; 1 stockyard
McCaffrey's Station	John McCaffrey	John McCaffery	2	90 cattle; 4 horses; 1 acre wheat	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Cambalong	Alexander Kinghorne	John Matthews	8	4055 sheep; 1 horse	4 slab huts; 1 shearing shed
Cambalong	John Hosking & J.P. Besnard	Richard Hargrave	4	771 cattle; 38 horses; 38 acres wheat	1 slab cottage; 2 slab huts; 1 stables; 1 stockyard
Snowy River	John Hosking & J.P. Besnard	Richard Hargrave	4	828 cattle; 2 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Bomballa / Bomballo	Ronald Campbell	John Campbell	16	8 acres wheat	6 slab huts; 2 stockyards
Carawang / Corrowong	James McFarlane	Alexander Gow	100	3600 sheep; 1300 cattle; 11 horses; 45 acres wheat	1 barn; 1 stockyard
Little Plain [Delegate]	Charles Campbell	Alexander Clark	25	4788 sheep; 32 cattle; 4 horses; 16 acres wheat	7 slab huts; 1 barn; 1 sheep shed; 1 stables; 1 stockyard
Little Plain heifer station	John Hosking & J.P. Besnard	Richard Hargrave	3	403 cattle; 5 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Big Meadow	John Nicholson	Benjamin Allen	18	2200 sheep; 220 cattle; 5 horses; 1 acre wheat	2 slab huts; 1 stockyard
Irving's Station	John Irving	John Irving	3	950 sheep; 6 cattle; 1 horse; 4 acres wheat	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Lawson's Station	Charles Lawson	Charles Lawson	3	178 cattle; 15 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Gunningrah	John Terry Hughes	David Bell	25	4051 sheep; 1244 cattle; 45 horses; 20 acres wheat	6 slab huts; 1 woolshed; 1 stockyard
Iron Mungy Creek	Joseph Rolfe	Joseph Rolfe	N/a	1100 sheep; 1928 cattle; 93 horses	4 slab huts; 1 stockyard
Iron Mungy Creek	David Reese	James Carr	16	1000 cattle; 6 horses; 1 acre wheat	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
McLeay's Flat	Henry Badgery	Charles Tye	4	3161 sheep; 4 cattle; 3 acres wheat	1 slab hut; 1 bark hut; milking shed
Maratta	William Klensendorlffe	Joseph Ingham	20	1500 sheep; 1670 cattle; 8 acres wheat	3 slab huts; 2 stockyards
Maratta	Frederick Moye & Charles Throsby	Frederick Moye	24	7200 sheep; 1300 cattle; 7 horses	10 slab huts; 1 slab woolshed; 2 stockyards

Mount Cooper	Robert Campbell, senior	Donald Rankin	49	4848 sheep; 20 cattle; 4 horses; 22 acres wheat	10 slab huts; 1 shearing shed
Nungatta	W.T. Morris	Andrew Hutton	36	540 cattle; 12 horses	1 slab hut; 1 stockyard
Kenny's Station	William Klensendorlffe	John Roach	6	No stock	2 slab huts; 1 stockyard; 11 acres wheat
Wangellick	John Pethick	Andrew Coleman	16	3000 sheep; 270 cattle; 17 horses; 12 acres wheat	6 slab huts; 1 stockyard

List of stations in the Study Area visited by Commissioner John Lambie in 1839 (compiled from information in Schofield, Bombala, pp. 25-8, 153-69; and Andrews, Earliest Monaro, pp. 121-36)

It is possible that some of the slab buildings detailed on the above list may still be standing in whole or part on Bukalong, Corrowong, Aston and Delegate (the Delegate Station Slab House or 'Early Settlers' Hut'). The most likely of these to date from the late 1830s would appear to be the skeleton of the slab building that formerly served as the homestead office on Bukalong. On the other hand, the house of slab construction on Corrowong may be rather too large to have been erected by this time, and the Early Settlers' Hut is thought to have been built a little later in the 1840s. It may be noted in the list that no brick structures stood on Cambalong (or, for that matter, on any other station). This renders the supposed date of the 1830s for the Old Cambalong Store untenable. It is much more likely to date from the late 1840s at the earliest.[12]

The various shortcomings that became apparent with the existing licensing legislation prompted Governor Gipps to introduce a number of reforms in 1844. While he had no desire to undermine the pastoral industry, he was equally determined to uphold the Crown's control of Crown Lands and to secure a fair return for the government from the profits that the squatters were making from their use of the lands. Foremost among his changes was one that put an end to the practice of squatters paying a single £10 licensing fee each year for runs of unlimited extent. Henceforth, the fee would only cover runs up to twenty square miles (12,800 acres) in area; separate licences would have to be taken out for runs in excess of this, unless the land was of poorer quality and a greater area was required to depasture sheep and cattle up to a maximum of 4,000 or 500 each. Simultaneously, to provide the squatters with a greater measure of security and to encourage them to make improvements on their runs, he allowed those who had been in residence for at least five years to purchase a minimum of 320 acres on each run for their homestead block, the price being £1 per acre. This latter reform was highly significant because for the first time it permitted squatters to buy the freehold of land beyond the Limits of Location.[13]

The changes provoked fiery protests from the squatters. They were led, rather ironically, by those who had the greatest fiscal resources and were thus best able to meet the new costs. These were William Charles Wentworth and, above all, Benjamin Boyd who had come to the colony in 1842 with substantial financial backing and visions of establishing a great commercial empire. Boyd held fourteen stations in the wide Moneroo Squattage District including, in the Study Area, Cambalong,

---

[12] Masterplan Consultants, 'Inventory of Items of Environmental Heritage Bombala Shire New South Wales', Sydney, October 1988, item nos. 36 (Aston), 46 (Bukalong), 48 (Corrowong), 54 (Delegate Station Slab House) and 61 (Old Cambalong Store); leaflet, 'The Early Settlers' Hut: Delegate's Bicentennial Project'.

[13] *New South Wales Government Gazette*, no. 33, 2 April 1844, p. 508; Samuel Clyde McCulloch, 'Gipps, Sir George (1791-1847)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* [*ADB*], Melbourne, vol. 1, 1966.

Bibbenluke, Bendock, Boggy Creek and Snowy River. Wentworth held fifteen stations, though none were in the Monaro. With the resources that men like Boyd and Wentworth commanded – and despite their protests – Gipps's new regulations actually played into the hands of wealthy squatters at the expense of smaller leaseholders. The wealthy already enjoyed an advantage in retaining and expanding their holdings as they were better placed to ride out the severe drought that had set in towards the end of the 1830s and an economic depression that had arisen in the early 1840s.[14]

Given the limits that Gipps had now placed on the size of squatting runs, his reforms may have led to the splitting up of the larger runs in the Monaro into smaller leaseholds. For the wealthier squatters, this may have actually created an opportunity. By partitioning their runs into smaller holdings, they could now buy the freehold of a homestead block for each of them. Whatever the motive, it may have been at this time that Aston was divided into two entities, Aston itself and Cootalmyong. The properties were put up for sale together in January 1846, Aston now having a 70-foot long woolshed and barn on it. The purchaser of the two properties was almost certainly Thacker and Company, run by Captain John ('Jawing Jack') Thacker. Thacker was the principal agent in Sydney for the pre-eminent and fabulously rich Hong Kong-based mercantile firm of Jardine Matheson. He was probably acting for James Matheson – later Sir James Matheson – who had recently retired as head of the company and returned to his native Scotland where he had bought the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides for a sum in excess of half a million pounds. He was now erecting his own castle on it. In 1848, Thacker transferred the licences of Aston and Cootalmyong to Matheson, who appears to have retained them up until his death in 1878.[15]

Another early practical manifestation of Gipps' changes was the establishment of small cemeteries on Aston and Mount Cooper stations in 1845 and 1845/46 respectively. In contrast to the slab buildings that stood on the various runs, the initial memorials in the cemeteries may thus have been erected deliberately as the first permanent structures in the Study Area. Such was the cemeteries' importance that it is likely they were established on the homestead blocks, of which squatters could now purchase the freehold. In the case of Aston, the cemetery is situated on the southern side of the Bombala-Delegate road, in a small block within Portion 1 of the Parish of Gecar. The Mount Cooper cemetery occupied the small Portion 98 within the larger Portion 141 of the Parish of Tivy. However, the headstones from Mount Cooper have been removed from their original location and re-erected against a stone wall nearby.[16]

Meanwhile, the squatting interests were continuing their vehement agitation against Gipps's policies. Thwarted in their ambitions locally, they took their fight to London where they had powerful political connections. Their chances of achieving their aims were much enhanced in June 1846 when the government of Lord John Russell took office; Russell and in particular his Secretary of State for the Colonies, Earl Grey, were eager to divest themselves of the land tenure problem in NSW. The following month, Gipps sailed for England and was replaced as governor by the more amenable Sir Charles FitzRoy. In August, the British Parliament passed new legislation sponsored by

---

[14] Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, pp. 28-30.

[15] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 January 1846, p. 4; Janette Holcomb, *Early Merchant Families of Sydney: Speculation and Risk Management on the Fringes of Empire*, London, 2014, p. 230; Benjamin Mountford, *Britain, China, and Colonial Australia*, New York, 2016; Trengrove, *Land users of the Monaro*, pp. 60, 84.

[16] Heraldry and Genealogy Society of Canberra Inc. [HAGSOC], *Monumental Inscriptions Monaro*, Canberra, 2nd edition, 1999, pp. 18, 176-7; Masterplan Consultants, 'Inventory of Items of Environmental Heritage Bombala Shire New South Wales', item nos. 37 and 57; https://www.snowymonaro.nsw.gov.au/737/Aston-Cemetery ; http://www.monaropioneers.com/Cemeteries/MountCooper/MountCooper.htm .

Grey and known as the *Waste Lands Occupation Act*. Under the terms of the Act and an attendant Order-in-Council issued in March 1847, squatters were granted 14-year leases of runs up to fifty square miles (32,000 acres) in extent. Although the squatters had pressed for 21-year leases, the regulations represented a major victory in their long campaign to attain security of tenure on their squattages.[17]

The new scheme took effect from 1 May 1847. From this point until the expiration of the leases and the passage of Premier John Robertson's free selection Acts in 1861, the squatters were assured in their occupation of the land. One of the most important effects of this development was that it enabled them to make permanent improvements to the infrastructure on their stations, including building proper residences, rather than making do as before with makeshift or temporary structures. They could now contemplate building their homesteads in stone or brick. Thus, the main part of *Aston* homestead and the *Mahratta* homestead were constructed in stone in 1848 and in about 1856 respectively, the latter by a newly-arrived German stonemason named John Beileiter. At much the same time as *Mahratta*, the *Old Burnima* homestead was built of bricks which were fired on the property. Not all squatters took advantage of their new-won security, however. The 1851 Census records only one stone or brick building – *Aston*? – in the whole of the Bombala Police District. The homestead on Mount Cooper station, for example, remained a whitewashed slab building until at least 1871.[18]
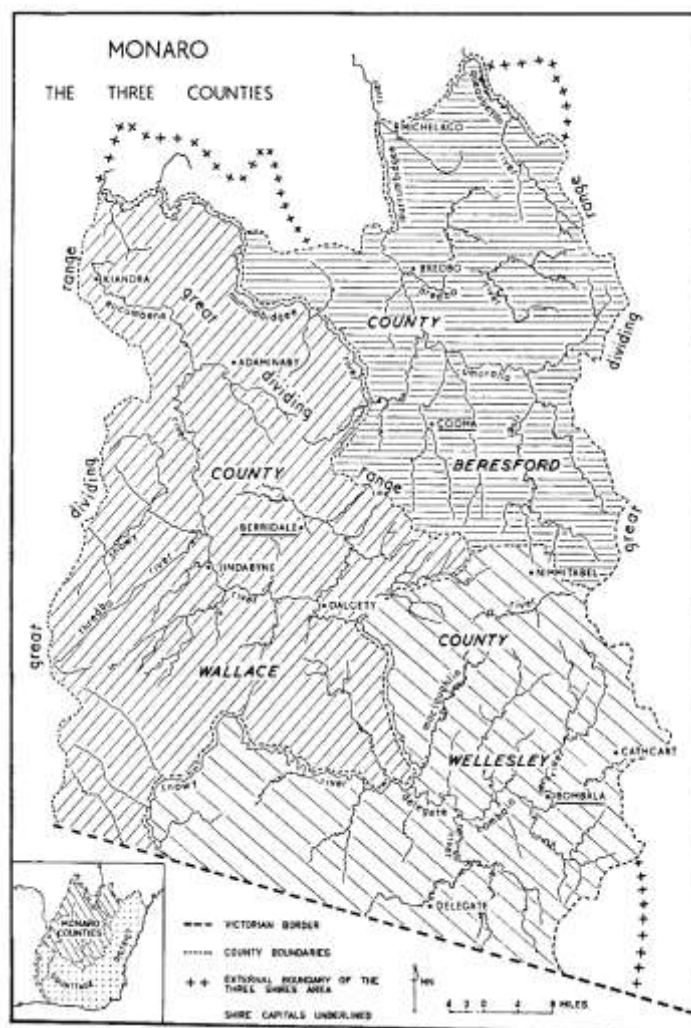
A further effect in the Monaro of the settlement of the land tenure question was that it opened the way for the founding and growth of towns. With the land brought within the orbit of government control, town sites could be selected, surveyed and divided into regular allotments for sale. The increased level of government control was reflected in the gazettal on 21 December 1848 of three new counties that covered the southern Monaro. They included the County of Wellesley whose territory incorporated the current Study Area.[19]

---

[17] Campbell, *'Squatting' on Crown Lands in New South Wales*, pp. 30-5; McCulloch, 'Gipps, Sir George (1791-1847)'; John M. Ward, 'Grey, Henry George (1802-1894)', both in *ADB*, vol. 1, 1966'; *New South Wales Government Gazette*, no. 87 [Supplement], 5 October 1847, pp. 1070-6.

[18] Masterplan Consultants, 'Inventory of Items of Environmental Heritage Bombala Shire New South Wales', item nos. 36 and 44; HAGSOC, *Monumental Inscriptions Monaro*, 2nd edition, p. 176; *Census of the Colony of New South Wales taken on the 1st March, 1851 …*, no pagination; *Manaro Mercury*, 8 August 1874, p. 4 (obituary for John G. Beileiter); information from Alan and Cathy Gillespie-Jones, Old Burnima.

[19] Hancock, *Discovering Monaro*, pp. 8-9.

The Three Counties of Monaro, including the County of Wellesley,
gazetted on 21 December 1848 (Hancock, Discovering Monaro, p. 9)

Bombala

The town of Bombala lies in part of what was the *Maharatta* squatting run which was originally owned by William Klensendorlffe. A German who had served in the Royal Navy, Klensendorlffe had arrived in Australia as a free immigrant in January 1818. About 1833, he acquired a piece of land close to the site of the original Parliament House in Canberra, but he was also busy garnering large pastoral holdings in the Monaro. In 1839, he despatched one of his employees Henry Ingram, his wife Jane and their family from his Canberra property to *Maharatta*. The Ingram family arrived on Christmas Day 1839 and shared Christmas dinner with a family named Garrity who occupied a hut at Cunningham's Point on the Bombala River, just north of the site of the future town.[20]

---

[20] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 208.

By January 1840, the Ingrams had moved a short distance southwest into a vacant shepherd's hut beside a creek that ran into the Bombala River. The hut stood at what later became the intersection of Maybe and Burton Streets. Laurie Platts appears to indicate that this was the only building that stood within the site of the future town of Bombala at that time.[21]

Within a few years, the first business within the town site appeared. This was a rough store and inn – unlicensed initially – run by William M. Hamilton, which was operating by 1843.[22] The exact location of the building is not known, but it was likely close to or on the same spot as the store and pub he erected a few years later. It is easy to see why Hamilton would have chosen to open a store and inn at Bombala. The future town site was located at the point where the track coming up from Twofold Bay via Cathcart met the main road that ran north to Cooma and on to Sydney and southwest down to Delegate and beyond. It was also the spot where, just north of the road junction, the north-south road crossed over the Bombala River by way of a ford.[23] In all, the site was a natural stopping point for travellers. The ford was located where a footbridge now crosses the river near the southern end of Mahratta Street.

The tiny settlement soon achieved some official status and augmentation. In December 1846, a correspondent wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* complaining about the ruinous depredations of stock thieves in the southern Monaro and the lack of police in the area to catch them and bring them to justice. Signing himself 'Epier', the writer requested the appointment of benches of magistrates at Cooma and at either Bomballo or Burnima, together with the establishment of government pounds. The government took notice. At the beginning of May 1847, it established a Court of Petty Sessions at Bombala, 'at the crossing place on the River Bombala'. Anthony Brown was appointed Clerk of Petty Sessions, but he may never have taken up the position as he was replaced by William E. Murray in July. At the same time as the Court of Petty Sessions was set up, the government created the position of Chief Constable at Bombala and appointed William Millington to the office.[24]

The freshly-established court was housed in temporary quarters fronting Stephen Street straddling the boundary of what became Lots 10 and 11 of Section 1 of Bombala. The police lock-up occupied makeshift premises in Lot 10, while the Chief Constable's office and residence stood in front of Lot 11, in the middle of Stephen Street very close to its intersection with Queen Street.[25] The buildings in which these government functions and officials were accommodated were very likely small timber structures – slab huts – that had been erected on the *Maharatta* property to house shepherds and other station employees.

---

[21] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 208.

[22] Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 46; Charles MacAlister, *Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South*, Sydney, 1907, pp. 127-8.

[23] See NLA Map F70: W. Meadows Brownrigg, Surveyor, 'The Town of Bomballa County of Wellesley Maneroo', 1849. Note: The NLA dates this map to *circa* 1850, but it almost certainly dates from 1849.

[24] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 January 1847, p. 2; *Australian*, 1 May 1847, p. 3; *Sydney Chronicle*, 24 July 1847, p. 3.

[25] NLA Map F70: W. Meadows Brownrigg, Surveyor, 'The Town of Bomballa County of Wellesley Maneroo', 1849.

NLA Map F70: Plan of Bombala Town by Surveyor William Meadows Brownrigg, 1849. The orientation of the map is from south (left) to north (right). Timor Street is the short portion of road between and parallel with Maybe and Maharatta Streets

In terms of its size and the dignity of the function it was meant to serve, the temporary courthouse was eminently unsuitable as a building. At the conclusion of a hearing in the court on 17 February 1848, the three magistrates present, John Boucher, Dr Kinnear Robertson and John Nicholson, junior, proceeded on horseback to select a site for a proper courthouse.[26] It was probably at this time that they chose the site at the corner of High and Dickinson Streets, on what would become Lots 1 and 20 of Section 2 of the town. The location was a logical choice as it stood to the west and slightly above the main north-south road. This road generally followed the line northward along what would become Mahratta Street before diverting to run – almost – along High Street. It should be noted that the selection of the site, along with the establishment of a Court of Petty Sessions, Chief Constable and lock-up in Bombala, occurred before it was officially chosen as the site of a town and before any survey was undertaken.

Around the same time Hamilton, showing confidence in the future of his business in Bombala, erected a new store and pub near the ford over the river. Fronting Timor Street, the building stood on what would become Lots 16 and 17 of Section 16. It was first licensed as *The Bombala Inn* in 1847. The new structure was nothing grand, however; a visitor described it as 'a miserable slab hut, shingled with bark'. Nevertheless, Hamilton requested permission from the government to buy five acres of land on which he had made improvements, these no doubt including his new premises. His

---

[26] *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 4 March 1848, p. 1. Although Schofield in *Bombala, Hub of the Southern Monaro*, took part in the selection, he was not present at this occasion.

request was apparently turned down, but he would secure title to at least some of the land a few years later.[27]

Despite the presence in Bombala of government establishments, as well as Hamilton's store *cum* pub, consideration was given to various locations as the official site for a town. The favoured site was on Captain Ronald Campbell's *Bombalo* station. When Campbell objected to the proposal, however, the existing small settlement at Bombala was an obvious alternative. Another version of the story, not necessarily at odds with the first, states that after the government fixed on the *Bombalo* station site the local squatters met and proposed the Bombala site instead. The rationale behind their choice was that 'their stations converged on a point then known as Messmate Mahratta', which they believed was more suitable. The locality was so called because of the prevalence in it of the messmate tree (*Eucalyptus obliqua*). Two other developments strengthened the case for Bombala. The first was its selection as the site for a Post Office – at an unspecified location in the settlement – on 1 January 1849. The second was the establishment in May of a Public Pound in Bombala and the appointment of John Rixon as the Pound Keeper.[28]

The decision to lay out a township at Bombala was taken by September 1849. By one report, the plan of the town was drawn up by the Surveyor-General's deputy, Thomas S. Townsend, but a plan exists that was laid out by Surveyor William Meadows Brownrigg in, presumably, the same year. Whatever the case, Bombala was notified as a town in the *Government Gazette* of 18 September 1849. This could be regarded as Bombala's birth certificate. In accordance with the Georgian – or, by now, early Victorian – passion for strict order and regularity, the streets were laid out in a grid pattern and orientated to the ordinal points of the compass: northeast, southwest, northwest and southeast. The surveyors would no doubt have preferred to align them with the cardinal points of the compass, but the northeast-southwest line of the river through the town precluded this.[29]

It is clear from the plan that the surveyors envisaged the western side of the town as the main part of town and that, reflecting its name, High Street would be the main thoroughfare. The existing north-south road ran through this area, rather than through the eastern side of the town on the opposite side of the river. The surveyors laid out Sections 1 to 3 of the town along the western side of High Street and Sections 4 to 6 along its eastern side. Of the sixteen original town sections, fifteen were placed on the western side and only one, Section 16 on which stood Hamilton's store and pub, on the eastern side. The surveyors selected the western side, too, as the original site reserved for a Church of England church and school. This site, which was later abandoned in favour of one on the other side of the river, occupied Lots 6 to 8 of Section 4, with frontages to both High and Mahratta Streets. A similar site was reserved for a Roman Catholic church and school on Lots 6 to 9 of Section 10, at the corner of Stephen and Queen Streets.[30]

Bombala's status as a settlement centre was further enhanced when an extensive Bombala Police District was gazetted in January 1850. In the meantime, Hamilton, the local Clerk of Petty Sessions, William Murray, and others were keen to purchase town lots and were pressing the Surveyor-

---

[27] John Flannery, 'The Foundation of Bombala Township', *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 2; Jean McNaught, *Butts and Certificates of the First Publicans' Licences 1830-1860*, Goonellabah, 1997, p. 153; *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 4 March 1848, p. 1.
[28] *NSW Government Gazette*, 1 January 1849, p. 5; 22 May 1849, p. 817; Schofield, *Bombala, Hub of the Southern Monaro*, p. 47; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 20 January 1872, p. 20.
[29] Flannery, *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 2; *NSW Government Gazette*, 18 September 1849, p. 1356.
[30] NLA Map F70: W. Meadows Brownrigg, Surveyor, 'The Town of Bomballa County of Wellesley Maneroo', 1849.

General to make lots available for sale. Eventually, the first tranche of allotments was put up for sale on 20 November 1850. They comprised various lots in Sections 4 and 5 and eighteen of the twenty allotments in Section 16. In this latter Section, Hamilton succeeded in buying five ½-acre lots. These consisted of Lots 13 and 17 facing Timor Street and Lots 18 to 20 along Young Street. Surprisingly, Lots 15 and 16 were not offered for sale and were originally purchased by James (or Jimmy) Taylor who had held the Taylor's Flat run, at one time part of *Burnima*. As Hamilton's store and pub stood on Lots 16 and 17, Taylor thus owned half the property. He may have been a business partner of Hamilton as the licence of *The Bombala Inn* was held in his name from 1853 to 1856.[31]

The official notification of Bombala as a town and the ensuing land sales prompted some modest building development. In a *Gazette* notice of 29 November 1850, Chief Constable Millington referred incidentally to 'the new buildings, on the line of road leading from Bombala to Eden Twofold Bay …' Although the location is imprecise, it is possible that Millington was alluding to new structures just put up by Hamilton on the lots he owned in Section 16, which were more or less on the road leading to Twofold Bay. The new buildings mentioned by Millington, as well as others erected in the town at this time, were nothing elaborate. The Census taken on 1 March 1851 disclosed that only sixteen habitations, one of them unfinished, stood in the town. They were all built of timber – in effect, slabs – and only two of them were roofed with shingles. The rest were bark-roofed. Into these sixteen buildings were crammed the population of the town which numbered 123 individuals, an average of seven to eight people per habitation. Reflecting the rough frontier nature of the place at this time, there was a significant gender imbalance in the population: some 78 males, as against 45 females.[32]

Commercial Development and Main Street

Notwithstanding the surveyors' intention that High Street would serve as the settlement's principal thoroughfare, the eastern side of the town soon became the commercial centre, with Maybe Street as its main street. Several factors contributed to this. The line of road or track to and from Cathcart passed along Maybe Street, making it an obvious choice for the setting up of businesses to cater for the local and passing trade. Already, a precedent had been set by the establishment of the town's first business, Hamilton's store and pub. It stood right beside the line of the Cathcart road which, before the survey of the town lots, cut diagonally across Section 16 from Timor Street to Maybe Street. Conversely, High Street's prospects of becoming the commercial heart of the town may have been hampered by the reservation of what would otherwise have been prime business sites for the courthouse and the Church of England church and school.

A plan dating from July 1850 shows another structure standing to the rear of Hamilton's inn and, a little southwest of the inn, a store building. Like the inn, the store stood beside the track running from the ford over the river and across Section 16 where it joined Maybe Street and thus the road to Boyd Town. These buildings may have been the same as those mentioned by Constable Millington in November 1850 as 'the new buildings, on the line of road leading from Bombala to Eden Twofold Bay.' A rather condescending newspaper report dating from September 1856 referred to Bombala as having two or three shopkeepers, a Jewish publican (Maurice Solomon), a butcher, carpenter, miller

---

[31] *NSW Government Gazette*, 17 January 1850, p. 92; 18 October 1850, pp. 1606-9; Flannery, *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 2; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 5; Schofield, *Bombala, Hub of the Southern Monaro*, p. 158; Department of Lands, 'Town of Bombala …', 22 May 1944, NLA Map G8974.B6G46 1944; McNaught, *Butts and Certificates of the First Publicans' Licences 1830-1860*, pp. 350-1.

[32] *NSW Government Gazette*, 10 December 1850, p. 1932; *Census of the Colony of New South Wales taken on the 1st March, 1851 …*, no pagination.

(Henry Kesterton) and a lollipop man who was perhaps a confectioner. Another report on the same date stated that the town had five or six general stores and three public houses. Yet another later source reported that around this same time George Heritage and C.H. Wilton had stores in Timor Street, Roderick McDonald a store in Young Street and Messrs Samuel and Henry Solomon a store in Mahratta Street on the western side of the town. Probably not much later, a smithy was opened in Maybe Street, no doubt to cater in part to the passing trade; it was renovated and converted into Harvey's saddlery in the middle of the next decade.[33]

Undoubtedly, the most important building to be erected in the 1850s was St Matthias' Church. In October 1856, the Diocese of Goulburn accepted an offer from John and F.A. Nicholson for two adjoining allotments – Lots 27 and 28 of Section 44, on the eastern side of the town – as the site for a church. The Diocese's decision to forgo the reserved site on the western side may well have been an indication that the bulk of the town's population resided on the other side of the Bombala River. While the original intention was to build a modest structure in timber, this was given up in favour of constructing a larger building in stone. One wonders whether the availability of local stonemasons in the persons of the Beileiter brothers precipitated the change of plan. Work commenced on the building in July-August 1857 and proceeded slowly until the church was completed in November 1859. Not only was it was the first permanent place of worship to be erected in the town, but it was also the first structure to be built in stone in Bombala.[34]

Another less exalted measure of the growth of the town in the decade from 1850 to 1860 was the proliferation of pubs. Hamilton's original *Bombala Inn* was licensed to his possible business associate, James Taylor, from 1853 to 1856. The *Thistle Inn* was first licensed to Margaret Mackay in 1853, then to Mary Ann Thornton and subsequently to Morgan Thornton who in an appeal to drinkers across the sectarian divide renamed it *The Shamrock, Rose and Thistle* in 1856. Maurice Solomon opened his *Travellers Rest Inn* in 1855, the *Black Horse Inn* operated for a brief period in 1858, while William Badgery's *Australian Arms* and Charles Kyle's *Royal Hotel* were both in operation by March 1859. Just south of Bombala, on the Mahratta Road, the *Woolpack Inn* had opened by 1860; the building was still standing in 1990. Although there seems to have been cutthroat competition between the pubs such that some did not last long, their sheer number points to a rapid expansion of business in the town.[35]

A further indication of the increase in population and business in the town was the establishment of two medical practices before the end of the decade. Dr Charles Ashenheim had arrived in Bombala by September 1859 and, despite his German name, came from Edinburgh. In November the following year, Dr Charles Michael Chopin, who was born and educated in France, set up his own medical practice in the town. After a dispute with Chopin, Ashenheim left in 1862, but another medical practitioner, Dr Thomas B. Ashworth, arrived in 1871. In the meantime, Chopin stayed on until his untimely death in October of that same year. From 1866 until his death, Chopin had also been the licensee of the *Royal Hotel*, having married Mary Kyle, widow of the owner's original

---

[33] *NSW Government Gazette*, 10 December 1850, p. 1932; AONSW map no. 2159; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 September 1856, p. 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1856, p. 6; *Empire*, 25 August 1864, p. 4; J.I.H. James, *Bombala Times Supplement*, 4 November 1966, p. 6.

[34] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 August 1857, p. 6; 5 September 1857, p. 5; 29 May 1860, p. 5; Sheila Barber and Laurie Platts, 'St Matthias' Church, Bombala', *Anglican Historical Society Journal*, no. 45, April 2008, pp. 9-10.

[35] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 January 1858, p. 4; *Goulburn Herald*, 16 March 1859, p. 4.

licensee. After her husband's death, Mary Chopin held the license for many years, the building later being described as 'a large sawn slab building'.[36]

The most ambitious business development in the period was the erection in 1856 of a steam-powered flour mill by Henry Kesterton. Driven by a 16-horsepower engine and a boiler that had been transported with great difficulty up the mountain road from Eden, the mill began to run at full capacity in April 1857, taking advantage of the 'superabundance' of wheat in the district. It stood facing the river in Therry Street, in Section 17 between Forbes and Caveat Streets and most likely on Lot 8. In December 1860, Kesterton claimed that his milling and agricultural enterprises made him the largest employer of labour in the Bombala and Cooma districts. The claim, advanced as part of his candidacy for the electorate of Maneroo, might be taken with a pinch of salt, but there is still no doubt that his mill was of pre-eminent importance to Bombala's economy. Sadly, it seems that nothing now remains of the mill.[37]

In late 1858, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Bombala 'continued to thrive … in a most marked manner, if we may judge from the rapid increase of dwelling-houses and population.' Indeed, the population rose from 123 in 1851 to 319 in 1856 and 405 in 1861, an increase of nearly 330 per cent in ten years. The more settled nature of the place was also reflected in the trend towards equalisation of the gender ratio. In 1861, there were 221 males and 184 females resident in the town. The number of dwellings also increased from just sixteen in 1851 to 73 a decade later. Of these, however, 70 were slab, weatherboard or 'inferior' structures, one was a tent and only two were built of stone. One of these two was probably Badgery's *Australian Arms* hotel and the other possibly St Matthias' Church, if indeed it was regarded as a dwelling.[38]

The continuing prosperity of the pastoral and agricultural industries in the southern Monaro considerably promoted the development of Bombala over the next quarter century or so. Their effect was enhanced to some extent by the passage of Premier John Robertson's two Crown Lands Acts in 1861 which were intended to open up the land to free selection and thus denser settlement. As a result, the town's population continued to grow, reaching 565 in 1871 and then nearly doubling to 1,000 in 1881. The district's apparently solid economic foundations and the increasing population of the town encouraged the construction of more and better buildings – buildings, in other words, of higher quality that were meant to last. Essential to the erection of more permanent structures was the opening by a man named W. Reed of a brickworks in Bombala in the early 1860s. The brick pits lay at the corner of Burton and Maybe Streets. The availability of locally-made bricks was largely responsible for the number of buildings constructed in brick or stone to rise from just two in 1861 to 68 in 1881. This represented nearly a third of the total 216 inhabited dwellings in the town at that time.[39]

The growth of the town and its ongoing transformation into a more settled community was manifested in the establishment of schools, churches and other institutions during the 1860s. While there were apparently no schools in the district in the 1850s, the local inhabitants were keen to see

---

[36] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 October 1859, p. 1; *Twofold Bay Telegraph*, 9 November 1860, p. 3; *Manaro Mercury*, 4 November 1871, p. 2; Douglas Park, 'Old Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 19 July 1918, p. 2.

[37] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1856, p. 6; *Goulburn Herald*, 18 April 1857, p. 5; *Empire*, 8 December 1860, p. 5; *Evening News*, 18 January 1872, p. 4.

[38] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 November 1858, p. 3.

[39] Census of NSW 1871, p. 446; Census of NSW 1881, Summary Tables pp. vii and xxv; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 125. No statistics for buildings were recorded in the 1871 Census.

that their children received a proper education. A public meeting held in the courthouse at the end of January 1860 raised £120 towards the erection of a National (or public) School in the town. The only immediate outcome of the meeting, however, was to prompt the religious denominations in the town to try to found their own religious schools. Bombala's Catholic community held a meeting in October 1860 for the purpose of hiring a teacher and renting suitable premises for a school and schoolmaster's residence. This, too, produced no immediate result, but by August 1862 the Church of England minister, the Reverend John Steele, was having a schoolhouse erected for the children of his parishioners. This was despite the fact that his predecessor, the Reverend Edward Forde, had actually been the convener of the 1860 meeting to establish a public school in the town.[40]

The National School in Bombala opened in August 1863 in a weatherboard building comprising a schoolroom and three apartments for the teacher. The Church of England school, in turn, commenced operation in 1866, as did a Catholic school in about 1870-71. For different reasons, both of these schools closed, at least temporarily, in 1871. Early the following year, the public school was described as occupying a 'very fair' building 'erected on the borders of the town', almost certainly on a 2-acre site in Wellington Street – Section 32, Lot 6 – that had been dedicated for a public school on 1 June 1866. The building, nonetheless, was barely adequate for the growing numbers of local schoolchildren or to provide adequate accommodation for the headmaster and his wife. Tenders were called in October 1875 to erect a new public school building. Constructed during the following year, the new premises were solidly built of brick and provided a comfortable residence next door for the teacher. Its opening in early 1877 was none too soon as the Bombala school had by then the largest enrolment of any public school in the Monaro.[41]

A Catholic convent school reopened in Bombala in February 1885. The school, run by the Sisters of Charity, was initially called All Saints' Convent and occupied a former hotel, attached to which was a good expanse of land that sloped down to the river. In 1887, the Sisters of St Joseph took over the running of the school and renamed it then or soon afterwards St Joseph's Convent School. As the old pub in which the school operated was scarcely suitable for its role, the foundation stone of a purpose-built convent on the same site was laid on 5 October 1890. The new school, which cost about £1,000 to build, opened in 1896. The Catholic school was the only one of five private schools that existed in Bombala in the mid-1890s to survive.[42]

Following the opening of St Matthias' Church in 1859, the other Christian religious denominations in the town began to stir themselves towards erecting their own churches. The site reserved for a Catholic church, presbytery and school at the corner of Stephen and Queens Streets – Section 10, Lots 6 to 9 – had been surveyed and then formally reserved by the colonial government in December 1853. But it was not until 1866 that St Mary's Church was erected on Lots 8 and 9. The building was designed and built in stone by Peter Ressler, another immigrant from Germany, at a cost of £484/2/0. A visitor to the town in late 1871 noted, however, that the building appeared unfinished. At a later date, Ressler also built a presbytery in brick for the parish priest. Oddly, it was not erected on the land reserved for church purposes, but rather on an allotment at the corner of Chusan and Stephen Streets. In the early 1940s, a new St Mary's Church was erected in Dickinson Street, on land

---

[40] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 September 1856, p. 6; 11 February 1860, p. 4; 3 April 1868, p. 4; *Freeman's Journal*, 31 October 1860, p. 3; *Empire*, 5 August 1862, p. 3.

[41] Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 89; *Manaro Mercury*, 28 October 1871, p. 3; 2 October 1875, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; 2 December 1876, p. 20; 3 November 1877, p. 32.

[42] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 February 1885, p. 10; 31 December 1887, p. 9; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 25 May 1889, p. 14; 20 September 1890, p. 10; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 92.

that had formerly belonged to the Methodist Church and, before that, to the Presbyterian congregation. The original St Mary's was abandoned and demolished.[43]

A site had originally been reserved for a Presbyterian church and manse at the corner of Queen and Dickinson Streets – Section 2, Lots 16 to 19. For reasons that are not clear, the local Presbyterian congregation gave up the site in favour of another nearby, at the corner of Queen and Manning Streets – Section 11, Lots 6 to 9 – which was dedicated on 5 March 1865. It was on this site that St Andrew's Presbyterian Church was built by 1871. Constructed of stone and featuring a porch at the front, the church was described in 1872 as 'very handsome and commodious building'. Like St Mary's Church, it too was dismantled and re-erected on its current site in Wellington Street in 1911.[44]

A Wesleyan Methodist chapel reputedly existed on property owned by Edmund Warburton at Crankies Plain before a church was actually built in Bombala. The foundation stone of the Bombala church was laid on 20 August 1872 and it was opened in 1873. The builder was Peter Ressler. It appears that the church, which later became the Uniting Church and is now a private dwelling, was erected on the location it still occupies in Maybe Street, rather than on the site that had been reserved for a Methodist church on the other side of town. In the meantime, while the other denominations were thus erecting or preparing to erect their own churches, the local Anglican community had proceeded with another building project, the construction of a parsonage or rectory for the minister. This was on a block of land donated by John Boucher just south of the town. The parsonage was built in stone, almost certainly by John Beileiter, and was completed in 1869.[45]

One of the most significant manifestations of Bombala's development into a more settled community was the establishment of its own local newspapers. The town was serviced to some degree from 1860 by the *Manaro Mercury and Cooma and Bombala Advertiser*, which was published in Cooma, and to a lesser extent by two short-lived newspapers that were published in Eden in 1860. However, in 1863, the town gained its own newspaper when Henry Windeyer, a relative of the distinguished jurist and politician Sir William Charles Windeyer, commenced publication of the *Bombala Times*. The paper initially occupied premises that had formerly been a smithy in Maybe Street. Competition for the *Times* appeared by late 1871 when Emanuel Jonas, the manager of Maharatta Station, founded the *Bombala Herald*. By this time, W.G. Tweedie had taken over the *Times* and continued to run the paper for many years until his death (when he was succeeded by his son). The two papers eventually merged under the title, the *Bombala Times*, in about 1912.[46]

In the same period, commercial development in general in the town flourished. By the mid-1860s, the town had six main stores. Although the eastern side was steadily cementing its status as the

---

[43] T.H. Grant, 'Tracing for record purposes of allotments for RC Church, School and Manse, Bombala', January 1853, AONSW Map No. 2206; Surveyor General's Office. 'Town of Bombala … 1861', Mitchell Library; 'Town of Bombala', 22 May 1944, National Library of Australia Map G8974.B5G46 1944; Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 84-5; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; Rev B.R. Druery, 'The Church in Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 11; Douglas Park, 'Old Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 28 June 1918, p. 6.

[44] Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 82-3; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; Druery, *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 11.

[45] Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 81-2; Druery, *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 11; Park, 'Old Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 28 June 1918, p. 6; Barber and Platts, *Anglican Historical Society Journal*, April 2008, pp. 9-10.

[46] National Library of Australia, *Newspapers in Australian Libraries: A Union List. Part 2. Australian Newspapers*, Canberra, 4th edition, 1985, pp. 9-10, 15, 18; *Empire*, 25 August 1864, p. 4; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 76; *Port Macquarie News and Hastings River Advocate*, 3 June 1922, p. 4.

commercial centre, three stores were located on each side of the river. On the west were stores run by Sam Kerry, Jacob Leonard and, in Mahratta Street, Samuel and Henry Solomon. On the eastern side, George Heritage and C.H. Witton each had stores in Timor Street, and Roderick McDonald one in Young Street. Such was the growth of business that the Solomons were able to make extensive improvements to their London Stores, including organising it into apartments, while at the same time Heritage set about building a new store and McDonald had to make use of his back premises as extra storage space for his stock of goods for sale.[47]

Maybe Street was firmly established as 'the principal street of Bombala' by the early 1870s. In the first half of the decade, the street was the site of Richard Witton's 'Hall of Commerce' store, Henry Kesterton's 'Mill Store' and a store owned by Emanuel Jonas. In addition, the saddlers and harnessmakers, G. Lemon and S. Perry, both had their business premises in the street. Lemon had also established a large tannery on a 2.5 acre site on the edge of the town, while Edmund Hyde operated a second tannery, a boot shop and a 'big general store'. Around the middle of the decade, Kesterton appears to have sold his milling business in Maybe Street to the Hayes family of mill owners. A decade later, the street was described as having 'numerous stores and buildings' and, in the town as a whole at this time, there were at least nineteen business houses.[48]

Among the buildings that epitomised the growing wealth and self-confidence of the community were the banks that set up branches in the town. The first was the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney which opened in temporary premises in Caveat Street in mid-1866. By one report, these premises were the White House at 102 Caveat Street. However, it is not certain that this building had been erected by 1866. Other sources variously state that the bank initially occupied 'a little cottage' – presumably in Caveat Street – next to the current site of the National Australia Bank, and that it was located in 'the cottage just below where the present bank is'. Both sources are probably referring to the same cottage, but it may not have been the White House.[49]

In 1871, the Commercial Bank erected a handsome new building for its Bombala branch at the south western corner of Maybe and Caveat Streets. The building was designed in Italianate style by the architect John Frederick Hilly of Pitt Street in Sydney and was built by the contractors Smith and Bennett. The cost to build it was £1,600, an enormous sum for the time, and when it was completed it was described as 'one of the finest edifices of the kind in the colony out of Sydney.'[50]

The Bank of New South Wales opened a branch in Bombala in July 1874, occupying for its office the long room of Mrs Margaret Badgery's *Australian Arms* hotel (later the *Bombala Hotel*) at the corner of Maybe and Forbes Streets. Soon afterwards, the bank moved into temporary premises at the corner of Caveat and Maybe Streets, diagonally opposite the Commercial (NAB in 2018) Bank. In March 1875, the manager of the Bank of NSW in Bombala purchased the *Commercial Hotel* from its owner, the local solicitor David M. Myers, with the intention of knocking it down and erecting a fine purpose-built bank on the site. It was not until April 1883, however, that moves commenced to erect the new building. At that time, a Mr Clough of the firm of 'Blackett and Clough' was despatched to Bombala to inspect the site. If this is a reference to the architectural practice of the former NSW

---

[47] AHW, 'Old Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 14 June 1918, p. 5; *Empire*, 25 August 1864, p. 4.

[48] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; 27 February 1872, p. 7; 8 August 1885, p. 27; *Bombala Times*, 24 May 1918, p. 4; 4 November 1966, pp. 2, 6.

[49] *Empire*, 30 June 1866, p. 3; 'A Walk Back in Time in Bombala', May 2016; *Bombala Times*, 28 June 1918, p. 6; 27 June 1919, p. 2; 4 November 1966, p. 6.

[50] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 6.

Colonial Architect, Edmund Blacket, it suggests that he or his company designed the building. Tenders were called to erect the two-storey brick structure in July-August 1883 and it was completed in 1884. It is now part of the RSL Club.[51]

The third bank to set up in Bombala was the Australian Joint Stock Bank; this was in April 1882. At first, the bank occupied 'a modest little building', but in April 1890 it commenced the erection of 'a magnificent new building' in Victorian Second Empire style at the corner of Maybe and Forbes Streets. The cost of construction was between £2,000 and £3,000. Unfortunately, the extravagant building was erected shortly before the onset of the 1890s depression and the collapse of several banks, including the Joint Stock Bank. Its remnants were eventually taken over by the Australian Bank of Commerce in 1910 and this was in turn absorbed by the Bank of NSW in 1931. At that time, the Bank of NSW in Bombala moved into the former Joint Stock Bank's premises, while its own 1884 building became the home of Percy Jonas. The magnificent structure built by the Joint Stock Bank in 1890 was demolished in 1961.[52]

Along with the Commercial Bank in the early 1870s, the other major new edifice of that time was Thomas Curran's *Imperial Hotel* at the corner of Maybe and Forbes Streets, opposite the *Australian Arms*. It was one of six hotels that operated in Bombala in this period. The others were Margaret Badgery's *Australian Arms*, Mary Chopin's *Royal Hotel*, William Millington's *Rose, Shamrock and Thistle*, Francis Henry Hill's *Bombala Hotel* and John Heritage's *Commercial Hotel*. Towards the end of 1871, the *Commercial Hotel* was described as being built of brick and timber and containing sixteen rooms. In reality, though, it consisted of three buildings joined together: the first comprising the hotel itself, with parlours, dining room and bedrooms; the second containing a large billiard room and side rooms; and the third consisting of a hall for public meetings. At the rear stood a kitchen, store room and stables, and behind them a garden and orchard of one acre in extent.[53]

Built by contractor Thomas Moore, Curran's *Imperial Hotel* opened on 1 March 1872. It was a two-storey brick building, containing 21 rooms, together with a billiard room and large meeting room. Three more hotels opened later in the 1870s, although two of them – Frank Jesse's *Freemason's Arms* and Agnes McPhee's *Glascow Hotel* – were fairly short-lived. The other was the *Globe Hotel* which was first licensed in September 1875, to William Millington. As Millington had been the licensee of the *Rose, Shamrock and Thistle* from 1865 to 1875, it looks suspiciously like he had simply renamed his hotel premises.[54]

Meanwhile, Curran's building of the *Imperial Hotel* put pressure on other hotel owners or licencees to bring their establishments up to his standard either by renovating or rebuilding. Myers, who had sold the old *Commercial Hotel* to the Bank of NSW in March 1875, soon embarked on building a new *Commercial Hotel* next to the site where the bank would later be erected. The building, a two-storey brick structure, was completed and opened in 1876. Some years later, in 1883, Mrs Badgery added a

---

[51] *Bega Gazette*, 23 July 1874, p. 2; *Manaro Mercury*, 20 March 1875, p. 4; *Bombala Times*, 24 May 1918, p. 4; 27 June 1919, p. 2; 4 November 1966, p. 6; *Bega Gazette*, 28 April 1883, p. 2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1883, p. 2; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 131.

[52] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 8 August 1885, p. 27; *Bega Standard*, 29 April 1882, p. 2; *Evening News*, 1 May 1890, p. 7; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 131.

[53] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; McNaught, *Butts and Certificates of the First Publicans' Licences 1830-1860, passim*.

[54] *Manaro Mercury*, 12 August 1871, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 27 February 1872, p. 7; McNaught, *Butts and Certificates of the First Publicans' Licences 1830-1860, passim*; *Manaro Mercury*, 18 September 1875, p. 3.

second storey to her hotel, the *Australian Arms*. Much later, the hotel was renamed *The Bombala Hotel*.[55]

Another fine new edifice was erected in the latter half of the 1870s. In the previous decade, a number of community organisations and societies had been formed in Bombala, including the Freemasons, the Oddfellows, the Sons of Temperance and a School of Arts. Early efforts to maintain a School of Arts in the town had met with a lukewarm response and the initiative had failed by mid-1869. But the movement to establish such an institution soon took on a vigorous new lease of life. The School reopened in temporary premises opposite the Commercial Bank on 1 January 1873 and shortly afterwards David Bell, the owner of *Spring Flat* and former manager of *Gunningrach*, made an offer of land he owned in Caveat Street as the site for a School of Arts building. He later swapped the original piece of land for another half-acre allotment he owned on the other side of the street.[56]

Determined that the new building should be a large and impressive structure, the School of Arts committee engaged Mansfield Brothers of Sydney as the architects. Tenders were called in August 1875, with the local partnership of Ned Teague, George Chidgey and George Kellond being selected as the contractors to construct the building. The foundation stone was laid on 10 February 1876 and the building was officially opened on 26 December of that year, even though it was not quite finished. The cost of construction, including furnishings, was £2,000. Besides the large hall and gallery which could seat 500 people, there were two front rooms on either side of the vestibule; one was a committee room and library and the other a reading room. The library had a collection of 950 books by mid-1877. At that time, it was described as 'one of the finest buildings of the kind out of Sydney'. Around 1912-13, the institution's name was changed to the Bombala Literary Institute.[57]

The local Masonic Brethren were rather slower to erect a hall or temple for themselves. A few residents of Bombala and district took steps in 1861 to found a lodge in the town, their efforts meeting with success when the Grand Lodge of England granted them a charter dated 23 August 1862. Thereafter, masonic meetings were held until 1879 when the lodge folded for want of members. Interest lingered, however, and a group of local petitioners secured a new charter dated 7 February 1890, this time from the recently-formed United Grand Lodge of NSW. Ten days later, the new Bombala lodge was inaugurated. It convened in 'Lodge rooms' in the School of Arts and continued to meet there for over three years. At some point in 1892, the lodge's first master, H.M. Joseph, offered some land in Wellington Street on which a masonic hall could be built. After his offer was accepted, a foundation stone was laid for the building, but the site was soon exchanged for a more suitable piece of land that Joseph owned in Caveat Street near the School of Arts. Here, the hall was erected, originally as a single storey building consisting of an ante-room and lodge chamber. A second storey was added to the building in 1910-11.[58]

Surprisingly, given the strong commercial and population growth in Bombala, the provision of adequate government services and facilities was rather lagging. For many years, the post office was

---

[55] *Manaro Mercury*, 20 March 1875, p. 4; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 2 December 1876, p. 20; *Bega Standard*, 23 May 1883, p. 2.

[56] *Manaro Mercury*, 4 June 1869, p. 4; 8 January 1873, p. 2; 11 June 1873, p. 2; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20.

[57] *Manaro Mercury*, 21 August 1875, p. 3; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1876, p. 9; 28 December 1876, p. 5; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 30 June 1877, p. 28.

[58] 'Freemasonry in Bombala', *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 12; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 February 1890, p. 8; *Manaro Mercury*, 7 January 1893, p. 6.

housed in Henry Hogarth's stone house in Maybe Street opposite the *Australian Arms* hotel and was run for some time by his daughter Rebecca. In 1877, it was described as 'a most wretched apology for a building'. Fortunately, by that time, the NSW government had purchased a block of land at the corner of Maybe and Young Streets as the site for a new post office. The building, which also served as the postmaster's residence, was completed and in operation by November the following year. Erected on stone foundations, it was a brick building which featured two 'distinctive' chimneys with brick cowls.[59]

Another major advance in communications occurred at the end of the 1860s when a telegraph link was established with the outside world via Cooma. A telegraph office was opened under the charge of Mr E. Bourke, who came from Kiandra to run it. Although the post and telegraph offices were supposedly amalgamated in Bombala by early 1870, it does not appear that the telegraph office was actually located in the post office. Rather, it first occupied 'inconvenient' premises elsewhere in Maybe Street and, in the latter half of 1873, moved to a 'commodious brick building known as Mrs Badgery's billiard room'. This may have been associated with her hotel, the *Australian Arms*. When a new post office was erected on its current site in Maybe Street in 1914-15, the telegraph office was incorporated in it.[60]

Like the old post office, the court house and lock-up in Bombala long remained substandard buildings. They were described in 1860s and 1870s as 'poor structures' and 'not in very much use', with the court house reported to be 'a miserable little cottage' and the lock-up labelled simply as 'a disgrace'. It was not until 1878 that the colonial government finally commenced action to remedy the situation. At that time, the government purchased from John Murphy two allotments at the corner of High and Dickinson Streets – Section 2, Lots 1 and 20 – as the site for a permanent court house and lock-up. Murphy was the local member of the NSW Legislative Assembly. Tenders for the building were called in July the next year and the contract was awarded to Thomas Moore and George Chidgey. Murphy laid the foundation stone for the building on 9 November 1880 and, from there, it took Moore and Chidgey over a year-and-a-half to complete the red brick court house, lock-up and lock-up keeper's residence. The cost of construction was £3,300.[61]

Bombala was also in need of a new police station, but this too was a long time in coming. Tenders were called in June 1902 and it seems that Thomas Moore and Sons were the successful tenderers. A site for the station had formerly been purchased in Dickinson Street opposite the court house – that is, at Section 3, Lots 8 and 9. However, this had been foregone in favour of the current site in Forbes Street.[62]

---

[59] Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 75; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; 24 November 1877, p. 24; *Manaro Mercury*, 7 December 1878, p. 3;*Bombala Times*, 28 June 1918, p. 6; 'A Walk Back in Time in Bombala', May 2016.
[60] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; *Bombala Times*, 4 October 1918, p. 4; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 February 1870, p. 6; *Manaro Mercury*, 6 August 1873, p. 2; 5 November 1873, p. 3; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 75.
[61] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 6 January 1872, p. 20; 3 January 1880, p. 13; 8 August 1885, p. 27; Justice Alfred McFarland, quoted in *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 2; *Bombala Times*, 27 June 1919, p. 2; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 October 1878, p. 2; 9 July 1879, p. 9; 11 November 1880, p. 5; *Manaro Mercury*, 7 May 1881, p. 3; 7 June 1882, p. 4; *Bega Standard*, 22 July 1882, p. 4.
[62] *Bombala Times*, 30 May 1902, p. 3; 20 June 1902, p. 2; NLA Map G8974.B6G46 1944 - Town of Bombala, 22 May 1944.

There was one further facility that Bombala lacked until relatively late. The facility in question was a hospital. In latter part of 1872, the NSW government placed a sum of £300 on the Estimates towards the construction of a hospital in the town. A local hospital committee was formed, but no progress was made perhaps because the committee was unable to raise sufficient funds for the building project. Making a fresh effort a decade later, the committee leased temporary premises for a hospital in August 1883 and secured the appointment of Dr Eddie as medical officer. In July 1884, the committee was at last able to advertise for tenders to erect the hospital. The identity of the successful tenderer is not known, but construction of the hospital was completed twelve months later and it was opened on 20 July 1885.[63]

Cycles of Decline and Recovery

By the early 1890s – in a period of just over forty years – Bombala had attained the substance and status and of a settled and permanent community. It was supplied with most of the amenities of such a community or, as a correspondent of the *Australian Town and Country Journal* observed, it was 'well off for churches, schools, shops, and other necessities of civilisation.' On 20 March 1885, it had been proclaimed a town and its boundaries were notified on the same date; they were amended on 30 June 1907 and again on 4 April 1924. One of the most important markers of the town's established nature was its incorporation as a borough on 20 November 1890. Hyam Moses Joseph was elected as the inaugural mayor and the Council held its early meetings in the Masonic Lodge Room of the School of Arts, the masons having yet to erect their own hall. The Council later seems to have met in the old and now disused court house before it eventually took over the Commercial Hotel as the borough chambers.[64]

Bombala's incorporation as a borough enabled the Council to raise revenue from rates in order to make much-desired increases and improvements to local amenities. From early on, these included improving roadways within the town and providing it with street lighting. In August 1891, the Council let a contract for the erection of thirty kerosene lamps to light the streets. By this time, the population of the town, as encompassed within the borough boundaries, had risen to 1,101, up from 1,000 a decade previously, while for the first time women outnumbered men. There were 202 residences in the town, plus another seven stores, offices and other premises that were not used for residential purposes. All in all, the town looked set for a secure and prosperous future. Reporting on the visit of the Governor of NSW, Lord Jersey, to the town in March 1892, a newspaper correspondent felt moved to extol Bombala as 'an earthly paradise' and declaimed that 'happy are the people who have the privilege of living there.'[65]

The timing of the comment could scarcely have been worse. Drought had set in from 1886, culminating in the worst year of drought then recorded in NSW, 1888. This misfortune was coupled over the same period with a decline in the price of wool, the commodity on which Bombala's prosperity largely depended. To this was added the onset of a severe economic depression in the early 1890s which led, in April 1893, to the collapse of several major colonial banks. Matters were made even worse by the onset in 1895 of a prolonged period of drought, with the drought year of

---

[63] *Manaro Mercury*, 4 December 1872, p. 2; 23 April 1873, p. 2; 16 July 1884, p. 3; *Bega Standard*, 1 August 1883, p. 2; 26 September 1883, p. 2; *Evening News*, 22 July 1885, p. 3.

[64] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 26 March 1892, p. 26; *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, pp. 3, 6; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 93.

[65] *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 3; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 96; *Results of a Census of New South Wales, taken for the night of the 5th April, 1891*; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 26 March 1892, p. 26;

1902 exceeding in severity even that of 1888. There was some recovery from drought around 1905, but it would not be until the end of that decade that NSW would fully emerge from the twin scourges of drought and economic depression. Meanwhile, for a few years at the start of the new century, Bombala had entertained high hopes that its future would be assured by its selection as the site for the nation's capital. These hopes were scotched in 1903 and then, in the ensuing decade, the town had to contend with the exigencies and anxieties of the world war.

All of these events exerted a profound effect on Bombala. In 1894, the headmaster of the public school, James Naylor, wrote that while, there was not a single vacant dwelling in the town two years before, there were now 35 houses and five shops unoccupied. One of the main stores had closed twelve months before, two of the hotels had been empty for six months and 22 families had left the town since June 1893. His observations were corroborated by census statistics. From its population peak of 1,101 people in 1891, it would be more than half a century before Bombala would reach the same height – and then only just. The population of the municipality dropped to 986 in 1901 and to 827 in 1911. In the decade from 1891 to 1901, the number of occupied dwellings in the town fell from 191 to 173. There were another 22 unoccupied dwellings in the town in 1901, equating to over eleven per cent of the total of 195 dwellings then in existence.[66]

Bad as it was, however, it was not quite the end of civilisation in Bombala. As noted above, members of the local Masonic Lodge were able to fund the erection of their hall in Caveat Street in the 1890s despite the financial troubles of the time. In 1910-11, they had sufficient resources to engage contractor D. Livingstone to add an elaborate second storey to the hall. The return to more profitable conditions may have also been a factor in allowing the Garnock family to erect their comfortable two-storey brick residence, *Stradone*, in Burton Street in 1912. Three years later, the town gained a new post office, while on 3 November of the same year the Kennedy Brothers began showing moving pictures at the Literary Institute. Subsequently, in the latter half of 1916, they commenced building their Olympia Picture Palace; it was in operation by March the following year. In 1918, the local nuns purchased a former private hospital to which they had additions made so that they could use it as their new convent. At the same time, the architect J.D. Cochran of Cooma designed a new convent school which was erected by a contractor named Thorne. The all up cost of the two building projects was £2,100.[67]

Another manifestation of the return to more prosperous conditions in the wake of drought and depression was the appearance from around the end of the first decade of the new century onward of a number of small private hospitals in Bombala. A Mrs Hare was running a private hospital at an unknown location by mid-1910 and in August 1914 Mrs H. Groves opened such a hospital in the Rectory. To take charge of her establishment, Mrs Groves engaged a certified nurse who, by September 1915, was Mrs Martha Freebody. The hospital was by now located in Cardwell Street, unless this was the same location as the Rectory. In April 1916, Nurse E. Hoare opened another private hospital at 'The Lilacs' in Maybe Street, but soon moved to the Rectory which presumably had been vacated by Mrs Groves. Nurse Hoare moved her hospital again in January 1917 to premises she called 'Halcyon' at the southern end of Maybe Street. Mrs Eliza Bedingfield opened a hospital in 1920, but her death in October that year probably saw its closure. In the meantime, yet another private hospital had been opened in July 1920 by Nurse Judge in 'Stradone' in Burton Street. This

---

[66] James Naylor, quoted in Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 94. Population and housing statistics are taken from the Censuses of 1891, 1901 and 1911.

[67] *Bega Budget*, 17 December 1910, p2; 25 March 1911, p. 3; *Bombala Times*, 5 November 1915, p. 1; 30 June 1916, p.1; 16 March 1917, p. 1; 1 November 1918, p. 6.

was to be the longest-lived by far of all the private hospitals, surviving under a series of operators until 1947.[68]

The town's social and economic health was enormously boosted by two events of vastly different scale towards the end of the first quarter of the 20th century. The first was the ending of World War 1 and the restoration of a more peaceful and stable international environment. In Bombala, the contribution that local enlistees had made to the war effort was commemorated in the erection in 1922 of a Soldiers' Memorial, as it was first called, at the intersection of Forbes and Maybe Streets. Unveiled on 22 April 1922, the memorial was built at a cost of £500 by a contractor named Dunkeley and was probably designed by a Sydney firm. At another level, the universal relief that the war was over ushered in a period of great economic optimism, leading to the over-confidence and rashness of the 1920s.[69]

Optimism for the future in Bombala in particular was sharpened by the opening of the railway connection to Cooma and thus to Sydney on 21 November 1921. The local community had longed for such a connection since the 1870s, well before the train line even reached Cooma in May 1889. The residents of the town and the wider area saw in the railway a quicker, more reliable and cheaper way of moving the pastoral and agricultural products of the southern Monaro to market, as well as providing themselves with the convenience of a passenger service to and from Sydney. In August 1899, the residents' campaign for a rail connection took on a more organised character when they formed the Southern Monaro Railway League at Bombala. Their efforts achieved success in 1908 when the NSW government agreed to extend the line from Cooma. Construction of the line commenced, but the outbreak of the war led to the suspension of work and it was not until 1921 that the rail link was completed and an accompanying railway station opened. Thereafter, the line continued to operate for nearly 65 years, eventually closing in March 1986.[70]

The railway was an immediate success, showing healthy figures for the movement of people and goods. But, as always, Bombala was not immune to upheavals in the outside world. The New York stock market crash of October 1929 marked the beginning of the Great Depression, the effects of which lasted for much of the 1930s. Demand and prices for pastoral and agricultural products, on which Bombala depended, fell steeply. For several years, almost all public and private building activity in the town ceased and the community suffered from high levels of unemployment and under-employment. The town's fortunes were reflected in its population statistics. Having climbed back up to 978 people in 1921, the population fell to 931 at the 1933 Census as people left to go elsewhere. The population remained at around that figure for the rest of the decade and only recovered after the war. In June 1947, Bombala claimed 1,112 residents, an increase of just eleven people over its population in 1891. In the decades following the end of World War 2, the town's population increased slowly, reaching 1,258 in 1954, 1,389 in 1961 and 1,510 in 1969.[71]

---

[68] *Twofold Bay Magnet*, 18 July 1910, p. 5; *Bombala Times*, 28 August 1914, p. 1; 10 September 1915, p. 1; 18 February 1916, p. 2; 2 June 1916, p. 1; 5 January 1917, p. 1; 4 June 1920, p. 1; 16 July 1920, p. 1; *Delegate Argus*, 21 October 1920, p. 2; Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 138-9.

[69] *Bombala Times*, 14 January 1921, p. 1; 27 January 1922, p. 1; *Delegate Argus*, 27 April 122, p. 2.

[70] Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 133-5; *Bombala Times*, 18 August 1899, p. 2.

[71] Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 97-8, 102, 134-5; *Bombala Times*, 30 October 1936, p. 1; population statistics from the Censuses of 1921, 1933, 1947, 1954 and 1961.

Cathcart

Just as in the case of Bombala, the foundation building of the town of Cathcart was an inn. As Laurie Platts put it, the fact that Cathcart became the site of a town 'must be mainly attributed to William Hibburd', who was the leaseholder of the *Bibbenluke* and *Taylor's Flat* runs. In 1838-39, he erected the first building at the site of Cathcart, premises that would be licensed in September 1840 as 'The George and Dragon Inn'. Meanwhile, in April 1839, a man named McKay had opened a store at Taylor's Flat, as it was then known, but the lack of business soon saw him depart. By December 1843, the incipient settlement had an unofficial burial ground located a little south east of Hibburd's inn.[72]

The opening of an inn at Taylor's Flat was a canny move by Hibburd, and it was one of a small chain of inns he established on the track from the coast. His other inns were at Pambula and Rocky Hall. The 'George and Dragon' was particularly well sited because it provided accommodation and a welcome respite for travellers who had struggled up the steep bridle paths from the coast. Indeed, the inn and its outbuildings were strategically placed such that they stood right beside the track arriving from the coast and heading on south to Bombala, while they were also located immediately adjacent to the track branching off to Nimmitabel and Burnima. Travellers could hardly miss it.
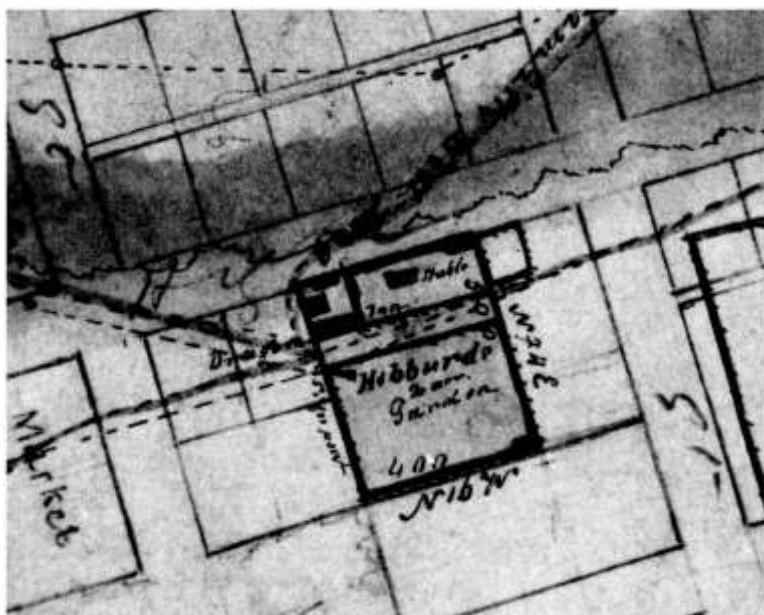
After Governor Gipps permitted occupants of Crown Land beyond the Limits of Location to purchase the freehold of some of their land, Hibburd secured title to two acres surrounding the inn in April 1844. The inn occupied what would become Section 27 of the town of Cathcart, to the west of Dragon Swamp. Hibburd retained the licence of the 'George and Dragon' until 1847, after which it was held by Henry Haydon (or Hayden), former manager of Hayden's Station. It then passed to Joseph Hydes in 1853 and to John Smith in 1855. All the while, the property remained in Hibburd's ownership. By 1857, the property consisted of the inn itself, stables, another outbuilding and an extensive garden.[73]

Acting on his own account and that of some other residents of the area, Hibburd wrote to the Surveyor General in May 1855, requesting that a town be laid out at Taylor's Flat. Surveyor E.H. Arnheim produced a feature map of Taylor's Flat in late 1856 and a plan for a village on 4 March 1857. The 1856 map depicted *inter alia* a hut, stockyard, wheat field and hay field of Henry Badgery's McLeay's Flat Station just beyond the eastern boundary of the village. Just outside the village's southwestern corner, the map also showed the old hut and the new hut on the Taylor's Flat Station, which was now held by Andrew Stewart. The village was named after General George Cathcart, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington during the Napoleonic Wars and later governor of the Cape Colony; he had been killed in November 1854 during the Crimean War.[74]

---

[72] Laurie Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 18, 20, 127, 146; T. Townsend, 'Survey of 2 acres allowed to William Hibbard at a fixed price, and of track between Tallaqueong and Buckajo', December 1843, AONSW map 3919.

[73] Townsend, 'Survey of 2 acres allowed to William Hibbard …', December 1843, AONSW map 3919; E.R. Arnheim, 'Plan, showing portion of Taylor's Flat Reserve, recommended for a village', March 1857, AONSW map 2369; 'Reserves and properties in County of Wellesley, NSW 1861', ML Map 0064; McNaught, *Butts and Certificates of the First Publicans' Licences 1830-1860*, pp. 162, 167, 181, 331-5; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 18, 20, 146; Schofield, *Bombala*, pp. 27, 162.

[74] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 21; Arnheim, 'Plan shewing the Features of Taylor's Flat Reserve', 1856, AONSW map 2368; Schofield, *Bombala*, p. 158.

*Plan of Hibburd's 'George and Dragon' inn, including stable, another outbuilding
and extensive garden (excerpt from: E.R. Arnheim, 'Plan, showing portion of
Taylor's Flat Reserve, recommended for a village', March 1857, AONSW map 2369)*

The first sale of land in the new village was held on 6 June 1858 and resulted in the sale of sixteen allotments. A further 21 lots were sold at the second sale on 25 March 1859. All 37 lots sold were situated on the western side of Dragon Swamp, where Hibburd's inn stood. After it was later realised that this was the wetter side of the swamp, the allotments laid out on the eastern side took over as the main part of the village.[75]

Among those who purchased allotments at the first sale was William ('Little Bill') Featherstone. He bought three of the four lots in Section 29 and one lot – Lot 5 – across the street in Section 30, at the corner of Heber and Garden Streets. Featherstone subsequently acquired the remaining lot in Section 29 and the only two lots in the neighbouring Section 28. All of the allotments were located on the western side of the swamp. In 1865, Featherstone built and opened on part of Section 29 his 'General Cathcart' hotel, immediately northeast of Hibburd's 'George and Dragon'. The licence of this latter passed in the same year to one F. Denney, then to James Taylor in 1867 and on to John Millington in 1870. According to Laurie Platts, Millington bought the freehold of the land and inn from Hibburd at this time.[76]

Another purchaser of allotments at both the first and second sales in 1858 and 1859 was Michael Gerathy and members of his family. They and their descendants were to play an important part in Cathcart's history. The most significant of Michael Gerathy's purchases at the 1858 sale was a block of land at the corner of Garden and Lyons Streets – Section 30 Lot 1 – on which he erected a home he called 'The Willows', as well as a general store. When the government authorised the opening of a post office in Cathcart on 1 January 1860, Gerathy's general store accommodated the post office, with Gerathy becoming the postmaster. It remained there until around the end of the century. Next

---

[75] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 24-5.

[76] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 20-1, 24. Information on hotel licensees is taken from *New South Wales Government Gazettes*.

door to Gerathy's store, Richard and Duncan Murray had purchased at the 1858 sale Section 30 Lot 2 fronting Garden Street. Here, they built premises in which they established a bakery. It was later taken over by two of Gerathy's daughters.[77]

Gerathy was also to the fore in getting a school established in the village. In February 1869, he offered to the Council of Education a slab cottage he had built as a schoolhouse; it was probably located on one of the lots he and his family owned on the western side of Dragon Swamp. Apparently losing patience with the tardy response from the Council, Gerathy opened the school as a private venture on 7 February 1870. In April, again at Gerathy's urging, the Council approved it as a Half-Time School, along with a similar school at Bibbenluke. The Cathcart school was raised to the status of a Provisional School in May 1875 and then to a Public School in July 1877, its enrolment at those times already well exceeding the numbers required to be granted such status. As the existing school building was inadequate, the government on 23 May 1878 dedicated a site for a public school in Section 19 facing Scott Street, significantly on the eastern or drier side of the swamp. On this site, contractors Thomas Moore and George Chidgey constructed a new school and teacher's residence, the new building opening on 3 March 1881.[78]

Such signs of progress notwithstanding, Cathcart had not in fact been prospering. In 1866, *Bailliere's Gazetteer of New South Wales* had commented that …

> … owing to its distance from any diggings or largely populated town, it progresses but slowly, there being very little inducement for persons to invest money in building or otherwise. The population numbers about 100 persons.[79]

The Census of April 1871 recorded a total of 140 people – 85 males and 55 females – living in Cathcart and its environs. In the same year, a visitor briefly mentioned Featherstone's 'large hotel' and Gerathy's store, post office, half-time school and residence, but not much else. In 1870-71, Featherstone relinquished the licence of his 'General Cathcart' hotel in favour of Samuel Eager, but the hotel then closed down, never to re-open. Featherstone took over the licence of the 'George and Dragon' from John Millington in the period 1872 until his death on 23 June 1874; his grave is marked by a fine headstone in a small burial ground near St Paul's church. After he died, the hotel licence passed back to Millington for a couple of years and then to George Heritage in the years 1874-76.[80] At that point, it closed as well. A correspondent visiting the village in late 1877 lamented that:

> Cathcart, at one time, could boast of an hotel and the usual accompaniments of a small township, but the place has gone to decay, the hotel has disappeared, and there only remains the general store of Mrs. Gerathy, to which is attached the post-office. The houses of two or three other residents complete the picture.[81]

---

[77] *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 6 January 1860, p. 14; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 24-5, 128, 130, 146, 201.

[78] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 113-6; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 30 December 1871, p. 18; NSW Department of Education and Training, *Government Schools of New South Wales 1848-2003*, Sydney, 6th edition, 2003, pp. 16, 17, 45.

[79] *Bailliere's Gazetteer of New South Wales*, 1866, quoted in Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 128.

[80] *Results of a Census of New South Wales, taken for the night of the 5th April, 1891*, p. 741 (population figures for Cathcart in 1871); HAGSOC, *Monumental Inscriptions Monaro*, 2nd edition, p. 73. Information on hotel licensees is taken from *New South Wales Government Gazettes*.

[81] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 3 November 1877, p. 32.

The dismal scene was confirmed by a schoolteacher, Robert Elliott, who arrived in the village in October the following year. Apart from the schoolhouse, he found that only four houses stood in the village.[82]

The situation started to improve in the 1880s. While the village had relied for its livelihood on the local pastoral and agricultural industries, as well as on timber-getting and sawmilling, it appears to have been the development of dairying from the 1870s onward that put Cathcart's economy on a sounder footing. Also helping to place the village on a firmer foundation was the gravitation of the main part of the settlement to the drier eastern side of Dragon Swamp. A decisive step in this move occurred on 15 September 1883 when the first sale of town lots was held since 1859. All of the lots put up for sale were on the eastern side of the swamp, with 29 lots being bought. Another sale was held on 2 April 1886, also for lots on the eastern side, and a further 39 were purchased. In between the two sales, a bridge had been built by contractor Patrick O'Neill across the creek at the eastern end of Eden Street in 1883-84, thus connecting the two sides of the settlement, while on 20 March 1885 Cathcart had at last been officially proclaimed a village.[83]

Although a traveller passing through Cathcart in mid-1885 could still describe it as 'a little wayside hamlet … boast[ing] a store, a hotel, and a few scattered dwelling-houses', some development was underway. Already, in about 1880, the various Protestant religious denominations had built on a site two kilometres east of the village a Union Church which they could share for their services; the land for the church had been donated by Archie Stewart. Around the same time, the local Catholic community erected their own church on a site in Eden Street that had been reserved for church purposes in June 1875.[84]

Turning from the sacred, development of a more profane kind was taking place, too. In late 1882, Maurice McKinniary (also McKinnery) purchased what was called 'the old Cathcart General Store buildings' in Eden Street and converted them into a store and 'accommodation house'. These would appear to have been the premises that were or became known as Watson's store. Next door to the store, McKinniary erected in 1883 a hotel that he leased out for a period of five years as the Victoria Hotel. It was a 14-room weatherboard building with an iron roof and a separate six-stall stable. McKinniary tried to sell the hotel and general store in February 1884 and again in July of that year, but may not have been successful. In 1892, he was recorded as the licensee of the Commercial Hotel in Cathcart, which was possibly the same establishment under a different name.[85]

A new hotel appeared in the village by 1895. This was the Shamrock Hotel which was located further east along Eden Street. The original licensee was Patrick O'Neill, the same local resident who had constructed the bridge across the creek in the 1880s. In April 1900, he transferred the hotel's licence to Mrs Mary Foley, who changed its name in July to the Federal Hotel. Meanwhile, another business development took place that would play a most significant role in Cathcart's history. This was the building and opening by Samuel Cole of a general store at the corner of Eden and Prior Streets in

---

[82] Robert Elliott, quoted in Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 115.

[83] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 26-7, 93, 101; *Bega Gazette*, 3 January 1883, p. 2; 11 June 1884, p. 3; 'Village of Cathcart', 28 September 1960, NLA Map G8974.C3G46 1960.

[84] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 8 August 1885, p. 27; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 147, 159, 160, 162; *Freemans Journal*, 9 January 1875, p. 6; *Manaro Mercury*, 14 January 1882, p. 3; 'Village of Cathcart', 28 September 1960, NLA Map G8974.C3G46 1960.

[85] *Bega Gazette*, 3 January 1883, p. 2; 11 June 1884, p. 3; *Manaro Mercury*, 6 February 1884, p. 2; *Referee*, 7 September 1892, p. 4.

1888. The store, which continues to the present day, has become a local institution and an absolutely vital element in the wellbeing of Cathcart.[86]

At almost the same time as Cole opened his store, another development occurred that was of signal importance to the life of the community. A local School of Arts had existed in Cathcart since at least 1880, but lacking permanent premises the organisation used the Dragon Inn for its meetings and other activities. It succeeded in January 1886 in having a site dedicated for a School of Arts at the corner of Eden and Mead Streets. In June 1889 the committee called for tenders to erect a building on the site. The work of construction was completed by the end of the year. The opening of the building on 10 January 1890 was celebrated with a grand ball in which the revellers danced till past daylight.[87]

By 1891, Cathcart's population had risen to 190, comprising 108 males and 82 females, and a total of 36 dwellings stood in the village. Ten years later, the population had grown by over 80 per cent to 345 people – 187 males and 158 females – and the number of dwellings had increased to 61. The figures were a reflection of the Cathcart's growing prosperity in this period and are especially noteworthy as they increased in a period of economic depression and drought in the rest of New South Wales. The population was virtually unchanged in 1911 – 348 people – but the number of dwellings rose further to 75.[88]

The prime source of the village's prosperity continued to be the dairy industry. In February 1895, the Bombala Co-operative Dairying Company commenced operations and, within a month, established a creamery at Cathcart to produce cream and butter. Four years later, in April 1899, a group of Cathcart dairymen took over the creamery to run it for themselves. In a separate venture, a butter factory was set up in October 1905 and then, three months later, a new co-operative dairy company assumed ownership of the old Bombala company's creameries in Cathcart and Bibbenluke.[89]

In parallel with the progress in the local dairy industry, other changes and improvements were taking place in the village. Around 1900, the post office moved from Gerathy's shop from which it had operated for forty years to better-located premises in the eastern side of the village, in Eden Street near the Victoria Hotel. It moved again in December 1904 to a newly-erected and apparently purpose-built timber building further west along Eden Street, nearly opposite the School of Arts. In the next year – and following four years' campaigning by local residents – the state government agreed to build a new Police Station. The tender to erect the building was let to Thomas Moore and Sons late in 1906 and it was completed in June 1907 on a central site in Eden Street. Moore subsequently constructed stables to accompany the station in 1911. In the meantime, Cathcart had been included in the boundaries of the newly-formed Bibbenluke Shire, which commenced work in

---

[86] *Delegate Argus*, 30 October 1895, p. 4; *Manaro Mercury*, 30 April 1900, p. 2; *Bombala Times*, 20 July 1900, p. 2; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 189-90.

[87] *Manaro Mercury*, 8 January 1881, p. 3; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 June 1889, p. 14; 18 January 1890, p. 13; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, p. 133.

[88] *Results of a Census of New South Wales, taken for the night of the 5th April, 1891*, p. 540; *Results of a Census of New South Wales taken for the night of the 31st March, 1901*, p. 550; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia taken for the night between the 2nd and 3rd of April, 1911*, p. 2257.

[89] *Daily Telegraph*, 26 February 1895, p. 5; 24 April 1899, p. 9; *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 16 March 1895, p. 22; *Bega Budget*, 21 October 1905, p. 6; 3 January 1906, p. 1.

1906. The levying of rates provided the new council with the resources in particular to maintain and improve roads and bridges within its area, including in and around Cathcart.[90]

In 1907, the Anglican residents of the village were at last able to quit the shared Union Church in favour of their own church, St Paul's. The building was erected by William Gaunson for a sum of £150 and was opened in October 1907 or very shortly afterwards. In the following decade, an improvement was made to the Public School when a new teacher's residence was built by contractor J. Devitt at the corner of Eden and Mead Streets. It was completed in August 1916. In this period, the Public School had the highest level of enrolments it was ever to record, a sign of the healthy state of the village and the primary industries on which it depended.[91]

But troubled times were already confronting the village. First, there was the war in which sixty residents of Cathcart and district enlisted, twelve of them losing their lives in the conflict. After the war, the village entered upon a long period of decline as its economic base was gradually eroded. The prime cause was rabbits. They had first appeared in the Cathcart area in 1898 and then proliferated explosively, stripping the area of pasture as they fed. The depredations of the rabbits badly affected local wool and meat producers, but above all they devastated the dairy industry. The problems were compounded by a 'catastrophic' year of drought in 1923 and another dry year in 1926, in the midst of which a severe flood occurred in May 1925. Saddled with high production costs and low prices for butter, as well as having to deal with the rabbit plague, the Cathcart Butter Factory closed at the end of January 1927. A further blow struck later in the same year when one of the local timber mills closed down.[92]

The effects of the deterioration of local industries was soon evident in Cathcart. School enrolments, for example, began to fall steadily from 1920 onward. Remarkably, however – and in spite of the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 – the overall population remained little changed in the period from 1921 to 1933. There were 340 inhabitants occupying 78 dwellings in 1921, and 357 inhabitants occupying 83 dwellings twelve years later. The latter figure, though, is somewhat artificial and misleading because it includes residents both of the village and of areas described as 'near Cathcart'. Nevertheless, the number of inhabitants seems to have been reasonably stable over the period. One reason for this may have been the continual operation of Burke's timber mill, which in 1933 was still employing 32 local men. Another reason was that, for all the havoc they wrought, rabbits provided many individuals and families with a source of sustenance and of income. Locals could earn much-needed cash by trapping them to reduce their numbers on properties, and through selling their skins and carcasses.[93]

While Cathcart's population held up for some time, it could not be sustained for long in the face of the dwindling and disappearance of local industries; in fact, the decline became even more marked after World War 2. One unfortunate event was the burning down of the village's last hotel, the Federal, in 1948. It was not rebuilt. Since the hotel had been the principal focus of police work in Cathcart, there was now no reason to keep the Police Station open and it was closed down later the same year. Adversity of a rather more serious nature affected the village and district in 1964 when

---

[90] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 128, 130; *Southern Star*, 30 August 1905, p. 2; *Delegate Argus*, 23 November 1906, p. 2; 7 June 1907, p. 5; 16 June 1911, p. 2; *Bombala Times*, 4 November 1966, p. 9.

[91] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 117, 120, 159; *Bega Budget*, 9 October 1907, p. 1; 12 October 1907, p. 1.

[92] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 90, 102, 120, 137, 173-4, 176; *Bombala Times*, 5 August 1927, p. 1.

[93] *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia taken, 4th April, 1921. Census Bulletin No. 11*, p. 20; *Census of the Commonwealth of Australia 30th June, 1933*, p. 612; Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 95, 120, 176.

dairying in the Cathcart area ceased. Around 1970, the village's Catholic church closed its doors and, in 1975, with the prospect of only nine enrolments in the year to come, the Public School closed down. By 2016, the village's population numbered just 108 people, considerably less than it was when first recorded 145 years before, in 1871.[94]

It is fortunate for Cathcart's viability that Cole's store is still operating 130 years after it first opened. Likewise the School of Arts, which was renamed the 'Cathcart War Memorial Hall 1939 – 1945' in honour of local people who had served and died in war, continues to act as a social hub for the community.

---

[94] Platts, *Bygone Days of Cathcart*, pp. 104, 120, 132, 160.

Delegate Chronology

The following chronology provides an overview of key events in the history of Delegate township.

1841   Licenses were issued to Robert Campbell and George Simpson for two adjoining runs named Delegate. The village now stands on part of the old Campbell run just north of where the homestead lay. Simpson's run was to the south.

1848   Delegate run was held by Sophia Campbell and managed by Donald Ross. It had 53 inhabitants, twenty of whom were over the age of 12 years.

1849   The district's first church, a slab building at Church Creek cemetery, was destroyed by fire.

1859   The first survey of current Delegate village was undertaken by surveyor Brownrigg and subsequently the first town blocks were allocated. One of the first houses was built by Charles Stuart. The town accommodated people who worked on local properties and provided services for the growing rural population.

1866   Delegate goldfield was declared. Although gold was not found in great quantities, that which did come into town over subsequent decades was vital in providing the emerging village the added economic boost it needed, over and above the pastoral pursuits of land selectors.

1866   A license was granted for the Royal Hotel in Delegate.

1870 –   The first school in Delegate was a halftime school under the management of Mr William Noble.

1874-75 The town was re-surveyed by Charles Harper leading to establishment of today's town blocks. The only buildings in the town at the time were the Stuart house, a Roman Catholic Church and Nobel's hut. Land was resumed from the Delegate run north and south of the river, the lease-hold cancelled and the land made available to the public on conditional purchase. The town grew with arrival of gold fossickers, land selectors and those starting business ventures to supply surrounding properties and the increasing local population.

1874   Delegate became one of the official crossing places for stock moving into Victoria and to the Gippsland markets. As all cattle and horses went through Delegate, a Customs post was established there.

1876   The first police station (part of the Southern Police District) was established in the town and in the same year Mr Plowright printed Delegate's first newspaper.

1877   There was a new Commercial Hotel, two stores owned by Woods and Wilson, a butcher, two mounted police and a corrugated-iron public school a kilometre from the centre of town.

1878   The 'half' school was upgraded to a full Public School in recognition of the increase in the number of school children in the immediate area.

1878   St Andrews Presbyterian Church was built on its current site.

1879	With the application for allotments the village started to develop, especially at the western end of Bombala Road where there were 6 houses, the post office, a school house, a store, a forge, a carpenter's shop and two hotels.
1880	St Philip's Church in Hayden Street was licensed in 1880 and consecrated 1885.
1880	The present police station was built with a courtroom in front, Magistrate's room to one side and a barracks room on the other side, behind which was an eight-room residence with separate wash house, a prison yard and two gaol cells.
1881	By November the new public school was completed. It included the main school building and an additional classroom for 55 pupils.
1882	The telegraph line was extended from Bombala to Delegate and telegraph and postal service amalgamated on 23 November 1882.
1885	Delegate was declared a 'Village' on 20 March. Pastoral activity was the main industry at that time however within 15 years some 28 businesses had been established.
1885	In the same year the Commercial Banking Company was the first bank in Delegate to open its doors, which were in premises on the corner of Corrowong Road and Bombala Street. Gold was sold through the bank.
1887	Nelbothery gold mine floated.
1892	Lord Ancram was fatally wounded at the Delegate River near Quidong.
1897	The present day post office and residence was erected. The residence was later dismantled at a date not established but probably in the second half of the 20th century.
1890	New premises were built for the CBC bank on the site of the present building at the corner of Campbell and Bombala Streets.
1891	The census recorded Delegate's population as 365 persons, of which there were 192 males and 173 females.
1898	A reserve was dedicated for the Show and Cricket ground.
1900	First Delegate Pastoral and Agricultural society show was held.
1901	Following the federation of the States, Delegate became part of the federal seat of Eden-Monaro. As a result there was now free trade between NSW and Victoria and the custom's post at Delegate was unnecessary. At the same time Delegate became 'C' Riding in the new Bibbenluke Shire Council. The first motor car arrived in Delegate.
1902	Severe drought
1909	A new brick school building for 103 pupils was erected. The old weatherboard building was converted to a residence and eventually demolished. The brick building remains the current school.
1915	Gold mining ceased except for some fossicking. Gold had petered out by the early 1900s but flowed again from the Victoria Star mine in Bendoc from 1911 until about 1938

1916   'Men from Snowy River' recruitment march leaves Delegate.

1917   Increased use of motor cars by end of WW1 reduces Delegate's isolation.

1918-21 The catholic school was built and established.

1922   Delegate tennis club established.

1924   Delegate golf club formed.

1925   The existing CBC bank (now CTC centre) was built. It closed as a bank in 1996 at which time it housed the National Australia Bank.

1926   Delegate Cottage Hospital opened – built entirely by public subscription.

1929   Mr G Stewart established a low voltage generating plant in his garage (the building still stands in 2018). It supplied electricity for street and house lighting.

1940   Second 'Men from Snowy River' recruitment march.

1943   Catholic Convent school building erected adjacent to St Joseph's Church.

1945   The timber-milling industry began to develop post WW2.

1952   The last gold certificate was issued by the bank in Delegate.

1954   Mains power connected to Delegate.

1957   Water supply system established.

1958   Several homes built to accommodate timber workers.

1970   Following amalgamation of Bibbenluke Shire with Bombala Council, Delegate became part of Bombala Shire.

2016   Following further amalgamation, Delegate became part of Snowy-Monaro Regional Council.

Lilianfels stone ruin 2018

APPENDIX 1

Project Brief

CONSULTANT BRIEF
HERITAGE PLANNING STUDY FOR SNOWY MONARO REGIONAL
COUNCIL – FORMER BOMBALA SHIRE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA
Snowy Monaro Regional Council has been successful in obtaining grant
funding from the Office of Environment and Heritage to conduct a Heritage
Study for the former Bombala Shire area. Council invites all suitably qualified
consultants to submit a tender for the project, addressing the project
requirements set out in this brief and as referenced from the OEH publication,
Community-based heritage studies: a guide.

The former Bombala Shire area includes items which are listed in the heritage
schedule to the Bombala Local Environmental Plan 2012. The area also
includes other potential heritage items. Council seeks to expand knowledge
and enhance conservation and management of known and unknown items of
heritage value in the former Bombala Shire through the conduct of this study.
The Study will serve as the foundational basis for ongoing heritage
conservation and management activities in the Bombala area into the future.
It will also be used as a basis to recommend inclusion of heritage items and/or
heritage conservation areas in the new Snowy Monaro Local Environmental
Plan, which will be prepared during and following this Study.

SCOPE OF PROJECT
The scope of this project will include – within the bounds of the former
Bombala Shire Local Government Area – all aspects of heritage including
built, natural and landscapes, movable and Aboriginal sites.
The area of the former Bombala Shire includes 21 items of local heritage
significance listed within Schedule 5 of the Bombala Local Environmental Plan
2012. The former Bombala Shire also contains other items of heritage
significance which are not currently listed. Expanding upon existing
knowledge of heritage items and enhancing conservation of these items is a
key priority of the study.

PROJECT STRUCTURE AND TIMING
It is suggested that candidate firms provide a project plan or structure as a
part of their submission. It is suggested that a project structure include
component phases, based upon the steps detailed in the OEH document
Community-based heritage studies: a guide. Proponent firms should note that
the guide is based upon a two year timeframe for the project which is not
applicable in this case, so an abridged process which satisfies the overall
outcomes of the guide will be required. Council provides a suggested break
down of the project below.
be required. Council provides a suggested break
down of the project below.

- Preparatory phase
    - o Convening of a heritage working group
    - o Collation of historical information sources
    - o Inventory of known heritage items
    - o Advertising of the study to the community
- Study phase
    - o Investigation of knowledge gaps apparent from initial phase
    - o Investigation and nomination of additional heritage items,
      formulation of significance statements and datasheets

   o Research and collection of historical information, site evidence

   o Initial draft of thematic local history, heritage study report

🗆 Completion phase

   o Consultation of OEH, heritage working group, Council, regarding draft report

   o Consultation of affected property owners regarding implications of the heritage study report

   o Final version of heritage study report

   o Public consultation, adoption of heritage study report. Conduct and implementation of Planning Proposals arising.

Snowy Monaro Regional Council will expect the successful consultant to be engaged in undertaking the Study from November 2017 onwards.
The project is fully grant funded by OEH. Completion of the project is therefore time sensitive, to allow for required grant funding acquittal to occur.
It is expected that the project will be fully completed in the period from November 2017 to the end of April 2018.

PERSONNEL

The consultant team will include at minimum a heritage consultant to manage this project and a historian to prepare a thematic local history. It may be advantageous to include additional personnel with either similar or additional areas of expertise within the proposed project team. This is at the discretion of the proponent firm and subject to the constraints of the project as discussed further throughout this brief.

The **project manager** will be a heritage consultant with project management skills. Preferably they will have successfully managed a local heritage study and will have demonstrated the following skills, which will be required to deliver project outcomes:

🗆 Clear communication to lead and work with the community and Council

🗆 Select, lead and manage a community heritage working group, and facilitate community workshops

🗆 Assessment of heritage significance in line with OEH's requirements in order to prepare of statements of significance

🗆 Use of the Heritage Database software to prepare heritage data forms for significant heritage items

🗆 Management and promotion of heritage conservation at the local level, including the local environmental plans and DCP process and have an understanding of the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979* and the *Heritage Act 1977* (NSW)

🗆 Management of projects to completion within allotted time and budgetary constraints.

🗆 Preparation of policy recommendations and implementation strategies for managing and promoting heritage, as required for the former Bombala Shire area.

🗆 Liaison with – and presentation to – Council staff, management and Councillors to ensure awareness of the purpose and findings of the study.

A **historian** will also be engaged to prepare a thematic local history.
Preferably they will have previous experience in preparing a thematic local history. The historian will be required to:

🗆 Provide advice using an appropriate research and literature search process

🗆 Provide a reviewed and updated historical account of the patterns of Aboriginal land use, colonial settlement including Aboriginal contributions, and historical events and processes

🗆 Include an updated chronology – so the history can be used in future research or for other purposes after the study is complete

🗆 Identify and relate the historical account to relevant national, state and local historical themes and identify gaps in historical themes

🗆 Assist the project manager and heritage working group

- Attend a community workshop to identify potential heritage items and review existing items which best illustrate the key themes, events and processes
- Review and provide advice on site-specific histories for potential heritage items identified in this study
- Assist in fieldwork with the project manager and heritage working group to understand the historical context that has affected a site and/or assist in identifying historical sources beyond the local area
- Prepare a draft thematic local history
- Review and incorporate community, Council, project manager and heritage working group comments into the final thematic local history

The work to be carried out by the project manager and historian will be based on the procedure in OEH's *Community-based heritage study: a guide*, as detailed in the section labelled *A step-by-step guide*. It is suggested that interested parties submit a project plan based upon the procedure as outlined in the guide. Work tasks should be divided amongst project staff in accordance with capabilities outlined above.

The work will be carried out according to the submitted project plan agreed with Council, which should include a timeframe for key steps and a financial plan with costs and payments for key steps.

Support

Council will support the conduct of the study through provision of work facilities at SMRC offices as required and liaison by staff with the successful consultant to aid in coordination of the project.

Technical background and other information sources

There are several resources which should be utilised in order to inform the conduct of the project. There is an existing body of work related to heritage and interrelated planning issues held by Snowy Monaro Regional Council:

- Snowy Monaro Heritage Strategy 2017-2018
- Bombala Local Environmental Plan 2012
- Snowy River Area Heritage Study (1998)
- Cooma-Monaro Shire Thematic History 1823-1945
- Cooma - 150 Years On

In addition there are several relevant documents available from the Office of Environment and Heritage at the Heritage publications web page:

- Assessing heritage significance
- Investigating heritage significance
- Historical themes
- Regional histories book for NSW
- Historical research for heritage
- Assessing historical association

PROJECT DELIVERABLES

The study will deliver a Bombala Area Heritage Study Report, including;

 Thematic history with discussion of landscape and architectural themes present within Bombala Shire

> o Include OEH suggested table of contents themes: Aboriginal history, squatters and selectors, multicultural heritage, economic development, settlements, education and governance and cultural life.

 Heritage study report

> o Include OEH suggested table of contents items: executive summary, introduction, assessing significance, local nominations, state heritage nominations, recommendations from the study, strategy and implementation.
>
> o Must include inventory of Bombala area heritage items with a review of existing heritage items and research and recommendations for new heritage items.
>
> o Must include management recommendations for heritage values

across the area and also for individual heritage items and sites.

o Must include discussion of planning and legal framework pertaining to the management of heritage items in New South Wales.

DETAIL OF QUOTE

As a part of a quotation, consultants will provide the following necessary information:

⬚ All personnel to be employed to participate the project

o inclusive of sub-consultants to be employed

o a statement of qualifications, technical skills and experience of each staff member

o a brief statement outlining the project manager and historian's appropriateness (as per section 'PERSONNEL' above)

o details of relevant prior works undertaken by staff members including completion dates and contacts for each piece of work

o respective responsibilities, time commitment and hourly rate of each staff member

o confirmation of availability and accessibility of each staff member for the duration of engagement

⬚ Details of services, data or other materials required from Snowy Monaro Regional Council in order to undertake the study, in addition to that detailed at subheading 'Support' above.

o includes requests for confirmation of details or additional information about the intent of the study that arise from interpreting this brief

⬚ Declaration of the financial viability of the company and financial capacity of the company to undertake the work required by this brief.

⬚ Itemized quote detailing costs for each phase and output of the project as requested in this brief

o hourly rate for all staff members for any additional work requested by Council

o costs for providing additional briefings or presentations to interest groups as deemed appropriate by Council

⬚ Statement of the consultant's ability to meet the level of insurance provision as indicated in section below 'INSURANCE'

CONDITIONS OF ENGAGEMENT

Snowy Monaro Regional Council is not bound to accept any quotation arising from this tender process. Quotations will be assessed on the basis of relative merit and any decision to proceed to engagement of a consultant will be at the discretion of Snowy Monaro Regional Council.

The proponent of a successful quotation will be given written notice of acceptance by Snowy Monaro Regional Council to confirm this success. Consultants appointed by Snowy Monaro Regional Council as a result of this tender process should indicate their acceptance of the brief and conditions of engagement in writing prior to the commencement of the study.

INSURANCE

Photocopies of relevant insurance cover policies should accompany written acceptance of the brief and conditions of engagement. Relevant insurance includes:

⬚ Certificate of Currency – Public Liability (to the value of $20 million)

⬚ Certificate of Currency – Professional Indemnity (to the value of $20 million)

 Certificate of Currency – Worker's Compensation/Personal Accident

TIMING AND ENGAGEMENT OF CONSULTANT SERVICES
Snowy Monaro Regional Council will expect the successful consultant to be engaged in undertaking the Study from November 2017 onwards.
The project is partially grant funded. Completion of the project is therefore time sensitive, to allow for required grant funding acquittal to occur. It is expected that the project will be fully completed in the period from November 2017 to the end of April 2018.

SUB-CONSULTANTS
If a consulting firm intends to engage sub-consultants for various aspects of the study, this should be detailed within the initial submission of quotation. Such a submission should include details of the specific sub-consultants to be engaged and for what purpose the sub-consultant will be engaged.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST
Prospective consultants are to declare any foreseeable conflicts of interest when submitting a quotation in response to this brief. The successful consultant should declare any conflict of interest that arises during the engagement at the time it emerges.

COPYRIGHT
Snowy Monaro Regional Council retains copyright over all intellectual and physical products and work arising from the completion of this study. This is effective from the time of engagement of the selected consultant. Reproduction or use of information and products arising from the study will require the consent of Snowy Monaro Regional Council. This applies equally to the consultants engaged as to any other party.

FINANCIAL DETAILS
Council has allocated $40000 in funds for the work in its 2017/18 budget. The actual rate and type of payment is negotiable but Council deems it practical that the study requirements are delivered in exchange for lump sum payment. Council encourages candidate firms to separate lump sum payments into phases in accordance with the structure of their project plan. Additional work and expenses arising will be accounted for with an hourly rate. It is suggested that an hourly and daily charge out rate be provided as well as lump sum figures for the preparation of study materials

APPENDIX 2

Current listing in Bombala LEP 2012 - Schedule 5 Environmental Heritage
The following 21 places were listed in BLEP2012 as of April 2018.

Suburb	Item name	address	Property description	Listing	Item No
Bibbenluke	Bibbenluke (former inn and house)	Burnima Street	Lots 2 and 3, Section 1, DP 758103	Local	I1
Bombala	Burnima Homestead	Burnima Road	Lot 10, DP 1044774	Local	I7
Bombala	Old Cambalong Store	Cambalong Road	Lot 3, DP 810693	Local	I15
Bombala	St Matthias Church	39–47 Cardwell Street	Lot 102, DP 631144	Local	I2
Bombala	*Crankies Plain Bridge*	*Cathcart Road*	*Road reserve*	*State*	*I8*
Bombala	Bombala Literary Institute	73 Caveat Street	Lots 2 and 3, DP 112700	Local	I4
Bombala	House	78 Caveat Street	Lot 10, DP 827798	Local	I10
Bombala	House	102 Caveat Street	Lot 19, DP 833084	Local	I11
Bombala	Aston Cemetery	Delegate Road	Lot 7300, DP 1136896	Local	I3
Bombala	Olympia Theatre facade	76 Forbes Street	Lot 1, DP 1155110	Local	I16
Bombala	Bukalong Homestead	Gunningrach Road	Lot 211, DP 1126025	Local	I6
Bombala	Gunningrach Homestead	Gunningrach Road	Lots 4 and 5, DP 756836	Local	I9
Bombala	*Bombala Railway Station and yard group*	*Mahratta Street*		*State*	*I5*
Bombala	Imperial Hotel	99 Maybe Street	Lot 1, DP 1070627	Local	I12
Bombala	National Bank	155–157 Maybe Street	Lot 1, DP 137418	Local	I14
Bombala	Mt Cooper Cemetery	Mt Cooper Road	Lot 7300, DP 1135772; Lot 98, DP 1142474	Local	I13
Cathcart	The Croft house	Mead Street	Lot 1, DP 40072	Local	I17
Delegate	Delegate Police Station	Bombala Street	Lot 6, Section 8, DP 758346	Local	I18
Delegate	Delegate Station Homestead	Delegate Road	Lot 2, DP 771578	Local	I19
Delegate	Delegate Station Slab House	Delegate Road	Lot 1, DP 771578	Local	I20
Delegate	St Phillip's Anglican Church	Hayden Street	Lot 6, Section 14, DP 758346	Local	I21

Comments on the LEP heritage schedule

It is recommended that each of the above items be retained in the heritage schedule with amendments as appropriate.

The significance of the Old Cambalong Store has been re-assessed and is now considered to be an item associated with Cambalong Homestead.

Two items, namely St Matthias' Church in Bombala and St Phillip's Anglican Church in Delegate are listed in the LEP but do not appear on a search of the SHI on the NSW Heritage Office website. Citations for these two places have been included in the Draft SHI 2018, along with all other places of local significance.

Conversely, the places listed below appear in the SHI but do not appear in the LEP as they have been identified outside the LEP process.

> Delegate Aboriginal Reserve,
>
> Bundian Way,
>
> Bombala Courthouse and Residence,
>
> Bombala Official Residence 2,
>
> Bombala Police Station,
>
> Bukalong Railway Stockyard and
>
> Jincumbilly Railway Stockyard.

This study seeks to bring all significant places together in the one list so that Council staff, community members and researchers can be confident that the list they are looking at represents all statutory listed heritage items in the area.

APPENDIX 3

Masterplan Consultants 1988 heritage list

An inventory of items of environmental heritage in Bombala Shire was prepared in October 1988 by Masterplan Consultants of 1 Lee Street Sydney, NSW, 2001. The inventory is a very useful list and identified many significant places in the former shire. Unfortunately very little information was gathered to substantiate the claims for significance. Many of the places on the Masterplan list have been recommended for listing in this 2018 study however some places were unable to be assessed due to reluctance of owners to allow an inspection or lack of time available for field work. The Masterplan list of 1988 is set out below.

1. National Australia Bank – Maybe Street
2. Store - 119 Maybe St, Bombala
3. House 10 Caveat St, Bombala
4. Bombala Railway Station
5. St Matthias Anglican Church - Cardwell St, Bombala
6. Uniting Church - Maybe St, Bombala
7. St Andrews Presbyterian Church - Wellington St, Bombala
8. Bombala War Memorial - Forbes St, Bombala
9. Bombala Police Station - Forbes St, Bombala
10. Bombala Public School - Wellington St, Bombala
11. Bombala Court House
12. Globe Hotel - Maybe St, Bombala
13. Bombala Post Office- Maybe St, Bombala
14. Imperial Hotel Maybe St, Bombala
15. Olympia Theatre - Forbes St, Bombala
16. Literary Institute - Caveat Street, Bombala
17. RSL CLUB – Maybe St, Bombala
18. RSL OFFICES Maybe St
19. Roman catholic Church
20. Masonic Lodge - 11 Caveat St, Bombala
21. Lions Club Museum - Monaro Highway, Bombala
22. Bombala Cemetery
23. House - 34 Caveat St, Bombala
24. House - corner Stephen and Chusan streets, Bombala
25. House – 8 Caveat St, Bombala
26. House – Caveat St
27. House – 24 Burton St
28. House - High St cnr Dickenson St
29. Shops – Maybe Street
30. House - 45 Maybe St
31. House - 160 Maybe St
32. House - High St, Bombala
33. House - Mead Street, Cathcart
34. Monument to Lord Ancram - Meriangah
35. Old mine workings - Quidong
36. Aston Homestead
37. Aston Cemetery
38. House - Delegate RD, Bombala
39. Dragon Inn - Cathcart
40. Bridge - Coolumbooka River 3 km NE of Bombala
41. Bridge - Bombala River Monaro Highway Bibbenluke (since demolished)
42. Ando Public school
43. Delegate Cemetery
44. Old Burnima Homestead
45. Burnima Homestead
46. Bukalong
47. House – corner Burnima Street and Monaro Highway Bibbenluke
48. House - Corrowong
49. House – Corrowong Homestead
50. House - Corrowong
51. Corrowong Church and Cemetery
52. House – Wallendibby Homestead
53. House – Delegate Station
54. Slab House – Delegate Station
55. House – Delegate Road Bombala
56. House – Mt Cooper

57. Mt Cooper Cemetery
58. House – Peter's Park Bungarby
59. House – Kyleston, Palarang Road
60. Cambalong
61. Old Cambalong
62. Gunningrah
63. Bibbenluke Lodge
64. House – Belmore Bungarby
65. Monument - Bungarby
66. School of Arts - Delegate
67. St Philips Church - Delegate
68. National Australia Bank - Delegate

69. Hotel Delegate - Delegate
70. Monument - Delegate
71. House – Church St, Delegate
72. Catholic Church - Delegate
73. Public School - Delegate
74. House - Campbell and Orr Streets Delegate
75. House - 58 Bombala St, Delegate
76. House - 61 Bombala St, Delegate
77. House - Bombala St, Delegate
78. House - 63 Bombala St, Delegate
79. Delegate Police Station – Old Court house

APPENDIX 4

NOTED PLACES

The following list is of places that have been identified and assessed as below threshold, or for which there was insufficient data, or a lack of opportunity to inspect the property.

Bibbenluke
Possible former store
Cottage
Bibbenluke lodge

Bombala
Riverside Cottage 48 – 54 Bright St
Brick cottage 49 Burton St
Weatherboard Cottage 59 Cardwell St
Weatherboard cottage next to church 49 Cardwell St
Bombala Cemetery, Cemetery Rd Bombala
Former manse, Delegate Rd Bombala
St Marys Catholic Church 1941 corner of Dickinson and Queen Street Bombala
Cottage 27 High Street Bombala
Interwar Bungalow High Street Bombala
Corrugated colorbond boarding house 41 Maybe St Bombala
Painted brick cottage 215 Maybe St Bombala
Weatherboard Cottage 217 Maybe St Bombala
Painted brick house 210 Maybe St Bombala
Catholic presbytery 1918 Queen St Bombala
Hip Roofed workers cottage 45 Young St Bombala
Weatherboard workers cottage 47 Young St Bombala
Weatherboard cottage 49 Young St
Nurses accommodation 116-132 Wellington St Bombala

Bungarby
House – Peter's Park Bungarby
Stone cottage, Idaho, Ironmungie Road
Ruin-Ironmungie Road 1k west of Bungarby Rd
Belmore homestead Ironmungie Road, Bungarby
Roslyn ruin, Bungarby
Bungarby Church

Craigie

Craigie Hall

Craigie Chinese mining sites including joss house and water race

Delegate

Delegate Fruit Barn, Bombala St Delegate

Stewart's garage, Bombala St Delegate

House - Campbell and Orr Streets Delegate

Delegate Showground Grandstand

Outbuilding - cottage opposite Glenora – Corrowong Rd

Rural areas

Meatworks

Balgownie Homestead

Tombong homestead

Aston Homestead

Timber Slab House – Corrowong

Weatherboard House – Corrowong

Corrowong Woolshed

Wallendibby Homestead

House – Mt Cooper Stn

Cemetery - Mt Cooper

Cambalong Manager's Quarters

Inglewood

Quinburra

Koorong - Part of Little Plain property

Jincumbilly homestead

Corrowong Homestead, Wallendibby Road via Delegate

Delegate Pipes