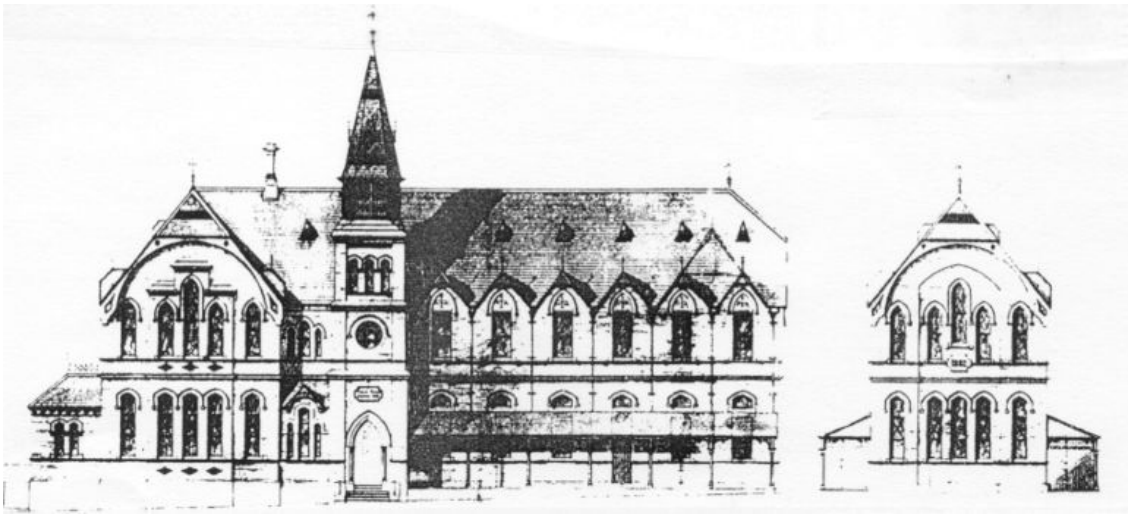
University of Technology Sydney Blackfriars Campus 4-12 Buckland St, Chippendale

Conservation Management Plan



Prepared for

University of Technology Sydney

November 2015

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HISTORY

Architect George Allen Mansfield was commissioned during 1883 to design new school buildings on former industrial and swamp land at Blackfriars Street, Chippendale. The style for his scheme was 'Gothick Picturesque'. Mansfield was one of the few Victorian architects to use this style in secular settings. Mansfield was accused of "sectarian bigotry" by Archbishop Moran in 1884, and there was much controversy at the time over the design of the school. Designed to cater for 1500 students, the Blackfriars Public School reached a peak of 1300 students in the 1890s, with numbers declining thereafter. Activities such as an evening school for factory workers was established in vacant classrooms until 1906 when the Sydney Teachers' College was established on the site. This included the first fully-equipped kindergarten in NSW, followed in 1912 by the adoption of the Montessori method. During this period Blackfriars was also a demonstration school until the Teachers College relocated in 1924.

The Department of Education Correspondence School commenced operation at the school in 1924, and was recognised as one of the largest, and the leading correspondence school in the world, responsible for innovations such as the "School of the Air" that was replicated in other countries. By 1932, the primary school was amalgamated with Forest Lodge School, following an internal Department of Education restructuring. In 1950 Blackfriars Public School became Blackfriars Infants School. In 1960, the Correspondence School vacated the site, and it was used for Adult Migrant Education and an Arts Education Studio. In 1990, The University of Technology Sydney (UTS) acquired the site and from 1993 began a programme of restoration and refurbishment works to establish the site as the Blackfriars UTS campus.

HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

The former Blackfriars School site including three G.A. Mansfield-designed, two-storey 1883 buildings, masonry walls and some stone palisade fencing have high heritage significance.

Given the number of educational initiatives associated with the site throughout its history, the former school is of historical significance. The site, setting and physical walled relationship to St Benedict's Church is symbolic of the battle between the Catholic Church and the NSW state government in the 1880s in the field of primary education, and the establishment of a secular public school system by the NSW state government.

FUTURE ACTIONS

In summary it is recommended that:

- The three G.A Mansfield-designed buildings be maintained internally and externally to retain their significant fabric and form. Any future adaptive reuse shall respect the large, open spatial configurations of the original designs of the school buildings noting that due to the fabric change so the residence that there are opportunities to reconfigure that building.
- Any new building works be carried out in accordance with the policy guidelines noted within this Conservation Management Plan.
- A full archaeological watching brief be instigated for any future works to the site. This is to be carried out in accordance with the Department of Planning Heritage Office guidelines.
- From previous archaeological studies, carried out by Casey & Lowe, and in 1993 during construction of the Child Care Centre, no Aboriginal artefacts were

uncovered. The areas of digs and new construction previously carried out, were the areas of the site most likely to yield archaeological deposits.

- A sensitive, interpretive historical display of the site history be set up should any redevelopment of the site proceed. Such a display could include any artefacts recovered during archaeological work, along with appropriate text. Such a display would allow students (and members of the public) to understand the site history in a tangible way and allow the significance of the place to be better understood.
- Major redevelopment of the site can be considered, in accordance with the development opportunities and constraints noted at Section 9.0 of this CMP. A staged redevelopment is possible.

1.0 INTRODUCTION/BACKGROUND

1.1 BACKGROUND AND BRIEF

In October 1999, The Property Development Unit, UTS, engaged Wayne McPhee & Associates Pty. Ltd., to prepare a new Conservation Management Plan for the former Blackfriars School, Buckland Street, Chippendale. An initial CMP was prepared and issued August 2000. During October 2011, UTS requested the CMP be reviewed and revised in light of a proposal to construct a new childcare centre on the southern end of the site. This plan was finalised in December 2012.

UTS are considering the longer-term potential of the site and have commissioned a further review of the CMP particularly given the recent approval for the new childcare facility that did not form part of the earlier plan.

The earlier CMP provided some advice on further development and the brief for this review includes more detailed consideration of the sites' values in relation to possible development.

Prior to the McPhee 1999 CMP in 1990 Perumal Partners Pty. Ltd. prepared a Conservation Plan and in 1993 Casey & Lowe prepared a Baseline Archaeological Assessment. McPhee wrote a thorough history of the site, incorporating existing studies along with any necessary new research. It was particularly important that this history took into account the evolution of the site since European settlement and that all aspects of the site's history were considered in the statement of significance. Some acknowledgment of possible Aboriginal occupation and land use was also provided however this was not addressed comprehensively.

Separately to this CMP Casey and Lowe have been engaged to undertake more detailed archaeological assessments of the early use of the site and some of their research is included in this review.

The existing history has been used without amendment, however there is an addendum that contains a range of early maps and surveys of the area to more accurately identify the early site uses and potential location of site features. A number of the sketches in the 2011 plan have been redrawn based on more accurate mapping.

As this CMP is a review and updating of the 2012 CMP, for ease of comparison the 2012 format and much of the contents is used and only material that requires updating or further explanation has been added.

1.2 LOCATION

The Blackfriars Campus is located at 4-12 Buckland Street, Chippendale within the City of Sydney Council area.

The site is bounded on the west by Buckland Street and on the south by Blackfriars Street. To the east and north-east the site is bounded by Blackfriars Place (at the southern end of the eastern boundary) and the site of St Benedict's Catholic Church (104 Broadway, Chippendale, the church site also having frontage to Abercrombie Street). To the north the site shares boundaries with No. 2 Buckland Street, and No. 112-126 Broadway, both of these sites in the ownership of the University of Notre Dame Australia.

The site today includes the following buildings and elements and their setting (building numbers do not relate to the UTS numbering system):

- Building 1 - weatherboard relocatable building circa 1920s, with timber-framed windows and a gabled corrugated iron roof, on the corner of Blackfriars Street and Buckland Street
- Building 2 - Former Girls, Infants & Nursery School, 1882-1885, designed by architect George Allen Mansfield, a 2-storey Victorian Free Gothic style brick building
- Building 3 - modern childcare centre “Blackfriars Children’s Centre”
- Building 4 - modern relocatable building
- Building 5 - Former Boys & Music School, 1882-1885, designed by architect George Allen Mansfield. a 2-storey Victorian Free Gothic style brick building
- Building 6 - WC
- Building 7 - 2-storey Victorian Free Gothic style brick residence, 1882-1885, on the corner of Blackfriars Street and Blackfriars Place
- Victorian Cast iron and sandstone palisade fence and gateposts 1882-1885, on Blackfriars Street and Buckland Street property boundaries.

See Figures 1 to 3 below for recent and 1943 aerial views of the Blackfriars Campus.

The site contains multiple allotments as follows (see also Figure 3 below):

- Lot 1, DP 122324 (north-east corner of the site)
- Lots 9 to 12, Section 5, DP466 (fronting Buckland Street)
- Lot 1, DP724081 (a large, roughly T shaped lot in the centre of the site)
- Lots 1-14, Section 4, DP 466 (fronting Buckland Street, with Lot 1 on the corner of Blackfriars Street). Note that Lots 4-12 are occupied by the Former Girl’s school building.
- Lots 10-16, Section 3, DP 466 (fronting Blackfriars Street, with Lot 1 adjacent to Blackfriars Place)
- Lots 18-20, Section 3, DP466 (centre, adjacent to the eastern boundary of the site) and Lot 221, DP133367 (centre, adjacent to the eastern boundary of the site). Note these lots, except for Lot 18, are occupied by the former Boy’s school building.
- Lots 22-25. Section 3, DP466 (centre)
- Lot 1, DP832799 (small allotment adjacent to and at the north-western end of Blackfriars Place)

Figure 1: Recent satellite photo of Blackfriars Campus (outlined in red, shaded yellow) Source: NSW Land & Property Information Six Maps

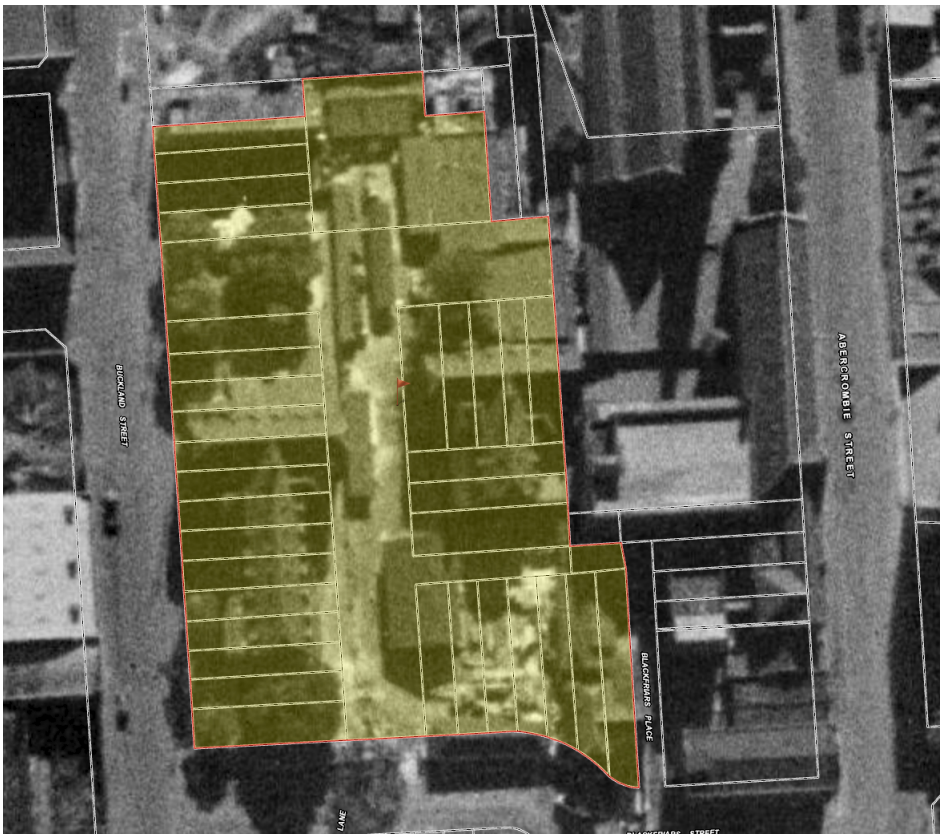

Figure 2: 1943 aerial photo of Blackfriars Campus (outlined in red, shaded yellow) Source: NSW Land & Property Information Six Maps

Figure 3: The Blackfriars Campus (shaded yellow) with both Lot boundaries and lot labels marked. Source: NSW Land & Property Information Six Maps

1.3 ADMINISTRATION

The site is owned and managed by the University of Technology Sydney and is currently used as a campus for the University.

1.4 HERITAGE LISTINGS

The Blackfriars Campus is listed as shown in Table 1 below in Schedule 5: Environmental Heritage Part 1: Heritage Items in the Sydney Local Environmental Plan (LEP) 2012. Note

that the listed allotments in the heritage listing do not cover the whole site (actual allotments contained within the site are listed in Section 1.1 above).

Table 1: Heritage listing details for Blackfriars Campus, Schedule 5 of the Sydney LEP 2012

Locality	Item name	Address	Property Description	Significance	Item No.
Chippendale	Former Blackfriars Public School and Headmaster Residence including interiors, fence, grounds and archaeology	4-12 Buckland Street	Lot 1, DP 122324; Lot 1, DP 724081; Lot 9, Section 5, DP 466; Lot 1, Section 4, DP 466	Local	1170

The site is the vicinity of other heritage items listed in the LEP including:

- St Benedict's Catholic Church (adjacent) – Item No. 1165
- Item No. 1171 (corner Blackfriars Street and Buckland Street, to the south of the campus)

The campus is also within the Chippendale Heritage Conservation Area No. C9 under the same LEP (Schedule 5, Part 2: Heritage Conservation Areas). Figure 4 below, and extract of the relevant LEP heritage map, shows the listed site (item 1170) and the location of other heritage items in the vicinity.

Figure 4: Extract, Heritage Map 009, Sydney LEP 2012. Blackfriars Campus is Item No. 1170 (indicated with blue arrow)

Non statutory listings

The Blackfriars Campus is listed by the NSW National Trust with individual heritage listings for the Boys School, Girls School and Headmaster's Residence (ID Number 6773) and is also within a National Trust identified conservation area.

1.5 SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this report is in accordance with the principles and definitions set out in the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter 2013 and its Practice Notes, the guidelines of the NSW Heritage Manual, the Australian Natural Heritage Charter (1997) published by The Australian Heritage Commission, J.S. Kerr's Conservation Plan, and in accordance with the latest version of The NSW Heritage Division, Office of Environment & Heritage (OEH) CMP Assessment checklist, September, 2003.

This methodology incorporates the following sections: Historical Background, Physical Analysis, Significance Assessment, Conservation and Management Principles and Management Policies. The historical overview contained within this report provides sufficient background to assess the place and provide relevant policy recommendations. However, it is not intended to be an exhaustive history of the site.

Site inspections were conducted to examine the Blackfriars Campus, assess the buildings and landscape elements of the site. Information on archaeological potential has been drawn from the 1993 Casey & Lowe report.

This plan reviews the cultural heritage significance of the built and landscape features within the context of the site. The CMP also considers and determines appropriate conservation management policies and guidelines for the future use of the place, which are consistent with the assessed cultural significance.

The methodology of the preparation of this plan follows that set out in JS Kerr "*The Conservation Plan*". The key elements of the study are:

Understanding the Place through description and historical research site investigation and analysis looking at how the site is used

Setting out the significance of the Place through a statement of significance looking at the significance of the various parts of the Place

Looking to the future by providing policies and strategies on the place as a whole as well as the various elements that make the Place.

1.6 AUTHORS

This Conservation Management Plan has been prepared by Paul Davies Pty Ltd., architects and heritage consultants as an update of the previous 2012 CMP prepared by McPhee Architects.

Paul Davies Pty Ltd staff involved:

Paul Davies	Principal Consultant, Conservation Architect
Chery Kemp	Heritage Specialist
Liz Duck-Chong	Photography and graphics assistance

1.7 TERMS

For the purposes of this report

Local refers to City of Sydney Council area; and

State refers to New South Wales.

The following definitions used in this report and are from *Article 1: Definitions* of The Burra Charter 2013, the Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance.

Place means a geographically defined area. It may include elements, objects, spaces and views. Place may have tangible and intangible dimensions.

Cultural significance means 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*.

Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.

Fabric means all the physical material of the *place* including elements, fixtures, contents and objects.

Conservation means all the processes of looking after a *place* so as to retain its cultural significance.

Maintenance means the continuous protective care of a *place* and its *setting*.

Maintenance is to be distinguished from repair which involves *restoration* or *reconstruction*.

Preservation means maintaining a *place* in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

Restoration means returning a *place* to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing elements without the introduction of new material.

Reconstruction means returning a *place* to a known earlier state and is distinguished from *restoration* by the introduction of new material.

Adaptation means changing a *place* to suit the existing *use* or a proposed use.

Use means the functions of a *place*, including the activities and traditional and customary practices that may occur at the place or are dependent on the place.

Compatible use means a *use* which respects the *cultural significance* of a *place*. Such a use involves no, or minimal, impact on cultural significance.

Setting means the immediate and extended environment of a *place* that is part of or contributes to its *cultural significance* and distinctive character.

Related place means a *place* that contributes to the *cultural significance* of another place.

Related object means an object that contributes to the *cultural significance* of a *place* but is not at the place.

Associations mean the connections that exist between people and a *place*.

Meanings denote what a *place* signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses to people.

Interpretation means all the ways of presenting the *cultural significance* of a *place*.

The following terms are defined in the NSW Heritage Division, Office of Environment & Heritage guidelines *Heritage Curtilage* (1996). This document illustrates several types of curtilage pertaining to a heritage item. The types of curtilage include the following:

Lot Boundary Heritage Curtilage: the most common type of heritage curtilage comprises the boundary of the property containing the heritage item as shown on the lot plan.

Reduced Heritage Curtilage: This type applies when the heritage curtilage is less than the property boundary, and the significance does not relate to the total lot, but to a lesser area. This type of curtilage is often only defined when subdivision occurs.

Expanded Heritage Curtilage: This type applies when the heritage curtilage many need to be greater than the property boundary. An expanded curtilage may be required to protect the landscape setting or visual catchment of a heritage item.

Composite Heritage Curtilage: This type generally applies to heritage conservation areas.

1.8 ABBREVIATIONS

AHC	Australian Heritage Council
ANHC	Australian Natural Heritage Charter
AHIMS	Aboriginal Heritage Management System (managed by the NSW Office of Environment & Heritage)
BP	Before Present
CMP	Conservation Management Plan
EPBC	Commonwealth Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999
ICOMOS	International Committee on Monuments and Sites
LEP	Local Environmental Plan
NLA	National Library of Australia
NCC	National Construction Code of Australia
NSW HC	NSW Heritage Council – advises the OEH, the Minister for Environment & Heritage, and the Minister for Planning & Infrastructure
OEH	NSW Office of Environment & Heritage
PoM	Plan of Management
SHI	State Heritage Inventory
SHR	State Heritage Register
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

2.0 BLACKFRIARS CAMPUS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

2.1 EARLY HISTORY OF THE SITE: 1825-1850 FROM GIN TO SUGAR

The history was written by Andrea Humphreys (for Wayne McPhee) for the 2012 CMP and is only edited where new information has provided further information.

Aboriginal Occupation and Land Use

In terms of density of prehistoric sites, the Sydney Basin is one of the richest archaeological sites in Australia, comparable only to Kakadu National Park. The Sydney sandstone belt contains rock art and other cultural deposits numbering into the thousands. However, the bulk of surviving deposits are located along the coastal belt, particularly in areas south and west of Sydney; the Royal National Park contains the bulk of midden deposits and other cultural artefacts. Areas closer to the city contain significantly less evidence of Aboriginal occupation and inner-city industrial suburbs, such as Chippendale, contain very little (if any) archaeological deposits.[1] However, the lack of tangible evidence of Aboriginal occupation does not in itself give sufficient cause to ignore this important phase of Australian history. The pre-historic occupation and geography of the region forms the background to the ongoing evolution of the Blackfriars site.

Prehistoric Settlement and Geography

The Sydney region is comprised of a clay and silt plain (the Cumberland Plain) surrounded by a sandstone plateau deeply incised by rivers. The coastline along which our modern suburbs stretch for almost 50 kilometres is defined by a series of estuaries and wetlands, small lagoons and swamps, sandpits and rocky headlands extending into the sea. During the mid-Holocene period the rising sea invaded the deep gorges and valleys of the Sydney basin creating Sydney Harbour and Broken Bay. Although Aboriginal peoples are believed to have been in evidence at least since the sea level stabilised (approximately 40,000 years ago) most of the evidence of coastal occupation relates to the last 2,500 years. This is believed to correspond with development of the coastal wetlands which provided seemingly inexhaustible supplies of fish, waterfowl and other foods which sustained the Aboriginal population.[2]

The Eora and Other Tribes of the Sydney Basin

Several Aboriginal tribes inhabited the Sydney Basin prior to European settlement, the most numerous and widely distributed being the Dharug. The early European settlers encountered four distinct tribes: the Dharug (of the inland plain), the Tharawal (to the south), the Kuring-gai (to the north) and the Eora (of Sydney Harbour)[3]. It was the Eora who would probably have inhabited the land on which modern Chippendale was built and with whom the First Fleet would have had the most contact. However, it should be noted that the Dharug and Tharawal also roamed through this territory; the Gundungerra from the Southern Highlands also made periodic visits to the coastal strip.[4] Sydney's shores and estuaries are now some

1 Mulvaney, J., & Kamminga., J., *Prehistory of Australia*, pp. 284 - 285.

2 Ibid., p. 286.

3 Ibid., p. 286.

4 Kohen, J., *The Dharug and Their Neighbours; The Traditional Aboriginal Owners of the Sydney Region*, pp. 23-27.

of Sydney's most desirable suburbs and many shell middens and cultural deposits are now in people's backyards. This is also true of Chippendale although the intensive nature of industrial development in the area may have resulted in a much higher degree of disturbance to such deposits. However, it cannot be assumed that significant deposits do not exist in this area.

Unlike some of their neighbours, the Eora were a largely sedentary tribe who were not a warrior people and who lived well off the bounty of the sea. Along the coastal strip, the main food sources were fish and other seafood including shellfish, lobsters and crabs. Men fished using four-pronged spears made from the flower stalk of a grass tree plant; the prongs were made from hardwood tipped with bone. Women fished with hooks and lines; both sexes fished from bark canoes. They also ate the burrawang (Macrozamia) whose toxic seeds were pounded, soaked in water for 2 weeks and then pounded again to make a kind of flour which was baked into flat cakes. Nectar from banksias, grevillias and melalucas was sucked directly from the flower or soaked in water to make a drink called bool. Bungwall fern root was used to make a flour which was a staple of the Eora diet, along with the common bracken fern. Edible fruits in the Sydney coastal region include 3 types of lily-pily, native raspberries and passionfruit, ground berries, native cherries, grapes, currants, orange, mulberry and figs, kangaroo apples and geebung. The most important marine species were freshwater mullet, bass, estuary perch, eels, crayfish, freshwater mussels and tortoises. They also ate native quail and other birds along with several small marsupials (including bandicoots) and lizards; it should be noted that kangaroo did not form a major component of their diet, but was served at ceremonial occasions.[5]

The Eora appear to have enjoyed a diverse and plentiful diet, living in relative harmony with their neighbours. The nature of their lifestyle indicates the likelihood of extensive shell middens and other deposits both along the immediate coastal strip and a short distance inland, relating to their occupation. The Eora were amongst the first Aboriginal tribes to be encountered by European settlers; they were also the first to be devastated by introduced diseases such as smallpox and influenza. Their peaceful lifestyle along the shores of the bright harbour could not survive alongside European settlement and their numbers were rapidly depleted throughout the first years of the colony. By the end of the 19th century no Eora were believed to have survived, although their neighbours to the north and west had fared somewhat better. The intensive nature of the industrial development of the Blackfriars site and its subsequent resumption by the Department of Education would have removed most of the associated archaeological deposits.

First Land Grants and Settlement

From the first days of its settlement Chippendale was characterised by a mix of industrial sites and slums; it was not a desirable address and this did not change over the first century or so of settlement there. The history of white settlement in Chippendale is closely linked to the development of colonial industry[6]. From the outset, competition between residential and industrial development was fierce; class distinctions were more clearly exposed in 19th century Chippendale than anywhere else in Sydney. The large and prosperous factories in the area employed some of Sydney's poorest citizens and next to these factories were some of Sydney's worst slums. In the hard world of 19th century industry the forces which made some individuals extremely rich also required the "... maintenance of a poorly paid and

5 Ibid,. pp. 23 - 27.

6 Fitzgerald, S., *Beneath The Factory Wall*, p. 10.

insecure workforce in the same area."[7] It was on these social foundations that Chippendale was built.

In 1819 Governor Macquarie made a grant of 95 acres to William Chippendale[8]. The grant was situated opposite John Harris' Ultimo Estate and adjoined the farms of Redfern, Chisholm and Hutchinson. On the south side it terminated at the Blackwattle Stream which drained into Blackwattle Swamp. In the early 19th Century Chippendale marked the edge of the city proper and the start of the urban fringe. The land was a mix of useless swamp and boggy but rich soil which was suitable for intensive agricultural use.[9] Despite his illustrious neighbours, Chippendale's grant covered some of the worst land in the district and was of little use in its undeveloped state.

Chippendale himself had arrived in the colony (with his wife Henrietta) as a free settler in 1815; he came officially recommended and presumably with the financial means to establish himself, and it was on the strength of this that Macquarie granted him land so close to the city, where the bulk of land had already been alienated.[10] By 1817 the Chippendales were well established on the banks of the creek - they had built a house for themselves, quarters for a "government man", were running a few head of cattle and had planted potatoes and barley.[11] Whether he was successful as farmer is not known but in 1821 he sold the "Chippendale Estate" to Solomon Levey for £380.[12]

Levey was a convict turned "colonial business tycoon" who invested his profits from various industries (including whaling, shipping and banking) and into real estate. He eventually came to own most of Alexandria, Redfern and Waterloo as well as large tracts of land in the eastern suburbs and rural New South Wales. Although he sold off some parcels of land from the Chippendale Estate, when he died in 1833 he still owned 33.5 acres of unsubdivided land. However, Levey was not the only budding tycoon in Chippendale and by the time the remainder of his estate came onto the market in 1838 substantial developments had occurred on land adjoining the Chippendale Estate. The most notable of these were Tooth's Kent Brewery and Cooper's Distillery, two industries which came to typify development in the district.[13]

Another well known early settler was Dr John Harris, who was settled on the opposite side of Parramatta Street to Cooper's Distillery, on the Ultimo Estate. Cooper and Harris became enemies quickly after Harris accused Cooper of stealing timber from the Ultimo Estate; in September 1825 Harris instructed his solicitor to take action against Cooper for "cutting and slashing" timber on the estate. Cooper offered an out of court settlement (which was declined) and then offered to buy the Ultimo Estate for £4,000 (which was also declined).[14] Had the offer been accepted it is unlikely that Cooper would have been able to pay as he was in debt to the Bank of New South Wales (of which he was a principal shareholder) to the tune of £12,000, some of which he probably used to finance the building of the distillery.[15]

It was the availability of water which made Chippendale so attractive to Colonial industrialists (just as it had to the Eora) and it was along the banks of the Blackwattle Stream that Cooper built his distillery and dam. Cooper's holdings, including the dam, extended back from the

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7 Ibid., p. 11.

8 *Crown Grant to William Chippendale*, LTO (NSW), Old Systems Book 12, Part 21, 31st August 1819.

9 Fitzgerald, S. op. cit., p. 14.

10 Ibid., p. 15.

11 Ibid., p. 16.

12 *Transfer of Title*, LTO (NSW) Deed Packet 1236, documents 2 & 4

13 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 16.

14 *Wentworth Papers*, Vol. A1/440, Mitchell Library, pp, 237, 174, 194.

15 Linge, G.R., *Industrial Awakening*, p. 85.

distillery buildings (along the Parramatta Street alignment) southwards to what is now Myrtle Street and east almost to Abercrombie Place.[16] Cooper's Dam provided a welcome area of recreation amidst the growing slum and factory development; it remained one of the few "open spaces" for the workers and residents of Chippendale into the first decades of the 20th century. An elderly Chippendale resident described a garden on the banks of the dam in 1910 as a place "... where most beautiful fruit grew, that was kept by a man ... who was employed at Cooper's flour mill."[17] Another (more detailed) description appeared in Old Chum later that month:

> *In the early [18]50s there was a long-continued drought, and the dam dried up. It had long been a good fishing-ground for eels, and after school and working hours boys and men would go there with their fishing-lines and bait, to fish for eels. When darkness set in lines would be set; after tea they would be examined. Some would have fish on, and these would be re-set, and again looked at in the early morning. I have seen as many as twenty lines set there*.[18]

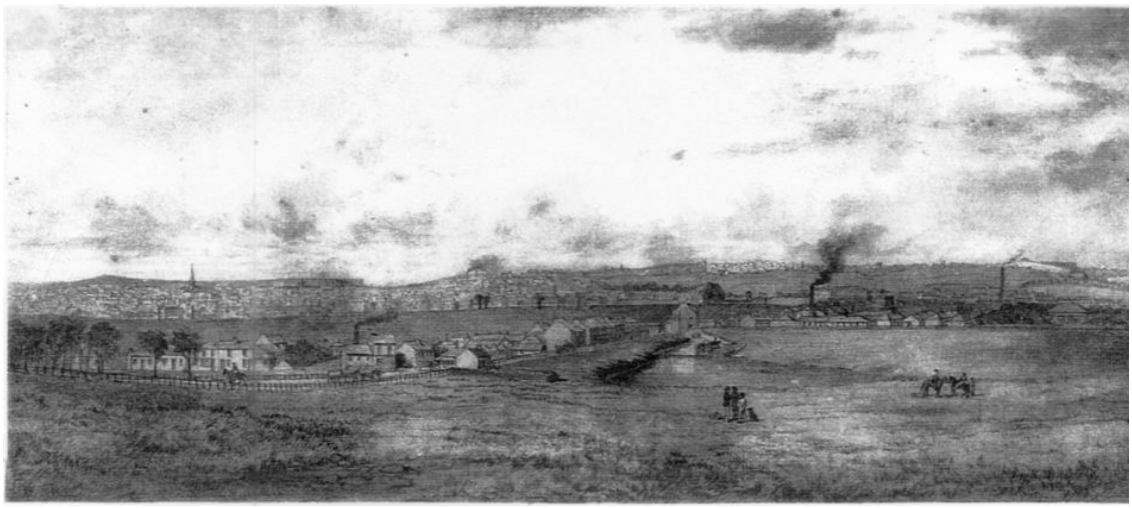

Figure 5: An unsigned sketch of Chippendale c.1855. The horizon is already dominated by chimney stacks and factories despite the largely undeveloped nature of the area. (Mitchell Library, Small Pictures File.)

Cooper's distillery and dam were not the only landmarks in Chippendale as another major industry had been established shortly after - Kent's Brewery. As Shirley Fitzgerald so aptly put it, the proprietors of Kent's

> *"... were as efficient and stable as Cooper was erratic and volatile, and the brewery experienced a well-ordered and steady growth, employing ever- increasing numbers of workers and occupying ever-increasing amounts of land in Chippendale. "*[19]

John Tooth purchased four-and-a-half acres of land (originally part of Major Druitt's grant) further up Parramatta Street, closer to the city. He had originally planned to purchase and establish a brewing business in the city as there were at least nine or ten such small establishments already there; instead he ambitiously decided to build the largest brewery the colony had yet seen and the site on the Blackwattle Swamp Creek had plenty of room for expansion and abundant water. The Kent Brewery was opened in October 1835 and from the outset was a well run and entirely "above board" business - the exact opposite of

16 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 17.

17 Quoted from *Old Chum*, 12th June 1910 and also in Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 17.

18 Ibid, 26th June 1910.

19 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 21.

Cooper's Distillery.[20] Of the many business ventures which sprang from humble beginnings in Chippendale the Kent Brewery is one of few to have survived the turbulence of the last century to become as much a success in the 20th century as it was in the previous one.

Despite the success of ventures such as the Kent Brewery, Chippendale remained an undesirable suburb. The pollution from the factories combined with the stench of the slaughterhouse on the opposite side of Parramatta Street (in Ultimo) to ensure an environment which was less than salubrious. The offal from the slaughterhouse was washed out into the harbour although just as often it was not and Mary O'Shea (known locally as "Pig Mary") was often seen picking her way through the mud in search of tit-bits to feed her pigs. Not surprisingly rats were present in alarming numbers and there were rich pickings for the rat catchers (another successful local industry).[21]

The majority of housing in early Chippendale did little to lift the tone of the place. Although Cooper had built himself a residence - Brisbane Cottage- and Tooth lived briefly at Kent House (both substantial houses for their time), the majority of housing in Chippendale was mean and cramped and housed the factory workers and other people too poor to afford accommodation closer to town. Amongst the first areas to be occupied were two narrow streets (little more than lanes) running back from Parramatta Street between the distillery and the brewery. The Sydney Morning Herald reported on the conditions in these lanes in 1851, describing them thus:

> *... a narrow dirty thoroughfare of thirty-two wooden houses .... the lane has become so notorious that it is shunned by all who can do so.*[22]

Additional housing was built in the 1850s exacerbating the cramped conditions and by all accounts was poorly constructed. The conflicting odours of the distillery and brewery, set against the ever-present stench of the slaughterhouse borne on the breeze, combined with rats in near plague proportions, made life in Chippendale a misery, yet for many there was no alternative and Sydney's poor continued to cram themselves into every nook and cranny they could. The only building of any distinction in the area was St Benedict's Catholic Church. Completed in 1856 the church stood in "stark contrast to the cottages of its Irish-descended parishioners nearby."[23]

The bulk of Chippendale's citizens lived on the Chippendale Estate - what remained of William Chippendale's grant after he sold it to Solomon Levey in 1821. Levey had subdivided much of the land between Abercrombie Place and Botany Street to create a housing estate which was described in glowing terms by his estate agents:

> *... this most splendid estate ... lively and picturesque in the extreme, having perfect panoramic views around, as well as being most salubriously situated for health.*[24]

Nothing could have been further from the truth; as Shirley Fitzgerald put it:

Chippendale was not lovely. It commanded no stunning views nor attracted wealthy residents to its vicinity. It did not feature in travellers' descriptions of Sydney, and it received scant attention from the chroniclers of Sydney's early development. Tales of grand houses and fine estates later subdivided into urban blocks do not feature in its history.[25]

Levey's sale was a moderate success although it was not until the 1840s that the streets of his subdivision began to fill up. Banks Street grew into a small commercial precinct and by

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20 Ibid., p. 21.

21 William, P.C., *Reminiscences of Old Sydney*, Descent, Vol. 16, Pt 4, pg 19.

22 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 8th March 1851.

23 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 25.

24 Quoted in Ibid., p. 25.

25 Ibid., p. 27.

the 1850s contained a number of shops (including butcher and grocer), the Chippendale Hotel, a milliner and a motley collection of houses. Cleveland and Botany (now Regent) Streets took on a more residential character with some better quality houses including a number of commodious two storey residences. Abercrombie Place attracted few residents (apart from those quartered in Cooper's Cottages) but did contain the Chippendale Academy, the district's first school. With the exception of a few wealthy landlords and publicans, many of Chippendale's citizens were factory workers of some description and the brewery was a popular work place. A large number of local men would have worked at the nearby abattoir.[26]

By the mid-19th century Parramatta Street was lined with a jumble of residential and commercial buildings and by 1858 the University of Sydney had moved into its new premises on the other side of Newtown Road. Trains had been running from Redfern Station behind Chippendale for more than two years but it was the development of Australia's sugar industry which would have the biggest impact on Chippendale's development.[27]

Robert Cooper and the Brisbane Distillery

Robert Cooper had been convicted of stealing goods to the value of £3,000 in 1812 and was transported to New South Wales in 1813. Originally sentenced to 14 years he was pardoned in 1818 and quickly set up a store in George Street.[28] He had owned a couple of public houses in London and was involved in various questionable activities before his enforced emigration; in New South Wales he continued in much the same vein. He quickly became a "colourful" Sydney identity and his business dealings were conducted with the same consideration for the law which had got him transported. He regularly declared himself bankrupt and used the Insolvency Courts as a way to avoid his more persistent creditors.[29] Cooper, also known as "Robert the Large", appeared frequently in the courts (both as a plaintiff and defendant) and was described by a contemporary as "... a bloated lump of flesh and very vulgar."[30]

Figure 6: An undated portrait of Robert Cooper An early 19th century business tycoon or a bloated lump of flesh." (Reprinted from S. Fitzgerald, Beneath The Factory Wall, Hale & Iremonger, 1990)

[26] Ibid., pp. 27 - 28.
[27] Ibid., p. 35.
[28] *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 246.
[29] Ibid., p. 246.
[30] Edmonds, F.M., *Robert Cooper, NSW 1813*, in Pioneer Women, pp. 85-87.

Cooper was already well versed in the technicalities of gin production by the time he established the Brisbane Distillery. He had built his first distillery on Old South Head Rd, shortly after Macquarie legalised distilling in 1822, and also built the family residence Juniper Hall there. This first location, east of the city, placed Cooper firmly with the colony's wealthy; this was typical of Chippendale's industrialists who did not (nor did they ever) choose to live in Chippendale.[31] The Brisbane Distillery (named in honour of the Governor) became a Sydney landmark. In 1829 the Distillery was part of a panorama exhibited in London and was accompanied by the following description:

> *... an excellent range of buildings, entirely of freestone, situated on a stream of fresh water, with a mill, numerous store houses, and every convenience for carrying on an extensive business.*[32]

During the 1820s Cooper expanded his establishment and by 1830 the Australian reported on "gigantic buildings" comprising a "distillery, malting-stores, a pair of 40 horsepower steam engines, flour mills and ovens etc. etc. etc."[33] Cooper was also building a brewery next to the quarry where he had excavated the stone for his distillery buildings. The Australian reported on his activities and anticipated the production of beer which would match the quality of his "super excellent whiskey excellent gin ....and execrable rum."[34] The actual quality of Cooper's products was questionable. The distillery began production at a time when colonial manufacturers were encouraged over foreign imports and whilst some descriptions compared Cooper's gin favourably with its London equivalent, others were less complimentary.[35]

Despite the success of the Brisbane Distillery, Cooper was not one to invest all his capital in a single venture. The distillery itself operated from a single building, whilst the other buildings on the site were leased to a variety of people as storehouses, a flour mill and a sugar house. Cooper also continued to make deals elsewhere and the distillery was mortgaged from 1829 to finance his other business interests. In 1843, one of the worst years of the colonial depression, he re-mortgaged the distillery and used the finances to build a number of stone cottages for his workers but in true Cooper style, declared himself bankrupt in order to avoid paying the builders. Eventually he regained the distillery and transferred the property to one of his sons, also Robert. The output of the distillery was erratic throughout this period and advertisements continued to appear in the press for portions of the property available for lease.[36]

Cooper's cottages were apparently built as an inducement to his workers (to whom they were let) to encourage them to vote for him in the 1843 elections for the Legislative Council. His effort to curry favour with the voters was dramatically unsuccessful with the inhabitants voting for any candidate but Cooper. The cottages themselves could not have been much of an incentive as they were cramped and dark and of varying quality: the stone cottages, whilst comparatively well constructed, were small and dark with almost no windows and were dank and depressing; the weatherboard cottages were flimsily built, afforded little protection from inclement weather and appeared to be falling down almost as soon as they were finished. All in all, Cooper's foray into residential building was about as successful as his career as a politician and both were eventually abandoned in favour of more lucrative

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31 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., pp. 16-17.

32 Burford, R., *Description of A View of the Town of Sydney*, London 1829, p. 7.

33 *The Australian*, 24th September 1830.

34 *The Australian*, 24th September 1830.

35 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 18.

36 Ibid., p. 19.

ventures.[37] By 1851 many of the cottages were empty and others had been washed away by flood; those that remained were dilapidated in the extreme. M.J. Conlon, a district veteran who has provided some of the best surviving descriptions of early Chippendale, remembered Cooper's Cottages:

> *The row of cottages, before the gold era, let for about two shillings a week each, and it was astonishing what a number of families crouched into these small cribs. It seemed in those days, to be a ruling passion with builders to erect small houses, on a sort of dog kennel plan. About the year 1850 a great fall of rain occurred, and Waterloo-street and Wellington-street, Chippendale, became flooded... the waters broke through a gateway in Wellington-street and swept away the foundations of three of the end houses in Cooper's Row, and levelling the buildings, they were never restored. A little further south, on another occasion, seven fell from sheer decay.*[38]

Cooper's desire to maintain control over development in Chippendale was evidenced by his building activities. The development of Abercrombie Place as a main thoroughfare did not please Cooper and he responded by erecting a row of houses (parallel to Parramatta Street) in such a way as to narrow off Abercrombie Place. It appears that he was also responsible for the erection of a toll gate across the road near his bridge crossing on Blackwattle Creek so that he could profit further from Chippendale's poor as they entered the area to work in his factory.[39]

One of Cooper's most interesting (and adventurous) undertakings was the conversion of one of the storehouses to a retail market place which he called the Royal Pantechnicon. Cooper was perhaps a little over confident of the success of this latest venture when he advertised that the market would by opened by Governor and Lady Fitzroy on New Year's Day 1847, accompanied by the band of the 99th Regiment. The following advertisement appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald:

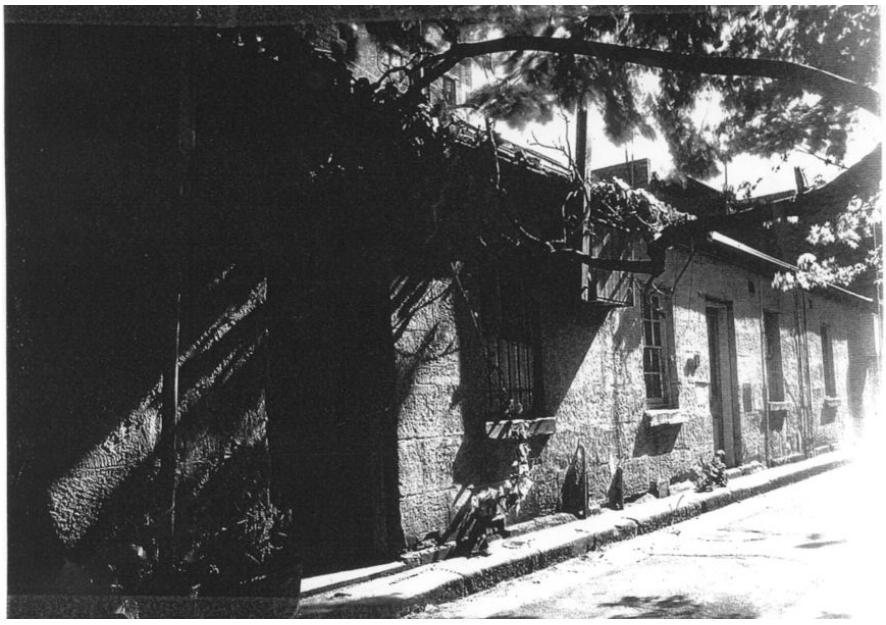

Figure 7: What remains of Cooper's cottages. This sandstone row (in Elim Place) were amongst the best that he ever built and are now on the State Heritage Register. (Reprinted from S. Fitzgerald. Beneath The Factory Wall, Hale & Iremonger, 1990).

37 *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 1, p. 246.

38 *Old Chum*, 26th June 1910.

39 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 26.

ROYAL PANTECHNICON

Parramatta Street

Under the patronage of His Excellency Sir Charles and Lady Mary Fitzroy, His Excellency Sir Maurice and Lady O'Connell and most of the elite of Sydney

His Excellency the Governor has appointed Friday (this day), the 1st January, when he will open the Pantechnicon.

His Excellency and Lady Mary will be present in the forenoon, and the doors will open at ten o'clock, a.m. precisely, and continue open.

During the day, various pleasing amusements will be provided, and for the entertainment of visitors, the band of the 99th regiment (who, by the kind permission of Colonel Despard, will be present) will afford that pleasure they are so well able to do. In addition, the services of some of the first- rate musical and vocal talent of the colony are secured for the occasion.

And at night, a grand display of fireworks, such as are not known and were never seen in this colony, will be exhibited. These fireworks, which will be very beautiful, have been purchased at a great expense, and cannot fail to afford ample amusement.

Attached to the Pantechnicon is a large dam of water of eight acres, where boats will be in readiness for those may so please to amuse themselves.

Refreshments are provided in abundance, both day and night, and all who visit the Pantechnicon on the opening day cannot fail to be gratified.

The tickets for admission will be single, 3s, double, 5s.

This will include day and night.

Tickets to be had of Mr Aldis, George Street, and at the Pantechnicon, Parramatta Street.

By order of the Committee., C.F. HEMMINGTON, Manager[40]

It seems that Cooper's new venture was not a success and that the expected dignitaries did not appear. On 5th January 1847 another announcement appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald which advised readers of the postponement of the festivities and advised them to hold on to their tickets until another date was arranged.[41] Many years later, James Scott recalled the grounds of the Pantechnicon (although it is not clear whether he was referring to the 1847 opening or a later date):

> *... when the dam was completed and full of water, Mr Cooper had a grand aquatic display, boats and tub racing and other ancient sports, including a greasy pole, a pig with a greased tail, etc. Some big official of the time was present to declare the dam open* [42]

James Scott worked for James Pemmell who rented Cooper's steam flour mill next to the now abandoned Pantechnicon in 1850. By this time Cooper was deeply in debt and attempted to lease out the whole of the Chippendale site but by the middle of 1849 was forced to declare himself bankrupt (yet again) and go before the Insolvency Court. He had incurred around £34,000 in bad debts associated with his business affairs and owed another £23,000 in personal debts. On the 1st February 1850 the estate was placed in the hands of

40 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 1st Jaunary 1847.

41 Ibid., 5th January 1847.

42 *Old Chum*, 12th June 1910.

R.J. Want, a solicitor who specialised in bankrupt estates and the Chippendale site was put up for sale.[43]

However, the sale of the property would have resulted in Cooper making good on his debts and this did not suit him at all and so he attended the property auction where he was able to regain control of the property with a bid of £9,500.[44] Despite his declaration of bankruptcy, Cooper was still a wealthy man; he merely placed his wealth in the hands of others (including his son) so that he appeared bankrupt. He owed wages to almost everyone who worked for him and most of the equipment in the distillery was not legally his (and he could therefore not be made to pay for it). Despite his successful attempt to regain his property Cooper was in difficulties again a short two years later and he (along with his third wife and others who now shared an interest in the distillery) was forced to advertise the property a second time:

> *MR SAMUEL LYONS has been instructed to sell, at his Rooms, on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, at eleven o'clock precisely, THE FOLLOWING VALUABLE PROPERTIES Vis:*
>
> *THE BRISBANE DISTILLERY*
>
> *situated in Parramatta Street, in the city of Sydney, with all the PLANT AND MACHINERY therein contained, in complete working order.*
>
> *A STORE*
>
> *on the south side of the distillery, well adapted for a wool-washing Establishment.*
>
> *THE BRISBANE STEAM FLOUR MILLS*
>
> *at present let to Mr James Pemmell for £250 per annum, payable weekly*
>
> *THE PANTECHNICON*
>
> *the Sugar House known as COOPER'S SUGAR REFINERY at present let to R. M. Robey, Clark Irving and Edward Knox, Esquires for £400 per annum - with all the fixtures and apparatus therein, consisting of STEAM ENGINE, BOILERS, VACUUM PAN, PIPES FOR HEATING THE FLOORS BY STEAM, &c„ &c., &c., BRISBANE COTTAGE in the rear of the Sugar house, with Stables and out offices, at present let temporarily to Mr Holmes for £30 per annum*
>
> *TWELVE BRICK BUILT AND SLATED HOUSES*
>
> *with shops in Parramatta Street*
>
> *TWENTY TWO STONE BUILT COTTAGES*
>
> *In Georges Place off the Newtown Road*
>
> *FIFTY FIVE WEATHERBOARD COTTAGES*
>
> *in Chippendale, parallel with Parramatta Street*
>
> *TWO WEATHERBOARD COTTAGES*
>
> *at right angles with Parramatta Street and adjoining the wall of the KENT BREWERY.*
>
> *The whole property on which these premises stands occupies about 17 1/2 ACRES OF LAND;*
>
> *The DAM covering several acres, and commanding a never failing supply of water, The 12 Brick Houses in Parramatta Street, 22 Stone Cottages and 55 Weatherboard Cottages, are now let to Mr Joseph Hudson, for £9.15s per week.*
>
> *For further particulars, apply to R.J. Want, Esq., Solicitor, 376 Pitt Street, or* to Mr Samuel Lyons, Auctioneer, 567 George Street, Sydney.[45]

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43 *Insolvency Schedule*, Insolvency File No. 1898, 23rd April 1849.

44 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 19.

45 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2nd Feburary 1852.

Even allowing for the usual real estate hyperbole, Cooper's establishment was an extensive one and reports of his residential building activities were clearly not exaggerated. Nonetheless, he sold at a considerable loss - £2,848.10.12 - to the Australasian Sugar Company who also assumed the mortgage of £10,151.0.10. They acquired all of the industrial and residential buildings associated with the site, although much of it was run down or no longer in use. The company paid off the mortgage in 18 months and began building a new sugar refinery; Cooper left Chippendale and died a few years later.[46]

The Colonial Sugar Refining Company

Prior to Cooper's sale of the distillery site, he had leased the distillery and at least one of the store houses to the Australasian Sugar Company (ASC) who also had sugar works at Canterbury and in the city. The Canterbury refinery was closed in 1852 due to the lack of available labour during the gold rush years and the company concentrated on its city works. However, a rising demand for sugar prompted the company to refit and rebuild the Brisbane Sugar Works at Chippendale, as it was then known. When the ASC purchased the Chippendale site they were reaching the peak of an expansion programme which had begun in the 1840s with the purchase of Bowden's Mill (in Liverpool Street) and Robey's Sugar Works (on the North Shore). Both purchases were a successful attempt to monopolise the colonial sugar trade by buying out competitors.[47]

The three principals of the ASC were Edward Knox, R.M. Robey and Clark Irving. All three men had come to New South Wales as free settlers and were men of considerable standing in Sydney's commercial world. It was Knox in particular who was the driving force behind the ASC and the decision in 1855 to dissolve the company and form a new one with a working capital of £150,000 - The Colonial Sugar Refining Company. The new company initially had ten shareholders, of whom five were directors: William Fanning, Walter Lamb, William Walker, Edwin Tooth and Edward Knox. Amongst the shareholders was James Robey (the brother of R.M. Robey) who had important technical knowledge gained through his work for the ASC; he was appointed manager of the Sugar House whilst Edward Knox became the principal shareholder and director of the company.[48] The new owners of the Brisbane distillery were as determined to make their mark on Chippendale as Cooper had been and Brisbane Street became Knox Street, Irving Street appeared (but has since disappeared) and the infamous Cooper's Row briefly became Robey's Row.[49]

In 1855 the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) demolished most of the cottages built by Cooper and built in their place more substantial four-roomed, two storey brick houses with slate roofs. However, unlike Cooper they did not build houses for use as tied cottages but to sell them off as private interests and increase their capital.[50] Despite some early capital success, the CSR shareholder's were not entirely happy and the Robey brothers disagreed with the other directors of the company; in 1857 James Robey was sacked when it was revealed that he intended to set up a rival company. This duly occurred but despite Robey's threats to dissolve the CSR, it was his sugar works which was eventually bought by the CSR in 1859 as part of their expansion programme. Robey was forced to sell at a loss when the Australian Joint Stock Bank curtailed his credit, allegedly on the recommendation of Irving who was a director there.[51]

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46 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 21, Cooper died in May 1857, aged 80 years.

47 CSR Limited, *South Pacific Enterprise*, p. 43.

48 Ibid., p. 13.

49 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 35.

50 Ibid., p. 36 and also in CSR Limited, op. cit., pp. 13 - 14.

51 *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 4, p. 462 and Vol. 6, pp. 47 - 48

The establishment of the sugar refinery finally brought stable employment to Chippendale. Work began in 1855 after the arrival of new machinery imported from overseas and the formation of the new company. The sugar works contained:

> *... four 30 horse power steam boilers, two vacuum pans which each held about 30 hundredweight of sugar crystals and syrup, and six small centrifugal machines which dried the sugar. [The plant] produced about 120 tons of sugar per week and employed seventy or eighty men. In addition fifteen to twenty horses and drays hauled the raw product and the coal through town to Chippendale.*[52]

At this time, the bulk of sugar cane was imported from outside the colony and supplies were erratic making profits uncertain. It seems likely that most of the CSR's early profits came from the production of rum, distilled from molasses which was a by-product of the sugar refining process. From 1855 for at least a decade the CSR distillery produced approx. 3,000 gallons of rum per week and rum enjoyed a more stable market price than sugar. However, the company did eventually achieve a monopoly in sugar refining, particularly after it expanded into sugar cane growing both in Australia and overseas; once they were able to supply their own cane, the CSR was no longer dependent on erratic overseas suppliers and could control their own production.

Cane sugar (as opposed to beet sugar) increased in popularity throughout the 19th century and by 1878 weekly production at the Chippendale site had reached 240 tons.

Increasing production had positive spin-offs - increased employment - and also negative ones - pollution. Environmental pollution had long been a problem in Chippendale but with the establishment of CSR's Sugar Refinery it reached new heights. The first major problem arose from the company's practice of burning bones to make charcoal for filtration purposes and reached crisis point in October 1870 when the company began receiving formal petitions of protest from Chippendale's residents. Petitioners complained of "... a poisonous matter... thrown off in a liquid state and also as a vapour infecting the purity of the atmosphere."[53] Residents in Glebe claimed that "... bones in every stage of decomposition ..." were stacked on the site and similar petitions were received from the residents of Parramatta Street, South Sydney and Shepherd's Paddock. The City Health Officer, Dr Frederick Dansey, visited the sugar works and reported that large quantities of "stinking bones" were left lying about and that the dam was in a terrible state. Relations between the company and the City Corporation soured from this point; the company stopped using water from the dam and allowed it to silt up, at the same time requesting the supply of mains water instead. Whilst the Corporation applauded the Sugar Company's decision to stop using the polluted dam, it could not supply sufficient water for the company's needs and a row over water rights ensued between them. [54]

The arguments over CSR's right to obtain town water versus their obligation to clean up the creek and dam lasted nearly five years and ended when the CSR decided to vacate the Chippendale site and relocate to larger premises on the Pyrmont Peninsula. The new site, whilst closer to the city, was not as densely populated and its location next to the harbour was crucial to the company's shipping needs. The new refinery commenced operation in 1878 and the men of Chippendale now walked a little further to work.[55] The Brisbane Sugar Refinery was closed down and sold to A.H. McCulloch, C.F. Stokes and R.S. Black for £47,500.[56]

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52 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 38.

53 Quoted in Ibid., p. 38.

54 Ibid., p. 39.

55 CSR Limited, op. cit., pp. 14 - 17.

56 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 54.

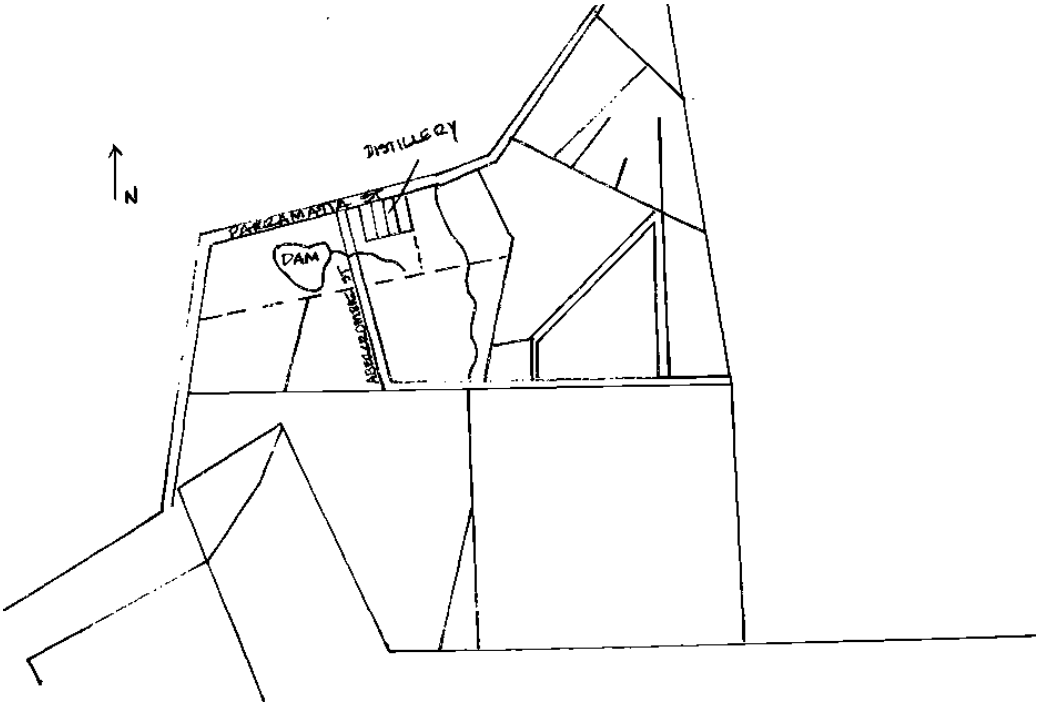

Figure 8: In 1823 Cooper had built very little on his properly although the dam was already a prominent landscape feature. The main distillery buildings fronted Parramatta Street on a portion of land now partially covered by the Blackfriars site and partially by St Benedict's. (Based on an 1823 parish map, Mitchell Library Maps).

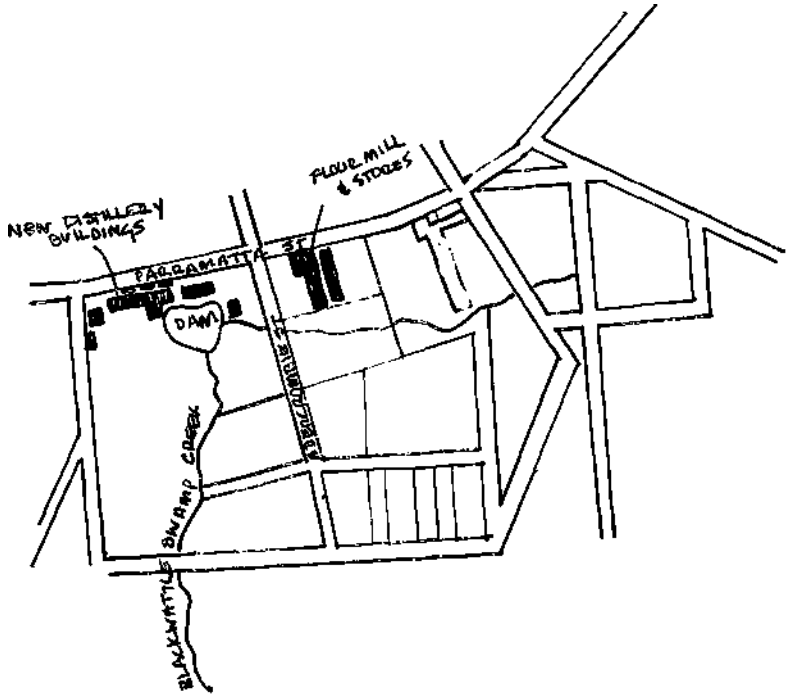

Figure 9: By 1842 Cooper's distillery site was considerably more developed. A group of buildings housing the distillery had been erected along Parramatta Street (east of the old buildings) and the dam appears to have been enlarged. The old distillery buildings were being leased for a variety of uses including a flour mill and sugar house. (Based on an 1842 parish map, Mitchell Library Maps).

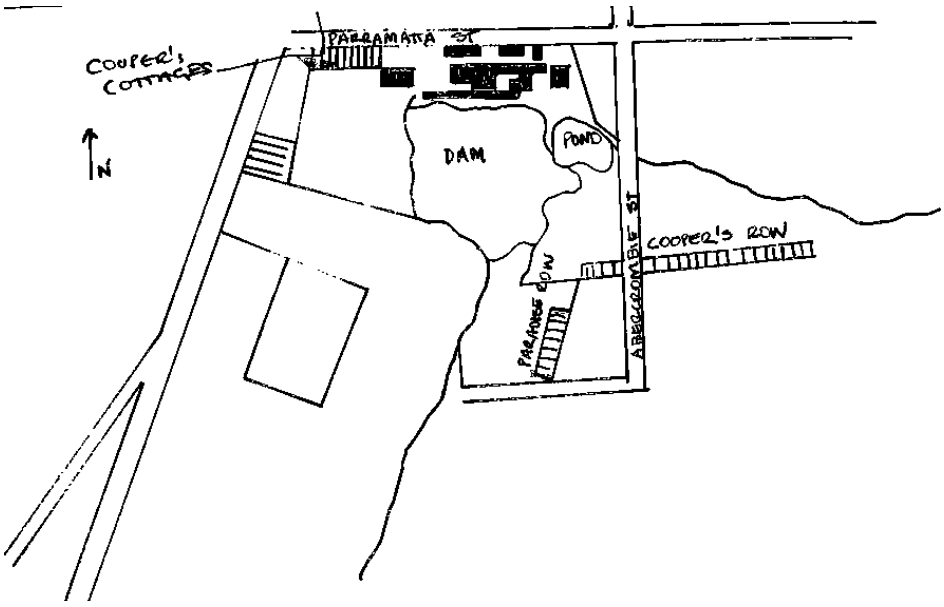

Figure 10: By 1850 Cooper had erected 2 rows of cottages - one along Parramatta Street and another off Abercrombie Lane (now Elim Place). The distillery' complex and sugar house had been enlarged and added to as had the dam. (Based on an 1850 parish map, Mitchell Library Maps).

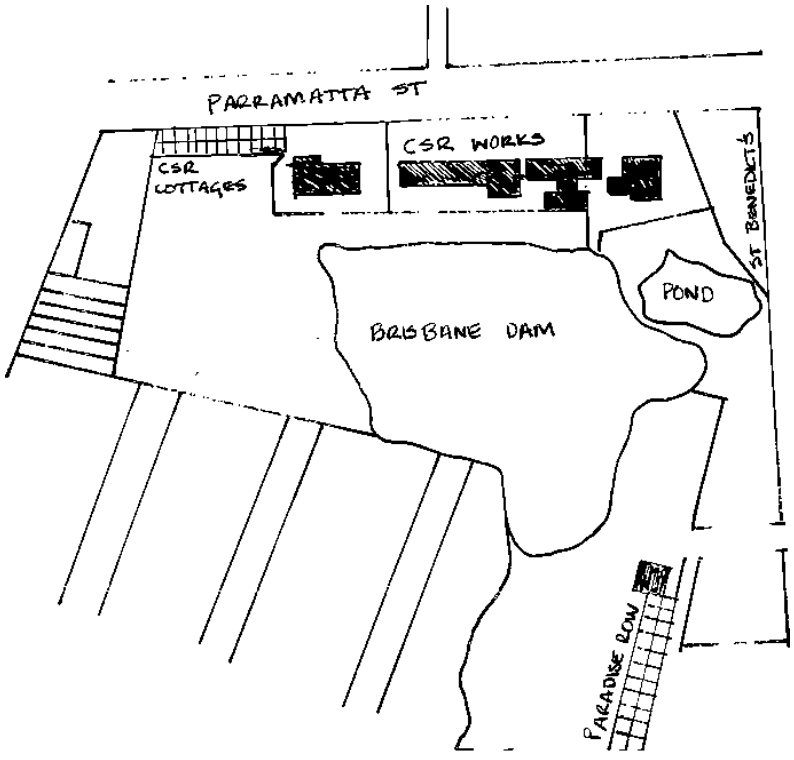

Figure 11: By the mid-1850's The Colonial Sugar Refining Company had taken control of the site and demolished Cooper's Cottages along the Parramatta Street frontage. Some of the distillery and storehouse buildings along Parramatta Street were also demolished and the existing buildings were enlarged to accommodate their new function. The row of cottages known as "Paradise Row were still inhabited but some of Cooper's Elim Place housing had either been demolished or had fallen down. (Based on a c1855 parish map, Mitchell Library)

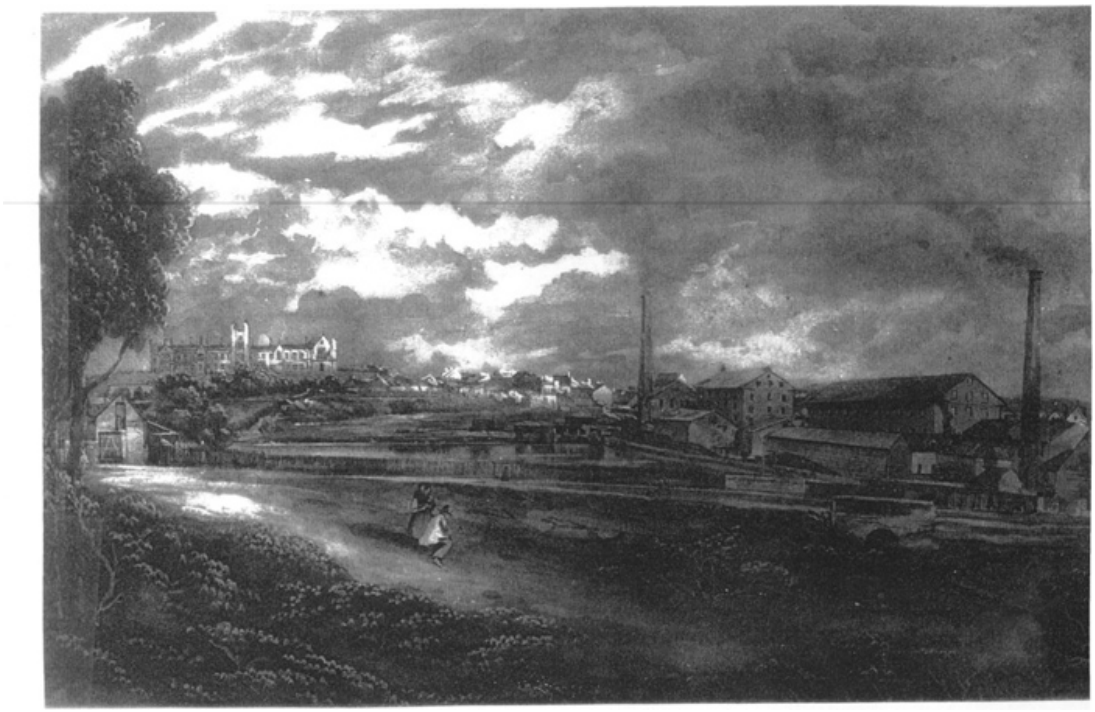

Figure 12: Painted in 1868, this watercolour indicates the extent of the CSR site at that time. The Sugar Refinery buildings and smokestacks dominate the skyline and compete with the other major building of the area, Sydney University. (S. Elyard, 1868, presented to Sir William Dixon, Mitchell Library, small Pictures File.)

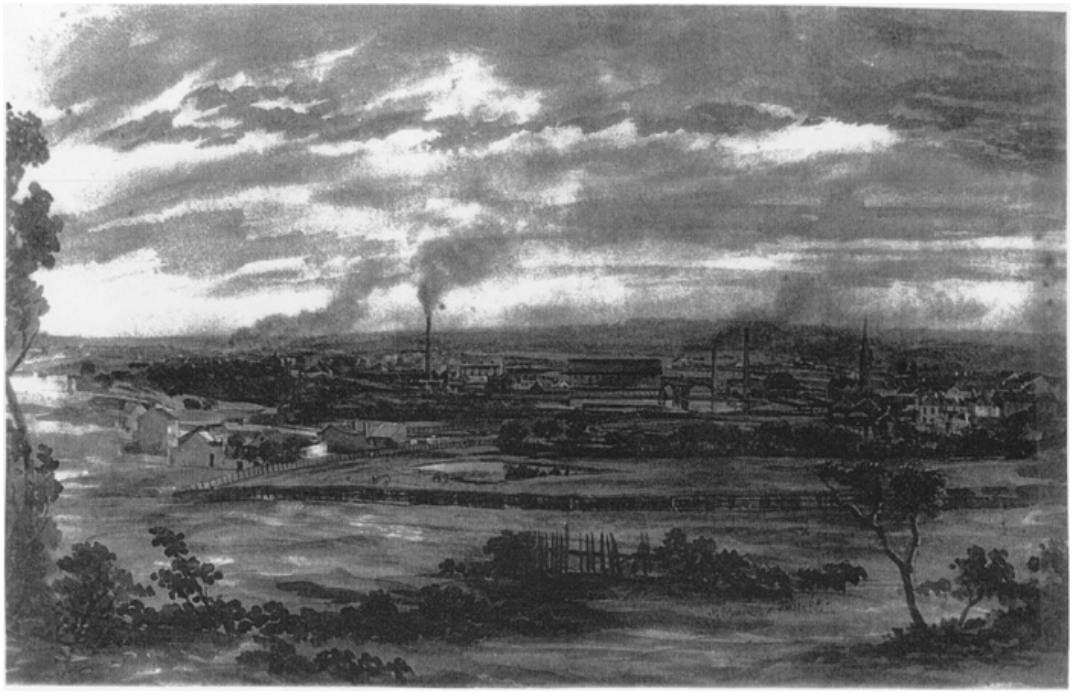

Figure 13: Another view of Chippendale painted by Elyard in 1868. The smokestacks of the sugar refinery can be seen in the rearground on the left hand side. (S. Elyard, 1868, presented to Sir William Dixon, Mitchell Library, Small Pictures File.)

2.2 FROM SUGAR REFINERY TO PUBLIC SCHOOL

Sub-division of the CSR Site

Andrew McCulloch was a solicitor with experience in land conveyancing. He had ties to the Parkes administration through his friend John Lackey (Minister for Public Works) and was also closely allied with the real estate agents Hardie & Gorman. Following his purchase of the CSR site, McCulloch's first action was to demolish all of the refinery buildings; the stone was auctioned off with preference given to purchasers of land so it is likely that at least some of the stone was recycled within Chippendale. He named his new subdivision the Blackfriars Estate, apparently inspired by St Benedict's church and school next door (which was run by the Blackfriars order). The advertisements for the sale of the Blackfriars Estate achieved new heights in real estate rhetoric, with the estate described as "... the most important and valuable city freehold that had been submitted to public competition at any one time in the City of Sydney."[57]

On Sydney's social calendar 1879 promised to be a golden year; the city was hosting the first International Exhibition in Australia (to be held in the newly constructed Garden Palace) and Hardie & Gorman announced that "... a mammoth hotel on the American Principle, capable of comfortably accommodating 10,000 to 15,000 persons..." would be built at Chippendale, despite the fact that it was at the opposite end of the city to the Exhibition.[58] Whether such a proposal was seriously intended or whether it was an advertising ploy cooked up by the estate agents is not clear, but there was no rush to buy the land of the Blackfriars Estate; the blocks sold slowly and 18 months later the estate was advertised again with a little more than a third of the blocks still unsold. Too many memories of Cooper's Distillery and the Sugar Company lingered and the pervasive scent of Kent's Brewery probably didn't help either.

The site, which had been well suited to industrial use, was not well suited to residential development for the same reason - water. A well watered industrial site does not make a well drained residential area and McCulloch was aware of the difficulties he faced when he requested permission from the City Corporation to build a street to facilitate the movement of storm water. Although the old dam had been drained, the original watercourse still easily flooded in heavy rain. McCulloch called his new road Stream Street with the name being subsequently changed to Buckland Street.[59] A modern map of the area overlayed on a mid-19th century map makes it clear that Buckland Street largely follows the course of the old Blackwattle Swamp Creek.

McCulloch became embroiled in a bitter battle with the City Corporation over drainage and street width issues which effectively halted the sale of his subdivision. The battle was still raging in 1882 when the Government decided to build a public school on the Blackfriars Estate; a decision which put the children of Chippendale right at the forefront of one of the great issues of the day - the role of state and church in education.[60]

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57 *Hardie & Gorman Pre-Sale Advertisement for the Blackfriars Estate*, 1879, Mitchell Library NSW.

58 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22nd January 1879.

59 Fitzgerald, S., op. cit., p. 56.

60 Ibid., p. 59.

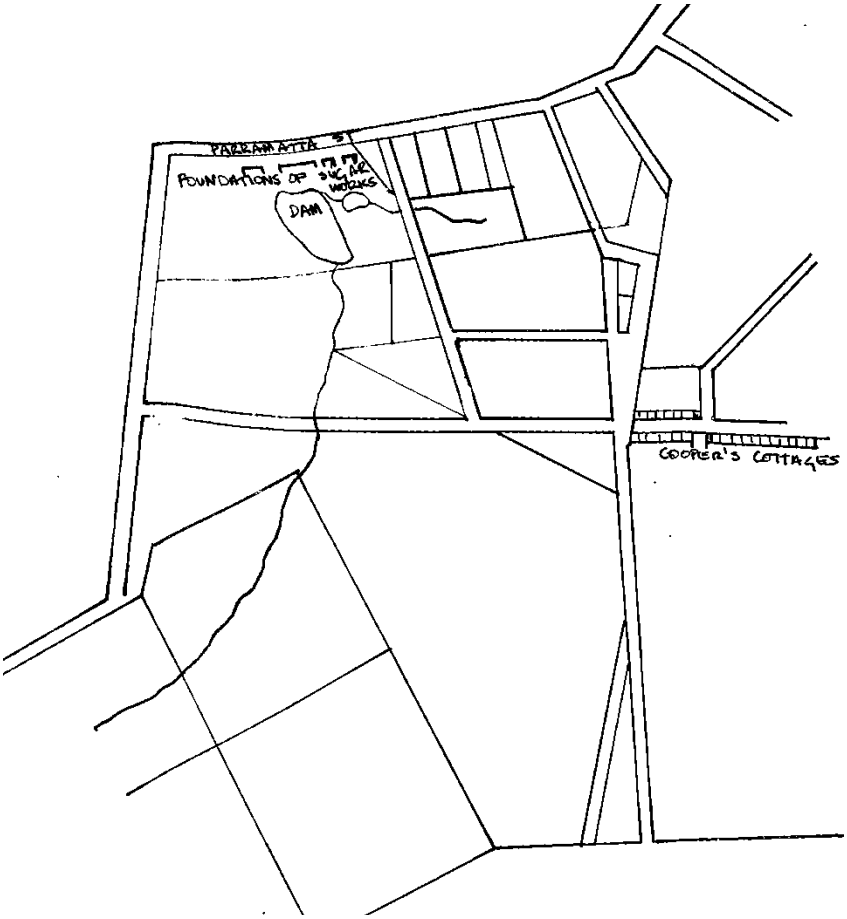

Figure 14: After CSR vacated the site, but prior to its subdivision by McCulloch, the refinery buildings, and what remained of Cooper's' Distillery, were demolished. However, the foundations of some of these buildings were left in place and are indicated on the plan. The dam and pond had been allowed to silt up but had not yet been properly drained. (Based on an 1880 Trigonometrical Survey, Mitchell Library Maps.)

The Blackfriars School - A Model Public School or an Act of Sectarian Bigotry?

Prior to 1880 the children of Chippendale had a choice of government and church schools and even a few private schools, although this was no guarantee that they attended. The Public Instruction Act (1880) announced the cessation of government assistance to church schools by the end of 1882 and ruled that education would be compulsory; the Act also resulted in a new education body - the Department of Education. As a response to the Act, the Department of Education embarked on a massive building programme anticipating a large influx of new students.[61]

The Department resumed land in Chippendale in 1881, partly from the grounds of St Benedict's but mostly from the Blackfriars Estate, initially purchasing three lots. A further portion was acquired in 1884 at the northern end of the present site as part of a roadways resumption. The plans for the buildings appear to have been drawn up before the 1884 acquisition and the three original buildings were sited on each of the three earlier lots.[62]

[61] Fletcher, J. & Burnswoods, J., *Government Schools of New South Wales Since 1848*, pp. 9 - 11.

[62] Perumal Partners Pty Ltd, *Blackfriars Conservation Plan*, Annexure 4, p. iii.

McCulloch, who as we have seen was having difficulty selling his land, was keen to sell to the Department but St Benedict's was unhappy about having its grounds reduced. A school to accommodate 1,500 pupils was recommended by the Department and was possibly the biggest school building project of the 19th century.[63]

Given the Department's grand objective, the choice of site on a former bog next to a Catholic school and downwind of a large brewery seemed a curious one and the planned size of the school was equally puzzling; at the time there was approximately 700 children in attendance at St Benedict's and St Barnabas' combined.[64] Although it was expected that the 1880 Education Act would result in the closure of at least some Anglican schools, a similar effect was not expected amongst Catholic schools; this was particularly true of a school like St Benedict's, attached to a prominent Catholic church in a strongly Catholic area. Perhaps the Department of Education hoped their new school would be so popular as to force the closure of St Benedict's - a naive hope at best and a deliberate act of bigotry from the Catholic perspective. Furthermore, the district was already well serviced by schools including Darlington Public School, Glebe Public School, Parramatta Street Church of England School, Parramatta Street Roman Catholic School, Christchurch Anglican (at Central Square) and Ultimo Public School. All but one of the Anglican schools in the inner city did in fact close by the end of 1882 but this did not guarantee a large intake for the new public school.[65]

The Catholic's belief that the new school was a deliberate attempt to ridicule their institution was exacerbated by the appointment of G.A. Mansfield as architect. The Department had its own architect (Kemp) who would ordinarily have designed the school but he was so busy with the Department's expansion programme that he couldn't spare the time, hence the appointment of Mansfield. Most government schools of this period were designed by Kemp using traditional Classical principles - symmetry of proportion, simple lines and typical Classical elements such as columns and pediments. Mansfield, on the other hand, had begun his career as a Classicist but developed a taste for the Gothick Picturesque[66] approach in the latter half of his career, with a strong ecclesiastic bent.[67] The result was a grand Gothic pile of brick with the atmosphere of a convent school; it completely overshadowed the simple Catholic school next door. Not surprisingly, it generated a great deal of anger in the largely Catholic community.

Matters were not helped by a visit from the Archbishop in September 1884. In a highly emotive speech (which was published by the press) he described the school as:

> *...the cruelest act of intolerance and injustice and vandalism. The State has boundless resources at hand - its grounds not limited - yet it casts its eyes on your little home of religion and science. The lesson you should learn from this is have nothing to do with such Public Schools.*[68]

Despite the community's (and Moran's) protests the Department's resumption was completed in early 1884 and the buildings in April 1885. The St Barnabas Catholic School, which had been funded by the State since its closure at the end of 1882 served as the temporary site for the school whilst the Department built its monument to public education; known as the Parramatta Street Public School, the school was closed permanently after the completion of Blackfriars in April 1885.[69]

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63 Fletcher, J., *Blackfriars Public School*, np.

64 Ibid., np.

65 Perumal Partner Pty Ltd, op. cit., p. v.

66 Broadbent, J. & Kerr, J., *Gothick Taste In The Colony of New South Wales*, np.

67 *Australian Men of Mark*, Vol. 1, pp. 137 - 139.

68 *Daily Telegraph*, 27th September 1884.

69 Perumal Partners Pty Ltd, op. cit., p. ix.

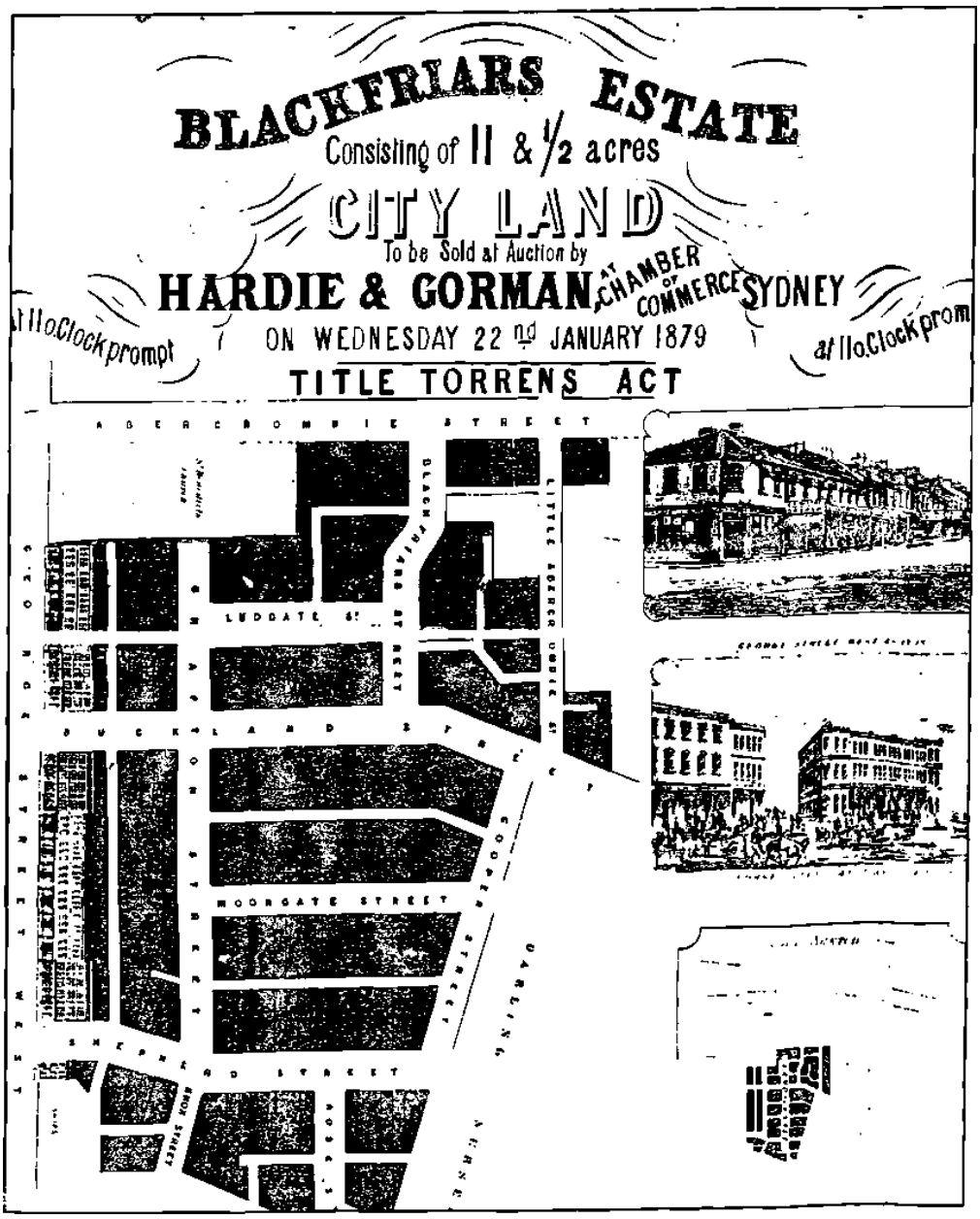

Figure 15: McCulloch's subdivision plan for the Blackfriars Estate. (Maps and plans, Land titles Office, NSW).

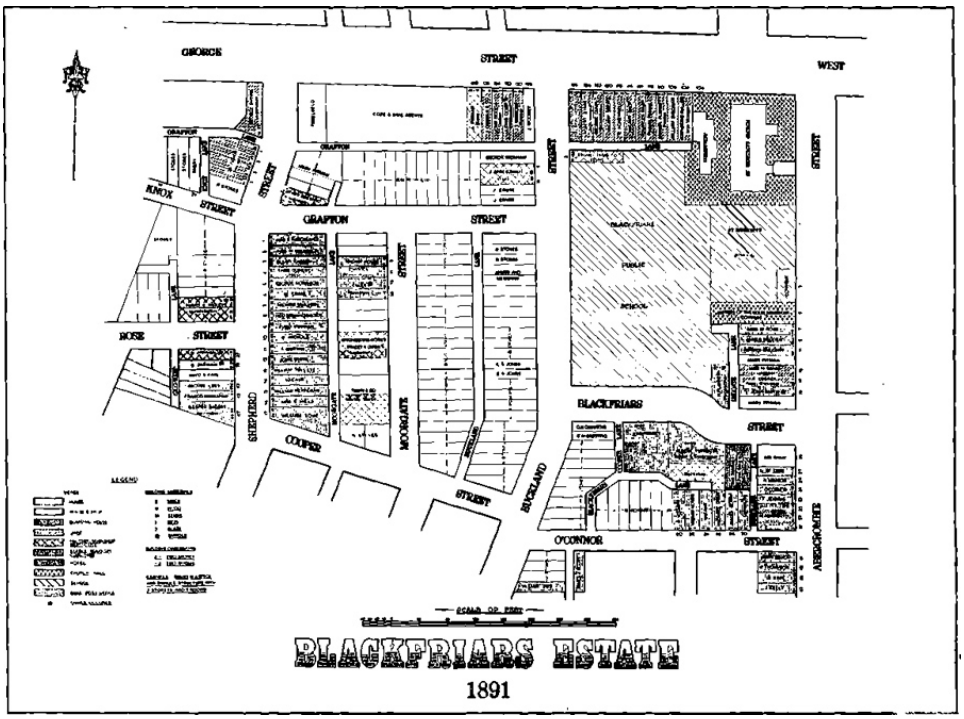

Figure 16: In 1891, another attempt was made at subdividing the Blackfriars Estate; interesting to note the row of narrow blocks between St. Benedict's and Auckland Street, completely resumed by the former service station. (Maps & Plans, Land Tiles Office NSW.)

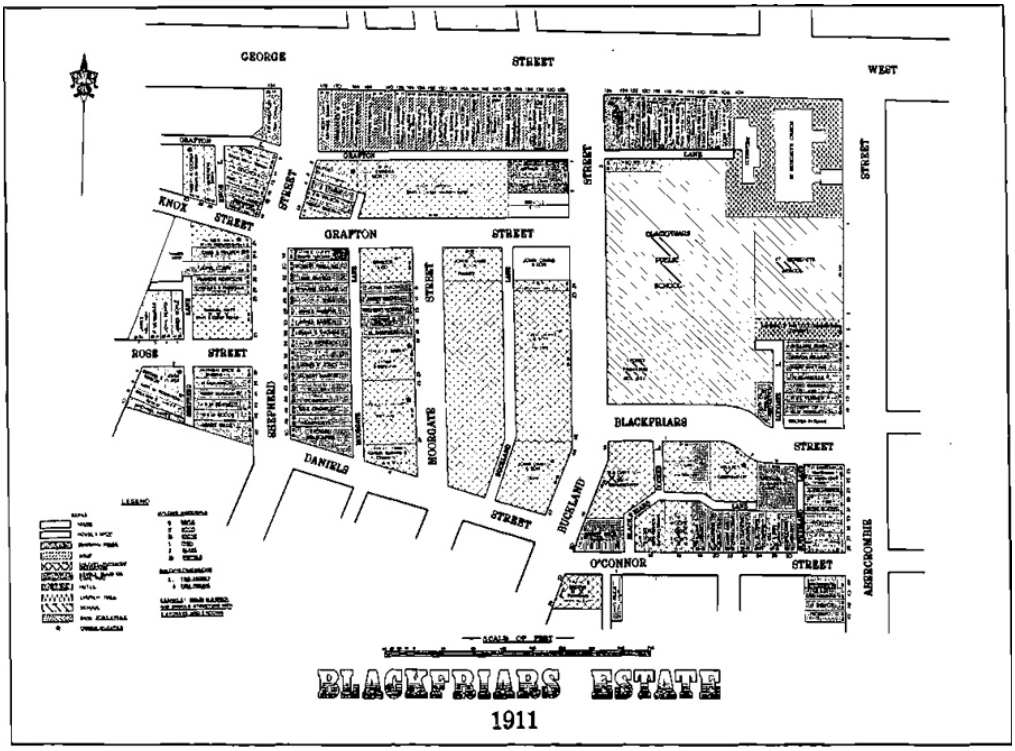

Figure 17: This 1911 subdivision plan shows the increasing residential development of the area that was once dominated by factories. (Maps & Plans, Land Titles Office NSW.)

2.3 EDUCATION IN NSW

The history of education in New South Wales can be divided into 4 broad periods:

1. 1785-1833

Schooling was established in the colony 2 years after settlement and the early schools were modelled on English educational ideals and institutions, adapted to suit a convict society. The colony's first schools were privately run and offered either a rudimentary education to the children of convicts and soldiers (the "Dame Schools") or were church run schools modelled on the English public school system. The "Dame Schools"[70] received no public funding whilst the church run schools received public funding throughout the first half of the 19th century. The Church of England was accorded a special role both in education and religion and in the fledgling colony Anglican schools received 85% of all public education funding. A "moral" education was paramount; a reflection of the colonist's obsession with removing the convict stain as quickly as possible.[71]

2. 1833 -1883

This period saw the introduction of a more liberal approach to education prompted by changes from both within and without the colony. Religious schools continued to receive Government funding but at the cost of increasing interference in how they were run. Whilst the needs of city children were reasonably well met, the needs of rural children were not. There was also considerable wastage of public funding amongst the four existing (and conflicting) school systems: State, Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian/Methodist. The emerging spirit of democracy spilled over into education and was reflected by a desire to move beyond the "4 R's". Until 1867 the status of teachers remained low and attendance at schools was erratic, schooling was short and the curriculum limited with very little offered by way of a true "Classical" education.[72]

3. 1883 -1900

The last decades of the 19th century saw a marked shift in the goals of education. The attainment of universal literacy became the new creed and sowed the seeds of the "smart country" ideology which still pervades Australian society. Primary education was dominated by the State system which trained its own teachers. The only real competitor for primary education was the network of Catholic schools which relied on religious orders for its supply of teachers. Despite the assertion that State schools were free, secular and compulsory, in reality they met few of these ideals; attendance remained erratic and the system was still grounded in Christian ideology.[73]

4. Post 1905

For the first time an "education ladder" was developed, from primary school to University and the State extended its activities to secondary education, which had long been the domain of religious schools. The State curriculum was greatly expanded to include literature, history and science and private schools followed suit. The technological (and social) growth of the 1950s resulted in advanced education becoming directly linked to economic development. As a response to this, the number of secondary schools increased dramatically as did the

[70] The "Dame Schools" were so named because they were run by women, often ex-convicts; they served the colony's poor.

[71] Barcan, A., *A Short History of Education in Australia*, p. 6.

[72] bid., p. 6.

[73] Ibid., p. 6.

number of students; university enrolments expanded accordingly. The curriculum continued to broaden and students stayed longer at school; a trend which continues today.[74]

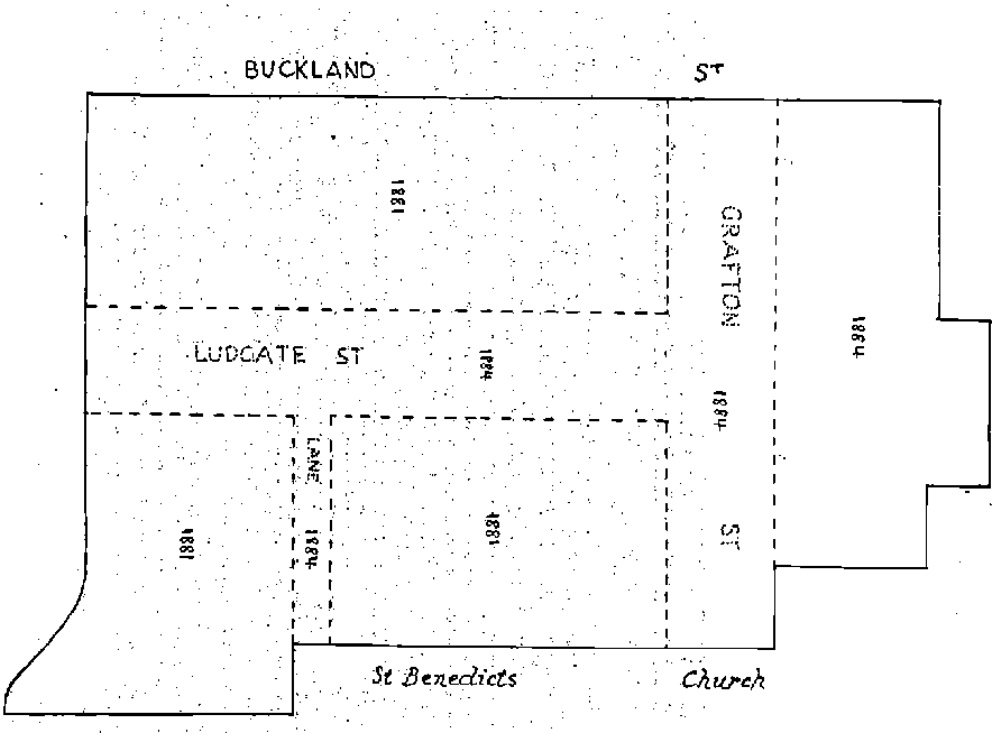

Figure 18: purchased in 1881. (Reprinted from Perumal Partners Pty td, Blackfriars Conservation Plan p. vii).

The Secularisation of State Education

The Blackfriars School was established just as the links between state and religion were being severed and it experienced its greatest growth through the first decades of the 20th century, when the State system developed into the one which we have today. By the end of the 19th century some formal links between state and religion still existed although public funding to private schools had ceased. The state no longer paid clerical salaries, subsidised church building programmes or supported church schools. The severance of state and religion was accepted (with some protest) by the Anglican church and relatively equably by the Protestant/Methodist churches. However, it was not accepted by the Catholic church and despite changing social ideals, the Catholic church clung grimly to the 1864 Syllabus of Errors which condemned the notion of a secular state.[75]

In the education field the Catholic Church refused to accept the severance of links between state and church. In a report to the Victorian Select Committee on Education in 1852, Dr Geoghan stated that:

> *The prime duty of the State is to provide for the good order and prosperity of the people. There is no real prosperity without good order, no good order without religious and moral principles, and these are the results of early education. For that education the State must look up to powers above itself - the authority of religion.*[76]

[74] Ibid., p. 6.

[75] Ely, J., *Reality and Rhetoric*, p. 16.

[76] Quoted in Ibid., p. 16.

The debate over the role of church in education resulted in a series of disagreements (and eventually separations) within the various church organisations. Protestants and evangelical Anglicans generally accepted the presence of a secular state but Roman Catholics and High Anglicans deplored it. They continued to argue that religious and secular knowledge were integrally linked and should therefore be taught together.[77] Their claim for continued state aid was undermined by internal disagreements and hampered by the absence of a clear majority church. In England the Anglican Church was the established order; in Scotland it was the Presbyterian Church and in Ireland the Roman Catholic church was clearly the major religious order. In New South Wales these three church were thrown together with a number of lesser orders (such as Baptists) with no one emerging as the majority church. The three major orders were further divided in New South Wales by cultural, ethnic, social and economic differences.[78] This was particularly well demonstrated in Chippendale where the majority of the population was not only poor but also Catholic.

The extreme reaction of the Catholic Church to the building of Blackfriars was a reflection of church ideology at the time. They produced endless pamphlets and books expounding the evils of a secular education and never seemed to miss an opportunity to denounce the growing public education system. Archbishop Moran believed that Sir Henry Parkes suffered from “Roman Fever”, a deep-seated fear and hatred of the Roman Catholic Church; he held “Roman Fever” directly responsible for the 1866 and 1880 Education Acts which ultimately resulted in the public school system.[79] Moran decried the cessation of state aid to Catholic schools as a deliberate act of bigotry with no educational merit. The Catholic Church in New South Wales developed a particular hatred of Sir Henry Parkes who was described as the “number one enemy of Catholic Schools.”[80] With this type of fanatical thinking publicly promoted by their leader, it was hardly surprising that the Catholic population of Chippendale reacted so badly to the building of Blackfriars. Given the obstinate refusal of the Catholic church to accept secular education it seems remarkable that the Department of Education persisted at all with the building of Blackfriars.

2.4 GEORGE ALLEN MANSFIELD

Considering the importance of G.A. Mansfield to the Victorian architecture of Sydney, surprisingly little has been written about him or his work. The magnitude of his contribution to both the physical architecture of the city and the development of architecture as a profession in the colony is undisputed, yet he rarely rates more than a passing mention in any of the tomes on Australian architectural history. Morton Herman acknowledges his expertise, describing him as “... one of the ablest architects practising the Classicist style in New South Wales ...”[81] but damns his essays into the Gothic style as “... rather dull.”[82] Freeland, in his discourse on the development of the Institute of Architects, barely mentions him at all; rather curious when one considers that Mansfield was the founder and first president of the Institute.[83] What we do know of Mansfield is gleaned from a few biographical sources and what remains of his body of work.

77 Ibid., p. 16.
78 Ibid., p. 17.
79 Kelleher, J., *Roman Fever*, p. 2.
80 Ibid., p. 2.
81 Herman, M., *The Architects of Victorian Sydney*, p. 141.
82 Ibid., p. 141.
83 Freeland, J.M., *The Making of a Profession*, p. 55.

George Allen Mansfield was born in Sydney on the 15th June 1834. The son of a Wesleyan minister, he was educated at a private school which he left at the age of 16. In 1850 he joined the practice of John Hilly, who along with Edmund Blacket, was the colony's leading architect of the day. He served out an apprenticeship under Hilly after which he was taken on as a partner in 1855. The partnership of Hilly & Mansfield was dissolved in 1859 and Mansfield entered into business on his own. A number of clients from the old practice followed him to the new one and he had no difficulty establishing a solid client base.[84]

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s he entered a number of architectural competitions, including one for the design of a new parliament house for which he won third prize (although he did not win any commissions). He was offered the post of Colonial Architect but turned it down in favour of the relative freedom offered by private practice. His clients were principally government departments and large commercial firms and amongst his best known buildings are the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital (Camperdown), City Bank (Pitt Street), Mercantile Mutual Insurance building (Pitt Street), Commercial Bank of Australia (Pitt Street) and the Australian Mutual Provident Society (Pitt Street).[85]

Figure 19: A portrait of George Allen Mansfield by an unknown artist. Mansfield's stature as a private architect was equalled only by Blacket and Hilly, yet very little is known about him or his work. (Reprinted from Australian Men of Mark, 1962)

Following the Public Schools Act (1867) Mansfield was appointed as architect to the newly formed Council of Education. He assumed responsibility of all existing public school buildings and the design of new ones. Mansfield believed in combining dramatic and imposing exteriors with healthy and comfortable interiors; this was something of a departure from the gloomy, cramped schools of the Colonial period and represented society's new attitude to public education. His first schools designed on these principles were erected at Surry Hills, Pyrmont and Sussex Street in the city; Cleveland Street, which most resembles Blackfriars, followed later. When the Council of Education was abolished in 1879 and replaced by the Department of Education, Mansfield was invited to join the Civil Service as architect; he declined, preferring to return to his private practice.[86]

84 *Australian Men of Mark*, op. cit., p. 136.

85 Ibid., p. 137.

86 Ibid., p. 138.

By 1871 Sydney had entered the beginning of the Victorian period building boom and the city was full of architects; an association to provide support and instruction was called for. From this humble beginning came the Institute of Architects of NSW and Mansfield was elected as its first president."[87] In his inaugural address to his peers Mansfield stated his aims for the Institute, based on his philosophies:

... the encouragement of a taste for art and an appreciation of the beautiful ... elegance of form, and symmetry of design, no less in the buildings of our city, than in the triumphs of the brush and chisel.[88]

He went on to espouse the need for training facilities and a better system of apprenticeship, modelled no doubt on the English system. Two years later Mansfield was elected a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects - the first Australian-born architect to receive the honour. As his architectural career drew to a close, he entered local politics and for many years was an alderman on Glebe Council, although he declined to enter into State politics.

Mansfield and the Blackfriars School

By the time Mansfield was asked to design the Blackfriars School, his long and glorious career was drawing to a close. His younger brother had joined the practice, forming Mansfield Bros., and was taking on most of the new commissions. It is very likely that he was involved to some degree in the design and construction of Blackfriars although Mansfield continued to practise until 3 years before his death in 1908.[89] A number of people have questioned the “appropriateness” of Mansfield as architect for the school, but in light of his earlier involvement with the Council of Education, his appointment to the Blackfriars project does not seem so strange; the Department of Education was simply turning to someone with extensive experience in the area of school design.

Mansfield’s work up to this point had always leaned stylistically towards the more elaborate. Although he began his career as a Classicist he became enamored with the Romantic movement and his application of Gothic inspired elements became bolder as time passed. Along with John Young he was one of few Victorian architects to use the Gothic style in secular settings. His penchant for ecclesiastical motifs can probably be traced back to his early life as a minister’s son. He was raised in a religious household and attended an Anglican day school, both of which must have left their mark on him. It seems unlikely that an architect of such standing in the community and with such a public profile would indulge in a “deliberate act of sectarian bigotry”; it seems more likely that he chose a style of architecture which appealed to him and with which he was comfortable.

The Quatrefoil Motif

The quatrefoil motif, which is the predominant decorative theme throughout the school complex, is a common symbol of Christian religions. It is particularly associated with Catholicism, and the number 4 is an emblematic number in the Old Testament. Its symbolism has many layers: the four rivers of paradise form the cross; the four quarters of the Earth are a universal symbol of unity; it represents the four quarters of the moon and, in ancient Christianity, represents the four watches of the night and day. In Catholicism, it is most often associated with the Divine Quaternity - Father, Son, Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mother - as opposed to the Holy Trinity of the Anglican church.[90] Perhaps Mansfield thought that the predominantly Catholic children of Chippendale would be more comfortable in a Catholic-inspired environment or perhaps he just liked the aesthetics of the quatrefoil; the spire of St Benedict’s is richly endowed with quatrefoil vents and the spire is surmounted by

87 Ibid., p. 138.

88 *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 22nd August 1871

89 Freeland, J.M., op. cit., p. 55.

90 Cooper, J.C., *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*, p. 115.

a quatrefoil pinnacle-vane. It is highly likely that Mansfield was simply inspired by his immediate environment. The true intent behind Mansfield's design will probably never be known and whilst it is tempting to assume (as Archbishop Moran did) that Mansfield and the Department were making fun of the Catholic Church, there is no evidence to suggest that Mansfield was opposed to Catholicism.

2.5 THE BLACKFRIARS SCHOOL, FROM 1883 -1938

Although it was designed as a public primary school, Blackfriars has served a number of different educational needs since its construction. It has played host to a number of educational initiatives in Australia, most of which occurred in the first decades of the 20th century. Designed to cater for 1,500 students the Blackfriars Public School reached a peak of 1,300 students in the 1890s with numbers declining thereafter. This early decline in numbers can generally be attributed to the ongoing industrialisation of Chippendale and a general drift of people to the outer suburbs. Low enrolment numbers resulted in alternative activities for the empty classrooms including the establishment of an evening school for factory and warehouse employees in Chippendale in 1886. The evening school operated until 1906 and was one of the first of its kind in the colony.[91]

2.6 THE SYDNEY TEACHERS COLLEGE

In 1906, the Sydney Teachers College was established within the Blackfriars Public School, following the amalgamation of the Fort Street and Hurlstone Teacher Training Colleges. The Teachers College had intended their stay at Blackfriars to be a temporary one only, whilst they awaited the construction of suitable buildings at nearby Sydney University. However, the provision of this facility was slow in becoming a reality and the Teachers College remained part of the Blackfriars site until 1920.[92] Whilst the importance of providing trained teachers for New South Wales cannot be denied, the College itself was responsible for a number of educational reforms which were tested at the Blackfriars Public School. The symbiotic relationship between the College and the use of Blackfriars as their Demonstration School is perhaps one of the most significant features of the School's history. Blackfriars continued in this role after the Teachers College moved to Sydney University in 1924.

In 1906, at the instigation of the Teachers College, the first fully equipped kindergarten in New South Wales was established at Blackfriars.[93] This innovation was followed in 1912 by the adoption of the Montessori Method; Blackfriars became the centre for Montessori influence in New South Wales largely due to the influence of the school's Headmistress, Miss Martha Simpson. Miss Simpson was asked (by the Minister for Education) to report on the Montessori Method; her report made such an impact that she was sent to Rome for six months to work personally with Montessori. Throughout her absence, the Blackfriars School continued to experiment with the Montessori method and, upon her return, the principles of the method were introduced more generally throughout the school.[94] The adoption of Maria Montessori's teaching methods was a milestone in the development of public education.[95] It represented the first major shift from the strict Victorian principles of rote learning and discipline which had predominated, to a more child-focused approach where students were

91 NSW Department of Education, 1980, *Sydney and the Bush*.

92 Fletcher, J., op. cit., np.

93 Ibid., np.

94 Perumal Partners Pty Ltd, op. cit., p. x.

95 Fletcher, J., op. cit., np.

encouraged to explore their universe and to work cooperatively both with their teacher and each other.

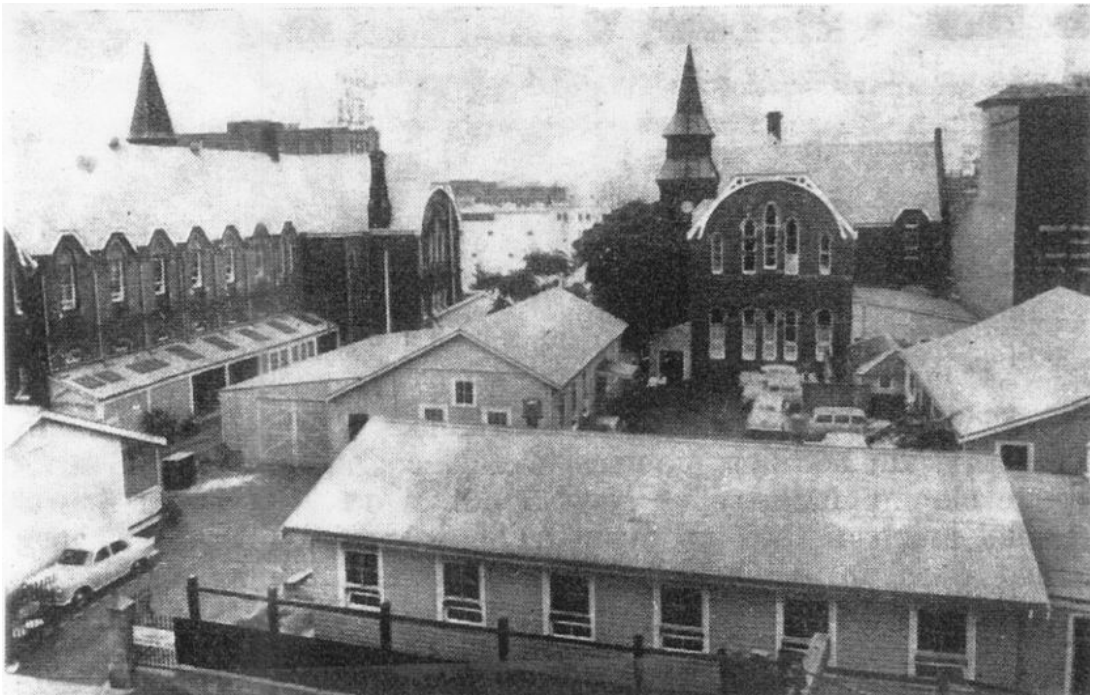

Figure 20: Blackfriars in 1920 when it was still in use as the Sydney Teachers College. Note the 'cluttering' of the site with numerous weatherboard buildings and the enclosure of the verandah, to house the girls' toilets, to the original building on the western side. (Reprinted from A. Barcan, A Short History of Education in New South Wales, Martindale Press, 1965 p.233.)

The Blackfriars School became a leader in the field of educational facilities for young children: a kindergarten playground was established in Victoria Park in 1913 (also by Miss Simpson); an after school play centre (possibly the first of its kind anywhere in Australia) was developed in 1918 (by Miss Simpson's successor, Miss Stevens); special education classes for children with disabilities were established in 1921, and the Children's Health Lunch Cafeteria was established in the old Teachers' Residence in 1929 (both by Miss Stevens).[96] The Cafeteria was run with the assistance of the Children's Welfare League and was a key component in the move towards a "holistic" approach to childcare and education.

In 1924 the Sydney Teachers College finally moved into its own buildings at Sydney University. Despite its many innovations, enrolments at the school numbered less than 600 and were still falling. In order to prevent the closure of the school, the Department embarked on a bold new venture - the establishment of a Correspondence School - to use the surplus rooms.

[96] Perumal Partners Pty Ltd, op. cit., p. xi.

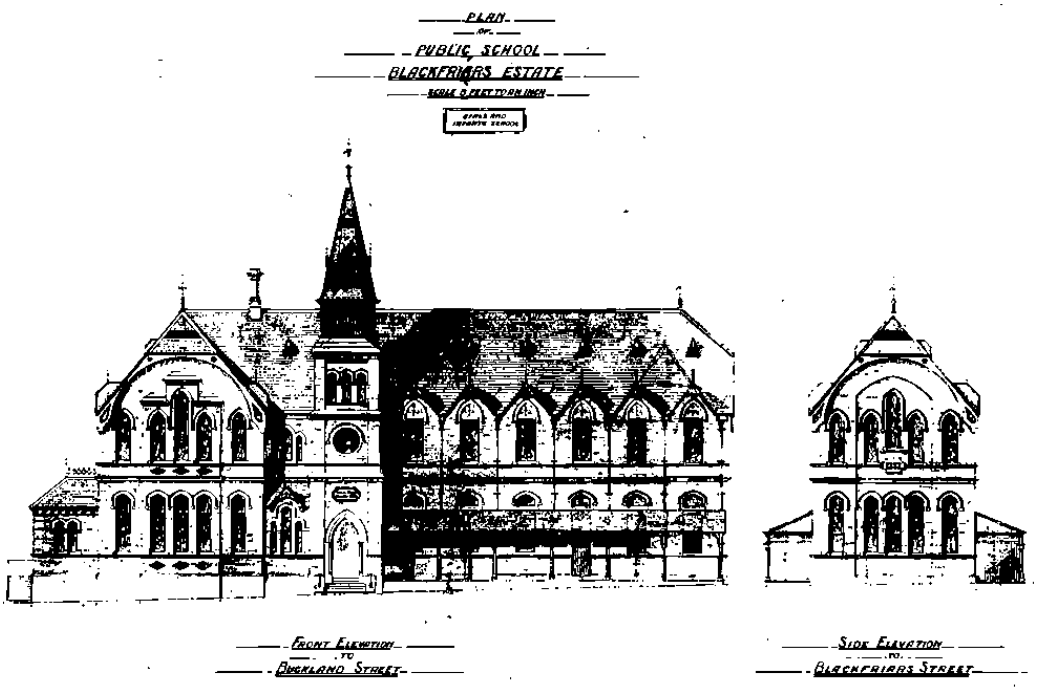

Figure 21: Mansfield's original elevations for the Girls and Infants school. Note filled-in verandah at side elevation. (Original held at City of Sydney Archives.)

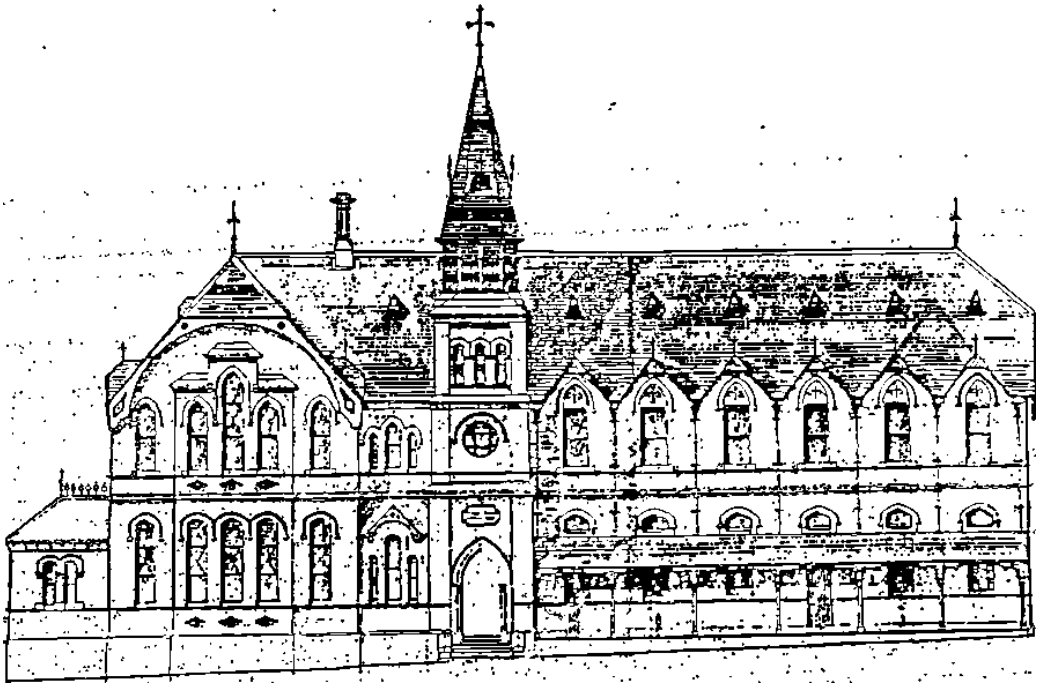

Figure 22: The Buckland Street elevation of the former Girls School and Infants building. Although Mansfield's design for Blackfriars drew on his earlier school designs (particularly the Cleveland Street School), the detailing on Blackfriars was far more elaborate and drew on a more complex form than his earlier school designs. (Originals held at City of Sydney Archives.)

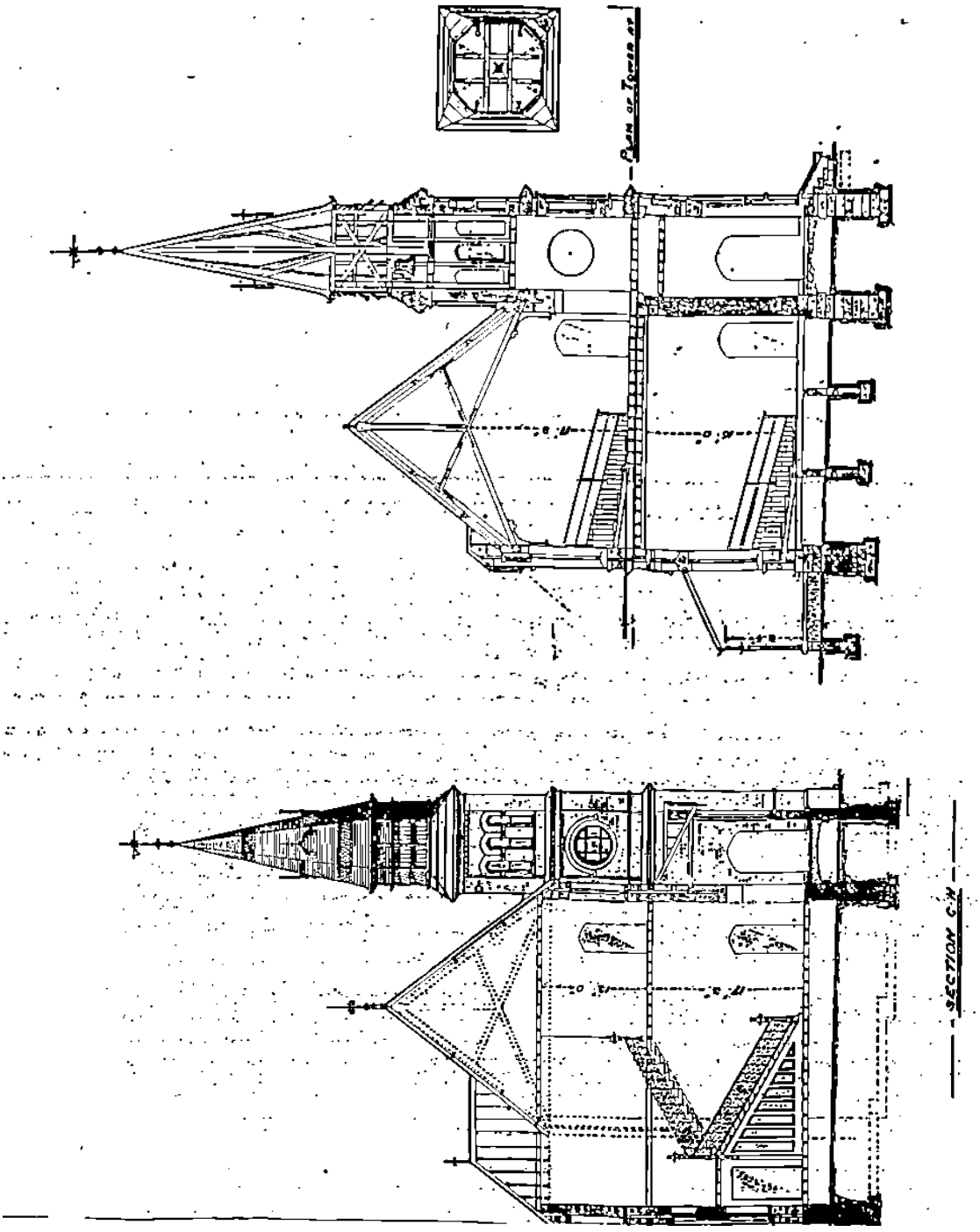

Figure 23: Sections of the former Girls and Infants Schools. The dominant internal features are the staircase and the open vaulted roof with scissor trusses and tiered lecture-style seating in classrooms. (Originals held at City of Sydney Archives.)

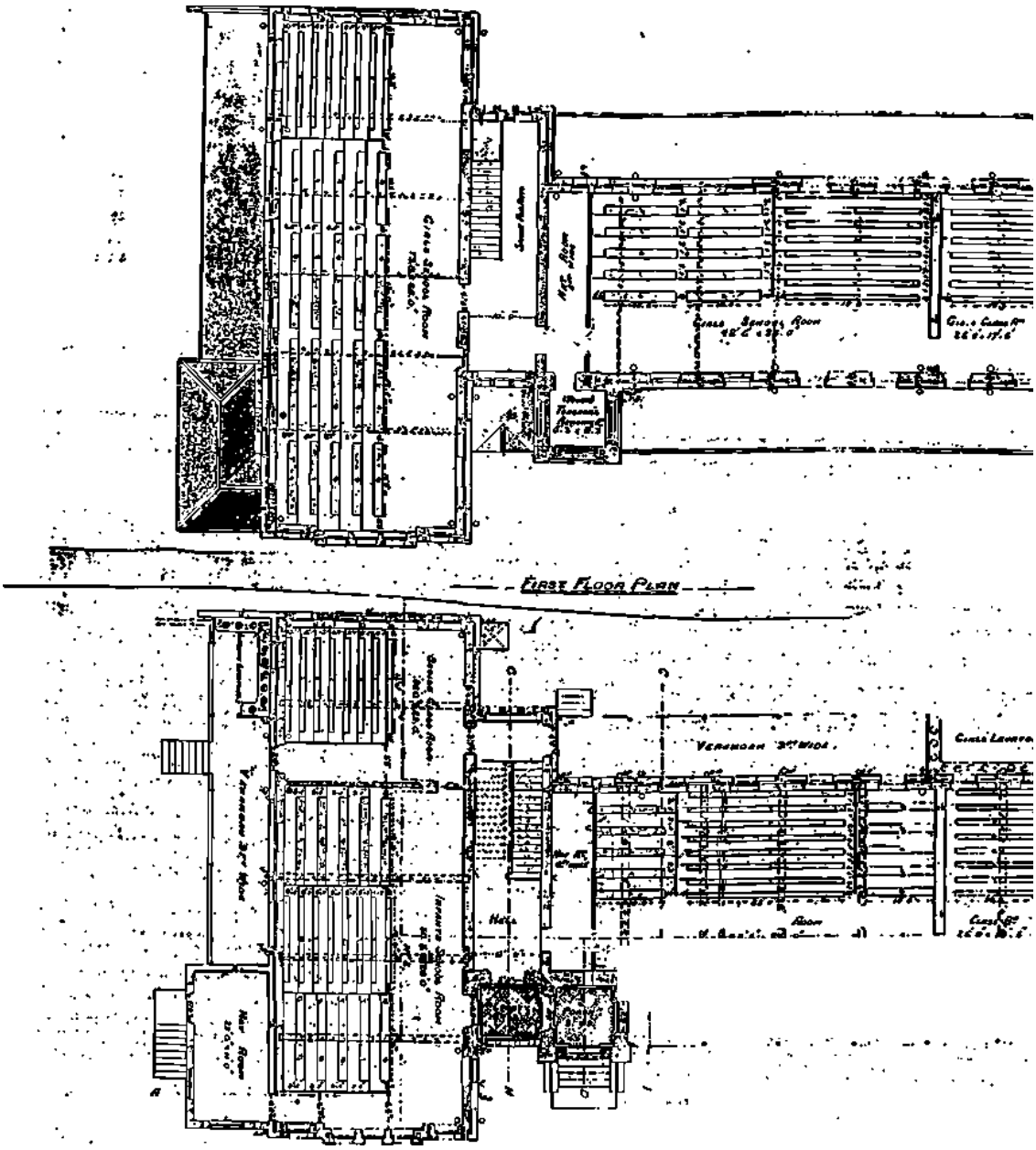

Figure 24: Both plan levels were intentionally laid out in a similar fashion and followed typical Victorian school layouts of the time. Students in Victorian schools were usually seated in long rows facing the blackboard and separated into sections by class. However, Mansfield used an innovative tiered seating arrangement. Male and female students were housed in separate buildings in order to preserve their morals. (Originals held at City of Sydney Archives.)

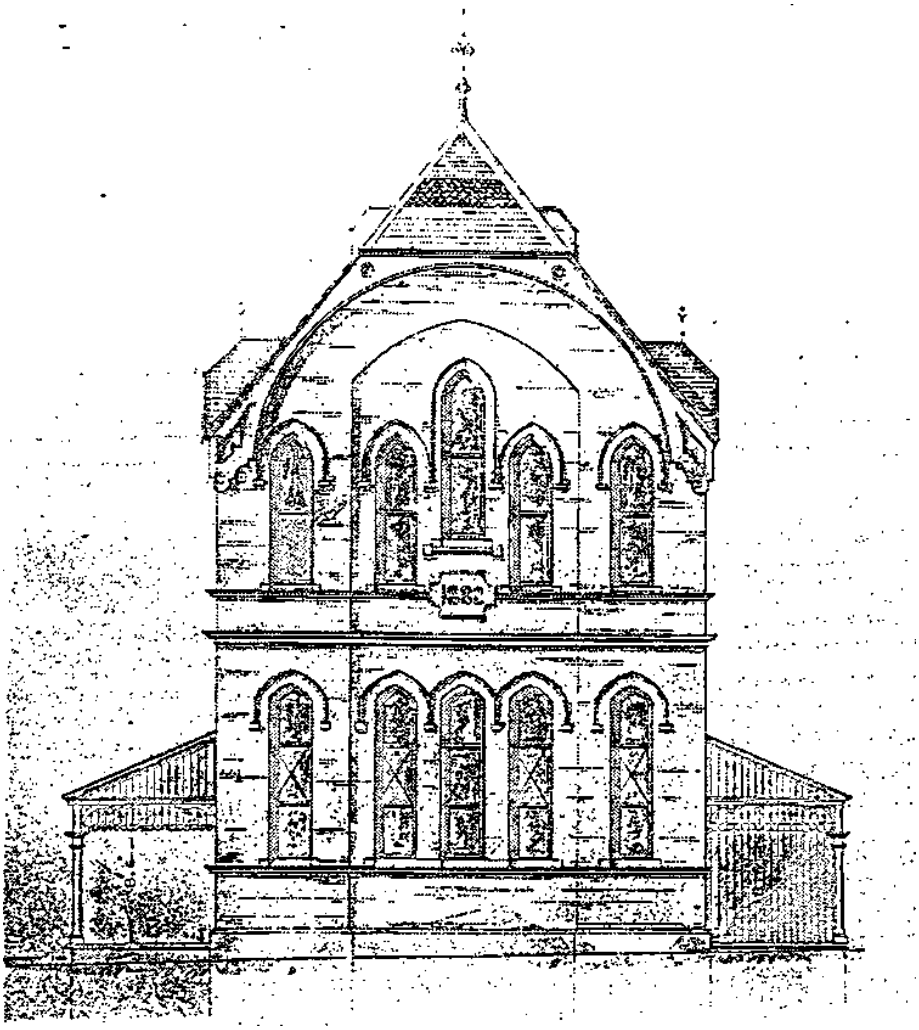

Figure 25: The southern elevation of the former Girls School and Infants building. Note right hand side closed-in verandah. (Originals held at City of Sydney Archives.)

2.7 SCHOOL IN THE "MAILBOX" - THE BLACKFRIARS CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

The Department of Education Correspondence School took over the rooms vacated by the Teachers College and established the first educational facility for children in remote areas. Correspondence teaching had been established in New South Wales in 1916 with the provision of 1 teacher serving the needs of 20 students in remote areas. By 1924 the need for correspondence education had reached the point where the Department was prepared to invest in it as a full time venture and the Blackfriars site became available during the School's first growth period. It proved to be a wise investment and Blackfriars remained the centre for correspondence education for the next 40 years. In fact, by 1967 the

Correspondence School boasted 6,602 students in remote areas with almost 300 specially trained teachers; it was one of the largest correspondence schools in the world.[97]

Figure 26: The staff of Blackfriars 1919-1922. Photograph taken by the Education Department and reprinted from S. Fitzgerald, Beneath the Factory Wall, Hale & Iremonger, 1990.

Figure 27: One of the pupils at Blackfriars in 1913. The photograph was taken by the Department of Education and entitled 'Dance Steps'. (Reprinted from S. Fitzgerald, Beneath the Factory Wall, Hale & Iremonger, 1990.)

The school was initially established to meet the education needs of children living in remote areas of Australia but eventually encompassed a much broader spectrum including: any child who lived more than 3 miles from the nearest Government school; any child with a disability which prevented them from attending a regular school; children who were travelling or living in any external Australian territory; those living temporarily overseas and children in hospital or other institutions. The school also provided courses for incarcerated prisoners, support for teachers and students in subsidised schools, courses for children studying special subjects, supplementary courses for children in small schools and courses for TAFE students.[98]

The school used a similar curriculum to regular Government schools, divided into 40 weekly sessions spread over 5 days; printed leaflets accompanied each session.[99] Blackfriars Correspondence School was staffed by approximately 300 specially trained teachers, each responsible for a group of families and maintaining close personal contact with students and parents by post. An annual open day was held at the School, which correspondent students and their families were encouraged to attend in order to meet their teachers and form a closer personal bond with them. The teachers were appointed by the Department of Education and given special in-service training at Blackfriars. As the School grew, a "School

97 Dept. of Education, *School In The Mailbox; The Correspondence School of the NSW Department of Education*, np.

98 Ibid., np.

99 Ibid., pp. 3 - 5.

of the Air" was established, utilising the radio relay station at Broken Hill. Children in particularly isolated areas with intermittent postal services, conducted their lessons by 2-way radio broadcast from the Broken Hill Station and relayed back to the Blackfriars School.[100]

Figure 28: 'The School in the Mailbox' - a correspondence teacher at Blackfriars reads her mail and unwraps craft projects sent in by remote students. (Reprinted from The School in the Mailbox, Department of Education Pamphlet, Mitchell Library.)

The Blackfriars Correspondence School was perhaps the greatest success of the School's long history. Operating for nearly 40 years from the Chippendale site, it developed into the leading correspondence school in the world. Teachers trained at Blackfriars went on to establish correspondence school in other parts of the world and each new innovation, such as the "School of the Air", was repeated in other countries. For much of its life, the "School in the Mailbox" was the benchmark for distance education; eventually the School outgrew the Blackfriars buildings and moved to a new site. The Correspondence School continues today, serving the same needs and extends to children and adults around the globe.

2.8 THE BLACKFRIARS SCHOOL FROM 1930S - PRESENT

In 1932 (whilst the Correspondence School was still in residence) the Department of Education underwent an internal restructuring and a number of public schools were consolidated as part of this program. The Blackfriars Public School was amalgamated with the Forest Lodge School, becoming its Infants School annex. The first government pre-school for 3-5 year olds was established in 1938 and although it was intended as an annex to Forest Lodge School, it was generally perceived as a separate entity; this was the last initiative of the school.[101] Miss Stevens retired in 1948 and Blackfriars separated from Forest Lodge in 1950. It has been suggested the amalgamation of the schools was an attempt by the Department to retain Miss Stevens, who was highly regarded in the community. Blackfriars on its own was not a large enough school to warrant a teacher of such calibre but community pressure forced the Department to devise a solution which retained her leadership of Blackfriars.[102]

The schools were separated in 1950 and the Blackfriars site became the Blackfriars Infants School. In the 1960s the Correspondence School vacated the site and other uses had to be

[100] Ibid., pp. 6 - 8.

[101] Perumal Partners Pty Ltd., op. cit., p. xiii.

[102] Ibid., p. xiii.

found for the surplus buildings including an Arts Education Studio and Adult Migrant Education Services; the latter is yet another important milestone in the history of Blackfriars.[103]

Since its peak in the 1890s, enrollment numbers at the school had steadily declined and almost a century later, the Department of Education decided that the school was no longer needed; Blackfriars Infants School ceased operations at the end of that year. The site was purchased by the University of Technology (Sydney) in 1990, which began a conservation and re-use programme on the buildings in 1993. As part of this programme, a number of small timber buildings and various (unspecified) accretions to the main brick buildings were removed, including a two-storey amenities building to the western side of the Girls School. A new child care centre was built at the Buckland Street frontage; this work took place in an area of high archaeological potential and although some limited archaeological work took place as part of this (in 1994), the nature of the footings used for the new buildings did not require the digging of extensive trenches. As a result, the findings of the archaeological assessment were inconclusive although they indicated the existence of artefacts associated with the operation of the distillery. It is likely that more extensive archaeological investigation will reveal further cultural deposits associated with the former uses of the site, and that some remnants of the distillery/refinery walls still exist, even though they were not discovered during the 1994 Casey and Lowe Archaeological Monitoring.

A substantial amount of conservation work took place to all the buildings on site and a number of the larger internal spaces have been partitioned for office use. New partitioning of spaces is removable and does not impact heavily on significant fabric. Various site works have also taken place, including the removal of large areas of bitumen, laying of grass, construction of new stone fencing and the re-planning of car-parking areas. The former Teachers' Residence (CB27) has suffered the greatest loss of integrity with the removal of much of the exterior decorative detailing and interior joinery.

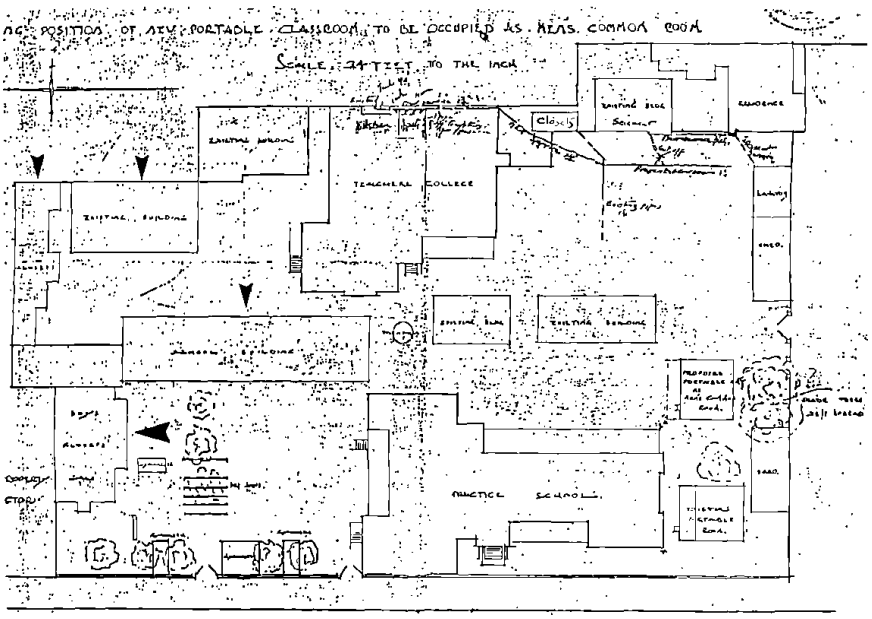

Figure 29: 'A 1918 site plan showing a number of buildings which have since been demolished and a toilet block which was replaced. (Reprinted from Perumal Partners Pty. Ltd., Blackfriars Conservation Plan, Figure 7.)

[103] Fletcher, J., op. cit., np.

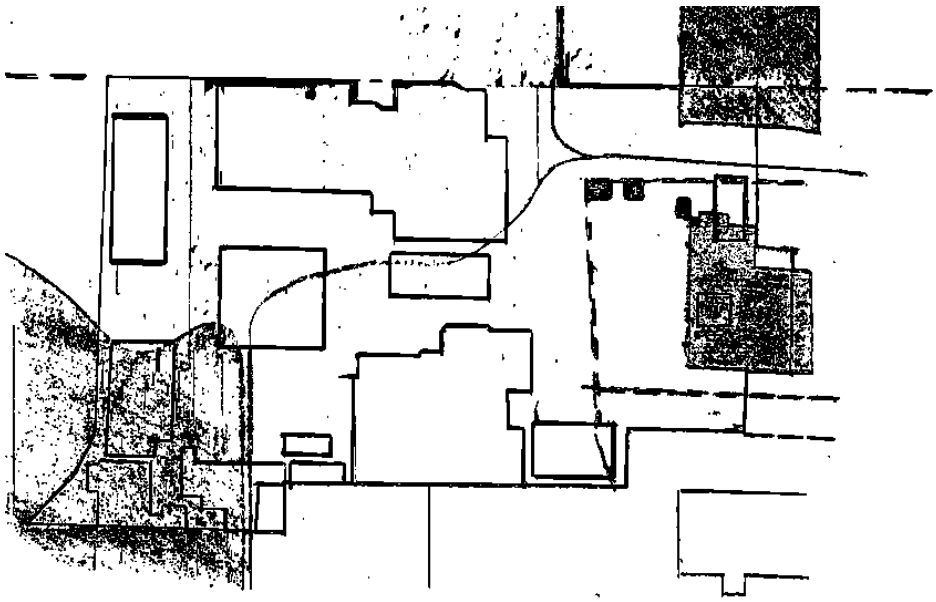

Figure 30: A pre-1993 site plan overlayed on an 1860s trigonometrical survey. The areas shaded at the south of this diagram are the extent of Cooper's Dam and the Blackwattle Swamp Creek which fall within the present Blackfriars boundary. The areas shaded at the north, left hand side of this diagram are buildings relating to the distillery and sugar refinery which were located within the present curtilage. The remainder of the distillery and refinery buildings were located where the service station and St. Benedict's now stand. (Based on a plan from Casey & Lowe, Blackfriars Site Baseline Archaeological Assessment, Figure 20.)