The History of Victoria Park, Zetland




John W. Ross

Cover photographs (clockwise from top):

Victoria Park Racecourse 1940s (City of Sydney Archives)
Sir James Joynton Smith (www.sydneyaldermen.com)
BMC Mini Cooper S (www.brakehorsepower.com)
Lord Nuffield (William Morris) (www.nuffieldinternational.org)

Contents

Foreword

Water flowing through the Botany Basin Sand Beds system between Sydney Harbour and Botany Bay created a number of natural lakes from Centennial Park to Eastlakes, including a large body of water called the Waterloo Swamp in the area of present day Zetland. Early British settlers reported a great abundance of plant and animal life there, which had sustained the indigenous population for thousands of years. But the natural environment was gradually altered by the new arrivals, who established water mills on the edges of the swamp in the 1820s to grind wheat to flour. In time, the flour mills became wool washing establishments when the wool industry expanded in the 1840s. Wool washing and other related industries flourished at the Waterloo area until the 1882 Royal Commission into Noxious Trades forced them to move further out to less-populated suburbs.

Pony racing (for undersized horses) began in Sydney in the 1860s following a shortage of thoroughbred racing horses, and eventually established itself as a permanent, if somewhat disreputable, part of racing. Unlike established racecourses such as Randwick, the pony courses were small, privately-owned, unregistered, but very popular. James Joynton Smith, publican, politician and entrepreneur, operated two pony courses, at Brighton and Glebe, before planning a larger course to comply with NSW Government legislation in 1906. Ignoring widespread scepticism, he purchased the Waterloo Swamp, drained it, and then constructed one of the finest racecourses in Sydney, naming it Victoria Park. It opened to great acclaim in 1908, and operated it with great success until World War II and the NSW Government finally ended pony racing in 1942.

Victoria Park's success was partly due to Joynton Smith's encouragement of a wide range of public entertainments there, such as aeroplane flights (in a time before aerodromes), automobile races, company picnics, gymkhanas, and a range of charitable fundraising events. When World War II broke out, the course was occupied by the Army for two years, and in 1945 was sold to the British industrialist Lord Nuffield to expand his automobile manufacturing empire to Australia. The company became British Motor Corporation in the 1960s and manufactured the popular Mini for many years. But the 1970s saw a decline in the company's fortunes, especially when a large family car called the P76 was developed to compete with the existing Holden, Ford and Chrysler models. The company, then known as Leyland Australia, found that sales were badly affected by industrial problems, fuel price increases and tariff reductions, and the factory closed in 1975.

The Australian Navy took over the Leyland site in 1975 and built a large stores depot to amalgamate the many small facilities that had grown up around Sydney from World War II. The Navy eventually moved out in 1995, and the NSW Government's Landcom land development agency purchased Victoria Park. The site was equipped with streets and basic infrastructure for residential use and then sold to developers. Today it is the site of several apartment blocks and the East Village shopping centre.

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Waterloo Swamp industries

Acknowledgement of country

The author acknowledges the Gadigal people of the Eora nation upon whose ancestral lands Victoria Park is now located. He would also like to pay respect to the Elders both past, present and emerging, acknowledging them as the traditional custodians of knowledge for these lands.

Pre-European activity

The early British settlers reported a great abundance of native plant and animal life in the Botany Basin, between Sydney Harbour and Botany Bay. The large body of water covering present-day Victoria Park became known as the Waterloo Swamp. The name commemorates the famous British and Prussian victory over Napoleon's French army in 1815, and has been used in every Australian State to name either a suburb, a locality or a town. This wetland, and others that still exist in Centennial Park and the Eastlakes Golf Course, are the result of water flows through the Botany Basin Sand Beds system. Benson and Howell reported that the Sydney region was originally "an uninterrupted mosaic of forests, woodlands, heaths, scrub, sedgelands and swamps"[1].

Birds were particularly attracted to the large supply of fresh water available in the extensive sand dune wetlands, some of which are now lost to the area. The emu, brolga, magpie goose and black swan disappeared from the area in the nineteenth century, a time when most European men carried a gun and felt free to blaze away at any feathered creature that came within range.

This abundance of wildlife must have been of great importance to the health and well-being of the indigenous people when Europeans arrived. But the natural environment was gradually altered by the new settlers: the systematic draining and polluting of the Waterloo Swamp and local streams robbed the area of many of its natural features. Industrial exploitation, the diversion of water to supply the growing population, the introduction of farm animals and the clearing of vegetation eventually deprived the local indigenous population of their livelihood. They were eventually forced to move away from the area[2].

Land grants

Governor Phillip, in his instructions of April 1787, was empowered to grant land to former convicts (emancipists). However, Phillip insisted that land must be put to use, so he only granted some 4,000 acres in nearly five years. It was not until 1792 that larger grants were made, although these were frequently subject to exploitation and land speculation. Free settlers and former convicts who were "of good conduct and disposition to industry" were entitled to a land grant[3]. Each man was entitled to 30 acres, an additional 20 acres if married, and 10 more acres for each child with him in the settlement at the time of the grant[4].

From August 1789, non-commissioned Marine Officers were entitled to 100 acres more (and Privates up to 50 acres more) than the quantity allowed for former convicts. Commissioned officers were originally excluded from land grants, and it was not until 1792 that Acting Governor Francis Grose made land grants to officers. The grants made during the Rum Rebellion period 1808-1809 were cancelled by Governor Macquarie when he arrived in 1810, but he later reinstated those made to "very deserving and meritorious persons"[5]. Samuel Terry obtained a grant in 1819 in present-day

Kensington on the understanding that he would build a water mill on the edge of Botany swamp. This land became known as the Lachlan Mills Estate[6].

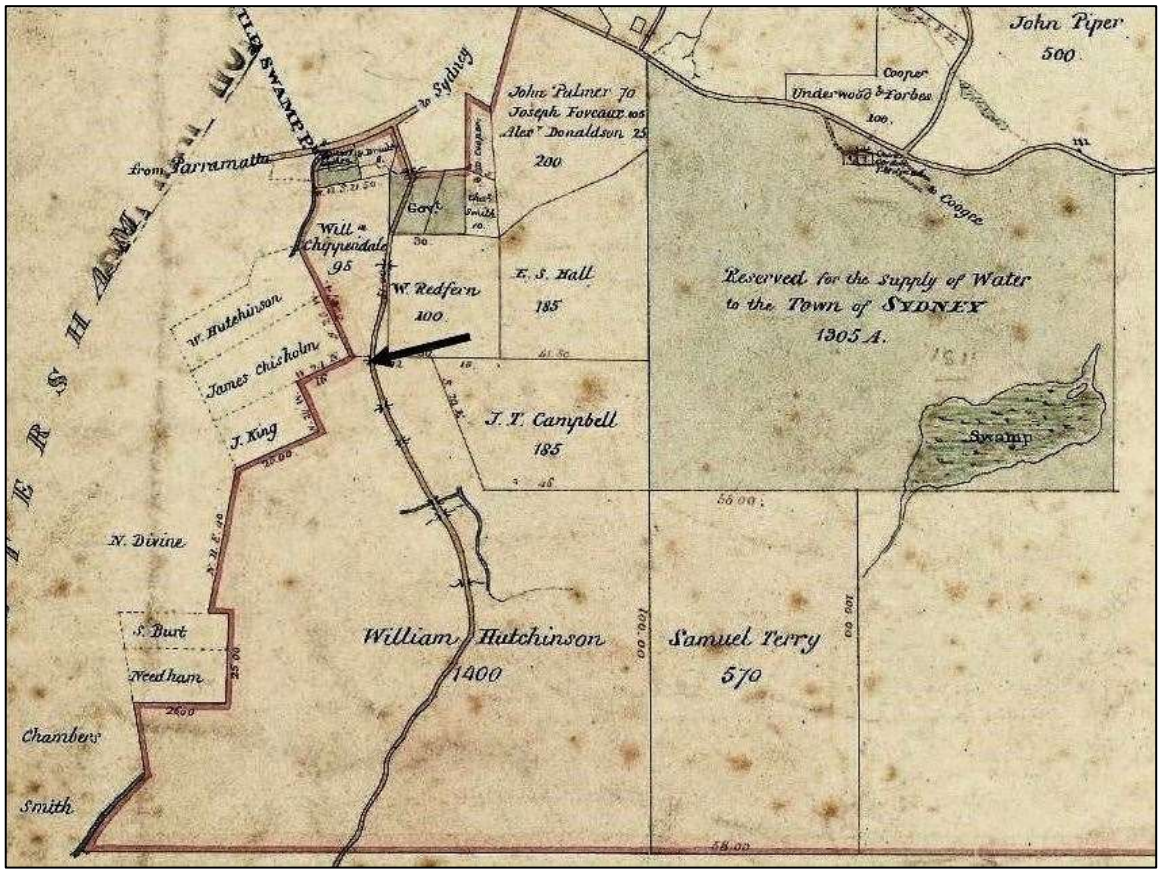

Figure 1 Alexandria Parish map showing grants - NSW Spatial Services

By the 1820s, land grants were becoming larger, and were mainly based on the amount of capital owned by the grantee (or the amount of existing land that had already been developed for farming). William Hutchinson arrived at Port Jackson in 1799 as a convict with a seven-year sentence. But after gaining his freedom, he became a man of considerable wealth and influence in the community, and on the strength of his assets was granted 1,400 acres at Waterloo in 1823. This land was known as the Waterloo Estate, and encompassed most of the present suburbs of Alexandria, Waterloo, Zetland and Rosebery[7]. In 1825, Hutchinson sold his unimproved estate to Daniel Cooper and Solomon Levey for £2,700[8].

The sale of land by private tender was initiated by Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane in 1825[9]. Some land grants were still made, but Brisbane arranged for the colony to be surveyed anew, and the unoccupied lands were valued and eventually sold by tender[10]. From 1831 there were no more free land grants, and revenue from the public sale of unoccupied land was used to finance the immigration of labourers.

The daily bread for the colony

The British brought wheat to Australia in 1788, expecting it to be the basis of their diet, as it was in England. A widely used estimate is that 8 bushels of wheat a year were consumed by each adult (64 imperial gallons by volume, or about 230 litres). This meant that in order to be well fed, the colony needed 7,000 to 8,000 bushels a year, more than they were able to produce for some years. From

these figures and the reported austerity practised for years in the settlement, the early colonists did not eat well at all.

However, before it could be eaten, wheat had to be ground into flour, so flour milling quickly became a necessary industry. As stone-ground flour had little storage capacity, the mills had to be close to the consumers. Governor Phillip brought four millstones and grain from the Cape of Good Hope, but there was no-one with milling experience (lack of skilled tradesmen among the convict population was a constant frustration for the Governor). In October 1788, he sent the *Sirius* to the Cape for more grain, and the ship returned in May 1789 with five months' supply.

The 200 bushels that were harvested in 1790 were kept for seed. By April 1794, David Collins lauded the sowing of 400 acres of wheat. By 1799, 6,000 acres were under wheat, which should have been enough to feed the colony, but the yield was variable. Due to lack of suitable sites for water mills close to the settlement, Phillip soon appealed to British Home Secretary Evan Nepean to send out some windmills and a competent millwright. Meanwhile, the problem was passed on to the convicts, who were issued with wheat and told to grind their own flour any way they could (as were the military).

The components of a large windmill eventually arrived with Governor John Hunter in 1795, and others were constructed on high ground near the settlement. But with limited expertise available, windmills were difficult to build and keep in operation, and by 1810 at least one water mill had been built at Parramatta, and ex-convict Thomas West built one at Barcom Glen on a creek that ran into Rushcutters Bay. It was opened by Governor Macquarie in January 1812, and is thought to be the first water mill in Sydney Town[11].

Flour milling at Waterloo

The large volumes of water trapped by the ponds and swamps in the Waterloo area made the majority of the land unsuitable for anything except industries relying on large quantities of water, at least for European purposes[12]. In August 1820, Samuel Terry and Thomas Winder opened the first water-driven flour mill in the area on the Lachlan Estate at Kensington, which they called the Lachlan Flour Mills[13]. The first water mill at the Waterloo Swamps was also built in 1820, by a consortium that included William Hutchinson, Daniel Cooper, George Williams and William Leverton. Governor Lachlan Macquarie opened the mill in September 1820, accompanied by the Chief Engineer, Major George Druitt, and the Deputy Surveyor-General, James Meehan. Macquarie was so impressed with the works that he named it the Waterloo Mills[14].

By August 1821, the Waterloo Mills was grinding up to 1,600 bushels of wheat a week[15]. The two flour mills on the Lachlan and Waterloo Estates had owners in common for some years (Samuel Terry in particular), and were often referred to as the Lachlan and Waterloo Mills in newspaper references[16]. The only road through the area at the time was the Botany Road, reputedly built by Major George Druitt from Sydney to the Waterloo Mills in 1821[17].

By 1822, the Lachlan and Waterloo Mills Company was large enough to issue its own dollar notes, and it was reported that several well-executed forgeries of the $1 and $2 notes were detected[18]. The company requested the recall of all of its notes to the office of Thomas Winder, and two weeks later issued modified replacement notes[19]. Forgery was a major concern in those days, as monetary notes were simply printed in black ink on plain paper, and were not difficult to reproduce. A conviction for

forgery (known as coining) attracted a mandatory death sentence in the early part of the nineteenth century, as it was seen as a threat to the financial system.

There were several changes to the Waterloo Mills partnership over the next few years, perhaps highlighting the emerging business opportunities for men of capital in the rapidly growing colony. In February 1823, Thomas Winder sold his share of the Lachlan and Waterloo Flour Mills and the business became known as Hutchinson, Terry & Company[20]. William Leverton died in March 1824, and his one-fifth share in the water mills was advertised for sale[21]. The same year, Samuel Terry purchased Daniel Cooper's share of the Lachlan and Waterloo Mills for £8,777[22]. Then in February 1825 William Hutchinson and Samuel Terry sold their share of the company to Daniel Cooper and Solomon Levey, and the company became Cooper & Levey[23]. In February 1827, Cooper and Levey erected another mill near the Waterloo Mills, powered by a steam engine[24].

Francis Girard - soldier, convict, baker, miller

French soldier Francois Girard was born in Normandy in 1793, and probably fought at the Battle of Waterloo as a junior officer alongside his relative, General Jean-Baptiste Girard. After the war he fled to England to work as a French teacher, but in 1820 was convicted in a dubious trial of stealing two watches and arrived in Sydney in 1820 on board the *Agamemnon*.

On arrival, his social status as a gentleman was immediately recognised, and within a month he was advertising his services as a teacher of the French language and French dancing[25], and later he also taught fencing[26]. He married locally-born Mary Hayes in 1824, and in 1825 anglicised his name to Francis. He soon had enough savings to open a bakery in George Street, and in 1826 applied to Governor Darling for land to build a flour mill and candle factory. After becoming a naturalised British citizen to improve his chances, he was granted land near Cockle Bay, where by 1828 he had a substantial windmill. With a good breeze, it could grind 8 to 10 bushels of grain per hour into flour.

To serve his mill, he built a wharf and a road connecting the mill in Sussex Street on the junction with Margaret Street. He named it Napoleon Lane after his hero the emperor, and today it is called Napoleon Street and now begins at Hickson Road. Having become an important miller and baker, he secured a large government contract to make bread for all the soldiers and convicts in Sydney. However, his bread was not always popular: a wheat shortage in 1828 forced him to include corn flour, creating hard loaves like ships' biscuits. The disgruntled convicts rioted outside his mill and smashed the windows with his own loaves, dramatically making their point about the hardness of his bread[27].

In February 1829, he purchased Robert Cooper's steam-powered mill at Black Wattle Swamp, allowing him to grind several times the amount of flour that he could with his windmill, and to avoid the vagaries of the weather[28]. Then in February 1830, he leased Waterloo Mills from Cooper and Levey and advertised "fine and second flour, bran and pollard. Captains and ship owners will find a constant supply of ship, cabin and fancy biscuit, which will be warranted to keep at sea"[29]. Typically for the time, he branched out into other business ventures, including imports and exports and the shipping of cedar. He spent the last years of his life farming along the Clarence River, where he died in 1859 on his property at Walcha in the New England area.

Flour milling gives way to wool processing

The Waterloo Swamp was eventually dammed, forming two bodies of water, called the Upper Dam (on the south-east part of the swamp) north of Epsom Road, and the Big Waterloo Dam (also called the Lower Dam) to the south of Portman Street. There was also the Little Waterloo Dam south of McEvoy Street, also called the Quatre Bras Dam (that is, the Four Arms Dam), as there were two streams that flowed both in and out, including Shea's Creek[30]. Quatre Bras in Belgium was also the site of a preliminary battle in 1815 prior to Waterloo. One part of the Big Waterloo Dam occupied the area that is now the intersection of Joynton Avenue and Epsom Road[31]. The map of the Parish of Alexandria shows that by 1886 there was at least one wool wash operating next to each of the three dams. However, it is often not clear from the historical and newspaper accounts which location is being referred to, as they are usually just called the "Waterloo Mills".

By the late 1820s, many steam-driven flour mills were operating in Sydney. This led to a reduction in the usefulness of water mills for grinding wheat and corn. At the same time, the Australian wool industry was expanding rapidly, leading to a growing interest in tapping into the supply chain of wool from the sheep farm to the docks or local retail outlets. In September 1827, Solomon Levey announced that the Lachlan Mills would be converted to a factory for the processing of coarse wools into blankets and cheap cloth. This was intended for owners of sheep whose fleeces were not fine enough to ship to England. He was expecting a manager with the required machinery to arrive from Britain in a few months' time[32].

But some flour milling continued in the Waterloo Estate until the end of the decade. Thomas Barker leased the Waterloo Mills in 1831 for two years[33]. Solomon Levey had travelled to London in 1826 to establish a buying office for Cooper & Levey. He died there unexpectedly in 1833, after which Daniel Cooper became sole owner of the estate[34].

By 1838, Thomas Sawkins was grinding anything and everything at Waterloo Mills. He advertised to druggists and grocers that he would grind "ginger, pepper, cream tartar, cinnamon, rhubarb and turmeric, at 8/- to 12/- per cwt"[35]. The versatile Sawkins also advertised "wheat smutted, ground, dressed and carted, as well as corn cracked, ground and carted"[36]. Smut is a fungus growing on wheat that has to be mechanically removed before the grain is milled. He was still at Waterloo in August 1841 after repairs were made to the mill[37].

In 1842, Thomas Pattrick (sic) and his son (also Thomas) leased the Waterloo Mills. They worked there until 1845, after which Cooper and Holt advertised the mill for rent[38]. The Pattrick family business moved to Chippendale, where they resumed their milling activities[39]. This was the last reference to flour milling at the Waterloo Mills. After this, the Waterloo area became part of the wool industry.

The early wool industry

Sheep arrived in Australia with the First Fleet in 1788, having been acquired by Arthur Phillip at the Cape of Good Hope. They were the fat-tailed variety, which were mainly suitable for food, not wool production. Others arrived in subsequent ships, but few survived the voyage or the diet of coarse coastal grasses in New South Wales. The Merino was a unique Spanish breed with heavy fleeces of unusually fine wool, the result of some two thousand years of breeding. The Spanish rulers kept a strict monopoly on them, except a few given as Royal gifts or smuggled out through Portugal. A small

flock of merinos in South Africa in the late eighteenth century was descended from a gift from the King of Spain to the Dutch government.

As luck would have it, this rare flock was being offered for sale by the widow of Colonel Robert Jacob Gordon (1743-1795), former commander of the British garrison, when the *Reliance* and the *Supply* from Sydney sailed into the Cape of Good Hope in 1797, intent on buying urgently-needed provisions for the colony. Three sheep were each given to Governor Philip King and Lieutenant-Governor William Paterson. The rest were sold at £4 a head to Captain Henry Waterhouse and Lieutenant William Kent of the two ships – thirteen each[40]. Most of Waterhouse's sheep survived the return trip to Sydney, and he eventually sold them to landholders in the colony, including Captain John Macarthur of the New South Wales Corps. Macarthur obtained four ewes and two rams, thought to be the Escorial type, the finest wool strain owned by Spanish Royalty.

Figure 2 Merino sheep - National Museum of Australia

After arriving in Sydney in 1790, the ambitious Macarthur soon realised that such an isolated settlement with a very small population could only prosper economically if it could produce some export material that took little labour, that would be in great demand, and would be able to bear the expense of a long sea voyage. By 1794, Macarthur had bought sixty Bengal ewes and lambs, and later added two Irish ewes and a young ram. He had found that by crossing the two breeds, the lambs of the Indian ewes produced a mixed fleece of hair and wool. This gave him the idea of producing fine wool, and the acquisition of the Cape merinos in 1797 gave him the golden opportunity he needed to kick-start the industry that would ensure the colony's long-term success.

In 1803, he had been sent to England by Governor Philip Gidley King to stand trial following a duel with his commanding officer Colonel William Paterson, taking samples of his newly-bred wool. He showed the samples to his influential friends and urged the Privy Council and other interested parties to consider the possibility of fine wool production. He told people in high places that he had

4,000 sheep and in twenty years they would be numerous enough to produce as much wool as then being imported at a very high cost from Spain and other countries. His representations were so effective that he was able to return to Sydney in 1805 with authority from Lord Camden, Secretary for the Colonies, to select a large area of the best land for himself and devote himself to fine wool production (much to the dismay of Governor King, who had sent him off to be court-martialed!). He returned with several merino sheep, bought from the flocks of King George III at Kew, and chose an area south west of Sydney now known as Camden Park.

Macarthur shipped the first bale of his wool to England in 1807, but it was generally dirty and scraggy and it was almost a decade before English manufacturers were willing to buy colonial wool. By 1822, Macarthur was producing wool as good as the finest Saxon, at the time the best in Europe. Australia became a direct competitor to Germany for the British wool market, and in time came to dominate the field. From Macarthur's lone bale in 1807, 175,000 pounds were imported in 1821, 1,100,000 pounds in 1830, rising to 13,500,000 pounds by 1844.

A wool boom occurred in the 1830s: high prices were paid for wool, English capital was flowing in to the colony and free immigration strengthened the local economy. But suddenly in the 1840s prices fell and three years of drought produced a severe depression, following by many bankruptcies, including the failure of the Bank of Australia. But recovery followed from 1844-45, and modest prosperity carried the colony to the gold rush of 1851, which heralded a long boom that lasted four decades.

The gold rushes through the 1850s produced unexpected benefits to the wool industry: after so many shepherds and other wool industry workers left for the goldfields, the flocks were virtually left to look after themselves for some years. Pastoralists were amazed that the sheep coped so well with the lack of supervision, and with increased freedom produced more and better quality wool. Many more sheep could be run, expenses were reduced and the output was greater. As they do to this day, woolgrowers continued to fight drought, fire and flood as well as an unpredictable international wool market. Fortunes are still made and lost by pastoralists[41].

Noxious trades out of the city

By the 1840s, the fouler-smelling industries were literally and figuratively getting up the noses of the residents of inner Sydney. The most odouriferous of these were piggeries, tanneries, fellmongeries (preparation of skins and hides for tanning), wool scourers, soap factories, slaughter-houses and boiling-down establishments. The last-mentioned included blood boilers, bone boilers, tripe boilers, as well as the boiling or steaming of animals to extract fat or tallow (for making candles). The stench from a number of these businesses operating in a small area would be easy to imagine and hard to ignore.

In 1849, the Government responded to years of residents' complaints by enacting the *Sydney Slaughter Houses Act,* which gave noxious industries ten years to move out of the city and inner suburbs. Many that were reliant on water set up near the Waterloo Swamp[42]. The Act also regulated the cleanliness of the affected companies, and stated that the redoubtable Inspector of Nuisances would search the businesses involved in meat production and disposal for any produce that was unfit for food[43].

Wool-washing establishments

The first advertisement for wool washing at the Waterloo Mills was placed by Thomas Barker and Co in September 1846. It stated that "Thomas Barker Junior will wash greasy wool, fellmonger skins, sort and pack wool for the London market. He has available a most abundant flow of water which enables him to cleanse the wool thoroughly without the aid of soap, and invites inspection of the operation. Applications to Frederick Ebsworth"[44].

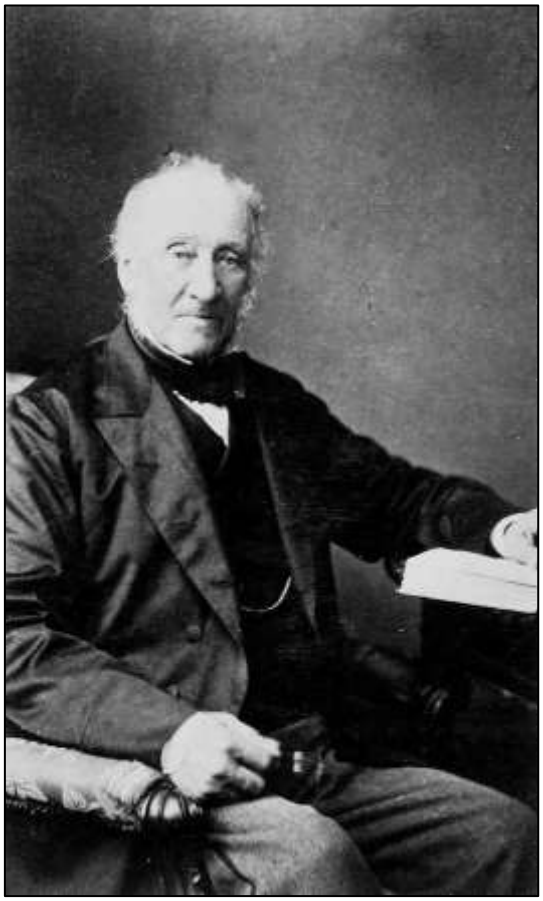

Figure 3 Thomas Barker - SLNSW

A long advertisement in the *Sydney Morning Herald* the next year described the firm's activities. After mentioning the "extraordinary prices realised in London" for the wool washed at the establishment last season, the company would provide "an early clip with minimal labour, freedom from burr and grass seeds, proper classification, proper packing by hydraulic press delivered clean and in good order to the ship's side".

Their equipment could wash and pack 25 bales per day, with a different price for each service:

- Spout washing, snow white, 1.25d per pound of clean wool.
- Spout washing and scouring with soap and soda, 1.75d per pound of clean wool.
- Fellmongering and spout washing, 3s per dozen skins
- Fellmongering and spout washing and scouring, 0.5d extra.
- Wool sorting, 5s per bale[45].

Thomas Barker Junior was the manager at Waterloo, and John Walker the manager at their cloth factory in Sussex Street, Sydney[46]. In July 1851, the partnership of Thomas Barker Junior, John Walker and E. B. Cornish was dissolved when Thomas Barker left. Thomas Hayes took over, operating as the Waterloo Woolwashing Company[47]. They advertised for shearers to shear a flock of sheep later in the year[48].

Thomas Hayes was still operating the Waterloo Mills in 1861[49], but when he died in 1864 his widow Eliza Hayes sold his interest in the Waterloo Mills Woolwashing Establishment to Andrew Hinchcliffe (c1816-1882) (formerly of Joy and Co.). Hinchcliffe must have renovated the mill, because he advertised that it was then in full working order, and he was "prepared to receive wool for either cold water washing, scouring, repacking and classing"[50].

The naval officer and surveyor Thomas Woore (1804-1878) visited the area in 1869 and reported that by then most of the original Waterloo Swamp had dried up, except in the vicinity of the future Victoria Park. He said that the once copious stream that fed the swamp had almost ceased to flow, the aquatic plant life had gone, and a horseman could ride over any part of what was once a fluid morass. The area had become a tract of barren sandhills, and as soon as any rain fell, it immediately flowed to the sea[51].

Wool washing was carried out at both Upper and Lower Dams, with fellmongering at the lower dam in the winter season (the off-season for shearing). Large numbers of workers were employed at the dams, mostly living on the land with their families. Wool washing required open space as drying grounds for the washed fleeces. The mills had a drying lawn of about ten acres where the washed fleeces were spread out on the ground to dry naturally[52]. The sandy soil of the district was perfect for growing a lawn of thick couch grass, known as the "drying green". Drying wool in the open gave it an extra brightness and lustre. Once dried and packed, the wool was taken back to the warehouses and wool stores around Circular Quay and Darling Harbour for final grading and sale in the city or export to London[53].

Octavius Ebsworth took over the Waterloo wool-washing establishment in late 1869, and had it operating by January 1870 after renovations. The updated plant was using McNaught's patent wool-washing apparatus. The rolled-up fleeces were immersed in water, which contained various detergent ingredients to clean the wool. Steam pipes passed through the water tanks, heating the water to the required temperature. When the cleaned fleeces were removed from the washing tanks, they passed though the squeezing press. This was done twice, then the fleeces were washed in clean water, and the water squeezed out again. 600 to 800 fleeces could be processed per hour using this method. The whole of the machinery was operated by shafts connected to a portable engine, working up to 20 horsepower[54]. However, Octavius Ebsworth died just five months later in

June 1870, aged 44. He left a tweed factory in Sussex Street, the Waterloo wool wash, and his residence Tytherton House with grounds of about 20 acres, near Burwood Railway Station[55].

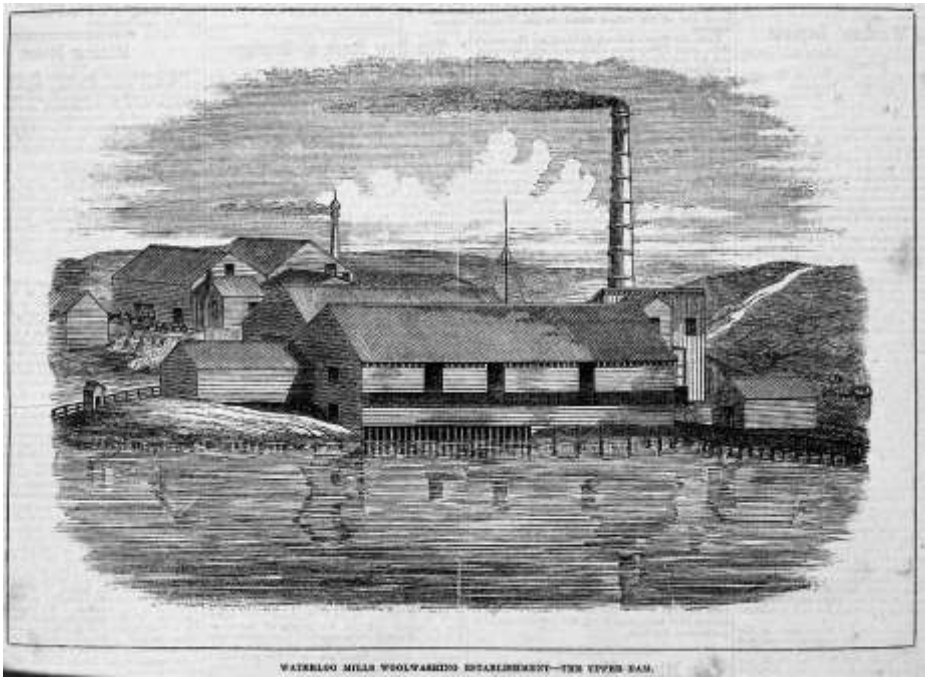

Figure 4 Waterloo Mills Upper Dam 1877 - SLNSW

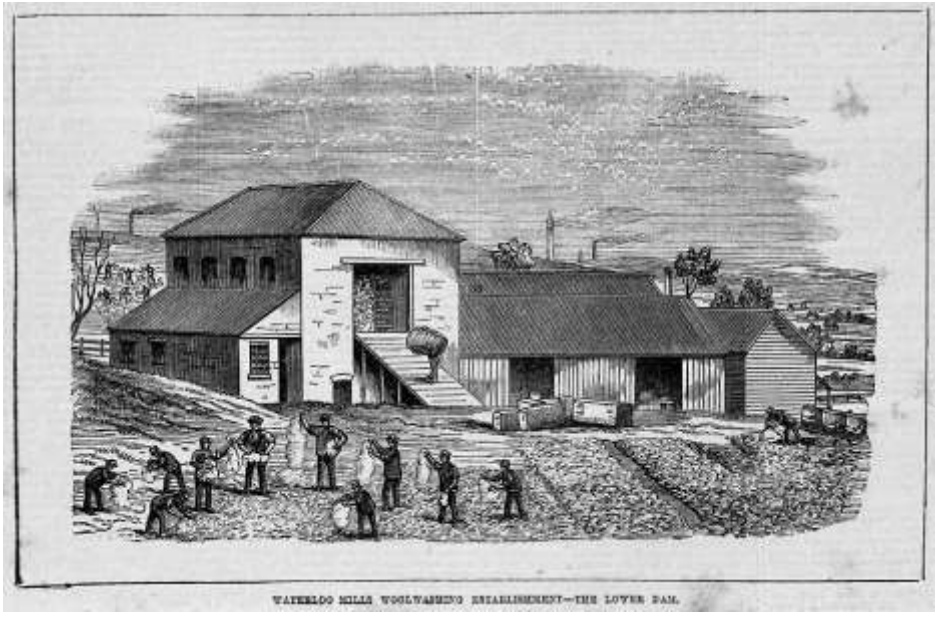

Figure 5 Waterloo Mills Lower Dam 1877 - SLNSW

Andrew Hinchcliffe must have remained at the Waterloo Mills after Octavius Ebsworth took over, because he was living there when his wife died in June 1870[56]. From 1871 he was back in charge of the operation[57]. The *Maitland Mercury* in 1872 credited Hinchcliffe's woolwash with raising the price of colonial wool in London in 1872, which "is mostly from the washery of Andrew Hinchcliffe on the Waterloo Estate, which reputedly supplies the best water in the colony, and passes through the hands of an expert with thirty years of practical experience in the manipulation of greasy wool"[58]. It

was reported in 1872 that the Quatre Bras wool-washing establishment had opened for business, although no owner or manager was named[59].

In June 1877, the *Australian Town and Country Journal* gave an insight into the workings of Hinchcliffe's wool washing establishment at Waterloo, which by then was operating at both the Upper and Lower Dams. The Upper Dam operation used a 34 horsepower Mather steam engine to pump sixteen tons of water per minute into a large tank 80 feet long, and three feet deep and wide. From there, the water was pumped along the ceiling of the wash house and fell nine feet from a series of 20 spouts, each one overhanging a circular tub where men were employed as washers. The wool had previously been soaked in a steam-heated tank containing a solution of soap and water. The wool washer filled a large basket with wool and lowered it into the tank. He then manipulated the wool to remove the dirt and other foreign matter into the tub.

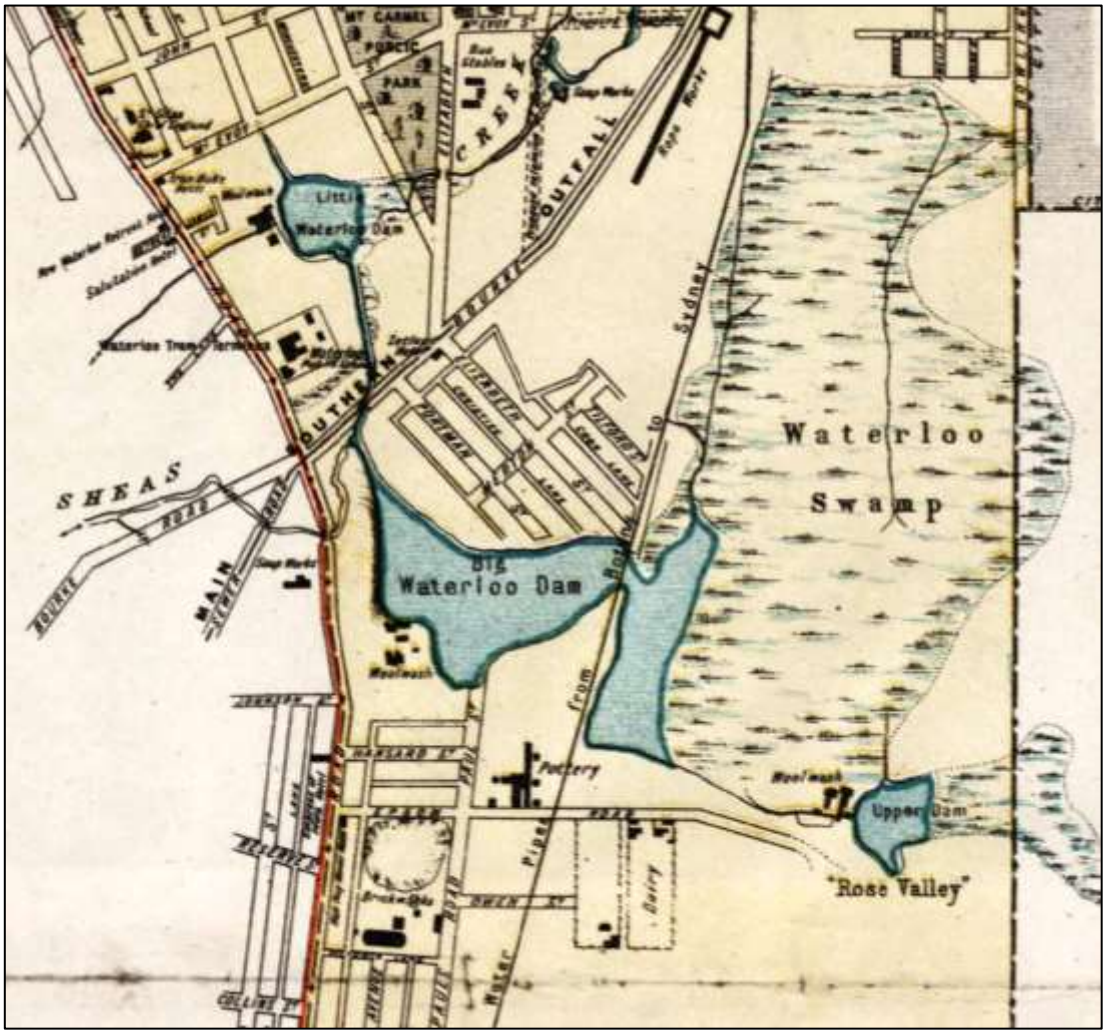

Figure 6 Parish of Alexandria 1886 - National Library of Australia

When thoroughly washed, the wool was carried out in baskets and spread out on sheets on the drying grounds. After drying in the sun, the fleeces were weighed and packed. The works could turn out 25 to 30 bales a day, and the receiving house at the firm's Circular Quay stores could store 2,000 bales of greasy wool or 500 bales of clean wool. At the Lower Dam, an area of about five acres, the water supply came from a natural creek from the Upper Dam. The scouring and other processes were carried out with no pumping required. The washing room also had 20 spouts, and could turn

out 25 to 30 bales per day. The Lower Dam operation also carried out fellmongering on a large scale, chiefly in the winter season[60].

In April 1879, James Johnson took over the lease on the Waterloo Mills Woolwashing Establishment and purchased the entire plant from Andrew Hinchcliffe. By this time, Mr. Johnson had over forty years' experience in the business in New South Wales, and was undertaking the classing, scouring and repacking of wool[61]. In July 1880, Johnson's wool wash on the Upper Dam suffered a serious fire that burnt about 250 bales of wool (partly insured) and a steam engine (not insured at all). The building was destroyed, resulting in estimated losses after insurance of £4,000 to £5,000[62]. The business was repaired and was back in operation by October[63].

Andrew Hinchcliffe retired from his wool wash firm in April 1881 and was replaced by Alexander Thompson. The firm continued to operate as A. Hinchcliffe, Son and Co[64]. Hinchcliffe died in March 1882, aged 68. An obituary reported that he had also operated an extensive woolbroking business at his stores on Circular Quay, which would be carried on by Alexander and his son John[65].

Royal Commission into Noxious Trades, 1882

In the nineteenth century, the term "noxious trade" referred to any industry that created a bad smell, especially if it was associated with offensive waste. Primarily it covered industries that dealt with the processing of animal carcasses and hides, although sometimes chemical works and tobacco factories were included. Before the germ theory of disease transmission became widely accepted in the late nineteenth century, it was thought that disease was spread by offensive vapours (called miasmas). Official writings on the environment in the second half of the nineteenth century clearly displayed the view that where there was a bad smell there was a health risk.

Figure 7 Rose Valley Woolwash - *Illustrated Sydney News*, 9 November 1890

Working class areas like Alexandria gained a reputation for never prosecuting manufacturers. But noxious traders remained insecure as councils oscillated between acceptance and exclusion, and manufacturers complained that they never knew where they stood. A Noxious Traders Association was established in the late 1870s. Its representative, Alfred Fremlin, won a seat in parliament where he dedicated himself to the sole issue of lobbying for a site to locate the noxious trades, physically

separated from the built-up areas of Sydney. This appealed to residents unhappy with living near tanneries and boiling-down works, and to manufacturers who wanted protection from prosecution.

Fremlin introduced a private member's bill to establish a site in 1881, but it was not passed. Another bill introduced in 1882 was sidelined by the government's suggestion of an official inquiry. The resultant Royal Commission on Noxious and Offensive Trades gathered information about noxious traders from 31 witnesses. They investigated a range of private businesses and the government-run abattoir on Glebe Island. The commissioners concluded that these industries endangered public health, and recommended that a secluded site be set up, either on the north or south head of Botany Bay.

Fremlin reintroduced his bill, which eventually passed the lower house in 1885. But the upper house did not pass the bill, and referred it to a select committee. The committee recommended the north side of Botany Bay. Some of the noxious industries moved there even before the bill was passed, after part of the old Botany water reserve had been released for industrial use (following the construction of the new Sydney water supply on the Nepean River)[66].

The Geddes family continue the Waterloo Mills

By 1884, the Geddes Brothers (A. and John H.), wool merchants, scourers and general agents, were operating wool scouring establishments at Waterloo Mills and nearby Buckland Mills, as well as similar businesses at Springvale and Floodvale in Botany[67]. Buckland Mills was reportedly about 400 to 800 yards away from the Waterloo Mills towards Botany[68]. In 1886 one of their sons, Thomas Geddes Junior, was assistant manager of the Rose Valley Woolwash[69]. Rose Valley is marked on the Parish map next to the Upper Dam. In 1889, Waterloo Mills washed and repacked 8,750 bales of wool[70].

Figure 8 John H Geddes - *Illustrated Sydney News*, 9 January 1890

In January 1890, the *Illustrated Sydney News* published the first photo of the wool scouring works and fellmongery operated by George Anderson at Rose Valley on the Upper Dam[71]. Six months later,

the Australian Wool Company purchased the wool scouring businesses of J. H. Geddes and Co at Waterloo Mills and Buckland Mills[72]. Then in November 1891, George Anderson & Co's Rose Valley wool scouring, fellmongering, tanning and tallow-boiling works on Epsom Road was advertised for sale. The business covered five acres, with a sealed road connecting it to the city. 150 to 200 bales of wool were being output per week[73].

From August 1894, the Sydney Wool Scouring Company (formerly the Australian Wool Company) was operating at the Buckland Mill works owned by J. H. Geddes and Co[74]. By this time, the water was becoming badly polluted from the increased industrial activity, and in November 1894 an article in the *Daily Telegraph* complained about the foul state of the water in the Big Waterloo Dam between Elizabeth Street and Botany Road. Frederick W. Hughes was the manager at the wool scouring works at the time[75].

Figure 9 Waterloo Mills ad - *Illawarra Mercury*, 19 April 1887

New Noxious Trades Act in 1894

The *Noxious Trades and Cattle-Slaughtering Act* was introduced in March 1894 to regulate noxious trades and to give the Board of Health responsibility for inspecting their premises[76]. These trades included fat melter, fat extractor, bone boiler, bone grinder, blood boiler, blood drier, glue maker, fellmonger, tanner, leather dresser (currier), and wool scourer[77]. One of the new regulations was that no receptacle used for soaking or cleansing any of the materials connected with fellmongering,

tanning, leather dressing or wool scouring was to be in direct contact with any river, creek or pool or with the tidal waters[78]. Each business in the nominated trades would have to register and pay a £10 annual fee[79].

Mr. Radford, the town clerk of Botany Council, said that the ban on draining into creeks would mean that tanneries could not operate in the Botany area. At the time there were fourteen tanneries, five wool-scouring establishments, three boiling down works and two fat extractors at Botany[80]. A meeting of wool scourers and fellmongers was held in September 1894 to discuss the impact of the new regulations on their businesses. Frederick Hughes from the Sydney Wool Scouring Company was among those present. The Act itself was favourably received, but the wool scourers and fellmongers were unhappy to be grouped with boiling-down works, and they did not think they needed further regulation of their activities[81]. In a few months, several trades were exempted from the Act, such as tanning, fellmongering, leather dressing, and wool-scouring[82], and in November fellmongers and wool scourers were also removed[83].

The decline of noxious industries at Waterloo

In August 1898, the main four-storey building of Henry McNamara's Sydney Wool Scouring Company on the Quatre Bras Dam on Wyndham Street was gutted by a fire which destroyed 160 bales of wool and all the machinery[84]. Three months later, another fire completely burnt out the drying room and its contents, valued at £1,000. This was not long after the business was rebuilt following the earlier fire[85].

In September 1899, the Sydney Wool Scouring Company applied for a licence for fat-extracting on the premises at Waterloo. Fat would be extracted from sheep killed during the day, unlike most places which used fat and bones from butchers' shops, which had an unavoidable smell. The Board of Health's inspector had no objection to their plans, but the Council referred the request to its Sanitary Committee[86]. The process produced tallow, which was used to manufacture soap and candles. At the same time, the company commenced building an extensive new works at Botany to carry on their wool washing activities there[87].

The fat extraction enterprise did not go well, and by January 1900 a large number of residents signed a petition objecting to the "almost unbearable smells issuing from Hughes' works on Botany Road". Tram doors had to be shut on several occasions to keep out the obnoxious smell. The Council's ever-vigilant Inspector of Nuisances descended on Frederick Hughes' factory like a wolf on the fold and found that offcuts from sheep were boiled in an open vat, despite previous orders to cease this practice[88]. The hapless Hughes was taken to court by the Board of Health and fined 40/- with 7/4d costs[89].

By the end of 1900, the writing was on the wall for noxious industries in the Waterloo area: the Waterloo Mills closed and the buildings were advertised for auction as a "gigantic sale of building materials". The works consisted of a large four-storey factory, 80ft x 24ft x 33ft high, which had only been used for 18 months, and a substantial brick building, 84ft x 36ft, almost new, with a new galvanised roof and Oregon rafters[90]. After this, the Sydney Wool Scouring Company conducted all their activities at Botany[91]. The long-term environmental impact of these industries was significant pollution in Shea's Creek and Botany Bay caused by runoff from wool washing and fellmongering[92].

The Rose Valley wool washing works was demolished in June 1906 following the purchase of the former Waterloo Swamp area for a racecourse. The materials from the factory, the stables, the drying sheds and six workmen's cottages were put up for sale[93]. The last mention of the former works at Waterloo was an advertisement from G. H. Gerber of the Quatre Bras Works in Gerber Street, Alexandria[94]. The large Waterloo Swamp had largely dried up and the former industries that relied on the ready supply of water had moved further south to Botany[95].The Waterloo Swamp was ready for the next phase of its history.

Victoria Park Racecourse

Early horse racing in Sydney

Until the 1860s, Australian racecourses were mostly short-lived and could only host one or two meetings a year, due to the damage caused to the poorly prepared ground. Randwick racecourse was established for thoroughbred horse racing by the Australian Jockey Club (AJC) on government land in 1860, and was gradually improved throughout the decade. The *Australian Jockey Club Act 1873* formalised many of the arrangements that had been made during this time. The AJC consolidated its position through the 1880s as the controlling body of Establishment racing in NSW by introducing a set of rules for racing, styled on those of the Jockey Club at the Newmarket course in England. These included the registration of racing clubs, and the licensing of trainers, jockeys and bookmakers[96].

Thoroughbred racing was the elite branch of the sport, dedicated to fine horses and fine horsemanship. The AJC was run by a committee of wealthy amateur administrators. Gambling was considered to be an undesirable part of the race meetings, although it occurred away from the tracks in betting shops and with bookmakers on the Paddock. The AJC left the administration of this branch of racing to the Tattersall's Club, the bookmakers' own association[97].

At the same time, the first examples of proprietary (privately-owned) horse racing began to appear in New South Wales. From the 1840s, an increasing number of races were staged by publicans and their friends as part of the close connection in the colony between hotels and sport. Publicans organised and sponsored sporting activities near their pubs and benefited from the resultant patronage. Cricket competitions and quoits tournaments were other examples of sports undertaken around pubs. Publicans were the direct forebears of the racing entrepreneurs later in the nineteenth century, and they initiated the commercialisation of racing and of sport generally. The link between drinking and gambling was also well established, and nineteenth century taverns and racecourses often had common ownership[98].

In contrast to thoroughbred racing, pony racing was a business venture. Companies or individuals established pony tracks with the sole intent of making a profit. The horses that were raced at these courses were either undersized or not considered strong enough for the longer forms of racing (more than six furlongs). The types of tracks developed for ponies encouraged quick and exciting races that were highly popular. Betting on the course through bookmakers was accepted and encouraged as part of the entertainment[99]. The more conservative members of the AJC thought that pony racing was more like sideshow alley than legitimate racing. But the AJC's meetings on Saturdays did not clash with the pony clubs, who usually raced on Wednesdays, so the antipathy of the AJC to the private clubs and its working class patronage was essentially about status and snobbery. In 1895, the journalist and novelist Nat Gould likened AJC complaints about pony racing to a group of squatters discussing the rabbit plague[100].

Pony racing plugs a gap

The earliest known proprietary racing venue in the South Sydney district was the Albert Ground in the 1860s. This ground, which was also an important cricket ground for a time, was located opposite present-day Redfern Oval. A shortage of thoroughbred horses led to races for undersized horses (or ponies) being added to small-scale meetings at tracks in Blacktown and Kogarah. This allowed

organisers to stage three or four races, about the minimum required to call a meeting. The use of undersized horses for pragmatic reasons created a reputation for quantity over quality that was forever associated with pony racing. This indifference to the quality of the horses by both organisers and spectators came to gall the AJC, and was an early sign of the rising dominance of sports gambling.

The establishment of proprietary racing coincided with a number of other developments in the colony. The early 1880s heralded a housing boom, and businessmen who made large amounts of money from speculation in real estate were looking for new investment opportunities. In addition, there was a rapid increase in the urban population and the establishment of an extensive public transport network. Sydney's population in 1871 was 135,000, but this tripled to 462,000 by the end of the century. The tram line to Randwick was completed in 1880[101], and by 1902 a tram ran along Elizabeth Street to Zetland. These developments coincided with a growing awareness of the commercial potential of sport, and many of Sydney's suburban racecourses were built during this period.

The pioneers of true proprietary racing in Sydney are considered to be Frederick Clissold and Thomas Davis, who staged the first primitive meetings that included pony races on Bramshot Farm at Canterbury on Boxing Day in 1868 and 1869. In the early 1880s, the inner-suburban racing calendar consisted only of several meetings per year at Randwick, which were run by the AJC or the Sydney Turf Club and Tattersall's. Regular proprietary racing in Sydney started at the new Canterbury Park Race Club in January 1884. The success of Canterbury inspired entrepreneurs to open more tracks, and within ten years the number of tracks was approaching double figures, all the new ones conducted by proprietary companies. Rosehill, Moorefield (on the current site of James Cook Technology High School at Kogarah), Warwick Farm and Sydney Driving Park Club (at Moore Park Showgrounds) were registered courses that had all opened by 1890.

The first full pony meeting on a registered track was held at the Moorefield Pony and Trotting Club in January 1889, drawing large crowds. Canterbury's first pony meeting was in April 1889, also attracting many patrons. Rosehill pony club started in May 1889. Between 1890 and 1901, a number of small unlicensed racecourses emerged: Liverpool (Woodlands), Lillie Bridge (Glebe), Botany, the first Rosebery Park, New Brighton and Belmore. These clubs competed in the market for smaller horses between 11 and 14 hands high. Pony races continued even after the thoroughbred shortage ended, because emerging entrepreneurs found that they could stage meetings that were free of AJC requirements such as minimum prizemoney levels, and rules governing race distances and course circumferences.

The opening of the Kensington racecourse in 1893 (on the site of the present University of New South Wales) was a significant event, and heralded the emergence of larger unregistered pony-specific courses in the South Sydney area that were designed to be first-rate courses using large capital outlays. It was the first unregistered racing company to provide racing up to the standard of AJC racing. The largest shareholder, Henry Harris, said that following the very large initial outlay of £30,000, during the years 1890 to 1900 about £110,000 was spent on improvements to the grounds and additional prize money. The investment was remarkable in that the company did not own the land. Kensington was to inspire James Joynton Smith to dream of his own premium pony course, although not until the depression and drought of the 1890s had ended[102].

Joynton Smith enters the field

The Brighton racecourse was established at Napper's Bush behind Lady Robinson's Beach, Botany Bay, opening in December 1895. It was an addition to an early Sydney resort complex that was inspired by the English seaside town and racecourse at Brighton, visited in 1893 by its developer Thomas Saywell. There was a grand hotel, public baths, a private wharf, picnic grounds and a baroque pavilion. The resort and racecourse were initially known as New Brighton. The Brighton racecourse had mixed success for a few years and changed hands several times, closing and reopening twice. In September 1897 it was renamed the Brighton Racing and Driving Park Club under the management of James Joynton Smith. But the ambitious Smith soon decided he needed a venue closer to the city if he were to dominate pony racing in Sydney.

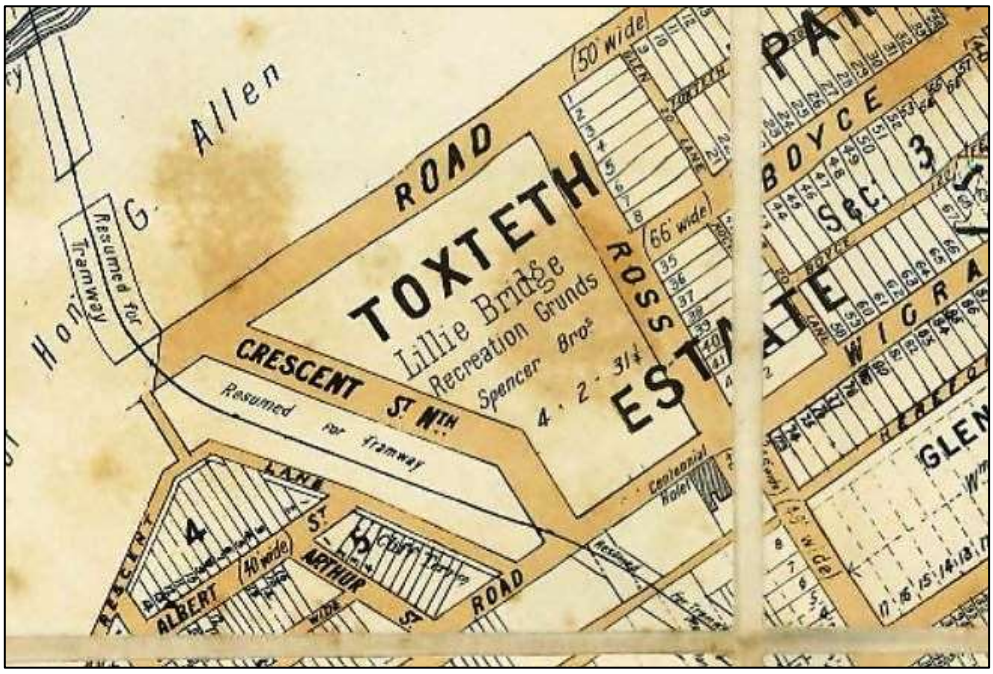

Figure 10 Glebe in 1886 - City of Sydney Archives

Lillie Bridge Athletic Ground in Glebe held its first race meeting under lights in February 1890. Encircling a rugby ground, its two furlong 20 yards (420m) track was small. The first race, a pony trot for horses under 12.2 hands, was held over three laps of the course for a stake of ten shillings[103]. The course then closed and reopened on Christmas Day 1899 as Forest Lodge, until it closed again in June 1903. In late 1903, Joynton Smith leased the vacated course, prepared it for racing, and abruptly ended his occupancy of Brighton after a race meeting in June 1904. The Glebe track was more viable than Brighton due to its inner-city location, but the course was inferior because of its loam track and small circumference.

In July 1904, Smith renamed the course Epping, risking confusion with the club in northern Sydney, and added a new grandstand and other improvements. He used Epping for pony races until the 1906 gaming legislation came into effect, while preparing his new course at Victoria Park. The last pony meeting at Epping took place in December 1906 and it was used for trotting after that. From 1929 it was known as the Harold Park Paceway until its sale to Mirvac in 2008 to be redeveloped as medium-density housing. The first three incarnations of the course were used primarily for pony

racing, but over time it featured trotting, pony racing, professional foot running and cycling – in other words every type of land-based racing that could be bet on at that time[104].

The regulation of pony racing

Before 1906, competition between the pony clubs was fierce, but a common threat emerged in the form of the NSW Government's planned legislation to greatly restrict horse racing. Unregistered pony racing was expected to be the main target of tighter regulation. The pony clubs decided that a unified front was necessary if they were to effectively lobby the government. They agreed on a calendar of races that generally did not clash with each other's meetings.

Figure 11 Australian cricket captain Herb Collins as bookmaker - Wikipedia

The *Gaming and Betting Act of 1906* duly came into force, providing for several important changes to racecourses. This included the prevention of any new courses within 40 miles of the Sydney GPO, the need for licences for each existing course, and from 1907 a requirement that all courses had to be at least six furlongs in length. This last requirement caused several small tracks to close. Betting was banned from all venues until they obtained licences. The new law did not end pony racing, but they limited the number of meets. The most positive outcome was that it led to new and better pony courses[105]. Also, the law gave the proprietary clubs some recognition and legitimacy and encouraged them to plan for the long-term future with greater investment. The insistence on six-

furlong tracks sealed the fate of both the Brighton and Epping tracks. By 1908 Brighton had disappeared from sight and was demolished in 1911, while Epping continued as a trotting venue.

In 1907, a coalition of pony clubs formed the Australian Racing Clubs (ARC) to create a unified front to lobby the government after the 1906 legislation, and ran its first meeting in April that year. This was the start of the twenty years of pony racing's greatest popularity because the prevention of new clubs in and around Sydney guaranteed the ARC a sector-wide monopoly on the booming profits of the sport[106].

The member clubs of the ARC ran their own private companies but shared the expense of an office in the city. The ARC management established a new efficiency in the conduct of the sport in Sydney. *The Sportsman* wrote in December 1920 that pony racing was becoming more popular each year, and the standard was at least that of racing conducted by "registered" proprietary clubs[107]. By 1932, the *Sydney Truth,* normally very sparing with praise, wrote that the conduct of pony racing had the reputation of being second to none in the world[108].

The totalisator - a fairer betting system

Joseph Oller (1839-1922) was a Parisian resident of Spanish birth. While he was in Bilbao studying Spanish, he attended cock fighting matches and observed the frequent bickering amongst the gamblers. This inspired him to invent a fairer betting system where the amounts bet on a race were totalled, a commission was extracted, and the remainder of the pool was fully distributed among the winners in proportion to the amount of each bet. It became known as the pari-mutuel (sic) system, roughly translated as "betting among ourselves".

It was an attractive alternative to fixed-odds betting with bookmakers because it was free of any concern that poor odds were being offered, or that the bookmakers were manipulating the horses in a race to their advantage. Oller displayed the number of bets made on a race as betting was taking place, and the grand total of bets for the race. This allowed the gamblers to get a feel for the size of the expected returns. He started pari-mutuel betting in Paris in 1867 from large wagons that were driven to suburban racecourses. The enterprise was very successful, making Oller wealthy and famous. However, gambling was illegal in France at the time, and when this was put to the test in 1875, the system was banned for some years.

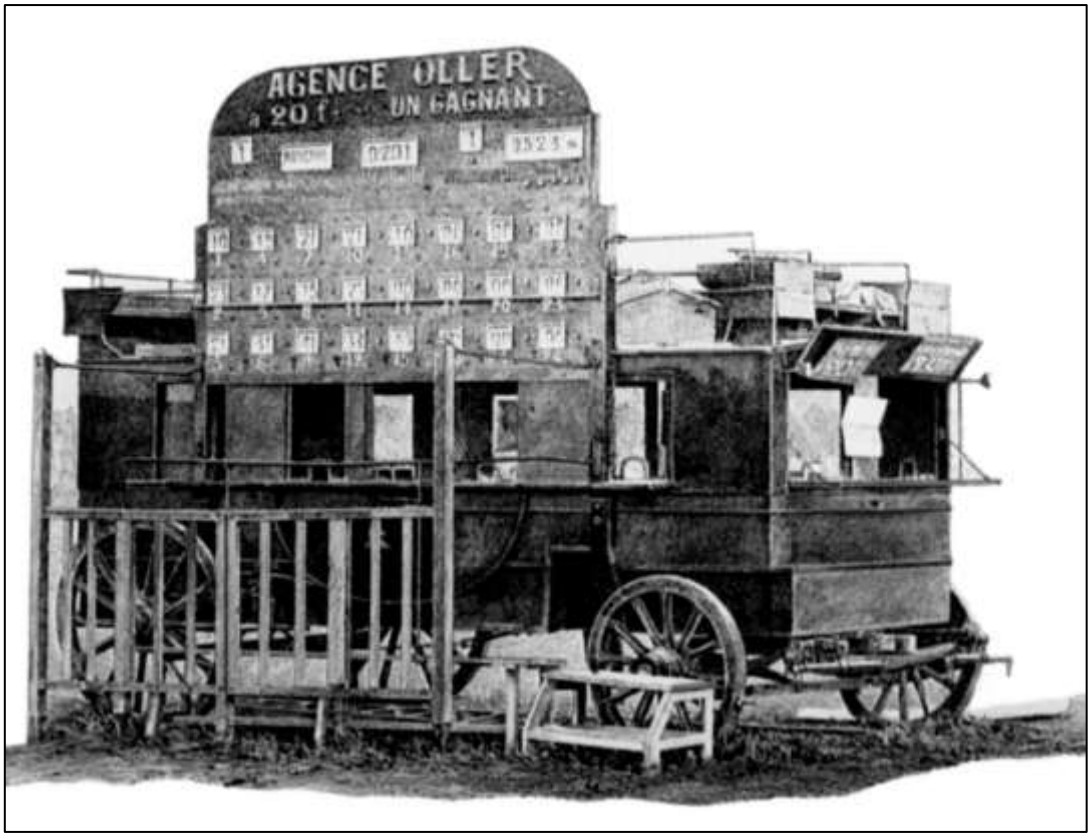

Figure 12 Oller totalisator wagon - University of Auckland website

This was a major blow, but the entrepreneurial Oller was not down for long, and he went on to open a number of entertainment centres in Paris, most notably the Moulin Rouge in 1889[109]. When the pari-mutuel system returned to Paris in 1886, the local gamblers were surprised to find that it was being called the "totalisator", and it had become a hand-cranked machine. The name was probably from the French word *totalisateur* for counter[110].

The tote in Australasia

The first mention of the totalisator in the Australia press appeared when the German consul Siegfried Franck demonstrated an imported machine in October 1878, promoting it for a variety of purposes, such as rapidly counting votes in elections, recording alcohol sales in hotels, or any other situation where large numbers of items or people have to be counted[111].

Racecourse betting was not one of the uses initially advertised by Mr. Franck, but by January 1879 he was operating his machine for this purpose at Randwick, to the great interest of the patrons, but to the horror of the bookmakers, who thought it would destroy their trade[112]. A deputation of bookies wasted no time in reporting this illegal betting activity to the NSW Parliament. But the Inspector General of Police was present at Randwick that day and witnessed the totalisator in action but failed to stop it. The irony of the bookies' outrage was that they were breaking the law themselves by taking bets on the course, but had been tolerated. The *Evening News* noted that the totalisator was claimed to be a complete check against fraud when tallying numbers (a thinly disguised dig at the widely-distrusted bookies)[113].

Soon the totalisator was being used at other racecourses. At Maitland, the punters were reportedly satisfied with the result and thought it made racing a fair sport[114]. At the Newcastle meeting during Easter 1879, the totalisator did enormous business, the only drawback being that it took nearly an hour after each race for settlement to be calculated[115]. But the rumblings from the bookies continued, and at the 1879 Annual General Meeting of the Tattersall's Club (which represented the bookmakers' interests), it was resolved that the use of the totalisator in the members' paddock was not in the true interest of sport, and the committee would present this view to the AJC[116]. In April 1879, Siegfried Franck was charged with a breach of the *Police Offences Act* after operating his totalisator from an office in Randwick Racecourse. But the charges were dropped after Franck agreed to withdraw it[117].

By the end of 1879, totalisators were operating in all States, and each colonial government was dealing with it in its own way. In November that year, the South Australian Government legalised the tote for use in recognised racing clubs, to the fury of the local bookmakers[118]. At the same time, the Queensland Attorney-General expressed the opinion that the totalisator was legal in that colony[119]. But by 1883, public opinion was turning against the tote in South Australia, with many churchmen railing against gambling from their respective pulpits[120], and a Wesleyan Conference delegate thundering that "the totalisator is a device of the devil"[121]. The South Australian Government buckled under the pressure in September 1883 and passed the *Totalisator Repeal Act 1883*, which banned all forms of public betting immediately (including bookies), and the tote itself from June 1884[122]. The bookies were understandably incensed, and decided to bring a test case to court to get themselves legalised again, or failing that to bring the tote down with them[123]. The South Australian Jockey Club had become so dependent on the revenue from on-course betting that it was running at a loss without it. The Club announced that it was carrying on in the hope that the Government reversed the Act (repeal the repeal, in other words)[124].

Meanwhile in Victoria, chemist Henry Gamble and Richmond Thatcher, owners of a totalisator in their pharmacy in Melbourne, were arrested on a charge of keeping a common gambling house. Five staff members were also arrested[125]. After the trial, which was a test case for the legality of the tote in Victoria, Gable and Thatcher were given a moderate fine of £10 and the assistants had their cases withdrawn[126]. Thatcher immediately complained of the hypocrisy of fining him while bookmakers ("thimbleriggers and sharpers", as he uncharitably called them) were simply cautioned by magistrates[127]. In 1883, the Victorian Racing Club resolved to try and have the totalisator legalised in that State[128].

During 1879, moves began in New South Wales to introduce a law to legalise the tote machines[129]. A vigorous debate ensued in the Legislative Assembly, in which some MPs did not want the State to legalise gambling in any form. The Honorable John Hurley rather unkindly referred to bookmakers as "blacklegs and the scum of society and the lowest persons in existence". He argued that since the enabling bill would destroy their business, he would support it for this reason. The more conciliatory Mr. Garrett, who was introducing the bill, disapproved of the attacks on the bookies, saying he knew some who were highly principled, but acknowledged that they made enormous profits from racegoers[130]. In Western Australia, the totalisator became legal in November 1883 at racecourses run by the Turf Club. In deference to a strong opposition by the churches, the Governor had previously withheld his consent pending inquiries into the working of the machine in the other colonies[131].

Siegfried Franck found that New Zealanders were keen to use his totalisator, and it was first operated at Ashburton racecourse in November 1879. The New Zealand authorities decided to turn a blind eye to the tote there, and it was never banned, unlike in Australia where the bookmakers were much more powerful[132].

The totalisator is automated

While the principle of the totalisator was simple enough, and punters liked the natural odds offered by the tote more than the artificial odds of the bookmaker, it was very difficult to administer. As betting on each race proceeded, a tally had to be kept on the number of bets on each horse, and of the grand total. An army of clerks was required to register and count the bets, and human errors were inevitable. Shortly after the spread of the system, a number of attempts were made to mechanise the process, particularly in Australia and New Zealand. These semi-automated systems varied in complexity from one in which marbles were automatically dropped, to systems with elaborate linkages that displayed a running total of bets. They suffered from varying degrees of unreliability, and the tote was becoming a contributor to, rather than a solution to, the problems of efficient management of gambling[133].

By the early 1900s, totalisators had become large-scale machines, eventually operating on a course-wide basis. Because the tote had to be closed at race time in order to avoid fraud, there was often an unacceptable amount of time taken to then calculate and post the odds from many thousands of bets before the race could start. There was a pressing need for a secure method of providing totals for many thousands of gamblers in a timely manner[134].

Figure 13 Ellerslie Racecourse tote - University of Auckland website

George Julius entered the picture at this point. When he graduated as a railway engineer and started his working life, the effects of the industrial revolution were still being felt. Mechanised solutions to manually-operated systems of transport, communications and information management were being devised by engineers on a daily basis. In his spare time, Julius worked on designing an automatic vote counting machine for use in elections, in order to remove the possibility of fraud in manual counting methods. However, neither the Western Australian nor the Federal Governments showed

any interest in Julius's vote counter, and in 1907 he moved to Sydney with the project still on the drawing board.

A friend reputedly asked Julius to accompany him to a racecourse so he might observe an alternative application for his device. With his strong Christian background, he had apparently never seen horse racing before, but he was immediately attracted to the possibilities of mechanical automation of the betting system he witnessed. He recalled later that he became very interested in the problem of recording and adding records from a number of operators on the same horse at the same time, and set to work on a machine that would satisfy the requirements of any racecourse. Between 1908 and 1912, Julius developed a model of a mechanical totalisator machine in the garage of his house in Woollahra.

Julius built the first full-sized tote for Ellerslie Racecourse in New Zealand, commissioned by the Auckland Racing Club and installed for the Easter meeting in March 1913, when £74,053 passed through the machine during the two days of racing[135]. It was a completely mechanical machine, using power supplied by cast iron weights pulling a bicycle chain over drive sprockets. The tote was essentially a system of starting price betting in which the final odds were those prevailing at the time the race begins, at which point the machine was locked so the odds could not be changed. A ticket was issued when a bet was placed, and the machine provided a safe and virtually fraud-free method of betting.

Figure 14 Victoria Park tote 1935 - SLNSW

As an example of the efficiency of the automated system, the betting on the last race on Easter Monday at Ellerslie included 13,666 wagers on the machine, which closed at 5:10pm. Two minutes later the figures were all checked and the word given to the starter to let the field go, and the race started at 5:13pm. In the corresponding race the year before, with fewer bets and a hand-operated machine, thirteen minutes elapsed between the closing of the tote and the start of the race[136]. Julius's second machine was installed at Gloucester Park Racecourse in Western Australia in 1916. In 1917, he formed the manufacturing company Automatic Totalisators Limited, and electric power was introduced as the machine's drive source[137].

In New South Wales, the troublesome issue of legalising on-course totalisators exercised the minds of several Parliamentary Select Committees over many years, as well as a Royal Commission in 1912. Finally in December 1916, the *NSW Totalisator Act* legalised and regulated the use of totes on racetracks in the State[138]. The Act declared that from the end of March 1917, the tote was not only legal but mandatory in all racecourses except small country tracks.

The reason for the Government's sudden enthusiasm for the tote was the (wildly optimistic) estimate of a £200,000 revenue windfall for the financial year ending June 1917, from the portion of all tote earnings to be paid to the Crown. It was hoped that this would alleviate the financial stringency imposed on the economy during World War I. But the reality came as an unpleasant shock to the Government when the Colonial Treasurer reported the receipt of a miserly £1,138 by May. This was because most of the racing clubs had been reluctant to outlay the very high cost of installing the machines. The Premier hinted darkly at heavy penalties for unwarranted delays by the clubs, in an effort to shore up the anticipated cash flow to his coffers[139].

In April 1917, the Associated Racing Clubs framed a code of totalisator rules to apply to Sydney metropolitan pony meetings at Victoria Park, Kensington, Rosebery and Ascot. They were largely copied from those governing the machine in other States, except that first and second dividends would be paid only when there were nine or more starters (in South Australia, Queensland and New Zealand it was seven starters). If a dead heat occurred for first, there would be no second dividend[140]. The total commission deducted by the tote would be 11%, made up of 3% for the club, 1% for a sinking fund (but only until the machine was paid for), and 7% for the Government Tax, in accordance with the Act[141].

Figure 15 Victoria Park tote building 2018 - author

Teething problems with the new machines were widespread at first. It was claimed that the Government had forced the clubs to install the machines too quickly, and the problems were

damaging the prospects for their success. The bookies, ever worried about the spectre of losing their livelihoods, were afraid the Government would abolish them if the totalisator did not generate sufficient revenue. Finally, the clubs were not happy because their percentage was too small and was swallowed up in ongoing expenses. Acting Premier George Fuller suggested a portable tote for country racetracks to be co-operatively purchased and shared around between them when their meetings did not clash[142]. In May 1918, electronic or "lightning" totes replaced mechanical ones[143].

Victoria Park Racecourse

By 1904, the NSW Government indicated that change was coming to pony racing. The subsequent *Gaming and Betting Act 1906* provided for several important regulations for racecourses. This included the need to license each course, and from 1907 a requirement that all courses must be at least six furlongs in length. The inability of Joynton Smith's two furlong Epping (Glebe) track to meet this requirement encouraged him to look for a new site to develop in accordance with the new rules[144].

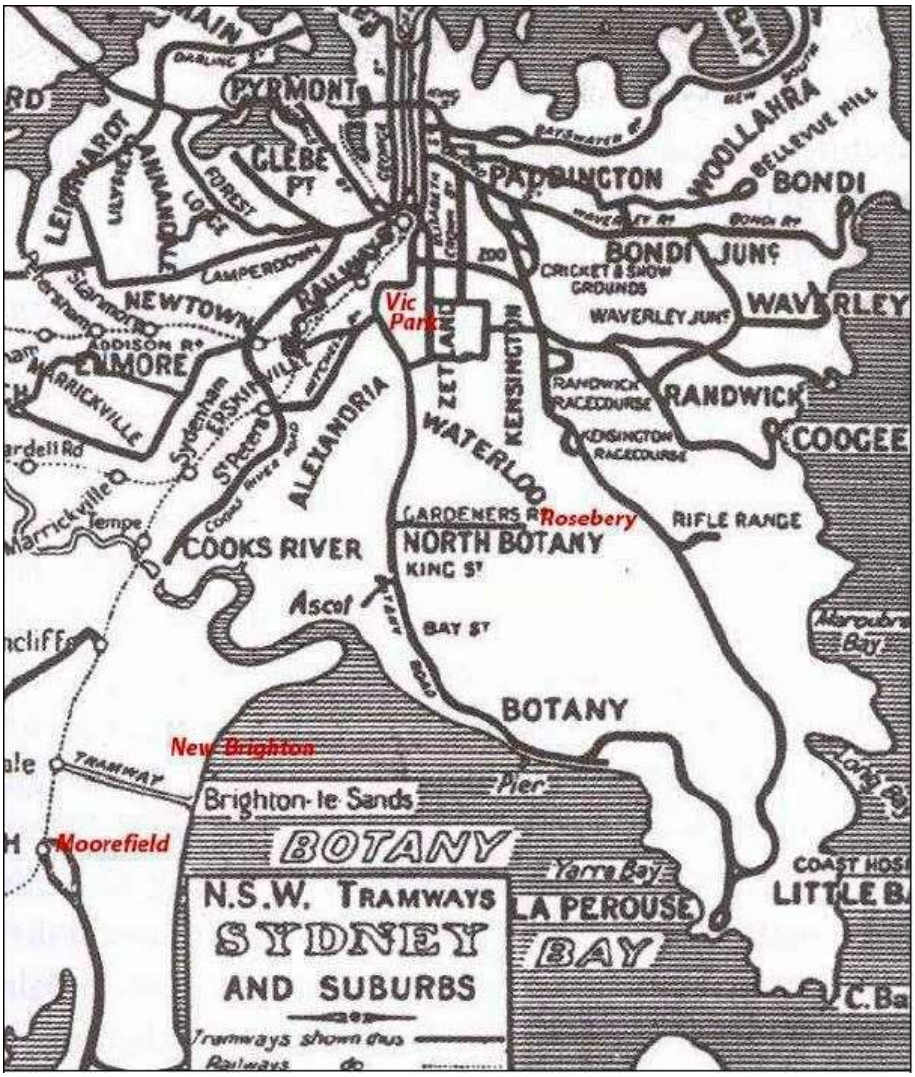

Figure 16 Tramways to the racecourses - Peake

Smith wanted the new location to accommodate a large course that was as close to Sydney as Randwick. He had almost given up looking for such a site when, standing on a sand dune that

became the bunker on the sixth hole of the Australian Golf Course, he noticed a “dreary looking swamp, almost wholly under water”. This was the Waterloo Swamp, and somehow Smith’s fertile imagination pictured a racecourse there[145]. Industries using the swamp had increased during the nineteenth century, so much so that the area still covered by water had decreased until it was eventually bounded by Epsom Road, Joynton Avenue, South Dowling Street and the later O’Dea Street[146]. The location was nearly two kilometres closer to the city than Randwick[147]. From 1902, a tram line ran south along Elizabeth Street to Zetland, terminating close to the future entrance gates of the racecourse. The availability of public transport was a further encouragement to choose a site in Zetland[148].

In September 1904, he bought the reduced Waterloo Swamp (by then just over 115 acres) for £15,000 from Sir William Cooper. The first problem was to drain the land, but consulting engineers told him this would be unacceptably expensive. Thinking about this problem while he was inspecting his new swamp at its deepest point, he noticed nearby Shea’s Creek. Acting on a hunch, he organised a trench to be dug from the swamp to the creek and with surprising speed the swamp emptied into the creek and poured into Botany Bay. Smith was left with a flat dry basin sitting on top of two to three metres of soil that was rich with peat built up over centuries – perfect for growing the turf of a racecourse[149]. This was another example of the golden touch that Joynton Smith displayed throughout his entrepreneurial career. He had the optimism and instinct to turn the most unlikely situation into a triumphant success.

Figure 17 Victoria Park, London - Bravoyourcity website

Joynton Smith decided to call his new course after Victoria Park in London’s East End, where he caught goldfish as a boy[150]. It was reported that by July 1905 fencing and draining of the course had commenced[151]. In November 1906, Joynton Smith announced that the new racecourse and recreational grounds would be floated as a public company with capital of £20,000, most of it to be raised by the sale of shares. By this time, four different tracks were being laid down. The first track was the course proper, composed of grass, a mile and a quarter in circumference. The second was a “magpie track” of half grass and half tan, the third was a cinder track nine furlongs long, and the fourth was a grass training track. The cinder track was to be used until the grass tracks were completed.

The grandstand was placed on the western side so that the afternoon sun was behind the patrons, as with the Randwick grandstand (which could be seen a few hundred metres away). Even at this early stage, Victoria Park was expected to be one of the finest racecourses in the British Commonwealth[152]. It was the first course in the country to provide "ladies' retiring rooms". This showed that Joynton Smith was interested in attracting a wider audience, and that the owners understood that women enjoyed racing and betting as well as men[153].

By the beginning of 1908, most of the work on the new course was complete. The grandstand was still only half finished but could be used. The principal buildings were all located along the Joynton Avenue side bordering the tracks. A grand opening day of racing was held on 15 January 1908, to universal acclaim. The appointments of the course were of the highest quality, and it was described as being second only to Randwick Racecourse in every way. Despite initial scepticism about the suitability of a former swamp, his contemporaries praised the outstanding quality of the services offered at the new track. The likely architect was William Lamrock, who Smith had used at his Glebe course[154]. The completion of Victoria Park marked the end of the great era of racecourse construction in Sydney. From the opening meeting to September 1908, all meetings were conducted on the cinder track to give the course proper time to settle and knit properly[155].

Figure 18 Victoria Park Racecourse 1908 - SLNSW

In January 1917, several Sydney racecourses, including Victoria Park, advertised for the owners of totalisators to install machines at the courses[156], to comply with the NSW Government's new

requirements to have them in operation by April[157]. But the new tote at Victoria Park could not cope with the volume of business at first, and registration of bets had to continue after the races started[158]. In time, the operation of the tote improved and it was a great success. The 1917 totalisator building is the only surviving structure from the era of pony racing at Victoria Park.

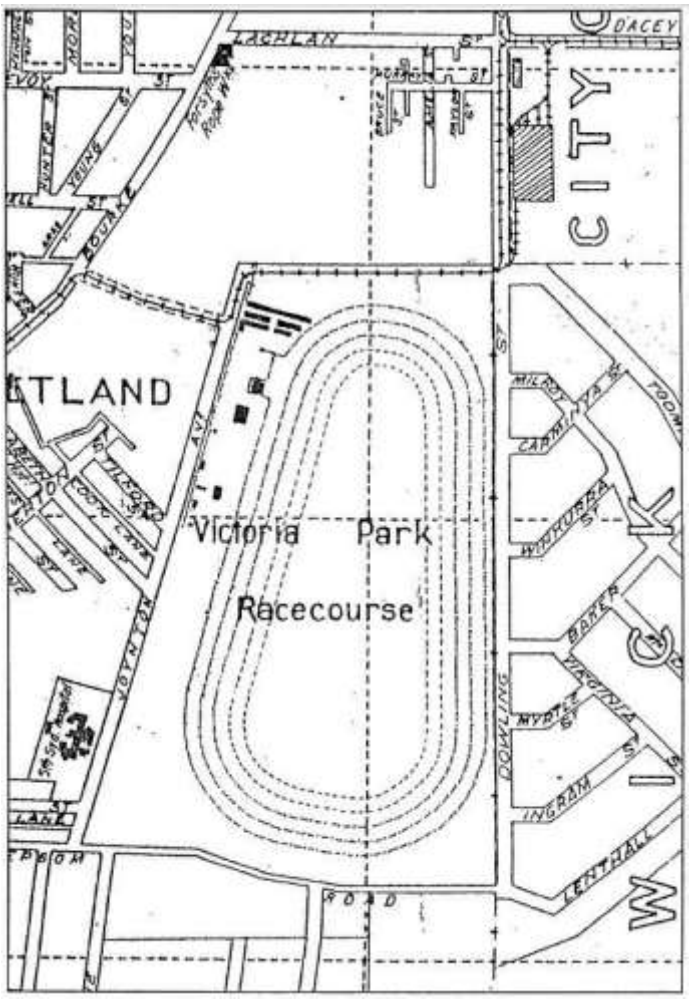

Figure 19 Parish map 1928 - Thorp

Other entertainments at Victoria Park

The public success of the Victoria Park racecourse was to some extent due to Joynton Smith's efforts to provide entertainment beyond horse racing. In 1908 he applied for a licence to hold motor car races at the course[159], and a clay and cinder track of 1.81 km was built around the horseracing track. The inaugural motor racing event, the first of its kind in Australia, was held in May 1908 by the Automobile Club of Australia. Smith placed his racecourse at the disposal of the Club for the day and also acted as a judge. His cars also participated, and his ten-horsepower De Dion won the three mile race in its category. The main Championship race was won by a 4 cylinder 25 h.p. Talbot car, at an average speed of over 40 mph[160].

A highlight of the afternoon's entertainment was a one mile race between Joynton Smith's trotting horse Silver Boy and a four-cylinder 36 horsepower Darracq automobile, driven by Mr. A. J. Knowles. Smith, a renowned trotting enthusiast, was confident his horse could beat any car over half a mile from a flying start. With Smith at the reins, the horse jumped to an early lead of a dozen lengths, but

in the straight the car got into its stride. They were level with a furlong to go, and then the car bounded into the lead, winning by about six lengths amidst great enthusiasm from the assembled crowd. In the end, one horsepower was no match for 36 horsepower[161].

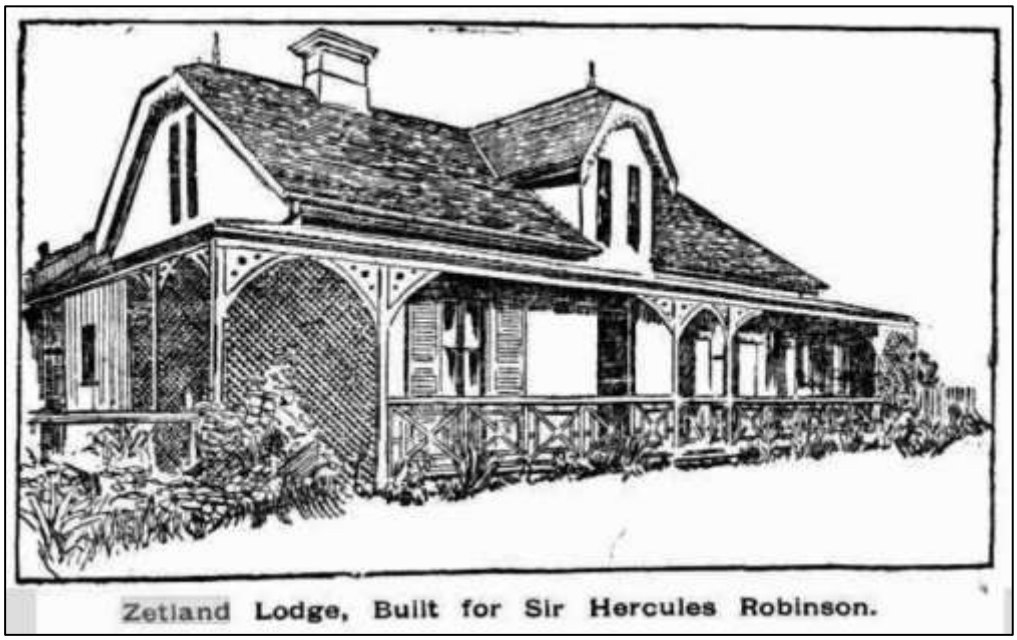

Figure 20 Zetland Lodge - *Evening News*, 6 August 1904

During the race, Joynton Smith wore the so-called "Zetland spots" of white with red spots, the colours of the former Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, a keen supporter of the turf and the owner of a number of horses. The colours had been presented to Smith by Thomas Lamond (the Governor's former trainer), as Victoria Park was situated on the old Zetland Estate, and were worn for the first time during Saturday's challenge match[162]. The Governor had built Zetland Lodge on the estate, located inside the corner of Bourke and Elizabeth Streets, on five acres of land leased from William Cooper, establishing racing stables. Thomas Lamond purchased the lease of Zetland Lodge from Robinson in 1878 when he returned to England[163].

Figure 21 Police carnival at Victoria Park - SLNSW

In August 1908, a gymkhana was held at Victoria Park under the patronage of the Premier, Charles Wade, and the Mayor and Aldermen of South Sydney, to coincide with the visit of the United States Navy's Great White Fleet. The program consisted of foot racing, a tug of war, cycle races and a parade of bands. An additional feature was a parade of motor cars, a motor car race and a demonstration of the possibilities of the motor car in time of war[164]. The last item on the program was a "tortoise race" over 220 yards for motor cars, in which the last car home won (reputedly an entertaining test of skill)[165].

By August 1908, the gravelly cinder motor racing track was replaced by a hard rolled clay surface, which was expected to make for faster speeds of 50 to 70 mph[166]. The course proper, consisting of grass, was opened for racing in October 1908. The track was a mile and a quarter long (ten furlongs), with a strait three furlongs long and ninety feet wide, with an enlargement after the winning post. There were stalls and boxes for 150 horses[167].

Apart from competitive sports meetings, local companies held their picnics at the racecourse for the recreation of their staff and families. For example, in March 1909 the Australian Rope Works' employees held a sports event, with Joynton Smith present, during which the following activities entertained the picnic-goers:

- Rope Works Handicap over 100 yards.
- Old Buffers Race.
- Reel and Cotton Race (for female competitors).
- Cleaving the Turk's Head. (A cavalry competition in which a wooden head on top of a post was attacked with a sword from horseback).
- Tug of war[168].

Figure 22 Maypole at Victoria Park 1909 - SLNSW

In 1909, the Kensington and Victoria Park racecourses were provided free of charge to Randwick Council for its jubilee celebrations. Smith made Victoria Park liberally available for many charitable causes, and he was knighted for his philanthropy in 1920. The course was also sometimes used for the type of militaristic demonstrations popular before World War I, including in 1909 a dreadnought battleship fundraiser, and in 1915 a sports carnival to raise funds for the war effort. The profits from many wartime race meetings were donated to the war effort. The course hosted a number of police carnivals, featuring motorcycle stunt riding displays. In 1918, a prototype rally-cross automobile race was run on the cinder track, attended by 18,000 spectators. Victoria Park, like the Kensington racecourse, encircled a small golf course, which earned the racing club £500 per annum from the lease[169].

Powered flight before aerodromes

The American brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright designed and flew the first powered aircraft to achieve controlled flight in December 1903 at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. They also developed much of the technology associated with powered flight, including the first practical propeller, which they designed by intensive theoretical study using mathematical principles. The 1903 Wright Flyer used two propellers driven by chains from the engine, each providing half the thrust and turning in opposite directions to negate the torque effect that would result from a single propeller, or two propellers turning in the same direction.

Figure 23 Wright Flyer 1903 - US Library of Congress

A Wright Model A was imported into Australia in October 1909 by Lawrence Arthur Adamson, then headmaster of Wesley College Melbourne, who had taken a keen interest in aviation. Colin Defries (1884-1963) was an English motor racing driver and aviator who was hired to fly the plane, which he named Stella after his wife. He used it in an attempt to achieve the first powered flight in Australia, promoted by the theatrical impresarios J. & N. Tait. Defries' three attempts in December 1909 at

Victoria Park racecourse have been claimed to be the first flight of a manned heavier-than-air powered aircraft in Australia[170].

However, there is a longstanding controversy between NSW and Victoria over when the first controlled powered flight in Australia was made. The Aviation Historical Society of Australia (NSW) (AHSA) and the Sydney branch of the Royal Aeronautical Society's Australian Division (RAS) both support the view that Defries made the nation's first flight under control and power. He first flew his aircraft about 115 yards on 9 December 1909[171]. Then on 22 December he made a longer flight of about 300 yards, but crashed when he lost his favourite hat mid-flight and instinctively tried to grab it (as you would), taking his hand off the lever that kept the plane elevated[172]. He said that the broken wing strut and torn tyre were normal damage when landing in those days, and that the plane could be repaired in time to be flown again in Victoria.

THE EVENT OF THE CENTURY.

DIRECTION J and N. TAIT.

Starting
TOWN HALL, THURSDAY, NOV. 18.
TOWN HALL, THURSDAY, NOV. 18.

Messrs. J. and N. Tait have the greatest pleasure in announcing that they will have the honor of first introducing to the Southern Hemisphere that marvellous creation, the

WILBUR WRIGHT AEROPLANE.

CONSTRUCTION OPERATIONS WILL START on
THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, at 1 o'clock.

Thereafter, the Machine will be on Public Exhibition for a few days, from 1 to 6, and 7.30 to 10.30 p.m.

TICKETS TO WITNESS THE CONSTRUCTION will be on sale at Paling's, 5s each, on TUESDAY Next, Nov. 15th, from 9 a.m. Sale of these tickets is absolutely limited. Ordinary Prices, Afternoon, 3s; Evening, 2s.

MR. COLIN DEFRIES, who will undertake the flight, has arrived in Sydney.

Figure 24 Colin Defries arrives in Sydney - *The Star*, 13 November 1909

Meanwhile, south of the border, Victorians consider that the legendary American escapologist Harry Houdini (1874-1926) made the first powered flight in Australia on 18 March 1910 at the Victorian town of Diggers Rest (30km north-west of Melbourne). On that occasion, Houdini flew a Voison biplane in a circle and landed back where he started, whereas Defries flew in a straight line[173].

In an attempt to settle what is essentially a one-eyed State of Origin dispute, the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences quoted the definition of powered flight established by the Gorell Committee on behalf of the Aero Club of Great Britain which dictated the acceptance or rejection of a flight as "Free flight in an aeroplane occurs when the machine, having left the ground, is maintained in the air by its own power on a level or upward path for a distance beyond that over which gravity and air resistance would sustain it". There was no requirement for lateral control or return to the point of

take-off. Based on this definition, Defries achieved the first powered flight on 9 December 1909[174]. Two years later, William Ewart Hart (1885-1943), the holder of the first Australian flying licence, took off from Victoria Park in December 1911[175].

In May 1914, the Frenchman Maurice Guillaux thrilled Sydneysiders with spectacular aerobatics displays at Victoria Park racecourse. He arrived in Sydney in April with his aeroplane, a Bleriot monoplane powered by a 50 horsepower Gnome engine. Guillaux was the first man to perform a loop-the-loop over Paris, and his plane was the same type flown across the English Channel in 1909 by its inventor, Louis Bleriot. Guillaux was already an experienced aviator, having flown from Paris to London with a passenger, and also having won the Pommery Cup in April 1913, covering the longest distance in flight at the time (during 48 hours) of over 1,200 km from Biarritz in southern France to Kollum on the Zuyder Zee in the Netherlands[176].

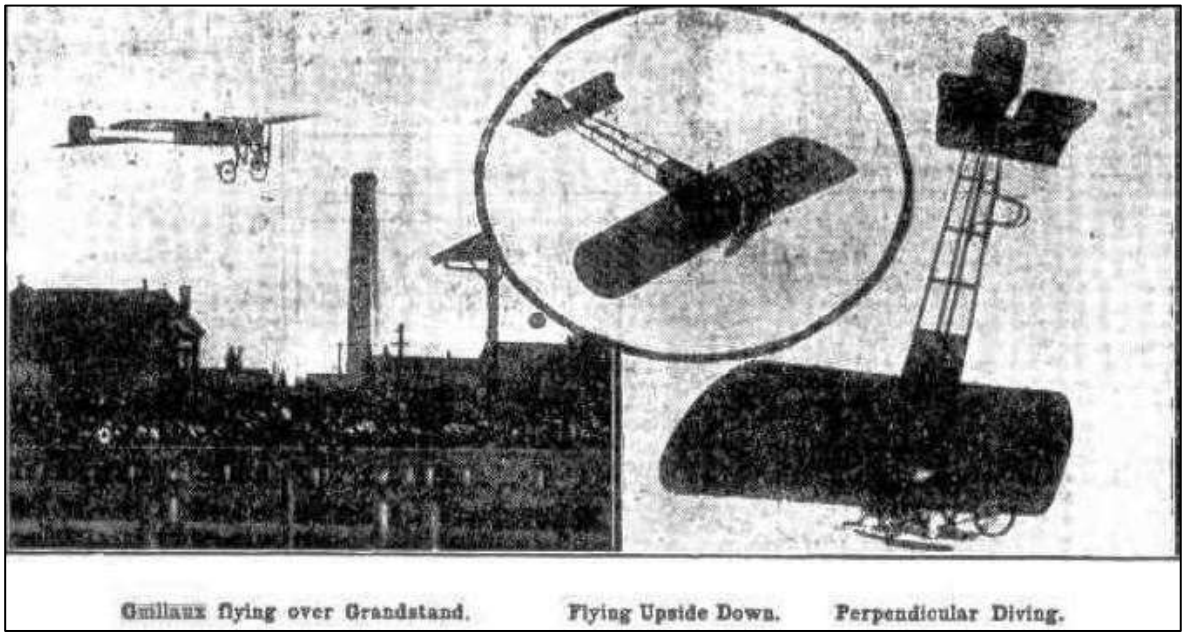

Figure 25 Maurice Guillaux in action at Victoria Park - *The Sun*, 3 May 1914

The next month, a large audience of 30,000 to 40,000 thronged into Victoria Park, with another 30,000 enjoying a free view from adjacent sandhills and elevated streets. The audience included the Governor Sir Gerald and Lady Edeline Strickland, as well as William Hart. He began by climbing to about 5,000 feet, then shutting off the engine and diving a couple of thousand feet straight down. While the audience held its collective breath, the engine eventually came to life and the plane soared gracefully back up to great heights. He then performed a series of ten loop-the-loops before landing on the track to wild applause[177]. On landing after another display a week later, he mentioned that he could see the horses racing at Randwick during the flight, but could not pick a winner[178]. The last great aerial event at Victoria Park before purpose-built aerodromes took over was in 1922, a race between eight aircraft over 80 to 90 miles that was called the "great Aerial Derby"[179].

The decline of pony racing

The NSW Government's Select Committee on Pony Racing in 1923-24 was prompted by the trainers' strike in May 1923. The committee found no fault in pony racing management, but witnesses claimed race fixers operated with impunity. Little came out of the inquiry, except to stain the

reputation of pony racing. In 1931, Premier Jack Lang proposed an end to mid-week racing, which would have ruined the pony clubs, which were based around Wednesday racing. He did not act on this, and in the event he had his own Premiership terminated by the Governor Sir Philip Game in May 1932. In 1932, the Victorian parliament passed legislation that ended pony racing entirely and closed four Melbourne racecourses[180].

Pony racing in NSW safeguarded its short-term future by becoming part of AJC racing in 1933. But the *Racing (Amendment) Act 1937* foretold the end of pony racing from 1 January 1943. From this day, no licences would be issued for proprietary racing clubs. A select committee was formed in March 1938 to investigate if non-proprietary associations could run race meetings with no undue hardship. One of the committee's actions was for the first time to nominate specific racecourses for closure. While the main goal of the legislation was the suppression of illegal off-course betting, the Government did not want to reward racing companies by increasing attendance.

Figure 26 Racing at Victoria Park, 1940s - City of Sydney Archives

The Select Committee reported back to the Government in 1939, concluding that there was little wrong with racing in NSW: the pony clubs ran their affairs properly, racing was controlled efficiently, and prize money was fair and reasonable (even though horse owners had complained that pony race prizes were too low). However, they recommended delicensing of Kensington and Ascot to increase prize money, and that the remaining clubs be made non-proprietary. The recommendations predicted the end of proprietary racing, even before World War II had its own impact[181].

Royal South Sydney Hospital

A meeting at North Botany Town Hall in March 1909, attended by James Joynton Smith, heard that because the South Sydney district was growing as a manufacturing centre, a local hospital had become a necessity[182]. Initial fundraising efforts by local residents had been underway since 1908. Prominent among the fundraisers was Joynton Smith, whose efforts across several suburbs resulted in a public meeting in 1909 at Redfern Town Hall, at which he was elected provisional president of the future South Sydney Hospital[183]. At the meeting, Joynton Smith pledged that land for the

hospital would be assured, because if the owners of the Cooper Estate would not provide the required area of land, he would donate a block himself, valued at £1,000. He also declared he would set aside the proceeds from a race meeting at Victoria Park later in the year to make a contribution to the maintenance of the hospital[184]. In February 1909, Sir William Cooper announced the donation of a site of 2.25 acres of the Cooper Estate for the proposed hospital. Joynton Smith also promised an ongoing donation of £500 per year.

Figure 27 Royal South Sydney Hospital - Flickr user Dunedoo

Despite doubts being raised about the success of a public hospital in the South Sydney area[185], the foundation stone was unveiled on Trafalgar Day (21 October) 1909, by Lord Chelmsford, the NSW Governor[186]. The hospital became the philanthropic Joynton Smith's favourite charity, and he even donated the proceeds from football matches between the Rugby Union Wallaby team and the Rugby League Kangaroos in 1909, which he had financed. He remained a director of the hospital until his death[187].

Tenders were called in March 1912 for the construction of a 25-bed hospital, and work commenced in May[188]. The South Sydney Hospital was officially opened in August 1913 at 3 Joynton Avenue, Zetland, by NSW Governor Sir Gerald Strickland. Ms. M. Orrock was appointed Director of Nursing. The Administration and Pathology buildings from 1913 are surviving examples of late Federation hospital buildings. In December 1917, the Minister for Health announced that King George V had conferred the title "Royal" on the hospital. In 1918, the bed capacity was increased to 110 when verandahs were added to the existing wards[189]. The influenza pandemic resulted in the facility being used solely as an influenza hospital (apart from emergency admissions) from June 1919 until the outbreak was brought under control later that year[190].

The hospital and its buildings evolved to meet the health needs of the local community. The Administration building was originally constructed in the Federation Queen Anne style, with a single storey portion at the front and a two storey section at the rear. The building has been heavily

modified and no longer resembles its original form. The main portion of the building is now three stories high with a gabled roof. The Outpatients building was constructed in about 1935, and is one of the more intact buildings on the site, although not part of the original 1913 scheme. The Nurses Home (the eastern wing) is a three storey Inter-War Georgian Revival style building. The first stage was completed in about 1938 and the second stage in 1957[191].

Figure 28 RSSH toy fund, Christmas 1936 - SLNSW

In 1956, a Pilot Rehabilitation Project was set up by Dr. Naomi Wing, Honorary Rheumatologist, and funded by local industries. The Royal South Sydney Hospital Rehabilitation Centre was established in disused Army huts and pioneered Occupational Rehabilitation in Australia. In 1958, the Pilot Project was taken over by the Hospitals Commission and maintained as a department of the Royal South Sydney Hospital. In October 1963, the Hospital became a teaching hospital in association with the University of New South Wales. In 1976, the present brick buildings were opened to replace the Army huts, and the hospital began to specialise in rehabilitation, orthopaedics and community health. In September 1991, the hospital merged with the Prince of Wales and Prince Henry Hospitals, and in March 1993 was closed for inpatients, but continued to provide other community health services.

Figure 29 Joynton Smith and Matron Grant, Christmas 1940 - SLNSW

The hospital finally closed its doors in March 2003, and the site was transferred to South Sydney Council (now the City of Sydney Council). The Council has adapted many of the hospital buildings as a community and cultural precinct. The Joynton Avenue Creative Centre was launched in 2018 in the former Nurses' Quarters building. The Centre houses over 25 artists, creative practitioners, organisations and start-ups. The Centre also supports creative education programs, jewellery making, exhibitions and cultural events[192].

Figure 30 Banga Community Shed, 2018

The Banga Community Shed is located in the former Pathology building and includes a community garden and children's playground. The shed contains a repair cafe where locals can learn new skills and learn the benefits of repairing and reusing household goods. The Waranara Early Education Centre is located in a former outpatient building that has been transformed into a childcare centre with places for 74 children. The Centre includes play spaces, a vegetable garden and an outdoor kitchen[193].

Figure 31 Joynton Avenue Creative Centre, 2018 - City of Sydney

Smith's Weekly and radio broadcasting

James Joynton Smith was drawn to politics during his time in Sydney. He tried but failed to be elected to the State Government in 1901, was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1912, and served as an Alderman of the Sydney Municipal Council from 1916 to 1918, including a term as Lord Mayor from December 1917. But after being defeated in the municipal elections in December 1918, he decided he still wanted to have a voice in public affairs, and resolved to start a newspaper to represent his views. With Robert Packer (father of Frank and grandfather of Kerry) as manager and Claude McKay as editor, he launched *Smith's Weekly* in March 1919, after investing £20,000 in its formation. Employing popular artists and writers, it found a large and appreciative readership with its jaunty style[194].

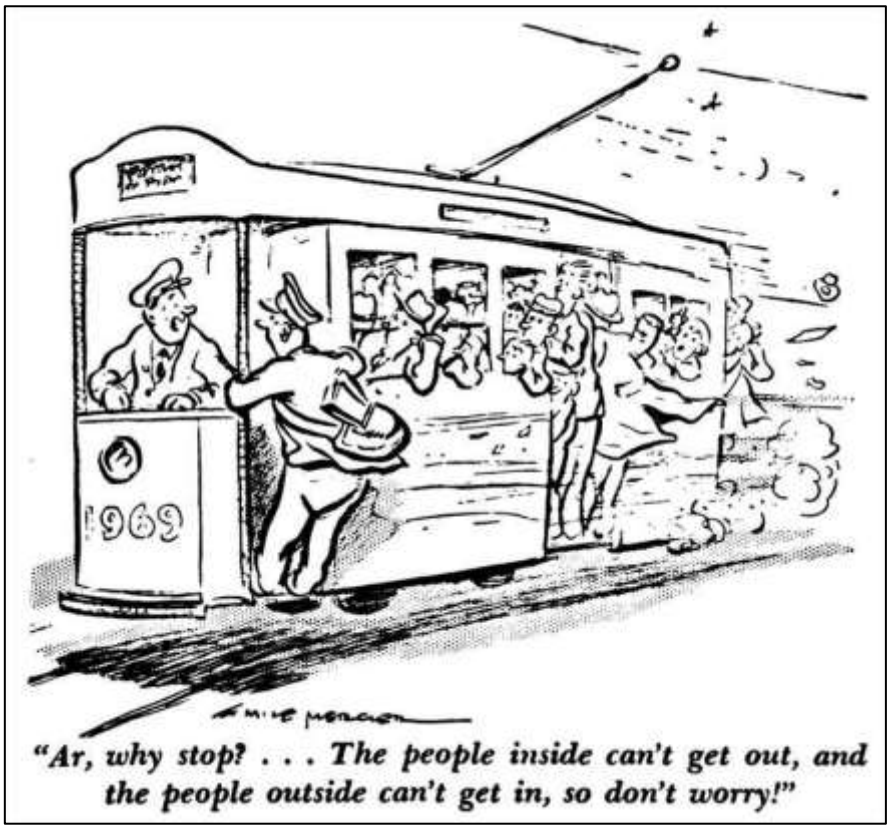

Figure 32 Emile Mercier cartoon

The veteran newspaper editor Jules Francois Archibald (1856-1919) founded and ran the *Bulletin* in 1880, until selling out in 1914 and retiring from journalism. But on hearing of the founding of *Smith's Weekly*, he promptly walked into the newspaper's office and offered his help. Until his death five months later at 63, he advised the young staff and sought talent to enhance the growing stable of reporters and artists[195].

A big attraction during the 1920s was its "Unofficial History of the AIF" feature that helped perpetuate the image of the digger as an easy-going type with a healthy lack of respect for authority. The paper also worked hard to ensure that promises made to soldiers during wartime (covering both World Wars) were not forgotten in peace time. A particular concern was men affected by shell shock, a condition that drew scorn rather than sympathy from some "experts". The paper was mainly directed at the male market, especially ex-servicemen, and mixed satire and controversial

opinions with sporting and finance news. It reflected fairly accurately the language and attitudes of working class men of the time, was blatantly jingoistic and chauvinistic, but was always highly entertaining[196].

Figure 33 Stan Cross cartoon - *Smith's Weekly*, 29 July 1933

It also featured short stories and many cartoons and caricatures as a prominent feature of its lively format. During the Inter-War period, the comic strip emerged as possibly its most popular feature. Australian newspapers of the time were mostly dull featureless affairs with grey columns of type and headlines. Only half-tone photographs livened up the page a little. This changed dramatically when *Smith's Weekly* hit the newsstands[197]. Until its closure in 1950, the *Weekly* was enlivened by the cartoons and comic strips of Emile Mercier, Stan Cross (1920-1939), Eric Joliffe and Jim Russell. Notable writers and journalists employed by Smith were George Blaikie, Henry Lawson, Lennie Lower and the poet Kenneth Slessor (who also served as editor).

Another newspaper venture by Joynton Smith was the *Daily Guardian,* a daily newspaper launched in 1923 to cater for country interests, and operated from the *Smith's Weekly* building until 1931. The *Sunday Guardian* was launched in 1929. He sold the two *Guardians* to Sir Hugh Denison in January 1930[198]. The same year, Smith became the proprietor of the two sporting newspapers *Referee* and *Arrow* until 1939. The fortunes of *Smith's Weekly* faded during the 1930s, but revived somewhat during World War II. Rising costs and lack of capital after the War forced its closure in October 1950.

In May 1923, the Australian Government convened a conference in Melbourne to discuss the establishment of a radio broadcasting service in the country. Ernest Fisk, proprietor of Amalgamated Wireless (Australia) Ltd (AWA), and a dominant figure in the growing field, proposed a controversial Sealed Set system in which listeners paid a subscription to one or two stations of their choice and then received a radio set tuned only to those stations. Germany and Japan had used this system, but by contrast American broadcasting was free and open. The Government opted for the Sealed Set scheme, and approved a limited number of stations in the capital cities.

The first radio station to go to air in Sydney was 2SB (later 2BL), financed by a consortium including Joynton Smith and the department stores David Jones and Anthony Hordern & Sons. It commenced broadcasting in November 1923 from the *Smith's Weekly* building in Phillip Street. It was characteristic of Smith that he was willing to finance a wide range of new ideas that he believed in, even if they looked like risky investments at the time. During the initial broadcast, the Postmaster-General (William Gibson) acknowledged Joynton Smith's support by declaring that "it was very much to the credit of the youngest of the Sydney newspapers that it has sponsored this enterprise". The unpopular Sealed Set scheme was dropped after a few months and replaced by an open system in which listeners paid a licence fee to the Government for unlimited access to a growing number of stations across the dial[199].

Wartime usage and the end of pony racing

The Army marches in

Soon after the outbreak of World War II, many sites were taken over by the Army for defence purposes. Pony racing was not greatly held back during World War I, despite the impositions of the war and the 1919 influenza outbreak. In fact, it coincided with its period of greatest popularity in Sydney. By contrast, during World War II the nation was under direct threat of invasion, and was weakened by the severe economic depression of the 1930s. Horse racing in Australia was curtailed much more during this period, as the authorities believed that popular spectator sports distracted the population from the task of winning the war.

Racecourses could almost have been designed for quick conversion to military training camps and depots. They had a large area of fenced-off open space for pitching tents and drilling troops, and office buildings for administration purposes. They came with necessary infrastructure such as water, electricity, sanitation, stables, telephone communications and road access. In addition, kitchens and dining areas under the grandstands were put to use for feeding the troops on their way to or from the war front.

In the southern suburbs, Rosebery racecourse was an early casualty, being occupied in October 1939, although racing continued until July 1940. After that, its meetings were held at nearby Victoria Park. The Army occupation of Rosebery continued until October 1946, hosting the 1st Australian Returned Stores Depot in the later part of the War[200]. The Victoria Park track continued to operate as a training ground while the Army occupied the central part of the course and the buildings[201]. The centre of the track was used to store 1,000 huts, while a number of temporary buildings, mainly for storage, were erected to service an ordnance unit known as the RSD 2AAOD[202].

One of the problems of Army occupation was reported in May 1942 when a soldier was charged at Central Court for stealing six electric motors from the totalisator building in Joynton Avenue, valued at £40. He was caught by the police trying to sell one of them in a second-hand shop in the city[203]. Army occupation of Victoria Park continued until November 1943[204].

The last days of pony racing

In December 1941, Premier William McKell reaffirmed the decision to delicense proprietary racing clubs from 1 January 1943. He suspended mid-week meetings, so the pony clubs lost 44 of their 48 meetings for 1942. Wartime restrictions had rapidly achieved what the AJC had failed to in 40 years of trying – the drastic reduction of pony racing in New South Wales[205]. Randwick was closed to racing in March 1942, leaving just Ascot and Victoria Park operating in Sydney[206].

The final races on the pony courses were not commemorated, because no one knew at the time that it was the end of the sport. The last race at Victoria Park was reported by the *Daily Telegraph* in April 1942[207], after which the Army occupied it. It was reported soon afterwards that it was very doubtful if racing or training would resume there in the near future[208]. By the next month, Victoria Park's trotting meetings were being held at Harold Park[209] and Ascot[210]. It was not lost on racing fans that Victoria Park had been holding trotting meetings every fortnight for 31 years since August 1911 (weather permitting), and this was the first time the Club's races were held away from the course[211].

In 1943, Premier William McKell took advantage of wartime restrictions to quickly push the *Sydney Turf Club Act* through Parliament, which in peacetime would have been strongly opposed by the proprietary interests. The Act authorised the newly-formed Sydney Turf Club (STC) to take over any of the soon-to-be unlicensed proprietary properties it thought suitable. Four racecourses were purchased, but surprisingly Victoria Park was not, apparently due to a personality clash between representatives of the STC and the Victoria Park Company. As the racecourses in southern Sydney closed during this period, the character of the suburbs changed radically. Business associated with the racing trade went elsewhere, along with much of the culture and large green spaces provided by the racecourses[212].

The post-War cleanup

Military occupation usually caused enormous damage to racecourses. Heavy vehicles caused ruts and compressed the course proper and the paved areas, running rails were dismantled, buildings were modified to suit army needs, and other infrastructure was worn out by excessive usage. After the Army moved out, it was difficult to picture them as former racecourses[213].

Figure 34 Wartime damage at Rosebery, 1946 - Australian War Memorial

In March 1945, the Victoria Park Racing and Recreations Co Ltd laid a claim for wartime damage before the Commonwealth Compensation Board. The racing company claimed £44,773 plus £220 per week rental, and two subsidiary companies, the Australian Trotting Co Ltd and Victoria Park Turf Club claimed £6,125 and £12,250 respectively. The company's lawyer, Mr. Weston, K.C., pointed out that the Army occupied the course from 17 April 1942 to 2 November 1943, and caused so much damage that the course could no longer be used for racing. Special mention was made of the much-

admired grandstand, which the Army systematically dismantled to provide timber for its storage buildings. The claimants valued the whole property at £158,000 for future subdivision purposes[214].

Two weeks later, the Commonwealth Compensation Board announced that the Victoria Park Racing Club was entitled to only £14,084 compensation from the Army for damage to its racecourse. This did not include any amount for rental or rates and taxes, as the Board decided that only material damage would be compensated. The question of damage to the totalisator and its building was stood over for further investigation by experts[215]. In the end, payment of compensation to the racecourses was delayed for several years and was generally not enough to restore them to their pre-war condition. This did much to discourage the resumption of racing on many courses[216].

Automobile manufacturing

The tussle over valuable land

In January 1945, a three-year lease on Victoria Park was established by the Sydney Turf Club to conduct the training of horses[217]. In June, this was transferred to the AJC[218], which was considering the purchase of the course for Saturday racing, although not for the time being[219]. By this time, both the Municipal Council and the owners of the former racecourse knew that the former racecourse was a highly desirable piece of land that would attract a number of industries keen to make use of it.

The racing fraternity hoped that the STC would take it over as a midweek racing course, but realised that a fortune would have to be spent on track buildings and other appointments to bring it in line with modern racecourse requirements. The site was in a highly industrialised area and the land was valuable as a location for factories. Against this was the Federal Government's move to decentralise industry, meaning that they may not sanction so large an enterprise close to the city[220].

The British industrialist Lord Nuffield made the first of many visits to Australia prior to World War II to organise a sales operation of his Morris cars. Immediately after the war, he decided to expand his organisation into Australia. During one visit he learned that the Victoria Park racecourse was for sale. It took some time to convince his Board of Directors of the value of this move, although it was anticipated that a factory at this site could produce up to 50,000 cars per year. The Australian branch of the company was incorporated in May 1945 with a nominal value of £1 million[221].

In October 1945, Lord Nuffield purchased the 57-acre racecourse site for £205,000, to be used as a car assembly plant. But the AJC's lease would not expire until 1948. He planned to sell some of the land for industrial uses to recoup some of the purchase cost, but the Sydney Council rejected a residential development proposal because the area was zoned for industrial use only[222].

Preparations did not proceed smoothly, and in March 1946 Lord Nuffield suddenly cancelled plans to establish a car assembly plant at Victoria Park. This followed suggestions from the Sydney Turf Club to Nuffield's Australian representative (which were not denied by Premier William McKell) that the STC might use its power to take over the site at the end of the lease in order to keep horse training at the site. In response, Nuffield said he would instead establish a plant in Adelaide, to be run by Richards Industries. McKell was widely criticised for favouring the STC (an entity created by his government in 1943) over a large industrial investment that would greatly benefit Sydney during the post-war reconstruction period[223].

Meanwhile, the Federal Government was not perturbed by the possible transfer of Nuffield's car enterprise to South Australia. In accordance with its decentralisation policy, it would prefer to see industries go to Brisbane, Adelaide and smaller cities rather than Sydney or Melbourne[224]. Over in Adelaide, Premier Thomas Playford had long held an ambition to make his State the Detroit of Australia, and already had two flourishing motor body manufacturers operating: General Motors Holden and Richards[225].

But Lord Nuffield had not entirely given up his original plans for Victoria Park, and he left England in December 1947 on another visit to Australia to continue negotiations with the NSW Government and the STC[226]. Following an agreement reached in January 1948, the Government, now under Premier James McGirr, undertook to amend the *Sydney Turf Club Act* to exclude Victoria Park from

the list of racecourses that could be resumed by the STC. This had been the stumbling block in 1946 with former Premier William McKell. The STC agreed to this measure as long as it was given the Botany Lakes area for a future racecourse[227].

The next month, Lord Nuffield announced that a car factory would be built at Victoria Park, and he expected it to open in twelve months. The plant would initially employ 500 Australian workers and a few experts from England, and would not encroach on the racing track where horses were being exercised. It would manufacture bodies for two models of Morris passenger cars, one Morris utility model, five models of Morris heavy commercial vehicles, two models of Wolseley passenger cars, two models of MG (midget) passenger car and two models of Riley passenger cars[228]. Nuffield said that he chose Sydney as the natural location for a car factory because 40% of all cars sold in Australia were in NSW, and 40% more were in adjacent Victoria and Queensland[229].

Car assembly commences

Construction of factory buildings began in March 1948, much of it by using recycled bricks from demolished racecourse buildings due to a post-war materials shortage[230]. Most building supplies in the country were earmarked for domestic consumption, so building such a huge factory was a big problem. This influenced the way the plant was constructed, and initially its operation. Over 85,000 bricks recovered from the Paddock and Leger stands[231], and another 35,000 second-hand bricks were purchased[232]. The main factory was constructed from two Royal Navy hangars obtained from the Disposals Committee[233].

When Premier James McGirr opened the motor car assembly plant in March 1950, he said that care had been taken to avoid using materials that would interfere with the building of homes and hospitals[234]. Some existing buildings were retained, including the totalisator (which was adapted for use as administration offices). The former racecourse continued to be subdivided and transformed into an industrial complex, but the training track remained in use for a few years alongside the growing car factory[235].

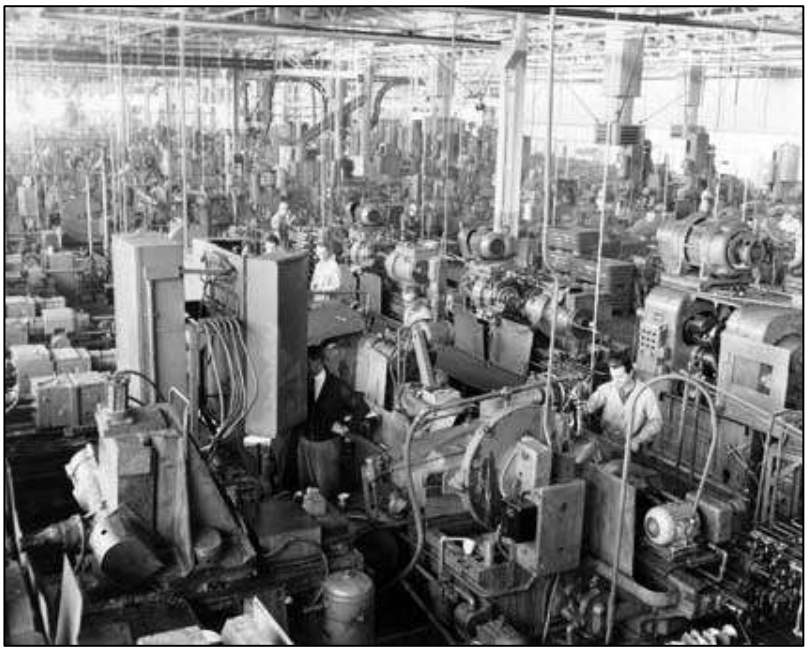

Figure 35 BMC engine shop, 1958 - National Archives of Australia

In July 1950, Lord Nuffield gave the Sydney City Council an area of land on the northern edge of Victoria Park to form a new road between South Dowling and Bourke Streets. He asked that it be named in honour of the Lord Mayor Alderman Ernest O'Dea[236]. The Mayor's refreshingly honest response was "If Lord Nuffield is flattering enough to make this suggestion, I am vain enough to accept it". In August 1950, the chairman of the AJC reported that he had been informed by George Lloyd (Lord Nuffield's representative) that the training lease on the racecourse would expire in a year's time, and that trainers would need to make other arrangements after that, possibly at Warwick Farm, where land was available[237]. The trainers and their horses eventually vacated Victoria Park in August 1952[238].

The remaining land not required for the car factory was sold in twelve lots in 1952 to several companies, almost all connected with the automotive industry. The income from these transactions was said to be sufficient to repay Nuffield his initial outlay. The first subdivision of five acres on Joynton and Epsom Roads was purchased in 1950 by James N. Kirby Holdings Pty Ltd, an automotive components manufacturer. These land sales quickly created an industrial estate from a large and relatively open space a few years earlier[239].

In 1951, the Morris and Austin motor companies were amalgamated with Lord Nuffield as the chairman of the £5,000,000 holding company[240]. The merger resulted in the registration of the British Motor Corporation (BMC)[241]. Nuffield announced in November that the Morris car assembly plant in Sydney would be doubled to accommodate the Austin assembly work[242]. The next month, Lord Nuffield announced his retirement from the directorships of BMC and Morris Motors and associated companies at the age of 75[243]. In 1954, BMC Australia was formed by the amalgamation of the Austin Motor Company and Nuffield Australia. In 1956, sections of the racecourse running rail and the horse stalls were recycled to become part of the emerging Fairfield trotting complex[244].

Figure 36 Morris 1100 assembly, 1964 - National Archives of Australia

The iconic Mini arrives in Australia

The Mini was a small economy car produced by BMC and its successors from 1959 to 2000. It came about because of a fuel shortage caused by the 1956 Suez Crisis, when petrol was once again rationed in the United Kingdom, and sales of larger cars slumped. German "bubble" cars and the Fiat 500 created an economy car market that BMC was keen to exploit. The result was the Mini, whose space-saving transverse engine and front-wheel drive layout allowed 80% of the car's floorplan to be used for passengers and luggage. Rubber shock absorbers and a side radiator also saved space. The radical design influenced a generation of car makers. It was introduced to Australia in August 1959 as the Morris 850, with local production commencing in 1961.

It proved to be very popular in Australia as it was in the United Kingdom. Its success prompted a revised Australia-only model, called the Morris Mini Deluxe, which commenced production in 1965. This model was the first to use Hydrolastic suspension, to have wind-up windows, an ignition key and an improved level of trim and options[245]. Mini Cooper and Cooper S models were also made and supplied to the Australian and New Zealand police forces as high speed pursuit vehicles. In 1969, BMC in Britain merged with Leyland to form British Leyland Motor Corporation, and the Australian merger in 1972 formed the British Leyland Corporation of Australia.

The very model of a modern factory

During a period of significant post-war reconstruction, the Nuffield facility pioneered the use of advanced engineering and production methods in Australia. At the time it was the only plant in the country to manufacture the complete vehicle. Several innovative processes were used for the first time in Australia, such as in-line transfer machines (for cylinder block and cylinder head manufacture), the Rotodip paint process (for priming complete car bodies), Just-in-Time supply principles and Flexible Manufacturing techniques[246]. Advanced assembly techniques employing integrated conveyor systems (which are still applicable today), were introduced. BMC was also the only facility where four- six- and eight-cylinder vehicles were manufactured under the one roof.

Figure 37 BMC Rotodip painting, 1958 - National Archives of Australia

The post-war period was one of large-scale immigration. BMC played a major role in the assimilation of migrants who brought with them their contribution to Australian culture, and was one of the first companies in Australia to introduce a group migration scheme in 1955. The first to arrive were twelve technicians from BMC's Longbridge plant near Birmingham, England. By 1957, 31 different nationalities made up 48% of the workforce at Victoria Park. British, Maltese and Greeks represented the largest migrant groups[247].

The P76 brings down Leyland Australia

After noting the success of the large family car market in the 1960s, BMC Australia decided to compete in this field, which was dominated by the Ford Falcon, the Chrysler Valiant and the Holden Kingswood. The company's requirements for a new model were that it had to be about the size of a Falcon, but with more interior space than a Valiant, a boot far bigger than the Holden, and more serviceable than any of them[248]. Development work on a big car called the P76 originally began in 1969. A number of configurations were tried and discarded, such as a front-wheel drive version based on the Austin 1800 with a Rover V8 engine. Giovanni Michelotti (creator of stylish Maserati models) designed the car, but Leyland Australia changed the front and rear end – famously creating a boot large enough to hold a 44-gallon drum.

Figure 38 P76 boot - P76 Owners' Club of Victoria & Tasmania

In 1973, Leyland Australia announced that a range of new Leyland cars would replace all former Austin and Morris cars, and the P76 would be introduced for the Australian market alone. Falling sales had seen Leyland Australia's financial position worsening during the 1970s, and the P76 would either make or break the company. It was intended to carry the company through to the end of the decade. The car was offered with either a 2.6 litre six cylinder engine or a 4.4 litre V8 Rover engine.

The paint colours were unusual, and included Am Eye Blue, Hairy Lime, Peel Me A Grape (Metallic) and Plum Loco. WHEELS magazine gave it a rave review on its release, and In January 1974 declared it the WHEELS Car of the Year for 1973.

Figure 39 The P76 - P76 Owners' Club of Victoria & Tasmania

The car was well-equipped, and demand rapidly exceeded supply at the launch. But quality control problems and strikes at the component suppliers reduced the number of cars sold. The 1970s oil price rises also reduced the demand for large cars[249], and the Labor Government reduced the import tariffs protecting local car manufacturers. The timing couldn't have been worse for the struggling Leyland Australia, as British Leyland had its own problems and couldn't bail out the Australian operation. Faced with mounting debts and no help from the parent organisation, Leyland Australia went broke sixteen months after the P76 launch.

The Australian Government bought the factory and unsold cars for $25 million, using many of them as State or Local Authority transport. In the end, 12,524 of the P76 sedans were manufactured before the Leyland plant was closed[250]. On its closure in 1975, the company retrenched almost 7,000 workers[251], causing great anger and protest among the workers' unions[252].

Australian Navy Supply Depot

During World War II, the Australian Navy's logistics support grew into dozens of small sites around Sydney that had been taken over by the Government as warehouses and stores issue depots. From the late 1960s, it was decided to relocate much of the Navy's logistics effort into a single site[253]. Planning was underway for a modern warehouse complex, initially at Woolloomooloo, then from 1969 at Randwick. A $40 million development for Randwick was planned to commence in 1976-77, but the acquisition of the former Leyland car factory at Victoria Park by the Department of Defence in 1975 curtailed the Randwick proposal. At five kilometres from the Garden Island Naval base, Zetland was deemed to be an almost ideal location for a supply centre. Its proximity to the centre of Navy activity, its location in an industrial area and its ready accessibility to road transport were the main factors in its favour[254].

Figure 40 Zetland Naval Supply Centre, c1996 - Landcom

In 1975, a Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works heard evidence on a proposal to establish a Navy supply centre and Army workshop facility at Zetland. The committee's proposal was first referred to the Federal Parliament in October 1975, but lapsed after the dismissal of the Labor Government in November 1975. The Committee's report was again presented to Parliament in May 1976[255], and the Naval Supply Depot commenced operation soon afterwards[256].

The available area at Zetland was 24.9 hectares (62 acres), which was zoned for general industrial use. The site included eight general purpose factory buildings as well as an administration building with room for about 450 staff. The Navy proposed using six of the eight buildings for warehousing, one for onsite servicing of equipment and one for the Army's Sydney

workshop. The stores comprised more than 500,000 items, and held everything from a ship's propellers, generators, frozen foods and pencils. The only exclusions were explosives and missiles[257]. Few new buildings were added in this period of ownership[258].

When the depot was in operation, the Navy progressively released its other sites at Randwick (28 hectares), Leichhardt (2.63 hectares) and Woolloomooloo (0.5 hectare) as well as the Army site at Mascot (2.6 hectares) for other Government or community use. The plan was to complete the amalgamation of all Naval stores at Zetland in approximately four years[259].

In early 1976, Captain (later Rear Admiral) William Crossley commenced as Acting Commodore and Project Director of the Naval Supply Centre. About 800 people, mostly civilians, worked there until 1990, when the Navy stores depot started to wind down[260]. In 1996, the Navy vacated the site, and all Navy stores were moved to the Defence National Storage and Distribution Centre at Moorebank in western Sydney[261]. In the same year, the South Sydney Development Corporation was established to coordinate development of the South Sydney Growth Centre, which included the former Navy stores site[262].

Residential development

In November 1997, Victoria Park was purchased by Landcom, the NSW Government's property developer, to act as master planner and to provide infrastructure such as sewers, telecommunications and new roads. The 1998 master plan allowed for 2,500 buildings, accommodating 3,800 people. The existing buildings were demolished, apart from the totalisator building. Landcom subdivided the site in 1999 and soon afterwards extensive residential towers and apartments were developed on the site[263].

In 2002, Joynton Park opened as part of the residential development[264]. The totalisator building was used as the Green Square Library until mid-2018.

Figure 41 Victoria Park apartments - SLNSW

People associated with Victoria Park

William Hutchinson

A butcher by trade, William Hutchinson (1772-1846) arrived in NSW with a seven year sentence in the *Hillsborough* in 1799. He was transported to Norfolk Island for theft of government stores in Sydney, but was soon employed as overseer of government livestock. He became an emancipist in 1805. By 1809, he was superintendent of convicts. He acquired significant land holdings on Norfolk Island and did lucrative trade selling pork to the government. He was among the last to leave Norfolk Island in February 1814 when that colony was wound down.

In Sydney, Governor Macquarie appointed him superintendent of convicts and public works, succeeding Isaac Nichols in April 1814. Hutchinson was replaced as superintendent in 1823, following John Thomas Bigge's reports into the transportation system. He became a significant businessman in Sydney, forming business partnerships with Edward Eagar, William Redfern and Samuel Terry among others. He also had substantial land holdings in Sydney, its suburbs and surrounding towns, and in Melbourne. He also partnered Francis E. Forbes in commercial undertakings. In 1820 with Samuel Terry, he was part-owner of the Waterloo flour mill, which in 1822 was turned into a company with wide interests, including banking. He sold out in 1825[265].

Daniel Cooper

Daniel Cooper (1785–1853) was convicted of stealing in Chester in 1815 and sentenced to transportation for life. He arrived in Sydney in January 1816 on the *Fanny*, received a conditional pardon in 1818 and an absolute pardon in 1821. Soon after his arrival he established a variety of business interests. In 1821, he became a partner in the firm of Hutchinson, Terry & Co (also known as the Waterloo Company). Originally concerned with flour milling, the company expanded into general merchandising. In 1825, he and Solomon Levey became the sole owners of the Waterloo Company, when was then known as Cooper & Levey. The firm continued the activities of its predecessor and developed additional ones.

Solomon Levey left for England in 1826 and did not return, leaving the active direction of the firm to Cooper. He left for England in 1831, intending to return to NSW, but stayed in England, dying there in 1853. The major part of his estate was left to his nephew Sir Daniel Cooper[266].

Solomon Levey

Solomon Levey (1794-1833) was sentenced in 1813 at the Old Bailey as an accessory to the theft of 90 pounds of tea and transported for seven years. Arriving in Sydney in January 1815 on the *Marquis of Wellington*, he lost no time starting a business career in the colony. He was soon dealing in real estate and supplying the government store with various goods. He received an absolute pardon in 1819, and prospered as a storekeeper, shipbroker and agent.

In June 1825, he joined forces with Daniel Cooper. They took over the Lachlan and Waterloo Company, formerly owned by Hutchinson, Terry & Co. The firm Cooper & Levey was founded in January 1826. The partners acquired, by grant or purchase, most of the land in Waterloo, Alexandria, Redfern, Randwick and Neutral Bay. In 1826, Levey went to England to establish a buying office for Cooper & Levey. He never returned to New South Wales and died in London in 1833[267].

Thomas White Melville Winder

Thomas White Melville Winder (1789-1853), merchant and farmer, arrived in Sydney on the *Frederick* in 1817 after ill health forced his retirement as a sea captain. In August 1820, with Samuel Terry, he established the Lachlan Flour Mills in Kensington. In 1821, he and Terry entered into a partnership with William Hutchinson, Daniel Cooper, George Williams and William Leverton and renamed the mill the Lachlan and Waterloo Flour Mills[268]. In 1823, he sold his share of the consortium. He wrote that his name was Tom White Melville Winder, but that he entered the partnership under the name Thomas William Winder[269].

George Julius

Sir George Alfred Julius (1873–1946) was born at Norwich, England. His father Churchill was mechanically minded and encouraged George to spend many hours in the workshop. His father was appointed archdeacon of Ballarat in 1884, and took the family to Victoria. In 1890, they moved to New Zealand when he became bishop of Christchurch[270]. George studied railway engineering at the Canterbury College of the University of New Zealand.

After graduation, he moved to Western Australia to take up a position as an engineer in the locomotive department of the West Australian Government Railways. Then in 1907, he moved to Sydney as a consulting engineer to Allen Taylor & Co. Ltd, timber merchants. He had developed an automatic vote-counting machine while in Western Australia, but changed it into a mechanical totalisator after he moved to Sydney[271]. This is described in more detail in the section on the totalisator. He was appointed first chairman of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in 1926 (called the CSIRO from 1949), and held this position until 1945[272].

Frederick and Octavius Ebsworth

Frederick Ebsworth (1816-1884) was born in London. His father Thomas was with the firm of Marsh & Ebsworth which handled John Macarthur's wool, and was the auctioneer in 1821 when a bale of Macarthur's wool fetched 124 pence per pound. Frederick arrived in Sydney on the *Hashemy* in 1839 and set up as a wool broker in Pitt Street. He developed wide business interests, including pioneering the use of steam for making tallow, a method that was adopted on a large scale by several graziers.

Figure 42 Octavius Ebsworth, 1852 - SLNSW

His younger brother Octavius Bayliffe (1827-1870), a wool broker and manufacturer, was born in London and came to Sydney on the *Catherine Jamieson* in 1848. He became a partner and probably manager of Thomas Barker's tweed mill in Sydney in 1853-54. He worked on and off for Thomas Mort until becoming the owner of Barker's clothing mill in Sussex Street in 1860-70. Octavius also had a wool washing establishment and bought wool, tallow, hide and cotton for overseas and local firms[273].

James Joynton Smith

Sir James John Joynton Smith (1858-19430) was born at Bishopsgate, London, in October 1858. His father was a master brass finisher, then later a gasfitter and ironmonger. James worked in London until signing on under an assumed name to Pacific & Orient (P&O), working on the liners as a cook until one of the ships reached Port Chalmers, New Zealand, in October 1874. He worked in hotels and as a steward on coastal ships, then became a prosperous hotel licensee in Wellington. He married Ellen McKenzie in Auckland in April 1882. In 1886, he went alone to England where he gambled away his savings. After that, he abstained from gambling.

In about 1890 he came to Sydney, and in 1892-1896 he managed the Grand Central Coffee Palace in Clarence Street. He divorced and remarried in 1893 to Nellie Eloise Parkes, whose family were experienced hoteliers. In 1896, known by then as Joynton Smith, he laid the foundation for his fortune when he leased the run-down Imperial Arcade Hotel and renamed it the Arcadia. By 1924, he had purchased the entire arcade for £147,500. He later owned Hotel Astra in Bondi and the Carlton in the city. He later bought other hotels, including the Carrington Hotel and two theatres in Katoomba.

He always saw himself as a sportsman and was adept at making money from sport. He was a dog fancier and owned and drove trotting horses. His long history of racecourse ownership is detailed earlier in this work. He was involved in financing and otherwise supporting the creation of rugby league from 1909, and remained a patron of the sport until his death. He was actively involved in many of the innovations of his time, such as powered flight, the inception of radio broadcasting, and the use of cartoons and comic strips to enliven his newspapers[274]. Resplendent in a moustache, monocle, glass eye, and gold-mounted lobster claw cigarette holder, Joynton Smith was a widely-recognised man around town in Sydney[275]. He made a fortune from the "pastimes of the people", which in his case could be summarised as Pubs, Papers and Ponies.

William Morris (Lord Nuffield)

William Morris (later Lord Nuffield) (1877-1963) was born in Worcester, and at fifteen was apprenticed to a bicycle maker in Oxford, tapping into the army of undergraduate cyclists. At seventeen, he was repairing cycles and selling his own model. He was also a talented bicycle racer and over the following years won a hundred championship races.

After moving from bicycles to motorcycle manufacture in the early 1900s, he founded the Morris Motor Company in 1910, which eventually launched some twenty five different models of Morris cars on the motoring public. Car manufacture took off after World War 1, and production rose dramatically from 400 cars manufactured in 1919 to 56,000 by 1925.

Morris pioneered Henry Ford's techniques of mass production in England. When suppliers had difficulties or were unwilling to expand production, Morris simply purchased the companies and

changed them to his production needs. He became the most famous industrialist of his age, and in 1938 was ennobled as Viscount Nuffield. By then he had bought the Wolseley and Riley companies and was manufacturing their models. After merging with Austin Motor Company in 1952 to form the British Motor Corporation, Nuffield retired at age 75 in December 1952.

Nuffield eventually disbursed a large part of his substantial fortune to charitable causes, in particular giving £10 million to establish the Nuffield Foundation in 1943 to advance education and social welfare. Australian newspapers reported during his frequent visits to this country in the 1950s that he had given away some £30 million during his life[276].

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Index