Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge
From Licenced Hotel to Regional Museum

Dirk HR Spennemann
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1 | Introduction

This document compiles the history and historic context of a public house and accommodation provider located in Albury (NSW), close to the bridge across the Murray River. The Turk’s Head hotel must be interpreted in the same tradition as other hotels that were located at a main road on either side of a river crossing. In order to understand the importance of the Turk’s Head hotel one needs to understand the changing nature and significance of its setting at the crossing place.

This document falls into two parts, a discussion of development and use of the crossing place at Albury over time; and a discussion of the history specific to the Turk’s Head hotel. The study is augmented by a number of appendices that set out the description of the modern appearance of the building as a documentation on public record, information on building materials, as well as a brief history of the Bridge Inn, a hotel that is both spatially and historically associated with the Turk’s Head hotel.

This study found its genesis in the development of a conservation management plan for the Turk’s Head building at 317 Wodonga Place, Albury (NSW). It is not the aim of this study to prove a thesis or to examine a theoretical point, but to compile the background and history of a specific place in its context. Consequently, the study consists primarily of thick description.

At the start of the project the state of knowledge about the structure was very limited and what was published in various pamphlets and newsletter items is riddled with inaccuracies. The sources drawn on for this study are primarily items in historic newspapers, archival sources, Albury City’s administrative files, cadastral and parish maps, historic etchings, and photographs. Some eye witness history of the later period augments the discussion.

Broader Context

Albury developed as a rural service centre because of its location on the early colonial Port Jackson to Port Phillip (i.e. Sydney to Melbourne) communications corridor, which was pioneered for European eyes and minds by Hamilton Hume and William Hovell in 1824 and its position at several fords across the Murray River. These fords, as well as numerous communications routes, had long been used by the Indigenous communities (see below). Soon after commencement as a gazetted township in 1839, Albury flourished, servicing rural grazing runs established by the squatters along the Upper and Central Murray, and soon after providing the goldfields in North-Eastern
Victoria (Beechworth, Yackandandah, Chiltern) with dairy products and meat. Albury benefitted from the passage of the News South Wales land reform with the Robertson Land Acts of 1861, with a leading Albury-based regional newspaper, the *Albury Banner*, actively promoting the selection by small-scale land holders. The fertile lands of the southern Riverina were soon taken up by selectors, often of German origin, leading to agricultural intensification. Albury prospered as a result of this, but also due to the mining boom and agricultural expansion in the Upper Murray. The arrival of the railway in Wodonga in 1873 and especially at Albury in 1881 cemented Albury’s significance as a rural service centre. The expansion of the railway network allowed further intensification of agricultural production in the Southern Riverina.

The recession of 1890-95 affected the Albury area, with farm bankruptcies both in the fertile Riverina and in the Upper Murray, as well a termination of public building projects. The underlying viability of Albury remained, however, despite the decline in Albury's wine industry, as a result of Phylloxera, as well as a decline in share farming in the wheat industry, slowing down the recovery. By the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, the population of Albury comprised of 5,823 residents living in 1,080 dwellings.

Albury continued to grow as a service centre in the 1920s and 1930s, fuelled by the construction of the Hume Dam, and the development of major wool stores. The change in the railway gauges of New South Wales and Victoria continued to give Albury-Wodonga a special role as a transhipment node, which was augmented when it became, *inter alia*, the hub of a Murray Valley bus system that connected the other spokes of the rail network. By World War II, Albury flourished as a major munitions and materials storage and transhipment location.
Notes to the Introduction

1. An in-depth description is included in the conservation management plan (see note 2), but this document is, at least at the present time, 'client eyes only.

2. For the conservation management plan, which had been commissioned by Albury City, see Spennemann (2018).

3. For example, the existing statement of significance is minimalistic: “Interesting early Hotel related to "The Crossing Place". Occupies one of the most important locations in Albury” (NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, 2010).— (Gear, 2008, entry nº 31).

4. For example, a 1984 brochure commingles the naming of the hotel as “Turk's Head Hotel' and 'Bridge Inn'” and then further asserts that, “[l]ater in 1895 the publican Frauenfelder re-introduced the name of Turk's Head Inn', which is the name still used today” (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]). With the exception of a reference in a contractors’ notice of 1882 (Duffy, 1882), the establishment was always referred to as a ‘hotel and never as an ‘inn.’ Further, the appellation 'Turk's Head Hotel' was in continuous use from 1875 to 1900 (see p. 41 ff).

A 1984 pamphlet, for example, erroneously claimed that

“The Turks Head Hotel was built in the late 1850s to accommodate the many travellers who were crossing the river. The construction of the Union Bridge next door in 1861 and collection of customs duties boosted business considerably for the early publicans.”

5. Systematic searches were carried out in the online newspaper database "Trove" hosted by the National Library of Australia (2016). Search terms used varied for each of the queries (e.g. 'hotel name + Albury,’ 'hotel name + name of licensee/owner,’ ‘Albury + name of licensee/owner,’ 'Wodonga Place' etc.). It should be noted that the searchable data, however, are only as good as the quality of the input. This has two limitations. On the one hand, the relevant newspapers, and the years in question, have to be digitised and thus accessible for searching. Not all surviving papers have been digitised, with gaps in particular among small, and low circulation local and subregional papers. Secondly, the scan has to be of such a quality that the automated optical character recognition software can adequately perform the task. On occasion the print quality of the original newspaper paper is weak, thus providing insufficient contrast, or the type used was dirty; a common issue of the pre-Linotype era, for example, is that the counters of the letters were often filled in with paper residue and ink grime. Consequently, the optical character recognition does either not work at all, thereby returning gibberish, or it returns erroneous, misinterpreted results (e.g. returning ‘el’ for ‘d’). While much of this can be, and has been, manually corrected by the community of Trove users (Holley, 2009), by and large this tends to hold true only for metropolitan papers (for which there is a higher demand).

6. Searched via Records NSW as well as uncatalogued material in the vertical history files of the Albury Library-Museum.

7. Accessed via the Historical Land Records Viewer maintained by the NSW Land Registry Services.

8. E.g. Anonymous (1881b) and Border Post (Albury) (1888).— Some town views of Albury provide a general impression, but are not informative regarding the flood plain area at the southern end of Wodonga Place (e.g. Stephen, 1871).

9. Drawn from various sources including Flickr.


12. A. Andrews (1912a); Bayley (1954).


16. (Spennemann, 2016).

17. The development of the rail network allowed rapid and reliable heavy goods transport between Albury and the metropolitan centres. The break in the railway gauge meant that all goods had to be transhipped at Albury.


22. (Rutherford, 1962)
23. (Spennemann, 2006).

24. At Bandiana and Bonegilla.
25. (Spennemann, 2002).
Even though the first Europeans, Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, crossed through the countryside at Albury as early as 1824, the area saw at first little disruption. The NSW government in Sydney was reluctant to over-extend its resources and thus actively discouraged any settlement south of Goulburn. Serious European land use in the Albury area and the concomitant disruption of the Indigenous communities started in 1835 with the establishment of the grazing run of Mungabareena by James Wyse (for Charles H. Ebden). The disruption increased exponentially between 1837 and 1840 when, during the period of squatting extension, more and more country on both sides of the Murray was taken up by large grazing runs.

Albury had been built in the floodplain, on the northern bank of the Murray River, nested between two hills, Monument Hill as the southern end of the Black Range in the west, and Eastern Hill in the east. The Indigenous name for some of the area at the foot of Monument Hill was ‘Bungambrawatha,’ as indicated on the first map of Albury in 1839 (Fig. 11), while ‘Yarrawudda’ was the name for the area at the western foot of Eastern Hill. The initial European settlement occurred primarily on the flood plain, with Robert Browne's 1835 hut and store being located near the confluence of Bungambrawatha Creek and the Murray and directly at the location of the principal ford across the river (see below). This location is hardly surprising given the Aboriginal use of the same general location as a camp area (Fig. 1).

Situated on the Sydney to Melbourne overland track, Albury emerged as the principal crossing place across the Murray both for people and especially for the overlanders driving livestock from New South Wales to Melbourne. At first called the Port Phillip Crossing Place, it became soon known as ‘Hume’s Crossing’. In addition to the ford at Albury proper, there were two other fords close-by, one at Yarrawudda (Fig. 2 nº2) and another at Mungabareena (Fig. 2 nº3). The next reliable, major ford was at Howlong, some 30km downstream.

Indigenous Land Use

Relationship between Indigenous Australians and white settlers

The relationship between the local Indigenous Australian community and white settlers seems to have been solely dependent on the attitude of the individuals concerned. The early European settlers at Albury adopted much of the Indigenous bushcraft to secure their own survival. William Wyse, the first European to settle in the Albury area,
for example fixed his own camp close to the Indigenous camp at Mungabareena. Exchange of goods for services between the Europeans and the Indigenous population commenced soon after, with the Indigenous population quite cognisant of the relative value of European objects.

A drover passing through in December 1838 noted

“The blacks are very tall men, and some of them are very powerful and well proportioned. Among the females, what few I saw, were rather pleasing in their appearance, but not so well featured as those Murrumbidgge, where I saw upwards of three hundred men, women and children. The chiefs paint their bodies in various shapes with yellow and red kind of ochre, and grease themselves under the idea that it makes them more supple. Their principle weapons are spears and waddies, with which they are very expert” (Anonymous, 1839a).

One of the early pastoralists, John FH Mitchell, compiled a word list of Wiradjuri terms that he had learnt while he was a boy playing with Indigenous boys and spending time at the camps of the Indigenous people. Later in life he, as did his
brothers, adopted a very protective, paternalistic attitude to the Indigenous population, but even he could not escape the racist semantics of the time.

Several Indigenous peoples attached themselves as servants to white settlers and officials performing menial tasks in return for food of low quality. Relationships between ‘master and servant’ were often strained, with at least one suicide of an Indigenous person attributed to maltreatment. Indigenous men also worked on the land that the whites had alienated from them and were employed as farm hands, stockmen and drovers.

At Albury, a steady demand existed for the boating skills and river knowledge of the local Indigenous population. In 1844, for example, bark canoes were made seemingly on demand as the need arose. The first formal punt across the Murray was operated by an Aboriginal man, reputedly called ‘Merriman.’ Repeated references are made in peoples’ recollections of 1850s life in Albury that Indigenous men paddling bark canoes maintained the cross-river communications once the Murray was in flood and the punt was flooded. During the floods even the mail was entrusted to and carried across by Indigenous Australian men. Indigenous Australians also assisted the overlanders with the crossing of stock at Bungambrwatha Ford and it was considered that they put in more work than they were being rewarded for.

The general shortage of European women in the region resulted in extended relationships between Indigenous women and Europeans, including, sadly, the transmission of sexually transmitted infections. Such relationships also resulted in a number of offspring. By the 1850s such relationships were frowned upon by the white community, however, often with tragic consequences for the Indigenous women.

Even though relations between settlers and the Indigenous community at first appeared to be amicable, this soon changed. Events that stand out in the wider region are the Faithfull ‘massacre’ of April 1838 when numerous Indigenous people were killed near Benalla in response to them killing some Europeans, and the Dora Dora massacre of 1838, when a number of Indigenous Australians were indiscriminately killed by settlers. Travelling from Albury to Howlong, Henry Bingham commented that ‘the natives appear to have a hostile feeling to the squatters from past experience.’

Furthermore, clashes among the Indigenous population itself, which on occasion could be quite violent, made some European settlers nervous. Reminiscences written at the end of the nineteenth century, for example, mention a 1846 conflict between some 800 Indigenous Australians from the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, which was fought out near Bungambrawatha.

Some residents later claimed that “it was scarcely safe to wander the suburb now represented by Guinea-Street without firearms.” In response to a real, but in its magnitude more likely perceived, threat by the Indigenous people, the New South Wales government agreed in 1838 to establish a police camp at the crossing place, comprised
of a police hut and a paddock (see Fig. 11). The police presence certainly also aided in apprehending run-away convicts and other errant whites. While the police presence may have had a somewhat calming effect on the white settlers, it was, of course, quite disconcerting for the local Indigenous population. For example, when the Crown Lands Commissioner, Henry Bingham visited Albury in August 1839, he came across a large party of natives ‘who appeared much alarmed at our first appearance.’ Bingham estimated in December 1844 that some 100 Indigenous Australians were present in the Albury area.

In late September 1844, when George Augustus Robinson travelled through the Albury area, he counted 50 huts with about 250 inhabitants. Ten years on, that situation had changed dramatically. Depopulation of the district had proceeded rapidly so that in 1854 Revd Henry Elliot could assert that “from Albury and its immediate neighbourhood, too, the blacks have for a considerable time past almost entirely disappeared.” The causes were both deaths and dislocation. For the period 1851 to 1854 alone, Elliott was aware of the deaths of at least 30 adults in the Albury area, and believed that “many more [had] died or been killed besides infants.” With regard to dislocation, Elliott noted that while some had moved to Lake Urana, “they [had] chiefly gone over to the valleys of the Mitta Mitta, the Little Hume and the Yackandandah.” In the mid 1850s some camps existed in the floodplain towards Wodonga, with the residents frequently going to Albury itself. How long such camps persisted is unclear.

Camping near the punt in April 1854 a Sydney traveller noted that Albury was “frequented by a great number of the Murray black fellows, and on the occasion alluded to, I saw about thirty or forty of them nearly all of whom were drunk, as were also I regret to say, not a few of the towns-people. After dark the camp fires of the blacks could be seen in all directions on both sides of the River. Many of them camped within a few yards of us, and kept up a corrobory all night, much to our annoyance and disgust.”

As an emerging centre, Albury formally became the regional hub for the interaction between Indigenous Australians and European society. From 1814 onwards the government issued blankets to groups of Indigenous Australians, usually on occasion of the Queen’s birthday. It is not clear when this practice commenced in Albury, but observations by George Augustus Robinson in 1844 suggest that it did not occur at that time. On record are distribution events for the years 1857 (with reference to earlier distribution events) and 1858.

**Bungambrawatha Ford**

The Bungambrawatha Crossing or ford is located on the northern bank of the Murray at the confluence of Bungambrawatha Creek and the Murray River (Fig. 2 nº 1). At this point a gravel bed extends from the northern side of the bank to into the river, with a gravel island closer to the Victorian side (Fig. 12).
The Indigenous name for some of the area at the foot of what is now called Monument Hill was ‘Bungumbrawatha’, as indicated on the first map of Albury in 1839, and ‘Yarrawudda’ for the area at the western foot of Eastern Hill.

This is the location of the initial crossing place, where Brown’s Hut had been erected in 1835 (Fig. 12, Fig. 10). It remained the primary crossing until the construction of the punt in 1848 (Fig. 13, Fig. 14, Fig. 16), which shifted the location of the crossing some 350m upstream. The first bridge, opened 2 September 1861, is located a further 600m upstream (Fig. 18). In 1853 Bungumbrawatha Ford was described as:

“There is a punt by which teams and travellers generally cross, but at the present season the ford lower down is practicable. The water just reaches the body of a cart, and a man can wade over. The bottom is shingly, and the banks are easily accessible.”

Bungumbrawatha Ford continued to be used in the 1860s to drive cattle across the Murray and particularly in order to avoid having to pay the bridge toll. The ford is on record as occasionally being used, in summer, until as late as 1896.

Excised from the leasehold Mungabareena Run, Albury was gazetted as a township in 1839. From then onwards it was included in the weekly mail route between Sydney and Melbourne in lieu of Howlong.

Fig. 2. Aerial view of the Albury area with the known crossing places.
1.— Bungumbrawatha, 2.— Yarrawudda; 3.— Mungabareena, 4.— Thurgoona; 5.— Hawksview; 6.— Crossing used by Hume and Hovell; 7.— Return crossing used by Hume and Hovell

Early developments on the Flood Plain

The beginnings of European land use at Albury and the crossing place were focussed on the flood plain. The river provided water for stock and the alluvial flats had elsewhere shown to be as fertile. It must be understood that the early European settlers had no real understanding of the Australian climatic patterns nor of the nature or behaviours of the major Australian river systems such as that of the Murray. As the settlers were unable, or unwilling, to properly communicate with the local Indigenous popula-
tion, the latter’s deep knowledge of land use and environmental history and conditions remained untapped. Thus the early European settlers were entirely unprepared for the nature and extent of riverine flooding after the snow melt, both on the Murrumbidgee and the Murray.

Flooding

From above Albury downstream, the Murray has a very low gradient and thus exhibits a wide, meandering floodplain with an abundance of anabranches, billabongs and swales (see Fig. 2 for the appearance of the floodplain at Albury). South Albury forms part of that floodplain. The river regularly ran high as the bank during the spring snow melt, and even though slightly higher than the Wodonga Flats (now called ‘Gateway Island’), the northern side of the floodplain was also repeatedly subject to flooding.

Being a low-lying area, South Albury was frequently flooded. This was the case in July 1847, October 1851, September 1856, October 1863, October 1867, November 1870, September 1875, October 1879, November 1887, September 1889, July 1905, October 1906, July 1909, July and October 1917, and again in September 1921 and September and October 1924. While completion of the construction of the Hume Dam in 1933 mitigated against minor flooding, flooding continued to occur during major events such as in 1939 and July 1946 as well as 1974 and 1975. Floods that covered all or part of Wodonga Flats, but did not inundate the inhabited spaces in South Albury, were even more frequent.

![Fig. 3. South Albury during the 1917 flood as seen from what is today Monument Hill.](image)

The extent of the flooding was often quite considerable. In October 1867, the ‘old Hume Inn was flooded to a considerable depth’ (see Fig. 14 for location) and the water was reputedly waist deep at Wodonga Place. Despite sandbagging, all the cellars...
in the lower portion of the town [were] flooded by soakage, some of which collapsed. Much of the embankment connecting Albury and Wodonga across the floodplain was washed away. In September 1875 water ‘covered the main road between the Union Bridge and Hume Street with a foot or two of water and inundated the dwellings on the flats, causing several of the residents to leave their homes.’ Four years later the water was at least 1½ feet above the road and numerous residences were flooded. In October 1906 Wodonga Place was again under water, an event which was repeated again in June 1909.

While the last major flood, with an inundation of about two feet occurred in October 1917, the road at Wodonga Place was once more flooded in 1946, and, at least in part, again in 1975.

Following the flood of 1917, the levee bank in South Albury was heightened. The top of the levee was reached, but not exceeded, in 1921. It is not fully clear at the time of writing, whether the limited levee bank that was erected following the flood in 1917 also protected the Turk’s Head building. We know that the Chinese market gardens just to south were at least partially flooded, and we can infer from flooding information for 1975, that the levee would not have been high enough.

Early European land use

The first Europeans to cast their eyes on the Murray floodplain were Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, accompanied by six convicts. Tasked with finding and charting a route from Goulburn and Yass to Port Philip Bay (Melbourne), Hume and Hovell arrived in the Albury area on 16 January 1824.
In true explorer style, Hume and Hovell cut their names into two river red gums near the Bungambrawatha Crossing Place on 16 or 17 November 1824. The two trees remained in situ until the 1840s when the tree marked by Hamilton Hume was burnt down accidentally by a camping drover. Hovell’s tree, marked on Townsend’s map (Fig. 12), remains until the present day, even though the original inscription has long decayed. In 1858 the Albury community erected a marble monument to commemorate Hume’s ‘discovery’ of the Murray River. Its original location was right next to the stump of the burnt Hume Tree (Fig. 6). As the monument was used as bollard for warp ropes by paddle steamers, and generally maltreated in the public reserve, it was relocated to its present location in the Albury Botanical Gardens in 1884.
An 1854 source noted that the tree

“bore the following inscription, ” Hovell and Hume, 17th November 1824.” The letters are cut into the wood, and although age has done something towards defacing them, they are still quite legible, and likely to continue so for some years to come. The tree, however, is very much defaced, the butt being cut and chopped all over in a most unsightly manner. Many of the branches have been lopped off for the purpose, no doubt, of prolonging the existence of the tree; but it is very clear from the faded and sickly aspect of the few green boughs which adorn it now, together with the signs of decay in various parts of the trunk, that the period of dissolution cannot be many years distant. It therefore becomes a question whether the people of Albury ought not to mark the spot, by erecting on it a more enduring monument, in commemoration of that noble and chivalrous spirit of enterprise which opened up for them so valuable and so splendid a country.”

In October 1862 the German artist Eugene von Guerard travelled through Albury, where he made a few sketches, *inter alia* one the Hume monument and the Hovell Tree (Fig. 7).

**Initial alienation—the Mungabareena Run**

The initial alienation from Indigenous ownership occurred in 1835, when Charles Hotson Ebden selected land on both sides of the river, establishing the *Mungabareena* and *Bonegilla* Runs. Known as Ebden’s run, Mungabareena run was placed under the management of James Wyse. Paul Huon, owner of the Wodonga run, purchased Mungabareena in 1836. Huon received a pasturage licence in February 1837. The run was then passed on to Huon’s sister Elizabeth and her husband William Mitchell. Mungabareena run continued to be known as ‘Ebden’s Station’ until at least the late 1830s. In 1848 it is referred to as ‘Mungabbaruna’ run.
Robert Brown and his Hut

In 1836 Robert Brown(e), who had come to Albury as part of the initial staff working on the grazing runs of Mungabareena and Bonegilla, erected a small slab hut near the ford (Fig. 12) that served as a formal stop-over for all travellers on the Sydney to Melbourne road. He also maintained the first gardens in the area, as well as a wheat field fenced by a three-rail fence, and a stock paddock. The latter was achieved by blocking off the peninsula at what is now Noreuil Park (see Fig. 10). By February 1838 Browne had enlarged his hut and had opened a public house (Fig. 9).

Fig. 9. The first advertisement for an Albury business.
Fig. 10. The development of the crossing place at Albury. Situation in 1839 superimposed on a 2014 aerial image. Note the fence that encloses the peninsula at Noreuil Park.

Surveying the Crossing Place

In 1838, the Governor of New South Wales approved the establishment of a proposed township at the point where the road to Port Phillip crossed the Murray River. Consequently, the Deputy Surveyor General, Captain Samuel A Perry, ordered that Thomas Townsend\(^\text{123}\) conduct a survey of this area as soon as possible.\(^\text{124}\) Townsend was to examine the area

“three miles above the Mongarberrina (Mr. Edben’s Station), to three miles below the ‘crossing place’ on the river” [and was to note] “every possible detail relating to the river and its banks, together with a report specifying changes to which is subject at different seasons of the year, the general [lay] of the country, and the nature of the soil.”\(^\text{125}\)

Townsend provided the survey plan in due course (Fig. 11), which was approved in April 1838.\(^\text{126}\) The first town lots, allotments of section 1, were soon offered in Sydney on 24 April 1839 (for a sale on 10 October 1839).\(^\text{127}\)
Fig. 11. Townsend’s map of June 1839.128

Fig. 12. The Crossing Place on Townsend’s map of 1839 (detail of Fig. 11).
The first hotel and the punt

Townsend’s instructions of July 1838, to lay out the town grid and to allocate “space for a post house, police station and a House of Public Entertainment” as well as a ferry had been pre-empted by Robert Brown, who in 1838 had established a hut and in February 1838 had opened a public house (Fig. 9), later to be called the Hume Inn. The formal gazettal of the town placed the location of Brown’s Hut within five chains from the river and thus on public land. While Brown’s hut, and presumably also the first incarnation of the Hume Inn, had been erected at a geographically suitable location in unsurveyed space, the new Hume Inn had to be erected on surveyed land (allotments 3 and 4 of section 1), yet as close as possible to the location of the ford (and punt) as possible. That investment proved initially to be well placed until the 1847 flood demonstrated the vulnerabilities of the flood plain (see p. 23 for discussion of the fate of the hotel).

The punt

The river could only be forded when the water levels permitted. James Gullifer, who accompanied William Wyse in setting up Ebden’s Mungabareena Run in 1835, is credited as making a dug-out canoe, from a “solid gum log’, which was claimed to be “the first boat that ever crossed the Murray.” This blithely ignores the fact that Indigenous people had been crossing the Murray in bark canoes for centuries, if not millennia. Gullifer sold the canoe to Robert Brown who reputedly used it to ferry people until he constructed a punt. Rawhide ropes had been strung across the river to aid in navigation ‘to guide the oarsman’ with ‘an Aboriginal being the ferryman.” Andrews asserts in 1911 that

“[t]his canoe was worked by an Aboriginal, who went by the name of “Merriman.” And who was believed to have been concerned in the “Faithfull massacre. He was often the sole means of communication between the two sides of the river, when in flood.”

To ensure a more reliable service a punt was established that could ferry a bull- ock team across. The survey of the river banks and currents, in order to find a suitable crossing place for a punt, were one of surveyor Townsend’s initial tasks.

The first punt, replacing the dug-out (or bark?) canoe from 1841 onwards, was also owned by Robert Brown. That limited means of transport was replaced in 1844 by a larger wooden punt capable of carrying heavy-loaded drays. While the punt served the crossing place very well, it could not operate when the river was high. At these times the mail and, if need be, passengers would be ferried across on bark canoes. This could be a risky enterprise, and crossing the river in flood at night, however, was too dangerous altogether, as the following quote illustrates:

“the black will only bring one mail bag at a time … the blacks will not return for another bag that night, having two miles of water to cross…”
Fig. 13. Bungumbrawatha Ford and the Reserve for the punt as shown on the 1849 map of Albury. Note that north is on the right.\textsuperscript{142}

By the end of 1848 Edward Crisp, the then proprietor of the Hume Inn, established a formal punt service departing from a special punt reserve at the end of Hovell Street.\textsuperscript{143} The punt, which cost between £300 and £400 to build, allowed to ferry a loaded dray drawn by an eight bullock team.\textsuperscript{144} The 1849 Parish Map shows the location of the punt (Fig. 13).
Concerns had been raised that the punt was an essential service for the travelers, but one that was in private hands—and that the owner could charge as much as he liked. For example, Crisp charged £1 for a laden dray pulled by eight bullocks. As the traffic volume along the Sydney to Melbourne road increased, the complaints about the punt fees rang louder and louder. Consequently the NSW government took over the running of the punt on 14 August 1849. The government simply claimed and announced the right of conveyance, but did not compensate Crisp for any loss of income.

Immediately thereafter, the NSW government auctioned off the licence to operate the ferry for the year 1850. The licensee would be allowed to retain all income from the ferry service, but was

“required to provide a sufficient Ferry Boat and Punt, to convey at all times, passengers, horses, carriages, carts, &c., across the river, and keep the same in suitable repair at his own expense.”

Even though, in theory, anyone could apply for that licence, the stipulation of the provision of their own ferry limited the number of applications to one: Edward Crisp. In return for the licence, Crisp could charge all users a toll. From later complaints, it appears that the toll had not been fixed, as had been hoped. Presumably as Crisp provided his own punt and the actual investment by the NSW government was nil, he had the latitude to do as he wished. It appears that the maintenance of the punt, as stipulated by the contract of lease, also included the maintenance of the causeway approaches to the punt landing points.

In 1850 a similar auction for the punt licence was held under the same conditions, but with the lessee now able to take out a lease up to five years duration. In the event, the Albury ferry was only leased on an annual basis and the government had to run the auction again in November 1851 and March 1852. It seems that the requirement for the lessee to provide the punt was soon superseded by a formal government ownership of the vessel. In August 1852 the NSW government foreshadowed the construction of a ferry and set aside £700 for the purpose. Unexpended, that amount was carried over for the 1853 financial year. Now that the punt was to be government owned, the government could limit the toll fees per person, horse and cart. Government ownership, however, did little to stop the complaints about the high tolls. The punt was certainly a nice income-earner. Adam Kidd and William Brickell leased the punt reputedly at £40 p.a. with a total profit in excess of £10,000 over the duration of their tenure.

In 1853 the government finally let the tender for the replacement of the ageing privately owned punt. Once replaced, the old punt was sold by the government in July 1855 to a Mr McRae of Mulwala who put it to use there. McRae described that punt as “commodious, capable of carrying a loaded dray and a team of bullocks, or 500 sheep across the river each trip.”
It is unclear whether the government punt was met with mishap, but in June 1857 the punt contractors Kidd and Brickell were building a new and even larger punt.\textsuperscript{162}

It is also unclear who held the licences for most years (see Table 1), but we know that in 1859 the punt, made from red gum logs and capable of transporting a coach and five horses,\textsuperscript{163} was reputedly operated by Dan Driscoll (p. 20). In 1857, the punt was leased by Kidd and Brickell, but operated by a H Mackenzie who was not obliged to work at night, but occasionally offered night service as well.\textsuperscript{164}

![Fig. 14. The development of the crossing place at Albury. Situation in 1844 superimposed on a 2014 aerial image. The initial five town sections as mapped by Townsend in 1839 are shown in outline.](image)

High water levels frequently interrupted the punt service, either because the punt could not be operated, or because the floods had affected the broader area. For example, floods in late August and early September 1856 destroyed the causeway on the Victorian side of the punt, restricting traffic to empty carts and drays as well as all lighter
vehicles. Loaded carts would have sunk into the mud.\textsuperscript{165} Even when unloaded drays could be punt ed, the bullocks had to jump off the punt into the water, as the ‘landing’ on the Victorian side was submerged by more than a metre (four feet).\textsuperscript{166} By October of the same year it was reported that the traffic of laden vehicles had stopped for the past six weeks.\textsuperscript{167}

When the punt stopped running altogether, the traffic of bullock drays tended to back up on both sides. During the 1852 floods, which were not severe enough to be of any note (see p. 8f), traffic had backed up so much that one chronicler noted on 2 December 1852:

\begin{quote}
“there are hundreds of teams here, some of whom have been on the road for four or five months.”\textsuperscript{168}
\end{quote}

On occasion, incautious bullockies found themselves stranded on islands in the middle of the floodplain.\textsuperscript{169} Even though most bullockies travelled with family and were quite self-sufficient,\textsuperscript{170} such prolonged stays inevitably meant more business for those public houses closest to the punt.

The roads across the Albury-Wodonga floodplains were largely unformed and treacherous during wet conditions as is exemplified by this quote of 1856:

\begin{quote}
“Woe to the unlucky foot-passenger or horseman who, ignorant of the road, and unaware which of the tracks is the least dangerous, proceeds to the crossing alone and unguided. After leaving the punt, which is a wonderful specimen of unriverworthiness — we cannot call it unseaworthy — he is in immediate danger with a quicksand on one side of him, and a deep hole, half mud half water, on the other. If he diverge from the right track which he cannot detect unless by intuition, he is a lost man.”\textsuperscript{171}
\end{quote}

To alleviate the situation, Yackandahdah Shire council signalled its intention in late 1856 to build a plank road.\textsuperscript{172} This was improved after the erection of the bridge.\textsuperscript{173}

**Ongoing use of the ford**

Even though a punt operated from 1841 onwards, the ford continued to be used by those who wished to avoid paying the punt toll. On occasion, some of the drays got stuck on submerged logs, or draught animals fell into holes on the river bottom and drowned (as they were still in harness).\textsuperscript{174} Drownings of people were not uncommon either, and included drovers and stockmen, but also the Albury mailman.\textsuperscript{175}

Moreover, as pastured cattle could not be punt ed due to their largely unruly nature, they had to be forded and swum across the Murray. Prior to crossing, the stock were initially placed in the punt paddock (see Fig. 13), leased by the punt operators Kidd & Brickell.\textsuperscript{176} There they could be agisted if a crossing was not feasible due to water levels. When fording was to commence the cattle were moved into in a small forcing yard. The fording mobs of cattle was a hazardous process:
“For this purpose the mobs are driven into a strongly-fenced paddock, covering about half an acre, which is called the ‘forcing yard,’ and all other means of exit are closed, except a narrow passage called the ‘tan,’ which slopes towards the river, and terminates at a perpendicular bank. The stock-drivers mount their steeds inside the forcing-yard, and they indulge in whip cracking and shouting until the mob, or a portion of them, are forced into the tan. The passage is then barred, and the frightened animals are lashed and driven until they push one another over the bank and fall into the river, like the ‘herd of swine’ in the Scriptures. From frequent use and from continued wet weather, it is impossible to keep the forcing yard in a dry condition, and the mud is generally far above the knees of the poor quadrupeds, and in some places up to their stomachs. This peculiar composition is so tenacious that animals losing their footing are unable to get up, and only sink the deeper in their efforts to extricate themselves. They are thus trampled to death by their fellows, or smothered by having their nostrils thrust under the mud. Several carcasses of unfortunate animals have been trodden into atoms, until they have formed a component part of the pestiferous mud of the forcing yard. The violence of the river current is so great that it is seldom the poor beasts are able to get across at the opposite point, and they are usually carried down the stream until they come in contact with the punt-rope, where a certain percentage of them (horned cattle especially) get entangled in the gear and drown. In most cases the animals swim down the stream until they arrive at the first bend, where they usually reach land on the same side of the river as the starting point. They are then pursued by the stockman, and driven once more into the forcing-yard to undergo all their troubles anew. Occasionally the mob are got across successfully at the first attempt, but it frequently occupies the whole day to take a herd across. In many instances, the beasts after the first immersion are rendered intractable; bullocks, especially, become dangerously excited, and the cattle sometimes make their way into the ranges, where much time is consumed in recovering them. The deterioration in the value of stock during the process of crossing the river is very considerable, whilst the diminution in numbers is sometimes very great.”

The Victorian government declared a formal stock route across Wodonga Flats that connected the punt location with a crossing over Wodonga Creek (Fig. 15).

**The new punt**

The continually increasing volume of traffic on the Sydney to Melbourne road meant that the punt was not a viable solution in the long term as it was far too dependent on the water levels of the Murray. A bridge would allow for all-weather river crossings. Discussions on the construction of bridge had been ongoing in 1856 and 1857. For the lessees of the punt licence and the associated punt paddock, the writing was on the wall. Once the bridge was built, the punt paddock was no longer an investment. Thus, in December 1857 Kidd and Brickell chose to divest themselves of that paddock.

When the decision to construct a bridge at Albury had been finally reached in late November 1858, the NSW government chose to erect the bridge at the end of Wodonga Place as that location was more suitable for road access. After tenders for the construction of the bridge had been called on 28 October 1859, the NSW government also decided to relocate the existing punt to the new spot. This allowed for the new communications corridor to be developed and also freed up land closer to the Al-
bury CBD. The new ferry location was proclaimed on 19 November 1853. The ferry, with loading ramps and concomitant approaches on both the Albury and Wodonga sides was deemed serviceable by December 1858.

As it was anticipated that the bridge would be completed sometime in 1861, the punt licence was offered on a monthly basis until the bridge was finished. Ferry auctions were again held in December 1860, but without any bidders. The final lessees of the punt seem to have been the builders of the bridge, Kidd and Brickell. After the bridge had been opened (see p. 29) the punt, which was no longer needed, was moored on the Albury side. In January 1861 the punt broke loose during a flood and sank in the middle of the Murray. Eventually, when the bridge was found to be functioning as expected, the refloated ferry was placed for sale at auction in August 1862 and sold off.
Dirk HR Spennemann

Table 1. Operators and Licensees of the Albury Punt 1841–1860

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New South Wales Government-owned

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</table>

Shifting locus and focus of settlement

By mid-1841 Albury only had two or three private dwelling houses, Brown’s pub, a blacksmith shop and the police barracks, with some of the riverine flats under cultivation.199 The further development of Albury was initially slow with the population rising to only 65 residents in 1846200 and then 442 people by 1851.

It is critical to understand that the prime locus of Albury shifted during the 1850s. While European settlement had initially been concentrated in the alluvial flats near the crossing place, and had as such been mapped out by Townsend (see Fig. 12), this had occurred without deep environmental knowledge, especially of climatic extremes. The 1847 floods201 alerted the Albury residents to the vulnerability of the location. In consequence, the focus of the town shifted to higher ground on the second river terrace. When Townsend surveyed Albury again in January 1848, he expanded the town grid to the north (Fig. 16),202 adding new sections including the government administrative block bounded by Kiewa, Dean and Olive Streets.203 This government block was comprised of a post office, police station and court house, as well as St Matthew’s church. Subsequently, all major development and business activity moved to higher ground, unless it had already been established, such as Mate’s store.204 The fortunes of the initial settlement areas declined for some time to come.
A case in point is the Hume Inn, which can be regarded as the prime example of the changing fortunes of a business opportunity and to some extent as the precursor of the fate that would eventually befall the Turk’s Head Hotel some 30 years later.

Brown’s hut, a slab hut\textsuperscript{205} and presumably the first incarnation of the Hume Inn, had been erected in unsurveyed space at a geographically suitable location close to the ford (Fig. 10). After the gazettal of the town, that location was within the five chains from the river bank which the government reserved for public use and the building had to be moved.

The original Hume Inn was pulled down in May 1841 and rebuilt in extended form, with much of the original timber. It was now placed on surveyed land (allotments 3 and 4 of section 1; Fig. 14),\textsuperscript{206} as close as possible to the location of the ford (and punt). The position of the Hume Inn was seen as “commanding the traffic to and from the ferry.”\textsuperscript{207}
Business must have been booming with the increased travel, as a new Hume Inn was erected in 1846 or 1847 and represented the substantial capital investment of £2,500.208 The fact that the publican of the Hume Inn partially owned, and operated, the ferry, added to the income stream. When the Hume Inn, as well as the associated two-thirds share of the punt, was offered for sale in November 1848, the property was described as:

“The principal front of this splendid inn comprises an extent of 150 feet, more or less.—it has a very long verandah and hall, two first-rate parlours, bar, tap-room, and six superior bedrooms. The whole of the rooms are tastefully finished and all are neatly corniced with globe centres, &c. The outbuildings are most substantial and numerous, viz, two excellent stores, kitchen, pantry, servant’s rooms, laundry, baking house, with immense stabling for 12 horses, bay loft, loose boxes for ‘Racers’ and a granary capable of holding 1000 bushels [of] grain. On the crown land adjoining there is a cultivation paddock of 34 acres and another grass paddock of 1000 acres, both enclosed with three-railed fences.”209

That investment proved initially to be well placed, but the 1847 flood had shown that the floodplain was not safe. In consequence, the Hume Inn gradually became marginalised during 1848. The first offer of sale occurred sixteen months after the 1847 floods,210 and ten months after Townsend's expansion of Albury to the north. The hotel was still, or again, for sale in March 1849.211 The property, which at the time was also known as the Punt Inn, was then purchased (or leased) by a D Rhodes in March 1853212 who operated the Hume Inn at least until mid 1854.213 By April 1855 it was sold off as its then owner Francis Harmer Moss214 had become insolvent.215 The hotel was reopened by a new lessee, John McGall, in May 1855.216

The floods in September 1856 demonstrated the vulnerabilities of the location yet again, when there were two feet of water in the hotel and a boat could, reputedly, row up straight to the bar.217 By early 1857, after the building had been fully reshingled,218 the Hume Inn was placed once more on the market.219 At that time it was possibly still the premier accommodation in town.220 The hotel did not properly sell at auction,221 and thus was again on the market in April 1858,222 September and October 1858223 and in June 1859.224 The ‘Old Hume Inn,’ as it was called by that time, was refurbished in 1861, then owned by Richard Kelly225 and later his son James Kelly.226 On 1 October 1868 the hotel burnt down under suspicious circumstances with only the brick walls remaining.227 Three months later, in January 1869 James Kelly was declared bankrupt.228

Like the Hume Inn, other allotments in the low lying areas of Albury also came up for sale in the early and mid-1850s, as the owners relocated to the new business district at the northern end of Townsend Street and the central section of Dean Street.229

The Emergence of a Colonial Border

By the late 1840s European settlement in south-eastern Australia had increased substantially, especially in the vicinity of Port Phillip Bay. With the distances and areas and
the concomitant administrative problems, as well as the two developing nuclei of development focussed on Sydney and Melbourne it was deemed desirable to split the colony of New South Wales.

Fig. 17. The development of the crossing place at Albury. Situation in 1849 superimposed on a 2014 aerial image.

When in August 1850 the Port Phillip district was declared the separate colony of Victoria, Albury had become a border town. In 1852 both New South Wales and Victoria enacted customs legislation, but it was not until three years later that inter-colonial regulations, focussing on the Murray River trade were introduced. The introduction of the Customs Act in 1855 and the Murray Customs Duties Act of the same year, had caused a depreciation of property values in Albury as well as a dramatic decline in inter-colonial commerce on which Albury depended. The lifting of the customs duties in December 1855 was short-lived, as they were reintroduced in 1860. What followed was a sequence of lifting and reintroduction of customs duties...
that confused and annoyed border residents.\textsuperscript{239} The customs duties were finally abolished with the Federation of the Australian colonies on 1 January 1901.

In addition to the establishment of customs houses, first in the lower end of town,\textsuperscript{240} and later at the railway station,\textsuperscript{241} the NSW government posted a watchman at the bridge in order to prevent smuggling.\textsuperscript{242} This required departing and arriving north-bound traffic, to stop for inspection—which presented an opportunity for the caterers to utilise the amenities of a nearby public house, such as the Bridge Inn or the Traveller’s Rest / Turk’s Head Hotel.

**Further developments on the South Albury flood plain**

The alluvial flats initially remained as farmland and later became both industrial land as well as a residential area of the lower socioeconomic strata. In the 1850s, small-scale farms grew grain and vegetables in what is today downtown Albury. Initial ploughing and establishment of fields happened on the alluvial flats, as they were more fertile and easier to clear.\textsuperscript{243} In 1855 William Howitt noted that

> “Albury [was] like most of the towns up in the bush of this country. It is a village of one-storied houses, scattered about on a wretchedly flat sheet of baked clay, which at this time of the year grows only goose grass … and the Bathurst bur … The town consists of a number of inns, a shop or two, a bake house, and a quantity of wooden huts. As usual, there is scarcely a single garden, and what garden there is, only growing weeds and cabbages in amicable disorder; but there is a large exhibition of backyards full of carts, heaps of wood, and the like lumber. Everywhere there is a slovenly colonial air. The only attempt at cultivation which we observed was at the far end of the village—a large stubble-field, with a crazy barn in it. The stubble was standing up above a yard high, as if the reapers had been too lazy to stoop, and had only cut off the head of the corn, while in some places it was pulled up by bullocks that were in the field. A portion of it, ploughed up again, lay in huge lumps, which farmers in England, call ‘horses’ heads.’ A couple of settler-looking men in white linen coats and huge straw hats were on horseback with dogs, driving out bullocks. Altogether it was one of the most wretched attempts at tillage that ever I saw.”\textsuperscript{244}

The gold rush of the late-1850’s in the Ovens and Indigo Gold fields created a demand for a wide range of produce; concurrently the agricultural exploitation of the Albury area increased rapidly, both in extent and in intensity. It can be assumed that most of the undulating and rolling lands in the vicinity of Albury have been under the plough at least once.

The southern end of Wodonga Place was essentially a dead-end road leading to fields and isolated homes surrounded by paddocks and farmland, an area that was subject to regular flooding when the Murray broke its banks. By necessity, any viable economic activity, apart from farming, was focussed on the area to the north east of the punt. This only changed in 1859, when the position of the Union Bridge had been decided upon and the southern end of Wodonga Place had become the communications corridor.
In October 1862 the German artist Eugene von Guerard travelled through Albury. His sketch of Albury as seen from the southern end of what is now Monument Hill shows Bungambrrawatha Ford and the Albury floodplain beyond (Fig. 19). The sketch indicates an open agricultural landscape with far fewer trees on the Albury side of the floodplain on the Wodonga Flats (what today is called Gateway Island). The image shows the alignment of Wodonga Place as a country road leading through fenced farmland with scattered trees and buildings. Dense vegetation can be made out on the foot of Monument Hill.

This impression is reinforced by later recollections of the situation in the early 1860s, which described the area near the Botanic Gardens and at the foot of what is now Monument Hill as “mostly thick scrub and swamp”.245
In January 1881 the *Illustrated Sydney News* published a lithographed bird’s eye view of Albury as a supplement to the paper (see Fig. 20), as well as several views of prominent buildings in the town. While the image represents an idealistic view which must not be taken literally, the general impression is likely to be correct. This suggests that the southern part of Albury was still a wood-covered floodplain with only Wodonga Place and the approaches to the bridge being cleared (Fig. 21). The Turk’s Head Museum complex is clearly visible as the only set of buildings near the bridge on the western side of the road.
Fig. 21. Bird’s eye view of the Union Bridge and the Turk’s Head area in 1881 (detail of Fig. 20).

The Union Bridge (1861)

As reliable as the punt may have been for normal river conditions, it was a very different story when the river was in flood. The problem, for a great part, were the unformed roads that ran across what is now Gateway island. Heavy goods traffic was backed up, and it could take weeks until the roads across the flood plain were passable again. A similar problem could arise during the summer months when the river level was too low for the punt to operate. During that time, however, the ford could provide a viable, albeit more hazardous alternative.
The stability of the river banks at the existing location of the punt was so low that they posed engineering problems for the erection of a bridge. Consequently, a more suitable solution was to erect the bridge about one kilometre (500m as the crow flies) upstream of the punt. When this location was announced in later 1856, it was heavily criticised by the local community as it would cause inconvenience for the business and wider community of Albury. The community of Albury was likewise disappointed when the NSW and Victorian governments, who were sharing the cost of the bridge, were not prepared to erect a stone bridge, but were “planning a cheap gum-tree affair, which they very well know will not stand twelve months.”

When the properties were resurveyed in preparation for the construction of the bridge it was noted that several fence lines had encroached onto the roadway of Wodonga Place (Fig. 23).
Tenders for the Albury bridge were called on 28 October 1859, with the contractor William Kidd, a builder, being successful with his £7,046 14s 3d bid (plus extras). It would appear that the initial successful tenderer had refused to take up the contract subject to further negotiations. Six months after the letting of the bridge contract, the NSW government called for additional tenders to erect the approaches to the bridge.

Bridge construction commenced on 16 August 1860, with the first pile driven (on the Victorian side) by the Mayor of Albury. Construction was in full swing in September 1860 and employed a number of local craftsmen and carters. The bridge construction was supervised by the NSW engineer William S Chauncey who also acted as road superintendent.

Even though a William Kidd was listed as the successful tenderer, the bridge contract seems to have been executed by the Albury business partners Adam Casner Kidd and William Barnwell Brickell who also ran a horse stable, a hotel, a coach service to Melbourne, as well as their mainstay, a general country store and owned various allotments of land. Adam Kidd and William Brickell were Americans from Ohio who had come to the north-east Victoria during the gold rush period and had settled in Albury. From 1854 to 1857 and again in 1860 Kidd and Brickell, owners of a punt service across the Murrumbidgee at Wagga Wagga, are on record as the last lessees of the government punt at Albury. They had also built a new punt, which the Border Post argued should be purchased by a private entity for commercial gain.

"The "Union Bridge," at Albury.—a bridge which, is most commanding in appearance, and as to its workmanship throughout, may be regarded as—and is, in fact.—one of the neatest pieces of joinery that anyone could wish to criticise; some of the large beams being so nicely spliced as almost to defy detection. The bridge is one hundred and fifty-six feet long by thirty wide; it is supported on two piers composed of triple rows of piles, with similar abutments on either side the river; there are consequently three spans of eighty feet each from centre to centre of the piers. The superstructure is composed of three rows of trusses or framework.
As it had previously done for the punt (p. 17), the NSW government levied a toll on the newly developed bridge, which was then auctioned to the highest bidder. This was received with great annoyance by both the local and the travelling public as the government had intimated earlier that the bridge would be free. Once NSW had introduced a toll on the south-bound traffic, Victoria followed suit and charged the north-bound traffic. An 1863 advertisement spells out the toll fees (Table 2).

Table 2. Schedule of the bridge toll for 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For every foot passenger</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For every gig, dray, cart, or other vehicle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For every horse, mare, gelding, ass or mule, drawing or not drawing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For every ox of head of meat cattle, drawing or not drawing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For every sheep, lamb, pig or goat</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Persons riding or travelling in vehicles not to be charged toll as foot passengers.

Tenderers for the toll were not readily forthcoming, and on occasion, as in 1863, the government not only had to advertise repeatedly but also had to subsequently lower its expectations of the level of revenue. The NSW government was adamant that the reserve price at the auction was to be £600. The tender process seems to have run more smoothly in 1864 and 1865. In 1874 the tolls were finally abolished.

Even though of a sturdy construction, the bridge, like any other timber bridge, soon required maintenance and ongoing repairs. Tenders for bridge repairs were let in 1864, 1869, 1882, and possibly in other years as well.

Following the re-routing of the traffic along the new alignment of the communications corridor (Fig. 18), the old punt location was largely abandoned and the road fell into disrepair. The only people still using it were drovers who used the old forcing yards or the ford. In 1868, Daniel Driscoll, a builder, inn-keeper and lessee of the Albury Bridge toll, proposed to the Yackandandah Shire Council, which was in charge of the Wodonga section of the road, to repair the old Wodonga bridge and to erect a small log bridge over sections of the old punt road (Fig. 15). While the council concurred with the necessity to keep the old punt road in a state of repair, it was disinclined to fund the repairs to the bridges.

The Victorian government declared a new formal stock route across Wodonga Flats that connected the bridge location with the new bridge over Wodonga Creek (Fig. 15).
Table 3. Licensees of the Albury Bridge Toll 1861–1874

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Licensee</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Michael Tiernan</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 24. The Union Bridge in 1883.299

Fig. 25. The Albury approach to the Union Bridge in 1862.300
Fig. 26. The Union Bridge in 1883.\textsuperscript{301}

Fig. 27. The Union Bridge looking downstream as seen from the Victorian side.\textsuperscript{302}
On von Guerard’s sketch of 1862, the Union Bridge can be seen in the distance with a single building on the eastern side of Wodonga Street directly at the bridge head (Fig. 19). That building is also shown in the background of a separate sketch of the Albury approach to the Union Bridge (Fig. 25). Von Guerard’s drawing indicates that it was a rectangular building with a roofline running parallel to the road. The building, for which two chimneys can be made out, is likely to be the Bridge Inn (see p. 131). In addition, von Guerard depicts a small hut on the western side of the access road. The building is labelled with the German annotation ‘zoll haus’ which normally would be translated as ‘customs house’, but in this instance may also mean ‘toll house.’

The approaches that led to the Union Bridge on the Albury side were in part comprised of shorter bridge sections in order to cross some of the drainage swales as well as the smaller anabranches such as Oddies Creek.303

Further developments

In addition to the bridge, the South Albury area experienced other development, one being the routing of the telegraph line along the new communications corridor.

Telegraph

The telegraph line between Sydney and Melbourne followed, by and large, the main road and thus crossed the Murray at Albury. The telegraph line passed across Green’s paddock just behind the Turk’s Head building (Fig. 23).304 As the line ran across Wodonga Flats (now Gateway Island), it was prone to damage by riverine flooding. Such was the case in 1859, when the flood took out all posts over a the distance of some 400m (quarter of a mile), thereby interrupting the communications with Melbourne for three days.305 The wooden poles were replaced by iron poles in 1874.306

In 1884 the main telegraph line between Sydney and Melbourne was to be rerouted via the railway track not the Union Bridge.307 One wire, however, was to be retained for local customs communications.308 The wire connected “the Albury Goods Shed and Customs Office and Victorian bonded store (at the end of Dean Street), Albury passenger station, Albury (near Mate’s), the Union Bridge, Wodonga Customs House at Bridge, and [the] Wodonga Telegraph Office at [the] Wodonga Railway Station.”309

The Wharf (1872–1896)

During the mid–nineteenth century, the heavy goods traffic relied on bullock drays, or, where possible, paddle steamers. If the water levels permitted the voyage from Murray Bridge to Albury could be made in three weeks. Seasonally variable water levels of the Murray, however, made navigation beyond Wahgunyah/Rutherglen unpredictable and thus unreliable. While Albury, upstream of Wahgunyah, had first been ready by a steamer on 2 October 1855,310 the river levels meant that paddle steamer traffic only
rarely reached Albury. At the same time as Victoria was vigorously expanding its railway network, with Echuca becoming a rail head in 1864 and a Wodonga-line being projected as early as 1870, Albury pursued a steamer connection. In July 1870 tenders were called for a wharf. The 160 foot long timber wharf was nearly finished in May 1871, waiting for the crane. The wharf became fully operational in June 1871 when the hand lifting crane had been installed (Fig. 6). As Albury was a customs location and ‘port of entry’ for traffic across the bridge, the same applied to the wharf.

Less than a year later, however, Victoria commenced the construction of the railway line to Wodonga, which was incrementally opened with Wodonga being connected on 2 October 1873. As a result, most of the heavy goods traffic on the upper sections of the Murray shifted its focus from the river and therefore Adelaide or Echuca to Melbourne—the border duties between the two colonies notwithstanding. By 1874 river traffic to Albury had effectively ceased for all but the lowest priority heavy goods traffic, with the last paddle steamer arriving in 1885. Subsequently, the wharf fell into disrepair and was eventually demolished in 1896.

With the cessation of the paddle steamer traffic, as well as the demise of the forcing yards, the original crossing place location at the end of Hovell Street had fully lost its significance.

The Railway (1873–1881)

Both the Victorian and the New South Wales railway systems were centred on the respective colonial capitals. From Sydney and Melbourne the rail network radiated outwards from the 1860s onwards. Unlike New South Wales, which had been lagging in terms of the development of its railway infrastructure, Victoria was keen to maximise the potential of the new technology. Thus it quickly developed connections from Melbourne to regional centres such as Bendigo and Ballarat, but also tried to tie its network to the opportunities provided by the paddle steamer traffic on the Murray. Consequently it constructed railheads at Echuca in 1864, Wahgunyah in 1879, Yarrawonga in 1886, and Swan Hill in 1890. Closer to Albury, Wodonga had been reached on 21 November 1873.

Once the connection between Melbourne and Wodonga was operational, a horse-drawn omnibus service was established that connected Albury with the Victorian rail head (Fig. 28).

The New South Wales railway network was much slower to reach the Albury area. In early 1878 the riverine flats near the Union Bridge were transformed into a tent camp for the railway navvies working on the Wagga to Albury leg of the Great Southern railway. By 1881 the Great Southern Line from Sydney had reached Albury, thus connecting the border with its capital city. The impact of the railway on travel times cannot be underestimated.
In 1882 a temporary wooden railway bridge was built over the Murray. This bridge carried both rail gauges, connecting Albury and Wodonga with trains of either gauge. The connection was formally opened on 14 June 1883. A permanent iron lattice girder bridge was erected in 1884.329

An 1884 woodcut published in the Australian Town and Country Journal shows the approach to the Union Bridge, with the buildings of the Albury brewery at the left and the bridge toll house at the right side. Some small buildings in the section of the Chinese market gardens are also depicted (Fig. 28).

Developments in the vicinity of the Bridge

Brewery

The location near the Union Bridge, with its ready access to Murray River water provided a prime spot for the erection of a brewery. Like many country towns, Albury had a number of brewing establishments that waxed and waned depending on economic conditions of the times and the capabilities of their proprietors. Albury’s first brewery was opened in 1858 in Dean Street opposite Townsend Street in 1857 by Robert Davison and John Kaleski.330 This brewery went through several hands until it closed in 1874.

The first brewery to open at Wodonga Place was reputedly the Colonial Porter Brewery in 1872,331 which by 1875 was operated by R O’Keeffe & Co. The Border Post Albury Almanac of 1878 lists the premises of R O’Keeffe & Co at the Albury Brewery, near the Union Bridge.332

George Henry Billson took over the establishment in May 1879 and modernised it,333 spending more than £3000 on a four-storey brewery with detached engine house and boiler (Fig. 28).334 In July 1888 Billson’s brewery merged with the Hume Brewery (in Wilson Street) to form the Albury Brewing and Malting Company Ltd (Fig. 29–Fig. 30).335 Increased competition form Melbourne brewers forced further consolidation in 1911, when the Albury brewery merged with a Beechworth operation to form the Border United Co-operative Breweries Ltd.336 The venture which by that time had facilities in Albury, Beechworth and Tallangatta, failed in September 1914,337 and, with different investors, was broken up into the Murray Breweries Pty Ltd (Beechworth)338 and Murray River Pty Ltd (Albury).339 The Albury brewery shut down in 1916 or 1917 due to unsuitability of the water340 and was sold off in 1922 (see p. 131).
Fig. 28. The approach to the Union Bridge in 1884. The brewery is at the left, the old bridge toll house at the right.\textsuperscript{341}

Fig. 29. Albury Brewing & Malting Company at the second Union Bridge (ca 1896–1910).\textsuperscript{342}
The Murray river had, of course, been a favourite swimming spot for many Alburites. But not all of the river was safe for swimming. A small stretch of the Murray, some 150m upstream of the punt, was known to be a dangerous swimming spot as it had a

**Floating Baths**
The Murray river had, of course, been a favourite swimming spot for many Alburites. But not all of the river was safe for swimming. A small stretch of the Murray, some 150m upstream of the punt, was known to be a dangerous swimming spot as it had a
powerful eddy which had scoured out a deep pool. In 1855 at least five people had drowned at that spot, and another in January 1856. More fatalities were reported in subsequent years.

In March 1918 a committee of the Albury Council recommended that the city should purchase a section of river frontage at Robinson’s paddock behind the Turk’s Head building (today’s area of the canoe club at Noreuil Park) to convert this into public bathing space.348 While Robinson seems to have been prepared to sell, little seems to have come of it.

The Murray makes a south-ward bend just to the west of the Turk’s Head, which on the Albury side results in a shallow and quiet water area with concomitant accumulation of sand and fine gravel (just upstream of the danger spot). As Albury grew, that area became known as ‘the beach’ and developed into a popular swimming spot, including the location of swimming carnivals. At one point, the erection of temporary sheds (change rooms) were promised by a local candidate.

Such informal swimming opportunities notwithstanding, there was a demand for formal, gender separated, and presumably safer, swimming opportunities. In early January 1871 floating public baths were established in the Murray “near the Chinaman’s Gardens” but the baths failed as they were too far from town. Another set of baths was erected by a William B Wilson just upstream of the former punt in 1876 which operated until 1880 (Fig. 13). The floating baths were temporarily again en vogue in 1906 when they became the focus of election promises, even though a formal, permanent swimming pool had been built in 1896.

Chinese Market Gardens

In existence since the early 1860, the Chinese market gardens near the Turk’s Head building were a major source of fresh food for the Albury community. Grown were a wide range of vegetables, primarily cabbages, but also cauliflower, tobacco, as well as citrus fruit.

The Chinese subleased both the land and the associated structures. The majority of the Chinese working the gardens seem to have lived in the Chinese settlement at the bottom of Townsend and Kiewa Streets. The comparatively isolated nature of the gardens meant that unless occupied by the Chinese, some of the buildings were subject to abuse by tramps.

Being on the floodplain and close to the Murray, the gardens were repeatedly flooded out (Fig. 33) leading to the loss of most or all crops. The market gardeners erected a system of own levee banks, but they were either too low for large floods, or inadequately designed. The gardens were still in use after World War II, but were abandoned when Albury City resumed the land for recreation purposes and cancelled the leases. An aerial image of 1949 shows the extent of the intensive small-field market gardening in the south and abandoned market gardens in the north (Fig. 34).
The vicinity of the Chinese gardens to the Turk’s Head building did not always make for amicable neighbourhood relations. In July 1880 the new land lord, Thomas Gulson, complained about the stench of nightsoil being delivered to the market gardener Ah Sing.\textsuperscript{364}

The market gardens persisted until the 1940, with one set of gardens south of the Turk’s Head, one west of Wodonga Place and north of Ebden Street, and one on the other side of the road, opposite the Turk’s Head.\textsuperscript{366} The corner block south of Wodon-
ga Place and north of Ebden Street was planted up as an orchard or, at least had a large number of fruit trees remaining from previous occupation.367

The new Union Bridge (1898–1899)

By the mid-1890s the initial Union Bridge had become weakened and in need of major repair or complete replacement.369 The tender for the second bridge had been accepted in March 1897370 and planning for the construction began. By late 1898 the development was well under way and contemporary Albury citizens sought to use the real, or perceived, instability of the bridge as an incentive to redirect heavy-laden wool wagons destined to the Wodonga rail head to the Albury station instead.371
The new bridge was a two-span Allan truss design with a single, undivided road deck supported by concrete-filled iron cylinder piers (Fig. 35). The trusses were made from ironbark, while the road deck was made from Tallowwood.

To the great annoyance of both Albury and Wodonga councils, the new bridge was opened without any ceremony on 3 January 1899. The councils decided to have a formal ceremony a week later. The old bridge was still being pulled down in early February.

To maintain access to the bridge at times of low-level flooding, the approaches to the bridge had been erected on an embankment replete with short bridge sections to cross Oddies Creek and other swales on the flood plain. Calls were made in 1907 that the embankments near the Turks Head and the bridge approach be furnished with a wing fence.

The bridge served the highway traffic until 1961 when it was replaced by the current concrete structure.
Notes to Chapter 2

2. Hume and Hovell did not encounter any Indigenous people, but concluded that “the natives, it would seem from their tracks, are here numerous” Jones (1991). Standing on what appears to be Dight’s Hill (ca. 36.062525, 146.905283), they also noted smoke some five miles to the west-north-west (Bland, 1831, p. 37). Hovell noted in his diary for 19 Nov 1824 that “here is every appearance, that the Natives are Numerous, in this quarter, and that they frequently Cross the River in Barked Canoes” (Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 135; Bland, 1831, p. 41).
3. A. Andrews (1920, p. 22ff; 170f).
4. E.g. (A. Andrews, 1920; Carmody, 1981; Smithwick, 1936a, 1936b, 2003).— See also advertisements for race stallions to stand (Anonymous, 1842a, 1842b).
5. Formally gazetted on 13 April 1839 (Thomson, 1839c).
6. (Townsend, 1839).
7. (see also Vagabond, 1896).
8. (Townsend, 1839).—Robert Browne had sold out and purchased Collendina run (Thomson, 1848a).
9. The appreciation of the location, and traditional use, of river crossings is important for the understanding of early European communications patterns in south-eastern Australia, which, inevitably, would follow Indigenous pathways. Early European visitors to the Riverina (such as Hume & Hovell, Sturt, Mitchell), when describing the landscape, make repeated reference to evidence of the presence of Indigenous Australians even when none were seen. In the main, this will refer to well-established pathways and travel routes, as well as evidence of campsites and the like.
10. (Browne, 1838d).
11. (Reid, 1902).—Not to be confused with another ‘Hume’s Crossing’ at Yass.
12. For the location and histories of the various fords, see Spennemann (2015b).
13. Following Surveyor Thomas Mitchell’s trip in 1836 (T. L. Mitchell, 1839, p. 302ff), which received wide attention, many drovers switched to the crossing at Howlong (Roberts, 1964, p. 149ff), which had also been used as the principal crossing for the mail in 1837 and 1838 (A. Andrews, 1912a, p. 11). The change of the mail route to the crossing at Albury was already proposed in October 1837 (Anonymous, 1837). The mail route, its location directly at the most direct route from Sydney to Melbourne, and the gazettal as a township in 1839 cemented Albury’s location as the principal crossing place.
14. This section has been taken, largely verbatim, from (Spennemann, 2015b).
15. Today the area is Wiradjuri Country. It is neither the place, nor the object of this study, to discuss the nature and extent of nineteenth century community ownership of the land on which Albury stands.
16. (A. Andrews, 1920, p. 22).—The homestead location was later moved to the ford at Thurgoona.
17. See example cited in (Smithwick, 1936a).
19. Having owned his property on the Tanganbala (Vic) run since 1850, Thomas Mitchell created a safe haven, formally a 640 acre ‘reserve’, for Indigenous people in 1864 (Temple, 1971, pp. 4, 33). When he sold his property in 1874 and moved to Bringenbrong, the informal reserve was rescinded and many of the Indigenous residents followed. Thomas’ son Peter Stuckey Mitchell even codiciled the protection in his will.—See also background in (Anonymous, 1908e; Sherrie, 1908).
20. (Anonymous, 1908e).
22. (Bushman, 1842).
23. (Anonymous, 1856b; Peter, 1841; Shelly, 1841; Sherrie, 1906).
25. (A. Andrews, 1912a, p. 5).—Merriman/Merryman was suspected to be involved in the disappearance of an Afro-American in employ of Mr Fowler of ¶¶ station (Anonymous, 1842c).
27. (D. Mackenzie, 1845, p. 199; Reid, 1898).—“the blacks will only bring one mail bag at a time … the blacks will not return for another bag that night, having two miles of water to cross…” (Anonymous, 1851b).


29. (G. A. Robinson, 1844–45), entry 2 Oct 1844.—The effect of these, as well as malnutrition due to dislocation was soon apparent in the vicinity of Albury: “I am aware that I say nothing new or uncommon, when I state that the blacks here go about from hut to hut in parties varying in number from half a dozen to two hundred or three hundred. They are in general a miserable set of wretches, yearly diminishing in number; very few of them are old men, and there is but a remarkably small proportion of young children among them” (Anonymous, 1845c).


31. (Anonymous, 1908e; Sherrie, 1906).

32. (Bassett, 1989).

33. (Smithwick, 1936a, 1936b).

34. (Bingham, 1839).

35. (Sherrie, 1906).

36. (Anonymous, 1896d).—“The blacks sometimes proved troublesome, and at periods their marauds on the flocks and herds of settlers were frequent, and even the lives of pioneer residents were in danger. One old black, named Merriman, was a noted murderer of white people, and was held in great fear by them, and also by his own race, for he was not particular who suffered at his hands. In 1846 the few residents were much excited and perturbed to witness a native battle near the Hume and Hovell tree. Eight hundred of the Murrumbidgee and Murray blacks fought for a week over some point of difference, and the sight was a most imposing one” (‘a local writer’ cited in Anonymous, 1896d).

37. (Anonymous, 1902).

38. see for ex. Reid (1902) for his perceptions in 1840.—See also contemporary accounts of livestock losses (Anonymous, 1838b, 1839b, 1840a) and attacks (and occasionally killings) on shepherds and outstation hands (Anonymous, 1838b, 1840a, 1840b, 1840e). The extent of these claims of personal injury are likely to be inflated see (Anonymous, 1840d).— A typical statement reads: “The blacks have been, and are still troublesome; a few days ago they killed three head of cattle belonging to Mr. John Dight; they have done mischief by driving, and frightening cattle off other stock runs.” (Anonymous, 1839b).

39. Mounted Policemen despatched to the Hume (Anonymous, 1838b), but squatters claimed that this had stripped other areas of projection from attacks by Indigenous peoples (Anonymous, 1838b).— The fifth division of the mounted police had five mounted and one unmounted trooper stationed at Albury in 1839 (Anonymous, 1839d).

40. (Anonymous, 1839c).

41. But the powers given to the police were seen as insufficient by some squatters: “a sufficient force (about thirty men) has been sent up to check the depredations of the natives. I know it. But I also know, that these men are strictly prohibited from resorting to "any means of retaliation." No discretionary power has been given to them. They are not even allowed to shoot the blacks who were concerned in the massacre of Mr. Faithful’s men. So anxious has the Government been about the safety of the natives, that Mr. Stewart, the Police Magistrate at Goulburn, was despatched in order to prevent the party sent under the command of Lieutenant Waddy, in pursuit of the murderers of Mr. Faithful’s men, from hurting any of the blacks. The mounted police are instructed to apprehend them, and bring them to trial. (Anonymous, 1838b).

42. (Bingham, 1839).

43. (King, 1841).— The early population estimates for the region to the north and north-east of Albury vary wildly, from ca100 Indigenous people in the area 50 miles south and 20 miles north of Gundagai, of whom 45 are males above puberty (Peter, 1841); ca 400 Indigenous people in the Tumut area and upper Murrumbidgee (Shelly, 1841), while Bingham estimates between 1,500 and 2,000 for the entire Murrumbidgee district (Bingham, 1841).

44. Benjamin Barber (1841), lessee of the Brimin Run near Rutherglen, noted that “there are three distinct tribes in this neighbourhood, the Hume or Uradgerry, the Weiro or Ovens and the Unangan or Lower Hume, consisting of about 200 in each tribe; the Hume blacks are the most civilized and approach the huts without fear; we are in the centre of these tribes and they extend over a country of about 1,000 square miles.” (G. A. Robinson, 1844–45), entry for 2 Oct 1844.
The local administration (e.g. police or magistrates) maintained a ledger that listed the recipients of the blankets. While such lists exist, for example, for Bathurst (State Library of NSW, 2015), and Armidale (Court of Petty Sessions Armidale, 1904) the ledger for Albury does not seem to have survived. — Blankets were still handed out in 1870 in Yass and Wagga Wagga (down to only eleven Indigenous Australians turning up) (Anonymous, 1870b). The local paper carried the opinion that (in Yass) the Indigenous Australians should wait and that flood-affected Europeans should have preference (Anonymous, 1870c); see also Deniliquin 1871 (Anonymous, 1871b).

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**Etymology:** Bun—Creek that runs only during winter and spring; gam—?; bra—white; watba—hearing. Phonetic variations on record (Spennemann, 2015b): 'Bungambrewatah' in Townsend (1839); ‘Bung.gain.re.art.ter’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40), entry for 25 April 1840; ‘Bung.gam.re.art.er’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40), entry for 25 April 1840 ‘Bung.yarn.brethe.wuther’ in (G.A. Robinson 1844 cited in Wesson, 2000); ‘Bungambrewatah’ and ‘Bungambrewather Creek’ on map by (Colonial Secretary’s Office, 1849); ‘Bungambrewather’ in J. F. H. Mitchell (1906).

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The lower end of Townsend street was flooded and the cricket ground was mostly under water (H. N. Turnbull, 1917).

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The height was 16ft7in above summer level. (Anonymous, 1870a).— (Anonymous, 1867d, 1867e, 1917d).— The height of the flood can be calculated to be equivalent to 5.91m at the current Albury gauge.

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The height was 15ft8in above summer level (Anonymous, 1879c, 1879e, 1917c). This equates to about 5.91m of the modern Albury gauge. According to (WMA Water, 2016, p. 24) the height was 5.79m.
The height was 14ft4in above summer level (Anonymous, 1887a).

The Murray flooded much of South Albury, making the even parts of the Howlong Road impassable. The height was 15ft3in above summer level (Anonymous, 1889). The Turk’s Head hotel was flooded.

The height was 13ft10in above summer level (Anonymous, 1905e). During the 1905 floods the gardens of the Union Bridge Hotel were flooded, but the building was not.

The height was 14ft10in above summer level (Anonymous, 1909c, 1909e, 1917a).

The height in October was 16ft4in above summer level (Anonymous, 1917b).—This equates to 19ft1½in on the new (post Hume Weir) gauge (Anonymous, 1946).—The height of the flood was calculated to be equivalent to 5.83m at the current Albury gauge (State Emergency Service, 2003, pp. A-5). This was equivalent to a discharge of 240,600 ML/day (WMA Water, 2016, p. 24).

The height was 17ft 1 in (Anonymous, 1921d, 1921e).

The flood reached 5.23m at the modern Albury gauge (WMA Water, 2016, p. 24).

The height was 15ft11in on the new (post Hume Weir) gauge (Anonymous, 1917b).—This equates to 19ft1½in on the new (post Hume Weir) gauge (Anonymous, 1946).—The height of the flood was calculated to be equivalent to 5.83m at the current Albury gauge (State Emergency Service, 2003, pp. A-5). This was equivalent to a discharge of 240,600 ML/day (WMA Water, 2016, p. 24).

The convicts were Henry Angel, Claude Bossawa, and James Fitzpatrick who supported Hamilton Hume, while William Bollard, Thomas Boyd, and Thomas Smith who supported William Hovell (Angel, 1881; Hume, 1855; 1873, p. 31).

Hovell’s inscription had become partially occluded by callous growth in 1859 when Hovell visited Albury again. He then recut the inscription. We can only surmise that the recut inscription was indeed a replica of the original as by that time their relationship had become even more acrimonious than at the time of the 1824 trip; see pamphlet by Hume (1855) and reply Hovell (1855).

There is disagreement as to the text of the original inscription of the Hume and Hovell Trees. Hovell claimed that his inscription on ‘his’ tree’ read: “W.Hovell, 17th November 1824” (Hovell, 1853), while another 1853 source stated “Hovell, Nov 1824” (Anonymous, 1853a); but an 1854 source claimed that the original inscription read “Hovell and Hume, 17th November 1824” (Anonymous, 1854).

At a speech in Geelong in December 1853, Hovell himself stated that “on the sixteenth they came to the present crossing place, where a large tree was marked with their names and the dates of their arrival” (Anonymous, 1853d).

By 1874, the recut inscription reputedly read “Hovell 17 Novr ‘24” (Anonymous, 1876f). Tree decay in the early 1900s meant that the inscription was becoming lost so that a bronze plaque was cast in 1911 to perpetuate the inscription. That plaque, which has since been set into a memorial stone, carries the text “HOVELL | NOV 17/24’.
The Hovell Tree is well depicted in the historic sources (Anonymous, 1876f; Anonymous, 1873; Myers, 1895; von Guerard, 1862b).

The monument was funded by the donations of the Albury residents in a movement spearheaded by Robert Brown. Subscriptions under way: (Anonymous, 1857e, 1857f, 1857g); monument about to arrive (Anonymous, 1858g); arrived in April (Anonymous, 1858b).

(Anonymous, 1858h).—Inaugurated 17 July 1858 (Anonymous, 1858i).—Monument executed by a Melbourne firm (Anonymous, 1873d), but stone reputedly imported from America (Anonymous, 1858i).—Inscription: This Monument was erected by the Inhabitants of the HUME RIVER, in honour of HAMILTON HUME, - ESQ., to commemorate his discovery of this river on the 17th of November, 1824.—The inscription pilloried by the Border Post of October 1868: "the inscription, "Erected by the inhabitants of the Hume river," &c., seems to make it appear that the lobsters and codfish inhabiting the stream have been unusually liberal, but perhaps they were like the fish mentioned in Scripture, which disgorged money to pay the tribute."

(Anonymous, 1868e).

Iron palings stolen (Anonymous, 1868e); targeted with stones by boys (Anonymous, 1868e).

(Anonymous, 1873).

(Anonymous, 1854).

von Guerard (1862b). The pencil sketch furnished by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales has been contrast enhanced.

(Anonymous, 1876f).

(La Trobe, 1848).

(A. Andrews, 1912a, p. 3f; 1920, p. 22ff; 170f).—Ebden continued to operate the Bonegilla run until 1851 (Anonymous, 1851c; La Trobe, 1847, 1848).—But see advert for sale of station in 1840: (Anonymous, 1840f).

(licence n° 202, Thomson, 1837).—Renewed July 1838 (licence n° 289, Thomson, 1838).—Pasturage license to James Mitchell (P. L. Campbell, 1840, p. 171 [under 'Murrumbidgee']).

(Anonymous, [1935?]).—William Mitchell had received a pasturage licence on 7 February 1837 for the Monaro (license n° 208, Thomson, 1837).

(Anonymous, 1837, 1838a).

(Thomson, 1848b).

Source (Spennemann, 2015b).

First gardens, owned by Robert Brown in 1835/6 at the locations of the customs house in 1856 (Mott, 1856).

(Anonymous, 1840c).

The advertisements were repeatedly published in March 1838 (Browne, 1838d), see also (Browne, 1838a, 1838b, 1838c).


S.A. Perry to T.S. Townsend, 5 July 1838, directing Townsend to carry out the survey (Perry, 1838).

(Perry, 1838).

Colonial Secretary to S.A. Perry, 13 April 1839, approving the town plan of Albury (Cannon & MacFarlane, 1988, p. 254).

(detailed listing, Thomson, 1839a; general notice, Thomson, 1839c).

(Townsend, 1839).

(Perry, 1838).

All evidence of the early means of crossing the river are based on later recollections (A. Andrews, 1911; Anonymous, 1856e, 1883b, 1899b; Salmond, 1909). Consequently, they need to be read cum grano salis.

After which he established the Bonegilla Run across the river.

(Anonymous, 1899b).

For bark canoe see (Basedow, 1914; Edwards, 1972; Holland, 1976).

The sale price was, reputedly, £10 (Anonymous, 1899b).

(Salmond, 1909).

(A. Andrews, 1911).

(Perry, 1838).

(Anonymous, 1841b).

(Anonymous, 1844).

For example, in the summer of 1844/45 the punt was out of action for two months with goods, people and mail backing up on both sides (Anonymous, 1844).—See also (Anonymous, 1851a).

(Anonymous, 1851b).
142. Base map printing, showing the punt: (Colonial Secretary’s Office, 1849).— Annotated map shown in Fig. 13: (Colonial Secretary’s Office, 1884).

143. The proprietor of the Hume Inn held a two third share in the punt, but had leased out its operation at £200 p.a. (Stubbs, 1848).

144. Anonymous (1844).
146. (R. T. Campbell, 1858a).
147. (Thomson, 1849).
148. (Anonymous, 1853c).
149. In modern parlance the process might be called a ‘rate grab’ by the government.

150. (Anonymous, 1856c).
151. (Thomson, 1850).
152. (Thomson, 1851).
153. (Thomson, 1852a).—No takers, still for sale in May (Thomson, 1852b).
154. (Anonymous, 1852a).
155. (Annual Appropriation Act 1852).
156. (Anonymous, 1853c).
157. The Border Post argued that complaints about the tolls charged by the operators were unwarranted as the rate was fixed by the government (Anonymous, 1857h).

158. (Anonymous, 1862e).
159. (Thomson, 1853).
160. (Inquisitor, 1855; McRae, 1855).—William Brickell was involved in the five-day conveyance of the vessel down the Murray (Inquisitor, 1855).
161. (McRae, 1855).
162. (Anonymous, 1857h).
163. (H. N. Turnbull, 1923).
164. See complaint by Resident of Albury (1857) and rebuttal by H. Mackenzie (1857).

165. (Anonymous, 1856c).
166. (Anonymous, 1856e).
167. (Anonymous, 1856e).
168. (Anonymous, 1852c).—Similar comments were made in October 1851 (Anonymous, 1851a).
169. (Anonymous, 1856e).
170. (Gonzalez, Spennemann, & Allan, 2017; Laidlaw, 2009).
171. (Anonymous, 1856g).
172. (Anonymous, 1856g).
173. Albury—Wodonga road improvements 1862 (Grant, 1863b, nº 1652; 1863a, nº 1066).—Another Albury—Wodonga Flat road was built in connection with connection with the railway development on the Victorian side 1870–1871 (Longmore, 1870, 1871) gravelled 1871 (Kay, 1871).—See also 1878 (J. B. Patterson, 1878).

174. (Anonymous, 1858d).—The proprietor in 1845 was a William Conley (Anonymous, 1845b).
175. (Anonymous, 1856c).
176. The paddock comprised of 11ac.3r.10p (Anonymous, 1857i).
177. (Anonymous, 1856d).
178. The date for the gazettal could not be found at the time of writing.
179. Sales advertisements, see (Solomon, 1857).—Report on sale (purchaser not stated) (Anonymous, 1857i). The Border Post noted that the property sold “for the extraordinary sum of £290” (Anonymous, 1857i).

180. Tenders were due on 20 December 1859 (Flood, 1859b, 1859a).
181. (R. T. Campbell, 1858b).
182. (R. T. Campbell, 1858a).
183. Source: (Department of Lands and Survey, 1935).
185. (Arnold, 1860a).
186. (Arnold, 1861a).—Still for sale by April (Arnold, 1861b).
188. (Anonymous, 1861e).
189. (Arnold, 1862).—The punt was reputedly sold to be used at Warparanna, but eventually bought a Mr. Fleming of Wahgunyah (Anonymous, 1862f).

190. (Anonymous, 1841a, 1841b).
192. The proprietor of the Hume Inn held a two third share in the punt, but had leased out its operation at £200 p.a. (Stubbs, 1848).—(Killeevey, 1895).
193. (Killeevey, 1895).
194. (Brickell, 2011, ch. 3).
196. (Anonymous, 1857c; H. Mackenzie, 1857); punt man a Mr MacKenzie.
197. In 1859 and also in 1860 the punt was reputedly operated by Dan Driscoll (H. N. Turnbull, 1923).—This may be a
conflation with the fact that Driscoll had leased the toll of the bridge (see Table 3).

198. (Anonymous, 1860a).

199. The crops described are wheat, rock melons and watermelons (Anonymous, 1841c).

200. 43 men and 22 women (Anonymous, 1876f).

201. (Anonymous, 1847).

202. (Anonymous, 1848a).—Additional farms were mapped out by Townsend in October 1848 (Anonymous, 1848b).

203. Outside the area depicted in Fig. 16.

204. Then located at the south-western corner of Hume and Townsend Streets.

205. (Mott, 1856).

206. (Mott, 1856).—On 24 April 1839 the first allotments of section 1 at Albury were offered for sale in Sydney (on 10 October 1893) (detailed listing, Thomson, 1839a; general notice, Thomson, 1839c). A Charles William Roemer acquired allotments 3 and 11 (Thomson, 1839b). On 5 May 1841 he transferred allotment 3 to Robert Brown (A. Andrews, 1911).

207. (Solomon, 1859b).

208. (Stubbs, 1848). Under lease at £200 p.a.

209. (Stubbs, 1848).


211. (Stubbs, 1849a, 1849b).

212. Rhodes advertised widely such as in Goulburn (Rhodes, 1853a), Melbourne (Rhodes, 1853b).—In November 1853 the boot maker J Earl also advertised his services at the Hume Inn (Earl, 1853b, 1853a).

213. Rhodes still advertised in 1854 (Rhodes, 1854a, 1854b).

214. Francis Harmer Moss (Dean & Co, 1855a); Francis Harmer Morse (Dean & Co, 1855a; Milford, 1855b).

215. Morse had fled the premises on 6 March; insolvency declaration on 13 April 1855 (Milford, 1855b, 1855a; Want, 1855).—In the sales advertisement in 1855 the hotel was described as “the hotel, stables and out offices, now in complete working order...The Hume Inn is a most commodious and substantial building and contains thirteen spacious rooms, together with out-offices, embracing kitchen, store rooms, bake-house, coach-house, extensive yard and stabling, harness-room, &c” (Dean & Co, 1855b).—The publican, McGall, held a lease until end of the year (Dean & Co, 1855b, 1855c, 1855a, 1855d).—The hotel was sold at £1,360 (Anonymous, 1855c, 1855d).

216. effective 19 May 1855, the called ‘The Old Hume’ (McGall, 1855).

217. (Mott, 1895).

218. (M. E. Murnin, 1857a, 1857b).

219. The sale was advertised widely in the regional (M. G. Murnin, 1857) and intercolonial press including South Australia (M. E. Murnin, 1857a, 1857b).—At that time it was owned by M.E.Murnin but run by John McGall who held a lease until 31 March 1858 at an annual rent of £300 (M. G. Murnin, 1857).—McGall had his lease extended until the end of 1859 (Solomon, 1859a, 1859b) but chose not to renew. Consequently, the Hume Inn was advertised for lease in November 1859 (Solomon, 1859c).

220. See the visit by the Governor of Victoria in June 1857 (Anonymous, 1857a, 1857n).—see also inaugural meeting of the Albury Mechanics Institute in April 1857 (Anonymous, 1907c).

221. The highest bid was £1,000 by the lessee McGall. The auctioneers bought the property at #1,500 on behalf of his clients, whereas Murnin had hoped to realise £2,500 (Anonymous, 1857b).

222. (H. M. Turnbull, 1858a).

223. (Mate & Co, 1858; R. P. Richardson, 1858; H. M. Turnbull, 1858b).—In 1858 it was described as “the Hume Inn, containing 13 spacious rooms, together with out-offices, embracing kitchen, store rooms, bake-house, an excellent nine-stall stable, with three horse boxes, and grooms room, shed for vehicles and horses, fowl-house, extensive yard and gardens, &c” (R. P. Richardson, 1858).

224. It was now advertised as “[t]he Hotel contains Bar with fittings, 11 Bedrooms, 5 Parlors, 2 Kitchens with Pantry, 3 Stores 10-stall Stable, 4 Loose Boxes, Coach-house, &c., &c., &c; also a never failing supply of water on the premises. The above is built upon an acre of land, rendering it one of the most convenient houses for accommodation in the district” (Solomon, 1859a, 1859b).
Richard Kelly is listed as the licensee 1865 and 1866 (Eagar, 1866, p. 1847; Smart, 1865, p. 2032).

Mrs R Kelly died in January 1867 (Anonymous, 1867i).— James Kelly is listed as the licensee 1867 and 1869 (Lane, 1867, p. 1867; 1868, p. 2871). The Hume Inn no longer listed in the licencing register for 1869 (Lane, 1869, p. 2131).

The court heard that he became insolvent as his business had burnt down but his income had been dropping the year previously, as well as bad debts and family sickness (Anonymous, 1869).

e.g. Lots 7 and 8 in section 1, lots 10 and 19 in section 2 and lot 8 in section 3: (Bowden & Threkeld, 1856); all of section 2 or 3: (Mort & Co, 1856).

This led to numerous callas for the abolition of customs.

Regulating import from South Australia (River Murray Customs Act, 1857); via or across the Murray in general (River Murray Customs Act, 1861).—(A. Andrews, 1912b).

They were dropped and then reintroduced in 1864 (Customs Duties Interpretation Act, 1864; Anonymous, 1864a). In 1866 Victoria introduced a new iteration of the customs act which had a more protectionist focus and broadened the range of dutiable goods; lifted in early 1867 with the Border Customs Convention (Anonymous, 1867b) which regulated intercolonial trade and favoured Albury wine pro-
ducers but did little for Sydney merchants (Anonymous, 1868b); reintroduced soon after, lifted again on 31 May 1873 with the Border Customs Convention (A. Andrews, 1912c); reintroduced on 31 January 1874 (Anonymous, 1874g).—See also (G. D. Patterson, 1962; Gordon D. Patterson, 1968).

On 12 February 1868 the NSW Customs house was removed from the corner of Wodonga Place reserve to the former “Horse and Jockey inn” at the corner of Hume and Townsend Street (A. Andrews, 1912c).

We are in this context not concerned with the placement of the customs offices on the Victorian side.

See for example for 1875: (Anonymous, 1875d, 1875h).

A. Andrews (1912a, pp. 22-23).

(William Howitt, 1855, vol. 1 p 182).

(H. N. Turnbull, 1923).

von Guerard (1862c). The pencil sketch furnished by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales has been contrast enhanced.

This view cannot be taken totally literally as it, for example, shows St. Matthew’s Anglican church with a spire. While a spire had been planned for and while indeed a view of the proposed church with a spire had been illustrated in local papers, the spire was never erected when the church construction stopped in 1874 due to financial difficulties. The liberties the artist of the 1881 view took are also exemplified by St. Patrick’s having a spire (which it still lacks) and by the railway station building as a major terminal building with a tower (not erected until afterwards). It is very likely that the artist sketched the town from an elevated position on Poole’s Hill. Specific details, symbolizing progress such as the church spires and the steam train arriving at the station, were filled in from other sketches and building plans while back in Sydney. Thus we have to be wary of details, the general impression is likely to be correct (Spennemann, 2003c).
period, including the time when the tenders were called in November 1859 (Anonymous, 1859a).

252. (Anonymous, 1860a)

253. (Adams, 1858).

254. (Adams, 1858).

255. Tenders were due on 20 December 1859 (Flood, 1859b, 1859a).— (Anonymous, 1859a).

256. William Kidd also built the first hotel at the Kiandra gold fields (Anonymous, 1860h).

257. Tender accepted 27 January 1860. The successful tenderer was listed as ‘W[jiljan] Kidd’ (Anonymous, 1860e; Eagar, 1860).— The bid of £7046 did not include the approaches on either side (Murray, 1904).— By November 1861 the contractors had been paid £6,729 7s 9d with another £1,390 11s 4d owing (Anonymous, 1861c).— The contract was not yet fully completed in January 1862, again only Kidd is mentioned (Anonymous, 1862c, 1862d).

258. (Anonymous, 1860a).

259. Tenders were due on 10 July 1860 (Arnold, 1860b).


261. (Kidd & Brickell, 1860).

262. (Anonymous, 1861b).

263. Adam Kidd became a British colonial citizen in 1856 [State Archives, New South Wales, Naturalization of Adam Casner Kidd, Register 1, Page 792, Item 4/1200, Reel 129].— Adam C Kidd served as an alderman for Albury in 1859 (Anonymous, 1876f).— Kidd and Brickell offered their business for sale in November 1860 (Anonymous, 1860l) as they intended to leave the colonies. Kidd remained in Albury, still on record in November 1861 (Saint Omer, Day, Kidd, & Solomon, 1861b, 1861a).— See also (Anonymous, 1862a).

264. William Brickell became a British colonial citizen in 1856 [State Archives, New South Wales, Naturalization of William Barnwell Brickell, Register 1, Page 771, Item 4/1200, Reel 129].— Kidd and Brickell offered their business for sale in November 1860 (Anonymous, 1860l) as they intended to leave the colonies. Brickell departed in 1862 for the USA to eventually play a major role in the development of Miami and Fort Lauderdale (Anonymous, 1900; Brickell, 2011, ch. 4; McMahon & Wild, 2007)— See also (Anonymous, 1862a).

265. (Anonymous, 1859b).

266. In 1858 Kidd and Brickell took over the Squatters Hotel on the corner of Smollett and Townsend streets (later the site of the Farmers’ and Graziers’ Wool Store). It was rebuilt in 1858 and after initially intending to name it the Sebastopol Hotel (Anonymous, 1858j), traded under the name of Exchange Hotel (Anonymous, 1858e, 1859d).— They sold it in July 1860 (Anonymous, 1860k).— In the same year, Kidd and Brickell also took over the running of the Mount Pleasant Hotel on Sydney Road (Anonymous, 1858f).

267. (Kidd & Brickell, 1858a, 1858b).

268. ‘Kidd & Brickle, Albury’ are on record as receiving orders of subscription to a newspaper (Moor & Hatfield, 1858).— Both Adam Casner Kidd and William Barnwell Brickell are listed as creditors in an insolvent estate in an August 1859 petition (Purefoy, 1859).— Both Kidd and Brickell were a signatories to the January 1859 petition by leading Albury residents for the town to become a municipality (Cowper, 1859).

269. Allotments 9 and 10 of section 8 and allotment 11 of section 9 (Barney, 1857a, nº 515–517).

270. They first went to the Californian rush (McMahon & Wild, 2007) and from there arrived in Australia on 3 November 1852 (Brickell, 2011, ch 3).

271. (Anonymous, 1862a).


273. at £40 p.a. (Anonymous, 1862e).— 1854 see (Brickell, 2011, ch 3); 1857 see (Anonymous, 1857c).— 1860 see (Anonymous, 1860g); mentioned as ‘Kidd and Bricker.’

274. Possibly the one mentioned for 1857 (Anonymous, 1857c).

275. Kidd and Brickell’s new punt, the Border Post argued, it should be purchased by a private entity, placed on the Murray a mile above the current punt (i.e. at the future location of the bridge) and put into operation as a commercial proposition in opposition to the government punt (Anonymous, 1860a).
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

276. (Anonymous, 1861i).
277. For 1862 period see Arnold (1861c).
278. (Anonymous, 1861a).
279. (Anonymous, 1861a).
280. (Shairp, 1863a).
281. NSW tolls: August 1863 (Arnold, 1863a, 1863b); Victorian tolls: November 1863 (Shairp, 1863b, 1863a).
282. (Arnold, 1863a).
283. (Shairp, 1863b).
284. (J. B. Wilson, 1864a, 1864b).
285. (Anonymous, 1865a; Arnold, 1865a, 1865b).
286. (Anonymous, 1874b).
287. (Holroyd, 1864).
288. “including screwing-up, painting, and tarring” (Sutherland, 1869).
289. (Duffy, 1882).
290. Still extant as the Wodonga stock route (Department of Lands and Survey, 1935)
291. (Anonymous, 1868g).
292. Albury Banner March 1862 ¶¶ D. Driscoll, lessee of Albury Bridge toll bar, summoned Samuel Martin for avoiding bridge toll
293. (Anonymous, 1865b).
294. paying £600 for that year (Anonymous, 1866b).
295. (Anonymous, 1866a).
296. (Anonymous, 1867g).
297. paying £700 for that year (Anonymous, 1868f).
298. paying £550 for that year (Anonymous, 1871a), even though the initial upset price was £805 (Anonymous, 1871a).—The toll income for 1872 was £1310 10s 1d (Anonymous, 1873a).
299. Source: Australasian Sketcher (Anonymous, 1883e), based on a Burton Bros photograph.
300. von Guerard (1862a). The pencil sketch furnished by the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales has been contrast enhanced.
301. Source: (Anonymous, 1883c).
302. Source: Albury Historical Society.
303. (Duffy, 1882).
304. (Adams, 1858).
305. (Anonymous, 1859c).
306. (Ramsay, 1874).
308. (Anonymous, 1884e).
309. (Anonymous, 1884e).
310. The Albury (Anonymous, 1855a).
311. Unlike Wahgunyah/Corowa, some 120km down river (58km by road), which had a much more reliable water supply provided, *inter alia*, by the Ovens and King Rivers.
312. (Anonymous, 1864b).
313. (A. Andrews, 1912d).
314. (A. Andrews, 1912d; Watson, 1880).
315. The NSW government decided to make the wharf the only legal point of entry (Watson, 1880).
316. Construction of the Wodonga Line had begun in April 1872.
317. (Anonymous, 1873j).
318. (Spennemann, 2002).
320. (Waugh, 2000).
321. (Anonymous, 1864b).—The rail link between Melbourne and Echuca drew much traffic from the Murray and the Murrumbidgee to the detriment of Adelaide.
322. (Anonymous, 1879g).
323. (Anonymous, 1886).
324. (Anonymous, 1890).
325. (Anonymous, 1873j).
326. Work on the Great Southern railway commenced in 1857. By 1869 Goulburn had been reached, by 1876 Yass, by 1877 Cootamundra, by 1879 Wagga Wagga (south of the Murrumbidgee), and by September 1880 Gerogery, the last station before Albury. On February 3 1881, the extension from Gerogery to Albury was formally declared (summarised in Spennemann, 2002, p. 15).
327. (Anonymous, 1878a).
328. A trip from Albury to Sydney took four days in 1850 (Bayley, 1954, p. 28). The fast Cobb & Co. coach service connecting to the railhead at Goulburn cut travelling time to 51 hours in 1870 (Bayley, 1954, p. 51). From 1881 onwards the journey could be made in 16 hours by rail (Holmes, 1981, p. 12). Heavy goods, until the advent of the railway transported by bullock dray, would have taken much longer, with heavy laden drays moving at the speed of 2 miles an hour. To put this into perspective: in 1860, for example, a heavy goods transport from Sydney to Goulburn took 17½ days (Spennemann,
2002, p. 13). Road improvements had cut this to 7½ days by 1864 (Gunn, 1989, p. 137). The trip to Albury would take another 20 days prior to 1864, assuming that the Murrumbidgee could be passed. The advent of the railway ensured that goods would reach their destination within a day, even on a slow goods train.


330. R. Davison & Co are now establishing a brewery opposite Mr McLaurin’s Mill (Davison & Co, 1856a, 1856b).— Davison & Co have completed their new brewery (Anonymous, 1857m).— See also (Anonymous, 1858a).

331. (Lynch, 1987).— This could not be verified at the time of writing.

332. (Border Post (Albury), 1877).— The John O’Farrell, who boarded at the Turk’s Head, was a brewer there between 1878 and 1883 first working for O’Keefe and then for Billson (Spennemann, 2003a, 2003b). In 1871 O’Keefe and Litster ran the brewery in Dean Street (O’Keefe & Litster, 1871). In 1872 Bullock’s brewery was owned by R O’Keeffe and Litster (O’Keeffe & Litster, 1872), who also owned similar operations at Wagga Wagga and Wodonga (O’Keeffe & Co, 1872, 1873). The brewery premises in Dean Street still existed in 1874 (Anonymous, 1874c).

In 1881 the original brewery at Wodonga Place was described as

“Directly confronting the Union Bridge was a rambling and irrelevant jumble of edifices, built in all the styles that have come and gone between the eras of Pliny the Elder and W. J. Jones. This, although no one would have guessed it was the Albury Brewery, a rickety and almost an impracticable plant, where with infinite toil and a world of blasphemy beer was produced. Recklessly adapted from what was anciently a disconnected and unsuitable hotel, it naturally made a more disconnected and unsuitable brewery.” (Anonymous, 1881c).

334. (Anonymous, 1881c).— In 1882 it was referred to as Manning’s Brewery near Wodonga Place (Anonymous, 1882a).

prospectus: (Anonymous, 1888a).— See also (Anonymous, 1888b).— Promotional booklet see (Lorck, 1906), (Anonymous, 1911a, 1911d).

336. (Wilson, Rattray, & Dandy, 1914b, 1914a).

338. (Anonymous, 1914e; Guy & Wilson, 1914).— Beechworth operations see (Murray Breweries Pty Ltd, 1914b, 1914a).

339. The Albury licence was held by the Murray River Pty Co (Anonymous, 1914c, 1914d).


342. Source (Anonymous, 1884d).


Image courtesy Wendy Donnelly.

344. (Anonymous, 1856f).

346. (Anonymous, 1856f).

347. 1882: (Anonymous, 1882d); 1901: (Anonymous, 1901i).

348. The committee noted that “We find that this locality is extensively used by the general public during summer months for bathing purposes, as many as 300 people being present at one time on various occasions. The river frontage on this land is considered to be the most suitable beach for bathing within the municipality, being easy and convenient of access, secluded, and consisting of a gradually sloping bank to comparatively still water, the current not being pronounced at this point” (Anonymous, 1918g). The plan, which came to naught, have been presented by Albury Council as part of its presentation at the 1918 Town Planning Conference in Adelaide.


351. (A. Andrews, 1912d; Anonymous, 1871c).

352. (H. N. Turnbull, 1896).

353. See handwritten annotations to (Colonial Secretary’s Office, 1884).— When the baths ceased to operate the land was reserved for a Rowing club.


356. Additional market gardens existed at Mungabareena and the police paddock on Howlong Road (Anonymous, 1929c).

357. e.g. (Anonymous, 1906c).

358. e.g. (Anonymous, 1883a).
For example, in 1898 the cultivation paddock had formally been leased by C.W.M McFarlane, while the land and hut had been owned by a Mr Woods from Melbourne (Anonymous, 1898i).

A weatherboard house and stables burn down in 1938. Also £400 in notes were burnt (Anonymous, 1938a).

For example, in 1898 a hut used and often occupied by Ah Chee (who was absent at the time) burnt down following use by tramps overnighting there (Anonymous, 1898i).

E.g. 1867 (Anonymous, 1867e), 1882 (Anonymous, 1882a); 1905 (Anonymous, 1905e), 1906 (Anonymous, 1906e), 1909 (Anonymous, 1909e); 1917 (Anonymous, 1917c); 1921 (Anonymous, 1921e) and 1931.

Source: State Library of Victoria Image H9799.

(Anonymous, 1880e).

Image courtesy Photosupplies, Albury. Flickr 236681946.

(Shanahan, 2001).

(Shanahan, 2001).

Source: (Adastra Airways, 1949).

(Anonymous, 1894, 1895a, 1898h).

(Anonymous, 1897d).

(Anonymous, 1898m).

Each span had a length of 110 ft.—The Allan truss was one of the most ubiquitous designs of timber bridges in New South Wales (McMillan Britton & Kell Pty Ltd, 1998).

(Anonymous, 1898k).

(Anonymous, 1899d).

(Anonymous, 1899e).

(Anonymous, 1899a).—completed and timber to be sold 18 March (Griffiths & Co, 1899).

(Anonymous, 1907f).

Postcard ‘Union Bridge, Albury’, uncirculated. Publisher unknown, Printed in Germany.
This section discusses in depth the history of the Turk’s Head Hotel as a commercial entity, first as a hotel, then a boarding house without an alcohol licence, and finally as a museum.

**Land alienation**

In order to further contextualise the history of the Turk’s Head building, we need to understand the history of the land on which it was erected, as well as the history of the adjacent allotments. This entails a discussion of sections 40 and 41 of the suburban lands of Albury (Fig. 37).

The formal alienation of the land under discussion from the Crown commenced in January 1852. Section 40, comprising 165 acres, section 41, comprising 105 acres, and section 42 were offered for sale. Intriguingly, sections 40 and 41 were referred to in the advertisements as being “on Bungambrawatha Creek, above the Burial Grounds.” It is likely that the reference to Bungambrawatha Creek is a confusion of the actual Bungambrawatha Creek (to the north) with the ephemeral anabranch of the Murray (now Oddies Creek) that ran through these sections. The ‘burial grounds’ refer to the former sand dunes in the southern part of Olive and David Streets near Brown’s lagoon that contained both Indigenous and later also European burials (Fig. 1). Some of the area immediately to the east of the sections 41 and 42 was referred to in the early land sales as “Yarrawudda Flat.”

The asking price for the land allotments was set at £2/10 per acre in January 1852. It appears that there were no takers for some of the area, as in April 1853 the sections were still offered for sale by the crown, now at the reduced cost of £1 per acre. It seems the land still did not sell, because on 11 August 1855 the government made available a number of land allotments as part of a ‘sale of Waste Lands belonging to the Crown…beyond the Settled Districts.’ At the auction on 28 September 1855, John Green purchased three adjoining sections of land facing the Murray River (section 40 allotments 1 & 2 and section 41 allotment 2).
In January 1858 the future approach to the Union Bridge was surveyed (Fig. 23), formally resumed by the government and excised from section 40 (Fig. 37), with allotment 2 of Section 40 being effectively cut in two. For the loss of land John Green was compensated in July 1860 with £30.11

In July 1860 two of these lots (section 40 allotments 1 & 2), as well as section 41 allotment 1, were placed back on the market. The sales advertisement mentioned the impending bridge construction and that section 40 had been divided by Wodonga Street, the future approach to the bridge (Fig. 36).12 Green retained allotment 2 of Section 41, the piece of land on which the hotel was to be built.

Allotment 1 of section 41, the more valuable of the allotments on offer, seems to have been bought by John Fredrick Skinner, who in 1872 or 1873 subdivided it into nine lots,13 and sold them off individually.14 Allotment 1 of section 40 was acquired by J.S. McPhillamy,15 who seems to have run it as a grazing property and later leased it to Chinese market gardeners. Allotment 2 of section 42, the smaller sections of the approach to the bridge was to become the location of the Bridge Inn (see Appendix I, p. 131). It seems to have been acquired by Dan Driscoll.
Consolidation by Albury City

As early as 1918 Albury City had been considering to expand the public reserve from the Botanic Gardens upstream to include the area that is now Noreuil Park. It presented its vision at the Adelaide Town Planning Conference of 1918. As part of that concept, a committee of the Albury Council recommended in March 1918 that the city should purchase a section of river frontage at Robinson’s paddock behind the Turk’s Head building (today’s area of the canoe club at Noreuil Park), to convert this into public bathing space. While Robinson was prepared to sell, the project proceeded slowly. When the planning expanded to include the Punt reserve to the north, Robinson unsuccessfully tried to prevent the reserve being fenced off.

In the 1930s Albury Municipal Council formally commenced the process of developing the Murray River frontage of sections 40 and 41 for conversion into public space. On 17 January 1930 the western, not subdivided half of allotment 1 of section 41 was resumed for recreation purposes. In July 1933 and again in 1948 Albury Municipal Council resumed some of Robinson’s land to the north of Turk’s Head (the eastern portion of section 42). In the 1940s Albury City moved to acquire the remaining land holdings in sections 40 and 41. On 17 June 1949 Albury City purchased lots 2, 3 and 9 of allotment 1 of section 41 from William Matcheall Carey.
A major consolidation occurred on 12 July 1957, when the NSW Government, on behalf of Albury City, resumed all of allotment 1 of section 40, and all of allotment 2 of section 41 (including the Turk's Head hotel), as well as lots 1, 5 and 10 of allotment 2 of section 41, compensating Roy Robinson (see p. 93) for the loss. A year
later, on 1 August 1958 it purchased lots 6, 7 and 8 of allotment 1 of section 41 from Annie Sharp Evelyn.27 The remaining lot, lot 4 of allotment 1 of section 41, was purchased by Albury City from Peter Bertram Seaton on 5 July 196528 thereby completing the consolidation of public land at the river frontage.

Prior establishments and Competition

When the Union Bridge was opened in 1861, it was well beyond the southern perimeter of the town and surrounded by agricultural lands. As the area was very sparsely populated, the demand for a public house was limited and primarily derived from passing traffic. The real economic opportunity was provided by the fact that departing traffic to Victoria had to stop for the bridge toll and incoming traffic from Victoria had to stop for customs inspections (p. 22).

The first to make use of the opportunity presented by the changed communications corridor was an adjoining landowner, Daniel Driscoll.29 In December 1860 Driscoll obtained a license for a public house at the future bridge,30 where he initially seems to have primarily serviced the users of the new punt owned by Kidd and Brickell (p. 20). Later, Driscoll took up the annual licence for the bridge toll. That toll was collected in a small toll hut directly at the bridge itself (see Fig. 25).31 Driscoll’s Bridge Inn seems to have operated from 1860 onwards,32 and for the period 1868–1876 in parallel with the Traveller’s Rest (see p. 131).33

We have no documentary evidence as to whether any development had occurred on allotment 2 of section 41 prior to the establishment of the hotel. The only indication that this may have been the case comes from the fact that when Green divested himself of some of his holdings in sections 40 and 41 in July 1860, he retained allotment 2 in favour of the more advantageous allotment 1.34

Fig. 39. The Turk’s Head building as seen from the south. Note the proximity of Oddies Creek to the west (left) as well as the levee bank.
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

The Traveller’s Rest Hotel (1868–1875)

Sometime in 1867 John Green must have decided to capitalise on the prime location that his property at the bridge represented. In April 1868 he opened the Traveller’s Rest Hotel. At first sight the Traveller’s Rest seems to have been established in direct competition to Daniel Driscoll’s establishment Bridge Inn, suggesting that the business must have been lucrative enough to sustain two establishments catering for the same market. The situation is made more complicated by the fact that there was in fact a very close family connection between the two. John Green had married Ann(e) Driscoll (née Flavin) in February 1846. At the time of marriage, Ann(e) was presumed to be a widow with six children. The Greens had two children, William Thomas, and James. One of the children of Anne’s first marriage was Daniel Driscoll, who joined her in Albury in ca 1855, then aged 27.

Owners and lessees

On 21 April 1868 John Green, Wodonga Place, was granted a ‘certificate for publican’s license for a hotel that he called the ‘Traveller’s Rest’. The buildings had been constructed by Daniel Driscoll using locally cut timber, and bricks procured from South Albury brickworks.

While John Green is listed in Greville’s Directory for 1872, there appear to be no advertisements for the hotel in the local or regional papers, suggesting that the business saw enough patronage to be self-sustaining. Moreover, the public house seems to have been run smoothly without a reportable incident or other noteworthy occurrence.

Green died suddenly on 11 May 1872 aged 68. The inquest found that he had died of an alcohol-related seizure. The license for the Traveller’s Rest Hotel passed on to John’s wife Ann(e). Even though Green had died in May 1872, probate was not applied for, however, for over two years. Ann died on 23 April 1874, after which William Green, the sole surviving child of her second marriage, applied for probate on 20 May 1874. Initially, the probate was applied for by William Green’s proctor, George T Fleming. As part of probate proceedings Lewis Jones, victualler, and James Higgins, store keeper, provided sureties. By November of the same year, however, William Green, who described himself as labourer at the time of his mother’s death, must have been legally an adult. Some assets, however, seem have been overlooked in the initial transfer. For example, as late as 1886 the ownership of the livestock brands seem to have passed to his son William Green.

It is unclear why Anne did not apply for probate and why William acted so promptly. It is possible that this was due to William, whom John may have determined to be his sole beneficiary, was still a minor at the time of John’s death. Also, the period of late 1872 coincided with the time that Daniel Driscoll had finished the renovations of the Bridge Inn (see p. 131) which was leased out during 1873. It is probable that Daniel may have helped his mother run the Traveller’s Rest (see p. 131).
It is during this period that we find the first advertisement for the hotel. In early January 1874 the hotel was advertised to those desiring to attend the Albury races as a ‘first class accommodation’ with ‘free paddocks and stabling’ (Fig. 40).

Fig. 40. The first known advertisement for the Travellers’ Rest Hotel, 10 January 1874.

Two months before Ann Green’s death, the licence of the Traveller’s Rest was passed on to an Alfred John Carpenter. As the new lessee, Carpenter saw it necessary to advertise the establishment (Fig. 41). Unlike the period when the Traveller’s Rest was run by the Greens, however, the period of Carpenter’s tenure seems to have been more troublesome. On 7 April 1875 Carpenter was summoned to the police court to “answer a complaint that he conducted his house, The Traveller’s Rest Hotel, in a disorderly and ill-governed manner during the time he held a license for the hotel, and was an unfit person to hold a publican’s license.”

Among the complaints levelled was that the hotel was ‘kept open late at night,’ ‘frequented by women of bad repute’, that ‘the neighbours were disturbed by knocking on doors by drunken men,’ that ‘dancing [was being] carried on late at night.’ It appears that given the severity of the accusations, there was no recourse, and, in consequence, Carpenter was stripped of his licence. After a three-months hiatus the premises were leased by and licenced to Edward Cass (p. 66).
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Table 4. The owners of the land as well as Traveller’s Rest, Turk’s Head and Union Bridge Hotels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1835</td>
<td>Indigenous Owners</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Crown land leased by Charles H. Ebden</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Crown land leased by Paul Huon</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839, Apr 19 – 1852, Jan 24</td>
<td>Crown land (town allotments)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852, Jan 24.—1855, Sep 28</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855, Sep 28 –1872, May 11</td>
<td>John Green</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872, May 11–1874, Apr 23</td>
<td>Ann Green</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874, Apr 23–&gt;1893, Dec</td>
<td>William Green</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1897, May.—1900, Sep</td>
<td>Australian Joint Stock Bank</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Sep–1923, Mar 22</td>
<td>James Thomas Robinson</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923, Mar 22–1957, Jul 12</td>
<td>Roy Robinson</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957, Jul 12–present</td>
<td>Albury City</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Publican’s Licensees of the Traveller’s Rest, Turk’s Head and Union Bridge Hotels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Licensee</th>
<th>Advertisement</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traveller’s Rest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868, Apr 24–1872, May 11</td>
<td>John Green</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872, May 12–1874, Feb 7</td>
<td>Anne Green</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874, Feb 7–1875, Apr 21</td>
<td>Alfred John Carpenter</td>
<td>Fig. 41</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turk’s Head Hotel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875, Jul 14–1876, Jun 24</td>
<td>Edward Cass</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876, Jun 24–&gt;1876, Aug 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1876, Aug 19–1876, Dec</td>
<td>unlicensed accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876, Dec 23–&gt;1880, May 18</td>
<td>Luke Gulson</td>
<td>Fig. 45</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880, May 18–1881, Jan 4</td>
<td>Thomas Gulson</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881, Jan 4–1885, Dec 2</td>
<td>William Green</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885, Dec 2–1891, Jun</td>
<td>James Oddie</td>
<td>Fig. 50</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891, Jul 1</td>
<td>William Green</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894, Feb–1895, Jun</td>
<td>Alexander MacDonald</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895, Jul 1–1895, Aug 27</td>
<td>Joseph Henry Frauenfelder</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895, Aug 30–1897, May 20</td>
<td>Elizabeth Bridget Frauenfelder</td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897, May 20–1898, Nov?</td>
<td>Thomas W. Parker</td>
<td>Fig. 51</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898, Dec–1900, Mar 30</td>
<td>Joseph Hogan</td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Bridge Hotel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Mar 30–1900, Dec 30</td>
<td>Edward Steel</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Dec 31–1901, Mar 10</td>
<td>[Mrs Steel]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901, Mar 11–1901, Jun 21</td>
<td>Archibald McCook</td>
<td>Fig. 55</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901, Jun 21–1910, Mar 1</td>
<td>James Thomas Robinson</td>
<td>Fig. 56</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910, Mar 1–1919, Nov 27</td>
<td>Maurice Flynn</td>
<td>Fig. 58</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919, Nov –1922, Jun 30</td>
<td>James Robert Blair, jr</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The original Building

The only known image of John Green’s Traveller’s Rest (Fig. 42) shows a single storey building erected in the Victorian Georgian style. The building, which is oriented roughly north-south, shows an asymmetrical front façade. The centre is comprised of a protruding bay-section with a hemi-hexagonal floorplan, which protrudes from the main building line. To the north (right) is a short section with two windows, followed by a protruding end section, the front of which is in the same alignment as the front of the protruding bay-section. The room in the end section has a smaller-sized window.

The infill is covered by a verandah with a sloping roof, which is supported by two squared-off posts. To the south (left) is a longer section with four windows. This section ends in a windowless wall. To the front is a verandah with a sloping roof, supported by seven posts. The verandah is bounded by a ca.1.2m (4’) high picket fence comprised of single horizontal railing against which round palings have been nailed from the back. As these palings have no structural reason, and is not usually inserted in other verandahs, it is highly probably that it served as a fence to keep out wandering stock.

Access to the building is via four doors, two on the south verandah and one each leading into the protruding bay-section from the south and the north. Each of the solid wooden four-panel doors had a three-panelled transom window that tilted inwards. The windows appear to have been twin six-pane (twelve-pane) units, with the upper section fixed and the lower section operating as a vertical sash unit. The window panes are aligned vertically in the frame. The windows and doors have louvered wooden shutters. Comparing the shading of the shutters and the verandah posits with the colour of
the clothing of the men, it would appear that they were painted off white, while the
doors were painted in dark tone, either green or brown.

The building is made of non-rendered, not white-washed brick, laid in what ap-
ppears to be English bond style. The roof, which is hipped to the north and south, was
covered with 21 rows of wooden shingles while the verandah was covered with 13
rows. The building had two chimneys, one at the northern end and one at the rear
(west), seemingly in broad alignment with the centre to the protruding bay-section. The
angle of view is such that any chimneys on the western façade would be hidden by the
roof. A small window below the central, eastern panel of the protruding bay-section in-
dicates the presence of a cellar.

Fig. 43. Ground plan of the Turk’s Head building during the 1860s.

Fig. 44. Reconstructed circulation pattern during the 1870s. Rooms with external access only are shad-
ed grey.

Two signs advertising ‘Albury Ale’ can be seen on the protruding bay-section,
one set in the eastern window and one mounted on the wall.100 We can surmise that
another similar sign would have been affixed next to the northern door. In front of the
building is a sign post, signalling that this was the ‘Travellers | Rest | J. Green.’ A four-
paned glass lantern with a metal crown is attached on the road side. The ground in front of the building seems to be covered with grass and slopes to a narrow dirt road.

Adjacent to the south of the hotel building was an animal stock yard as indicated by the rough two-rail fence.

South Albury frequently flooded during the spring snow melt (see p. 8). This was the case in November 1870, when the flood was reputedly so high that a paddle steamer could take off passengers close to the Turk’s Head building. Based on the known flood heights and inundation levels, we can assume that the area at the Turk’s Head building, and the Turk’s Head building itself, would have been flooded in 1870, 1889, 1909 and with the building possibly also partially flooded in 1887.

The Turk’s Head Hotel (1875–1900)

As noted above, following Carpenter’s dismissal (p. 62), the hotel remained delicensed for a period of three months. On 14 July 1875 Charles Edmund Cass was granted the license for the hotel. Given the bad reputation and bad publicity the hotel had attracted during the previous year(s), and given the scandal of the court case that led to the closure of the hotel, Cass chose to rebrand the establishment, now calling it ‘Turk’s Head Hotel.’

In the absence of contemporary images or documentary evidence, the etymology for the Turk’s Head as a hotel name is not clear at the time of writing. Several explanations are possible. On the one hand it may refer to an actual Turk’s Head used as a publican’s symbol. In addition, Turk’s Head is on contemporary record as a type of tobacco pipe, a variety of pumpkin, and brush ware. The most likely explanation, however, is that the hotel sign derived from a Turk’s head knot which was used to shorten a tent’s straining line without cutting it. The cutting of the Turk’s Head was an equestrian event where mounted cavalry were trying to cut as many tent’s strainers as they could with their sabre while riding.

Owners and lessees

Little is known about the beginnings of the Turk’s Head as it seems to have stayed out of the papers. Despite the rebranding, Cass must not have deemed it necessary to advertise for business.

Cass held the license for less than a year when he decided to move on. In late April 1876 Cass advertised the lease for the Turk’s Head together with five acres of land. Even though no new lessee seemed to be forthcoming, Cass cancelled his license for the Turks Head Hotel on 21 June 1876, and took up the lease for the Carriers Arms instead. The license was then held, very briefly, by a William Patrick Cunningham, who is only on record for December 1876. The establishment must therefore have operated, for a period of three months, as a hotel or accommodation
house without a liquor licence. During Cunningham’s period there is a reference to quoits being played at the hotel. In August 1876 a quoits challenge was issued, to be played at ‘E. Cass’s Turk’s Head Hotel.’

Cunningham was followed by Luke Gulson, who brought some stability to the hostelry. Luke Gulson was an Albury local councillor and prominent businessman with what today would be described as a balanced portfolio of business interests. In addition to holding the license of the Turk’s Head Hotel, Gulson manufactured specialised terracotta wares, such as flower pots, garden edgings, roof tiles, and floor tiles (as of August 1878), and acted as a corn merchant.

Gulson commenced advertising his proprietorship of the Turk’s Head Hotel on 23 December 1876 in the *Albury Banner*. He maintained the standing advertisement for three months until 17 March 1877. Parallel to that, he placed another standing advertisement in the *Border Post* which commenced its run on 24 January 1877. Gulson maintained that advertisement for an entire year, with the last insertion being 9 January 1878.

Luke Gulson was the first landlord to publicly link his hotel with the omnibus service that connected Albury with the Victorian Railway network at the Wodonga Terminus (Fig. 45, Fig. 48). In August 1877 Gulson advertised that he offered a set of ‘real London skittles’ for the local public (Fig. 47). In April of the following year Gulson placed a standing advertisement in both Albury papers, the *Border Post* and the *Albury Banner*, in which advertised that he offered “boats for hire, racing boats for hire for rowing men, a rifle saloon and skittle alley as well as quoits with fine green for practice” (Fig. 48). In addition, Gulson capitalised on the fast railway connection with Melbourne (via Wodonga) and offered fresh oysters to the public. In December 1879 Gulson advertised for a ‘good general servant’ at 12s/week to assist with the running of the hotel. While the license was in Luke Gulson’s name until 1880, it seems that he
ran the establishment with his brother Thomas, who formally became the licensee in 1880 until January 1881.

Fig. 47. Luke Gulson’s 1877 advertisement for a skittle alley at the Turk’s Head Hotel.

Fig. 48. Luke Gulson’s 1879 advertisement for services at the Turk’s Head Hotel.

The 1881 bird’s eye view of Albury shows Turk’s Head hotel (Fig. 21) on its own, surrounded by agricultural land without any obvious development in the vicinity. The area to the southeast was still an uncleared, densely forested riverine floodplain.

While Gulson ran the hotel, the land surrounding it was owned, and farmed, by William Green. Green’s agricultural exploits seem to have focussed on grain and other produce, rather than livestock. Based on the colony-wide census of land- and stock-holdings in December 1884, William Green owned four horses, six head of cattle and six pigs on his ten acres of land. Green seems to have resumed the lease of the hotel in January 1881, presumably because Thomas Gulson was keen to further his business interests in Goulburn, where he developed a pottery and brickworks.

It is intriguing that Green chose to run the Turk’s Head after having leased it out for six years. This may have well been due to the state of the hotel which could no longer be leased out. After fourteen years of operation, with presumably little if any improvements and a minimum level of maintenance, the Turk’s Head had acquired a tired
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

look and feel. Moreover, it was no longer at the required standard. At the 1882 meeting of the Albury Licensing Court, William Green’s application for license renewal was objected to on the grounds of “insufficiency of accommodation” and he was given two months time to add the “requisite accommodation.” This seems not to have occurred, as on 22 August Green was charged “with not having his house up to the required standard of accommodation.” Green asserted that the work had been done.

From the structural assessment of the Turk’s Head building and pictorial evidence (Fig. 61) we know that the hotel had been extended to the south at one point in time. This extension added two rooms. In addition, at one point the old kitchen at the rear was converted into a dining room and a new kitchen constructed, that abutted the old one. It can be surmised that the hotel extension occurred as part of the 1882 license renewal. It is possible, if not likely, that the building was re-roofed with corrugated galvanised iron at the same time.

Fig. 49. View the billiard room to the south of the Turk’s Head building as it appeared in 1924.

The business seems to have improved and Green invested further in the hotel. In February 1884 a new billiard room, was erected seemingly as a separate building to the south (Fig. 49). William Green then applied for and was issued a Billiard licence on 8 May of the same year (Table 6). In May 1885 Green advertised for a female cook.

Table 6. Billiard Licensees of the Turk’s Head and Union Bridge Hotels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Licensee</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884, May 8–1886, Jan</td>
<td>William Green</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886, Jan 31–1891, Jan 30</td>
<td>James Oddie</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892, Jan 31–1894, Dec 31</td>
<td>William Green</td>
<td>147</td>
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</table>
James Oddie

In December 1885 William Green gave up the licence and leased the Turk’s Head to James Oddie, a Yorkshireman, who had settled in Beechworth in 1860, primarily working as contractor. Oddie moved to Albury in the mid-1880s then took up the licence for the Turk’s Head Hotel. James Oddie licenced the hotel for 5½ years, while at the same time continuing his contracting business, mainly road and bridge building. Upon his retirement from business in mid 1892 Oddie terminated his lease.148

In June 1883 Albury had completed its gasworks.149 Soon after private residences, as well as hotel and other business premises, could avail themselves to gas lighting. We know that at least from 1887 onwards, but probably much earlier (during Green’s tenure), the Turk’s Head Hotel had a gaselier installed in the bar area.150

When William Green left the Albury District in 1886, he put up the Turk’s Head building for sale in January 1887.151 It seems that he was unable to find a buyer.

William Green again

When Oddie retired in June 1891, Green took up the license again and held it until February 1894. During the 1891 census, William Green was resident at the Turk’s Head Hotel. For census purposes household, including guests, was recorded as six males and four females.154

Sometime in late 1893 William Green must have had reason to reassess his business priorities. On 20 December 1893 William Green, as the owner and licensee, advertised the ‘Turks’ Head as being for lease. The property was described as a “large brick hotel, billiard room, accommodation paddock, new bridge about [to be] erected, every convenience, good lease, moderate rent, ingoing easy.”155 It is possible that the great recession of 1893-95, which led to many farm foreclosures and other bankruptcies,156
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

and a concomitant surplus in labour and thus reduced spending capacity,¹⁵⁷ also took its
toll on William Green.

The exact nature of his financial difficulties is unclear as is the date until which
Green owned the land. Sometime between December 1893 and May 1897 all of
Green’s land holdings in Albury were repossessed by his mortgagor, the Australian
Joint Stock Bank (see p. 72).

**Alexander McDonald**

Green’s publican’s licence passed to Alexander McDonald,¹⁶⁰ who commenced trading
in February 1894. As the billiard licence was issued to the licensed publican, the licence
followed the publican and did not remain at the premises after a change of licensees.¹⁶¹
McDonald chose not to renew the billiard license (Table 6).¹⁶²

**Joseph Henry and Elizabeth Frauenfelder**

Joseph Henry Frauenfelder took up the licence of the Turk’s Head hotel on 1 July
1895.¹⁶³ Joseph Frauenfelder, who belonged to a well-established and well connected
German immigrant fairly in Albury,¹⁶⁴ had a long, but chequered history as a licensee of
various hotels in Albury. Only five months earlier he had taken up a one year licence of the Newmarket Hotel in Albury, but we do not know why he surrendered that in favour of the Turk’s Head. Frauenfelder served as the publican of the Turk’s Head only for a short time as he died on 27 August 1895. Frauenfelder did not hold a billiard licence at his previous premises and did not seek a license for the Turk’s Head either.

The Turk’s Head was then officially run by and licenced to his wife Elizabeth Bridget Frauenfelder, although Frauenfelder family history asserts that a Joseph Stewart, bookmaker and Elizabeth Frauenfelder’s brother, effectively managed the Turk’s Head hotel. According to family history, Elizabeth Frauenfelder indeed had hired a Chinese cook, who helped to keep unruly customers in check after Joseph H Frauenfelder’s death. Such employment, while common, was not without controversy as the emerging labour movement strongly opposed it and often used denial of patronage as a persuasive tool:

“In the early days, hotelkeepers, who could afford a cook, generally employed a Chinaman. With the formation of the Shearers’ Union members of the union often gave the proprietor a hint and the Chinaman cook soon lost his billet.”

Elizabeth B Frauenfelder is still mentioned as the licensee in May 1897 when she moved out from the hotel to a private residence, and passed on the licence to Thomas Parker (effective 20 May 1897).

The room listing compiled at Frauenfelder’s death (see Appendix II, p. 145) no longer lists the Billiard room, suggesting that it no longer functioned as such during the Frauenfelder’s tenure. We know for sure that by 1898 the former billiard room had been converted into additional accommodation.

It should be noted here that the accommodation part of the hotel, not only catered for travellers, but also provided short and medium term lodging and board for locals.

**Thomas Parker and Joseph Hogan**

When Thomas Parker applied for the transfer of the license from Elizabeth Frauenfelder to himself, the Albury licensing court heard that Parker had an agreement, presumably with Elizabeth Frauenfelder, which stipulated that he should obtain a lease from the Albury Brewing Company. During the licensing hearing it transpired however, that by that time the freehold was actually owned by the Australian Joint Stock Bank, which had agreed to give Parker a six-year lease.

In June 1898 Parker successfully renewed his licence. In November 1898 the mortgagees tried to divest themselves of the holding and decided to sell the property. Advertised were lots 3,4,5 and 10 of the subdivision of allotment 1 section 41, as well as allotment 2 of section 41. The sales advertisement of 1898 noted that the Turk’s Head Hotel was under a lease expiring 30 June 1903 at a rent of £91 p.a. The proper-
ty was passed in at the auction on 19 November 1898. Later reports suggest that the bank had set the reserve to £1,100.

Little is known about Parker, who ran the Turk’s Head until late 1898 (Fig. 51). The next licensee was Joseph Hogan, who is on record as having a booth licence for the Licensed Victuallers Race on 27 December 1898, and who advertised for a lost horse in February 1899. Clearly, both lessees ran the establishment without attracting any negative publicity.

Guests

As can be appreciated, country hotels of the type of the Turk’s Head are on the whole too insignificant to attract enough public attention (unless for unsavoury reasons), and thus we are, by and large, uninformed about the clientele that stayed there. The clientele was both short term and long term (e.g. John Farrell, see below).

Guests on record are a Mr H Garner, who in April 1876 issued a quoits challenge to anyone interested and a Mr G in December 1877. The local literature makes repeated reference of the fact that George Ernest Morrison (‘Chinese Morrison’), then a student of medicine, stayed at the Turk’s Head hotel prior to his then famed canoe trip down the Murray in December 1880. While the trip can be verified, Morrison’s stay at the Turk’s Head cannot be substantiated.

Of greater fame and significance is John Farrell who lived at the Turk’s Head Hotel between 1878 and 1883. Farrell had been hired as manager of O’Keefe and Manning’s brewery but had made his name as a poet. While in Albury he wrote a major poem, The Iliad of Albury, that pilloried local politics and foibles, and which attracted public notice in literary circles.

Accommodation Paddock

The advertisements placed by several licensees extol the virtues of the hotel, stressing that it had ‘free stabling’ and ‘free paddocks’ (Fig. 40, Fig. 45, Fig. 46), while others stressed a ‘good accommodation paddock’ (Fig. 50, Fig. 51). In modern parlance that is equivalent to a hotel offering free parking and a fuel voucher to both short term and long term guests.

Having an accommodation paddock for stock was not without its risks, however. Travelling stock would not only bring in a variety of weeds, but on occasion also disease. In January 1900, for example, some cattle in Albury, among them one on the Turk’s Head paddock, died from anthrax. An 1895 image of Hovell’s tree (Fig. 54a) shows the South Albury floodplain in the background. The bridge is clearly visible (Fig. 54b). At the left margin some stabling as well as what appears to the accommodation paddock of the Turk’s Head Hotel can be made out (Fig. 54c).
Whereas in 1868 the Turk’s Head had stood on its own, urban development very slowly, but steadily caught up with that section of Wodonga Place closest to the bridge. In 1872 or 1873 the land to the north of the Turk’s Head building was subdivided by John Fredrick Skinner and sold off individually. While in the beginning the area was primarily used as agricultural land with a few houses and small-scale farms for grain and pasture, the area took on a decidedly industrial feel in the 1890s and early 1900s even though some private residences remained in the 1890s. The industrial developments included a tobacco factory in 1883, bottling cellars in 1892, an outlet for rabbit pest control, a builder’s yard, and a hay and corn store, the latter “immediately adjoining the Turk’s Head Hotel.” A police station was located at Wodonga Place, opposite the Turk’s Head building in the 1890s, possibly to regulate, if required, any cross border traffic.
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The Union Bridge Hotel (1900–1922)

In February 1900 Edward D Steel, erstwhile book keeper of the firm K McLennan & Co, gave up his licence for the Golden Fleece Hotel, and took up the licence of the...
Turk’s Head instead. Steel chose to rebrand the establishment from Turk’s Head to the ‘Union Bridge Hotel.’ To some degree that made sense as the old name had become associated with rapid changes in licensees. By rebranding, Steel seems to have desired to make a clean start at what many regarded as the start of a new century.

**Owners and lessees**

Despite rebranding, Steel soon found himself in the news, being fined for allowing a popular, albeit illegal drinking game (‘a shilling in’ and the winner shouts) to be played on his premises.

Finally, in September 1900 the Australian Joint Stock bank managed to offload its asset when James Robinson, of Omeo, bought the Union Bridge Hotel, together with 13 acres of surrounding property for £1,300. He seems to have purchased the hotel and surrounding property as an investment, presumably with little initial intent of running it himself. Regardless, Robinson was obliged to honour Steel’s existing lease. An opportunity to acquire that lease occurred soon after.

Edward Steele passed away unexpectedly on 31 December 1900, aged 38. It is noteworthy that while the *Border Post* noted that Steel had been the licensee of the Union Bridge Hotel, the *Albury Banner* still referred to him as the licensee of the Turk’s Head Hotel. This would suggest that at that time, despite rebranding, the name of the hotel was still fluid in the public mind. As soon as the probate was granted, Steel’s widow divested herself of the lease. Unlike other publican’s widows before her, she obviously had little interest in continuing to run the pub and hotel.

Robinson, however, did not avail himself of the opportunity to acquire the licence. On 20 March 1901 Mrs Steele sold the goodwill of the Union Bridge Hotel to Archibald McCook(e). Archibald and Jane McCook had moved from Brockelsby to take over the licence of the Union Bridge Hotel.

McCook’s tenure was very short, however, as he ceased to be a publican of the Union Bridge Hotel by the end of June 1901. During his brief tenure he had become the victim of aggravated home invasion and robbery. We do not know why he did not persist as a publican, but the home invasion may well have been a factor.

**James Robinson**

In July 1901 Robinson decided not to lease out the hotel again, but to take up the running of the establishment himself. From late August to the end of September 1901 Robinson advertised that he had purchased the Union Bridge Hotel and was offering ‘superior accommodation at reasonable rates,’ including ‘suites of apartments for families’ (Fig. 56).

In addition to their normal business, Albury hotel keepers applied for special ‘booth permits’ to sell alcohol at events such as the Albury Show, a license which Rob-
inson could secure for 1908.\textsuperscript{217} While Robinson did not resurrect the billiard room, he successfully applied for a music permit in February 1908.\textsuperscript{218} The running of a hotel was, of course, reliant on staff. We have some indication of this as Robinson was named defendant in a dispute over unpaid wages in 1905\textsuperscript{219} and Robinson also advertised for a general servant in June 1906.\textsuperscript{220}

With one exception in 1901,\textsuperscript{221} Robinson managed to stay out of the courts as far as patrons’ behaviour was concerned, suggesting he ran an ‘orderly’ public house. Indeed, when the Local Option Court assessed the suitability of all 45 hotels licenses in the Albury district in 1908, requesting ten premises to show cause why they should not be closed, and eventually termination of four of them occurred.\textsuperscript{222} The Union Bridge Hotel was not one of them, indication that it was well run and of good standard.

When the Albury water supply had been created, charges were levied by the NSW state government but the Albury Municipal Council had difficulty paying.\textsuperscript{225} Initially, council was not prepared to enforce the regulation that stipulated that water for the troughs could be charged to the publicans, as in the view of the council, these troughs provided a public service.\textsuperscript{226} In 1904 and 1905, several Albury residents complained about the water supply charges, with some troughs being charged and others not.\textsuperscript{227} By December 1906 Albury Council required that all owners of stock would only water them from metered troughs.\textsuperscript{228} Thus, sometime in late December 1906 or early January 1907, Robinson, facing the rising charges for water supplied by council, decided to remove the watering trough for passing animals that had stood in front of the hotel.
This incurred the wrath of some travellers.\textsuperscript{229} In consequence, Albury City decided to erect a public watering trough near the Union Bridge.\textsuperscript{230}

Robinson was not merely a publican, but first and foremost a shrewd investor and landowner with agricultural interests, keen to expand his holdings where they abutted his own lands. Thus in July 1905 Robinson acquired almost 12 acres that once had been owned by the cordial manufacturer LC Phibbs.\textsuperscript{231} After he had sold some of his land to Albury Council for the development of a public bathing space (what is now No-reuil Park), Robinson unsuccessfully tried to prevent the fencing off of the Punt reserve, as that would limit his stock accessing and grazing the land.\textsuperscript{232}

\textbf{Fig. 57.} The post 1861 travelling stock routes at the crossing place superimposed on a 2014 aerial image.

As a business owner, Robinson was certainly not afraid of making demands and as such frequently figures in the reports of council meetings. For example, in February 1907 he complained that on sale days with much livestock passing through, the street in
front of his hotel was very dusty, but street watering did not occur as the nearby brewery objected that it could affect the quality of the brewing water. Council dismissed Robinson’s complaint, holding that the brewery was an industry and street watering a luxury. 233 In May 1909 Robinson was again before council, complaining about the state of the footpath in front of the Turk’s Head building and requesting Albury Council to remedy the situation.234 The same issue, now augmented by a complaint that the drain on the southern side ‘was blocked up, destroying his property,’ was before council in June 1910.235

The position of the Turk’s Head Hotel next to the bridge meant that it was located directly at the travelling stock route between Victoria and NSW across Union Bridge (Fig. 57).236 There was a short period following the closure the punt that drovers could bypass the bridge and, river conditions permitting, use the old ford. The enforcement of the collection of customs duties in the mid 1860s terminated that option.

**Maurice Flynn**

After almost ten years as publican, Robinson leased the Union Bridge Hotel to Maurice Flynn on 1 March 1910 (Fig. 58–Fig. 60). Flynn had a long history as publican, first in Jingellic and then as the licensee of the Salutation Hotel in Dean Street.237 Flynn’s tenure at the Union Bridge Hotel seems to have been quite uneventful.238 Flynn ceased to be licensee at the end of 1919 and reacquired the licence for the Salutation Hotel.239

Following the flood of 1917, the levee bank in South Albury was heightened. It was reached, but not exceeded in 1921.240 It is not clear at the time of writing, whether the levee bank that was erected following the flood in 1917 also reached the Turk’s Head building. The Chinese market gardens just to the south were partially flooded.241 The levee bank proved to be inadequate.242

![Fig. 58. Two-column advertisement by Maurice Flynn upon commencing business in 1910.](image-url)
The Building

We have in hand an image of the Union Bridge Hotel when it was under James Robinson’s management (Fig. 61). The name of the establishment is clearly spelled out on the street sign, while the name of the licensee can be made out on the arc above the front door leading to the parlour. As has been noted elsewhere, Robinson had strong
equestrian interests (p. 82). It can thus be assumed that the person astride the horse, who figures prominently in front, is the publican himself.

The image shows the Turk’s Head building in the same orientation as the 1860s image, but shows the southern extension. A certain degree of soiling is visible underneath the south-eastern window suggesting that the image was taken some time after the completion of that extension. Other than that the brickwork is clean with bright light coloured mortar lines. The keystone brick lintels above the windows, as well as the arcs, were painted white. The semicircular fan lights above the doors seem to have been single panes of glass.

While the image is undated, it obviously belongs to the period of Robinson’s tenure from June 1901 to March 1910 (Table 5). As there is no watering trough for horses visible in front of the hotel, the image necessarily postdates the removal of that trough in December 1906 or January 1907 (see p. 77).

The building is covered in corrugated galvanised iron, with single sheets running from the ridge of the eave. The length of the sheets for the main roof seems to have been 9’, a more uncommon length at the time. The roof to the south of the parlour seems to be new and ‘shiny,’ whereas the roofing over the northern section appears slightly warped.

Rain water management was achieved by the main roof shedding straight onto the front verandah, while the roof of the parlour was guttered, which then shed onto the verandah roof. The long southern verandah has a single, central down spout that drains onto a stone slab and from there onto the street. We can infer a similar arrangement for the northern verandah, which is partially obscured by the horse-drawn cab.

Fig. 62. Ground plan of the Turk’s Head building during the 1890s to 1920s.
Ancillary business and activities

It appears that Robinson had leased some of his land for other pursuits. In 1911, for example, a Mrs Bean owned baths at ‘Robinson’s Beach’ which she offered to sell to council.250

Maurice Flynn, as publican, constructed a Quoits Ground in December 1911 or January 1912, which was used by the public.251 The Union Bridge Quoits Club, founded on 30 January 1912,252 is repeatedly on record until June that year253 when the club finished up because of the start of the football season. It seems that it never restarted.

Subletting the cellar

A Michael Thomas Meade, cordial manufacturer of Wodonga Place,254 held a spirits merchants license for the ‘cellar at premises known as the Union Bridge Hotel’ for the years 1906 and 1907,255 as well as 1910 and 1911.256 In 1905 Meade had ran afoul of the NSW Liquor Act when had accepted the agency of the Victoria Brewing Co (Melbourne) for the Albury district and “had been taking orders, storing the beer in the cellars of one of the local hotels and deliver[ed] it to his customers as required.”257 It seems that business had been carried out openly for several years,258 and only after the change of the Liquor Act, it became problematic. Given the proximity of Meade’s cordial business to the Union Bridge Hotel, we can surmise that the cellars mentioned in the papers are those of the Union Bridge Hotel. Meade tried to escape conviction on the technicality that he actually did not sell the beer in Albury (which was done by the publicans) and that he merely acted as agent, with all proceeds being sent straight to Melbourne.259

Stables

During Robinson’s tenure, the Union Bridge Hotel acquired a minor reputation as a horse racing establishment. There is repeated reference in the papers to horses being trained at the Union Bridge Hotel stables, both horses owned by Robinson260 and by others but stabled there for the races.261 The hotel was the accommodation for resident, as well as passing, horse trainers,262 as well as for jockeys staying there to ride for Robinson and others.263

This continued during Flynn’s tenure as publican.264 However, by June 1916 these stables were in such a bad condition that they put the licence in jeopardy.265 Flynn only could retain his licence after he agreed to pull down the old stable and utilise a new stable on the adjoining block of land.266

The stables of the Turk’s Head establishment are not mapped on any of the surviving plans. As they were demolished prior to May 1949, they are no longer included in the first aerial imagery available. We can glean some indication of these from a 1917 image showing the Murray in flood, taken from what is today Monument Hill.267 The
image shows the existence of two outbuildings which are closer to Oddies Creek (Fig. 63). The southern building has a skillion roof sloping to the west, while the northern building has a gable roof (running north-south), with a lower skillion-roofed extension to the north.

![Image of Turk's Head at the Union Bridge](image)

Fig. 63. The Turk’s Head building complex seen from the northwest (detail of Fig. 3).

Delicensing in 1921

The last publican was James Robert Blair jr,\(^{268}\) who took up the licence of the Union Bridge Hotel when Maurice Flynn returned to the family business of the Salutation Inn in November 1919.\(^{269}\)

When Blair renewed his license in June 1921,\(^{270}\) he had little idea that this would be his last year as publican of the Union Bridge Hotel. In 1921 the New South Wales government began to enforce a rule that regulated the number of licensed hotels in keeping with the population of an electorate. The Murray electorate, of which Albury formed a part, had far too many licensed public houses and hotels. The various licensing boards held hearings during which primarily older hotels located in more marginal settings were targeted for closure. The Union Bridge Hotel was one of these. Even though the licensees of the various premises continually and fiercely competed for custom, there was a prevailing sentiment that none of the Albury establishments should close. In particular, there was a perceived need to cater for a broad range of clientele, which included those less well off. At the meeting of the Albury licensing court in November 1921,

> “[t]he licensing inspector had said that more accommodation was necessary. He would specially refer to ‘the Union Bridge and Race Club Hotels, both of which had been licensed for 40 years, and both of which catered for a class that was entitled to consideration. He claimed that the convenience of the public and the requirements of the locality justified their retention, and hoped that the board would give hotelkeepers generally some security of tenure, so that they could improve their places and bring them more up to date.”\(^{271}\)

Alas, this was not to be. The Union Bridge Hotel was formally delicensed in December 1921 to become effective at the end of the then current licensing period on 30 June 1922.\(^{272}\) At the hearing in February 1922, when compensations for the loss of li-
 licences were discussed, the owner of the hotel, Robinson, argued that the licensed capital value of the Union Bridge Hotel was £2,025 with an annual lease return of £210. Once delicensed, the capital value would drop to a mere £240, with an annual lease return of about £24. Robinson also contended that “the premises were too far removed from town to be used as a boarding house.” In the event, Robinson was paid £1,390 compensation, far less than he had hoped for.

On 30 June 1922 the Union Bridge Hotel closed its doors for the last time as a licensed premises. Robinson put the hotel on the market in March 1923 as vacant possession, which forced the former licensee and owner of the lease, James Robert Blair, to sell up and vacate.

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Fig. 64. One-column advertisement for the clearing sale of the hotel in 1923.

Fig. 65. One-column advertisement for the clearing sale of the hotel in 1923.
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

The sales advertisements show that at the time, the building comprised of the bar and 14 fully furnished rooms, which were described as ten bedrooms, one dining room, three sitting rooms, kitchen, bath, laundry, all which had linoleums on the floor.\textsuperscript{279} The advertisement does not specify and outbuildings, but these must have existed as in addition to the property there were seven milking cows, seven poddies,\textsuperscript{280} 50 or 60 fowls, and two milk separators\textsuperscript{281} The advertisement for the clearing sale also specified a ‘magnificent Hamilton Piano,’ a drop-head sewing machine and a Rexaphone with 36 records\textsuperscript{282} as well as Blair’s Ford motor car.\textsuperscript{283}

In the event, the Turk’s Head did not find a buyer and Robinson leased it out as a boarding house (see p. 85). From the available evidence it remains altogether unclear whether Blair as the licensee received any compensation,\textsuperscript{284} but it appears that that was not the case. It appears as if the courts held the assumption that the publicans that found themselves without a licenced premises could readily find another hotel somewhere else. Robinson initially tried to market as a going concern, showing that it operated as a boarding house and refreshment business with a Sunday trading licence (Fig. 64).

When James T Robinson died in 1927,\textsuperscript{285} his son Roy Robinson inherited the Turk’s Head building and adjacent properties\textsuperscript{286} and held on to them until they were acquired and/or resumed by the NSW government on behalf of Albury City (p. 58).\textsuperscript{287}

A delicensed accommodation (1923–ca. 1955)

As already advertised at the time of the attempted sale, the Turk’s Head building seems to have continued to operate as a hotel, albeit as a delicensed accommodation facility (‘guest house’, ‘boarding house’). It would appear that the Blairs continued to run the establishment for at least eight months after the termination of the liquor licence (Fig. 64–Fig. 65). We can only speculate as to the financial arrangements between Robinson and Blair. Clearly, both had suffered a considerable loss in income, with Blair the hardest hit.

After the delicensing, all advertisements ceased, as did notices of unruly behaviour and other incidents in the police and court columns. This period of occupation can only be reconstructed from scattered newspaper references,\textsuperscript{288} electoral rolls,\textsuperscript{289} and oral history.\textsuperscript{290}

The Turk’s Head building seems to have been leased and occupied by Robert George Bennett (Fig. 73)\textsuperscript{291} with his wife Caroline Maude (née Hill) (Fig. 69)\textsuperscript{292} running a guest house and a small store. The Bennett’s are confirmed for 317 Wodonga Place since at least March 1926.\textsuperscript{293} Robert George Bennett was an upholsterer and canvas repairer, specialising in car covers (‘hoods’) and car seats with business premises in Townsend Street.\textsuperscript{294}
Caroline Bennett is on record as having been granted a Sunday trading license in 1923, and again in 1929. We can assume that she also held such a license in the intervening, and probably also subsequent years. As Caroline Bennett held a Sunday licence since October 1923, and as a Sunday licence is mentioned in the sales advertisement of March 1923, we can safely assume that the Bennetts were the first lessees of the Turks Head buildings after delicensing.

Fig. 66. Ground plan of the Turk’s Head building during the guest house period.

On 3 November 1938 a fire destroyed a wood and iron outbuilding at the rear of the Turk’s Head building. The shed contained a “large quantity of grass hay, several bicycles and horse saddles.” It is not clear at the time of writing, whether that building was also leased by the Bennetts or whether it was used by the property’s owner, Roy Robinson.

As late as the 1940s, Mrs Bennett’s shop was reputedly the only shop in south Albury. In the mid- to late 1940s Mrs Bennett gave up the shop and restricted her business to the running of the boarding house. The shop was leased by Noel Green-tree from at least 1947 onwards (p. 93). Yet, when the long-term resident James Warnoch died in his wagon in June 1950, the Turk’s Head building was still being run by Mrs C Bennett.

Table 8. Occupants / Lessees of the Turk’s Head building after the withdrawal of the publican’s license in 1922

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Occupant</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guest house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922, Jun 30.—1923, Mar</td>
<td>James Blair</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923, Apr.—1923, Oct</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923, Oct –1943, Dec 12</td>
<td>Robert George Bennett</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943, Dec 12.—1955, Sep 22</td>
<td>Caroline Maude Bennett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;1947– &gt; 1955, Sep (1960?)</td>
<td>Noel Henry Greentree</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 67. View of the Turk’s Head building looking south in ca 1924.306

Fig. 68. View of the rear yard of the Turk’s Head building in flood in 1924.307
Fig. 69. Caroline Maud Bennett in ca 1947, photographed in front of the ‘fernery’ at the northwestern corner of the building.308

Fig. 70. The southwestern corner of the Turk’s Head building (left) and the weatherboard extension of the former billiard hall (right) in the 1930s. George Bennett at left.309
Fig. 71. The weatherboard extension of the former billiard hall (right) in the 1930s.310

Fig. 72. Aerial view of the Turk’s Head building in May 1949.311
There is a paucity of data on the functioning of the accommodation business. We know that at least in 1937 the Bennetts employed a waitress. A smattering of newspaper references, confirmed by family history, seems to suggest that it served as longer-term accommodation for single, often elderly men. On record are the following residents, one of which was a member of the extended Bennett family:

- On 5 October 1939, James Dundas died, formerly of 317 Wodonga Place.
- A probate application in May 1942 mentions the ‘tea merchant’ Edmund Thomas Kelly as a beneficiary, then living at 317 Wodonga Place.
- On 20 June 1949, the 69 year old Joseph Robert Hill died while living at 317 Wodonga Place.
- On 26 June 1950, the 87 year old James Warnoch died from an accident while living in a canvas-covered wagon at the rear of 317 Wodonga Place. Warnoch had been living in the wagon since ca 1935.
- On 15 August 1953, the 83 year old James Richards died at Barnawatha, although living at 317 Wodonga Place.

In addition to the boarders, who were fed three meals a day, the Bennetts had regular dinner guests, such as one of the Chinese market gardeners.

**Guest House**

Little external modification occurred during the period the Turk’s Head building was used as a guesthouse. An extant photograph shows the building as seen from the northeast. The building stands on a slight rise compared to the road. It appears that the building had been whitewashed at the time. Wires and insulators indicate that the building had electricity as well as a telephone. In front of the parlour, directly at the road side is a wooden rail for tying horses. This rail seems to be a relic from the early 1900s.

A close-up, albeit undated, image of Robert George Bennett sitting on the northern verandah, gives us an insight into the appearance of the verandah prior to the 1965 modifications. The building is whitewashed, with the bottom course painted in a darker colour, which differs from the colour tone of the window surrounds and the shutters. The verandah surface is made up of bricks laid length-wise from the building. The surface closest to the door, between the door and the former balustrade, is smooth, presumably a concrete finish. The front of the verandah is bounded by a wooden sleeper which shows the holes which would have held the balusters of the balustrade. To the man’s right is a small section of balustrade with the remains of hinges, suggesting that at one point there was a small gate that sectioned off that part of the verandah under the windows. There is no formed step, with the stone foundations exposed.
Fig. 73. Robert George Bennett on northern verandah. 322

Fig. 74. Caroline Bennett’s granddaughter Wendy on southern verandah in 1947. 323

Fig. 75. The rear of Turk’s Head in 194_. 324
Bennett’s Guesthouse (ca 1944/47)

Fig. 76. Room plan and lay-out Bennett’s guesthouse.325
The northern door to the parlour opened to the left, but had been furnished with a curtain (Fig. 73). The semi-circular fan light had been painted white. On the transom is an oval shaped, white enamel sign with the house number ‘317.’ By the mid 1940s, the railing of the front verandah had been replaced by a brick wall with a convex surface (Fig. 74, Fig. 81). The building appears white-washed.

**Murray Store (1947–1961)**

After George Bennett’s death in 1943, his wife Caroline continued to run the guest house and store with the help of a female acquaintance, but soon handed over the store business to Noel Henry Greentree. Apart from images, next to nothing is known about the store period of the Turk’s Head building. It is unclear whether Greentree also ran the boarding house after Caroline Maud Bennett’s death in 1955. The Albury Historic Society noted in 1968 that

“...when the Albury City Council acquired the land and the Turk’s Head, it had been disused as a hotel for many years and then subsequently used as a shop and poor class boarding house, and further deteriorated to the state of poverty stricken or slum accommodation house.”

Nothing else is known about the Greentrees, with the exception of 1950, when a Mrs W.L. Greentree, described as a widow with two school-aged sons, is mentioned as living next door to Mrs Bennett. There is also artefactual evidence dating to the 1950s indicating the presence of children, incl. girls (Fig. 82). The property, at least the store section, was used after Caroline Bennett’s death until the lease was cancelled in July 1960 by then owner, the Albury City Council.

**Acquisition by Albury City**

Unlike his father, who seems to have supported the civic advancement of Albury, Roy Robinson seems to have been generally reluctant to sell, even though Albury City had had a long-standing program of acquiring lands along the Murray River as public recreation space (p. 58). On 12 July 1957 Albury City forced the issue, when the NSW Government, on behalf of Albury City, compulsorily resumed all of Robinson’s remaining holdings in the area. At the time these holdings comprised allotment 1 of section 40, allotment 2 of section 41, as well as lots 1, 5 and 10 of allotment 1 of section 41. Roy Robinson was compensated for the loss.

When the construction of new concrete-built Union Bridge was being progressed during 1960, Albury City Council decided to resumed the lease of Murray Store in order to develop the site. The building had been slated for demolition. Council had hoped that a developer would take on an improvement lease and develop the area as “a modern camping park with all services, including a service station and a café.” The
Border Morning Mail notes that such a development would “modernise the entrance to the city, which at present looks shabby and derelict.”

The building during the store period

During the 1940s and 1950s the building functioned as a small store. In hand are three images, all showing the Turk’s Head building from the northwest. The earliest of these shows the building with a whitewashed parlour section as well as whitewashed southern verandah. The paint on the northern section seems to have largely flaked off by this time. The main modification was the rebuilding of the verandah by removing the wooden balustrade and by reducing the number of verandah posts. Instead of a balustrade we now see low, single-skinned brick walls set between the posts. At the gate sections of the walls have a curved finish, while in the other sections the top shows a depression, giving it a concave appearance (Fig. 77, Fig. 81).

The business operated under the name ‘Murray Store.’ An enamel sign mounted to the façade advertises the sale of ‘Bex’ Powders, while signs hand painted onto the brickwork signal that tobacco, cigarettes and ‘cool drinks on ice’ could be had at the store (Fig. 77). An electric light was mounted above the parlour window, lighting the wooden name board.

Another set of images of the 1960s shows the building in an unchanged state, with the exception that the whitewash had failed almost completely (Fig. 81). The Border Mail showed an image of the building in July 1960 (Fig. 80). Soon after, street lighting was installed. Judging from the image the building was in a bad state of repair. The roof appears heavily corroded, the windows had not been repointed, and the paint on the northern door was flaking heavily. The bottom of the brickwork, both of the verandah and the walling of the abutting rooms sections shows clear evidence of rising damp.

Fig. 77. The building in the 1950s.
As can be seen on the image, the store advertised Peters ice cream, both as signage painted on the brickwork, and on wooden signboards suspended from the verandah. Next to the northern door the shop advertised the sale of ‘groceries, cool drinks, ice cream bricks, choco wedges, cigarettes and tobacco’ An enamel sign mounted to the façade of the northern abutment section advertises the sale of ‘Turf’ cigarettes.

Fig. 78. A metal sign advertising Bex Powders identical with the one visible on Fig. 77.339

Fig. 79. Reconstructed circulation pattern during 1950s and 1960s. Rooms with external access only are shaded grey.
Fig. 80. The building in June 1960.

Fig. 81. The building in the 1960s.
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Fig. 82. Remnants of 1950s children’s toys (puzzle, beads, doll’s shoe and small cloth-peg) encountered in the roof cavity of the kitchen building during the structural inspection.

Museum (1967–2006)

After the acquisition of the land by the Albury City Council for conversion into recreation land to complete the recreation space at the Murray river frontage, the fate of the Turk’s Head building seemed sealed. It was to be demolished. During 1961 and 1962 Albury Historical Society lobbied hard to retain the structure.342

In 1963 Albury City agreed to retain the building and convert it into a museum, but little developed. By October 1964 the city council finally formally considered earmarking £6,500 for expenditure during FY 1965-66 for the conversion of the building into a folk museum.343 It took until July of the following year, however, for the decision to be confirmed,344 with the historical society to be intimately involved in the planning. While the overall intent to preserve the building was lauded,345 the council’s plans to demolish a number of structures to the west and south of the Turk’s Head building and to construct a new caretakers residence did sit not well with some members of the public. They deplored, in particular, the decision to demolish the kitchen as well as the billiard room to the south.346

According to C. Klinge, Secretary of the Albury Historical Society in 1975, the building was refurbished by the Albury City Council with much publicity, but then council lost interest in the project.347 The Albury Historic Society noted in 1968 that

“after much debate, restoration of the building for a museum won the day. It is not precisely the original, but as near as practicable to the old colonial style.”348
In the following year, as plans began to become more concrete, the council failed in its submission to have the museum funded by the NSW State government. On the positive side, it was able to obtain a commitment by the Sydney-based Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences to establish an Albury branch. This proved a mixed blessing, however, as this commitment came with a demand for 80% of the display space, effectively restricting the Folk Museum to three small rooms. Even though a caretaker (for the MAAS part) was appointed and soon living at the museum in early 1967, the opening did not occur until the end of the year.

The co-located museums (1967–1983)

The Albury Folk Museum opened on 15 December 1967 (Fig. 89), with museum hours being 2 to 5pm every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday.

When the Albury and District Historical Society carried out a survey of historic properties in July 1969, its brief report included the Turk’s Head Museum and noted that the building had been restored by the City Council in 1965 at a cost of $16,000, but that this was a ‘bad restoration [which was] strongly criticised.’ These qualifiers notwithstanding, fifteen years later the museum was to claim that “[t]he Turk’s Head has been renovated in the original style” (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]).

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Fig. 83. The Museum property in ca. 1975.
Fig. 84. Proposed schedule of works for the conversion of the Murray Store to a Museum. Source: (1965a)

Fig. 85. Proposed schedule of works for the conversion of the Murray Store to a Museum.\textsuperscript{358}

Fig. 86. Proposed schedule of works for the conversion of the Murray Store to a Museum.\textsuperscript{359}
Fig. 87. Preparing for the opening of the Folk Museum in December 1967.

Fig. 88. Opening of the Folk Museum in December 1967.

Fig. 89. Opening of the Folk Museum in December 1967.

Frank Strahan, reviewing the museums in the Albury-Wodonga area in 1975 (see below), made the following acerbic comment that sums up many an early local museum development and that is fully applicable to the situation in Albury:

---

Dirk HR Spennemann

---
“Preserving Historical Buildings. This is often a reason leading to the establishment of a museum.

The usual pattern is:
1. Enthusiasts decide to preserve a building
2. Time and money must be spent on restoration
3. Once restored the building must be maintained and put to use
4. The building is given the function of a museum.”

The Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (Albury Branch) opened on 1 December 1967 and the co-located folk section, then comprising two rooms, opened a fortnight later.

As part of the background research for the Committee of Enquiry on Museums and National Collections (Piggot Enquiry), Frank Strahan, the Archivist of the University of Melbourne, visited Albury in March 1975 and reported inter alia on the collections and exhibitions at the co-located Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences and the Turk’s Head Folk Museum. He noted that “Albury, by far the most populous place in the region, has one of the weakest museums” and noted that both museum components should combine and should focus on three themes: railway, local industries (wool-broking, flour-milling and stock sales) and town growth (in view of the impending development by the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation).

Strahan was critical of the overall museum set up as it had “no temperature control, no fire alarm, no dust filtration, fumigation.” He noted that while

“the building housing the museum is attractive in form …its location is a problem. It is set by a bend on the west side of Wodonga Place (the Hume Highway) near the bridge spanning the Murray River en route to Wodonga. Wodonga (south) bound traffic has difficulty getting to the museum due to the need to make a right-hand turn against heavy oncoming traffic flow. Albury (north) bound traffic turns the bend and would tend to miss the museum, which is set back from the road.—there are no approach signs.”

Albury Historical Society Folk Museum

At the time Strahan’s visit the folk museum component was ‘another random conglomeration…cluttered … [but] neat and tidy.’ The Albury Historical Society owned about 90% of all items as bequests/gifts by local residents in the farming and business community, with the remaining 10% being items on loan. About 40% of the objects were being rotated where possible. C Klinge, Secretary of the Albury Historical Society complained that they were

“cramped to the position where it is impossible to display a lot of our articles at all. We urgently need a much larger area…[including an] outdoor space for showing heavy equipment, vehicles, etc.”

The storage space was so unsatisfactory that a large amount of items were stored in the homes of the members of the Albury Historical Society. In 1975 the museum received about 2,000 visitors per year.
The museum, which utilised the central and northern sections of the Turk’s Head building was set up as the Albury Branch of the Sydney-based Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (now Powerhouse museum). Strahan was informed that

“The museum owes presence to political influence.” Strahan described the museum as “a strange display, uncluttered, yet unrelated (more like bits of a museum than a museum)… a collection [which was] small in scale, unrelated and somewhat silly.”

Strahan’s informant at the museum was an

“attendant, a suspicious but homely type’ [who] refused to give his name, …untrained and described himself as ‘caretaker.’

When Strahan visited the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences section of the Turk’s Head building in March 1975 he noted flood damage in the north-western corner of the museum. The attendant claimed that this could have been prevented by erecting a levee bank in the rear, but that the Albury City Council was not listening.

Strahan found that there was not only little collaboration between the two, but even resentment. The attendant of the Museum of Arts and Sciences commented on the Albury Folk Museum that

“They often don’t open. They are a nuisance. I have to take messages and things for them.”
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Strahan recommended a merger and refocus the collections on displays on the history of Albury and the Region.\footnote{This resulted in part in an attempt to disentangle the museum and find a new venue that represented what Albury was meant to become under Whitlam’s decentralisation programme. While a new, and more central venue was promised in 1981,\footnote{nothing eventuated.}} This resulted in part in an attempt to disentangle the museum and find a new venue that represented what Albury was meant to become under Whitlam’s decentralisation programme.\footnote{While a new, and more central venue was promised in 1981, nothing eventuated.}

One of the outcomes of the Piggott report,\footnote{was that many museums reassessed and redefined their interests, collections and activities. As one of the consequences, the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences focussed on its Sydney operations and shut down its regional branches.} It was Albury’s turn in February 1983.\footnote{When the Albury branch had been set up in 1967, the intent had been that any collections displayed there were for permanent display and retention, and not given on loan. Thus, it seems, many items were retained and transitioned into the collections of the Albury Historical Society.}

The building

The proposed conversion of the dilapidated Murray Store to the museum in 1965 was as far as can be assessed, carried out for the most part. An extant image from 1967 shows the museum as seen from the southeast. The brick wall of the verandahs has been removed and concrete steps have been installed. A concrete footpath connects the building with the newly constructed visitor centre to the north. The building appears whitewashed, with the windows and the shutters painted in a darker, presumably green colour. Signage has been affixed to the wall of the southern abutting room, as well as a sign suspended from the parlour. The southern sign reads ‘Albury Historical Society & Folk Museum’, while the sign at the parlour wall reads “Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences Albury Branch” (see Fig. 83).

After the building was acquired by Albury City, plans were drawn up to convert the structure into a museum. This entailed sweeping changes to the circulation pattern of the building. The external accesses to rooms 8 and 15 were bricked in.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig91}
\caption{Ground plan of the Turk’s Head building during the co-located museum period in the 1970s.}
\end{figure}
Fig. 92. The building in the 1970s when it served as the Albury Historical Society and Folk Museum and the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (Albury Branch).  


When the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences withdrew in February 1983, the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation, a body charged with developing the region as a viable economic entity, seems to have stepped in and supported the continuation of the museum as a cultural facility. This allowed for some renovations and for the Albury Historical Society and Folk Museum to expand and spread into the whole building. Re-branded as the Albury Regional Museum, the building was formally re-opened on 7 December 1983 by the Premier of New South Wales, Neville Wran (Fig. 96).  

The focus of the Albury Regional Museum was to “introduce Upper Murray Aboriginal culture and trace the history of European settlement in the Albury Wodonga regions from 1824 to the present.” The permanent exhibition was to be augmented by temporary travelling exhibitions to commence in 1984/85. The museum underwent a series of minor branding changes (Fig. 95), probably in consequence of changes in directorship (Table 9).  

The museum closed on 10 November 2006 in preparation of the new museum development at the corner of Swift and Kiewa Streets. Since then the building has stood empty with Albury City Council examining options to activate that space.
Fig. 93. Reconstructed circulation pattern at the beginning of the co-located museum period in December 1967

Fig. 94. Reconstructed circulation pattern during the co-located museum period in the 1970s

Table 9. Directors of the two incarnations of the Albury Museum based at Turks Head until the closure of the facility on 12 November 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folk museum</td>
<td>J.J. Wright</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967, Nov–</td>
<td>J.J. Wright</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albury Regional Museum</td>
<td>Narelle Pumpa</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982, May 1–1983, Dec 7</td>
<td>Narelle Pumpa</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984, Apr 9–1987, Feb</td>
<td>Constance M Kordell</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987, Apr – 1988, Nov &gt;</td>
<td>Martyn Paxton</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993, Mar–1999, Feb</td>
<td>Elizabeth Close</td>
<td>403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 95. Variations in branding of the museum at Turk’s Head.\textsuperscript{403}
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Fig. 96. Invitation to the official opening of the Albury Regional Museum 7 December 1983.406

Fig. 97. Ground plan of the Turk’s Head building during later period of the Albury Regional Museum to the present

Fig. 98. Documented circulation pattern during the early period of the Albury Regional Museum.407
Fig. 99. Documented circulation pattern during the middle period of the Albury Regional Museum.408

Fig. 100. Observed circulation pattern during the later period of the Albury Regional Museum.409
Fig. 101. The Albury Regional Museum at the time of closure in 2006.410

Fig. 102. The Albury Regional Museum at the time of closure in 2006. Room nº 2 looking north.411
Fig. 103. The Albury Regional Museum at the time of closure in 2006. Room nº 3 looking south to room 4.412

Fig. 104. The western wall of room nº 14, showing paint-out with Indigenous motifs

Fig. 105. The northern wall of room nº 14, showing paint-out with Indigenous motifs
Fig. 106. The Albury Regional Museum at the time of closure in 2006. Room nº 14.413

Fig. 107. Artwork signed “Desi Smith, Wiradjuri ‘98” as mounted in the Albury Regional Museum in November 2006.414
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Structural</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1824, Nov 16</td>
<td>Hamilton Hume, William Hovell and six convicts are the first Europeans to reach the Murray at Albury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>James Wyse establishes Mungabareena run for Charles Ebden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839, Apr</td>
<td>Albury town grid surveyed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>Robert Brown (of the Hume Inn) operates the first punt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849, Aug 15</td>
<td>NSW government takes control of the punt service</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851, Jul 1</td>
<td>Colony of Victoria founded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855, Sep 22</td>
<td>John Green purchases allotment 2 of section 40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858, Dec</td>
<td>Government punt relocated to end of Wodonga Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861, Sep 9</td>
<td>Union Bridge opens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867, Oct</td>
<td>Record flood of the Murray</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868, Apr 21</td>
<td>Hotel opened as ‘Traveller’s Rest’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873, Nov 21</td>
<td>Wodonga railway station opened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874, Nov</td>
<td>Bridge Toll abolished</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875, Jul 14</td>
<td>Hotel rebranded as ‘Turk’s Head Hotel’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879, Jan 20</td>
<td>stables burn down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882, Aug</td>
<td>accommodation space added (i.e. building extended?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>429</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884, Feb</td>
<td>new billiard room erected</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898, Nov 19</td>
<td></td>
<td>hotel put up for sale, passed in</td>
<td></td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 1898, Mar</td>
<td></td>
<td>billiard room converted to accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td>432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899, Jan 3</td>
<td>new Union Bridge opened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Mar</td>
<td></td>
<td>hotel rebranded as ‘Union Bridge Hotel’</td>
<td></td>
<td>434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901, Jan 1</td>
<td>Federation, customs abolished for good</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906, Dec</td>
<td></td>
<td>watering troughs removed</td>
<td></td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909, May</td>
<td></td>
<td>foot path in bad condition</td>
<td></td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916, Jun</td>
<td></td>
<td>stables in unstable condition and pulled down</td>
<td></td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922, Jun 30</td>
<td>Union Bridge Hotel delicensed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938, Nov 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>fire destroys a wood and iron outbuilding at the rear</td>
<td></td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960, Oct 26</td>
<td>Albury Historical Society formed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961, Apr 7</td>
<td>current (third) Union Bridge opened</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961, Aug 19</td>
<td>Albury City terminated tenant’s lease</td>
<td>demolition of the Turk’s Head building proposed</td>
<td></td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965, Aug 20</td>
<td></td>
<td>plans for museum conversion finalized</td>
<td></td>
<td>444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967, Dec 1</td>
<td>Museum of Applied Arts &amp; Sciences opens at the Turks’ Head building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967, Dec 15</td>
<td>Albury folk museum opens at the Turk’s Head building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983, Feb</td>
<td>Museum of Applied Arts &amp; Sciences withdraws</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983,</td>
<td></td>
<td>subfloor ventilation installed</td>
<td></td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983, Dec 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Albury Regional Museum opened by NSW Premier Neville Wran</td>
<td></td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>picket fence erected</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988, Sep 25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Time capsule placed next to the Turk’s Head building</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, May 17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Balustrade added</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991, early</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turks’ Head building re-roofed with new CGI</td>
<td>452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993, Nov</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>new doorway created in northeastern corner of the Turks’ Head building</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pergolas at rear and entry canopy erected</td>
<td>454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997, Oct?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bonegilla Mosaic by Marie Louise Anderson installed</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004, Apr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>damp proofing project</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006, Nov 12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>museum at Turks’ Head building closes</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015, Sep 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>removal of asbestos tiles and floor linings in rooms 1, 2, &amp; 15</td>
<td>458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016, Jun 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>call for expression of interest to lease</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes to Chapter 3

1. (Anonymous, 1852b).
2. (Anonymous, 1852b).
3. A sand dune existed at the Ebden Street between Olive and David Streets, Albury. This dune had been a burial location by the Indigenous people and was also used for early European burials (Anonymous, 1860d, 1861f, 1861g, 1861h, 1896e, 1910f; Vagabond, 1896). Indigenous burials in that dune, with bodies placed between two sheets of bark, are on record for 1840 and 1841 (Bushman, 1842). As Albury grew, that dune was increasingly quarried for sand for purposes of house construction and the cemetery was in an increasingly bad shape (Anonymous, 1862b). — The cemetery in the sand dune was given up and the bodies relocated to the current location at the Pioneer cemetery (gazetted in 1848) at the northern end of David Street and consecrated in 1858.
4. (Anonymous, 1848c).
5. (Anonymous, 1852b).
7. (Denison, 1855, p. 2154). — Section 40 allotments nº 1 & 2; section 41 allotment nº 1 & 2; and section 41 allotment nº 2 (Denison, 1855, pp. 2157–2158).
8. Suburban lots 1, 2, and 4, comprised of section 41 portion 2 (5 acres 2 perches); section 40 portion 1 (3 acres 2 perches 10 rood); section 40 portion 2 (2 acres 3 perches 26 rood) (Riddell, 1856, p. 106). See also ownership as first alienation on the Parish Map (Fig. 37): (Department of Lands, 1906). — From July 1857 onwards, a John Green also owned allotments 4–7 in section 18 (Anonymous, 1857); Barney, 1857b, p. 1498).
9. (Richardson & Wrench, 1860).
11. Included in the appropriation for 1860 (New South Wales, 1860): ‘Compensation to Mr. John Green, for land for road between Wodonga Place and River Murray, at Albury.’
12. (Richardson & Wrench, 1860).
14. The subsequent history of the land ownership of that allotment has not been systematically researched for this study. On record are:
Lot 6 was sold on 4 November 1873 to Thomas Marlow (NSW property register book 150 folio 285) (Simpson, 1958).
In November 1904 lot nº 8 of allotment 1, section 41 was put on the market as a clearing sale. Property ‘Fern Villa, owned by Mrs Darwell in 1904 (Griffiths & Co, 1904). — The advertisement makes no reference to the lot number, just notes that the property is allotment 1 section 41 and the corner block at Ebden Street and Wodonga Place.
In October 1937 the rates for lots 2 of allotment 1, section 41, were so far overdue that the property was auctioned off by the public trustee. Owners at the time were Edward Hutchinson Doubleday and Edwin Doubleday (Geddes, 1937); see also (Garnsey, 1937).
16. Source: (Department of Lands, 1906).
17. (Anonymous, 1918g).
18. (Anonymous, 1918g). — This was not the first time that a public bath at that space was mooted, as a Mrs Bean owned baths at ‘Robinson’s Beach’ and offered to sell them to council in 1911 (Anonymous, 1911c).
19. (Anonymous, 1918f). — Subject to governor’s approval, the terms for the acquisition of eight acres of allotment 2, section 42 at a cost of £33/acre were an up-front payment of £50 and four annual payments of £53/10 plus 6%p.a. interest (Anonymous, 1918e).
21. As that prevented his stock from accessing and grazing the land (Anonymous, 1919d).
22. (Renshaw, 1957).
23. Resumed for purposes of public recreation was lot B or allotment 2 of section 42 (Weaver, 1933). — Lot B in miscella-
neous plan of subdivision n° 12,583 (ti-
tle vol. 5278 folio 92) resumed for pub-
lic recreation on 21 April 1948 (Jordan,
1948).—Robinson disputed the valua-
tion of the resumed land a claimed a
higher value. In May 1951 the Land and
Valuation Court set the value of the
land at £3017 and, after deductions,
awarded Robinson £1750. Robinson
himself had claimed £2500
(Anonymous, 1951).

24. Purchase price £520 (Hague, 1949).—
Lot 2 had been sold to Carey on 5 May
1881 by Henry Baylis, John Frederick
Skinner, Alice Skinner, and Edward
Hutchinson Doubleday (as son of Ed-
ward Doubleday, storekeeper Albury)
(NSW property register book 222 folio
883) (Hague, 1949).

25. Images based on (Department of
Lands, 1906; NSW Department of
Lands, n.d.).

26. (Bunton, 1957; Renshaw, 1957).

27. Purchase price £3200, NSW property
register book 2455 folio 793 (Simpson,
1958).

28. Purchase price £2050, NSW property
register book 2754 folio 549 (Strong,
1965).

29. (H. N. Turnbull, 1923).


32. (Anonymous, 1860i).

33. For a more in-depth history see Ap-
pendix I (p. 98).

34. Which was closer to town and had
more street frontage (the additional
frontage to Ebden Street).

35. (Anonymous, 1868a).

36. Born in London in 1802 or 1803 (see
death certificate NSW Register of
Births, Deaths and Marriages
2785/1872);

37. NSW Register of Births, Deaths and
Marriages B 342 vol 31C /1846
V1846342. The marriage on 10 Febru-
ary 1846 was registered by the Church
of England in the Parish of St Saviour
in the County of Argyle (presumably St
Saviour, Goulburn).—At the time of
marriage, John was 43 or 44 years of
age, and Ann was 41. Both were resi-
dent at Towrang (NSW).

38. She had been previously married to
Hugh Driscoll who had been born on
December 24 1800, in Bantry Bay,
County Cork, Ireland (the entry on the
register of bounty immigrants suggests
he was born in 1801 as he was aged
39¾ at the time of arrival (Immigration
Agent, 1841).

They had married in London in 1825
(see data in Ann Green’s death certifi-
cate NSW Register of Births, Deaths
and Marriages 3335/1874).

The NSW Register of Births, Deaths
and Marriages does not illuminate
the death of Hugh Driscoll. The two Hugh
Driscoll listed as having died in the pe-
riod 1841–1846 were infants; the ages at
death for the other males during the pe-
riod the period 1841 –1846 do not
match the supposed date of birth of
Hugh Driscoll (between 1801 and 1803,
see note 36). On 13, 15 and 16 Septem-
ber 1845 Ann Driscoll placed the fol-
lowing notice in the Sydney Morning Her-
ald:

“Having left my husband, Hugh Driscoll, in
the Asylum, Sydney, three years past in March
last, and who was then labouring under illness
occasioned by a fall, but he having assumed a
false name when he entered it, I have not been
able to know what has become of him; though I
have used every exertion; and as I am about to
be married, I am anxious to obtain infor-
mation respecting him, whether he is dead or
alive, I therefore offer a reward of £1 for such
information. The said Hughes Driscoll was a
marble polisher by trade and was of weak
mind. Ann Driscoll. New Line, near Goul-
burn, September 8th” (A. Driscoll, 1845a,
1845b).

We do not know what came of this.
The weekly paper Bell’s Life in Sydney
picked up on the notice and poked fun
at the situation speculating that “his
mortal remains may be found reposing
at the bottom of one of the capacious
soup coppers” of the Benevolent Asy-
lum (Anonymous, 1845a).

Hugh and Ann Driscoll had arrived in
Sydney on 6 April 1841 as bounty im-
migrants aboard the Bussorah Merchant.
The immigration record notes that the
family, who originated from County
Cork, comprised of: Hugh Driscoll,
aged 39 ¾ stone mason, who could
read and write; Ann Driscoll, aged 26
farm servant, who could neither read
nor write; Daniel, aged 13; John, aged
11; Robert, aged 9; Julia, aged 5; and
Hugh aged 2. The importer, Alexander
Campbell, collected bounty of £19 each
for the adults, £10 each for the children aged 9 to 13, and £5 each for the two younger children (Immigration Agent, 1841); see also typed index card, with some errors: (Anonymous, 2010).—The sixth child, Thomas Driscoll, was born in 1842 (birth certificate, NSW Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages 2196/1842 V18422196 133, not seen).

James must have died early as William Green is noted as the sole child at the time of the probate application for John Green’s assets (Fleming & Bradley, 1874d).

A hotel, initially called the Traveller’s Rest, is on record in October 1857 at Mount Pleasant as being 4 ½ miles from Albury on the way to the Upper Murray (Anonymous, 1857a; Hopgood, 1857a, 1857b), but it does not seem to be listed in the licensing register. The hotel remained known as Traveller’s Rest among some circles (Anonymous, 1858b; C. L. Morris, 1858). Another Traveller’s Rest hotel had been operated by an Edward Gall at ‘Billa-bong’ near Albury since at least 1865. It was licensed under that name until 1868, during the latter year in parallel with the Traveller’s Rest under discussion (Eagar, 1866, p. 1847; Lane, 1867, p. 1893; 1868, p. 2871; Smart, 1865, p. 2032). In 1869 licensed by a George Bates (Lane, 1869, p. 2131; 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951) and from 1872 by a Walter G Banks (Eagar, 1872, p. 2407). No longer listed in 1873 (Eagar, 1873b, p. 2459).

Another establishment, “The Traveller’s Rest Hotel,” was reputedly operated in Albury by a Patrick Madden for the period 1870 to 1872 (Eagar, 1872, p. 2407; Lane, 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951), but a traveller’s account of 1873 placed Madden’s establishment on the Sydney Road between Woomargama and Mullengandra (Anonymous, 1873k). No longer listed in 1873 (Eagar, 1873b, p. 2459).

Yet another Traveller’s Rest hotel was operated by John Gregson in Gerogery in 1876 (Eagar, 1876a, p. 3643; 1877, p. 3367; 1879, p. 2871). According to a label displayed along with a pit saw in the museum the “Timber used in the construction of this building (Turks Head Hotel) was cut on the Wodonga flats by Dan Driscoll and Ferdy Jones using a pit saw.”

John Green was the first of three publicans to die while running the hotel; the others were Joseph Henry Frauenfelder in 1895 (p. 76) and Edward Steel in 1900 (p. 81).

Apparently Green “had been in the habit of drinking very hard” and “had not been sober one day during the last two months” (Anonymous, 1872b).—The inquest file for the inquest conducted by Captain Brownrigg on 16 May 1872 noted ‘natural causes, accelerated by drink’ (NSW Attorney General & Justice, 1821-1937).

Anne Green died 23 April 1874 (see inscription on grave marker in the Albury cemetery).—funeral on 25 May according to funeral notice (‘cortege to leave from Mr T Donovan’s residence’) (W. J. Jones, 1874).

Another Traveller’s Rest hotel had been operated by an Edward Gall at ‘Billa-bong’ near Albury since at least 1865. It was licensed under that name until 1868, during the latter year in parallel with the Traveller’s Rest under discussion (Eagar, 1866, p. 1847; Lane, 1867, p. 1893; 1868, p. 2871; Smart, 1865, p. 2032). In 1869 licensed by a George Bates (Lane, 1869, p. 2131; 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951) and from 1872 by a Walter G Banks (Eagar, 1872, p. 2407). No longer listed in 1873 (Eagar, 1873b, p. 2459).

Another establishment, “The Traveller’s Rest Hotel,” was reputedly operated in Albury by a Patrick Madden for the period 1870 to 1872 (Eagar, 1872, p. 2407; Lane, 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951), but a traveller’s account of 1873 placed Madden’s establishment on the Sydney Road between Woomargama and Mullengandra (Anonymous, 1873k). No longer listed in 1873 (Eagar, 1873b, p. 2459).

Yet another Traveller’s Rest hotel was operated by John Gregson in Gerogery in 1876 (Eagar, 1876a, p. 3643; 1877, p. 3367; 1879, p. 2871). According to a label displayed along with a pit saw in the museum the “Timber used in the construction of this building (Turks Head Hotel) was cut on the Wodonga flats by Dan Driscoll and Ferdy Jones using a pit saw.”

John Green was the first of three publicans to die while running the hotel; the others were Joseph Henry Frauenfelder in 1895 (p. 76) and Edward Steel in 1900 (p. 81).

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lication and search (Cope, 1874); administration (Green, 1874a).

The probate files are silent on the nature and extent of the assets. Only the total value of the estate, £900 at the time of Anne’s death, is recorded.

James Higgins was a coach builder (Anonymous, 1919), while Lewis Jones was agent for Cobb & Co as well as an alderman of the Albury Borough Council in 1874 (Higgins, 1874a).

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James Higgins was a coach builder (Anonymous, 1919), while Lewis Jones was agent for Cobb & Co as well as an alderman of the Albury Borough Council in 1874 (Higgins, 1874a). James Higgins was a coach builder (Anonymous, 1919), while Lewis Jones was agent for Cobb & Co as well as an alderman of the Albury Borough Council in 1874 (Higgins, 1874a).

For example, in 1886 the brand for horses and cattle, was transferred from the executors of John Green registered to William Green, Wodonga Place (reg. nº 1701) (Bruce, 1886).

Licencing register (Eagar, 1874b, p. 2637); see also advertisement (Carpenter, 1874). At the time of writing we have no information on the background or identity of Alfred John Carpenter.

On 30 January 1875 Carpenter is mentioned in court case as witness (Anonymous, 1875b).

The hotel is not included in the 1 July 1875 list of licenced premises in Albury (Eagar, 1875, p. 2761).

While it might be posited that the NSW government did not exercise effective control until the mapping of the Albury area by Townsend in 1839 (Perry, 1838; Townsend, 1839), the first formal act of control occurred in 1835, when Charles Hotson Ebden selected land on both sides of the river, establishing the Mungabareena and Bonegilla Runs (Andrews, 1920, p. 22ff; 170f; Anonymous, 1876f).

Paul Huon, owner of the Wodonga run (La Trobe, 1848), purchased Mungabareena in 1836 (Andrews, 1912a, p. 3f; 1920, p. 22ff; 170f). Huon received a pasturage licence in February 1837 (licence nº 202, Thomson, 1837). Renewed July 1838 (licence nº 289, Thomson, 1838).—Pasturage license to James Mitchell (P. L. Campbell, 1840, p. 171 [under ‘Murrumbidgee’]).

Formally gazetted on 13 April 1839 (Thomson, 1839c).

Suburban lots 1, 2 and 4, comprised of section 41 portion 2 (5 acres 2 perches); section 40 portion 1 (3 acres 2 perches 10 rood); section 40 portion 2 (2 acres 3 perches 26 rood) (Riddell, 1856, p. 106). See also ownership as first alienation on the Parish Map (Fig. 37): (Department of Lands, 1906).—See NSW licensing register (Lane, 1868, p. 2871; 1869, p. 2131; 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951).

Anne Green died 23 April 1874 (see inscription on grave marker in the Albury cemetery).

In November 1938 the Turk’s Head building was owned by Roy Robinson, and occupied by Mr. R. G. Bennett.

Resumed by Albury City (Bunton, 1957; Renshaw, 1957).

See NSW licensing register (Lane, 1868, p. 2871; 1869, p. 2131; 1870, p. 1923; 1871, p. 1951).—For death see NSW Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages 3335/1874.—see also headstone in the Albury Cemetery.

See NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1874b, p. 2637).—see also advertisement (Carpenter, 1874).—enforced cancellation of licence (Anonymous, 1874a).

Cass cancelled his licence for the Turk’s Head Hotel (Anonymous, 1876a).—Cass takes up licence for the Carrier Arms at the same time (Cass, 1876).
See NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1877, p. 3367; 1879, p. 4051).—
Commenced advertising 23 December 1876 (Gulson, 1876).—Still landlord in January 1880 (Anonymous, 1880a, 1880e).

See NSW licensing register (Anonymous, 1881d; Eagar, 1880, p. 4829).—Complaint about stench from night soil at Chinese gardens: (Anonymous, 1880e).

See NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1881, p. 4695; 1882, p. 4733; 1883, p. 4735; 1884b, p. 5879; 1885b, p. 5397).

See NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1886b, p. 6525; Kirkpatrick, 1892b, p. 6657; 1893b, p. 6429).—Hotel offered for lease 21 December 1893 (Green & Conley, 1893b, 1894b, 1894a).

See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1894b, p. 5339).

See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1895d, p. 5501).—Joseph H Frauenfelder died on 27 August 1895 aged 32 years (Anonymous, 1895c, 1895d; E. B. Frauenfelder, 1895); see also headstone in the Albury Cemetery.

See NSW licensing register (Anonymous, 1896a; Kirkpatrick, 1896b, p. 5885).—Elizabeth B Frauenfelder still mentioned as licensee 22 May 1897 but moves out from the hotel to a private residence (Anonymous, 1897a, 1897b).

See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1897, p. 6077; 1898, p. 6835).—(Anonymous, 1898b, 1898c, 1898e; Parker, 1897).

See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1899, p. 6333); (Anonymous, 1899c, 1900g; Hogan, 1899).

(Anonymous, 1900e, 1900g); NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1900, p. 6499).—Steel, aged 38, died suddenly on 30 December 1900 (Anonymous, 1901n, 1901o).—No information on his probate could be found.—Sale of goodwill (Anonymous, 1901d).—E Steel is also listed in the Sands’ Country Commercial Directories for 1901 (Sands, 1901, p. 659).

See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1901, p. 6481; 1902, p. 6049; 1903, p. 6159; 1904, p. 6405; Saunders, 1905, p. 5789; 1906a, p. 4869; 1907a, p. 4859; Treasury, 1908, p. 4569; 1909, p. 4677); (Anonymous, 1901b, 1901m, 1908a, 1909b, 1909d) fee £20, assessment £90 (Anonymous, 1907a, 1907b).—J. T. Robinson is also listed in the Sands’ Country Commercial Directories for 1902 to 1910 (Sands, 1902, p. 672; 1903, p. 6A; 1904, p. 5A; 1905, p. 5A; 1906, p. 4C; 1907, p. 4A; 1908, p. 5A; 1909, p. 5A; 1910, p. 5A).

In 1903 Maurice Flynn, originally of Jingellic) took over the licence of the Salutation Hotel in Dean Street (Flynn, 1903a, 1904).—Maurice Flynn ran that hotel on behalf of the Flynn family which owned it (for details on arrangement and patronage see Anonymous, 1908d).

From 1910 to 1912 Maurice Flynn owned the license for the Union Bridge Hotel with an address in Dean Street (Treasury, 1910a, p. 4655; 1911a, p. 4713; 1912, p. 5249).—From 1913 onwards the license address is again Wodonga Place (Anonymous, 1910c, 1910g, 1910h, 1911b, 1912a, 1913a, 1914b, 1914a, 1918a, 1918b, 1919a; Treasury, 1913, p. 5335; 1914, p. 5169; 1915, p. 5001; 1916, p. 4960; 1917, p. 4874; 1918, p. 4215; 1919, p. 4775).—Annual license £90 in 1914 (Anonymous, 1914a).—Maurice Flynn is also listed in the Sands’ Country Commercial Directories for 1913–1920 (Sands, 1911, p. 3A; 1912, p. 4A; 1913, p. 4A; 1914, p. 3A; 1915, p. 3A; 1916, p. 4C; 1917, p. 4A; 1918, p. 4A; 1919, p. 5A; 1920, p. 4A).

In 1920 Flynn re-acquired a licence for the Salutation Hotel (Treasury, 1920, p. 4989; 1921, p. 4951), previously licensed to Thomas Jhonston [sic] (Treasury, 1918, p. 4215; 1919, p. 4775).—See his advertisement as licensee of the Salutation Hotel 20 May 1920 references that Flynn had been the previous publican of the Union Bridge Hotel (Flynn, 1920).—See also (Flynn, 1919).

See NSW licensing register (Treasury, 1920, p. 4989; 1921, p. 4951); license renewals (Anonymous, 1920c, 1921a);
closed as delicensed on 30 June 1922 (Anonymous, 1922d).—R J Blair is also listed in the Sands’ Country Commercial for 1921 and 1922 (Sands, 1921, p. 4A; 1922, p. 5A).


94. The height has been calculated based on the number of brick courses visible in Fig. 42.

95. See similar assertion in (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]).

96. Photograph by H.G. Thomas, Albury.—Image courtesy Albury Library Museum ARM 90.360.—Images originally donated to the Historic Society by William Green’s granddaughter, Mrs HB Shipard of Warrawee, Bungowannah (Anonymous, 1965d).

97. The northern door is not visible in the photograph, but can be inferred from the gate in the northern verandah.

98. Two small panel on the top, two large panels on the bottom.

99. These units tend to be more common in the earlier Old Colonial Georgian style (Apperly et al., 1989, p. 24ff), which suggests that Albury’s architecture lagged slightly behind the capital centres. This can also be observed in numerous examples of Albury’s late nineteenth and early twentieth century architectural history (pers.obs).

100. The presence of a shadow at the lower right-hand corner of the sign demonstrates that this was a sign that had been affixed, possibly of metal, and not painted on.

101. The height was 16ft4in above summer level (Anonymous, 1889).—Paddle steamer: (Anonymous, 1926).

102. (Anonymous, 1917a).

103. Noted as flooded: (Anonymous, 1889).

104. During the 1905 floods, when the river height was 13ft10in above summer level, the gardens of the Union Bridge Hotel were flooded (Anonymous, 1905e), but the building was not. In October 1906, when the levels reached 14ft 7in and again flooded all the gardens and paddocks, the hotel just remained above water and dry (Anonymous, 1906e). We do not know whether the cellar was flooded through groundwater inundation.

105. The hotel is not listed as licenced on 1 July 1875; see Eagar (1875, p. 2761).

106. (Anonymous, 1875a).

107. Public Houses with the name Turks Head have been documented from various town in the United Kingdom, such as Exeter, Newcastle, Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin, Rothbury, Wapping and others. 107 In Australia there was a Turk’s Head Hotel in the Rocks area of Sydney in the 1820s.

108. (e.g. Greig & Murray, 1875).


110. (Turk’s Head Brooms, Anonymous, 1875i).

111. E.g (Kipling, 1899, p. 400f)

112. (Anonymous, 1876e).

113. It was still advertised on 28 June 1876 (Anonymous, 1876e).

114. (Anonymous, 1876a).

115. (Cass, 1876).—See also advertisement in (Border Post (Albury), 1877, p. 100).—In September 1876 Cass is listed as publican of the Empire Hotel, the Carriers Arms being no longer listed (Eagar, 1876, p. 3643); see also (Eagar, 1877, p. 3367; 1878, p. 3423).

116. At the time of writing very little is known about the licensee William Patrick Cunningham.

A William Patrick Cunningham is mentioned in a 1904 newspaper item as an applicant for a pension due to ill health, even though he had not yet reached the 58yr age threshold. Cunningham had been a miner in north-eastern Victoria for most of his life, “with exception of a short interval in New South Wales” (Anonymous, 1904c).

A William Cunningham († 2 October 1907, aged 58 years) is buried in the Albury Pioneer Cemetery. A Wodonga review of deaths that occurred during 1897 lists him as an “old identity who died aged 59 years” (Anonymous, 1908f).—The Victorian Births, Deaths and Marriages lists his as aged 59yrs (nº 1907/14490).

117. See NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1877, p. 3367).

118. (Garner, 1876).

119. While he was landlord of the Turk’s Head, Luke Gulson served as councillor and later served as mayor in 1884 (Anonymous, 1880b).

120. (Anonymous, 1878c, 1879d).
That the game of skittles was played at Gulson's hotel can also be inferred from an item in November 1878 (Anonymous, 1878b).

128. That the game of skittles was played at Gulson's hotel can also be inferred from an item in November 1878 (Anonymous, 1878b).

129. (Gulson, 1879a, 1879b, 1879d, 1879c, 1879e, 1879f, 1879h, 1879g).

130. (Anonymous, 1879h).

131. The latter is on record for July 1880 as landlord in the case of odour emitted from night soil deposited on the Chinese market gardens (Anonymous, 1880e).

132. See NSW licensing register (Anonymous, 1881d; Eagar, 1880, p. 4829).—Complaint about stench from night soil at Chinese gardens: (Anonymous, 1880e).

133. Source: (Anonymous, 1877c, 1877b, 1877a).

134. Source: (Gulson, 1879a, 1879b, 1879d, 1879c, 1879e, 1879f, 1879h, 1879g).

135. William Green was severely injured in October 1881 when running after a cow (Anonymous, 1881a).

136. The NSW Lands Act underwent a major revision in 1884 which excluded leasehold lands from conditional purchase options (Crown Lands Act of 1884 [NSW 48 Vic no. 18]). To assess the status quo of landownership in the colony, a census of land and stock-holders was carried out in December 1884 by the Police and Stock Inspectors. The data are reported are based on those reported in Parliamentary Return of Landholders 1885 (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 7 n° 26744).

137. (Anonymous, 1882b).


139. (Spennemann, 2018).

140. The site plan drawn up for the 1965 refurbishment of the Turk's Head property and conversion into a museum shows the outline of a structure that abutted the original kitchen building (Fig. 84). No pictorial evidence exists for that building with the exception of the 1949 aerial image (Fig. 72). Based on that image, the structure seems to have had a gable roof running parallel with the original kitchen building and a skillion-roofed addition to the south. These two buildings were connected with the hotel by a walk-way that had been roofed over. No other information could be obtained at the time of writing. We know that one of these was the kitchen, while the other was used as a dining room, an interpretation based on the fact that such rooms had been noted in an 1895 furniture listing (Frauenfelder [?], 1895/7), and that it was connected with the hotel by a covered walk-way. Oral history relating to the guest house period revealed that, at least by 1944, the original kitchen building was used as a dining room, while the additional building to the south was used as the new kitchen, with the south-eastern window of the original kitchen building used as a serving window (Donelly, 2017).

141. Detail of Fig. 67.—Source: section of image ARM 85.296.

142. (Anonymous, 1884a, 1884c).—Based on the available evidence the building seems to have been a two room cottage with central corridor and a skillion-roofed, possibly closed-in verandah at the (western) rear. The building seems to have had a ceiling height similar to that of the Turk's Head building, i.e. 12 feet. Following the conversion of the Turk's Head building into a museum, the structure was demolished. The area was extensively reshaped during the construction of the levee bank in 1975/76, which suggests that few if any sub-surface traces are likely to remain of that structure (Spennemann, 2018, p. 91).

The identification of the structure as the billiard room is not beyond doubt, but highly probable. A case of opportunistic theft in 1898 suggests that the billiard room had a door fronting the street (Anonymous, 1898g). As the property just to the north of the Turk's Head building was not owned by Green (and later Robinson), we have to assume that the billiard room was erected to the south and thus is the same as the building under discussion. This is confirmed by the commentary of an older resident in 1965 who refers to the structure as the former billiard room (Henwood, 1965).
143. (Anonymous, 1884b).
144. (Anonymous, 1885b).
145. NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1884a; 1885a, p. 1413); (Anonymous, 1884b).
146. NSW licensing register as John Oddie: (Eagar, 1886a, p. 846; 1888a, p. 1203; 1889a, p. 1476; 1890a, p. 1286; 1891a, p. 1487).
147. NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1892a, p. 1621; 1893a, p. 1687; 1894a, p. 1297).
149. A. Andrews (1912f).
150. See the item discussing a swallow’s nest on the gaselier (Anonymous, 1887c).
151. (Griffith & Co, 1887).
152. Oddie (1886a).
153. Parker (1897).
154. Household nº 572 (Blomfield, 1891, p. 25).
155. (Green & Conley, 1893b, 1893a, 1894b, 1894a).
156. (c.f. Spennemann, 2016).
158. Photograph by H G. Thomas, Albury. Image Albury LibraryMuseum ARM 90.358.
159. Photograph by Burton Bros, Albury. Image Albury LibraryMuseum ARM 90.359.
160. See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1894b, p. 5339).
161. (Billiard and Bagatelle Licensing Act of 1882)
162. NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1892a, p. 1621; 1893a, p. 1687; 1894a, p. 1297).—McDonald is not mentioned for 1895 and 1896 (Kirkpatrick, 1895b, 1896a).
163. See NSW licensing register (Kirkpatrick, 1895d, p. 5501).
164. See for example (Cloos & Tampke, 1993).—Given the status of the Frauenfelder family, much comment is made on the Frauenfelder connection (see Albury LibraryMuseum artefact database as well as pamphlets). Given the short tenure of the Frauenfelders at the Turk's Head Hotel, this is overrated and overstated.
165. For example, in April 1886 Frauenfelder obtained a license for the Town Hall Hotel in Dean Street (opposite the court house) (J. H. Frauenfelder, 1886a, 1886b). Joseph Henry Frauenfelder (as licensee) and Sebastian Frauenfelder, both late hotel keepers of the Town Hall Hotel were declared bankrupt in November 1887 (McFarland & Henry, 1887). (Anonymous, 1887b).—Joseph Henry Frauenfelder, then described as ‘late hotel keeper,’ filed once more for (this time voluntary) bankruptcy in July 1892 (Quinlan, 1892) which was granted a month later (Anonymous, 1892a).
166. On 5 February 1895 (Kirkpatrick, 1895c).
167. Joseph H Frauenfelder died on 27 August 1895 aged 32 years (Anonymous, 1895c, 1895d; E. B. Frauenfelder, 1895); NSW Births, Deaths and Marriages 7502/1895.—see also grave marker in Albury cemetery.—Frauenfelder family history asserts that Joseph dies of appendicitis (G. Frauenfelder, [1972f]).
168. (Kirkpatrick, 1895a).
169. See NSW licensing register (Anonymous, 1896a; Kirkpatrick, 1896b, p. 5885).
171. (G. W. S. Frauenfelder, 1972b).
172. (Plummer, 1934).
173. They moved on 22 May 1897 (Anonymous, 1897a, 1897b).
174. (Anonymous, 1898c).—Parker is also mentioned for 1898 (Anonymous, 1898d).
175. Anonymous (1898g).
176. For example, the lorry driver David Kelton, working for Frauenfelder, who lodged and boarded at the Turks’ Head in 1892 (Anonymous, 1892b). He seems to have lived opposite in 1891 (Blomfield, 1891, p. 25).
177. (Anonymous, 1898c).
178. (Anonymous, 1898c, 1898a).
179. (Ten Brink & Co, 1898a, 1898b).
180. (Ten Brink & Co, 1898a, 1898b, 1898c).
181. (Anonymous, 1898f).
182. (Anonymous, 1898j).
183. (Hogan, 1899).
184. Thomas Parker seems to have stayed out of the papers and his running of the hotel seems to have been smooth. The
only mention was that a hotel guest, a Mr J.B.Sexton, found dead in his room (he apparently died due to epileptic fit) (Anonymous, 1897c)

166. (Garner, 1876).
167. (G, 1877).
168. e.g. (Albury and District Historical Society, 1973).—See also statement of significance in the NSW Heritage Database (NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, 2010).—For the actual trip see (Anonymous, 1880d, 1880f; Morrison, 1881). Morrison launched the canoe at the Albury bridge, but the published account does not mention that he stayed at the Turk’s Head hotel (Morrison, 1881).—He was not the first to attempt such rowing feats, however, as two Melbourne men attempted the same from Echuca in April 1872 (Anonymous, 1872c); and two others attempted to row from Echuca to Albury and then all the way down the Murray to its mouth 1876 (Anonymous, 1876d).
170. (Anonymous, 1900b, 1900c).—Anthrax had also been detected in 1896 in a bullock that grazed on the Murray River flats (closer location not specified) (Anonymous, 1896c).
171. Source ‘Hovell’s Tree’ (Myers, 1895).
172. (Renshaw, 1957).—The land ownership of that allotment has not been re-searched in depth for this study. On record are:
Lot 6 was sold on 4 November 1873 to Thomas Marlow (NSW property regis-ter book 150 folio 285) (Simpson, 1958).
In November 1904 lot n°8 of allotment 1, section 41 was put on the market as a clearing sale. Property ‘Fern Villa’, owned by Mrs Darwell in 1904 (Griffi-ths & Co, 1904).—The advertisement makes no reference to the lot number, just notes that the property is allotment 1 section 41 and the corner block at Ebden Street and Wodonga Place.
In October 1937 the rates for lots 2 of allotment 1, section 41, were so far overdue that the property was auctioned off by the public trustee. Owners at the time were Edward Hutchinson Doubleday and Edwin Doubleday (Geddes, 1937); see also (Garnsey, 1937).
173. In the published rate notices for 1896, 1902 and 1903 (Paine, 1896, 1902, 1903) part of Wodonga Place is men-tioned (section 2 allotments 2-7, 9) but not the southern part that is the focus of the study.
175. (Anonymous, 1883d).
176. (Grant & Co, 1892).
177. (M’Closkey, 1905, 1906).
178. The builder’s yard was established in January 1903 by John Clements on allotment 6 section 3 (Clements, 1903). He a number of weatherboard and cor-rugated iron buildings, as well as stables, on the property (Dalgety & Co, 1909).—After Clements’ death the property was sold off by auction on 9 October 1909 (Dalgety & Co, 1909).
179. When Luke Gulson’s property “imme-diately adjoining the Turk’s Head Hotel” came up for sale in January 1901, it was described as “having a frontage of 44ft to Wodonga Place, by a depth of 176ft, on which is erected a brick building, lately used as a hay and corn store” (Griffiths & Co, 1901).—The property was lot 1, allotment 1, section 41.—In 1906 a Mrs Johnston is on record as residing in that property. (Anonymous, 1906f).
180. (Anonymous, 1898f).—The police station was located on allotments 4 and 5 of section 3. The property, which was comprised of two brick cottages, was privately owned by Mary Watson and leased to the Police Department. Offered for sale on 8 November 1901 (Benjamin Bros., 1901).
182. Transferred to George Reinhart (Anonymous, 1900a).—The transfer had been adjourned in January (Anonymous, 1900f).
183. Licence: (Anonymous, 1900g).—Former book keeper: (Anonymous, 1901q).—Until the transfer he had held the licence for the Golden Fleece Hotel from 1898 onwards (Anonymous, 1900a; Kirkpatrick, 1898, p. 6835; 1899, p. 6333).
184. Even though technically incorrect as the new century commenced on 1 January
1901, the same day that Australia’s Federation came into effect.

Also known as Tambaroora (Boyd, 1882, p. 63).—In the game each party threw a shilling into a hat. Each player then had three throws with a pair of dice, with the player with the highest score winning the pot but having to shout a round of drinks to the other players (E. E. Morris, 1898, p. 456).

(Anonymous, 1900d).—Steel was also in the news for having his signature forged on a cheque (Anonymous, 1900c).

(Anonymous, 1900h, 1900j).—Robinson seems to have owned quite a lot of land surrounding the Turk’s Head property. Most of the property was gradually resumed by Albury City: In July 1933 Albury Municipal Council resumed land to the north of Turk’s Head (lot B of allotment 2 of section 42) for purposes of public recreation (Weaver, 1933).—Lot B in miscellaneous plan of subdivision n° 12,583 (title vol. 5278 folio 92) resumed for public recreation on 21 April 1948 (Jordan, 1948).

(Anonymous, 1901p). (NSW BDM 427/1901).—see also headstone in the Albury Cemetery.—Steel was leading member of the Hibernian Society (Anonymous, 1901n, 1901o).

(Anonymous, 1901q).

No details on the probate could be found.

(Anonymous, 1901d).

(Anonymous, 1901c).—(McCook, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1901d); victims of robbery (Anonymous, 1901c).

(Anonymous, 1901b).

(Anonymous, 1901k).

(Anonymous, 1901b, 1901a, 1901m, 1901l).

(J. T. Robinson, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1901d, 1901e).

e.g. (Anonymous, 1908c).

(Anonymous, 1908b).

Robinson argued that he had initially intended to hire the plaintiff, Edward Cummins, as a cab driver, but then used him a farm hand on a pay-per-job basis (Anonymous, 1905j).

(Anonymous, 1906h).

Robinson is mentioned in a case of drunkenness and as a victim of the theft of a bottle of rum (Anonymous, 1901b).
tected by levee banks erected by the Chinese themselves.

242. When Frank Strahan visited the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences in March 1975 as part of the background research for the Committee of Enquiry on Museums and National Collections (see p. 102), he noted flood damage in the north-western corner of the museum. The attendant claimed that this could have been prevented by erecting a levee bank in the area, but that the Albury City Council was not listening (Strahan, 1975b).

243. Flynn (1910). Standing advertisement until 5 October 1911 (Flynn, 1911b).

244. Standing advertisement (with minor layout variations see Fig. 60) from 6 October 1911 (Flynn, 1911a) to 13 June 1914 (Flynn, 1913).

245. Standing advertisement Flynn (1912).

246. Source: ARM 85.405.23.

247. Recognisable are ‘JAM’ and ‘ON’.

248. At the time of writing this extension remains undated. An unrefereced comment in the assessment of the Turk’s Head museum in 1975 notes that the folk museum section in the southern two rooms had been added to the Turk’s Head building in 1902 (Strahan, 1975c).

249. See for example (Spennemann, 2015a, 2015c).

250. (Anonymous, 1911c).

251. There is however, earlier reference to quoits being played at the hotel. In April 1876 a quoits challenge was issued, to be played at Cass’ Turks Head Hotel (Garner, 1876).

252. (Anonymous, 1912e).

253. (Anonymous, 1912b, 1912c, 1912d, 1912f, 1912g, 1912h, 1912i).

254. Section 2 allotment 8 or allotment 9, corner Ebden Street and Wodonga Place.

255. (Saunders, 1906b, 1907b).

256. (Treasury, 1910b, 1911b).— Little is on record about Meade as far as his connection with the Union Bridge Hotel is concerned.— In 1901 the firm [Robert] Murray and [Michael Thomas] Meade, cordial manufacturers of Albury, were forced to apologise for a trademark infringement of labels of their bitter bottles (Anonymous, 1901f, 1901c, 1901g).—In 1905 Meade was a member of the Albury Borough Council (Anonymous, 1905b).—Meade was also mentioned in January 1906 court case for being on licence premises after closing time (Anonymous, 1906d).—In June 1910 he was convicted of driving a motor car without lights while touring near Bowna (Anonymous, 1910e).— Between 1913 and 1917 Meade held the publicans license for the Royal Hotel (Treasury, 1913, p. 5335; 1914, p. 5169; 1916, p. 4960; 1917, p. 4874).—Michael T Meade was still a resident of Albury in October 1918 (Anonymous, 1918h).

257. (Anonymous, 1905b).

258. (Anonymous, 1905b).

259. (Anonymous, 1905b, 1905g, 1905h, 1905i).

260. Anonymous (1904d); Justice, 1904).

261. Justice (1906a).

262. Resident horse trainer: Anonymous (1911c).—passing trainers: Justice (1906b).

263. Anonymous (1906g).

264. (Anonymous, 1913b, 1919e).—See also advert by a horse clipper resident at the Union Bridge Hotel (Gardiner, 1915).


266. Anonymous (1916d).

267. The vantage point was about half-way up, possibly just above the quarry.

268. Little is known about the Blairs. James R. Blair (junior) had siblings Olive Agnes (Anonymous, 1921c); married November 1921 (Anonymous, 1921f, 1921g).—Maud (Anonymous, 1921g).

269. See NSW licensing register (Treasury, 1920, p. 4989; 1921, p. 4951); license renewals (Anonymous, 1920c, 1921a); closed as delicensed on 30 June 1922 (Anonymous, 1922d).—R J Blair is also listed in the Sands’ Country Commercial for 1921 and 1922 (Sands, 1921, p. 4A; 1922, p. 5A).

270. (Treasury, 1921, p. 4951).

271. (Anonymous, 1921b).

272. (Anonymous, 1922d)

273. (Anonymous, 1922e)

274. (Anonymous, 1922d).

275. (Michell, 1923a, 1923b).

276. Clearing sale 22 March 1923 (Michell, 1923c, 1923d).

277. Michell (1923b).

278. Michell (1923d).

279. (Michell, 1923b).
280. A poddy is a calf, in particular one which is fed by hand.

281. (Michell, 1923b).

282. (Michell, 1923c).

283. (Michell, 1923d).

284. (Anonymous, 1922b).


286. We do not know whether Robinson had any residual holdings in Omeo.


288. (R. Bennett, 1926).—In August 1931 Bennett advertised his Fiat model 501 car for sale (G Bennett, 1931).—Bennett was in occupation of the premises at the time of his son Percy Clarence’s death April 1935 (Anonymous, 1935).—When a fire destroyed a wood and iron outbuilding at the rear of the Turk's Head building on 3 November 1938, the building was owned by Roy Robinson and occupied by Mr. R. G. Bennett (Anonymous, 1938b).—Wedding of youngest daughter in April 1941 (Anonymous, 1941b).

289. The electoral rolls for Hume list the following as residing at 317 Wodonga Place for 1932, 1934, 1935 (other years not digitised): Caroline Maud Bennett, Robert George Bennett, and Percy Clarence Bennett.

290. (Donelly, 2017).

291. Robert George Bennett, aged 76, died on 12 December 1943 (grave marker in Albury Pioneer Cemetery).—The Bennetts came from Rutherglen (Donelly, 2017).—See also death of Caroline’s Bennett’s father at George Bennett’s residence in 1916 (Anonymous, 1916a, 1916b).

292. Caroline Maud Bennett, aged 79, died on 22 September 1955 (grave marker in Albury Pioneer Cemetery).

293. In March 1926 Robert George Bennett placed an advertisement in the Albury Banner looking for “land to trap, ferret and dig in, must be a thousand acres or more” (R. Bennett, 1926).

294. (Donelly, 2017).—George Bennett, seems to have traded out of premises in Townsend Street. He repeatedly advertised that he would re-cover motor hoods and repair curtains (George Bennett, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938).


296. (Anonymous, 1929a).

297. At the time of writing there has been no access to archival sources that may shed light on such permits.

298. (Anonymous, 1938b).

299. (Shanahan, 2001).—The nearest other shop being a milk bar at the corner of Smollett and Townsend Street (Shanahan, 2001).

300. (Donelly, 2017).

301. Warnoch’s wagon caught fire during the night and he died in the fire (Anonymous, 1950a).—The Bennetts are also on record as being in residence in Wodonga Place in 1937; the electoral roll for 1927 lists Caroline Bennett, Edward Bennett (labourer) and Robert George Bennett (coach trimmer).—Likewise on record for April 1941 (Anonymous, 1941a).—The electoral roll for 1947 lists Caroline Maude Bennett as owner and ratepayer and Edward Bennett (labourer).

302. Michell (1923d).

303. See Caroline Bennett’s Sunday trading license for 1923 (Anonymous, 1923).

304. Noel Henry Greentree is listed in the 1947 electoral roll as shopkeeper and occupier of 317 Wodonga Place.

305. Source: section of image ARM 85.296.

306. Source: image ARM 84.148. Date attribution by ball pen inscription on front of image.


308. Image courtesy Wendy Donelly, Albury.

309. Image courtesy Wendy Donelly, Albury.


311. A Winifred Myra Smith, waitress, is listed on the 1938 electoral roll.

312. For the Bennetts, reference was made by Wendy Donelly (2017) (for the 1944/47 period) of Rowley / Roland Roland James Hill (brother of Caroline Bennett) mentioned in: (Anonymous, 1949b), and Edward Bennett. In addi-
tion, the 1935 electoral roll lists a Percy Clarence Bennett who died on 4 April 1935 at the age of 29 (grave marker in the Albury Pioneer cemetery).

315. (Anonymous, 1940).—He is listed on the 1935 electoral roll for Wodonga Place.

316. (Turner & Son, 1942).—Kelly is not listed as resident at Wodonga Place in the 1935 electoral roll. —Kelly, formerly of Tallangatta, was married in 1925 to Julia Hurley of Henty (Anonymous, 1925).—Kelly died in East Malvern in 1949 having lived there with his sister Elizabeth Jane Kelly (Anonymous, 1929b).—For sister see also (Turner & Son, 1942).

317. (Anonymous, 1949a).—Robert Hill was Caroline Bennett’s brother.—Hill is not listed as resident at Wodonga Place in the 1935 electoral roll. —He is listed as ‘Rowley John Hill’ (retired, occupier) on the 1947 electoral roll.

318. Warnoch’s wagon caught fire during the night and he died in the fire (Anonymous, 1950a).—Warnoch had been a shearer in his younger days and an early and vocal member of the Australian Workers Union (Anonymous, 1950b).

319. Living at Wodonga Place for the ‘last 14 years’ (Anonymous, 1950a).—He is listed as labourer on the 1935 and 1947 electoral rolls for Wodonga Place, but not on the 1937 roll.


321. Wendy Donelly (2017) recalls that the Chinese man was well respected by Mrs Bennett but snubbed by some of the boarders and had to eat at a separate table of the three tables in the dining room.

322. Image courtesy Albury Library Museum; image n° ARM 84.142.

323. Image courtesy Wendy Donelly, Albury.

324. The boy in the image is Caroline Bennett’s son Percy at the rear of Turk’s Head in 1947. Image courtesy Wendy Donelly, Albury.

325. (Donelly, 2017).

326. Which could be inferred from common sense, as it then swings to the front wall.

327. The street numbering of premises in Albury was carried out in 1919 (Bayley, 1954, p. 152) but the adoption was patchy and slow (Anonymous, 1920b).

328. Robert George Bennett, aged 76, died on 12 December 1943 (grave marker in Albury Pioneer Cemetery).

329. A ‘Gwen’ from Rutherglen (Donelly, 1917).

330. Noel Henry Greentree is listed in the 1947 electoral roll as shopkeeper, 317 Wodonga Place.

331. Caroline Maud Bennett, aged 79, died on 22 September 1855 (grave marker in Albury Pioneer Cemetery).

332. (Albury and District Historical Society, [1968?]).

333. (Anonymous, 1950a).—There is no reference to a Greentree in the Albury cemetery, suggesting that they were not local.


335. (Bunton, 1957; Renshaw, 1957).


338. Source: Albury Regional Museum, image n° ARM 88.336.02.

339. Source: Dave Murchie via Flickr: https://www.flickr.com/photos/56133443@N00/12264308276


341. This image postdates that in the Border Mail, note the new street lamp. Source: Albury Regional Museum, image n° ARM 90.361.


343. The National Trust provided advice and urged council to use a conservation architect to avoid mistakes (Anonymous, 1964).


345. With the historical society committing to collaborating on staffing (Anonymous, 1965b, 1965d).

346. (Henwood, 1965).

347. (Strahan, 1975d).

348. (Albury and District Historical Society, [1968?]).


355. Would have been £8,000 at the time.
357. Image source: Albury Regional Museum collections, no ARM 85.297.
360. Depicted is J.J. Wright, Vice-President of the Albury Historical Society and organiser of the exhibition (Anonymous, 1967e). The quality of the image is constrained by the fact that it was copied from an orthochromatic microfilm copy.
361. Depicted are D.G. Padman (donor, left), Jim Wells (Albury Historical Society, right) (Anonymous, 1967c). The quality of the image is constrained by the fact that it was copied from an orthochromatic microfilm copy.
362. Depicted are (from left) the NSW member for Albury, Gordon Mackie, the President of the Albury Historical Society Claude C Hazelwood (right), J.J. Wright, Vice-President of the Albury Historical Society, and the Mayor of Albury, Cleaver Bunton. Image provided by Helen Livsey (Secretary of the Albury Historical Society). A cropped version of the image appeared in the Border Mail (Anonymous, 1967f).
363. (Strahan, 1975a).
364. (Strahan, 1975b).
365. (Livsey, 2006).
366. (Strahan, 1975c).
367. (Piggott et al., 1975).—For country museums discussion see (Condé, 2011).
368. (Strahan, 1975b, 1975c).
369. (Strahan, 1975d).
370. (Strahan, 1975c).
371. (Strahan, 1975d).
372. (Strahan, 1975d).
373. (Strahan, 1975c).
374. (Strahan, 1975c).—See also (Strahan, 1975d).
375. (Strahan, 1975c).
376. Of these, 90% came from outside Albury. Attendance data based on visitor books.—Opening hours 2pm–5pm each Saturday and Sunday and NSW and Victorian school holidays. Entrance fees $20/adult, $5/child (Strahan, 1975c).—The sign on the door stated “Albury Historical Society and Folk Museum. Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday.—Public school holidays or by arrangement” (Strahan, 1975d).
377. On temporary display in the foyer of the Albury City Council Building, December 2017.—Inventory number ARM 08.621.
378. (Strahan, 1975b).—Even though as Strahan noted Albury had had for many years a branch of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (in Dean Street).
379. (Strahan, 1975b).—The entry was free. Opening hours were 10am–12pm, 1pm–5pm daily, closed Wednesday, good Friday and Christmas Day (Strahan, 1975b).
380. (Strahan, 1975b).
381. (Strahan, 1975b).—This would have been the 1974 flood which was less than the one of 1975 which came after Strahan’s visit.
382. (Strahan, 1975b).
383. (Strahan, 1975d).
384. (Strahan, 1975a).
387. (Piggott et al., 1975).
388. (Condé, 2011).
391. Source: Department of the Environment RT06222.
393. (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]).
394. (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]).
395. (Jones, 2006; Livsey, 2006).
396. (Johnston, 2016).—The conservation plan (Spennemann, 2018) was developed as part of Albury City’s requirements.
397. It proved surprisingly difficult to compile the required data, as fragmented as they still are. I am indebted to Helen Livsey (Secretary, Albury and District Historical Society) from some dates derived from her files.
398. (Anonymous, 1967e). There was no formal ‘director’ but a steering committee (pers. comm. Helen Livsey), even though J.J. Wright had been responsible for the initial exhibition.
399. (Pumpa, 1983).
400. (Herbert, 1985; Jones & Kordell, 1985; Kordell, 1984).
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

402. (Braddy, 1999).
405. Letter heads and heads of newsletters held in the vertical file in the Albury LibraryMuseum.
406. (Pumpa, 1983)
407. Based on (Albury Regional Museum, n.d. [ca 1984]).
408. Based on (Anonymous, 1993a).
410. Source: image ARM 15.804.02.
411. Source: image ARM 15.804.08.
412. Source: image ARM 15.804.05.
413. Source: image ARM 15.804.09.
414. Image courtesy Helen Livsey, Albury.
415. A. Andrews (1920, p. 22ff; 170f).
416. A. Andrews (1920, p. 22ff; 170f).
417. S.A. Perry to Thomas S. Townsend, 5 July 1838, directing Townsend to carry out the survey of the Albury area (Cannon & MacFarlane, 1988, p. 235f).—Map 1 June 1839 (Townsend, 1839).
418. (Anonymous, 1841b).
419. (Thomson, 1849).
420. (Riddell, 1856, p. 106).
421. (R. T. Campbell, 1858a).
422. (Anonymous, 1861i).
423. (Anonymous, 1867e).
424. (Anonymous, 1868a; Lane, 1868, p. 2871).
426. (Anonymous, 1874b).
427. (Anonymous, 1875a).
428. (Anonymous, 1879a).
429. (Anonymous, 1882b, 1882c)
430. (Anonymous, 1884c).
431. (Anonymous, 1898f; Ten Brink & Co, 1898a, 1898b).
432. Anonymous (1898g).
433. (Anonymous, 1899d).
434. (Anonymous, 1900g).
435. (Country Traveller, 1907).
440. (Albury and District Historical Society, [1968?]).
444. (Strahan, 1975b).
445. (Strahan, 1975c).
446. (Livsey, 2006).
447. (Spennemann, 2018).
448. (Livsey, 2006).
449. Text of plaque on southern wall of the residence.
450. Text of plaque on time capsule.
451. GN Swinson, Director Health and Community Services, to Les Tomich, Director Building Services, Picket fence to front verandah (Cannon & MacFarlane, 1988, p. 235f).—Map 1 June 1839 (Townsend, 1839).
452. (Anonymous, 1938b).
453. (Anonymous, 1993b)
454. Plans for pergolas and entry canopies. 6 July 1995. Contained in building permit 960009. ACC files 25095#001–5A.
455. (Close, 1997).
456. (Honey, 2004).
457. (Livsey, 2006).
458. Asbestos Clearance certificate, SJ Michelini to Murphy’s Salvage and Demolitions. Certificate MSD 45.15.01, dated 17 September 2015. ACC files G202.7#001.
459. Andrew Cottrill, Lease of Former Turk’s Head Building and Australia Park Museum. 317 Wodonga Place, South Albury NSW 2640. Expression of interest FIL 16/00480.
Appendix I.—The former Bridge Inn

A building of similar appearance to the Turk’s Head Hotel, albeit on much smaller scale, exists in a very dilapidated state south of 292 Wodonga Place. The property, which is closely related to the Turk’s Head building, has never been described and formally put on record even though it is on the Albury Local Environmental Plan as an item of local heritage significance. This appendix will provide a brief summary of the structure.

Background
The building, which today is frequently referred to as ‘former car club building’ (Fig. 115–Fig. 118), was originally reputedly erected in 1856 for John Green. In 1860 it was converted into the Bridge Inn, operated by Daniel Driscoll and others until at least 1876. The earliest image of the building is in the background of one of von Gierard’s 1862 sketches of Albury (Fig. 25). It shows a rectangular building with a roofline running parallel to the road approaching the bridge. Two chimneys can be made out. In January 1871 Driscoll carried out alterations and additions. A year later, the Bridge Inn underwent massive redevelopment, which resulted in the current structure.

History
The land on which the building stands been first alienated by John Green in September 1855, with some parcels acquired by Daniel Driscoll sometime in 1856. When Wodonga Place was extended to the south, to form the NSW approach to the future Union Bridge, it was Green and not Driscoll who was compensated for the loss of land, suggesting that Driscoll’s allotment was outside the area. Driscoll obtained the licence for the government punt at the new location for 1859. In December 1860 Driscoll also obtained a license for a public house at the future bridge, where he seems to have primarily serviced the users of the new punt (p. 20). Later, Driscoll also took up the annual licence for the bridge toll. That toll was collected in a small toll hut directly at the bridge itself.

Driscoll’s Bridge Inn seems to have operated from 1860 onwards, and for the period 1868–1876 in parallel with the Traveller’s Rest. Driscoll held a license for the Bridge Inn from 1860 onwards, then with the exception for the period between May 1867 and June 1868. During that period a Michael Tiernan is listed as the licensee. Driscoll had obtained the licence for the bridge toll for 1865 and again for 1866. Yet
in late 1866 he lost out to Michael Tiernan as successful bidder for the Albury bridge toll for the year 1867. We must assume that the Bridge Inn was less profitable (at least for Driscoll) without the ‘captive’ audience provided by the bridge toll users. In consequence, Driscoll seems to have leased the Bridge Inn and also transferred the licence for the pub to Tiernan in May 1867 (Fig. 108). Tiernan ran the Bridge Inn until June 1868 when it reverted to Driscoll.

In August 1867, while Tiernan was licensee, a violent, drunk patron “began clearing out the house, smashing in the doors [of the Union Bridge Inn] with an axe when he was refused any more drinks”. He then proceeded to hack into the red-gum timbers of the Union Bridge itself.
During the period of May 1867 and June 1868 Driscoll seems to have resumed his old business as builder and undertaker at the Union Bridge.\textsuperscript{23} It can be surmised that during that period Driscoll built the Traveller’s Rest hotel for his stepfather John Green(see p. 61) Driscoll gradually returned to his standard line of business in December 1867, when he successfully bid for the lease of the Albury bridge toll bar for 1868,\textsuperscript{24} and then resumed his licence for the Bridge Inn in May 1868 effective late June.\textsuperscript{25} Driscoll the retained his publican’s licence until 1873.\textsuperscript{26}

Driscoll bought the bridge toll license again for 1869,\textsuperscript{27} and in 1872 successfully bid toll £550 for the bridge, even though the upset price was £805.\textsuperscript{28} It proved a lucrative business, as the toll income for 1872 was £1310 10s 1d,\textsuperscript{29} giving Driscoll a handsome profit.

In late 1871 Driscoll commenced to renovate and upgrade his premises\textsuperscript{30} with serious construction starting in January of the following year.\textsuperscript{31} By May 1872 the \textit{Border Post} noted that “when completed, we feel certain, [the building] will be of a very imposing character; the building is substantially built of brick, but the cornices and other ornamental portions of it will be worked in cement. It will no doubt prove to be a great acquisition to that part of the town, and being just at the entrance, a stranger will be struck with surprise, for the moment, at the unique edifice that meets his view on the very threshold of the colony.”\textsuperscript{32} After its completion, in January 1873, \textit{Albury Banner} noted that “the premises have been considerably enlarged and improved, indeed it may almost be said that the hotel has been entirely rebuilt.”\textsuperscript{33} The \textit{Border Post} wrote on the same occasion that

\begin{quote}
“The hotel just completed…reflects great credit on the enterprise of [Daniel Driscoll]. The exterior, which has a fine elevation, and appearance, is both tastefully and well executed, and the interior fittings at once indicate the idea that the work has been done by a practical tradesman.”\textsuperscript{34}
\end{quote}

By 1873 the licensing situation of the hotel becomes patchy as Driscoll abandons his publican’s interests for good. At first sight, it makes little sense that Driscoll engaged in a complete refurbishment of the Bridge Inn and then walks away from running the venue. It is possible, however, that this was precipitated by his stepfather’s death in May 1872 and the demands placed on him by his mother Ann Green when running the Traveller’s Rest (p. 61).

It is unclear at the time of writing whether Driscoll retained ownership of the Bridge Inn and merely leased it to Schmidt (and later Lamb), or whether he sold it. Charles Schmidt listed as publican from January to September 1873.\textsuperscript{35} When Driscoll transferred the license to Charles Schmidt, the \textit{Albury Banner} noted that “the premises have been considerably enlarged and improved, indeed it may almost be said that the hotel has been entirely rebuilt.”\textsuperscript{36} The \textit{Border Post} even waxed lyrically

\begin{quote}
“that ‘Charley’, late of King’s Rose Hotel, has become the landlord of this house, and, from our personal knowledge of his affability under all circumstances, we should say that he was the
\end{quote}
right man in the right place. The house is well adapted for visitors to the town and being in close proximity to the river affords every facility for retirement. 37

Fig. 110. Advertisement by Charles Schmidt in January 1873 38

Schmidt certainly had great plans. He rebranded the establishment, changing the name from ‘Bridge Inn’ to ‘Bridge Hotel’ and not only advertised that he had taken over the hotel (Fig. 110), 39 but he also tried to make it a social venue by hosting pigeon shoots (Fig. 111). 40 Sometime in September of the same year, Schmidt lost interest in the establishment and moved his business interest to the Albury Hotel in Dean Street. 41 He “was summoned by the police for having closed his licensed hotel, the Bridge Inn [and having] admitted the charge … the Bench cancelled the licence.” 42

Fig. 111. Advertisement by Charles Schmidt in January 1873 43

Thereafter the hotel underwent a period of instability. It then passed to John Lamb, who fitted it out as a ‘family hotel’ (Fig. 112). 44 Even though Lamb was granted the publican’s license on 3 October 1873, 45 he offered it to be let in late December 1873, suggesting that he had decided to leave. 46 Yet he still advertised in January 1874

— 134 —
While this may suggest he actually owned the establishment, it is likewise possible (but less likely?) that he merely tried to extricate himself from a lease he no longer wished to pursue. With no takers, the hotel stayed empty. It was again on the market in May 1874, when Lamb formally sought to have his license for the Bridge Hotel cancelled. It seems that the Bridge Hotel then remained closed until 10 November of the same year.

By November 1874 the business model had changed fundamentally, as the bridge tolls, which had long been a bone of contention, were abolished. Thus there was no longer a need for travellers to stop at the bridge, and call at the hotel, where the toll keeper maintained much of his business. Intriguingly, the Bridge Hotel was licensed again in November of that year, this time to a Maurice Franklin. Franklin seems to have kept the licence until December 1875, when it again appears for lease in the advertisements, with vacant possession effective 1 January 1876.

A James Ringwood sought to obtain the license for the hotel on behalf of his parents on 15 January 1876 arguing that he wished to reside there. Even though the Police Magistrate objected, noting that as Ringwood was unmarried this venture would ruin Ringwood’s family, the license was granted. In April and May 1876 Ringwood advertised the hotel, offering both furnished and unfurnished rooms. It seems that Ringwood lost his licence in early 1876 because he failed to meet the residence stipulations. In July 1876 Ringwood tried to regain the licence, but to no avail. The Bridge Hotel was closed for good.
Table 11. The licensees of the Bridge Inn / Bridge Hotel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Licensee</th>
<th>Advertisement</th>
<th>Endnotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bridge Inn</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860, Dec–1867, Apr</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867, Apr.—1868, Jun</td>
<td>Michael Tiernan</td>
<td>Fig. 108</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868, Jul–1873, Jan 10</td>
<td>Daniel Driscoll</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bridge Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873, Jan 10–1873–Sep 20</td>
<td>Charles Schmidt</td>
<td>Fig. 110–Fig. 111</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873, Oct 3–1874, May 24</td>
<td>John Lamb</td>
<td>Fig. 112</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874, Nov–1875, Dec</td>
<td>Maurice Franklin</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876, Jan–1876, May &gt;</td>
<td>James Ringwood</td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 113. The former Bridge Inn in relation to the brewery, ca. 1911–1914.68
After a period of disuse, the Bridge Hotel became part the brewery that had been established just to the north of it in 1872. In 1881 the original brewery at Wodonga Place was described as

“recklessly adapted from what was anciently a disconnected and unsuitable hotel, it naturally made a more disconnected and unsuitable brewery.”

By 1906 the building was used as the residence of the head brewer and manager of the Albury Brewing and Malting Co. The property is described as

“situated on the banks of the river Murray. The house is a perfect idyl of cosy homeliness and refined comfort, surrounded by beautifully laid-out grounds and gardens sloping right to the river bank.”

The brewery had shut down in 1916 or 1917 due to unsuitability of the water. During the influenza epidemic of 1919 part of or all the property was used as a ‘hold up’ station. To what extent the residence was part of this, is unclear at the time of writing.

When put up for sale in December 1920, the brewery and associated structures was passed in. Eventually, in July 1922 the Murray Breweries Pty Ltd property, comprised of the residence, as well of all brewery buildings and 32 acres of land, was acquired by Edwin Ernest Waite of Tumbarumba. The brewery buildings, with the exception of the residence were demolished in December 1922, and the land converted into a dairy farm. The old residence was retained and named ‘Courabyra’. At Albury, Waite bred dairy cattle, specialising in Friesian-Ayrshire crosses.
The land was acquired in 1960 by the Bob Jane Corporation with the building leased to various tenants as a residence. The property was at one point known as ‘Brasseurville’. In 1967 the building was renovated and converted into the clubhouse of the Albury Car Club. As the ongoing repairs had become too costly, the car club abandoned the building in 1985. To this day the building remains vacant, has fallen into disrepair and has become subject to vandalism.

Description
The building is comprised of a parlour with a protruding semi-hexagonal section at the southern end, a central verandah section and an abutting end section that resembles a closed-in verandah (but was erected as part of the original structure). In essence, the building looks like a smaller version of the Turk’s Head building.

The roof structure of the former car club building (Fig. 120) is identical to that encountered at the Turk’s Head building. The building is sheeted with corrugated galvanised iron directly over the wooden shakes (Fig. 121). The galvanised sheeting used for the flat gable end over the protruding parlour dates to the mid- to late 1870s. As the protruding semi-hexagonal section is not integrated into the roof structure (compare the Turk’s Head for instance, Fig. 61) it can be surmised that this section has been added later, and that the building initially had a flat façade in alignment with the northern section (Fig. 116).
Fig. 116. Speculative reconstruction of the initial ground plan of the building.

Fig. 117. Room plan of the building.
**Fig. 118.** Appearance of the building in 2017.

**Fig. 119.** Aerial view of the building in 1949 to 2015.

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Dirk HR Spennemann
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Fig. 120. Roof structure in 2017. Looking south

Fig. 121. Roof structure in 2017. Northern end

Fig. 122. Main room in 2017. Looking south.

Fig. 123. Main room in 2017. Looking north-east.

Fig. 124. Backroom with arched door to main room (2017).

Fig. 125. Floor structure and cellar in 2017.
Fig. 126. Redcliffe Crown stamp on flat galvanised iron sheet.83

Fig. 127. Galvanised iron sheet with a Redcliffe Crown Type IB stamp and the promotional text: ‘AWARDED MENTION HONOURABLE EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1878 A PARIS’ 86
Notes to Appendix I

1. DP 779740, lodged 10 June 1988 (NSW property register volume 3734 folio 248; CA 29743).

2. The building was first identified in the 1988 Albury Central Area Heritage Study (Colleran & O’Dwyer, 1988), where it was recommended to be included in schedule 1. It was first included in the Albury Local Environmental Plan in 1995 (Minister for Planning, 1995) and has remained on the list, its current condition notwithstanding (Minister for Planning, 2010, p. 97).


4. (Rox, 1871).

5. In January 1872 Driscoll advertised for Brick layers (D. Driscoll, 1872).

6. The inventory sheet for the Albury Central Area Heritage Study (Colleran & O’Dwyer, 1988), claims that the building was erected “by George Billson (who took over the Union Bridge Brewing Co from ‘Keefe ad Cº in 1887) as a residence for the manager of the nearby Albury Brewing and Malting Company.”

7. Suburban lots 1, 2 and 4, comprised of section 41 portion 2 (5 acres 2 perches); section 40 portion 1 (3 acres 2 perches 10 rood); section 40 portion 2 (2 acres 3 perches 26 rood) (Riddell, 1856, p. 106). See also ownership as first alienation on the Parish Map (Fig. 37): (Department of Lands, 1906).

8. Included in the appropriation for 1860 (New South Wales, 1860): ‘Compensation to Mr. John Green, for land for road between Wodonga Place and River Murray, at Albury.’


13. On record for 1860 (Anonymous, 1860i) and 1865 to 1866 (Eagar, 1866; Smart, 1865). We have to assume that the hotel was in continuous use. We have a single reference to this for 1862/1863, as the hotel (but not the publican) is mentioned as a venue of new year’s sports 1863 (Anonymous, 1863).

14. (Lane, 1867).—Tiernan advertised in April 1868 (M Tiernan, 1868).

15. (Anonymous, 1865b).

16. Paying the ‘upset’ (i.e. reserve) price of £600 for that year (Anonymous, 1866b).

17. (Anonymous, 1866a).

18. (Anonymous, 1867h).

19. (D. Driscoll, 1868).

20. (M Tiernan, 1868).


22. (Michael Tiernan, 1868).

23. (D. Driscoll, 1868).

24. (Anonymous, 1867g).

25. (Anonymous, 1867a; Lane, 1868).

26. (Eagar, 1872; Lane, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871).—See also (Greville’s Directory, 1872, p. 8).

27. for £700 (Anonymous, 1868f).


29. (Anonymous, 1873a).

30. (Rox, 1871).

31. (D. Driscoll, 1872).

32. (Anonymous, 1872a).

33. (Anonymous, 1873f).

34. (Anonymous, 1873g).

35. (Eagar, 1873a).—Schmidt opened the Bridge Hotel on 4 January 1873 (A. Andrews, 1912e).

36. (Anonymous, 1873f).

37. (Anonymous, 1873g).

38. (Schmidt, 1873b).

39. (Schmidt, 1873a, 1873c, 1873d, 1873b).

40. (Schmidt, 1873e, 1873f).

41. As of December 1873 (Eagar, 1873b).

42. (Anonymous, 1873c).

43. (Schmidt, 1873f).

44. (Lamb, 1874a, 1874b).

45. (Anonymous, 1873b).

46. Advertisement “To be let, the Bridge Hotel, Albury. Sufficient reason given for leaving. Address John Lamb, Post-office, Albury. Insertion of the advertisement 29 December 1873 to 2 January 1874 (Anonymous, 1873i, 1873h, 1874i, 1874j).

47. (Lamb, 1874a, 1874b).

48. Advertisement “To be let, the Bridge Hotel, Albury. For particulars apply K McLennan, Dean St Albury (Anonymous, 1874k, 1874j).

49. “The Bridge Inn having been closed for some time, the late landlord, Mr Lamb, applied to the Bench on Tuesday [12
May] for the cancellation of the licences, in order to avoid rendering himself liable to prosecution for deserting his licensed house. The license was cancelled accordingly" (Anonymous, 1874h).—not listed as licensed in (Eagar, 1874b, p. 2637).

50. (Anonymous, 1874d).

51. (Lamb, 1873, 1874a, 1874b).

52. The receipt from the excessive toll charges here collected, is divided equally between the two colonies, as the bridge was erected at their joint expense.” (Anonymous, 1872d).

53. (Anonymous, 1874a).

54. (Anonymous, 1874d; Eagar, 1875, p. 2761).—The Police Gazette lists it as ‘near Albury Bridge’ (Eagar, 1874a).

55. Advertisement “To be let, the Bridge Hotel, Albury. Possession can be given January 1, 1876. Full particulars can be obtained on application to E. Walsh, bookseller. Albury (Anonymous, 1875f) (Anonymous, 1875g).

56. (Anonymous, 1876b).

57. (Ringwood, 1876a, 1876b).

58. Reference not found, inferred from (Anonymous, 1876c).

59. The case was postponed, and it seems never taken up again (Anonymous, 1876c).

60. It no longer appears in the licensing registers after 1875 (not included in (Eagar, 1876, 1877); suggesting it was shut down for good.

61. (Anonymous, 1860i; Eagar, 1866; Smart, 1865).

62. (Lane, 1867).

63. (Eagar, 1872, p. 2407; Lane, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871).

64. Listed as ‘Charles Smith’ in Eagar (1873a, p. 2459).

65. (Anonymous, 1873c, 1873i, 1874i; Lamb, 1873, 1874a, 1874b).—Mentioned as publican in a court case (Anonymous, 1874e).—Bridge Hotel not licenced in June 1874 (Eagar, 1874b).

66. NSW licensing register (Eagar, 1874c; 1875, p. 2761).

67. (Ringwood, 1876a, 1876b).

68. Glass lantern slide by John Henry Harvey.—The image can be dated by the inscription on the brewery building (Albury Co-operative Breweries) which dates it the period July 1911 to September 1914. Source State Library of Victoria image H2009.100/115.

69. Source Albury LibraryMuseum no ARM 85.349.

70. (Anonymous, 1881c).—As Billson’s residence was described as new building erected with an iron roof, it is unlikely that the building under discussion, which still retains the timber shakes under the corrugated galvanised iron is that new residence.

71. (Lorck, 1906, p. 18).


73. (Anonymous, 1922c).

74. (Anonymous, 1920a; Moore & Davis, 1920).

75. (Anonymous, 1922a).

76. (Garnsey & Co., 1922).

77. (Anonymous, 1922a).

78. Waite also owned Courabyra station near Tumbarumba.


80. (Jones, 2002, p. 34).


82. Source (Jones, 2002, p. 34).

83. The sheeting used for the gable face bears a Redcliffe Crown Type IB stamp (Spennemann, 2015cpp. 16, 86f).


85. (Spennemann, 2015c).

86. The image has been enhanced by post-processing (to remove the visual impact of the graffiti) and to enhance the legibility of the text (Spennemann, 2015c).
Appendix II.—Furniture Listing of 1895/7

We have in hand a room-by-room listing of the furniture and fittings reputedly belonging to Joseph Henry Frauenfelder at the time of his death (Table 12). This listing, which was presumably developed as a sales inventory when his widow Elizabeth B Frauenfelder sold the premises in 1897, primarily gives us an insight into the conditions of the Turk’s Head Hotel at the time and also allows us, with some limitations, to reconstruct the furnishings of the hotel in mid 1895 (Fig. 128).

Correlating the inventory with rooms on the plan
While the writer knew which room number corresponded with which room in the hotel, we do not have a contemporary plan. Consequently, there are some uncertainties regarding the attribution of the furnished rooms to the rooms on the floor plan.

The key unanswered question is whether at the time of Frauenfelder’s death the hotel had been extended to the south or not. We can surmise that the billiard room building existed at the time (built in 1884, see p. 69), but rather than building it adjacent, it may have been sufficiently set apart to ensure that a southward expansion was made possible. As far as the numbering of the rooms is concerned, we have to rely on conjecture. Certain are only the attributions of the bar/parlour, room nº 1 (‘off bar’) and the hallway. The room sequence in the list then goes to room nº 2, nº 3 and so forth until room nº 11, to be followed by the kitchen, dining room and yards. It worth noting that the billiard room is not mentioned.

Either the numbering is arbitrary and follows a sequence of rooms from the hallway, in which case nº 2 and nº3 would come off the hallway, or the numbering favours the larger rooms up front, in which case nº 2 and nº 3 rooms would be the two large rooms to the south of the Bar Parlour. Complicating matters is the fact that the nº 4 room has two entries in the furniture list, one with two beds and one without beds. The latter room is clearly a sitting room with upholstered couch and chairs, as well as a fireplace as indicated by the fender and the set of shovel and tongs. The only other fender listed in the inventory was located in the Bar Parlour. As three rooms in the rear also had fireplaces but no fender or other fireplace equipment is mentioned for them, we can assume that the rear rooms were less significant in terms of furnishings. Looking at the building plan, the only other room with a fireplace is the room immediately to the south of the bar parlour. The next room to the south was at one point split in two by the insertion of a single-skin brick wall. The southern part retained access from the street, while the northern section was given access from the adjoining room by a door that was broken into the wall. If this partition wall was in place at the time when Frauenfelder was a licensee, then the attribution of this double room as room nº 4 can be assumed.

Fig. 128 provides a speculative reconstruction of the room allocation reflecting the above discussion.
Fig. 128. Reconstructed room numbering derived from the inventory of the contents of the Turk's Head Hotel at the time of Joseph H Frauenfelder’s death.

Fig. 129. Sample pages of the inventory listing.
Table 12. Contents of the Turk’s Head Hotel at the time of Joseph H Frauenfelder’s death.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bar/Parlour</th>
<th>Nº 1 Room off Bar</th>
<th>Nº 4 Room</th>
<th>Nº 5 Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 Chairs</td>
<td>1 Chest Drawers (7 openings) (damaged) [nº 2 room]</td>
<td>1 Cheffronere</td>
<td>1 Bedstead ½ tester 4’6 ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Couch</td>
<td>1 Bedstead 4’6 ½ tester</td>
<td>1 Couch</td>
<td>1 pair Paillasses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Round Table</td>
<td>1 Cot Bedstead 4’6 x 2’6</td>
<td>2 Chairs (in Cretonne)</td>
<td>Sundry Bedding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Kapok Mattress 3ft</td>
<td>4 Pictures</td>
<td>1 Wash Stand 2’6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Blankets</td>
<td>1 Large Table</td>
<td>Ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Guilt Mirror</td>
<td>1 Wardrobe (damaged)</td>
<td>1 Fender</td>
<td>1 Toilet Table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 damaged Fender</td>
<td>1 Mirror [room nº 5]</td>
<td>1 Shovel &amp; Tongs</td>
<td>1 Toilet Cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Picture [dogs]</td>
<td>2 Aust Arm Chair [passage]</td>
<td>4 revolving Cruet (1 btls short)</td>
<td>1 Mirror [marble stand in nº 7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Cornice Pole</td>
<td>2 Aust chairs [Dining room]</td>
<td>1 Venetian Blind</td>
<td>Marble Stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtains</td>
<td>1 Stool [bathroom]</td>
<td>1 Cornice Pole &amp; Rings</td>
<td>[Mirror] Wash Stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Venetian Blind</td>
<td>Curtains</td>
<td>Ware</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hall</th>
<th>Nº 2 Room</th>
<th>Nº 6 Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Door Scraper</td>
<td>2 Bedsteads 2’6 ft</td>
<td>1 Single Bedstead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Hanging Lamp</td>
<td>2 Wire mattrasses</td>
<td>Bedding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bedding (complete)</td>
<td>1 Wash Stand 2’6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Toilet table &amp; Cover [in nº 4]</td>
<td>Ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Mirror</td>
<td>1 Toilet Table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Wash stand</td>
<td>1 Mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sett ware</td>
<td>1 pair Curtains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Towel</td>
<td>1 Aust Chair (nº 14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Splash Mat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Window Curtains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Aust Arm Chair (damaged)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nº 3 Room</th>
<th>Nº 7 Room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bedstead 2’6ft</td>
<td>1 Bedstead 2’6ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedding</td>
<td>1 do 3ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wash Stand</td>
<td>Bedding (for each)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ware (damaged)</td>
<td>1 Wash Stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Towel</td>
<td>Ware</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Toilet Table [in nº 8]</td>
<td>1 Box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mirror (damaged)</td>
<td>1 Mirror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Blind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair curtains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chest Drawers (5 opgs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chest Drawers Cover</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Curtains
1 Aust Chair (nº 14)

Nº 8 Room
2 Single Bedsteads (in nº 6)
1 Wash Stand 2’6
1 Ewer & Basin
1 Box [in nº 5]
1 Mirror

Nº 9 Room
1 Bedstead 2’6ft

nº 10 Room
4 chairs (damaged)

nº 11 Room
1 Bedstead 2’6ft
1 Wash Stand 2’6
Ware (damaged)

Kitchen
1 Safe
1 Cupboard [in nº 5]
4 1/2 dz Plates
1 Kitchen Dresser
6 Saucepans
14 Dinner Plates
4 Meat Dishes
2 Veg Dishes
3 Dippers
2 Boilers [see about order]
1 Kettle
1 Fountain
2 Baking Dishes
1 Teapot
6 Jelly Moulds
4 Flat Irons
5 Dish Covers
2 Milk Dishes [jug style]

Dining Room
6 Aust Chairs [2 short]
2 Forms
9 Pictures
1 Mirror (damaged)
2 Tables
1 Trestle Table
1 Top for another
1 Safe
1 Fender (damaged)
2 Jardines
2 Marble Ornaments
3 Curtains
15 cups and saucers
36 W.V.G. Plates
4 Butters
5 Sugars
11 Salts
1 Pickle Jar
2 Revolving Cruets [Revolg]

Yards
6 Tubs
Tress & Stand
1 Wire Flower Stand [hall]
1 Trestle Top
4 Tubs
2 Buckets
1 Grind Stone
4 Boilers
1 Awl
Notes to Appendix II

1. Frauenfelder [? ] (1895/7).—The data are contained in a set of nine pages, partially still stitched together, which had been torn from a wages book (110 x 160mm). The surviving portion contains one leaf with several entries under the heading ‘wage received from Joseph H Frauenfelder’, with the last entry being May 7 1895. Frauenfelder had taken up a one year licence of the Newmarket Hotel in Albury on 5 February 1895 (Kirkpatrick, 1895c) and took up the lease of the Turk’s Head presumably in June 1895. He died on 27 August 1895. The staff member signing for the wage was a W Breen, who was paid £1 per fortnight for the period 12 March to 7 May 1895. The handwriting for these entries is different from that used for the list of furniture and fittings. The back of the surviving pages contains (written in pencil) a list of gallons of beer sold (entries date between 23 October and 29 December 1894) and a raffle list for a greyhound (‘Brucker’, ‘Tradur,’ ‘Boom Boom’) with one paid entry.

2. (Anonymous, 1897a).

3. The listing, written in black ink, contains a number of check marks, indicating that the contents were cross-checked at least three times. One such checking resulted in adjustments to the locations of the furniture (written in purple copy pencil). In the transcript in Table 12, these annotations are indicated in rectangular brackets.

4. The top of the page carries the text “Brewing Albury Company’ with a date of January 8th and a quantity of beer. The bottom of the first page has a blue ballpoint annotation “Original book of sale on death of Joseph Henry Frauenfelder 1897.”

5. Note that the numbering in this appendix is based on the numbering in the manuscript and not on the numbering as compiled in 1965.

7. Labelled room nº 10 on the 1965 plan.
8. Labelled room nº 11 on the 1965 plan.

Frauenfelder [? ] (1895/7).

1. Cretonne.
2. Opgs.— openings.
3. Chiffonier.
4. btl.—bottles.
5. Vegetable.
Appendix III.—The Turk’s Head building today

The Turk’s Head building is a single-storey accommodation building with 14 rooms erected in the Victorian Georgian style. It is comprised of a main building, bracketed by rooms in the north and south and a bricked verandah-style extension at the rear.

The architectural materials represented in the building are quartz-mica schist for most of the foundations, brick for the walling, hardwood timber for the flooring and roof, as well as corrugated galvanised iron for the roof covering and the guttering. The brickwork on the Turk’s Head building is functional with no decorative elements. The main structure was erected using the English bond, while the southern abutting rooms were finished with a one-to-three colonial bond, as was the former kitchen building (‘residence’). All windows and all bar two doors were replaced in like style during the 1965 conversion into a museum.

Fig. 130. The front (eastern) façade of the Turk’s Head building.

The front (eastern) façade faces the roadway of Wodonga Place. The asymmetrical façade, which is dominated by two verandah sections broken by a protruding parlour, follows the pattern A-B-C-D-A (Fig. 130). The end sections, as well as protruding semi-hexagonal parlour section lack eaves. The roofline is dual pitched with the main roof set at a 35° pitch and the verandah and side roof set at 20°. The verandah is currently supported by three posts in the southern section and two posts in the northern part. The balustrade is largely decorative, with the openings not conforming with doors as all ingress and egress to the building occurs at the rear. Shaded by the southern verandah are four windows.

The western façade represents the utilitarian aspect of the building. It is defined by three chimneys and three doors, the northern one forms the main entrance and is level with the surrounding pavement. The second door is blocked off, while a ramp for wheelchair access leads to the southern door. The area is shaded by a covered walkway. The northern (southern) façades, lack eaves, and are defined by three (two) unshaded windows set equidistant from both ends.

The roof structure is comprised of a main roof, with a deep roof cavity (Fig. 134) and four skillion roofs that cover the front (eastern) verandah, as well as the rooms of
the other three sides. The main roof cavity retains its original 1868 appearance, including the wooden shingle roof (Fig. 134) (affixed with hand-made nails) which has been covered over with corrugated galvanised iron.

The Turk’s Head building rests on two types of foundations. The vast majority of the building, excluding the southern two rooms (rooms nº 8 & nº 9) is made up of locally-sourced quartz-mica schist, while the foundation supporting the southern two rooms is made from bricks.

![Fig. 131. Cellar space 1, looking east.](image1)

![Fig. 132. Cellar space 1, looking west.](image2)

![Fig. 133. Cellar space 2, looking west.](image3)

The parlour section of the Turk’s Head building contains a full-sized cellar. The cellar is comprised of two rooms which correspond with the room spaces above (i.e. rooms nº 3 and 13). Cellar space 1 has two stone-bound and brick-paved shelves running along the walls (Fig. 131), while cellar space 2 has two shelves on the northern side and only one, higher shelf on the southern side. The floor of the cellar is covered with bricks laid flat without a discernible ornamental pattern.

There is evidence of three external and two internal chimneys. The three external chimneys, all on the western façade, have been bricked in from the inside (as per 1965 plan recommendations) and have had their stacks removed and taken back to the level
of the skillion roof in the west. Originally, the building had two internal fireplaces, one in room n° 12 (now converted to gas heating) and one in room n° 14 (now bricked in).

The internal layout of the building is comprised of 14 discrete room spaces. Four large room spaces with high ceilings exist in the core of the original building (rooms n° 10/11, 12 13 and 14). These are surrounded in the south, west and north by rooms with lower, and sloping ceilings. The conversion of the former store into a museum in 1965, and the subsequent modifications to the museum in 1983 meant that some internal door openings have been created and some have been widened (mainly in the western rooms). The ceilings of the rooms n° 10/11, 12 13 and 14 are plastered, while the other rooms show a ceiling of wooden boards. None of the rooms have decorative ceiling roses. All floors are currently carpeted. Original hardwood (Stringybark?) floor boards remain in rooms n° 10/11, 12 13 and 14. In the other rooms decayed floor boards have been replaced with pine.

**Fig. 134.** The main roof space looking southeast from the access hole (composite image).

**Fig. 135.** The ridge beam rafters and battens of the northern wing of the main roof.

**Fig. 136.** The space between two battens, showing the alignment of the shakes (main roof).
Fig. 137. Types of external vents observed at the Turk's Head building and associated structures.

Fig. 138. Types of internal vents observed at the Turk's Head building and associated structures.
Fig. 139. Three Stringybark shakes encountered loose in the roof cavity (scale 10cm).
Fig. 140. Hand forged nail encountered in one of the shakes (scale 4cm in 1mm increments).

Notes to Appendix III

1. For more detail see the conservation management plan (Spennemann, 2018).
2. Composite image.
Appendix IV.—Types of Bricks encountered

Brick making in Albury

The clay deposits in the alluvial floodplain of Albury were exploited for the manufacture of bricks and other clay-based products. A number of nineteenth century brickworks are on record. While their history has not yet been formally compiled, this is not the place to do so. On record are, inter alia, James Leach, prior to 1858 who operated a brickworks towards the southern end of Kiewa Street, (Anonymous, 1918); a W.K. Smith who owned the ‘Willow Tree’ brickworks, also in Kiewa Street in 1858 (Anonymous, 1918),1 and a Thomas Plummer who ran a brickworks for at least a decade starting in 1863 (Anonymous, 1918). Both W.K. Smith and Thomas Plummer may have been the source of the bricks used in the Turk’s Head building.2 We have no indication as to whether any of these early bricks had distinguishing features that allow us to correlate them with physical bricks encountered in Albury’s buildings.

The origin and treatment of the Samples

The bricks examined in this Appendix are derived from two sources, the Turk’s Head building and the Car Club Building (formerly Bridge Inn).

Turk’s Head building

A notable feature of numerous bricks encountered in the walling and the foundations of the Turk’s Head building, as well as the former kitchen structure (now called ‘residence’, p. Error! Bookmark not defined.), is a 10–12mm (3⁄8”–½”) wide and 1-2mm high protrusion on one of the long sides. As this occurs on only one side and at various angles and positions on the brick face (Fig. 141), and extends the full length of the brick, this is unlikely to have been caused by a mould. It is more likely that the green bricks were air dried on a wooden base which had these 3⁄8”–½” wide gaps.

A number of loose bricks were encountered in the cellar. These were measured and weighed (Table 13). Note that with the exception of Type VII there are no replicates in the sample. Thus the actual variability of the brick types cannot be ascertained. None of these had a frog in one of the large surfaces. Two bricks, on type TH1, collected from the under floor space of room nº 13 and one Type TH9, collected from the cellar were subjected to further analysis.

Car Club Building

In total four types of bricks were noted, three of which could be examined (Table 13). Brick type CC I was encountered in the walling of the structure, while type CC II was found primarily in the collapsed internal partition walls. Type CC III was encountered in the south-eastern extension. In addition, a fourth type CC IV was encountered, which resembled type TH I, which is characterised by the protruding line on one of the
side faces. Bricks of that type were seen in the foundations, the fire place, as well as the main façade.

**Analysis**

The selected bricks were measured, weighed (Table 13) and photographed (Fig. 142–Fig. 146). The bricks were then sectioned to examine the make-up of the matrix. The incomplete brick TH I was sectioned only along the short axis (Fig. 147), while all other bricks bar one (CC I) were sectioned traverse (along the short axis) about 3cm from the edge (Fig. 5b, Fig. 150b) and the remainder of the brick was sectioned longitudinally in the centre (Fig. 5a, Fig. 150a). Due to a misunderstanding, the whole brick CCI was sectioned longitudinally (Fig. 149), which precluded a traverse cross-section.

The brick colours were determined with the Munsell Color Chart; and multiple readings of the clay matrix of a cut surface were used. The brick sections were photographed both as a whole (Fig. 147–Fig. 151) as well as in detail (Fig. 152–Fig. 156).

**Table 13. Measurements of loose bricks encountered in the cellar of the Turk’s Head building**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Width</th>
<th>Thickness</th>
<th>Weight g/cm³</th>
<th>Frog</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Sections</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turk’s Head</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH I</td>
<td>9 1/8&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>3063g</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>5 YR</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>Fig. 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH II</td>
<td>9 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>2982g</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH III</td>
<td>9 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>3159g</td>
<td>1.68</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH IV</td>
<td>9 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>3654g</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH V</td>
<td>9 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>3&quot;</td>
<td>3627g</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH VI</td>
<td>9 3/8&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>3647g</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH VII</td>
<td>9 3/8&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>3&quot;</td>
<td>3732g</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH VIII</td>
<td>9 3/8&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>3&quot;</td>
<td>3738g</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH IX</td>
<td>9 3/8&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/4&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>3197g</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2.5 YR</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>Fig. 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH X</td>
<td>8 1/2&quot;</td>
<td>4 1/6&quot;</td>
<td>2 3/4&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge Inn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC I</td>
<td>8 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>4&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>2831g</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2.5 YR</td>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>Fig. 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC II</td>
<td>8 3/4&quot;</td>
<td>4&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>3007g</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>rectangular</td>
<td>2.5 YR</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td>Fig. 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC III</td>
<td>8 3/8&quot;</td>
<td>4&quot;</td>
<td>2 7/8&quot;</td>
<td>2876g</td>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>diamond</td>
<td>5 YR</td>
<td>6.5/8</td>
<td>Fig. 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC IV</td>
<td>9 1/8&quot;</td>
<td>4&quot;</td>
<td>2 3/4&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Description of the Samples**

**Turk’s Head Type 1 (TH1)**

The exterior of the Type TH1 bricks has a sanded surface (Fig. 152a), caused by the brick mould having been sanded before being filled (‘sand stock brick’). One of the long sides shows a 10–12mm (7/8"–1") wide and 1-2mm thick protrusion which was most likely caused during the drying process in the hacks.

The traverse section (Fig. 147) shows a lighter coloured 18–25mm thick external zone, indicating different heat effects on the brick core. In the main, the fairly homoge-
nous matrix contains numerous small iron-oxide nodules (max ø 5 mm), small fragments of quartz (ø 1–3 mm) and numerous irregularly shaped cavities (ø 2–5 mm) (Fig. 152).

Turk’s Head Type 9 (TH9)
The exterior of the Type TH9 brick has a sanded surface (Fig. 153a), caused by the brick mould having been sanded before being filled (‘sand stock brick’) with a number of mica particles evident. One of the long sides shows a line caused by the form board (Fig. 143, right). One of the flat sides shows smoothing marks from the wooden striker (Fig. 143, middle). The longitudinal section (Fig. 148 top) shows a lighter coloured 12–15mm thick external zone, indicating different heat effects on the brick core.

In the main, the matrix contains numerous small iron-oxide nodules (max ø 5 mm), small fragments of quartz (ø 1–3 mm) and numerous irregularly shaped cavities (ø 2–6 mm) (Fig. 153b–f). While the matrix is fairly homogenous in its distribution of temper materials, the brick also contained larger chunks of quartz (one measuring 16 x 25 x 27 mm) (Fig. 148; Fig. 153b).

Car Club Type 1 (CC1)
The exterior of the Type CC1 brick has a sanded surface, caused by the brick mould having been sanded before being filled (‘sand stock brick’) with a number of mica particles evident. The brick has multiple layers of white paint on one of the long sides. One flat side, as well as one longitudinal side and the edges show rough surfaces. Only one side shows a smoothed surface with drag marks caused by the wooden striker. The form was not fully compacted when the paddle was dragged across, leading to a very uneven surface with gaps up to a 17 x 25 mm in size and 7mm depth (Fig. 144, left). The loose layering of the clay into the form is also evident on one of the long sides (Fig. 144, right). The longitudinal section (Fig. 149) shows an irregular, lighter coloured 9–22 mm thick external zone, indicating different heat effects on the brick core.
As noted above, to a misunderstanding by the brick cutter, this brick was only sectioned longitudinally. The longitudinal section shows irregular compaction and large, longitudinal cavities (Fig. 149). In the main, the matrix, which is fairly homogenous in its distribution of temper materials, contains numerous small fragments of quartz (ø 1–4 mm) and small iron-oxide nodules (ø 1–5 mm), one of which measuring 8 x 14 mm (Fig. 154). The concentration of quartz in the matrix of CC1 is higher than that in TH9, while the concentration of iron-oxide is less.

Car Club Type 2 (CC2)
The exterior of the Type CC2 brick has a sanded surface, caused by the brick mould having been sanded before being filled (‘sand stock brick’) with a number of mica particles evident. One of the flat surfaces shows a rectangular frog (1½" x 3" x 3/8") (Fig. 145 left), while the opposite flat surface shows drag marks caused by the wooden striker (Fig. 145 middle). Somewhat loose layering of the clay into the form is evident on one of the long sides (Fig. 145 right). Unlike brick types TH1, TH9 and CC1, the longitudinal section of brick CC2 does not reveal any differences in clay colour which suggests a firing at uniform temperatures.

The longitudinal section shows irregular compaction and large, longitudinal cavities (Fig. 150). In the main, the matrix, which is fairly homogenous in its distribution of temper materials, contains numerous small fragments of quartz (ø 1–3 mm) and small iron-oxide nodules (ø 1–5 mm) (Fig. 155). The concentration of quartz in the matrix of CC2 is similar to that in TH9, while the concentration of iron-oxide is less.

Car Club Type 3 (CC3)
The exterior of the Type CC3 brick has a sanded surface, caused by the brick mould having been sanded before being filled (‘sand stock brick’) with a number of mica particles evident. One of the flat surfaces shows a diamond-shaped frog (1¼" x 3½" x 3/8") (Fig. 146 left), while the opposite flat surface shows drag marks caused by the wooden striker (Fig. 146 middle). Somewhat loose layering of the clay into the form is evident on one of the long sides (Fig. 146 right). Unlike brick types TH1, TH9 and CC1, the longitudinal section of brick CC2 does not reveal any differences in clay colour which suggests a firing at uniform temperatures.

The longitudinal section shows irregular compaction and large, longitudinal cavities (Fig. 150). Unlike the previous bricks, the matrix of CC3 is not homogenous in its distribution of temper materials. Rather, there appear to be different clay mixtures present in the brick (Fig. 151 top). The majority of the matrix (left 2/3 of the brick as shown in Fig. 151 top), contains numerous small fragments of quartz (ø 1–4 mm), small iron-oxide nodules (ø 1–5 mm) and small cavities (ø1–5mm) (Fig. 156a–c). The concentration of quartz in that section of the matrix of CC3 is similar to that in TH9, while the concentration of iron-oxide is less. The rest of the matrix (right 1/3 of the brick as shown in Fig. 151 top) is very uneven. The main matrix comprises of the same
constituent components as the other, but is much more red in colour (2.5 YR 4.5/6 as opposed to 5 YR 6.5/8) and contains a much higher concentration of quartz particles (ø 1–3 mm), iron-oxide nodules (ø 1–5 mm) and especially small cavities (ø1–3mm) (Fig. 156d–e). That section of the brick also shows large fold-like cavities and irregularities indicating that the clay was very heterogeneous. Finally, there is a 26 x 35mm large lump of clay (5 YR 5/6) without any inclusions (see Fig. 156f for interface between the majority matrix and the lump at right).

Fig. 142. A broken brick, type TH 1, obtained from a footing pier of the initial hotel (encountered in the under-floor space of room nº 14)
Dirk HR Spennemann

Fig. 143. Brick type TH 9, from the extension of the hotel (encountered in the cellar).
Fig. 144. Car Club Brick type I
Fig. 145. Car Club Brick type II
Fig. 146. Car Club Brick type III

Fig. 147. Saw-cut surface of the TH type 1 brick shown in Fig. 142.
Fig. 148. Saw-cut surfaces of the TH type 9 brick shown in Fig. 143

Fig. 149. Longitudinal cross-section of Car Club Brick type I
Fig. 150. Longitudinal and traverse cross-section of Car Club Brick type II

Fig. 151. Longitudinal and traverse cross-section of Car Club Brick type III
Fig. 152. Details of the matrix of a TH 1-type brick from the initial hotel. Each image measures 10 x 15mm. a) external surface; b–d break surface; e–f saw cut surface.
Fig. 153. Details of the matrix of a TH 9-type brick from the initial hotel. Each image measures 10 x 15mm. a) external surface; b–f saw cut surface.
Fig. 154. Details of the matrix of a CC I-type brick, saw cut surface. Each image measures 10 × 15mm.
Fig. 155. Details of the matrix of a CC II-type brick, saw cut surface. Each image measures 10 × 15mm.
Fig. 156. Details of the matrix of a CC III-type brick, saw cut surface. Each image measures 10 × 15 mm.
Notes to Appendix IV

1. In 1902 W.K. Smith handed the business to his sons (Smith Bros, 1902).

2. By 1910 there were six brickyards operating in Albury, with an annual production of 4.6 million bricks (Anonymous, 1910).— Brick production in 1910: T. Eames and W. Brown brick yards (late Stevens) in Kiewa-street, 12,000 bricks/week; A. Rose brickyard, in Olive-street, 9000 bricks/week; E. Bunton's brickyards, in Townsend and Atkin streets, 8000 bricks/week; S. Mansfield's brick yards, in Townsend-street, 12,000 bricks/week; D. Watson and W. Kemp brick yards, in Townsend-street, 8000 bricks/week; Frew and Logan, stated that at their steam pressed brick works in Tribune-street 50,000 bricks/week.

3. A ‘frog’ is an indentation in one or more of the large surfaces of the brick. It serves both as maker’s stamp and as a cavity for additional mortar which forms a stronger bond.

4. Used was the soil selection, which represents most earth tones: (Munsell Color, 1975).—For application and limitation of technology, see (Gerharz, Lantermann, & Spennemann, 1988)

5. Readings under natural daylight, no direct sun, surrounded by white-coloured reflective surfaces

6. None of the bricks examined in the cellar space show frogs.

7. Incomplete, 55mm wedge missing at one end. Measured weight 2622g, extrapolated weight 3063g.

8. The length was uneven, one side 9" the other 9 ¼ ".

9. Sandy exterior.

10. Brick measured in walling, no further data available.

11. The sample brick stems from a collapsed section of the south-eastern room.

12. Brick measured in walling, no further data available.

13. The sample brick stems from an internal partition wall to the north of the cellar entrance.

14. The sample brick stems from an internal partition wall to the north of the cellar entrance.

15. The sample brick stems from an internal partition wall to the north of the cellar entrance.

16. A ‘frog’ is an indentation in one or more of the large surfaces of the brick. It serves both as maker’s stamp and as a cavity for additional mortar which forms a stronger bond.

17. (Ure, 1845, p. 41)

18. Once extracted from the form, the moulded brick was placed with a flat side down on a hack barrow (Dobson, 1850, p. 19f; 1868, p. 136f) and taken to the drying ground. There the green bricks are set at on their sides, arranged with a slant and stacked in ‘hacks’ (Dobson, 1850, p. 25) to allow them to air dry. Where the hack-ground is damp, the bricks are placed on thin planks with gaps, or on hollow tiles, to remove them from rising damp and to allow for air circulation from below (Searle, 1911, p. 56).


20. The side not shown in Fig. 144.

21. In later bricks the frog would not be part of the bottom board of the brock from but pressed in from the top when the clay in the form was compressed.

22. In later bricks the frog would not be part of the bottom board of the brock from but pressed in from the top when the clay in the form was compressed.
Appendix V—Grave Markers of Turk’s Head Publicans

A number of men and woman that acted as publicans of the Traveller’s Rest / Turk’s Head and Union Bridge Hotels were buried in the Albury cemetery (Table 14). This appendix provides for a photo-documentation of their grave markers.

Table 14. Graves of Publicans of the Turk’s Head Hotel in the Albury Pioneer Cemetery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Grave</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cunningham, William</td>
<td>2-10-1907</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fig. 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driscoll, Daniel</td>
<td>31-3-1910</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fig. 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frauenfelder, Elizabeth Bridget</td>
<td>10-11-1935</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Fig. 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frauenfelder, Joseph H.</td>
<td>27-8-1895</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Fig. 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, Anne</td>
<td>23-4-1874</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Fig. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green, John</td>
<td>11-5-1872</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Fig. 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulson, Luke</td>
<td>9-4-1895</td>
<td>Congregationist</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Fig. 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oddie, James</td>
<td>14-11-1905</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fig. 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, James Thomas</td>
<td>16-9-1927</td>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Fig. 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steel, Edward</td>
<td>30-12-1900</td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>no marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 157. John Green 1872
Fig. 158. Anne Green 1874
Fig. 159. Daniel Driscoll 1910

Fig. 160. JH & EB Frauenfelder

Fig. 161. Luke Gulson

Fig. 162. James Oddie
Turk’s Head at the Union Bridge

Fig. 163. William Cunningham

Fig. 164. James Robinson
Acknowledgements

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