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Financing Civic Improvement: The Community Amenities Funding Scheme of the Joint Coal Board

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Abstract

The book Community: Building Modern Australia (2010) is a key reference for understanding the programmes and initiatives aimed at enhancing community life within Australia across the twentieth century. It accounts for the relevant authorities and groups that were responsible for driving and supporting the creation of places for community use and enjoyment. One authority not mentioned in the book is the Joint Coal Board - a combined Federal and New South Wales State government-established body that was formed in February 1947 with powers to control the production and distribution of NSW coal. Tied to its powers was a directive to improve the health and welfare of mining communities in the Illawarra, Lithgow and Hunter regions. One branch of this was to financially support the construction of new community amenities in mining townships. This work began with a focus on the improvement of recreational grounds and facilities before moving onto housing and general community projects including baby health centres, ambulance stations, swimming pools and community halls.

This paper describes the political background to the creation of the Board, its formation and membership, and the community amenities grant scheme it managed. It then focuses on the building projects the Board became involved with in the first ten years of its operation, including the £156,000 Cessnock Municipal Town Hall. The paper concludes by considering the reception of these buildings as symbols of civic achievement.

Introduction

The book *Community: Building Modern Australia* is a key reference for understanding the programmes and initiatives aimed at enhancing community life within Australia across the twentieth century.¹ It accounts for the relevant authorities and groups that

were responsible for driving and supporting the creation of places for community use such as baby health centres, kindergartens, municipal libraries, lawn bowling clubs and public swimming pools. One thing that proved to be particularly complex for the book's contributors was to achieve an overall perspective on the funding arrangements behind these types of building projects, varying as they did from federal, state, local and industry sources.²

This paper presents a supplementary study to the *Community* book in introducing the role played by the Joint Coal Board in the creation of community buildings in the postwar years. A combined Federal and New South Wales (NSW) State government authority, the Board was formed in February 1947 with powers to control the production of coal within NSW and its distribution to other parts of Australia. Tied to the Board's powers was a directive to improve the lives and working conditions of miners within the Illawarra, Lithgow and Hunter regions. One branch of this was to financially support the construction of new community amenities in mining townships. This began with a focus on recreational grounds and facilities before moving onto housing and general community projects including baby health centres, ambulance stations, swimming pools and community halls.

The Board worked with local councils and other organisations in providing funds on a 60-40 basis, whereby the Board contributed 60 percent of the costs associated with a particular project, in comparison to 40 percent required from a local council or other organisation. Much depended on the initial estimates which would impact the amount of money the Board would consider contributing. It had the authority to approve plans, specifications, estimates and tender contracts and employed its own engineers and architect to advise on proposals and to take a more influential role if needed in the development of building plans.

Financial support for community projects came from the Board's Welfare Fund which, up until June 1962, had risen to £2,815,402. By this time the Board had approved many grants across the three geographic areas of its concern. The largest share of these – £793,361 worth – had been awarded to the Newcastle district which included the Lake Macquarie Shire (which itself enjoyed the highest portion of the district's allocation in £458,627). In comparison, by June 1962 the Cessnock district had been awarded £724,492, the Wollongong district £422,605 and Lithgow £376,217.³

This paper outlines the background to the creation of the Joint Coal Board in attempts by the Federal government to drive reform within the Australian coal industry. It then describes the constitution of the Board and its membership. The paper surveys the building projects the Board became involved with in the first ten years of its operation, from 1947 to 1957, before it looks in detail at its largest investment during this period: the Cessnock Municipal Town Hall.

The initiatives and decisions of the Board were closely followed by the regional press. The Newcastle Morning Herald, Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder, Lithgow Mercury and Illawarra Mercury all regularly published news stories and reports on the Board's activities and funding approvals. By drawing on this press coverage, the paper brings to light the critical role played by the Board in the creation of community buildings and reaches the conclusion that, despite delays and project cost increases over time, it can be considered a successful vehicle in financing and fostering civic improvement in the mining districts of NSW in the post-war years.

Government Steps at Reforming the Post-war Coal Industry

One of the most heated industrial debates in Australia during the Second World War took place over the production of coal. Work stoppages, strikes and absenteeism within the industry had contributed to low levels of coal production and supply that were hindering the war effort.⁴ In March 1944 the Federal Parliament passed a bill leading to the Coal Production (War-Time) Act which authorised the Commonwealth Coal Commissioner to assume control of idle mines and to appoint new managers to oversee their operation. Debates followed about the value of nationalising the industry, perceived by its supporters as a way of ensuring reliability of production and lifting standards of worker health and safety. In August 1944 the communist-leaning Miners' Federation of Australia urged the Federal government to take further steps in this direction by assuming control of ten mines in the lower Hunter area.⁵

A rise in coal production under the Act opened the door for a consideration of wider reforms within the industry. This was at a time when the British government was contemplating a radical reorganisation of the British coal industry, which, supported by major unions, led to the Coal Industry Nationalisation Act of 1946. This act placed British mines under public ownership and control.

Wanting to explore options in Australia, in December 1944 the Federal government set up a Board of Inquiry charged with investigating all aspects of the coal industry in preparation for post-war reconstruction.⁶ Chaired by Justice Colin Davidson of the Supreme Court of NSW,⁷ the board included a representative of employers and employees, namely David W. Robertson, chairman of the Western Colliery Proprietors' Association of NSW, and Idris Williams, President of the Victorian District Miners' Federation. The Board held meetings and heard submissions on a range of topics including the possibility of long-term employment contracts and pensions for miners. It travelled to Victoria, Western Australia, Queensland, Tasmania and NSW to study the working conditions of miners in each state.

The Board's 2000-page report was tabled in the House of Representatives by Prime Minister Chifley on 22 March 1946. It presented a damning assessment of the coal industry which it claimed was a "tottering industry" that suffered from a lack of discipline amongst its workforce and leadership.⁸ It condemned the Miners' Federation as being ineffective in installing discipline amongst its members. It criticised the weakening of a compulsory arbitration system and the inability of the government to enforce laws against large numbers of individual strikes and absentees.⁹ It took particular aim at the coal industry in NSW, which provided 80 percent of the nation's coal supply, in stating that it was "drifting towards disaster" and that, unless a greater degree of co-operation was achieved between workers and mine owners, "there may well be a repetition of the depression within the ensuring ten years." ¹⁰

As a way of addressing the problems it had identified, the Board recommended the establishment of a Federal authority whose power would be derived from the granting of a "bounty" to mine owners willing to come under its jurisdiction. Receiving this "bounty" would help owners keep mines open and improve their efficiency, and in doing so provide greater certainty and confidence within the industry. The authority would be an independent body, ideally made up of one man "with legal training who would readily acquire the knowledge of the Industry required to give a balanced decision on varied issues." This person would be supported by a team of senior officials and staff.

The Board's idea of a Federal authority however placed a heavy responsibility on the Federal government to take leadership in reconciling relations between workers and mine operators, and to assume powers that it would no longer possess with the expiry

of regulations under the war-time National Security Act. The Board had also alienated the Miners' Federation which had its own plans to drive reform by compelling the State Government of NSW to take responsibility for the reorganisation of the industry in that state. Constitutionally, the State government possessed powers to rehabilitate the industry but did not possess the financial resources held by the Commonwealth. In conference with the NSW State government, executives of the Miners' Federation proposed the creation of a joint Commonwealth-State committee devoted to reform.¹²

After further discussions between Commonwealth and NSW State government ministers and representatives from the industry, in July 1946 the Federal government announced the creation of the Coal Control Bill designed to ensure reliability in the production and supply of coal by giving the government greater influence in the running of coal mines and in the lives of coalminers.¹³

At the centre of the Bill was the establishment of an independent authority, to be known as the Joint Coal Board, charged with the duties sanctioned within the new legislation. It would be responsible for regulating the working conditions of privately owned mines, undertaking a long-term programme of mine mechanisation, improving health and safety standards within the industry and assisting in the provision of housing and community amenities for mine workers and their families. It was a means through which regulation and rehabilitation of the coal industry could be achieved within the framework of private ownership. The joint nature of the board and its powers was based on the combination of Federal and State legislation by which two bills were passed in the Federal and NSW State parliaments creating the Commonwealth Coal Industry Act (no. 40 of 1946) and the Coal Industry Act (no. 44 of 1946) of the State of NSW.

The Joint Coal Board

The two Coal Industry Acts stipulated the need for the Joint Coal Board to be an authority without affiliation with miners' unions or owners. Miners themselves would be excluded from its executive membership, something the Miners' Federation took umbrage with. Initially Prime Minister Chifley and Premier McKell struggled to find men who were willing to take a position on the Board until in late December 1946 it was announced that Keith A. Cameron would become its chair. Cameron was a mining engineer and superintendent who had worked in several states of Australia and Canada. He was the Broken Hill manager of North Broken Hill Limited, considered an

advantage in "coming from a centre where industrial relations have been good" and would bring to the position "a tradition of reason and conciliation." Joining Cameron on the Board was Albert E. Warburton, Assistant Under-Secretary of the NSW Treasury, and Robert Parker Jack, who had been production manager of the Commonwealth Coal Commission since 1941 and an Inspector of Mines in the NSW Mines Department. Throughout 1947 other appointments were made to assist the Board in its duties, principally welfare officers and engineers who were assigned to each of the three districts of concern. 17

The Board began its work in February 1947 and in March visited Wollongong, Lithgow and Newcastle where it met with local officials and miners' representatives to outline its plans to improve working and living conditions for miners (Figure 1).¹⁸ This included supporting the provision of community amenities within mining towns with the aim of raising the standard of these amenities "to that of the best townships of a similar size in other parts of Australia which over the last 50 years or so have had a background of relatively stable and prosperous industry."¹⁹



Figure 1. Members of the Joint Coal Board with miners' representatives at a March 1947 conference in Newcastle. In this image Cameron is on the far left, and Jack and Warburton are on the right (*Newcastle Morning Herald*, 18 March 1947, 3).

Soon after the Board began its operation, local councils started to mobilise and lobby the Board. An early starter was Kearsley Shire Council in the lower Hunter which organised a delegation to present the Board with a request for assistance in the construction of a swimming pool and baby health centre at Kurri Kurri.²⁰ Cessnock Municipal Council invited the Board to visit Cessnock to inspect sites for the new amenities it was hoping to build.²¹ It became evident the Board would need to establish

a process for working with local councils and also develop a set of priorities for assessing requests for assistance. One of these priorities was the supply of new affordable housing for mine workers and their families.²² What was more manageable in the short term was assistance for the creation and upgrading of recreational areas within mining towns such as children's playgrounds, sportsgrounds, camping areas and tree planting. This comprised the first flourish of grant money to councils.²³

Funding for amenity projects was made on a 60-40 basis, whereby the Board would grant 60 percent of the cost of a project in comparison to a 40 percent contribution by local councils or other organisations.²⁴ The amount of the grant depended on the initial accepted estimates of a project and could cover purchase of land and site preparation, architects' fees and construction costs. The Board was well financed by the Commonwealth coffers, whereas the financial pressure was on local councils and other organisations to raise money – which could take a long time – even years.

In recognition of the lack of financial strength of several councils, which encompassed areas with low rateable values, the Board also administered a 'grant-in-aid' programme which consisted of grants to councils based on the quantum of coal that had been raised to the surface within their boundaries at the value of one penny per ton. This incentivised production from the point of view of councils. The grant money could be used at a council's discretion so long as it was directed to benefit mineworkers and their communities. It often constituted the means through which a council could meet its 40 percent contribution to the cost of a project. As an indication of the size of these grants in the early years, by April 1948 the Board had awarded the Wollongong Council £6469 as grant-in-aid.²⁵

Building Projects

By late 1947 the Board had received numerous requests for new amenities to service mining town communities. Almost all local councils had drawn up lists they presented to the Board for consideration. In most cases the Board was prepared to support new projects in principle but reserved any financial commitment until realistic specifications and cost estimations were presented. In the case of Lithgow, a "comprehensive scheme" for major amenity construction was envisaged including the development of running and cycling tracks, the construction of an Olympic-size swimming pool, diving pool and children's wading pool, hockey fields, tennis courts, a community hall and children's playgrounds.²⁶ Another major scheme was planned for townships within the

Kearsley Shire, to be implemented in stages, which would include recreation areas, sporting facilities and clubrooms at different localities, and new community halls and centres in Bellbird, Ellalong and Neath.²⁷

One of the first building projects to receive support from the Board was a new ambulance station in Muswellbrook in the upper Hunter region. In November 1947 it was announced the Board had agreed to grant £3000 for the station and £8000 for equipment.²⁸ In this case the recipient was the NSW Ambulance Transport Board, which was responsible for the construction of new ambulance stations, not the local council. About a year later, plans were drawn up for council approval. A problem with the site delayed the project further until new plans were made in February 1952, tenders called, and a bank loan secured by the Transport Board. Construction began in February 1953 and the building was opened in October that year. It cost £12,000 to build and £500 to furnish, of which, by that time, the Board's contribution to the building itself had risen to £4500.²⁹

This example indicates the protracted length of time that it often took for a community building project sponsored by the Board to reach fruition. Many projects, which gained initial Board approval and initiated a flurry of fund-raising activity, did not make it that far. Such was the case with the Lake Macquarie Shire Council which in May 1948 was promised a £1968 grant from the Board for the purchase of an old hall on the main street of Boolaroo for conversion into a new community centre. After plans were initially approved and then amended, the modest project never went ahead, leaving the council with the architects' fees to pay.³⁰

The following table is a list of building projects that were realised with the assistance of Board grants between 1947 and 1957. It includes the overall approximate final cost of the building, the amount of grant money provided by the Board, the opening date of each building, and the name of the architect(s) and builder(s) involved.³¹ The list is provisional in the sense that it only contains buildings that were known to the author at the time of writing this paper. Photographic images of some of the buildings are also included. The paper is not able to treat each of these buildings in detail, but in the next section turns to a study of the largest project on the list, that of the Cessnock Municipal Town Hall.

Building	Final cost (est.)	JCB grant amount	Opening date	Architect(s)	Builder(s)
Health Centre				(Sydney)	
Belmont Baby		£1233	1951	Edwin Sara	
Health Centre				(Newcastle)	
Kurri Kurri	£70,000	£27,500	February 1951	Rudder,	W. B. Wiggington
Olympic				Littlemore &	(New Lambton)
Swimming Pool				Rudder	
				(Sydney)	
Cessnock Baby	£6500-	£5130	March 1951	Walter Bunning	
Health Centre	£7000	(inc. grant-		(Sydney)	
		in-aid)			
Charlestown Baby	£3400	£1020	May 1952		
Health Centre					
Cessnock	£40,000	£18,000	September 1953	J. Bartlett	Cecil C. Turnbull
Ambulance				(Maitland)	(Cessnock)
Station					
- 1.00 - 1					
Cardiff Baby	£5000	£704	October 1953		
Health Centre					
Muswellbrook	£12,500	£4500	October 1953	J. H.	V. Garlick and
Ambulance	112,500	14300	October 1999	Cunningham	Sons
Station				(Tamworth)	30113
West Wallsend	£4500	£1454	November 1953	(Taniworth)	
Baby Health	11300	21131	November 1939		
Centre					
Cessnock Police	£40,000	£10,500	November 1953		
and Citizens' Boys'	2 .0,000				
Club					
Cessnock Spastic	£6400	£1000	August 1954	J. Bartlett	Cecil C. Turnbull
Centre				(Maitland)	(Cessnock)
				, , ,	, , ,
Kandos		£3000	October 1954	W. J. Magoffin	
Community Hall					
Cessnock	£156,000	£30,000	October 1957	Thelander and	Cecil C. Turnbull
Municipal Town				Deamer	and Sons
Hall				(Maitland and	(Cessnock)
				Newcastle)	



Figure 2. Kurri Kurri Olympic Swimming Pool, opened February 1951 (*Cessnock New South Wales*, pamphlet published by the Municipality of Greater Cessnock in conjunction with the Rotary and Lions Clubs of Cessnock and the NSW Department of Tourist Activities, undated).



Figure 3. Cessnock Baby Health Centre, opened March 1951 (Museums of History NSW – State Archives Collection: Government Printing Office 2 – 02229).



Figure 4. Cessnock Ambulance Station, opened September 1953 (State Library of NSW, Home and Away – 27156, dated 17 September 1953).



Figure 5. Cessnock Police and Citizens' Boys' Club, opened November 1953 (*Cessnock New South Wales*, pamphlet).

Apart from community amenities, the other area of building construction the Joint Coal Board became involved in was the provision of housing for mineworkers and their families. The poor standard of workers' housing in minefield districts and the need for more adequate dwellings had been a long-standing topic of discussion and debate within miner unions. In May 1941 the Central Council of the Miners' Federation lobbied Federal and State governments to take greater action in this area, citing a scheme by

the government of New Zealand which had built 10,000 houses, costing £15.5 million, and which had also spent £3.5 million to purchase the land upon which they had been erected.³²

The Joint Coal Board initiated its scheme to support the construction of new homes for miners in May 1948. This took the form of a subsidy for specially formed Miners' Cooperative Building Societies to assist miners in the construction of their own homes. The arrangement was that a miner could join one of these building societies, take out £40 shares for the amount borrowed, and repay this in fortnightly instalments with a subsidy from the Board amounting to £260 of the £1240 cost of a new home.³³ By November 1949, 1245 mineworkers had applied for the scheme (about one in every seventeen in NSW), 43 homes had been erected and another 178 were under construction.³⁴ The scheme had the support of the NSW Minister for Building Materials who had guaranteed the supply of materials for the home building projects.³⁵ The demand grew so great that in July 1950 the Board advised the NSW government that 1000 new homes were needed, for which the government tendered for this supply from overseas sources.³⁶ After 1000 pre-fabricated home units had arrived from Austria, the Board was instrumental in guiding their construction in northern mining towns.³⁷

Not afraid of experimental construction, the Board even contemplated the construction of prefabricated aluminium homes, with steel frames.³⁸ It also considered aluminium construction for other buildings, including proposals for community halls in Oakey Park and Littleton, near Lithgow.³⁹

The Cessnock Municipal Town Hall

The biggest building project the Joint Coal Board became involved with was a new town hall for Cessnock. This came after years of discussion and proposals, dating back to the late 1910s, directed at the need for suitable premises in which to hold large meetings and social gatherings. The incorporation of Cessnock as a municipality in 1926 cast into stark light the need for a dedicated town hall and place of local government. Instead of proceeding with the construction of a new building, the existing Memorial Hall was adapted to include municipal chambers. In 1939 Cessnock City Council sought to gain a loan for the construction of a new town hall to be positioned behind the Memorial Hall, estimated to cost £20,000.⁴⁰ This did not come to pass. After the war, discussions continued with a renewed sense of optimism as the Joint Coal Board's grant scheme made the prospect of a new town hall a closer reality. By 1948

thinking had expanded to envisage the hall as a multipurpose venue centred on a high-capacity auditorium able to host international artists and symphony orchestras.⁴¹ In early 1953 plans and estimates for a new town hall were lodged with the Board, and, following this, it was announced that the Cessnock Council had secured a £30,000 loan for the hall, estimated to cost £60,000, with the Joint Coal Board contributing the £30,000 balance.⁴² Eager to commence construction, the Council ambitiously accepted a tender for £74,575, assuming the extra funds could be found. Construction had begun when a new Council discovered that the cost of completing, equipping and furnishing the building would be about £35,000 greater than the initial estimate.⁴³ This prompted a stoppage of construction work and a re-evaluation of the project, including its site, and an approach to the Coal Board for the re-direction of funds intended for another project.

Assured of the Board's grant money, the Council embarked on a new scheme for a new site located on Darwin Street facing the new Technical College, currently under construction. Maitland architects Thelander and Deamer were appointed, who consulted with Eugene Goossens, conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, and a manager from J. C. Williamson Ltd over the stage design. Sketch plans and working drawings were produced for an auditorium to seat 950 people, with a separate dining and meeting hall with the capacity to accommodate 300.⁴⁴ The overall estimated cost at this point was £75,000. This amount however was to double in the ensuing years as additions were made for a gallery within the auditorium and as other costs arose.

In July 1953 the Joint Coal Board decided to end its grant-in-aid programme, much to the frustration of a number of councils who had made plans assuming it would remain available.⁴⁵ This meant Cessnock Council needed to look elsewhere for the remainder of the funds for the cost of the town hall project, for which it was able to secure a loan of £25,000 from the Coal and Oil Shale Mineworkers' Superannuation Fund.⁴⁶ In the end, the building, with the resumption of land, cost £156,000.

Opened by the Governor-General, Sir William Slim, on 16 October 1957, the occasion was a major celebration for the town of Cessnock. A march of school children preceded the official opening ceremony. The Mayor of Cessnock, Alderman W. S. Blair, praised the new town hall as "a magnificent building, a long needed amenity, but it will be some years before the people of Cessnock are able to call it their own," an allusion to the large amount of loan repayment the Council needed to generate.⁴⁷

Critical to this was the capacity of the town to expand its industrial base beyond coalmining into other areas to help generate tax and rent revenue. Within his remarks, Alderman Blair acknowledged the Joint Coal Board as having "helped materially in financing the project."⁴⁸



Figure 6: Cessnock Municipal Town Hall, opened October 1957 (*Hunter Valley Greater Cessnock Vintage Festival, Feb. 13 to* 17, 1963, booklet published by the Vintage Festival Committee, Cessnock, NSW, 1963, 11).

Conclusion

The opening of the Cessnock Municipal Town Hall was a day when civic pride was on display. The openings of the other community amenities mentioned here were also occasions when there was cause for celebrating the achievement of creating a new facility that would have a real benefit to people's lives. A consistent theme was the pride that was taken in these buildings, that the mining townships could now boast modern facilities equal to those anywhere else in the country.⁴⁹ Also strong was the sentiment of mining communities possessing a toughness of spirit and a sense of self-determination. The voluntary nature of service to the community was highlighted and the dedication of those who had spent unpaid hours in working towards the goal of achieving a new facility or having donated money to fundraising efforts was lauded. Central to the celebration of civic pride was an acknowledgement of the financial support provided by the Joint Coal Board for each project. This was a genuine expression of gratitude, within which it was understood that without this support the project would not likely have gone ahead.

As this short study has shown, the post-war history of the mining districts of NSW, particularly within the Hunter region, cannot be written without understanding the role played by the Joint Coal Board in the provision of community facilities. The Board was not the only funding body, there were other sources involved, but it was a central player within a major programme of modernisation. Its community amenities funding scheme was one branch of its operations in supporting the general welfare of miners – it also sponsored initiatives in miner health and education. As an instrument of government involvement and influence, the Board had significant success in terms of the creation of community facilities and the real value that was seen in these by members of the communities themselves, even if, in some cases, there was still a hefty bill to pay.

The Cessnock Municipal Town Hall was not the last building project the Joint Coal Board financially supported. The grant scheme continued into the 1960s with further funding made available to local councils. By the late 1960s, however, the accumulative provision of community services, decentralisation within the mining industry, and changing patterns of mining populations had reduced the need for assistance from the Board to fund community facilities.⁵⁰ It is left to a future paper to examine this second chapter in the history of the Joint Coal Board and its grant scheme.

Endnotes

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- ²³ "Grant for Wangi Camping Reserve," Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder, 3 October 1947, 1; "Coal Board Grant for Weston Tree Planting," Newcastle Sun, 2 September 1947, 5; "Coal Board Grant for Sports Area at Pelican Flats." Newcastle Morning Herald, 16 October 1947, 4,
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- 7: "Cessnock Town Hall Project," Newcastle Sun, 8 August 1939, 10.
- ⁴¹ "A Town Hall in Sight," Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder, 4 May 1948, 5.
- ⁴² "Big Loan Approved for Town Hall," Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder, 13 March 1953, 7.
- ⁴³ "Report of Sub-Committee on Town Hall, Final Cost Estimated at £96,431," Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder, 17 December 1953, 1.

 44 "Town Hall Plans Approved," Newcastle Morning Herald, 17 June 1954, 4.

⁴⁵ "Coal Board's Grant-in-Aid Payments End," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1953, 2; "Protests on End of Grant-in-Aid," *Lithgow Mercury*, 29 July 1953, 4; "Councils Want Coal Board Aid," *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 31 August 1954, 2.

⁴⁶ "Hall Loan for Cessnock," Newcastle Morning Herald, 25 April 1957, 5.

⁴⁷ "Governor-General Opens Town Hall," *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 17 October 1957, 4.

⁴⁸ "Governor-General Opens Town Hall," 4. For a description of the building see Frank Mattocks, "Cessnock's Hall of Distinction," *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 11 October 1957, 8.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, "Kurri Kurri Pool Officially Opened," *Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder*, 27 February 1951, 1; "First Baby Clinic at Cessnock in 1917, New Centre Opened by Dr. Conolly," *Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder*, 9 March 1951, 1; "New Ambulance Station Opened by Coal Board Chief," *Cessnock Eagle and South Maitland Recorder*, 22 September 1953, 1; "3000 See Governor Open Boys' Club," *Newcastle Morning Herald*, 25 November 1953, 3.

⁵⁰ Joint Coal Board Twenty-First Annual Report for Year 1967-1968, Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1968, Parliamentary Paper No. 221, 148.