

GOLD

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
VOL. 33**

Edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad

Published in Melbourne, Australia, by SAHANZ, 2016

ISBN: 978-0-7340-5265-0

The bibliographic citation for this paper is:

Judith O'Callaghan "Trophy House: The Story of Barncleuth (later Kinneil)." In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 33, Gold*, edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad, 538-549. Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016.

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TROPHY HOUSE: THE STORY OF BARNCLEUTH (LATER KINNEIL)

Kinneil was a rare domestic commission undertaken by the prominent, and often controversial architect, J. J. Clark. Though given little prominence in recent assessments of Clark's oeuvre, plans and drawings of "Kinneil House," Elizabeth Bay Road, Sydney, were published as a slim volume in 1891. The arcaded Italianate villa represented was in fact a substantial remodelling of an earlier house on the site, Barncleuth. Built by James Hume for wine merchant John Brown, it had been one of the first of the "city mansions" to be erected on the recently subdivided Macleay Estate in 1852. Brown was a colonial success story and Barncleuth was to be both his crowning glory and parting gesture. Within only two years of the house's completion he was on his way back to Britain to spend the fortune he had amassed in Sydney.

Over the following decades, Barncleuth continued to represent the golden prize for the socially mobile. In the 1880s however, two successive owners, including J. J. Clark's high profile client Robert Amos, sought to capitalise on their investment by subdividing and selling off most of Barncleuth's extensive grounds. Amos also turned his attention to transforming the colonial mansion into a more fashionable statement of success and social standing under Clark's direction.

This paper will suggest that, in distinction to its neighbour, Elizabeth Bay House, Barncleuth was conceived from the beginning as a trophy house; a glamorous commodity to be bought and sold rather than a solid and enduring representation of colonial rank and prestige. It is within this context that J. J. Clark's intervention of 1891, and particularly the way in which it was documented at the time, is assessed.

Introduction

James Broadbent has described Woolloomooloo Hill as “Sydney’s first ‘genteel’ suburb,” aligning its development in the 1820s to the changing nature of colonial society in Sydney.¹ The social precedence enjoyed by the military since the beginning of European settlement now fell to the colony’s expanding ranks of civil servants and professionals. Importantly, “what the new elite established (or more correctly, what was established for them to suit their demands) was not a new quarter within the town...but an exclusive suburb adjacent to, but separate from it: Woolloomooloo Hill.”² The Colonial Secretary, Alexander Macleay received his sizeable grant – 54 acres (21.8 hectares) on Elizabeth Bay – from Governor Darling in 1826 and of the thirteen nominated for (considerably smaller) land grants on the Hill in 1828, all were civil servants with the exception of one “respectable merchant.”³ Even a set of “villa conditions” were established in association with the grants, designed to ensure the appropriate type and quality of residences constructed in this exclusive suburb.⁴

But all this was to change within a short space of time. Even before those conditions were officially rescinded in 1847, most grantees, including Macleay, had subdivided their land, selling the much smaller parcels predominantly to “newly rich merchants buying and thus gaining respectability.”⁵ The houses that were built by these merchants were still grand and substantial and Woolloomooloo Hill was to retain its status as a fashionable suburb for decades to come. However, its pretensions to exclusivity came to rest more on financial status than social class; a shift inevitably reflected in the symbolic worth of its new city mansions.

This paper traces the history of one such house, Barncleuth (later Kinneil), originally built by wine and spirit merchant, John Wyld Brown on part of the subdivided Macleay Estate in the early 1850s. While Barncleuth’s history might mirror the fortunes of much earlier houses in the district, its distinction lies in the way its trajectory was established at the very beginning. Wyld’s impressive residence was conceived without sentiment or pretensions to an enduring legacy. It was a trophy house, grand enough to convey the owner’s social and financial status, but ultimately an investment to be traded as readily as any other commodity.

This is not to suggest that the intentions of the original colonial elite on Woolloomooloo Hill were any less mercenary than those of the newly rich. In fact, the demographic shift on the Hill in the 1840s and 1850s was precipitated by the original owners subdividing and selling off their large land grants. Furthermore, the houses that were built by the new residents represented a similar level of investment to that of their established neighbours. Barncleuth, for example, was situated within extensive, landscaped grounds and designed by the same architect-builder who had supervised the construction of Elizabeth Bay House. Investment of this kind reflected a powerful need to fit in with established norms of respectability. As Pierre Bourdieu would describe it, a house such as Barncleuth constituted cultural capital in its objectified state, along with all the other trappings invested with symbolic value that the owners may have adopted in order to be identified with the dominant class.⁶ Whether those owners achieved just the right balance of cultural capital necessary for the social mobility to which they aspired, is another matter. After all “Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier.”⁷

The borrowing of the term “trophy house” from the present day lexicon of the real estate agent is merely to reinforce the symbolic value of a house such as Barncleuth- Kinneil as reflected in its history of ownership. While it could be argued that all houses of substantial monetary worth have symbolic value, the trophy house is implicitly aspirational. It is the house you purchase, not inherit.

Barncleuth

In contrast to Alexander Macleay, there is little known of John Wyld Brown other than that pieced together from local government records and commercial documents.⁸ It appears that Brown was born in 1808 probably in Glasgow, Scotland. According to a close relative and contemporary, "John was clever and intelligent, a good scholar, very well read in many subjects, especially in history. He had very considerable taste and skill as an artist in watercolour and he was naturally fond of games, and particularly of billiards."⁹

In the early 1830s, Brown set off for New South Wales to join his younger brother Thomas who had already ventured to Sydney in the hope of establishing a commercial enterprise. Within a few years, in partnership with Thomas, Brown had taken over James Chisholm's wine and spirits business in George Street, Sydney, renaming it Brown & Co.¹⁰ The business was still operating in the city until the beginning of the 1920s when it merged with another prominent wine and spirit enterprise, Harbottle Alsop & Co.¹¹ Around 1839, John Brown was meant to have returned to the United Kingdom with plans to set up a business in London.¹² The venture was not successful, and he returned to Sydney in the mid 1840s, this time accompanied by his wife Mary (nee Mackellar), whom he had married in 1840, and two very young children.¹³

It was not the most auspicious time to be investing the family's future in the colony. During 1842-1843 the economy was in the depths of a major depression, the effects of which were to be felt for most of the decade. Many, including the most established within the colony, faced bankruptcy. Certainly this was the case for Alexander Macleay, no longer Colonial Secretary and already in difficult financial circumstances by the early 1840s. Among the measures employed to offset Macleay's "pecuniary embarrassment," a major subdivision of his Elizabeth Bay estate was undertaken in 1841.¹⁴



FIGURE 1 "Plan showing the situation of the allotments for sale at Darlinghurst Elizabeth Bay: The property of Alexr. McLeay Esqre. By Mr S Lyons." (National Library of Australia).

In all, forty “suburban” and “villa” allotments located at the high southern end of the Macleay estate were offered for sale.¹⁵ With the economy being so depressed, it took some years for the subdivision to sell. John Brown, for example, purchased his allotments – four acres and one perch (16, 212 sq m) in total – on the eastern side of what is now Elizabeth Bay Road in 1846.¹⁶

Perhaps indicative of the depression’s impact on colonial fortunes and particularly house building during the 1840s, it took until 1852 for Brown’s city mansion to be completed on the site under the direction of architect-builder, James Hume. According to Morton Herman, Hume was “a very obscure figure in Australian architecture and is seen clearly only in fitful glimpses, like a figure moving in dappled shadows.”¹⁷ Certainly the extent of Hume’s architectural practice is difficult to establish, particularly when design attributions that include, for example, St Andrews Cathedral (circa 1837), and Burdekin House (1841) in Sydney, are qualified with references to other possible sources, such as amateur architect clients and British pattern books. James Broadbent was also reserved in his assessment of Hume, whom he described as emerging “indistinctly” in the late 1830s as “an architect to be relied upon for the supervision of the construction, and possibly the design, of substantial houses.”¹⁸

More specific details on Hume’s background and career can be found in Nicholas Bucciarelli’s undergraduate thesis, “James Hume: His Life and Works.”¹⁹ It appears that Hume was born circa 1804 in Falkirk, Scotland, where he served a mason’s apprenticeship. He then moved to Glasgow where he was meant to have worked as an architect.²⁰ Hume’s journey to New South Wales in the mid 1830s was at the behest of Alexander Macleay, who invited him to supervise the construction of Elizabeth Bay House.²¹ Within two years of arriving in 1835, Hume had set up practice as an architect builder in the colony and later, with considerable success, as a surveyor.

Hume’s association with Barncleuth has only been established through its auction notice, which states that the house was “erected under the special superintendence of Mr. Hume, an architect famed for the faithful nature of his works.”²² Unfortunately, no extant record pertaining to the design of the house appears to exist other than a watercolour painted by John Brown in 1853, and a much later photograph, that show the front elevation.²³



FIGURE 2 Barncleuth, Woolloomooloo, Sydney, 1853 by John W. Brown. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).



FIGURE 3 “Barncleuth Sydney, Mr Moore” from *Australian Sketches*, circa 1865-1875. (Alfred Lee Collection. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

Based on these two sources, Barncleuth was designed with the same pared-back classical detailing as some of its contemporary neighbours such as Greenknowe, also attributed to Hume.²⁴ Unlike Greenknowe however, the house’s front elevation was symmetrical, with a substantial portico to the central pedimented breakfront that sheltered the front door and supported a balcony above – reminiscent of Elizabeth Bay House. The verandah, on three sides of the two-storey stone house, had French doors to each of the two bays located on either side of the central entrance. Based on the description provided in the house’s auction notice, the handsome front door, with a light on either side and an arched transom above, opened into a “magnificent entrance and staircase hall.”²⁵ There were “twelve lofty rooms” comprising drawing and dining-rooms, bedrooms and nurseries and a billiard room. Additionally, to the rear there was a kitchen, laundry and servants rooms that formed two sides of a courtyard that contained a well “of the purest water, capable of supplying half a city.” There were also stables and a coach house at a distance to the house near

the southern border of the property. This was a grand house, perhaps lacking the distinction of Elizabeth Bay House (at least internally), but nonetheless convincing as a statement of colonial status.

Barncleuth was situated on the highest point of the acreage, not on middle ground like Elizabeth Bay House, a centrepiece within its landscaped setting.²⁶ Nevertheless, as represented in Brown's watercolour of 1853, the contrast between the manicured surrounds of the house, and the more untamed vegetation at the perimeter and beyond, draws on a Picturesque aesthetic. A long balustrade traced the eastern border of the carriageway, beyond which the land fell dramatically down a steep descent. Had the view extended in the other direction, it would have captured the lower grounds of Barncleuth described as "the most romantic and secluded terrace gardens to be met in the colony," beyond which lay the Macleay estate and the harbour.²⁷

Despite Brown's level of investment in the property, after only two years of living at Barncleuth, he decided it was time to depart for England. By the 1850s, he had amassed a fortune – substantial enough to enable him, on his return to the United Kingdom, to purchase "a very handsome house in London" for his family.²⁸ At the very beginning of 1854, Barncleuth was advertised for sale by public auction and the content of the large advertisement placed in the *Sydney Morning Herald* is informative in terms of the way in which the value of the property was described. Three key "advantages" were cited: first, the property was "complete as a gentleman's residence;" second, the four acres offered "very large value for building sites, and for which they would cut up most advantageously;" third, and something of a surprise, "The premises, as a whole, are most admirably adapted for a place of public amusement; the large size of the house, the extent and picturesque disposition of the grounds, and their close proximity to Sydney, qualifying them in a most eminent degree for such a purpose. As a pleasure hotel, and Sydney Vauxhall, this property might certainly be turned to most profitable account – fortunes might be realised!"²⁹ With no trace of sentiment or enduring pride, the worth of Barncleuth is expressed in terms of a well packaged commodity offering a number of options to the interested buyer including, it seems, the opportunity to create an antipodean version of London's famous Vauxhall Gardens.

The property was sold at auction on February 15, 1854 for £12,100.³⁰ The buyer was another successful merchant, David Jones, originally from Wales and proprietor of the Sydney department store he had established in his name nearly two decades earlier. During the 1840s, the business had been dramatically affected by the depression, to the extent that Jones had been forced to sell his large house in Surrey Hills and move his family to a cottage behind his George Street store.³¹ His acquisition of the "gentleman's residence" on Woolloomooloo Hill therefore sent a clear signal of the retailer's return to prosperity. In fact, two years after moving into Barncleuth with his wife and large family, Jones was in a position to retire from active management of the store. That same year, he accepted an appointment to the New South Wales Legislative Council.³²

Jones resisted the temptation to exploit the potential worth of the property and proudly embraced Barncleuth to the extent that numerous accounts claim that he was responsible for building the house.³³ During his time there, he appears to have added a conservatory to the ground level of the house and also improved the grounds which were described in 1860 as "divided with great taste, and comprise lawns, shrubberies, rich in botanical gems, terraces, parterres filled with rare plants and carefully tended flowers...and a wilderness romantically laid out with tortuous walks, and embracing here and there from out of the foliage the most romantic and picturesque spots."³⁴

Nevertheless, within only six years of its purchase, the property was again on the market. The fortunes of David Jones department store had gone into a sharp decline following its founder's retirement. Facing bankruptcy, Jones returned to manage the business, selling Barncleuth in 1860 and moving to comparatively modest accommodation in Lyons Terrace, Liverpool Street.³⁵

The property was purchased, by another merchant, Henry Moore. Moore's wealth was primarily derived from the mercantile partnership, Henry Moore & Co, he had established with his father Joseph – a shipmaster and whaler – in 1837. At that time, Moore had purchased a substantial wharf at Millers Point (Moore's Wharf) and later became the first Sydney agent for the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) when it secured a mail contract for Australia in 1852.³⁶ Moore and his family also lived in Millers Point, so the move to Barncleuth in 1860 would have been calculated to reflect his growing importance within the colony.

Barncleuth and particularly its grounds continued to flourish under Moore, at least for a time. According to a lengthy article in the *Sydney Mail* of 1872, devoted exclusively to the property: "Among the delightfully situated houses and gardens which cluster about Potts Point there are few, if any, possessed of more horticultural interest than Barncleuth."³⁷

Moore's stay lasted eight years, during which he too was appointed to the Upper House of State Parliament.³⁸ Then in 1880 he moved the family east to Rose Bay (Vaucluse) and an even more impressive mansion Carrara. Still extant, but now known as Strickland House, this fine Italianate villa, attributed to architect John F. Hilly, had the added cache of being built by the prominent barrister and statesman, William Charles Wentworth.³⁹

Before placing Barncleuth on the market, Moore set about subdividing its celebrated gardens to maximise the potential of his investment. According to the sales notice, which proudly noted Moore's "removal to 'Carrara,' Rose Bay," the estate had "been carefully laid out...into forty (40) good villa and business sites," with the house itself offered "with a large block of land."⁴⁰ Of course, the neighbouring Macleay Estate had long since endured a number of additional subdivisions and in 1882 the garden around the house was reduced to just three acres (1.2 ha).⁴¹ However, unlike Barncleuth with its varied history of ownership, the property was still in the hands of the Macleay family and would remain so for another twenty-nine years.⁴²

When Barncleuth did sell on September 21, 1881, it was purchased together with ten of the subdivided lots for £12,000 by railway contractor Robert Amos.⁴³ At the beginning of 1881, Amos' firm had completed the extension of the Great Southern line that connected Sydney with Albury.⁴⁴ The company also worked on substantial sections of the "Homebush to Waratah railway" during the 1880s.⁴⁵ Despite these major contracts, Amos appeared determined to realise on his investment in the Barncleuth Estate as quickly as possible. Within just over a year of his purchase, he had gone even further than Moore, subdividing his 10 allotments into "12 splendid building sites, each about 20 feet frontages to Elizabeth Bay Road" and "13 grand sites, with frontages varying from 20 feet to 50 feet to Elizabeth Bay Road." These were offered for sale next to Amos' "princely town residence."⁴⁶ All that was eventually left of the grounds was one acre, two roods and 24 perches (approx. 6,677 sq m).⁴⁷

Kinneil

Perhaps buoyed by the return on the sale of these allotments, Amos decided to invest in the house itself and commissioned the high profile architect J. J. Clark to transform his colonial mansion into something grander and more fashionable. According to Andrew Dodd's scholarly monograph, John James Clark was described at the time of his death as "Australia's greatest architect" with his portfolio of work including some major civic landmarks, such as the Treasury and Supreme Court buildings in Melbourne and the Treasury Building in Brisbane.⁴⁸ However the architect's career was marked by controversy and upheaval having been "sacked from all three of the public works departments he worked for."⁴⁹ For a short period in the early 1880s Clark worked in Sydney in private practice, and this may have been when he was commissioned by Amos to undertake the alterations to Barncleuth.

Work on the house appears to have been completed, however, some time later in 1891 when Clarke was elsewhere.⁵⁰ That same year a booklet was published documenting the project under the house's new designation: "*Kinneil*" House, *Elizabeth Bay Road, Sydney*.⁵¹ Six pages in length, the booklet begins with two exterior views of the house and gardens, clearly drawn by J. J. Clark, followed by plans of the ground and first floors and a plan of the grounds.



FIGURE 4 View of Kinneil, looking southeast, by J. J. Clark. "*Kinneil* House," *Elizabeth Bay Road, Sydney*. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

Serving to document one of Clark's rare domestic commissions, the drawings convey the convincing manner in which he was able to transform at least the exterior of the colonial mansion. [Fig. 4] Two levels of arcaded verandahs now comprised the front elevation, and, in a slightly modified form, extended around both sides of the house. The central portico had been extended up past the new parapet, and was topped by a substantial balustrade on at least three sides. Clark's treatment of the entrance was echoed in the large square tower he added to the east front of the house that offered "the finest and most extensive views around Sydney" from its roof, and internally provided a third level of accommodation for the house. The monumentalising effect of these additions was lightened to some extent by the cast iron balustrades and detailing of the house's upper balcony.

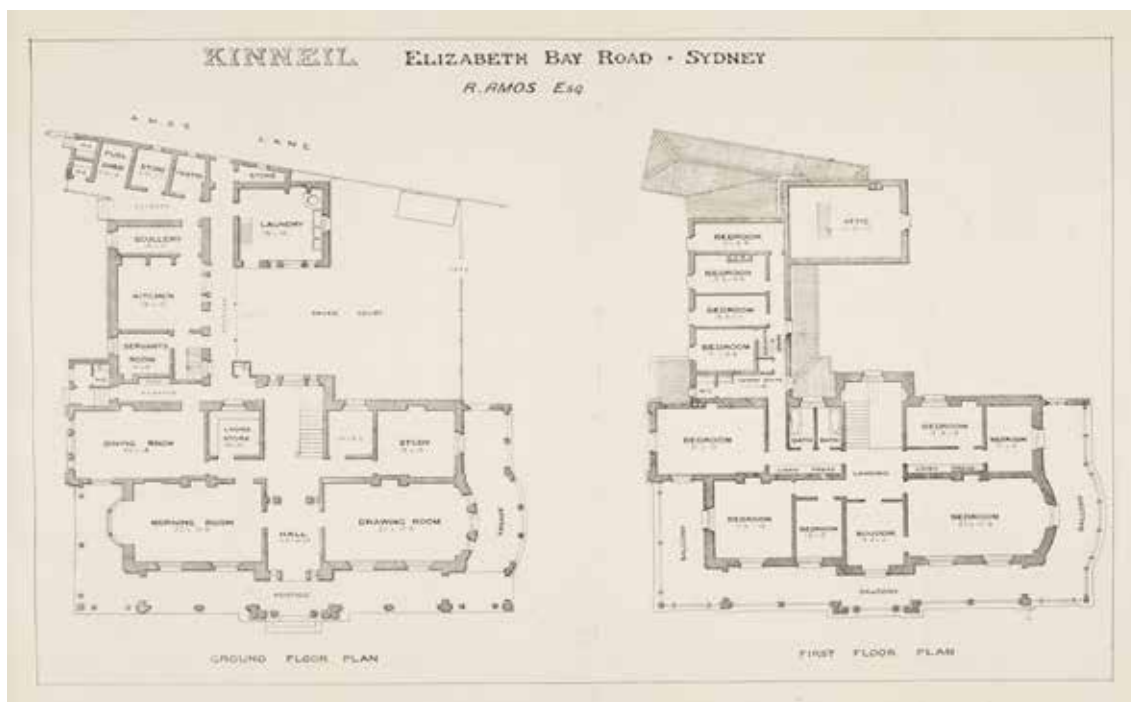


FIGURE 5 Ground and first floor plans, Kinneil. "Kinneil House," Elizabeth Bay Road, Sydney. (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

With its parapets, tower, arched arcades and elaborate verandahs, Kinneil exhibited some of the primary attributes of the Italianate villa as developed in colonial Australia. Given that Clark was limited to remodelling an existing house, the typical asymmetry of the style was achieved only through the addition of the large square tower. Atypically, however, a structure in the form of an open loggia stood at the southern end of the tower's rooftop.⁵² While not apparent in the drawings, this structure may have had a functional purpose in housing the water tank, described in the booklet as being located "above the roof of the house." The balustraded parapet of the tower together with other features, such as the monumental entrance and arched arcades, recall aspects of Clark's Renaissance Revival architecture of the 1870s and 1880s, particularly the Treasury Building in Brisbane (1886-1928). Their presence in a domestic context does impart a certain pretentiousness to Kinneil's design, but no doubt satisfied the aspirations of the client.⁵³

It is difficult to tell just how much Clark changed the interior of the house as no earlier floor plans or detailed descriptions exist. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the neo-classical symmetry of Barncleuth's front elevation would have been reflected in its plan, and it is evident that Clark did not disrupt this— apart from the addition of the tower that served to partially extend the eastern side of the house. [Fig. 5] As Timothy Hubbard has pointed out in his study of the colonial Italianate villa, an adherence to a symmetrical plan did not necessarily contradict the norms of the type.⁵⁴ The only obvious change to Barncleuth's plan was the absence of the conservatory and bedrooms on the ground floor, that were described in the auction notice of 1860.⁵⁵ There were also a range of internal features described in the "Kinneil House" booklet that emphasised the house's modernisation: "Every modern convenience for comfort has been provided in the house...The lavatories, bathrooms, and W.C.'s are fitted up in the most perfect manner with hot and cold water supply and gas and electric bells fitted throughout."

Dodd makes only a brief reference to the remodelling of Kinneil, however he does acknowledge that it was “a significant project” for Clark.⁵⁶ Certainly the architect considered it so, given that commission was extensively published in the *Building & Engineering Journal* in September 1891. Indeed, the same set of drawings that appeared in the booklet was featured over five double pages. Furthermore, the “Description of Illustrations” that followed repeats verbatim the text in the booklet.⁵⁷ Yet that description reads more like a prospectus than an explanation of the architectural merits of Clark’s design. It begins “This property is one of the few large freeholds in the city of Sydney” and ends “the extensive outlook can never be interrupted, and this fact will admit of two portions of the extensive frontage to Elizabeth Bay Road being sold, one frontage of 100ft. from the south extremity, and one of 100ft. from the north extremity, leaving 130ft. in the centre for carriage entrance and lawns. These frontages... are worth from £60 to £80 per foot frontage.” The tone is that of a real estate advertisement, and pointedly when the property came onto the market again in 1908, its sales notice was obviously cribbed from the booklet/journal article.⁵⁸ Clark’s complicity in the production of both the booklet and journal article suggests a pragmatic understanding of the house’s significance and value.

As for Robert Amos, his fortunes appear to have turned shortly after Kinneil’s completion. A major railway contract appears to have fallen through and whatever financial pressure this may have exerted would have been compounded by the economic climate of the day.⁵⁹ The country faced a severe depression in the 1890s that included the collapse of the Federal Bank in 1893 and major industrial unrest.

By 1902 Amos had moved to a smaller house in Darlinghurst and Kinneil was rented out, first to the noted Federationist, Justice John Cohen, and later a Mrs Jewell.⁶⁰ Amos died in December 1905 and three years later, Kinneil was put on the market.⁶¹ The house failed to sell and it took until April 1913 for a deal to be struck with Eliza O’Connell,⁶² the recent widow of a respected publican. Tragically, within two days of purchasing and moving into Kinneil, Eliza died suddenly of heart failure.⁶³ Her children, Elizabeth (Lizzie) and Margaret (Maggie), appear to have inherited the house, with Margaret living there until her death in 1928 and Elizabeth retaining ownership until the late 1950s.⁶⁴ Over that time, the property was again transformed, with dramatic changes not only to the house, but also to what was left of its once magnificent grounds.

Remaining years

In 1920, the land surrounding Kinneil was further subdivided into eight blocks.⁶⁵ These included the tennis courts bordering Elizabeth Bay Road which, once sold, were replaced by an apartment building. The house itself was then sub-divided into 55 rooms that were individually rented out.⁶⁶ Even then, Kinneil continued to attract residents of local note.⁶⁷ In 1943, at the height of the Asia-Pacific War, the house was taken over by the Australian Comforts Fund and turned into an officers club with accommodation for 100 men. While the furnishings were retained, extensive alterations were made to the bathrooms, kitchen and lounge rooms for the new purpose.⁶⁸



FIGURE 6 Opening of the “Kinneil Australian and Allied Officers’ Club” in 1943. (Photo by Sam Hood. State Library of New South Wales).

Elizabeth O'Connell retained ownership of Kinneil throughout and, at the end of the war, formed a limited company – Kinneil Pty Ltd – which turned the re-purposed house into a “posh” guest house and restaurant.⁶⁹ By the early 1950s, Misses Elizabeth and Peg Gilligan described as “third generation connections of the family of O'Connell” were running this establishment.⁷⁰ Considered a “heavenly spot for dinner,” the restaurant attracted a glamorous clientele that included visiting stars such as Doreen Wilson and Henrik de Boer from the *Song of Norway*, and a bevy of local socialites.⁷¹

Then in 1959, Kinneil was sold to the Australian branch of the English civil engineering company, George Wimpey and Co, for a reported sum of £140,000.⁷² The house lay empty for a decade, until 1970, when the property was purchased by a subsidiary of the Hong Kong Land Company Ltd.⁷³ Its plan was to build a high-rise international hotel on the site, however when the company submitted a development application for the 40-storey hotel to Sydney City Council in 1973, it was rejected. In order to mitigate a stalemate, the Council proposed to purchase the land from the consortium and the following year the sale was finalised.⁷⁴ But that did not save Kinneil. The house had already been demolished, just a year after its acquisition by the Hong Kong Land Company.



FIGURE 7 The partially demolished Kinneil, with its east tower still almost standing, 1971. (Photo by Robert Walker. City of Sydney Archives).

An underground car park with a capacity of 400 vehicles now occupies the site where Barncleuth-Kinneil once stood. Compounding the house's physical erasure, the scant and ragged reserve that forms the roof of the carpark is dedicated not to O'Connell, Amos, Moore, Jones or Brown but to Lawrence Hargrave – the inventor and engineer whose tenuous claim on the territory relates to a brief term of residence in a neighbouring street.

Despite this ignoble end, for the majority of its 119 years Barncleuth-Kinneil clearly managed to retain its symbolic value. All of its owner-residents had “traded up,” seeking the cultural capital to underpin their social aspirations. Even when Kinneil was converted into a guesthouse and restaurant, the cultural meaning embedded in the house's history – its poshness – continued to be harnessed by the proprietors. However, from the late 1950s, commercial interests, particularly those associated with hospitality and retail, were transforming the streetscapes and environs of Darlinghurst Road and Macleay Street.⁷⁵ Ultimately Kinneil's fate was sealed when its symbolic value was transcended by the more concrete rewards envisaged in converting the site to a high-rise hotel.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Kirrily Sullivan for the valuable research assistance she provided for this paper.

Endnotes

- 1 James Broadbent, "The Push East: Woolloomooloo Hill, the First Suburb," in *Sydney City of Suburbs*, ed. Max Kelly (Kensington, NSW: New South Wales University Press, 1987), 13.
- 2 Broadbent, "The Push East," 15.
- 3 Broadbent, "The Push East," 15.
- 4 Broadbent, "The Push East," 17.
- 5 Broadbent, "The Push East," 27.
- 6 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- 7 Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 6.
- 8 There is also an extensive family history posted on ancestry.org.uk by a direct descendant. <http://www.my-broun-wyld-stewart-lang-ancestry.org.uk/john-wyld-brown.shtml>.
- 9 Extract from the memoirs of Robert Stodart Wyld (cousin of John Wyld Brown), <http://www.my-broun-wyld-stewart-lang-ancestry.org.uk/john-wyld-brown.shtml> (Accessed January 29, 2016).
- 10 Letter from Robert Brown to John Brown, September 1, 1834. Brown and Company papers, 1827-1842, State Library of New South Wales, A2654. While the shop was originally located in George Street, the business later included other addresses, including Spring Street. City of Sydney Assessment Books (1845-1948). Chisholm, another Scot and a retired sergeant of the New South Wales Corps, had been one of the few to be awarded a licence to sell liquor in Sydney by Governor Macquarie in 1810. See Chis Maxwell and Alex Pugh, *The Merchant of Sydney: James Chisholm 1772-1837* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2015), 92.
- 11 Following the merger with Harbottle Alsop & Co, the company was renamed Harbottle, Brown & Co. *Daily Commercial News and Shipping List*, January 5, 1921, 5. That company is still operating today, <http://listings.fta-companies-au.com/l/100669528/Harbottle-Brown-And-Co-Pty-Ltd-in-Glebe-NSW> (Accessed February 2, 2016).
- 12 Brown and Company papers, 1827-1842, State Library of New South Wales, A2654.
- 13 Married on August 10, 1840 at St Cuthberts, Edinburgh, Scotland. "Register of Marriages for 1840", www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk (Accessed March 11, 2016).
- 14 Governor George Gipps' description of Alexander Macleay's financial situation cited in Derelie Cherry, *Alexander Macleay from Scotland to Sydney* (Kulnura, NSW: Paradise Publishers, 2012), 391.
- 15 Auction notice, *Sydney Gazette*, October 7, 1841, 4.
- 16 Old System Title, Book 11, No 679, NSW Land & Property Information.
- 17 Morton Herman, *The Early Australian Architects and Their Work* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, second revised edition, 1970), 182.
- 18 James Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House: Architecture and Society in New South Wales 1788-1842* (Sydney: Hordern House, 1997), 238.
- 19 Nicholas Bucciarelli, "James Hume: His Life and Works," B. Arch thesis, University of New South Wales, 1980.
- 20 Based on James Hume's death certificate and obituary cited by Bucciarelli. James Hume died in Sydney on 15 November 1868. Bucciarelli, "James Hume," 4-6 and plate 31.
- 21 Bucciarelli suggests that Hume arrived in Sydney on the "Lochiel" on May 4, 1835. Bucciarelli, "James Hume", 6.
- 22 Auction notice, Mort and Co, *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 15, 1854, 4.
- 23 "Barnceluth, Woolloomooloo, Sydney, 1853/John W. Brown," State Library of New South Wales, SSVIA/Wllo/1. The watercolour was presented to the library by Major General Sir Neill Malcolm with a note that again misattributes David Jones as the person who built Barncleuth; "30b. Barncleuth [Barnsleuth?] Sydney Mr Moore," State Library of New South Wales, PXA550.
- 24 See for example the photograph of Greenknowe held in R N D [Reginald Neville Dangar] Book 1: photograph album, State Library of New South Wales, PXA519 (v.1).
- 25 Auction notice, Mort and Co, *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 15, 1854, 4.

- 26 See Timothy Fletcher Hubbard, "Towering Over All: The Italianate Villa in the Colonial Landscape," PhD thesis, Deakin University, 2013, 203-4.
- 27 Auction notice, Mort and Co, 4.
- 28 Extracts from the memoirs of Robert Stodart Wyld. See also entry for "Brown John Wyld Esq" in United Kingdom National Probate Calendar 1858-1966, 291, <https://probabtesearch.service.gov.uk> (Accessed January 29, 2016).
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- 38 "An Old Colonist. Mr Henry Moore, MLC," *Town and Country Journal*, July 14, 1888, 11.
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- 41 Scott Carlin, *Elizabeth Bay House: A History & Guide* (Glebe NSW: Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, 2000), 46.
- 42 Carlin, *Elizabeth Bay House: A History & Guide*.
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- 44 "Opening of the Railway to Albury," *Evening News*, February 2, 1881, 3.
- 45 David Burke, *Making the Railways* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1995), 100-101.
- 46 Sales notice, *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 30, 1882, 17.
- 47 "Kinneil" House, *Elizabeth Bay Road, Sydney*, c 1891, unpaginated.
- 48 Andrew Dodd, *J. J. Clark: Architect of the Australian Renaissance* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2012), 8.
- 49 Dodd, *J. J. Clark*, 8.
- 50 Morton Herman claimed that work on the house actually commenced in 1891. Morton Herman, *The Architecture of Victorian Sydney* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956), 155.
- 51 Authorship is attributed to J. J. Clark. No other publication details. State Library of New South Wales catalogue, F728.3/1. Subsequent descriptions of Kinneil are taken from that source unless otherwise identified.
- 52 In Government House, Melbourne (1872-76), designed by Clark in association with William Wilkinson Wardell, the tower rises to an open loggia.
- 53 See Herman, *The Architecture of Victorian Sydney*, 155.
- 54 Hubbard, "Towering Over All", 179.
- 55 However, those changes may have already occurred during Moore's period of ownership. See John Oultram Heritage & Design, "Fitzroy Gardens & Lawrence Hargrave Reserve Elizabeth Bay, Sydney, NSW Heritage Assessment," September 2010, 18.
- 56 Dodd, *J. J. Clark*, 111.
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- 58 Sales notice, *Sydney Morning Herald*, September 12, 1908, 23.
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- 74 John Oultram Heritage & Design, "Fitzroy Gardens & Lawrence Hargrave Reserve Elizabeth Bay, Sydney, NSW Heritage Assessment," 46.
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