

**APPENDIX 12 - SHR HERITAGE LISTING AND PROPOSED  
UPDATES**

## Current SHR Listing.

### Item Details

**Name**

Lambing Flat Riot Site (14 July 1861) and Associated Banner

**SHR/LEP/S170**

Lambing Flat Riot Site (14 July 1861) and Associated Banner

**Address**

6 Ripon Street YOUNG NSW 2594

**Local Govt Area**

Hilltops

**Local Aboriginal Land Council**

Young

**Item Type**

Landscape

**Group/Collection**

Landscape - Cultural

**Category**

Historic Landscape



### All Addresses

**Addresses**

Records Retrieved: 4

Street No	Street Name	Suburb/Town/Postcode	Local Govt. Area	LALC	Parish	County	Electorate	Address Type
20	Caple Street	YOUNG/NSW/2594	Hilltops	Young			COOTAMUNDRA	Alternate Address
9	Campbell Street	YOUNG/NSW/2594	Hilltops	Young			COOTAMUNDRA	Alternate Address
11	Campbell Street	YOUNG/NSW/2594	Hilltops	Young			COOTAMUNDRA	Alternate Address
6	Ripon Street	YOUNG/NSW/2594	Hilltops	Young	Young	Monteagle	COOTAMUNDRA	Primary Address

### Boundary Description

The SHR curtilage boundary for the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner is limited to the item itself and does not include the land it is located on or the structure it is housed within.

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## **Significance**

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### **Statement Of Significance**

The 14 July 1861 Lambing Flat Riot Site and 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner are of State heritage significance for their historic, social, research, and rarity values. The series of demonstrations, disturbances, and riots by miners and settlers at Lambing Flat from November 1860 to July 1861 were the most protracted violence perpetrated against Chinese miners in the state's history. These riots demonstrate the prejudices and racial antagonism that were present on the NSW goldfields and harboured across society in nineteenth century Australia.

The riot that occurred at this site on the evening of Sunday 14 July 1861 was the culmination of rising tensions between the European miners, the gold commissioners, and the police, as the government attempted to restore law and order. It was the first major confrontation between European miners and police on the NSW goldfields and involved the second reading of the Riot Act in NSW history. As the final conflagration of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots it is regarded as a defining moment in the history of Chinese settlement in Australia. It led to the NSW Government enacting discriminatory and racist legislation to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the state and curtail their movement and rights on the NSW goldfields.

This site offers rich opportunities to tell the story of this riot and the shameful impact of racial prejudices to the people of NSW. The open landscape of Carrington Park allows the extant sloping topography to be appreciated which assists in visualising and interpreting the events of the riot. The archaeological remains of the Gold Commissioners' Camp are a rare resource that has potential to answer research questions about this riot, as well as to demonstrate how gold commissioners and police lived at mid-nineteenth century NSW goldfields. The former Great Courthouse (1886), as the last remaining symbol of law and order on the site of the Gold Commissioners Camp, is an important landmark for interpretation of this event.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner was the standard used by the anti-Chinese miners and settlers to announce several riots and disturbances on the Lambing Flat goldfield, most notably the violent attacks on the Chinese on Sunday 30 June 1861. It is a rare item of moveable heritage that tangibly symbolises the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots for NSW history and society.

This site and the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner are closely associated with the State Heritage Register listed site, Blackguard Gully (SHR 01775), which was the location of one of the Chinese Camps attacked by rioters on Sunday 30 June 1861. Together these sites help to tell the story of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots to the people of NSW.

### **Criteria a)**

### **Historical Significance**

This site is of State historical significance for its three connections to a State significant event: the riot and confrontation between European miners and police on Sunday 14 July 1861 during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots. This series of demonstrations, disturbances, and riots by European miners and settlers at Lambing Flat from November 1860 to July 1861 are the most protracted violence perpetrated against Chinese miners in NSW history.

This site is the scene of the final event of these riots: a confrontation between miners and police during an attempt to free their imprisoned comrades from the Gold Commissioners' Camp lock-up. This confrontation involved the second reading of the Riot Act in NSW history. The riot itself was likely the first major confrontation between police and European miners following the Eureka Stockade (Ballarat, 1854) and the first on the NSW goldfields. This riot is a defining moment in the history of Chinese settlement in Australia as it led to the NSW Government enacting discriminatory and racist legislation to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the state and curtail their movement and rights on the NSW goldfields.

The three connections of this site to this event allows its important story to be comprehensively and emotionally told to all Australians.

The open landscape and extant sloping topography of Carrington Park allow the sequence of this riot to be demonstrated to the people of NSW. Across this area the observer can visualise and appreciate the spatial relationships between the parties participating in the riot and understand the role that the topography played in the events that occurred. Historical and archaeological research has identified the location of the Gold Commissioners' Camp buildings and its boundaries. This information can be combined with the historical accounts of the riot to show the rough location of where the rioters assembled, where Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffith read the Riot Act, where the rioters attacked the police line, and where the police mounted troopers charged and broke the mob. The sloping landscape across this area also demonstrates how the Gold Commissioners' Camp was situated on the crest of a ridge overlooking the diggings along Burrangong Creek. This is a place that symbolic expresses the power the Gold Commissioners and police had over the goldfield. This also shows how the Gold Commissioners and police held the higher ground during the riot. The former Great Courthouse (1886) is an important landmark that marks the location of the Gold Commissioners Camp for any visualisation or interpretation of the riot on site.

The Lambing Flat Folk Museum houses the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner which is an item of moveable heritage symbolic of the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots. It is decorated with the Southern Cross over the St Andrew's Cross and the words 'Roll Up, Roll Up, No Chinese'. It was used by the ringleaders of the riots to announce multiple attacks on Chinese miners on the Lambing Flat goldfield, most notoriously on Sunday 30 June 1861. It was also used at the funeral of William Lupton on 16 July 1861. This banner is an intensively emotive object that signifies the perspectives of those involved in the riots. For the perpetrators of the violence, the European miners and settlers, it represents their prejudices and racism against the Chinese. It also demonstrates that they wanted the Chinese removed from the Lambing Flat goldfield and were willing to fight the government authorities to make this happen. For the victims of the violence, the Chinese miners, it is evidence of this prejudice and racism and represents their fight for equality and demands for justice in the face of it (Schamberger, 2016:174-5; 2020:2).

The grounds of the Joint Young High School and TAFE campus contain the archaeological remains of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp. This camp, which in 1861 contained a range of buildings for the Gold Commissioners and police stationed at this field, was the focus of the rioters' attack on 14 July 1861. At this time three participants of the riot on 30 June 1861 were held in the Camp lock-up. As the camp was the central focus of this event any archaeological remains from this time would be of special significance and especially valuable for their interpretation potential.

#### **Criteria d)**

#### **Social/Cultural Significance**

This place is a notorious site for the NSW and Australian public as the location where the final riot of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots occurred. The associated 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner is also a notorious object that symbolises the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of the riots for modern audiences. As Australia is developing into a multi-cultural nation, the appalling acts of racism in our European past are increasingly being subject to close examination and discussion. The Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots are an important event in the social consciousness of modern Australians, particularly those of Chinese background. This is particularly as they led to the enactment of discriminatory and racist legislation against Chinese settlement.

#### **Criteria e)**

#### **Research Potential**

The archaeological remains of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp have research potential at a State level for two reasons. Firstly, for their association with the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riot event on Sunday 14 July 1861 and their potential ability to shed new light on this event. Secondly for their rare nature and potential for providing information on how gold commissioners and police lived and worked during an 1860s goldrush in NSW.

**Criteria f)**

**Rarity**

This place is of high rarity in a State context as the location where an important riot and confrontation between European miners and police occurred, as well as an historic reading of the Riot Act.

The 1850s-1860s gold rushes brought about a time of great change to the Australian colonies with a large influx of population and associated social upheaval. However, it was not often that this devolved into open violence between Government officials and European miners and settlers. Previously in Victoria, British soldiers and miners had fought at the Eureka Stockade, which was a defining moment in establishing that control of the goldfields lay in the hands of the Government. In 1857 this was followed by the Buckland Anti-Chinese riots, which were the first major race riot protesting the presence of the Chinese on the Australian goldfields. The Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots followed these events as the first major confrontation between police and European miners and major outbreak of violence against Chinese miners on the NSW goldfields.

The reading of the Riot Act that occurred during this riot is also a rare event. It was the second time this occurred in NSW history and the first to be enforced by the police. This reading by Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffin was only preceded by an ineffectual reading by Sub Gold Commissioner Dixon during the Sunday 27 January 1861 riot of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots.

The archaeological remains of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp and any deposits or features associated with the riot are rare archaeological resources in a State context.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner is a rare item of moveable heritage in a state context. The survival of a cloth object from the destructive crisis that was the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots is a remarkable occurrence. For modern audiences it is a rare object that tangibly symbolises the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of these riots and allows the perspectives of the European miners and settlers (perpetrators) and Chinese (victims) miners to be recognised.

**Owners**

Organisation	Stakeholder Category	Date Ownership Updated
	No Results Found	

Records Retrieved: 0

**Description**

Designer

Builder/Maker

James Barnet (Courthouse)

Gough and Company (Courthouse)

### Physical Description

Updated

#### SITE DESCRIPTION

This place has three connections to the riot and confrontation between miners and police that occurred on Sunday 14 July 1861, during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots. It includes the whole of Carrington Park, the majority of the Young High School campus, part of Young TAFE, and part of the road reserve of Campbell Street.

The three different connections include an archaeological site, the riot site, and the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner which symbolises the agenda of the anti-Chinese miners and settlers.

The archaeological site of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp is located beneath parts of Young High School and Young TAFE (as well as Campbell Street). These archaeological resources have been assessed to be of State significance (GML, 2019d:65). The former Great Courthouse (1886) is the only remaining symbol of law and order on this site and is an important landmark for interpretation of this event.

The riot site is located on the slope rising up to the camp site, which is visible across the open landscape of Carrington Park. This is where the rioters assembled to demand the release of their captive comrades. Gold Commissioner Griffin is thought to have read the Riot Act to the rioters on these slopes prior to the confrontation between the rioters and police. During the confrontation, the police charge is thought to have pushed the rioters back towards the banks of Burrangong Creek, forcing them to disperse.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner, which was used by the anti-Chinese miners and settlers to announce several riots and attacks on the Chinese is today held in the Lambing Flat Folk Museum within the Young Community Arts Centre. This banner is included in this SHR listing as an item of moveable heritage.

#### CARRINGTON PARK

Carrington Park is a late Victorian public park established in 1888 (opened in 1889). The park is bordered on its north, east, and west sides by Ripon, Campbell, and Caple street respectively. Its south side borders Young High School and Young TAFE.

The park comprises a northern original section and a later addition to the south (1939), the width of a street reserve (the former Currawong Street West). The northern section appears more planned, its eastern half being a formal garden park and its western half an open shady recreation space.

The formal garden half is divided by axial gravel pathways lined by shrub height plantings. A band rotunda (1912) is located at the main intersection of these paths and the formal entrance gates at the east end. The bandstand or band rotunda is an octagonally shaped timber example which features decorative roof brackets, frieze, and balustrade. It rests on a brick base and has corrugated steel roofing (GML 2018:54). Two large cross rose trellises are located in circular garden beds along the central east-west path. Specimen trees, including Kurrajong, Strawberry Tree, and Deodar Cedar, are scattered across the rest of the space (GML,2018). They appear to lack a clear organised planning structure, although there were possibly two rows along the south and west sides originally.

The open recreational half is divided by an east-west unformed path. Another unformed path with accompanying hedges extends partially along its east border. The east-west path features Deodar Cedar and English Elm along either side. Other tree plantings across this area include Kurrajong, Peppercorn Tree, and Lemon-scented Gum (GML,2018).

The southern section features from west to east: a modern carpark, children's playground with pathways and toilet facilities, and an open green space. This green space extends part of the formal garden and has plantings including Himalayan Cedars and an Atlas Cedar. A Reconciliation tree (White Box) is located to the northwest of the Courthouse entrance gates (planted during NAIDOC week 1999).

In the southeast corner of the park is a small community garden. It comprises three separate sections that demonstrate low-water use plants. These include both native and exotic

plants. This garden was established by a joint project between the local community and Young High School.

The park features many memorials to local events and personalities. This includes a series of light posts memorialising the early introduction of electric lighting to Young. These light posts may be relocated original examples from when electric lighting was turned on in 1889. A memorial to the White family, local pioneers, and the author, Sarah Musgrave, is also located in the south section of the park.

The park contains two buildings: a modern toilet block and twentieth century storage building (Caple Street cottage). The former is a brick building with corrugated iron combination gable/hipped roof. The latter is constructed of brick with a corrugated iron gable roof with weatherboard lean-tos on its east and south sides with an enclosed yard.

#### YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL

The part of Young High School included in the curtilage contains six existing buildings.

(1) 1886 former Great Courthouse now main hall and administration block - building AA.

The former Great Courthouse (1886) was designed by the office of the Colonial Architect James Barnett. The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:10).

Building AA is a late-Victorian NSW regional courthouse adapted for use as a school. It is constructed of painted, rendered brick masonry in the Victorian Academic Classical style and is sited in a commanding position both in its immediate context and when viewed from the north closer to the centre of Young. Although classically chaste in order and ornament, its monumental scale arises from its giant order portico, monumental steps and flanking wings that step back and down. This monumentality is reinforced by its symmetrical landscaped forecourt gardens, plantings and palisade fence.

The building appears from the north as a two-storey building set behind a monumental temple front portico comprised of four giant order fluted Ionic columns on Attic bases. The outer two columns are coupled with square columns with simplified capitals but Attic bases. The portico's intercolumniation (the space between columns relative to the columns' diameter) is approximately 2.5. The royal coat of arms is sculptured in high relief on the tympanum of the triangular pediment (although now coloured, an early photograph shows all masonry elements to be a uniform tone). The entablature records the date of completion as 1884 in Roman numerals and has Queen Victoria's imperial cypher VRI ('Victoria Regina Imperatrix').

The overall form of the building comprises the central high section with the giant order two-storey high porch, two-storey vestibule and gallery vestibule behind which is the double height principal courtroom (now assembly hall). Flanking this central section are symmetrical single-storey side wings. Access is provided through the portico and via steps to the eastern and western wings. Rear access at the south is also provided.

Internally, the building has a vestibule with stairs leading up the western side to the court gallery. The vestibule has been altered to remove the corresponding eastern vestibule stair and to reinforce the structure to support the first adapted use of the gallery vestibule as a library. This has involved the replacement or encasing of the vestibule's cast iron columns that remain evident in the assembly hall. The first floor is limited to the gallery vestibule and the gallery itself which extends into the assembly hall and retains its original timber pews.

Within the assembly hall, all fixed furniture in the room has been removed. It is understood this was relocated to Young Court House in Lynch Street. The space has a stage at the far end and the floor is timber boards. The walls are painted with timber skirting boards and a strip of horizontal moulding halfway up the wall. Above the moulding is a series of double hung timber frame windows on the eastern and western walls. The ceiling has detailed coffering and is painted to coordinate with the walls.

The administration offices and storage rooms on each side of the building are separated from the assembly hall by corridors. This corridor has an original pressed tin ceiling and timber skirting boards. Archways with 'supporting' corbels appear halfway along the corridor's length.

#### Prisoner Transfer Tunnels:

Local history notes that prisoner transfer tunnels exist between the former Great Courthouse and the surviving buildings of the former gaol. The exact location of the tunnel entrances and alignments has yet to be confirmed by modern investigations.

(2) 1936 Home/Domestic Science Block - building CC.

The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:16).

Building CC was designed as a domestic science and science block and building in 1937. The single-storey building has a T-shape plan and is constructed of face brick with a corrugated steel roof. Access is via a porch entrance off the quadrangle. This leads to a corridor running east-west off which the northern classrooms and southern domestic science teaching kitchen are located.

(3) 1971 Classroom Block - building GFS.

This is a U-shaped three-storey brick classroom block. It features an attached smaller shelter at the north end of its west wing.

(4) Shed building on concrete pad - building GG.

(5) Shed building - building JJ

(6) Nonette Brown Cottage and Garage, 11 Campbell Street.

The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:19).

The Nonette Brown Cottage is a single-storey brick building with a corrugated steel gable roof. The brick cottage fronts Campbell Street with a projecting gabled bay and front verandah. The verandah has been altered by replacement of original posts and addition of an access ramp.

While some original elements remain, the interior has been modified to suit the current use. Original pressed metal ceilings, light medallion plates, cornices and wall vents are evident in the front rooms and central corridor. Windows are painted timber and double hung.

The front garden is austere and comprised of turf and a concrete path.

#### YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL - BUILDINGS UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Four new buildings are planned to be added to Young High School as part of an in progress State Significance Development (SSD) project (SSD 9671).

(1) A new amenities building - building MIM.

(2) A new amenities building - building PP.

(3) A new canteen block - building QQ.

(4) A new three-storey joint-use community and school library facility - building NN.



The first three of these buildings will be completed by early 2020 and the last by 2021.

A 1963 Arts block - building BB, was demolished in early 2020, to create space for the construction of these new buildings.

#### YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL - ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF GOLD COMMISSIONERS' CAMP

The Young High School and TAFE site contains archaeological evidence of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp which was established in February 1861 (GML, 2019a:21). It was positioned on the terminus of a ridge overlooking the diggings along Burrangong Creek (GML, 2019a:20-21). This position allowed the Gold Commissioners and police to keep watch on the diggings. This Camp was used throughout the goldrush and the early history of Young. Over this time various police and justice buildings were constructed. The earliest of these buildings were associated with the riot of 14 July 1861.

A March 1861 map of the Gold Commissioners' Camp only shows three buildings on site: the Commissioner's Quarters, Lock-up, and a single hut, with a surrounding fence (GML, 2019a:12, 25). A police stables building may have also been present on site (GML, 2019a:11). By April, following the arrival of military troops, the camp featured at least 22 buildings that were defended by fortifications such as trenches, walls, and palisades (GML, 2019a:12). These buildings included a Commissioners' Quarters with separate kitchen and outbuildings, Police Inspector's house with separate kitchen and cellar, Courthouse, Lock-up, foot-police barracks, two cook houses, stables and forage room, and several privies (see GML 2019a:12 for further information). At the time of the 14 July 1861 riot and event, after the military had left, the camp housed a force of 67 men under the command of Captain Zouch (GML, 2019a:21). The Commissioner's Quarters, Lock-up, and Courthouse were burnt down the following day by a released prisoner (GML, 2019a:21). Following the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots the camp was repaired, reoccupied by the police and military, and further buildings constructed.

Today, potential archaeological sites include: the Commissioner's Quarters, Courthouse, Old Lock Up, Lock Up, Police Stores, Senior Constables Residence, Police Officer's Quarters, Police Inspectors Residence, Kitchen buildings, Stables buildings, and accommodation/guard huts (GML, 2019a:23).

Test excavations were carried out in July 2019 in association with a SSD project within the grounds of Young High School and across the southern part of Carrington Park (GML, 2019b, 2019d). These excavations investigated four potential archaeological sites, the police station and stores, second lock-up, and two huts, located in this area (GML, 2019d:54-56). They confirmed that archaeological evidence associated with the police occupation of the site survives in parts of the grounds of Young High School (GML, 2019d:65).

#### LAMBING FLAT RIOTS BANNER

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner used during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots is on display in the Lambing Flat Folk Museum run by the Young Historical Society Inc.

The banner is stored in a glass case which it was installed within in 2006/2007 following conservation works. It is six feet (1.83m) square in size and is made from sail-cloth. It is possible that it was cut out from a miner's tent (these were often made of calico). The artisan that painted the banner used seven different colours (black, yellow, red, blue, light blue, white, and gold). The centre design of the banner consists of the southern cross (comprising five white, five pointed stars) over the St Andrew's cross. On the left and right hand sides of this design are the words 'Roll Up' in black surrounded by yellow and gold flourishes. On the top is the word 'No' and on the bottom 'Chinese' in red and blue which have been given a 3D effect through separate yellow/gold and light blue backing (Lambing Flat Folk Museum Website; Schamberger, 2015:3-4).

#### Physical Condition

Updated

#### Modifications And Dates

#### Further Comments

#### Current Use

Mixed: recreation (park), institutional (various)

#### Former Use

Aboriginal land, mining prospecting and claims riot site

#### Listings

Listings				Records Retrieved: 1	
Heritage Listing	Listing Title	Listing Number	Gazette Date	Gazette Number	Gazette Page
Heritage Act - State Heritage Register		02047	3/25/2022 12:00:00 AM	130	n2022-0532

#### Procedures/Exemptions

Procedures/Exemptions			Records Retrieved: 0		
Section of Act	Description	Title	Comments	Action Date	Outcome
			No Results Found		

#### History

##### Historical Notes or Provenance

Please note that the following historical account has been drawn primarily from European historical sources (such as newspapers and official documents). These sources do not often provide the Chinese miners effected by the riots with a voice (a rare example are the petitions and claims of compensation sent by Chinese miners to the government following the riots). As such, there is still much opportunity for historical research to discover information and sources which would allow this story to be told in a more balanced way.

##### LAMBING FLAT GOLDRUSH

In March 1860, gold was discovered along Burrangong Creek at the Lambing Flat by workers of the Burrangong Station. This gold strike was worked by local residents for several

**Updated**

months before it was publicised. On 30 July 1860 Michael Sheedy called at the office of the Yass Courier with specimens from the diggings confirming the discovery and triggering a goldrush. By late August there were around 200-250 miners on the field and calls from the press for gold commissioners and police. This population grew to around 1600-1700 miners by mid-October which included about 500 Chinese (Selth, 1974:48; Walker, 1970:193).

The development of the Lambing Flat goldfield was slow as it was competing with an already established goldrush at Kiandra, in the Snowy Mountains. The Kiandra goldrush had been the centre of a media push by the press and Colonial Government. Snow falls had caused a cessation in mining at the field, but the media had used this period to hype up a grand spring rush. The hype and excitement ensured the Kiandra Goldrush received a large amount of resources from the Colonial Government, including police, gold commissioners, and funds for buildings, roads, etc (Tybussek, 2015). This diversion of resources to Kiandra was to have a lasting effect on the burgeoning Lambing Flat goldfield. This lack of support and resources led Lambing Flat to be characterised as a disorganised and ungoverned field quite early in its development (Selth, 1974:49).

The initial discoveries at the Lambing Flat goldrush were rich alluvial diggings along Burrangong Creek. On this gentle, undulating, pastoral landscape digging was easy and shallow. This was a major attraction for this goldfield, along with its accessibility and low cost of living as it was well supplied from Yass and Bathurst. The field's only drawback was its lack of water, of which large quantities were required by the diggers to wash their dirt. This problem was to cause Lambing Flat major issues throughout its development (Selth, 1974:49).

The government inattention to Lambing Flat continued into November. They had still not proclaimed the Goldfield, which was a necessary administrative step before government services, such as gold commissioners, police, and mail services, could be established. This lack of security meant that few businesspeople were willing to erect permanent structures on the field. Withholding governance and security for the field also meant that the gold commissioners and police would find it more difficult to assert control once they arrived (Selth, 1974:49).

#### LAMBING FLAT ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS

Chinese miners had participated in Australian goldrushes almost since the earliest discoveries in 1851. From this period there were regular outbreaks of violence between European miners and their Chinese counterparts due to a lack of understanding, racism, mistrust, prejudice, and jealousy. Particularly violent attacks on the Chinese occurred at the Rocky River diggings (near Uralla) in 1856, Buckland River diggings in 1857 (Victoria), and Turoon diggings in 1858. However, at Lambing Flat these long festering tensions boiled over into rioting and mob attacks on the Chinese camps and government officials over nine months (Walker, 1970:195; Williams, 1999:45-46).

By late 1860 the presence of Chinese at Lambing Flat was beginning to cause tension among the European miners. The first anti-Chinese demonstration occurred on 13 November. Anti-Chinese protesters posted 'notices to quit' on trees across the field and a 'Roll Up' formed. Led by a German band, this 'Roll Up' ejected about 500 Chinese from the diggings and destroyed the tents and possessions they left behind (Selth, 1974:49).

This demonstration finally spurred the colonial government into action. Lambing Flat was declared a goldfield by Sir William Denison, Governor of NSW, on 27 November 1860 (as the Burrangong Goldfield) and Gold Commissioner Dixon was appointed to the field with two mounted troopers. A bi-weekly mail service was also arranged along with a regular gold escort. The move to provide much needed government services was likely also the result of the failure of the spring rush to Kiandra and the need for the government to establish an alternative to turn around the poor NSW economy (Selth, 1974:49-50; Tybussek, 2015).

Unfortunately, these appointments by the government did little to remedy the problems on the field. Dixon was inexperienced and appears to have been appointed due to his connections. As no quarters for the gold commissioner or police had been provided, Dixon strangely chose to establish their temporary quarters at Currawang Station, located around 12 miles from the field. A far more practical solution would have been to camp at Lambing Flat where they would have been available to deal with any matters that arose. The result of their choice was that they provided the field no protection at all (Selth, 1974:50).

This situation prompted the more responsible miners and businesspeople to form a vigilance committee for their own protection. This committee may have been inspired by a vigilance committee that operated at Kiandra during the previous March. It is possible that some of the same individuals were involved in both committees. On Saturday and Sunday, the 8 and 9 December, this vigilance committee destroyed a number of grog shops which were known to be frequented by thieves. On the Sunday a group of around 50 Chinese miners that had camped among the Europeans were driven from the field. Some Chinese were left bruised or had their queues cut off. The initial reports about this attack in the colonial press were much exaggerated, but this had the effect of spurring the government into action (Selth, 1974:50; Tybussek, 2015).

On 17 December, Captain Henry Zouch, Superintendent of the Southern Roads section of the Mounted Patrol arrived at Lambing Flat with a small force of troopers to investigate the attack. Zouch's investigation found that the destruction of the grog shanties by the vigilance committee, a group of respectable men, had done much good on the field, although their actions were illegal (Zouch supported the actions of the vigilance committee at Kiandra as well). He found that the attack on the Chinese had been carried out by the displaced owners of the shanties and their accomplices in an attempt to discredit the vigilance committee. Zouch departed Lambing Flat on 28 December leaving two detectives and eight troopers to support Gold Commissioner Dixon (Selth, 1974:50-51; Tybussek, 2015).

Lambing Flat remained peaceful for a time before anti-Chinese sentiment rose again. With the failure of the Kiandra Goldrush large numbers of Europeans and Chinese miners arrived on the field. Many European miners saw the easily worked diggings at Lambing Flat as a chance to recoup the losses they had sustained at Kiandra. Consequently, most felt threatened by the arrival of Chinese miners. The media also inflamed this situation by raising fears that the Chinese were going to swamp the field and take it over. With water scarce on the field during the mid-summer heat, stopping the majority of mining work, it was only a matter of time before tensions again boiled over (Selth, 1974:51-52; Tybussek, 2015).

On Sunday 27 January 1861 a meeting was held amongst the European miners to consider whether Lambing Flat was a 'European goldfield or Chinese territory'. The crowd of over 1500, armed with pick and shovel handles, were addressed by John Stewart who became one of the ringleaders of the anti-Chinese riots. Stewart was originally a weaver from Scotland, but had served time in the British army, before coming to the colonies. In his speech Stewart inflamed the crowd with talk of the 'Chinese menace' and fears that they were coming to overrun the goldfield. He urged the crowd to stop the Chinese and eject them from the field. The official resolution of the meeting was that the Chinese be given two days to quit the field. However, part of the mob dissented and took off immediately, headed by a brass band, to drive the Chinese off. They drove several thousand Chinese from their various diggings and camps, and burnt several of their tents (Selth, 1974:51-2; Walker 1970:195-196). One report of this disturbance mentions that the rioting miners were headed by a banner, but without providing details (Sydney Morning Herald, 2/2/1861, Page 4).

Throughout these proceedings, Gold Commissioner Dixon stood by and watched. He had attempted to disperse the crowd earlier in the morning by reading the Riot Act. However, his small force of mounted troopers was insufficient to the task of stopping the mob once it went after the Chinese miners. Dixon even failed to identify the ringleaders and main rioters so that they could be arrested once police reinforcements arrived (Selth, 1974:52). This ineffectual reading of the Riot Act by Gold Commissioner Dixon was most likely the first instance of its kind in NSW history.

The government quickly responded to the expulsion of the Chinese by ordering Zouch to Lambing Flat on 28 January with all available police forces. His orders permitted him to meet armed resistance with force if he was able, as long as the requirements of the Riot Act were met (Selth, 1974:52).

At Lambing Flat, on the evening of 31 January, about 80 men gathered to form the Miners' Protection League (MPL). Their aim was to gain more protection for miners and their rights from the government and expel the Chinese from the goldfields. Stewart was appointed as chairman with the ambition that the MPL would unite the field and be an example for the whole country (Selth, 1974:52-3).

Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete and Captain Zouch arrived with their reinforcements on Saturday 2 February 1861. The following day they received a deputation from the MPL, who stated that the miners were afraid that they would be driven off the field by large numbers of Chinese and would like them peaceably removed. This request was contrary to British Law as if a Chinese miner held a Miner's Right he was legally able to mine on a goldfield. Only an Act of Parliament could change this situation. Cloete and Zouch advised them to organise a petition to the government and this was quickly prepared and dispatched to Sydney (Selth, 1974:53).

The police reinforcements brought peace to the field. For now, the majority of the expelled Chinese continued to camp away from the field while they awaited the result of the MPL petition. However, as they were unable to work, many began to starve. Seeing this, Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete began reinstating those that returned to their old claims, by order of the Secretary for Lands (Selth, 1974:53).

The MPL held another meeting on Saturday 16 February to further develop the organisation. Despite claiming to be for the rights of miners, the organisation was becoming increasingly dominated by anti-Chinese agitators. These included Charles Allen, William Spicer, Donald Cameron (an ex-Glasgow police captain and first MP for the Ovens District), and James Torpy (an Irish publican). Soon after the meeting, the MPL issued a prospectus outlining their aims of driving the Chinese from the goldfields, before their numbers drove

the European miners (Selth, 1974:53-55; Walker, 1970:195).

The return of the Chinese caused a small riot at Blackguard Gully on 18 February, after 50 Chinese allegedly attacked two Europeans. This caused another 'Roll Up' to be called which expelled around 200 Chinese miners from the diggings at Blackguard. During this attack the queues of Chinese miners were cut off and their goods and tents burned. On this occasion the police chose to act and arrested 15 rioters and put them in the lock-up for the night. In response, armed mobs roamed the town all night, while troopers patrolled the area to stop any outbreaks of violence. When the prisoners faced court the following morning, they were discharged due to a lack of evidence against them (Selth, 1974:54).

This unrest prompted Cloete and Zouch to call for additional troops and police to keep the peace on the field. The MPL was also causing concern as it was attempting to establish itself as an alternative government at Lambing Flat. The government heeded these calls and dispatched a large detachment of the Twelfth Regiment, supported by an artillery squad with three 12lb. guns, to the goldfield on 25 February. This was the second occasion in Australian mining history that troops were dispatched to quell agitation on the gold fields. In order to soften this military intervention, the Premier, Charles Cowper, took the unprecedented step of travelling to Lambing Flat, to assume responsibility for the detachment. Cowper planned to ascertain the miners' grievances through his visit, while ensuring that the law was carried out (Selth, 1974:54).

Premier Cowper arrived at Lambing Flat on Saturday 2 March. During his visit Cowper refused to see the delegates of the MPL and, instead, communicated directly with the miners through a series of meetings. He insisted that the Chinese miners would be protected if they returned to the field, although he did sympathize with the miners' dislike of the Chinese, and implicitly supported the idea of curtailing Chinese immigration. Ultimately, he supported the rule of law and that no group should be allowed to persecute another. During a meeting on Saturday 9 March, he advised that the Chinese would be restored to a camp at the head of Blackguard Gully and that Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete would ensure that they were separated from the Europeans on the field. In fact, the Chinese were segregated in Blackguard Gully through a ploughed furrow around the area that they were not allowed to cross. This was a common approach by gold commissioners when European miners became hostile to their Chinese counterparts (Selth, 1974:54-56; Williams, 1999:46).

For some time, the NSW parliament had been considering restricting the immigration of Chinese to the colony. Cowper himself had tried to pass a bill through parliament in 1858, that was only defeated due to the opposition of the Legislative Council. During 1860 a former miner, John Lucas, the member for Canterbury, had worked towards introducing a new Chinese Immigration Bill. On 11 March, the Legislative Assembly approved the second reading of this bill, moving the government closer to restricting the immigration of Chinese to the colony. On the same day, the military detachment belatedly arrived at Lambing Flat. This caused Cowper to leave the next day, even though he was meant to oversee this military detachment. Cowper had accomplished little during his visit besides condoning the actions of the MPL and rioters, and making them promises that he, ultimately, did not keep (Selth, 1974:55-56; Walker, 1970:197-198).

With the military preparing for a long stay by erecting buildings, digging trenches, and fortifying a position on the hill behind the Gold Commissioners' Camp, peace settled on the field while the miners awaited action by Cowper. On his return to the Legislative Assembly, Cowper betrayed the miners by informing the House of Assembly that he believed that they had few real grievances to justify the actions they had taken. However, he did introduce a Goldfields Bill which had a provision for segregating Chinese miners on the goldfields, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly. Before this bill could be considered by the Legislative Council, parliament was prorogued and the legislation lapsed, leaving Cowper stymied for the moment (Selth, 1974:56).

On Sunday 31 March Cowper's betrayal brought huge numbers of miners to the next MPL meeting at Lambing Flat. The gathering resolved to censure Cowper for his untruthful statements, and as the legislation that was needed to solve the 'Chinese problem' was being delayed, they agreed to take active and legitimate steps to resist the return of the Chinese to the field. Despite this well attended meeting, the MPL was losing support amongst the miners due to the extremist attitudes of its leaders (Selth, 1974:57).

Meanwhile, the Chinese miners at Blackguard Gully were struggling as the area was lacking in both gold and water. Several times, small groups attempted to move out of this segregated area, which was their legal right, only to be forced back by the authorities. This situation caused many Chinese to leave the field (Selth, 1974:57).

By mid-May, the Chinese were extending out of their segregated area and asserting their rights. In some areas encroaching on European claims and ousting European miners where they had a majority. At Demondrille Creek, they were openly refusing to carry out the orders of the gold commissioners and on 22 May there was a violent clash between the Chinese and Europeans at the Native Dog diggings. In this time of increasing unrest Cowper inexplicitly recalled the military detachment from Lambing Flat (24 May). This was against the advice of Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete (Selth, 1974:57; Walker, 1970:193).

Over the following weeks clashes between Chinese and European miners became more common, as well as isolated violent attacks on the Chinese. As the MPL dissipated, the media inflamed the situation by publishing reports that a large number of Chinese had arrived in Sydney and were headed for Lambing Flat (Selth, 1974:57-58).

A small riot on the 18 June 1861 is the first recorded instance of the use of the 'Roll-Up, No Chinese' banner (Schamberger, 2016:176). It is unknown exactly who made this banner or when, but it is thought to be the work of a master sign writer (Schamberger, 2016:177). Throughout the riots it became the standard of the anti-Chinese miners and it was used on multiple occasions to announce roll-ups and the following attacks on the Chinese. The creation of this banner demonstrates the increased organisation of the anti-Chinese movement at Lambing Flat.

Towards the end of June the situation was becoming more volatile. The Chinese had taken over many of the small diggings that European miners had abandoned when new rushes occurred. Rumours of the arrival of more Chinese miners, and the failure of the Government to take legislative action on the issue of Chinese immigration, had incensed the miners. Only twenty police remained on the field with two sub-gold commissioners, George O'Malley Clark and J. I. Lynch, to enforce the rule of law and order (Selth, 1974:58).

On Sunday 30 June, another 'Roll Up' was called with the use of the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner at Tipperary Gully. Headed by this banner a mob of around 3000 men formed and rioted across the field, viciously attacking the Chinese miners, cutting off their queues, plundering their camps, and taking their claims. They destroyed the Chinese Camps at the Flat, Back Creek, and Blackguard Gully, driving the Chinese from the field, robbing them of their valuables, and burning their possessions, tents, and mining equipment. The fleeing Chinese sought sanctuary at Currawang Station. By Monday morning, 1200 Chinese miners had gathered. The station owner Mr Roberts and Sub-Commissioner Clarke arranged food supplies for them; however, they had no bedding or shelter to protect them from the pouring rain (Schamberger, 2016:176; Selth, 1974:58-59; Goulburn Herald 3/7/1861, Page 2; Sydney Morning Herald 20/7/1861, Page 8).

Again the Gold Commissioners and police had watched on helplessly during the riot. They had done nothing but stand fast to protect the Gold Commissioners' Camp and the large amount of gold stored in the lock-up awaiting escort to Sydney. Once news of the riot reached the government in Sydney, both sub-gold commissioners were suspended from duty (Selth, 1974:58).

The savagery, cruelty, and opportunism of this riot, and the racism and greed that fuelled it, invoked little sympathy or support among colonial society. It also ensured that the anti-Chinese miners lost much public support for their campaign. The government wasted little time in reinforcing the police presence by ordering the Goulburn and Bathurst patrols to the field. The experienced Gold Commissioner Griffin arrived on 11 July to take control of the diggings. Nevertheless, the state of unrest and uncertainty persisted (Selth, 1974:59).

#### SUNDAY 14 JULY 1861

After the 30 June riot, it was two weeks before the police felt secure enough to make arrests. On Sunday 14 July, after receiving orders from the government, Inspector Saunderson and Constable Flanagan arrested three individuals for participation in the 30 June riots (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:76; Selth, 1974:59).

As Sunday was the traditional day of rest on the goldfields, and the usual day for demonstrations, these arrests triggered another 'Roll Up' to stage a rescue of the prisoners. The mob first gathered at Tipperary Gully (to the north of present day Young) in the late afternoon and between 500-1000 rioters, accompanied by a band, set off for the Gold Commissioners' Camp to demand the release of their comrades (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:77; Selth, 1974:59; Walker, 1970:203).

As the mob descended on the township, accompanied by shouting, cheering, yelling, and the report of firearms, the mob picked up recruits, not all of whom were volunteers, swelling its ranks. After passing through town, they crossed Burrangong Creek and arrayed themselves on the 'flat' opposite the Gold Commissioners' Camp. At this time the camp reportedly contained five wooden buildings: a court house used as the Commissioners' residence, a small cottage, cook house, police barracks, and lock-up. The lock-up was constructed using heavy logs in the form of a block house (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:77; Selth, 1974:68; Empire 30/7/1861, Page 4).

From the various accounts of this riot, it appears by the time the mob arrived at the camp it was late evening (around eight o'clock) on a wet winter day. It is unclear if the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner was used by the mob at this riot. It is not specifically mentioned in any of the newspaper accounts, unlike previous riots and one account notes that the mob had no flags (Empire 30/7/1861, Page 4). After the arrival of the mob a deputation was sent forward to meet with Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffin and Captain Zouch. They demanded

the release of the prisoners. Griffin and Zouch refused. The deputation then requested to see the prisoners to confirm they remained in camp. Griffin and Zouch granted this request. The deputation then applied for bail, which was refused. After the deputation returned to the mob Griffin and Zouch attempted to peacefully convince them to disperse. However, the mob increasingly became unruly and out-of-control. This culminated in shots being fired at the police after which Griffin, unarmed, advanced towards the mob in the rain and dark and recited the Riot Act from memory. The mob then fired more shots at the police. The police were then ordered to fire above the heads of the mob, but this failed to disperse the rioters. The police were then ordered to fire into the crowd injuring several of the rioters. The miner William Lupton, who was probably watching from a tree branch, was shot in the neck about this time, and died from his wounds. He was the only known casualty of this riot, but it is not known who fired the shot that killed him. These two volleys had failed to disperse the crowd, so the troopers were twice ordered to charge the mob with their swords drawn. This finally made the crowd disperse (Selth, 1974:59-60).

Following the riot Griffin and Zouch provided detailed accounts to their superiors in Sydney. These accounts are provided below for the information of the reader.

Captain Zouch's account was telegraphed to Sydney at half-past 12 am on Monday morning in the hours after the riot (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:80):

'The mob came to the Camp at a quarter to eight last night, after sending in four delegates to speak to the Commissioner: demanded the release of the prisoners, and gradually moved forward, evidently intending to rush the place. A division of patrol under Mr McLerie was ordered to clear the ground, and was immediately fired upon by the rioters. The patrol charged well, night though it was, and drove numbers over the banks of the creek. The foot patrol firing into the mob, but it was not till three charges had been delivered, and the firing at intervals continued for more than two hours, before the rioters withdrew. Ever man did his duty as well as men could do it. Three men of the patrol were wounded - two gunshot wounds in the arm and one contused: one horse which dropped was recovered with four ball in him, and two horse missing wounded. Of the rioters, we know of one killed and several wounded. As soon as I can ascertain losses, I will inform you. The darkness prevented our taking any prisoners. All quiet now: night very wet and dark.'

Griffin's account was prepared at Yass on the 16 July 1861. It provides the most detailed account of the sequence of events once the mob arrived at the camp:

'Between the hours of seven and eight of the evening of the 14th instant, some seven or eight hundred people, headed by a band of music, paraded the diggings in front of the police camp, shouting, yelling, firing guns, and otherwise conducting themselves in a most riotous and disorderly manner. On arriving at the Flat opposite the camp they halted about fifty yards distant, two or three of those in front coming up as a deputation to demand the immediate release of the prisoners. This was refused. They then stated that it was generally believed amongst the diggers that the three men arrested had been sent to Yass, for trial; and, to satisfy them, they were permitted to see the prisoners in the cells. Bail was then applied for and refused, as it was not unlikely that the amount required would be easily raised by subscription, and forfeited, the prisoners themselves not appearing to answer in person the charge, and so the ends of justice be defeated.'

'Mr Zouch and myself here went among the crowd and begged and intreated them to disperse, telling them that the prisoners would be given a hearing in the morning, when anyone could be present and watch the proceedings, I tried all I could by persuasion to induce the rioters to give up any idea of rescue, pointing out the serious consequences likely to ensue in the event of any attempt on their part to enter the lock-up; all I could do or say was to no avail - when suddenly, in act of turning round towards the camp, my attention was drawn by a discharge of fire-arms from the crowd at a line of horse patrol standing close on my right hand. Both men and horses were wounded by this treacherous volley, and the troopers dashed immediately into the crowd, who were now fast closing up to the lock-up; this checked their advance temporarily, and I once more went amongst them unarmed, and entreated them to disperse. Finding my entreaties of no avail, I now read them the Riot Act, and fully an hour more elapsed in the attempts of myself and Mr. Zouch to pacify them, and get them to go peaceably away. They again came up, and finding entreaty of no avail, I at length retired within the camp fence. A determined movement on their part was now made towards the lock-up, where was deposited all the escort gold and money to a large amount, making it doubtful whether the object sought was the release of prisoners or plunder, or both; no longer able to keep the crowd of disorderly persons at a reasonable distance, a collision took place between the rioters and the patrol, firearms being freely used on both sides, Mr. McLerie riding through them with the mounted men, they finally fled, dispersed in all directions. (SMH 26 July 1861:4)

In the days after the riot many accounts appeared in the colonial press. Generally, the accounts of the Gold Commissioners and police, Griffin and Zouch, attempted to justify their use of force against the rioters, while the accounts of the rioters, conveyed through the Empire, attempted to lay the blame of the riot on the police (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:76-82). Many of the accounts provided by the miners and rioters (particularly the ringleaders), argue that the police were the first to fire, without warning and without the recitation of the Riot Act. They argue that William Lupton was shot dead and many other injured during this initial volley. This led to the enagement of the miners and ensuing attack on the Gold Commissioners' Camp (Empire, 17-22 July 1861, particularly 26 July 1861, Page 4). Other newspaper accounts, particular those of the Sydney Morning Herald, support

Zouch's account of the riot.

#### AFTER THE RIOT

'Peace' again reigned on the field by early morning. However, the riot had resulted in several police and over a score of rioters being wounded. The three prisoners were brought before the court in the morning and remanded to the Goulburn Quarter Sessions on bail (Seith, 1974:60; Empire 26 July 1861, page 4).

Around 3:00pm Griffin left the camp for Yass to telegraph the full details of the riot to the government in Sydney. Soon afterwards, Zouch evacuated the police contingent and gold commissioners from the camp after receiving word that a large, better armed force was preparing to attack the camp. Tired, outnumbered, and short on ammunition, Zouch chose to evacuate the camp to save lives, rather than mount a desperate defence that was unlikely to succeed against a determined attack (Seith, 1974:60).

On Tuesday morning (16 July 1861) the bankers fled to Yass, effectively paralysing trade on the field. Lupton was buried later the day with the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner flying above the crowd (Schamberger, 2016:176-177; Sydney Morning Herald 23/7/1861, Page 5). During the funeral, Spicer of the MPL reappeared (after being missing for weeks), to deliver an address in which he accused the police of murdering Lupton. He also made a pronouncement that anyone who tried to plunder or ill-treat the inhabitants of Lambing Flat while the authorities were absent would be punished with death by the MPL (Seith, 1974:60).

Spurred by rumours that martial law would be proclaimed when the military inevitably arrived, the miners and shopkeepers separately organised petitions to Governor Young on the matter of Chinese immigration and their presence on the goldfields. The delegates, Henry Greig for the storekeepers and James Torpy and Ezekiel Alexander Baker for the miners, set off for Sydney before the police and Gold Commissioners returned (Seith, 1974:61).

Despite the evacuation of the Gold Commissioners' Camp, two government officials remained on the field: Detective Scarlet and the lock-up keeper. Scarlet, a popular man, had never left and the lock-up keeper had soon returned to look after his wife. The gold commissioners soon returned to the field after Gold Commissioner Cloete (the head of the southern gold fields) telegraphed Yass and ordered them to return (Seith, 1974:61).

Once word of the riots reached Sydney the Government ordered military troops to the field. Between 17-20 July a detachment of the Twelfth Regiment, a squad of the Royal Artillery, a number of armed police under the command of Captain M'Lerie, the Inspector-General of Police, and 75 volunteers from H.M.S. Fawn with one of the ship's guns, left Sydney for Lambing Flat. They arrived on 31 July and restored order, putting an end to the era of 'Roll Ups' without imposing martial law. A number of suspected rioters were arrested on charges relating to the 30 June and 14 July riots and were committed to appear at the Goulburn Quarter Sessions. However, several of the ringleaders, including Cameron, Stewart, and Spicer disappeared. Rewards of 100 pounds were offered for their apprehension by the police. Torpy was arrested when he appeared to present the Governor with the miners' petition. He was brought before the Burrangong Court, but was soon released after it became apparent that there was no evidence against him (Seith, 1974:61).

After the military arrived the Chinese were soon back at work, but not in large numbers, as many had moved on to other fields. To protect them, and prevent any further outbreaks of violence, the military and police detachment remained at Lambing Flat in some form for over a year. It began to reduce in size relatively quickly, with the naval detachment departing on 6 August. Captain M'Lerie and Colonel Kempt, the colony's senior military officer, both left on 22 August. Most of the Twelfth Regiment and the artillery left on 18 September. However, about fifty troops and one gun, under the command of Captain Wilkie, remained until 31 July 1862 (Seith, 1974:61; Walker, 1970:201).

After the 30 June and 14 July riots there was little sympathy or support in the colony for the rioters. Consequently, the MPL found it difficult to advance their agenda over the following months. Following the riots, the population of the Lambing Flat Goldfield steadily declined as miners were enticed away by the Lachlan Goldrush or the Otago Goldrush in New Zealand. Anti-Chinese feeling remained strong, but only resulted in small clashes with the Chinese when they ventured out of their prescribed area. With the military presence the field remained peaceful as the goldrush petered out. Ironically, the decline of the field resulted in the tradespeople of the town petitioning the government in 1864 to allow the Chinese to work freely with no restrictions, in order to boost the failing local economy (Seith, 1974:62; Walker, 1970:201).

Once all the ringleaders were arrested the police attempted to enforce the penalty of the law. In total, 17 men were tried for the 30 June riot and three for the 14 July riot. In each case only one was convicted: William Spicer was sentenced to two years for inciting the 30 June riot and Claremont Owen for inciting the 14 July riot. The other ringleaders and participants, including Donald Cameron, John Stewart, and James Torpy, were acquitted, due to lack of evidence against them. Spicer was the only person of the twenty tried who



identified himself as a miner. The other professions of the arrested men (where recorded) included a pugilist, publican, watchmaker, storekeeper and storehand, a cook, and two bandsmen (Walker, 1970:195-196; Schamberger Submission 2020).

In September, when parliament reassembled, two of their priorities were a Goldfields Regulation Bill and Chinese Immigration Regulation Bill. Both acts passed into law on 22 November. The Gold Fields Act 1861 allowed the government to proclaim goldfields that were closed to the Chinese, as well as the ability to refuse them a miner's right (restricted to those arriving in the Colony after July 1862). This meant that Chinese miners could only mine designated areas and effectively limited them to working on fields that had been abandoned by European miners. The Chinese Immigrants Regulation and Restriction Act 1861 limited Chinese immigration by allowing only one Chinese for every 10 tons on arriving ships, imposing a ten pound entry tax, and prohibiting their naturalisation (Walker, 1970:197-198, 200; Schamberger Submission 2020; Williams, 1999:46).

These discriminatory Acts against the Chinese did not remain in force for much more than 5 years. In 1866 a new Gold Fields Act was enacted which removed the restrictions on the Chinese and allowed both Europeans and Chinese equal rights to new and existing goldfields. In 1867, after Chinese immigration declined, the Immigration Act was repealed. By this time all the other colonies had also abolished their anti-Chinese immigration restriction laws (Walker, 1970:198; Schamberger Submission 2020; Williams, 1999:5).

Following the riots the Chinese miners lodged petitions and claims for damages with the NSW Colonial Government. Notably the petition of the Chinese miners Tom Me, What Young, and Que You describe the use of the 'Roll-Up No Chinese' Banner when seeking compensation for the losses they suffered during this riot (Schamberger, 2016:170-171). In relation to the 30 June 1861 riot 1,658 claims were made by the Chinese for damages totalling over 40,623 pounds. These claims were examined by the Secretary for Lands, William Campbell, whose investigation struggled to find witnesses and claimants. His prejudices led to 706 Chinese individuals being paid the paltry sum of just over 4,240 pounds as compensation for their loss of property. The Chinese never received any compensation for any personal injuries they may have received (Schamberger, 2016:173-174; Walker, 1970:201-202).

Following the riots the 'Roll-Up No Chinese' banner was hidden away by one of the bannermen, Tom McCarthy (Lambing Flat Museum Website). From 1900 onwards the McCarthy family began bringing the banner back into the public domain. Firstly, by allowing people to view it (1900) then allowing it to be displayed in Young during various public events in 1921 and 1938 (Schamberger, 2016:180, 184). The McCarthy family allowed the banner to be viewed again in Sydney in 1961 during the centenary of the riots (Schamberger, 2016:189-190). The editor of the Young Witness, Jack Giuliano, then negotiated for the banner to be transported to Young and exhibited as part of a display organised by the Young Historical Society (Schamberger, 2016:190). In 1964, with the help of the Young Services and Citizens Club, the Young Historical Society acquired the banner (Lambing Flat Museum Website). Since this time the banner has been displayed in the Lambing Flat Folk Museum run by the Young Historical Society.

## Historic Themes

Records Retrieved: 50

National Theme	State Theme	Local Theme
8. Culture	Leisure	Visiting heritage places
8. Culture	Leisure	Tourism
8. Culture	Leisure	Outdoor relief
8. Culture	Leisure	Going to the park
8. Culture	Leisure	Gathering at landmark places to socialise
8. Culture	Leisure	Enjoying public parks and gardens
8. Culture	Leisure	Bush ballads
8. Culture	Leisure	Activities associated with relaxation and recreation
8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Performing important ceremonies and rituals

8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Parks and public gardens
8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Landscaping - Victorian period
8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Landscaping - public parks movement
8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Landscaping - Federation period
8. Culture	Creative endeavour	Landscaping - colonial period
7. Governing	Law and order	The rule of law
7. Governing	Law and order	Scenes of criminal activities
7. Governing	Law and order	Administration of justice
7. Governing	Government and Administration	Developing roles for government - surveying of land
7. Governing	Government and Administration	State government
7. Governing	Government and Administration	Local government
7. Governing	Government and Administration	Developing roles for government - public land administration
7. Governing	Government and Administration	Developing roles for government - providing sewerage treatment
7. Governing	Government and Administration	Developing roles for government - conserving cultural and natural heritage
5. Working	Labour	Working with hand tools and implements
5. Working	Labour	Working on public infrastructure projects
5. Working	Labour	Working independently on the land
5. Working	Labour	Working independently at mining
5. Working	Labour	Working in the public service
5. Working	Labour	Working in the Justice System
5. Working	Labour	Working in mines and quarries
4. Settlement	Land tenure	Changing land uses - from rural to suburban
4. Settlement	Land tenure	Leasing land for mining
4. Settlement	Accommodation	Building settlements, towns and cities
3. Economy	Exploration	Exploring and surveying for the Crown
3. Economy	Events	Places of strikes and industrial actions
3. Economy	Events	Developing local landmarks
3. Economy	Environment - cultural landscape	Landscapes of urban and rural interaction
2. Peopling	Ethnic influences	Chinese migrants

2. Peopling	Ethnic influences	Chinese shopkeeping and retail practises
2. Peopling	Ethnic influences	Chinese mining practices
2. Peopling	Ethnic influences	Chinese cultural accommodations of Western influences
2. Peopling	Ethnic influences	Chinese commercial practises
1. Environment	Environment - naturally evolved	Parks
1. Environment	Environment - naturally evolved	Other open space
1. Environment	Environment - naturally evolved	Introduce cultural planting
1. Environment	Environment - naturally evolved	Gardens
1. Environment	Environment - naturally evolved	Changing the environment
Governing	Labour	Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots
Governing	Labour	Reading of the Riot Act
Governing	Labour	Policing and enforcing the law

## Recommended Management

### Management Summary

#### Management

Management Category	Management Name	Date Updated	Records Retrieved: 0
No Results Found			

## Report/Study

Heritage Studies

Report/Study Name	Report/Study Code	Report/Study Type	Report/Study Year	Organisation	Author
No Results Found					

Records Retrieved: 0

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**Reference & Internet Links**

## References

Records Retrieved: 13

Type	Author	Year	Title	Link
Written		2020	The Roll Up Banner - Lambing Flat Folk Museum Website	<a href="https://lambingflatmuseum.webs.com/lambing-flat-riots">https://lambingflatmuseum.webs.com/lambing-flat-riots</a>
Written	GML Heritage Pty Ltd	2019	Hilltops Library and Community Facility, Young High School: Historical Archaeological Test Excavation Results	
Written	GML Heritage Pty Ltd.	2019	Hilltops Library and Community Facility, Young High School: Historical Archaeological Assessment and Research Design	
Written	Ray Christison	2018	Carrington Park Structures Conservation Action Plan	
Written	GML Heritage	2018	Young High School and Carrington Park: Conservation Management Strategies	
Written	Karen Schamberger	2016	Identity, Belonging and Cultural Diversity in Australian Museums	
Written	Darnian Tybussek	2015	Men Behaving Badly? The Archaeology of the Digger's Lifestyle and Constructions of Masculinity at the Kiandra Goldrush, 1859-1861	<a href="https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/116832">https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/116832</a>
Written	Karen Schamberger	2015	Exclusion and a call for justice: The Lambing Flat banner	<a href="https://www.academia.edu/14813859/Exclusion_and_a_call_for_justice_The_Lambing_Flat_banner">https://www.academia.edu/14813859/Exclusion_and_a_call_for_justice_The_Lambing_Flat_banner</a>
Written	Michael Williams	1999	Chinese Settlement in NSW: A Thematic History	
Written	Hector Edwin McGregor and John Kevin McGregor	1999	Roll - Up	
Written	William A. Bayley	1977	Rich Earth: History of Young, New South Wales (Revised Edition)	
Written	P. A. Seith	1974	The Burrangong (Lambing Flat) Riots, 1860-1861: A Closer Look	
Written	R. B. Walker	1970	Another Look at the Lambing Flat Riots, 1860-1861	

## Data Source

The information for this entry comes from the following source:

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Heritage NSW

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## Proposed Revision to the SHR Listing

The following revised text for the SHR listing has been prepared in collaboration with Dr Karen Schamberger, President of the Young Historical Society.

### Statement of Significance

The 14 July 1861 Lambing Flat Riot Site and 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner are of State heritage significance for their historic, social, research, and rarity values. The series of petitions, demonstrations, disturbances, and riots by miners and settlers at on the Burrangong goldfield from November 1860 to July 1861 were the most protracted violence perpetrated against Chinese people, including miners and shopkeepers, in the state's history.

The riots occurred after 1858 when the Chinese population grew most rapidly in NSW so that by 1860-61 they outnumbered European miners and constituted an economic threat; and while officially constituted authority at Burrangong was unusually weak. The increase in the Chinese population occurred in the context of mounting economic grievances as the Victorian alluvial deposits declined rapidly by the late 1850s and the Kiandra goldfields frustrated miners with winter snow and the high cost of living, so the easily worked gold at Burrangong appeared to offer salvation. It should be noted that both merchants, tradespeople and citizens of Sydney petitioned the NSW government that Chinese people be provided with protection and equality under British law after February 1861 riots and that immigration restrictions against the Chinese should not be introduced due to the contribution of the Chinese to the economic success of the colony.

The Chinese at Burrangong were just as organised as the Chinese were in Victoria where they had already successfully petitioned for compensation for losses suffered in a goldfield riot (Kwok, 2022: 91). Not only did they employ legal means like petitioning to represent their cases, they also employed their own translators, attempted to cultivate relationships with goldfield authorities and also simply fought back against attacks.

These riots demonstrate the interrelated circumstances of governmental neglect, the fear of economic competition at a time when the poor sometimes had to act desperately in order to survive, as well as cultural chauvinism and racial prejudice evident in NSW society in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as well as a divide between urban elites and people in rural areas. They also demonstrate the understanding that Chinese miners and storekeepers had of their rights under British colonial laws and their methods of fighting for justice.

The riot that occurred at this site on the evening of Sunday 14 July 1861 was the culmination of rising tensions between the European miners, the gold commissioners, and the police, as the government attempted to restore law and order. It was the first major confrontation between European miners and police on the NSW goldfields and involved the second reading of the Riot Act in NSW history. As the final conflagration of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots it is regarded as a defining moment in the history of NSW as well as Chinese settlement in Australia. It led to the NSW Government enacting discriminatory and racist legislation to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the state and curtail their movement and rights on the NSW goldfields. It also led to the formation of the NSW Police Force as we know it today, combining several separate colonial Police forces into one.

This site offers rich opportunities to tell the story of this riot and the shameful impact of racial prejudices to the people of NSW. The open landscape of Carrington Park allows the extant sloping topography to be appreciated which assists in visualising and interpreting the events of the riot. The archaeological remains of the Gold Commissioners' Camp are a rare resource that has potential to answer research questions about this riot, as well as to demonstrate how gold commissioners and police lived at mid-nineteenth century NSW goldfields. The former Great Courthouse (1886), as the

last remaining symbol of law and order on the site of the Gold Commissioners Camp, is an important landmark for interpretation of this event.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner was the standard used by the anti-Chinese miners and settlers to announce several riots and disturbances on the Lambing Flat goldfield, most notably the violent attacks on the Chinese on Sunday 30 June 1861. Tom Me, What Young and Que You also mention the banner in their petition for compensation for damages incurred during the 30 June 1861 riot. It is a rare item of moveable heritage that tangibly symbolises the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots as well as an act of witnessing and response of Chinese miners and shopkeepers to those riots for NSW history and society.

This site and the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner are closely associated with the State Heritage Register listed site, Blackguard Gully (SHR 01775), which was the location of one of the Chinese Camps attacked by rioters on Sunday 27 January and 17 February 1861. Together these sites and the banner help to tell the story of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots to the people of NSW.

### **Statement of Significance for salvaged artefact assemblage**

The Young High School historic artefact collection comprises 27,112 fragments of glass, metal, bone, ceramic and other relics excavated at the site of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioner's Camp, also known as Camp Hill, in 2021. The Camp was the centre of conflict in July 1861 during the Lambing Flat riots that led to the death of one miner and wounding of resident policemen. The artefacts date from the 1840s to 1981, spanning all phases of occupation from the construction of the Camp in 1860, its development into a courthouse and its current use as a secondary high school.

A small number of finds derived from a hut that was standing during the July 1861 attack on the camp by rioting miners (Criteria a, f). Other artefacts that can be linked to this historic event include a uniform button of the 12th Regiment of Foot who were garrisoned at Camp Hill from February to May 1861, prior to the riot, and returned two weeks afterward to restore order (Criteria a, b).

Police-issue uniform and firearm accoutrements in the collection have high potential to be associated with the Lambing Flat riots and its aftermath (Criteria a, b). These include nine police buttons, at least one cap badge, 18 cartridges, percussion caps and projectiles from police-issue firearms and a swivelling fastener or clip for carbines known to have been used by the Mounted Police (Criterion f). Regardless of their provenance to the 1861 attack or the decades that followed, these items have a clear association with the NSW Police Force at the time of its reorganisation (Criteria b, g). Given the rarity of these finds in archaeological and museum collections, they have high potential to contribute to the important field of research into police uniforms and the provision of the NSW police and other colonial police forces throughout Australia (Criteria e, f, g).

In addition to these police-issue relics, the collection contains a number of distinct assemblages from occupied huts, refuse pits and cesspit backfills discarded during the 1870s and 1880s. They provide evidence of life in a government-run institution in rural NSW during this era of transition from gold-mining administration to courthouse for a growing rural township (Criteria b, e, f, g).

A rare group of 20th-century education aids including inkwells for school desks and a range of glass laboratory equipment likely to have been used in science classes, reflects the transformation into a school campus in the 1930s (Criteria b, e, f, g).

A range of 20th-century domestic material culture was identified in association with these finds. Further analysis may provide insights into life in township of Young in the 20th century (Criteria b, e, g).

The rare police and military items in the collection make compelling aesthetic displays of the era of policing (Criteria b, c, f). The more common relics recovered from early phases are less readily interpretable, but their highly fragmented state collectively is evocative of the scarcity of access to



material goods in the earliest years of occupation at the site (Criteria b, c, g). The more complete finds from the later-19th century and the 20th-century items contain inherent aesthetic qualities that showcase the range of material culture during this time (Criteria b, c, g).

The collection provides high research potential for comparison with other historical-archaeological collections recovered from other government and police camps, for example the Snowy Mountains gold mining camps in Kiandra, the mounted police camp in Concord Oval, to better understand the operation of these places (Criteria b, e, g). Comparisons with interstate historical-archaeological sites such as Camp Street in Ballarat and various sites in Queensland occupied by the Native Mounted Police would also yield new insights (Criteria b, e, g), particularly with regard to the uniforms of colonial police forces which rarely survive in museum collections (Criteria b, e, f). Similarly, the 47 firearms-related artefacts have potential to contribute to the growing field of conflict archaeology (Criteria a, b, e, f).

### **Criterion (a) Historical Significance**

This site is of State historical significance for its three connections to a State significant event: the riot and confrontation between European miners and police on Sunday 14 July 1861 during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots. This series of demonstrations, disturbances, and riots by European miners and settlers at Lambing Flat from November 1860 to July 1861 are the most protracted violence perpetrated against Chinese people in NSW history.

This site is the scene of the final event of these riots: a confrontation between miners and police during an attempt to free their imprisoned comrades from the Gold Commissioners' Camp lock-up. This confrontation involved the second reading of the Riot Act in NSW history. The riot itself was likely the first major confrontation between police and European miners following the Eureka Stockade (Ballarat, 1854) and the first on the NSW goldfields. This riot is a defining moment in the history of Chinese settlement in Australia as it led to the NSW Government enacting discriminatory and racist legislation to restrict the immigration of Chinese to the state and curtail their movement and rights on the NSW goldfields. It also led to the creation of a single NSW police force.

The three connections of this site to this event allows its important story to be comprehensively and emotionally told to all Australians.

The open landscape and extant sloping topography of Carrington Park allow the sequence of this riot to be demonstrated to the people of NSW. Across this area the observer can visualise and appreciate the spatial relationships between the parties participating in the riot and understand the role that the topography played in the events that occurred. Historical and archaeological research has identified the location of the Gold Commissioners' Camp buildings and its boundaries. This information can be combined with the historical accounts of the riot to show the rough location of where the rioters assembled, where Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffith read the Riot Act, where the rioters attacked the police line, and where the police mounted troopers charged and broke the mob. The sloping landscape across this area also demonstrates how the Gold Commissioners' Camp was situated on the crest of a ridge overlooking the diggings along Burrangong Creek. This is a place that symbolic expresses the power the Gold Commissioners and police had over the goldfield. This also shows how the Gold Commissioners and police held the higher ground during the riot. The former Great Courthouse (1886) is an important landmark that marks the location of the Gold Commissioners Camp for any visualisation or interpretation of the riot on site.

The Young Historical Museum (formerly Lambing Flat Folk Museum) houses the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner which is an item of moveable heritage symbolic of the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of, as well as the Chinese witnessing and response to the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots. It is decorated with the Southern Cross over the St Andrew's Cross and the words 'Roll Up, Roll Up, No Chinese'. It was used by the ringleaders of the riots to announce multiple attacks on Chinese miners on the Lambing Flat goldfield, most notoriously on Sunday 30 June 1861. It was also used at the funeral of

William Lupton on 16 July 1861. This banner is an intensively emotive object that signifies the perspectives of those involved in the riots. For the perpetrators of the violence, the European miners and settlers, it represents their prejudices and racism against the Chinese. It also demonstrates that they wanted the Chinese removed from the Lambing Flat goldfield and were willing to fight the government authorities to make this happen. For the victims of the violence, the Chinese miners, it is evidence of this prejudice and racism and represents their fight for equality and demands for justice in the face of it (Schamberger, 2016:174-5; 2020:2).

The grounds of the joint Young High School and TAFE campus contain the archaeological remains of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp. This camp, which in 1861 contained a range of buildings for the Gold Commissioners and police stationed at this field, was the focus of the rioters' attack on 14 July 1861. At this time three participants of the riot on 30 June 1861 were held in the Camp lock-up. As the camp was the central focus of this event any archaeological remains from this time would be of special significance and especially valuable for their interpretation potential.

### **Criterion (f) Rarity**

This place is of high rarity in a State context as the location where an important riot and confrontation between European miners and police occurred, as well as an historic reading of the Riot Act.

The 1850s-1860s gold rushes brought about a time of great change to the Australian colonies with a large influx of population and associated social upheaval. However, it was not often that this devolved into open violence between Government officials and European miners and settlers. Previously in Victoria, British soldiers and miners had fought at the Eureka Stockade, which was a defining moment in establishing that control of the goldfields lay in the hands of the Government. Anti-Chinese riots at Rocky River (1856), Adelong (1857), Buckland River (1857), Tambaroora (1858) and Lambing Flat (1860-61) all occurred just after a rapid increase in the Chinese population on those fields when Chinese people were no longer viewed as curiosities but as despised economic competitors (Connolly, 1978). The Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots were the first major confrontation between police and European miners and the worst outbreak of violence against Chinese miners on the NSW goldfields.

The reading of the Riot Act that occurred during this riot is also a rare event. It was the second time this occurred in NSW history and the first to be enforced by the police. This reading by Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffin was only preceded by an ineffectual reading by Sub Gold Commissioner Dickson during the Sunday 27 January 1861 riot of the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots.

The archaeological remains of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp and any deposits or features associated with the riot are rare archaeological resources in a State context.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner is a rare item of moveable heritage in a state context. The survival of a cloth object from the destructive crisis that was the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots is a remarkable occurrence. For modern audiences it is a rare object that tangibly symbolises the intolerance, prejudices, and racism of these riots and allows the perspectives of the European miners and settlers [perpetrators] and Chinese [victims] miners to be recognised.

### **Physical Description:**

#### **SITE DESCRIPTION**

This place has three connections to the riot and confrontation between miners and police that occurred on Sunday 14 July 1861, during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese riots. It includes the whole of Carrington Park, the majority of the Young High School campus, part of Young TAFE, and part of the road reserve of Campbell Street.

The three different connections include an archaeological site, the riot site, and the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner which symbolises the agenda of the anti-Chinese miners and settlers.

The archaeological site of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp is located beneath parts of Young High School and Young TAFE (as well as Campbell Street). These archaeological resources have been assessed to be of State significance (GML, 2019d:65). The former Great Courthouse (1886) is the only remaining symbol of law and order on this site and is an important landmark for interpretation of this event.

The riot site is located on the slope rising up to the camp site, which is visible across the open landscape of Carrington Park. This is where the rioters assembled to demand the release of their captive comrades. Gold Commissioner Griffin is thought to have read the Riot Act to the rioters on these slopes prior to the confrontation between the rioters and police. During the confrontation, the police charge is thought to have pushed the rioters back towards the banks of Burrangong Creek, forcing them to disperse.

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner, which was used by the anti-Chinese miners and settlers to announce several riots and attacks on the Chinese is today held in the Young Historical Museum within the Young Community Arts Centre. This banner is included in this SHR listing as an item of moveable heritage.

## **CARRINGTON PARK**

Carrington Park is a late Victorian public park established in 1888 (opened in 1889). The park is bordered on its north, east, and west sides by Ripon, Campbell, and Caple street respectively. Its south side borders Young High School and Young TAFE.

The park comprises a northern original section and a later addition to the south (1939), the width of a street reserve (the former Currawong Street West). The northern section appears more planned, its eastern half being a formal garden park and its western half an open shady recreation space.

The formal garden half is divided by axial gravel pathways lined by shrub height plantings. A band rotunda (1912) is located at the main intersection of these paths and the formal entrance gates at the east end. The bandstand or band rotunda is an octagonally shaped timber example which features decorative roof brackets, frieze, and balustrade. It rests on a brick base and has corrugated steel roofing (GML 2018:54). Two large cross rose trellises are located in circular garden beds along the central east-west path. Specimen trees, including Kurrajong, Strawberry Tree, and Deodar Cedar, are scattered across the rest of the space (GML, 2018). They appear to lack a clear organised planning structure, although there were possibly two rows along the south and west sides originally.

The open recreational half is divided by an east-west unformed path. Another unformed path with accompanying hedges extends partially along its east border. The east-west path features Deodar Cedar and English Elm along either side. Other tree plantings across this area include Kurrajong, Peppercorn Tree, and Lemon-scented Gum (GML, 2018).

The southern section features from west to east: a modern carpark, children's playground with pathways and toilet facilities, and an open green space. This green space extends part of the formal garden and has plantings including Himalayan Cedars and an Atlas Cedar. A Reconciliation tree (White Box) is located to the northwest of the Courthouse entrance gates (planted during NAIDOC week 1999).

In the southeast corner of the park is a small community garden. It comprises three separate sections that demonstrate low-water use plants. These include both native and exotic plants. This garden was established by a joint project between the local community and Young High School.

The park features many memorials to local events and personalities. This includes a series of light posts memorialising the early introduction of electric lighting to Young. These light posts may be relocated original examples from when electric lighting was turned on in 1889. A memorial to the

White family, local pioneers, and the author, Sarah Musgrave, is also located in the south section of the park.

The park contains two buildings: a modern toilet block and twentieth century storage building (Cable Street cottage). The former is a brick building with corrugated iron combination gable/hipped roof. The latter is constructed of brick with a corrugated iron gable roof with weatherboard lean-tos on its east and south sides with an enclosed yard.

## **YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL**

The part of Young High School included in the curtilage contains six existing buildings.

(1) 1886 former Great Courthouse now main hall and administration block - building AA.

The former Great Courthouse (1886) was designed by the office of the Colonial Architect James Barnett. The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:10).

Building AA is a late-Victorian NSW regional courthouse adapted for use as a school. It is constructed of painted, rendered brick masonry in the Victorian Academic Classical style and is sited in a commanding position both in its immediate context and when viewed from the north closer to the centre of Young. Although classically chaste in order and ornament, its monumental scale arises from its giant order portico, monumental steps and flanking wings that step back and down. This monumentality is reinforced by its symmetrical landscaped forecourt gardens, plantings and palisade fence.

The building appears from the north as a two-storey building set behind a monumental temple front portico comprised of four giant order fluted Ionic columns on Attic bases. The outer two columns are coupled with square columns with simplified capitals but Attic bases. The portico's intercolumniation (the space between columns relative to the columns' diameter) is approximately 2.5. The royal coat of arms is sculptured in high relief on the tympanum of the triangular pediment (although now coloured, an early photograph shows all masonry elements to be a uniform tone). The entablature records the date of completion as 1884 in Roman numerals and has Queen Victoria's imperial cypher VRI ('Victoria Regina Imperatrix').

The overall form of the building comprises the central high section with the giant order two-storey high porch, two-storey vestibule and gallery vestibule behind which is the double height principal courtroom (now assembly hall). Flanking this central section are symmetrical single-storey side wings. Access is provided through the portico and via steps to the eastern and western wings. Rear access at the south is also provided.

Internally, the building has a vestibule with stairs leading up the western side to the court gallery. The vestibule has been altered to remove the corresponding eastern vestibule stair and to reinforce the structure to support the first adapted use of the gallery vestibule as a library. This has involved the replacement or encasing of the vestibule's cast iron columns that remain evident in the assembly hall. The first floor is limited to the gallery vestibule and the gallery itself which extends into the assembly hall and retains its original timber pews.

Within the assembly hall, all fixed furniture in the room has been removed. It is understood this was relocated to Young Court House in Lynch Street. The space has a stage at the far end and the floor is timber boards. The walls are painted with timber skirting boards and a strip of horizontal moulding halfway up the wall. Above the moulding is a series of double hung timber frame windows on the eastern and western walls. The ceiling has detailed coffering and is painted to coordinate with the walls.

The administration offices and storage rooms on each side of the building are separated from the assembly hall by corridors. This corridor has an original pressed tin ceiling and timber skirting boards. Archways with 'supporting' corbels appear halfway along the corridor's length.

Prisoner Transfer Tunnels:

Local history notes that prisoner transfer tunnels exist between the former Great Courthouse and the surviving buildings of the former gaol. The exact location of the tunnel entrances and alignments has yet to be confirmed by modern investigations.

(2) 1936 Home/Domestic Science Block - building CC.

The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:16).

Building CC was designed as a domestic science and science block and building in 1937. The single-storey building has a T-shape plan and is constructed of face brick with a corrugated steel roof. Access is via a porch entrance off the quadrangle. This leads to a corridor running east-west off which the northern classrooms and southern domestic science teaching kitchen are located.

(3) 1971 Classroom Block - building GFS.

This is a U-shaped three-storey brick classroom block. It features an attached smaller shelter at the north end of its west wing.

(4) Shed building on concrete pad - building GG.

(5) Shed building - building JJ

(6) Nonette Brown Cottage and Garage, 11 Campbell Street.

The following description is taken from the GML CMS (2018:19).

The Nonette Brown Cottage is a single-storey brick building with a corrugated steel gable roof. The brick cottage fronts Campbell Street with a projecting gabled bay and front verandah. The verandah has been altered by replacement of original posts and addition of an access ramp.

While some original elements remain, the interior has been modified to suit the current use. Original pressed metal ceilings, light medallion plates, cornices and wall vents are evident in the front rooms and central corridor. Windows are painted timber and double hung.

The front garden is austere and comprised of turf and a concrete path.

## **YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL - BUILDINGS UNDER CONSTRUCTION**

Four new buildings have been added to Young High School as part of State Significant Development (SSD) project (SSD 9671).

(1) A new amenities building - building MM.

(2) A new amenities building - building PP.

(3) A new canteen block - building QQ.

(4) A new three-storey joint-use community and school library facility - building NN.

A 1963 Arts block - building BB, was demolished in early 2020, to create space for the construction of these new buildings.

## **YOUNG HIGH SCHOOL - ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF GOLD COMMISSIONERS' CAMP**

The Young High School and TAFE site contains archaeological evidence of the Lambing Flat Gold Commissioners' Camp which was established in February 1861 (GML, 2019a:21). It was positioned on the terminus of a ridge overlooking the diggings along Burrangong Creek (GML, 2019a:20-21). This position allowed the Gold Commissioners and police to keep watch on the diggings. This Camp was used throughout the goldrush and the early history of Young. Over this time various police and justice buildings were constructed. The earliest of these buildings were associated with the riot of 14 July 1861.

A March 1861 map of the Gold Commissioners' Camp only shows three buildings on site: the Commissioner's Quarters, Lock-up, and a single hut, with a surrounding fence (GML, 2019a:12, 25). A police stables building may have also been present on site (GML, 2019a:11). By April, following the arrival of military troops, the camp featured at least 22 buildings that were defended by fortifications such as trenches, walls, and palisades (GML, 2019a:12). These buildings included a Commissioners' Quarters with separate kitchen and outbuildings, Police Inspector's house with separate kitchen and cellar, Courthouse, Lock-up, foot-police barracks, two cook houses, stables and forage room, and several privies (see GML 2019a:12 for further information). At the time of the 14 July 1861 riot and event, after the military had left, the camp housed a force of 67 men under the command of Captain Zouch (GML, 2019a:21). The Commissioner's Quarters, Lock-up, and Courthouse were burnt down the following day by a released prisoner (GML, 2019a:21). Following the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots the camp was repaired, reoccupied by the police and military, and further buildings constructed.

Today, potential archaeological sites include: the Commissioner's Quarters, Courthouse, Old Lock Up, Lock Up, Police Stores, Senior Constables Residence, Police Officer's Quarters, Police Inspectors Residence, Kitchen buildings, Stables buildings, and accommodation/guard huts (GML, 2019a:23).

Test excavations were carried out in July 2019 in association with a SSD project within the grounds of Young High School and across the southern part of Carrington Park (GML, 2019b; 2019d). These excavations investigated four potential archaeological sites, the police station and stores, second lock-up, and two huts, located in this area (GML, 2019d:54-56). They confirmed that archaeological evidence associated with the police occupation of the site survives in parts of the grounds of Young High School (GML, 2019d:65).

### **LAMBING FLAT RIOTS BANNER**

The 'Roll Up, No Chinese' Banner used during the Lambing Flat Anti-Chinese Riots is on display in the Young Historical Museum run by the Young Historical Society Inc.

The banner is stored in a glass case which it was installed within in 2006/2007 following conservation works. It is six feet (1.83m) square in size. It is possible that it was cut out from a miner's tent (these were often made of calico). The artisan that painted the banner used seven different colours (black, yellow, red, blue, light blue, white, and gold). The centre design of the banner consists of the southern cross (comprising five white, five pointed stars) over the St Andrew's cross. On the left and right hand sides of this design are the words 'Roll Up' in black surrounded by yellow and gold flourishes. On the top is the word 'No' and on the bottom 'Chinese' in red and blue which have been given a 3D effect through separate yellow/gold and light blue backing (Young Historical Museum Website; Schamberger, 2015:3-4).

#### **Historical Notes or Provenance:**

Please note that the following historical account has been drawn primarily from European historical sources (such as newspapers and official documents). These sources do not often provide the Chinese miners effected by the riots with a voice (a rare example are the petitions and claims of compensation sent by Chinese miners to the government following the riots). As such, there is still

much opportunity for historical research to discover information and sources which would allow this story to be told in a more balanced way.

## **LAMBING FLAT GOLDRUSH**

On 10 July 1860, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported the discovery of a new goldfield at Lambing Flat on James White's station and at Demondrille Creek separated by a distance of 22 miles. By 24 July, several Chinese were reported to be mining at Demondrille.

Alexander the Yankee, an African American is said to have discovered gold on James White's station but was not around to claim the reward. The gold strike was worked by local residents for several months before it was publicised. The editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the Reverend John West claimed in February 1861 that the Chinese discovered the Lambing Flat goldfield (Kwok, 2022: 87). This claim also appears in a petition for the protection of the Chinese from 'The inhabitants of Sydney' which was signed by 19 people on 4 March 1861 and presented to the Legislative Assembly.

On 30 July 1860 Michael Sheedy called at the office of the *Yass Courier* with specimens from the diggings confirming the discovery and triggering a goldrush. By late August there were around 200-250 miners on the field and calls from the press for gold commissioners and police. This population grew to around 1600-1700 miners by mid-October which included about 500 Chinese (Selth, 1974:48; Walker, 1970:193).

The development of the Lambing Flat goldfield was slow as it was competing with an already established goldrush at Kiandra, in the Snowy Mountains. The Kiandra goldrush had been the centre of a media push by the press and Colonial Government. Snow falls had caused a cessation in mining at the field, but the media had used this period to hype up a grand spring rush. The hype and excitement ensured the Kiandra Goldrush received a large amount of resources from the Colonial Government, including police, gold commissioners, and funds for buildings, roads, etc (Tybussek, 2015). This diversion of resources to Kiandra was to have a lasting effect on the burgeoning Lambing Flat goldfield. This lack of support and resources led Lambing Flat to be characterised as a disorganised and ungoverned field quite early in its development (Selth, 1974:49). The result was a crime problem which miners dealt with by vigilante means. As well as burning down grog shops, the diggers attacked the Chinese as they tried to impose their own conception of justice (Connolly, 1978: 46).

The initial discoveries at the Lambing Flat goldrush were rich alluvial diggings along Burrangong Creek. On this gentle, undulating, pastoral landscape digging was easy and shallow. This was a major attraction for this goldfield, along with its accessibility and low cost of living as it was well supplied from Yass and Bathurst. '

The government inattention to Lambing Flat continued into November. They had still not proclaimed the Goldfield, which was a necessary administrative step before government services, such as gold commissioners, police, and mail services, could be established. This lack of security meant that few businesspeople were willing to erect permanent structures on the field. Withholding governance and security for the field also meant that the gold commissioners and police would find it more difficult to assert control once they arrived (Selth, 1974:49).

## **LAMBING FLAT ANTI-CHINESE RIOTS**

Chinese miners had participated in Australian goldrushes since the earliest discoveries in 1851. From this period there were regular outbreaks of violence between European miners and their Chinese counterparts due to a lack of understanding, racism, mistrust, prejudice, and jealousy. Particularly violent attacks on the Chinese occurred at the Rocky River diggings (near Uralla) in 1856, Buckland River diggings in 1857 (Victoria), and Turon diggings in 1858. However, at Lambing Flat

these long festering tensions boiled over into rioting and mob attacks on the Chinese camps and government officials over nine months (Walker, 1970:195; Williams, 1999:45-46).

Despite complaints about the lack of water, three of the five worst attacks on the Chinese on the Burrangong goldfield occurred when water was plentiful (13 November, 9 December 1860 and 30 June 1861). Water was scarce on some parts of the Burrangong goldfield at the time of the 27 January and 17-19 February 1861 riots (Connolly, 1978, 46).

By late 1860 the presence of Chinese at Lambing Flat was beginning to cause tension among the European miners. The first anti-Chinese demonstration occurred on 13 November. Anti-Chinese protesters posted "notices to quit" on trees across the field and a "Roll U" formed. Led by a German band, this "Roll U" ejected about 500 Chinese from the diggings and destroyed the tents and possessions they left behind (Selth, 1974:49).

This demonstration finally spurred the colonial government into action. The Burrangong Goldfield was declared by Sir William Denison, Governor of NSW, on 27 November 1860 covering approximately 16 x 20km<sup>2</sup>. This included Lambing Flat, along Burrangong Creek which flows north into the Lachlan River and Demondrille Creek which flows into the Murrumbidgee River south of the dividing ridgeline. Gold Commissioner Dickson was appointed to the field with two mounted troopers to cover this entire field. A bi-weekly mail service was also arranged along with a regular gold escort. The move to provide much needed government services was likely also the result of the failure of the spring rush to Kiandra and the need for the government to establish an alternative to turn around the poor NSW economy (Selth, 1974:49-50; Tybussek, 2015).

Unfortunately, these appointments by the government did little to remedy the problems on the field. As no quarters for the gold commissioner or police had been provided, Dickson chose to establish their temporary quarters at Currawang/ Currawong Station, located between Demondrille and Lambing Flat

This situation prompted the more responsible miners and businesspeople to form a vigilance committee for their own protection. This committee may have been inspired by a vigilance committee that operated at Kiandra during the previous March. It is possible that some of the same individuals were involved in both committees. On Saturday and Sunday, the 8 and 9 December, this vigilance committee destroyed a number of grog shops which were known to be frequented by thieves. On the Sunday a group of around 50 Chinese miners that had camped among the Europeans were driven from the field. Some Chinese were left bruised or had their queues cut off. The initial reports about this attack in the colonial press were much exaggerated, but this had the effect of spurring the government into action (Selth, 1974:50; Tybussek, 2015).

On 17 December, Captain Henry Zouch, Superintendent of the Southern Roads section of the Mounted Patrol arrived at Lambing Flat with a small force of troopers to investigate the attack. Zouch's investigation found that the destruction of the grog shanties by the vigilance committee, a group of respectable men, had done much good on the field, although their actions were illegal (Zouch supported the actions of the vigilance committee at Kiandra as well). He found that the attack on the Chinese had been carried out by the displaced owners of the shanties and their accomplices in an attempt to discredit the vigilance committee. Zouch departed Lambing Flat on 28 December leaving two detectives and eight troopers to support Gold Commissioner Dickson (Selth, 1974:50-51; Tybussek, 2015). Zouch also made arrangements for a Police Camp at Lambing Flat and two other stations at Stoney Creek and one for mounted men in the centre of the three main creeks (*Yass Courier*, 12 January 1861: 2).

Lambing Flat remained peaceful for a time before anti-Chinese sentiment rose again. With the failure of the Kiandra Goldrush large numbers of Europeans and Chinese miners arrived on the field. Many European miners saw the easily worked diggings at Lambing Flat as a chance to recoup the losses they had sustained at Kiandra. Consequently, most felt threatened by the arrival of Chinese miners.



The media also inflamed this situation by raising fears that the Chinese were going to swamp the field and take it over (Selth, 1974:51-52; Tybussek, 2015). Water was also scarce at Stoney Creek as well as some other parts of the goldfield in January (*Yass Courier*, 30 January 1861: 2).

On Sunday 27 January 1861 a meeting was held amongst the European miners to consider whether Lambing Flat was a 'European goldfield or Chinese territory'. The crowd of over 1500, armed with pick and shovel handles, were addressed by John Stewart who became one of the ringleaders of the anti-Chinese riots. Stewart was originally a weaver from Scotland, but had served time in the British army, before coming to the colonies. In his speech Stewart inflamed the crowd with talk of the 'Chinese menace' and fears that they were coming to overrun the goldfield. He urged the crowd to stop the Chinese and eject them from the field. The official resolution of the meeting was that the Chinese be given two days to quit the field. However, part of the mob dissented and took off immediately, headed by a brass band, to drive the Chinese off. They drove several thousand Chinese from their various diggings and camps, and burnt several of their tents (Selth, 1974:51-2; Walker 1970:195-196). Reports of this disturbance mentions that the rioting miners were headed by a banner, but without providing details (Sydney Morning Herald, 2/2/1861:4 & (*Yass Courier*, 30 January 1861: 2)..

Throughout these proceedings, Gold Commissioner Dickson stood by and watched. He had attempted to disperse the crowd earlier in the morning by reading the Riot Act at Golden Point. However, his small force of mounted troopers was insufficient to the task of stopping the mob once it went after the Chinese miners. Dickson even failed to identify the ringleaders and main rioters so that they could be arrested once police reinforcements arrived (Selth, 1974:52). This ineffectual reading of the Riot Act by Gold Commissioner Dickson was most likely the first instance of its kind in NSW history. The first of the Chinese petitions for compensation for damages written by Su San Ling Doh relates to this riot. He noted that his brother, the interpreter Simon San Ling and Simon's wife and children remained on the diggings 'totally unprovided for'. Despite having the required mining licence, he and other Chinese were not protected by the law (Kwok, 2023: 89).

The government quickly responded to the expulsion of the Chinese by ordering Zouch to Lambing Flat on 28 January with all available police forces. His orders permitted him to meet armed resistance with force if he was able, as long as the requirements of the Riot Act were met (Selth, 1974:52).

At Lambing Flat, on the evening of 31 January, about 80 men gathered to form the Miners' Protection League (MPL). They wanted:

Expulsion of the Chinese from the diggings

Repeal of the Duty on Gold

Abolition of the ten-shilling fee for Miners' Rights

Improved Postal Communication Stewart was appointed as chairman with the ambition that the MPL would unite the field and be an example for the whole country (Selth, 1974:52-3).

Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete and Captain Zouch arrived with their reinforcements on Saturday 2 February 1861. The following day they received a deputation from the MPL, who stated that the miners were afraid that they would be driven off the field by large numbers of Chinese and would like them peaceably removed. This request was contrary to British Law as if a Chinese miner held a Miner's Right he was legally able to mine on a goldfield. Only an Act of Parliament could change this situation. Cloete and Zouch advised them to organise a petition to the government and this was quickly prepared and dispatched to Sydney (Selth, 1974:53). The 3356 names on this petition indicate that a mix of miners, shopkeepers and even squatters supported laws to restrict Chinese immigration and presence on the goldfields ('The petition of the Miners and others resident on the

Burrangong Gold Fields', NSW Parliamentary Archives; cf. *Lambing Flat Miner and General Advertiser*, 6 February 1861, p.3).

The police reinforcements brought peace to the field. For now, the majority of the expelled Chinese continued to camp away from the field while they awaited the result of the MPL petition. However, as they were unable to work, many began to starve. Seeing this, Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete began reinstating those that returned to their old claims, by order of the Secretary for Lands (Selth, 1974:53).

The MPL held another meeting on Saturday 16 February to further develop the organisation. Despite claiming to be for the rights of miners, the organisation was becoming increasingly dominated by anti-Chinese agitators. These included Charles Allen, William Spicer, Donald Cameron (an ex-Glasgow police captain and first MP for the Ovens District), and James Torpy (an Irish publican). Soon after the meeting, the MPL issued a prospectus outlining their aims of driving the Chinese from the goldfields, before their numbers drove off the European miners (Selth, 1974:53-55; Walker, 1970:195).

Another riot occurred at Blackguard Gully on 17 February, after 50 Chinese allegedly attacked two Europeans. This caused another 'Roll Up' to be called which expelled around 200 Chinese miners from the diggings at Blackguard Gully. During this attack the queues of Chinese miners were cut off and their goods and tents burned. On this occasion the police chose to act and arrested 14 rioters and put them in the lock-up for the night. In response, 5000 - 6000 armed diggers roamed the town all night, while troopers patrolled the area to stop any outbreaks of violence. When the prisoners faced court the following morning, they were discharged due to a lack of evidence against them (Selth, 1974:54; Kwok, 2023: 89). The miners also attacked the Chinese at Wambanumba Station where they had taken shelter on 19 February. Kian-Ku advertised 'To the Chinese Population of Burrangong' in the *Lambing Flat Miner* on 20 February (p.5), asking his fellow countrymen to contribute to a stew that would be presented to Commissioner Dickson 'for his humanity during the late outrages'. There is no evidence of Dickson accepting this 'stew'. Some Chinese miners driven from Lambing Flat walked 95 miles to Bathurst. Amongst them was Mun Gaim whose petition revealed that he had arrived from San Francisco in 1858. His store was destroyed during the February riots. The Chinese found that their evidence against the 14 men arrested was dismissed so Chinese storekeepers summoned James McCulloch Henle, an 'Anglo Chinese linguist' to 'negotiate with the government for redress on account of their loss in the late riots' (Kwok, 2022: 89-90).

This unrest prompted Cloete and Zouch to call for additional troops and police to keep the peace on the field. The MPL was also causing concern as it was attempting to establish itself as an alternative government at Lambing Flat. The government heeded these calls and dispatched a large detachment of the Twelfth Regiment, supported by an artillery squad with three 12lb. guns, to the goldfield on 25 February. This was the second occasion in Australian mining history that troops were dispatched to quell agitation on the gold fields. In order to soften this military intervention, the Premier, Charles Cowper, took the unprecedented step of travelling to Lambing Flat, to assume responsibility for the detachment. Cowper planned to ascertain the miners' grievances through his visit, while ensuring that the law was carried out (Selth, 1974:54).

Premier Cowper arrived at Lambing Flat on Saturday 2 March. During his visit Cowper refused to see the delegates of the MPL and, instead, communicated directly with the miners through a series of meetings. He insisted that the Chinese miners would be protected if they returned to the field, although he did sympathize with the miners' dislike of the Chinese, and implicitly supported the idea of curtailing Chinese immigration. Ultimately, he supported the rule of law and that no group should be allowed to persecute another. During a meeting on Saturday 9 March, he advised that the Chinese would be restored to a camp at the head of Blackguard Gully and that Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete would ensure that they were separated from the Europeans on the field. In fact, the Chinese were segregated in Blackguard Gully through a ploughed furrow around the area that they were not

allowed to cross. This was a common approach by gold commissioners when European miners became hostile to their Chinese counterparts (Selth, 1974:54-56; Williams, 1999:46).

For some time, the NSW parliament had been considering restricting the immigration of Chinese to the colony. Cowper himself had tried to pass a bill through parliament in 1858, that was only defeated due to the opposition of the Legislative Council. During 1860 a former miner, John Lucas, the member for Canterbury, had worked towards introducing a new Chinese Immigration Bill. On 11 March, the Legislative Assembly approved the second reading of this bill, moving the government closer to restricting the immigration of Chinese to the colony. On the same day, the military detachment belatedly arrived at Lambing Flat. This caused Cowper to leave the next day, even though he was meant to oversee this military detachment. Cowper had accomplished little during his visit besides condoning the actions of the MPL and rioters, and making them promises that he, ultimately, could not keep (Selth, 1974:55-56; Walker, 1970:197-198).

With the military preparing for a long stay by erecting buildings, digging trenches, and fortifying a position on the hill behind the Gold Commissioners' Camp, peace settled on the field while the miners awaited action by Cowper. On his return to the Legislative Assembly, Cowper informed the House of Assembly that he believed that the European miners had few real grievances to justify the actions they had taken. However, he did introduce a Goldfields Bill which had a provision for segregating Chinese miners on the goldfields, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly. Before this bill could be considered by the Legislative Council, parliament was prorogued and the legislation lapsed, leaving Cowper stymied for the moment (Selth, 1974:56).

On Sunday 31 March Cowper's inability to pass legislation to restrict Chinese on the goldfields brought huge numbers of miners to the next MPL meeting at Lambing Flat. The gathering resolved to censure Cowper for his untruthful statements, and as the legislation that was needed to solve the 'Chinese problem' was being delayed, they agreed to take active and legitimate steps to resist the return of the Chinese to the field. Despite this well attended meeting, the MPL was losing support amongst the miners due to the extremist attitudes of its leaders (Selth, 1974:57).

Meanwhile, the Chinese miners at Blackguard Gully were struggling as the area was lacking in both gold and water. Several times, small groups attempted to move out of this segregated area, which was their legal right, only to be forced back by the authorities. This situation caused many Chinese to leave the field (Selth, 1974:57).

By mid-May, the Chinese were extending out of their segregated area and asserting their rights. In some areas encroaching on European claims and ousting European miners where they had a majority. At Demondrille Creek, they were openly refusing to carry out the orders of the gold commissioners and on 22 May there was a violent clash between the Chinese and Europeans at the Native Dog diggings. In this time of increasing unrest Cowper inexplicitly recalled the military detachment from Lambing Flat (24 May). This was against the advice of Chief Gold Commissioner Cloete (Selth, 1974:57; Walker, 1970:193).

Over the following weeks clashes between Chinese and European miners became more common, as well as isolated violent attacks on the Chinese. As the MPL dissipated, the media inflamed the situation by publishing reports that a large number of Chinese had arrived in Sydney and were headed for Lambing Flat (Selth, 1974:57-58).

A small riot on the 18 June 1861 is the first recorded instance of the use of the 'Roll-Up, No Chinese' banner (Schamberger, 2016:176). It is unknown exactly who made this banner or when, but it is thought to be the work of a master sign writer (Schamberger, 2016:177). Throughout the riots it became the standard of the anti-Chinese miners and it was used on multiple occasions to announce roll-ups and the following attacks on the Chinese. The creation of this banner demonstrates the increased organisation of the anti-Chinese movement at Lambing Flat.

Towards the end of June the situation was becoming more volatile. The Chinese had taken over many of the small diggings that European miners had abandoned when new rushes occurred. Rumours of the arrival of more Chinese miners, and the failure of the Government to take legislative action on the issue of Chinese immigration, had incensed the miners. Only twenty police remained on the field with two sub-gold commissioners, George O'Malley Clark and J. I. Lynch, to enforce the rule of law and order (Selth, 1974:58).

On Sunday 30 June, another 'Roll Up' was called with the use of the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner at Tipperary Gully. Headed by this banner a mob of around 3000 men formed and rioted across the field, viciously attacking the Chinese miners, cutting off their queues, plundering their camps, and taking their claims. They destroyed the Chinese Camps at Sawpit Gully and Back Creek, driving the Chinese from the field, robbing them of their valuables, and burning their possessions, tents, and mining equipment. Some of the fleeing Chinese sought sanctuary at Currawang/Currawong Station. By Monday morning, 1200 Chinese miners had gathered. The station owner Mr Roberts and Sub-Commissioner Clarke arranged food supplies for them, however, they had no bedding or shelter to protect them from the pouring rain (Schamberger, 2016:176; Selth, 1974:58-59; Goulburn Herald 3/7/1861, Page 2; Sydney Morning Herald 20/7/1861, Page 8).

Again the Gold Commissioners and police had watched on helplessly during the riot. They had done nothing but stand fast to protect the Gold Commissioners' Camp and the large amount of gold stored in the lock-up awaiting escort to Sydney. Once news of the riot reached the government in Sydney, both sub-gold commissioners were suspended from duty (Selth, 1974:58).

The savagery, cruelty, and opportunism of this riot, and the racism and greed that fuelled it, invoked little sympathy or support among colonial society. It also ensured that the anti-Chinese miners lost much public support for their campaign. The government wasted little time in reinforcing the police presence by ordering the Goulburn and Bathurst patrols to the field. The experienced Gold Commissioner Griffin arrived on 11 July to take control of the diggings. Nevertheless, the state of unrest and uncertainty persisted (Selth, 1974:59).

### **SUNDAY 14 JULY 1861**

After the 30 June riot, it was two weeks before the police felt secure enough to make arrests. On Sunday 14 July, after receiving orders from the government, Inspector Saunderson and Constable Flanagan arrested three individuals for participation in the 30 June riots (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:76; Selth, 1974:59).

As Sunday was the traditional day of rest on the goldfields, and the usual day for demonstrations, these arrests triggered another 'Roll Up' to stage a rescue of the prisoners. The mob first gathered at Tipperary Gully (to the north of present day Young) in the late afternoon and between 500-1000 rioters, accompanied by a band, set off for the Gold Commissioners' Camp to demand the release of their comrades (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:77; Selth, 1974:59; Walker, 1970:203).

As the mob descended on the township, accompanied by shouting, cheering, yelling, and the report of firearms, the mob picked up recruits, not all of whom were volunteers, swelling its ranks. After passing through town, they crossed Burrangong Creek and arrayed themselves on the 'flat' opposite the Gold Commissioners' Camp. At this time the camp reportedly contained five wooden buildings: a court house used as the Commissioners' residence, a small cottage, cook house, police barracks, and lock-up. The lock-up was constructed using heavy logs in the form of a block house (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:77; Selth, 1974:68; Empire 30/7/1861, Page 4).

From the various accounts of this riot, it appears by the time the mob arrived at the camp it was late evening (around eight o'clock) on a wet winter day. It is unclear if the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner was used by the mob at this riot. It is not specifically mentioned in any of the newspaper accounts, unlike previous riots and one account notes that the mob had no flags (Empire 30/7/1861, Page 4). After

the arrival of the mob a deputation was sent forward to meet with Assistant Gold Commissioner Griffin and Captain Zouch. They demanded the release of the prisoners. Griffin and Zouch refused. The deputation then requested to see the prisoners to confirm they remained in camp. Griffin and Zouch granted this request. The deputation then applied for bail, which was refused. After the deputation returned to the mob Griffin and Zouch attempted to peacefully convince them to disperse. However, the mob increasingly became unruly and out-of-control. This culminated in shots being fired at the police after which Griffin, unarmed, advanced towards the mob in the rain and dark and recited the Riot Act from memory. The mob then fired more shots at the police. The police were then ordered to fire above the heads of the mob, but this failed to disperse the rioters. The police were then ordered to fire into the crowd injuring several of the rioters. The miner William Lupton, who was probably watching from a tree branch, was shot in the neck about this time, and died from his wounds. He was the only known casualty of this riot, but it is not known who fired the shot that killed him. These two volleys had failed to disperse the crowd, so the troopers were twice ordered to charge the mob with their swords drawn. This finally made the crowd disperse (Selth, 1974:59-60).

Following the riot Griffin and Zouch provided detailed accounts to their superiors in Sydney. These accounts are provided below for the information of the reader.

Captain Zouch's account was telegraphed to Sydney at half-past 12 am on Monday morning in the hours after the riot (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:80):

'The mob came to the Camp at a quarter to eight last night, after sending in four delegates to speak to the Commissioner: demanded the release of the prisoners, and gradually moved forward, evidently intending to rush the place. A division of patrol under Mr McLerie was ordered to clear the ground, and was immediately fired upon by the rioters. The patrol charged well, night though it was, and drove numbers over the banks of the creek. The foot patrol firing into the mob, but it was not till three charges had been delivered, and the firing at intervals continued for more than two hours, before the rioters withdrew. Every man did his duty as well as men could do it. Three men of the patrol were wounded - two gunshot wounds in the arm and one contused: one horse which dropped was recovered with four ball in him, and two horse missing wounded. Of the rioters, we know of one killed and several wounded. As soon as I can ascertain losses, I will inform you. The darkness prevented our taking any prisoners. All quiet now: night very wet and dark.'

Griffin's account was prepared at Yass on the 16 July 1861. It provides the most detailed account of the sequence of events once the mob arrived at the camp:

'Between the hours of seven and eight of the evening of the 14th instant, some seven or eight hundred people, headed by a band of music, paraded the diggings in front of the police camp, shouting, yelling, firing guns, and otherwise conducting themselves in a most riotous and disorderly manner. On arriving at the Flat opposite the camp they halted about fifty yards distant, two or three of those in front coming up as a deputation to demand the immediate release of the prisoners. This was refused. They then stated that it was generally believed amongst the diggers that the three men arrested had been sent to Yass, for trial; and, to satisfy them, they were permitted to see the prisoners in the cells. Bail was then applied for and refused, as it was not unlikely that the amount required would be easily raised by subscription, and forfeited, the prisoners themselves not appearing to answer in person the charge, and so the ends of justice be defeated.'

'Mr Zouch and myself here went among the crowd and begged and intreated them to disperse, telling them that the prisoners would be given a hearing in the morning, when anyone could be present and watch the proceedings, I tried all I could by persuasion to induce the rioters to give up any idea of rescue, pointing out the serious consequences likely to ensue in the event of any attempt on their part to enter the lock-up; all I could do or say was to no avail - when suddenly, in act of turning round towards the camp, my attention was drawn by a discharge of fire-arms from the crowd at a line of horse patrol standing close on my right hand. Both men and horses were wounded by this

treacherous volley, and the troopers dashed immediately into the crowd, who were now fast closing up to the lock-up; this checked their advance temporarily, and I once more went amongst them unarmed, and entreated them to disperse. Finding my entreaties of no avail, I now read them the Riot Act, and fully an hour more elapsed in the attempts of myself and Mr. Zouch to pacify them, and get them to go peaceably away. They again came up, and finding entreaty of no avail, I at length retired within the camp fence. A determined movement on their part was now made towards the lock-up, where was deposited all the escort gold and money to a large amount, making it doubtful whether the object sought was the release of prisoners or plunder, or both ; no longer able to keep the crowd of disorderly persons at a reasonable distance, a collision took place between the rioters and the patrol, firearms being freely used on both sides, Mr. McLerie riding through them with the mounted men, they finally fled, dispersed in all directions.' (SMH 26 July 1861:4)

In the days after the riot many accounts appeared in the colonial press. Generally, the accounts of the Gold Commissioners and police, Griffin and Zouch, attempted to justify their use of force against the rioters, while the accounts of the rioters, conveyed through the Empire, attempted to lay the blame of the riot on the police (McGregor and McGregor, 1999:76-82). Many of the accounts provided by the miners and rioters (particularly the ringleaders), argue that the police were the first to fire, without warning and without the recitation of the Riot Act. They argue that William Lupton was shot dead and many other injured during this initial volley. This led to the enragement of the miners and ensuing attack on the Gold Commissioners' Camp (Empire, 17-22 July 1861, particularly 26 July 1861, Page 4). Other newspaper accounts, particular those of the Sydney Morning Herald, support Griffin's and Zouch's account of the riot.

## **AFTER THE RIOT**

'Peace' again reigned on the field by early morning. However, the riot had resulted in several police and over a score of rioters being wounded. The three prisoners were brought before the court in the morning and remanded to the Goulburn Quarter Sessions on bail (Selth, 1974:60; Empire 26 July 1861, page 4).

Around 3:00pm Griffin left the camp for Yass to telegraph the full details of the riot to the government in Sydney. Soon afterwards, Zouch evacuated the police contingent and gold commissioners from the camp after receiving word that a large, better armed force was preparing to attack the camp. Tired, outnumbered, and short on ammunition, Zouch chose to evacuate the camp to save lives, rather than mount a desperate defence that was unlikely to succeed against a determined attack (Selth, 1974:60).

On Tuesday morning (16 July 1861) the bankers fled to Yass, effectively paralysing trade on the field. Lupton was buried later the day with the 'Roll Up, No Chinese' banner flying above the crowd (Schamberger, 2016:176-177; Sydney Morning Herald 23/7/1861, Page 5). During the funeral, Spicer of the MPL reappeared (after being missing for weeks), to deliver an address in which he accused the police of murdering Lupton. He also made a pronouncement that anyone who tried to plunder or ill-treat the inhabitants of Lambing Flat while the authorities were absent would be punished with death by the MPL (Selth, 1974:60).

Spurred by rumours that martial law would be proclaimed when the military inevitably arrived, the miners and shopkeepers separately organised petitions to Governor Young on the matter of Chinese immigration and their presence on the goldfields. The delegates, Henry Greig for the storekeepers and James Torpy and Ezekiel Alexander Baker for the miners, set off for Sydney before the police and Gold Commissioners returned (Selth, 1974:61).

Despite the evacuation of the Gold Commissioners' Camp, two government officials remained on the field: Detective Scarlet and the lock-up keeper. Scarlet, a popular man, had never left and the lock-up keeper had soon returned to look after his wife. The gold commissioners soon returned to the field

after Gold Commissioner Cloete (the head of the southern gold fields) telegraphed Yass and ordered them to return (Selth, 1974:61).

Once word of the riots reached Sydney the Government ordered military troops to the field. Between 17-20 July a detachment of the Twelfth Regiment, a squad of the Royal Artillery, a number of armed police under the command of Captain McLerie, the Inspector-General of Police, and 75 volunteers from H.M.S. Fawn with one of the ship's guns, left Sydney for Lambing Flat. They arrived on 31 July and restored order, putting an end to the era of 'Roll Ups' without imposing martial law. A number of suspected rioters were arrested on charges relating to the 30 June and 14 July riots and were committed to appear at the Goulburn Quarter Sessions. However, several of the ringleaders, including Cameron, Stewart, and Spicer disappeared. Rewards of 100 pounds were offered for their apprehension by the police. Torpy was arrested when he appeared to present the Governor with the miners' petition. He was brought before the Burrangong Court, but was soon released after it became apparent that there was no evidence against him (Selth, 1974:61).

After the military arrived the Chinese were soon back at work, but not in large numbers, as many had moved on to other fields. To protect them, and prevent any further outbreaks of violence, the military and police detachment remained at Lambing Flat in some form for over a year. It began to reduce in size relatively quickly, with the naval detachment departing on 6 August. Captain McLerie and Colonel Kempt, the colony's senior military officer, both left on 22 August. Most of the Twelfth Regiment and the artillery left on 18 September. However, about fifty troops and one gun, under the command of Captain Wilkie, remained until 31 July 1862 (Selth, 1974:61; Walker, 1970:201).

After the 30 June and 14 July riots there was little sympathy or support in the colony for the rioters. Consequently, the MPL found it difficult to advance their agenda over the following months. Following the riots, the population of the Lambing Flat Goldfield steadily declined as miners were enticed away by the Lachlan Goldrush or the Otago Goldrush in New Zealand.

Once all the ringleaders were arrested the police attempted to enforce the penalty of the law. In total, 17 men were tried for the 30 June riot and three for the 14 July riot. In each case only one was convicted: William Spicer was sentenced to two years for inciting the 30 June riot and Claremont Owen for inciting the 14 July riot. The other ringleaders and participants, including Donald Cameron, John Stewart, and James Torpy, were acquitted, due to lack of evidence against them. Spicer was the only person of the twenty tried who identified himself as a miner. The other professions of the arrested men (where recorded) included a pugilist, publican, watchmaker, storekeeper and storehand, a cook, and two bandsmen (Walker, 1970:195-196; Schamberger Submission 2020).

### **Chinese petitions for compensation**

William Campbell, Secretary of Lands examined 30 Chinese claimants for compensation for a total of £6339 for the riots between January and February 1861 and declared that the destruction of property as 'very trifling, and that the claims herein before referred to are altogether fraudulent.' He also examined 1568 Chinese claims for damages incurred during the 30 June riot, totalling £40,623. He recommended that £4,240 be paid to 706 individuals. There were significant delays in paying compensation. It was not until 1863 that claimants were advised to attend in person at Young to identify themselves for compensation, from the week beginning 21 September 1863 which was then delayed 1-15 December 1863. There is no correspondence to indicate how many of the claimants made it to Young within the prescribed time. However, 94 persons in Tuena in March 1864 signed a petition which stated that they had arrived too late to receive payment. Campbell examined the petition and found that only 24 sums were not applied for, a total of £300. However, Kwok's analysis of the petition indicates that there may have been mis-transcribed names and suggests that at least £500 and possibly more than £1000 in approved compensation was not paid out (Kwok, 2022: 99-101).

## Legislation

In September 1861, when parliament reassembled, two of their priorities were a Goldfields Regulation Bill and Chinese Immigration Regulation Bill. Both acts passed into law on 22 November. The Gold Fields Act 1861 allowed the government to proclaim goldfields that were closed to the Chinese, as well as the ability to refuse them a miner's right (restricted to those arriving in the Colony after July 1862). This meant that Chinese miners could only mine designated areas and effectively limited them to working on fields that had been abandoned by European miners. The Chinese Immigrants Regulation and Restriction Act 1861 limited Chinese immigration by allowing only one Chinese for every 10 tons on arriving ships, imposing a ten pound entry tax, and prohibiting their naturalisation (Walker, 1970:197-198, 200; Schamberger Submission 2020; Williams, 1999:46). The following March, the government also passed the 1862 *Police Regulation Act* creating a unified NSW Police Force in order to more effectively deal with large scale rioting in the future.

With the military presence the field remained peaceful as the goldrush petered out. Ironically, the decline of the field resulted in the tradespeople of the town petitioning the government in 1864 to allow the Chinese to work freely with no restrictions, in order to boost the failing local economy (Selth, 1974:62; Walker, 1970:201).

Anti-Chinese feeling remained, however, and was complicated by the 1861 Robertson Land Acts as some of the continuing violence between Europeans and Chinese occurred between Chinese market gardeners and Europeans who wanted to mine. At Spring Creek on 22 August 1864, about 400 Chinese ambushed about 25 Europeans to protest the inconsistent implementation of the Gold Fields Act. The Chinese refused to pay the fine and argued that the proceeds of the entry tax imposed on them due to the Chinese Immigrants Regulation and Restriction Act should pay for their board and food in gaol. The government then clarified that the Chinese were only allowed to mine in particular areas.

The discriminatory Acts against the Chinese did not remain in force for much more than 5 years. In 1866 a new Gold Fields Act was enacted which removed the restrictions on the Chinese and allowed both Europeans and Chinese equal rights to new and existing goldfields. Also in that year, a number of Chinese residents of the colony NSW as well as merchants, clergymen and magistrates petitioned the government to repeal the 1861 Chinese Immigration Regulation and Restriction Act. In 1867 the Immigration Act was repealed. By this time all the other colonies had also abolished their anti-Chinese immigration restriction laws (Walker, 1970:198; Schamberger Submission 2020; Williams, 1999:5).

Following the riots the 'Roll-Up No Chinese' banner was hidden away by one of the bannermen, Timothy Francis McCarthy (Young Historical Museum Website). From 1900 onwards the McCarthy family began bringing the banner back into the public domain. Firstly, by allowing people to view it (1900) then allowing it to be displayed in Young during various public events in 1921 and 1938 (Schamberger, 2016:180, 184). The McCarthy family allowed the banner to be viewed again in Sydney in 1961 during the centenary of the riots (Schamberger, 2016:189-190). The editor of the *Young Witness*, Jack Giuliano, then negotiated for the banner to be transported to Young and exhibited as part of a display organised by the Young Historical Society (Schamberger, 2016:190). In 1964, with the help of the Young Services and Citizens Club, the Young Historical Society acquired the banner (Lambing Flat Museum Website). Since this time the banner has been displayed in the Young Historical Museum run by the Young Historical Society.