Historic Context and Archaeological Potential Report
for the Hume Highway 2006 Duplication

Northern Section: Tarcutta, Kyeamba and Little Billabong Study Areas

for Archaeological & Heritage Management Solutions Pty Ltd (AHMS)
for the Roads and Traffic Authority NSW

October 2006
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1 Introduction

1.1 Thematic Context

The development of transport routes, such as the Hume Highway, through south-western New South Wales was influenced by the spread of settlement which often preceded the establishment of formal routes. Thus it was the establishment of pastoral runs near present day Tarcutta, Kyeamba and Little Billabong that has influenced the line of the Hume Highway in the study area. These towns and localities have taken their names from the Wiradjuri terms for features of the area appropriated, in the 1830s, by the squatters to name their runs.

The historic themes most commonly associated with the development of road networks that particularly apply to the Hume Highway are: connecting settlements and the colonies, constructing roads and works, planning road hierarchies and managing traffic associated with the NSW State theme of Government and Administration. More broadly, the NSW Historic themes associated with potential heritage sites within the study area are linked with pastoralism, migration, communication, land tenure, cultural landscapes, law and order, domestic life, life and death, government and administration and transport. At a federal level the historic themes may be defined as peopling Australia; developing local and regional economies, environment, building settlements, towns and cities, governing, and marking the phases of life.

The connection between Sydney and its hinterland in the south-west, and to the Victorian capital, Melbourne is at the core of the development and importance of the Hume Highway. Through Sydney and Melbourne the producers of the southwest accessed not only the two most important domestic urban markets but overseas markets via these capital city ports. Immigrants, including the squatters, Smith and Mate, who took up holdings along the line of road, arrived through Sydney. Later specialist immigrants, imported to develop viticulture in the area by the owners of Kyeamba, disembarked at Sydney.

The network of roads often followed the existing routes of the Aboriginal peoples of the region. The road and waterway crossings reflect the importance of the pattern of roadway connections in the area. With the route running north-south and most waterways running east-west there were numerous crossings to be encountered, initially bravely forded on foot or hoof, later they were negotiated by ferry until finally bridged. These bridges were originally constructed with locally procured timber, to be replaced in the twentieth century by reinforced concrete slab and beam structures.

The role of government, particularly the state government, in the development of the Hume Highway has been a crucial one. Throughout the 19th century such works as there were on the road, theoretically at least, were the responsibility of the Surveyor General’s Department and the

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1 Terry Kass, Roads and Traffic Authority Heritage And Conservation Register, Vol.1, Thematic History.
2 Terry Kass, Thematic History.

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Colonial Engineers. From 1857/58, responsibility for road making and management was apportioned between the NSW Department of Public Works (PWD) and local road trusts and councils with road surveying the responsibility of the Department of Lands. The PWD had responsibility for the Great South Road, but in the years from 1854, railways achieved a greater budgetary priority and with the study area being at the most remote position from Sydney, there was little to be called “great” about the Great South Road in the study area.\(^4\)

In the 1930s there were changes in transport policy by both the NSW and Victorian governments that were designed to protect rail from road transport competition. They restricted the extent that vehicles registered in either state could travel in the other. These restriction remained in place until 1954 and had the effect of not restricting local traffic while curtailing inter-state road haulage. It was assistance from the Commonwealth Government, for the ten years from 1937 that financed a program to provide dustless surfaces on the Hume, and from 1946 the Commonwealth began to impose and promote an Australia-wide transport policy and standards. By 2003 the construction and maintenance of national highways such as the Hume was entirely Commonwealth funded.\(^5\)

Like the road system generally, the Hume Highway influenced the pattern of settlement and the economic and social development of the region. The very orientation of urban development has been influenced by not only the line of the road, but the intensity and type of use. The victory of the road over the rail lobby, and particularly the lifting of controls on interstate transport has been particularly significant in affecting the nature of development along the road. In the nineteenth century for example, inns were spaced regularly along the line, roughly based on a days or half-days coach travel - at sites where horses needed to be changed or rested, at for example the Little Billabong Hotel or the Traveller’s Rest. Improvements in transport modes have led to the decline of some towns and local industries, as small rural settlements lost trade to larger and more accessible centres, such as Albury and Wagga, as well as Sydney and Melbourne.\(^6\)

Roads have radically altered the natural pattern of the landscape with cuttings through hillsides and the remnants of former lines leaving evidence of their passing. Landscapes adjacent to the road corridor have been constructed and re-constructed. Associated with lines of roads there is also the spread of weeds. While on the other hand, travelling stock routes linked to road reserves have also preserved native vegetation when it has been extensively cleared on private holdings.\(^7\)

Socio-economically, road infrastructure such as bridges sometimes became sites of social interaction, linked with picnicking and swimming areas. Employment on road works, particularly

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\(^4\) ‘Roads and Traffic Authority, Upgrade of Heritage & Conservation Register for the South West Region, NSW, Thematic History’, p.15.


\(^7\) ‘Roads and Traffic Authority, Upgrade of Heritage & Conservation Register for the South West Region, NSW, Thematic History’, p.30.
as the Highway achieved state and national status was an important source of income in the region. The 200+ road workers engaged on the Tarcutta section of the road in the 1930s, lived in camps in situ for extended periods, earning desperately needed income for themselves but also contributing to the local economy in their spending. Farmers and agricultural labourers could obtain intermittent work as maintenance was required.8

1.2 Report Structure and Methodology
Chapter Two discusses methodological issues associated with the heritage assessment of a line of road as a prelude to the core of the report. Underpinning and influencing the development of the study area was the changing land legislation. This is discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four discusses the physical development of the Hume Highway as an entity and Chapter Five presents the detail of the development of the two specific study areas as far as has been able to be determined in the time allowed. While some primary sources were accessed there has been a strong reliance on secondary sources, particularly pre-existing reports commissioned by the RTA. The primary objective of this report has been to assist with the identification and significance assessment of potential heritage items within the study area.

1.3 Acknowledgements
The staff at the RTA Archives have been particularly helpful as have colleagues at AHMS. Thank You.

1.4 Authorship and Date
This report has been prepared in September/October 2006 by historian and heritage consultant Dr Sue Rosen, editorial advice and review was undertaken by historian and heritage consultant Emma Dortins (B.A. Hons.) of Heritage Assessment And History. Historian, Kathryn Squires (B.A. Hons.) provided research assistance.

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8 ‘Roads and Traffic Authority, Upgrade of Heritage & Conservation Register for the South West Region, NSW, Thematic History’, p.33.
### 2 Lines of Road and Heritage Significance

In this chapter the broad theoretical framework within which the heritage assessment of lines of road can take place is discussed. With the study area partly defined by the line of the Hume Highway this is an important aspect of the overall assessment. Lines of road and their potential significance as heritage items are currently the subject of ongoing discussion within government departments, professional organisations, academia and the community at local, national and international levels. These discussions reveal a deep appreciation of the cultural significance of lines of road. This concern however is not a recent phenomenon, but dates from at least the 1920s (and probably a great deal earlier).

At the NSW Heritage Office’s 2003 Charette on Cultural Landscapes, Meredith Walker drew attention to works such as Edna Walling’s *Country Roads* (1952) which reinforced the need to preserve the ecological values of the roadside; Hardy Wilson’s *The Cow Pasture Road* (1920) which described the landscape and history of Camden; and Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarev’s *Man Made America: Chaos or Control?* (1963), which discusses the aesthetics of freeway design. Bernard Cronin in *How Runs the Road* also indicates that the valuation of lines of road by the community has been a long-standing concern. In 1948 he wrote:

> ... there are two conceptions of a road; the practical and the aesthetic. The road-user going about his lawful affairs is concerned to make haste, and highway surfacing and gradients are his main consideration. For him roads are a means to an end. Yet at week-ends it may be that he drives over the self-same route and rejoices in an entirely different outlook. He becomes aware ... of ... the curve and dip of the highway, the arching trees above a flowing landscape ... the soft etching of distant hills ... Here is grace. And the fret of an every-day world is stilled.

More recently, the annual conference of Australia ICOMOS in 2005 was titled, *Corrugations - the Romance and Reality of Historic Roads* and explored the cultural significance of roads and issues surrounding their conservation.

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9 An edited version of a report prepared for the RTA by in 2004 Sue Rosen, Emma Dortins and Julie Dinsmor of HAAH.


The following key inter-related questions define the form of this chapter:

- In what ways might a lines of road be significant and what are the implications of this for the heritage assessment process?; and

- How can the curtilage of lines of road be defined for the purpose of heritage assessment?

Investigating and defining the heritage curtilage of a line of road provides a means to examine its significance, and, on the other hand, the nature of a line of road’s significance contributes to the definition of its heritage curtilage. It’s a cyclic process. This ‘heritage’ curtilage is distinct from the road’s legal and gazetted definition, which defines the physical area for which the RTA has responsibility. In discussing these two questions, the following information has been used to inform the debate:

- The State Heritage Register and Inventory. While the State Heritage Register lists only one line of road, The Great North Road from Devines Hill to Mount Manning, Wisemans Ferry, our search of the State Heritage Inventory online\(^\text{15}\), while not comprehensive, found over 100 listings of lines of road. Some of the State Heritage Inventory sheets include only a basic listing and little or no descriptive assessment or historical information. The majority, however, included more or less comprehensive descriptions and statements of significance: some providing assessments against the seven assessment criteria. The relevant results were analysed by criteria for significance and item type.

and

- Heritage reports; theoretical and academic material including current assessments, committee reports and conference proceedings of UNESCO, ICOMOS, Australia ICOMOS; and material prepared by the NSW Heritage Office.

2.1 In what ways can lines of road be significant?

An item, place or object is said to have heritage significance if it has qualities that can demonstrate important aspects of our cultural or natural heritage. Significance is determined through a formal assessment process outlined in the *NSW Heritage Manual*. The assessment process must determine whether the item is of State significance and therefore important to the entire State, or of local significance having importance to a particular community or locality. The key part of the assessment process is the application of seven assessment criteria to places, objects and structures of potential importance. Each of the criteria are discussed in the following sections, each criterion being briefly explained with reference to applications of that criterion to particular lines of road. A range of ways a line of road might be significant under that criterion is also discussed.

\(^{15}\) An analysis of the results when Item Name field was searched under ‘road’ and ‘highway’ - the search engine could not cope with ‘street’, at: http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/07_subnav_01.cfm.
**Criterion A - An item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW’s cultural or natural history.**

A structure, object or place is of **historic significance** if it shows evidence of a significant human activity, whether this be an historical event, or past cultural practice, philosophy or system of government. Items that demonstrate overlays of the continual pattern of human use and occupation or show the continuity of an historical process or activity are also of historical significance. If a structure, object or place has a sufficiently strong association with a significant human activity or historical phase, it has historical significance regardless of the intactness of the item.  

The Hume Highway in the study area has evolved from transport routes established through the movement of stock and people into southern NSW and is associated with the occupation of the Wiradjuri lands by squatters from the mid 1830s. The route is intimately related to the history of settlement of NSW and the cultural and economic development of the districts it serves, and thus highly likely to be of historic significance. The Hume Highway has historic significance because of its capacity to demonstrate the colonial response to the area’s topography. The roads’ alignment and place in the landscape contributes to our understanding of the place in the course and pattern of NSW’s history. In terms of twentieth century development the Highway has the capacity to demonstrate Government policy toward development in the later part of the twentieth century.

**Criterion B - An item has strong or special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW’s cultural or natural history.**

A structure, object or place is significant under this criterion if it shows evidence of a strong or special association with an identifiable person or group of persons or notable event. If a structure, object or place has a sufficiently strong association with a person or group, it has **associative significance** regardless of the intactness of the item. No special associations were found in the course of this study and none of the current State Heritage Inventory items surveyed were explicitly assessed as significant under criterion B. This is perhaps symptomatic of the circumstances of the studies undertaken and also of a widespread tendency to conflate **historic** and **associative** significance under criterion A. In addition, sufficient time is often not allowed in the study of these items to fully uncover the special associations that an item may have. The concept of cultural routes, discussed later, challenges us to consider lines of road not only as physical ways used for travelling, with, say, significance as part of a technical story about transport in NSW, but as conduits or stages for exchanges and journeys that may be able to provide significant insights into the dynamics of political or social change or the spread of ideas (N.B. this concept is considered relevant not only to criterion B, but also to a range of other criteria). A line of road may, on further investigation, be found to have associative significance with an important event.
Criterion C - An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW.

Items that satisfy this criterion, demonstrate, or are associated with, creative or technical innovation or achievement. They may be an early example of a type of structure, showing formative development, or a culmination of a particular style or type. They may have a particular ability to articulate aspects of the culture of an era, group or locality through their form or style. They may have landmark qualities or be aesthetically distinctive. They may also, in a broader sense of understanding ‘the aesthetic’, appeal to any of the senses and include sounds, smells and textures. A useful definition when considering aesthetic distinctiveness and landmark qualities was developed by the Australian Heritage Commission in the early 1990s and refined in a peer review process, it states:

Aesthetic value is the response derived from the experience of the environment or of particular natural and cultural attributes within it. This response can be either to visual or non-visual elements and can embrace emotional response, sense of place, sound, smell and any other factors having a strong impact on human thoughts, feelings and attitude.

Characteristics that might be looked for include ‘meanings, evocative qualities, symbolic values, symbolic landmarks, outstanding landforms or features and compositional qualities of specific landscapes.’ Sections of road in the Tarcutta area, for example, may have the potential to demonstrate technical achievements in design and construction technologies of the late 1930s. Lines of road have the potential to be of aesthetic significance in a variety of ways. Importantly, lines of road are increasingly recognised for their potential to facilitate journeys which allow the traveller to have an interactive association with the past, even if largely imaginative. Travelling a line of road may enable reflective thoughts, emotions, smells, sights and sensations, which enable the traveller to see the ways that might have been. The high esteem and community value placed on such experiences that are associated with aesthetically distinctive places is demonstrated by the current popularity of tours of major historic routes like the Silk Road or the Pilgrims Way or, in the Australian context, the Great Ocean Road, the Birdsville Track or perhaps the Hume Highway because of the views or vistas that may be gained from it. The emerging views of the rural landscapes and vegetation as the traveller heads southward and the visual approach to towns may be significant views that are gained from the road. The alignment of the road and the low-density development and subdivision patterns along its slopes that could

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20 NSW Heritage Office, Assessing Heritage Significance, p. 16.


22 Cited by Juliet Ramsay in ‘It soothes my soul: the challenges of assessing aesthetic values of forests’, Australia’s Ever-Changing Forests, Volume IV

23 Emma Dortins and Sue Rosen - Heritage Assessment And History (HAAH), Sydney Region Heritage Studies, Liverpool Sub-Region - Phase 1, prepared for Roads and Traffic Authority, Environment Branch, March 2004, Appendix B; Macarthur South Landscape, Urban Design and Open Space Study, prepared by Devine Erby Mazlin and Landscan, November 1990, p. 94.
combine to make a line of road aesthetically distinctive. As a class of items designed, constructed and evolved with utility in mind, the technical and aesthetic significance of lines of road may be expected to go hand in hand.

**Criterion D - An item has strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group in NSW for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.**

An item is of significance under this criterion if it is esteemed by an identifiable community for its cultural values, or contributes to that community’s sense of identity or sense of place, and which if damaged or destroyed would cause the community a sense of loss. Meredith Walker, discussing the street pattern of suburban 1950s Melbourne, identified the social importance and meaning in the multitude of routes that were taken in the suburban context including the routes of the postman and other delivery services, the routes that people take to work and children take to school both via public and private transport. Walker emphasised that each of these routes holds special meanings for those that use them including memories of the features, the landscapes, landmarks, the people encountered, as well as other senses that the routes elicit such as sounds, smells etc. A line of road may be significant within a local context for embodying a sense of place or sense of identity for local travellers. Landmarks and features can act as iconic local features on which many individuals attach their own associations and meanings related to place. The Heritage Office guidelines for assessing items for social significance calls our attention to items that if damaged or destroyed would cause the community a sense of loss. There are a number of popular publications including *The Hume, Australia’s Highway of History* and *Up and Down the Sydney Road: The Romance of the Hume Highway* that suggest the route may have social significance. Interviews with locals and road users, such as the local rural ‘postie’ man or school bus drivers, which are beyond the scope allowed for this project would throw more light on this aspect of significance.

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24 Emma Dortins and Sue Rosen - Heritage Assessment And History (HAAH), *Sydney Region Heritage Studies, Liverpool Sub-Region - Phase 1, Appendix B; Macarthur South Landscape, Urban Design and Open Space Study*, p. 94.


Criterion E - An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history.

An item is significant under this criterion if it has the potential to yield new or further substantial scientific or archaeological information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW’s cultural or natural history; is an important benchmark or reference site or type; or provides evidence of past human cultures that is unavailable elsewhere. A number of culverts on the Hume in the study area were identified in the literature as being breakthrough achievements for the time and may be significant under this criteria. A line of road may also be significant under this criterion if it contributes to a general understanding of people’s perceptions of the landscape or other information about social perceptions, expectations and meaning systems.

Criterion F - An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW’s cultural or natural history.

An item is significant under this criterion if it shows unusually accurate evidence of a significant human activity, or demonstrates designs or techniques of exceptional interest, or is the only example of its type. An item has rarity value if it demonstrates a process, custom or other human activity that is in danger of being lost. Abandoned sections of the Hume have the potential to be significant under this criteria.

Criterion G - An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW’s cultural or natural places; or cultural or natural environments.

An item is significant under this criterion if it is a fine or outstanding example of its type, has the principal characteristics of an important class or group of items, or has attributes typical of a way of life, philosophy, custom, significant process or activity. An item is also significant under this criterion if it is a significant variation to a class of items or is part of a group, which collectively illustrates a representative type. The line of road in the study area may be significant under this criterion because it retains many of the principal characteristics of mid-twentieth century roads in NSW in a relatively unaltered form.

2.2 How can the curtilage of lines of road be defined for the purpose of heritage assessment?

In assessing a line of road, it is essential to define the line, both physically and conceptually, and in doing so to ask: What is the curtilage or sphere of influence of the line of road? The resulting decision making processes about the notional boundaries of a line of road will interplay with the research undertaken and the assessment of the item’s significance.

Under the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, a line of road has the potential to be a place with cultural significance. The Burra Charter defines a place as a site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works that may include components, contents,
spaces and views. This definition is deliberately broad and inclusive, recognising the potential of a wide range of types of objects, structures, and places to have heritage significance, and for a suite of such items to have significance as a group.\(^33\) The Burra Charter also states that the significance of a place is strongly related to its **setting** and may be related to other items nearby or physically removed. The Charter defines setting as the area around a **place**, which may include the visual catchment\(^34\) and also states that:

> Conservation requires the retention of an appropriate visual setting and other relationships that contribute to the cultural significance of the place. New construction, demolition, intrusions or other changes which would adversely affect the setting or relationships are not appropriate. The contribution which related places and related objects make to the cultural significance of a place should be retained.\(^35\)

The NSW Heritage Office has adopted a concept of **curtilage**, which draws on the Burra Charter concept of setting. A curtilage, in the heritage sense is defined as, ‘The area of land surrounding an item or an area of heritage significance which is essential in referring to and interpreting its heritage significance’.\(^36\) The Heritage Office encourages the consideration of curtilage both at the time of assessment and when management decisions regarding the item are being made.\(^37\) In a background paper for a heritage industry charette\(^38\) organised by the NSW Heritage Office to explore the management issues associated with cultural landscapes, the Heritage Office indicated its recognition that the setting of a heritage item, which could extend beyond the immediate curtilage, could contribute to the significance of a place and needed to be appropriately managed. The Heritage Office also acknowledged that the relationship between a heritage item and the landscape might have heritage significance and therefore required management that respected the heritage qualities of the item in the context of its place in the landscape.\(^39\) In its guideline on the assessment of curtilage the Heritage Office advises that:

> The significance of heritage items often involves their wider setting. This may provide evidence of historical, social and cultural associations and uses, which is integral to the heritage significance of the items. It is often the interaction of a heritage item with its surroundings through activities, functions, and visual links that enable its heritage significance to be fully appreciated.\(^40\)

\(^33\) *Burra Charter*, 1999, Article 1.1, and commentary p. 2.

\(^34\) *Burra Charter*, 1999, Article 1.12.

\(^35\) *Burra Charter*, 1999, Article 8, Article 11.

\(^36\) Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, *Heritage Curtilages*, 1996, p.3.


2.3 Types of heritage items

Keeping in mind the above discussion and guidelines on assessing and defining a curtilage, a consideration of the NSW Heritage Office categories of heritage item types is a valuable tool to aid the definition and assessment of a line of road as heritage items. The Heritage Office has defined the following five item types of heritage items:

- **Archaeological:** an item providing physical evidence of past human activity;
- **Built:** an item that has been constructed rather than being a natural formation;
- **Area/group/complex:** a group of related items;
- **Landscape:** a cultural landscape is one which has been significantly modified by human activity; and
- **Movable/collection:** movable heritage is a term used to define any natural or manufactured object of heritage significance which is portable. It does not include archaeological relics found underwater or underground. It often includes collections of significant items.41

The starting point for an assessment of a line of road will often be the legal definition of its boundaries as gazetted and defined in the RTA asset register. However, in undertaking the research required for the assessment, it may emerge as the historic themes are distilled; the fabric investigated; and the community consulted, that the area of influence is much broader than the line’s legal definition and the decision as to what type of item the line of road may be could move from built to archaeological or landscape or area/group/complex.

The final decision as to how to classify the line of road as a particular type will emerge as the curtilage and nature of its significance and relationships to other associated sites emerges. At this point the only way to define an item as being of two types, say archaeological and landscape, is to enter it twice into the NSW Heritage Inventory under each of the item types. There has been no methodology or definitions developed to enable a further refinement of this process. Nor have the implications of the nomination of a particular item type been explored in a single cohesive document, however discussion papers on cultural landscapes, movable heritage and archaeology produced by the Heritage Office are heading in that direction. Although a line of road may be intimately associated with movable items such as traffic lights and signage and form a setting for those items, the movable/collection category is not considered to be relevant for the assessment of lines of road, and is therefore not discussed further. The remaining categories have each been applied to various lines of road that appear in the online State Heritage Inventory, demonstrating the diverse nature of culturally significant lines of road as heritage items, and the role that lines of road can play in significant groups or complexes, cultural landscape elements, archaeological features or as built items. In the brief discussion of each category below, particular attention has been paid to the boundaries of such items, and the part played by the physical fabric in their significance.

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41 Movable Heritage at http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/09_index.htm#1
Lines of Road as archaeological items
A line of road which incorporates, for example, buried culverts; original surfacing, foundations; kerbing; or drainage systems, may be defined as an archaeological item type. Part of the Hume in the Tarcutta area for example, may be as an archaeological item with the potential to yield important information on road engineering during the late 1920s and 1930s and on the work patterns, skills and organisation of unemployed relief workers gangs, but may also be defined as a built item, part of a complex, or as part of a cultural landscape. Archaeological features generally present an interesting challenge to the notion of boundaries because they may be located across a large area. The Heritage Office advises that groups of archaeological features that have a functional relationship should be included within a single boundary or curtilage to enable the group of elements to be listed, conserved and interpreted as a whole, even when they extend beyond property boundaries.42 Since RTA control of roads often only extends from kerb to kerb, the possibility of archaeological features from previous alignments of the same route, for instance, extending beyond the area of RTA control is likely to be high. This may be the case for the Hume Highway.

Lines of Road as Built items
A built item is defined as an item that has been constructed, as opposed to being a natural formation. The Hume Highway in the study area may be able to demonstrate aspects of twentieth century road building technology through its alignment and physical evidence of its construction. Built fabric may also be studied as a composite structure with the item being comprised of fabric from many different periods such as is also evident along the course of the Hume. It is also important to consider how a built item may exist in relation to other items and to its setting, including the surrounding natural environment and other built features and landscapes. The significance of the Hume may derive at least partly from its relationship with the surrounding landscape and its ability to facilitate a distinctive journey through that landscape.43 The appropriate curtilage for parts of the line of road may be its visual catchment, or a wider area incorporating the cultural landscape or bush reserve it traverses. As with archaeological items, the Heritage Office encourages the listing of groups of built features with a functional relationship or with common associations as a single built item; united within a common curtilage.

Similarly, a suite of fragmented road portions might be listed as a single built item even though the road remnants are spread over an area and have a wide range of dates of construction, they may a common significance and are thus listed as a single built item. Sections of road with a functional commonality are more likely to occur in a linear pattern and therefore a number of significant built sections or features are best united within the alignment of the road itself in a linear curtilage. Parts of the Highway which may demonstrate the technologies, standards and practices of road-making in the 1930-1940s, could be separated by several kilometres of road which are much less articulate about road-making of that time: the landscape presenting few technical challenges, and that part of the road having been recently widened.

42 Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Heritage Curtilages, 1996, p. 20.
43 Campbelltown Local Environment Plan, 1998, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5001148.
Lines of road and the area/complex/group

This category is designed to accommodate suites of built, landscape or archaeological items, or combinations of the above, which have heritage significance as a group. This category can be used to unite a line of road or section of road remnant with other structures, such as inn and township sites. The area/complex/group category can also be used to incorporate an urban precinct such as the Mullengandra township which may have significant architectural and streetscape qualities.

The effect of using the area/complex/group category is to emphasise the relationship of the line of road to surrounding landmarks, infrastructure remnants or built items of other types such as houses. While this category is unlikely to be appropriate for assessing and listing lines of road of great length, it may well affect the management of parts of the Hume Highway. There is the potential for a number of complexes as the whole being a significant built item or landscape item.

Lines of Road as Components of Landscapes

The NSW Heritage Office Manual defines a cultural landscape, as distinct from a natural landscape, as those:

… areas of the landscape which have been significantly modified by human activity.

In this context ‘cultural’ implies anything produced by humans and not just limited to cultural manifestations in the narrow sense of the term as exemplified by art, literature and architecture. Nationally, the Department of Environment and Heritage has also recognised ‘cultural landscapes’ as a term which may be usefully applied to a range of landscapes from:

... areas of landscapes where natural features have special meanings to people, such as traditional Aboriginal Australian landscapes, to highly modified or developed landscapes. The land may have continuing use or be a collection of extant remains.

The 1992 UNESCO World Heritage Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognise and protect cultural landscapes, which were defined as being:

... illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and successive social, economic, and cultural forces, both external and internal.
The UNESCO World Heritage Convention Operational Guidelines identify three specific categories of cultural landscapes; the NSW Heritage Office has also acknowledged these categories:

- **Designed Landscapes**: These include landscapes which have been clearly and intentionally designed and created. This category includes garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons, which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings or ensembles.

- **Evolved Landscapes**: These cultural landscapes result from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and have developed to their present form by association with, and in response to, the natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two categories:
  - A **relic (or fossil) landscape** is one in which an evolutionary process ended at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
  - A **continuing landscape** is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time it exhibits significant material evidence of its evolution over time.

The Hume Highway is part of an evolved landscape as defined by UNESCO, developed for social and economic reasons, some of which may be relic, but it is largely part of an evolving landscape of continuing relevance and currency.

- **Associative**: The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the landscapes rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent. This may be the case for significant heritage routes such as the Silk Route where much of the material evidence has been lost, however the route still retains strong associative connections with the past.48

A consideration of the value of cultural landscapes requires gaining an understanding of the values and meanings that different people place on the particular landscape. Such values are largely context specific and may also vary depending on the specific group or individual assessing them. Even though the meaning that a landscape may hold can be at once elusive and all encompassing,49 there exists real value and meaning even if the tangibility of the meaning and values is fragile. The perceived value of a landscape will depend on who is valuing it: conflict in

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its management will become most acute when people with differing values and meanings try to use the landscape in different and incompatible ways.\(^{50}\)

In terms of lines of road, this potential ‘user’ conflict has been most recently illustrated by the ‘Rustic Tracks’ debate, where the need for commuters to travel quickly from A to B, typically on a straight stretch of road can conflict with their desire for long and winding roads with interesting vistas on a weekend outing. The meanings ascribed to cultural landscapes have been well reflected in Australian cultural expressions since the colonial period. As noted by Ramsay and Truscott,\(^{51}\) tracks feature prominently in the works of nineteenth century artists, such as Eugene von Guerard, Louis Buvelot and Conrad Martens, and are used as a metaphor in their paintings: providing scale and an aesthetic lure into the landscape. Cultural landscapes, particularly those incorporating winding tracks and trails have been strongly connected to the Australian national identity. Margaret Preston’s *The Red Road to Mulgoa* (1944) captures the essence of the Australian bush, depicting the red fertile soils of the Mulgoa Road winding through stands of eucalypts; time appears to stand still on this bush road in a scene of serenity, warmth and beauty. In a more modern expression of the importance of roads and cultural landscapes in the Australian context, Grace Cossington-Smith’s *The Bridge In-Curve*, (1930) depicts grandeur, scale and engineering importance of the Harbour Bridge. The importance of this work was recognised by the RTA when it chose to reproduce this painting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the bridge’s opening. Another image of this ilk is Jeffrey Smart’s *Cahill Expressway* (1962), which in 1968 became the theme for a collection of short stories, using the painting as a starting point.\(^{52}\) Further reflections of the importance of roads as cultural landscapes can be found in: poetry such as ‘The Braemar Road’ by Nina Murdoch or ‘The Old Bush Road by Jenning (Grace) Carmichael; songs, such as *The Tarcutta Boogie* (Dale Juner) and road films which emphasise the importance of journeys, such as *Doing Time With Patsy Kline* (1997) are a testament of the cultural value of roads and their capability of inspiring creative achievement.

Lines of road are significant features of many cultural landscapes and crucially are the means by which people access them: with the journey along the road being as important as the destination and with stopping off points and views along the way important contributors to the experience. The nature of road traffic, road design and building technologies, and the constellation of important commercial and social centres between which overland journeys are made exist in dynamic relation to lines of road. The landscape category has the capacity to encompass important aspects of the potential significance of lines of road, which the built and archaeological categories cannot adequately incorporate. In particular, the landscape category as a lens for assessment, and as a management tool, can, at the outset, embrace certain aspects of aesthetic significance and social significance, which cannot be adequately addressed under other categories.
Cultural routes
As part of the ongoing discussion of cultural landscapes, in 1994 a UNESCO Expert Meeting was convened to develop the concept of cultural routes, a sub-category of cultural landscape, which could embrace the distinctive qualities of the heritage significance of routes, as a specific, dynamic type of cultural landscape. The forum concluded that a cultural route:

- Is based on the dynamics of movement and the idea of exchanges, with continuity in space and time;
- Refers to a whole, where the route has a worth over and above the sum of the elements making it up and through which it gains it cultural significance;
- Highlights exchange and dialogue between countries or between regions; and
- Is multi-dimensional, with different aspects developing and adding to its prime purpose, which may be religious, commercial, administrative or otherwise.53

The International Congress of the ICOMOS, Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC) of 2001 served to further clarify the distinction between cultural routes and cultural landscapes, concluding that:

Cultural routes and cultural landscapes are different scientific concepts. Cultural routes are characterised by their mobility and involve intangible and spatial dynamics not possessed by a cultural landscape, which is more static and restricted in nature, although it possesses characteristics that develop over time. A cultural route usually encompasses many different cultural landscapes. A landscape is not dynamic in a geographic context as vast as that which may potentially be covered by a cultural route. A cultural route may have generated and continue to generate cultural landscapes, but the opposite does not occur.54

While international forums on cultural routes by UNESCO and International ICOMOS have primarily referred to well recognised routes such as the Silk Road and the Hadji pilgrimage to Mecca, they have also called for the need to identify cultural routes of national, regional and local significance; this concept may be applicable to the Hume Highway. The concept of cultural routes as sites of cultural exchange or dialogue could assist in considering such things as the relationship between city and country, or areas with sharply differing socio-economic and demographic patterns. These forums also noted the benefits of the concept of cultural routes for recognising the heritage of mobile, nomadic and itinerant groups, and could foster study of the exchanges and journeys of Aboriginal peoples, and the interaction of various groups of settlers and later migrants within the Riverina and NSW context. Such a concept encourages the consideration of the repercussions for civilisation of the cultural exchanges that a route might permit. The outcomes of such cultural exchanges may not necessarily be physically evidenced in the route, for example, the spread of new technologies into an area, spread of religion, disease and the outbreak of wars. The sounds and smells and other memories that cultural routes evoke are just as, or more, important to the heritage value of the route as the more tangible aspects and require the heritage

54 ICOMOS CIIC, International Congress of the ICOMOS CIIC, Conclusions, Pamplona, Navara, Spain, June 2001, p.4.
practitioner to consider the line of road beyond just its fabric. Places such as the Silk Road, for example, may have been significantly altered and important aspects of its fabric lost, however the long lasting effects of its cultural interchanges, the sounds and smells and memories that it conjures and the meanings that individuals bring to it make it an important heritage icon. It is these intangible aspects of heritage that have a degree of permanence well beyond the tangible aspects of heritage which may be subject to the continued impact of development, religious or political wars or even neglect. In reflection of current international review of cultural routes, Australia ICOMOS held a conference in 2001 entitled Making Tracks. The purpose of this conference was to explore the heritage of travel routes and journeys, with a particular focus on understanding the significance of routes in Australia and their relationship to the Australian landscape. The conference highlighted the importance of Australian cultural routes and in the interplay between the natural and cultural values of these routes. Australian tracks and trails have been well recognised, particularly through ethnographic studies of Aboriginal communities as a means of facilitating the exchange of ideas, beliefs and goods. Perhaps the mooted 2005 conference on historic roads will add further to the development and articulation of this concept. Bruce Leaver refers to the multiple meanings a place, along a route, may have together with a close interrelationship with the natural environment, where there may be an intersection of natural, indigenous and historic value: with such places requiring integrated management approaches to assessment and management.

Thus the NSW Heritage Office item type category of landscape, encompassing the concept of cultural routes, may be particularly appropriate for the understanding and assessment of the Hume Highway as a place with multiple layers of significance and also significant for demonstrating the interaction between different groups of people, and between people and the surrounding natural environment. For example, the Highway may be best looked at as a landscape because it has the potential to demonstrate the interaction of people with the natural environment both through the sensation of travelling along its alignment, and through the views of rural greater Sydney.

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Assessment methodologies for cultural landscapes

Although the US National Parks Service in 1996 published a methodology for inventorying cultural landscapes under their control,\(^{57}\) a review of cultural landscape methodologies has indicated that there is no similarly specific process in NSW that has been adopted in the assessment of this type of item nor is there a clear sense of how to plan for and manage cultural landscapes from an asset management perspective.\(^{58}\) While there is no specifically articulated model however, there is general acknowledgement that:

- The emphasis of defining items of cultural heritage in cadastral terms, that is, as just a dot on a map, does not sufficiently accommodate items such as cultural landscapes which are more geographically spread;
- A greater emphasis on planning tools is required in the assessment and management of cultural landscapes;
- The input of the community is required in the broader assessment process to ensure that values are well understood;
- Management will often require crossing political and geographic jurisdictions;
- Cultural landscape management requires full consideration of both the natural and cultural environments and their interplay; and
- Comprehensive assessment requires developing an understanding of the dynamics of complex cultural values.\(^{59}\)

Despite the widespread recognition of the validity of the concept of cultural landscapes, because cultural landscapes are less easily physically defined and bounded than archaeological and built items this has resulted in some caution in the use of the category. There are no formulas for working out boundaries. The physical extent, significant components, curtilage and any wider setting pertaining to an item must be defined with reference to the significance of that item. In 2001 Mayne-Wilson\(^{60}\) listed five types of boundaries for cultural landscapes, which can assist in the heritage assessment of a line of road. These are:

- **Literal** boundaries where the landscape is isolated within a different type of landscape. Such landscapes have clear boundaries that are definable in terms of cadastre or tenure;
- **Natural** (biophysical boundaries) where physical landscape elements/structures may be an appropriate boundary;
- **Ecological** boundaries which relate to biophysical and ecological processes;
- **Scenic** boundaries where the boundary may be the visual catchment. Physical boundaries here may be complex and diffuse but may extend beyond the visual catchment because of environmental influences; and

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\(^{57}\) National Parks Service, Park Cultural Landscapes Program, *Cultural Landscape Inventory Initiative*, April 1996.


• **Non-continuous** boundaries which may include group listings where a number of features are amalgamated.

It is possible that property boundaries will often be crossed in the process and collaboration with other authorities, companies and or individuals may at times be necessary. The road corridor may also have potential significance as a cultural landscape. The corridor is likely to include the road from kerb to kerb, but also to include an indefinite curtilage.

2.4 **Conclusion**

From a review of the literature and an examination of the NSW Heritage Office criteria for significance assessment in light of the Hume Highway it appears clear that the line of road has the potential to be significant under any, several, or all of the seven criteria for heritage assessment in a rich variety of ways. The lines of road may also fit into most of the identified heritage item types defined by the Heritage Office; that is, it can be classed as built items, archaeological, area/complex/group or landscape items depending on the nature of the item.
3 Pastoral Expansion and the Land Laws

It was in February 1818 that ten European settlers were first authorised to take up land across the Great Dividing Range, at Bathurst. Settlement gradually expanded, radiating out from the Sydney Basin as routes were discovered and physical barriers were overcome. Subsequently permission was increasingly given for people to graze stock beyond the mountains and this was regularised by the issue of a ‘ticket of occupation’ obtained by paying a small fee, which allowed the holder to graze stock within two miles of a named locality.61

By the mid 1820s a favourable market for Australian wool had emerged in Britain and immigration to the Colony was on the rise. In 1824 the Australian Agricultural Company (a British investment company with many powerful imperial and colonial connections which eventually evolved into BHP) had been created by an Act of the Imperial Parliament ‘... for the cultivation and improvement of waste lands in the Colony...’.62 British capital took an increasing interest in the opportunities afforded by NSW. Speculation in stock for new properties drove up prices and the pressure for expansion beyond the then Limits of Settlement was immense. Lured by the prospect of substantial profits, many colonists without ‘tickets of occupation’ made their way to the interior.63

3.1 The Limits of Location

In September 1826 an order by Governor Darling established an area known as the ‘Limits of Location’ which defined the area - considered to be sufficient to meet the needs of the Colony - within which settlers could take up land. Four areas of settlement outside the Cumberland Plain were defined - the Hunter Valley, Bathurst, the Southern Highlands and Illawarra-Shoalhaven. The Hunter Valley was the most closely settled and intensely occupied area outside the County of Cumberland.64 The study area was well beyond the Limits of Location at that time and had not yet been invaded by Europeans.

In 1829 pressures for new pastoral areas were such that the 1826 boundaries constituting the limits of approved settlement were varied, and re-defined as the ‘Nineteen Counties’. Since 1828, prior even to the delineation of the Nineteen Counties, settlement had extended beyond the area defined. By the time they were officially confirmed in 1835, the men and herds were well beyond the area. After Sturt’s expedition into the region in 1829, encroachment on Wiradjuri lands began and by the late 1830s the study area was very much part of this wave of occupation. The order of 1829 divided eastern Australia into two regions - the settled and unsettled. In the words of land legislation historian, C. J. King, an imaginary line divided:

... two different worlds. Within, land could be alienated, settlement was officially encouraged,
police protection was provided, roads were made and provision existed for local justice and the like; but, without, no land could be granted or sold, occupation was positively prohibited, and any man that dared to trespass had to rely entirely on himself. The Government not only refused to aid such transgression - they severely punished it, and the squatter who went beyond had to view any official as an enemy.  

In 1833 Governor Bourke introduced an Act of Council to protect ‘... the Crown lands of the Colony from Encroachment, Intrusion and Trespass’. The Act authorised the appointment of Commissioners who had the authority to warn off trespassers from the outlying country and to act on behalf of the Crown. The effect of this Act, however, was mainly the movement of men and stock even further afield beyond the patrolled areas. This and other attempts to control this invasion of the Crown lands were a failure since, in C.J. King’s opinion, the concentrated strength of a whole community and its commercial and economic interests were solidly ranged against them. In December 1835 Bourke wrote:

... the persons ... familiarly called squatters are the object of great animosity on the part of the wealthier settlers, As regards, however, the unauthorised occupation of waste lands, it must be confessed that these squatters are only following in the steps of all the most influential and exceptionable colonists, whose cattle and sheep stations are everywhere to be found side by side with those of the obnoxious squatter, and held by no better title.

Squatters and their stockmen, including Mate of Umutbee and Toonga and Smith of Kyeamba, followed the rivers and the tracks of the explorers and lived and operated outside the law. This illegal occupation of the land beyond the prescribed limits of settlement was known by a government that was unable to control it.

68 King, C.J., An Outline ..., p.46.
69 Cited in King, C.J., An Outline ..., p.47.
Figure 3.1  *The Nineteen Counties and Limits of Location, 1826-1842.* In 1829 these could only be approximated and a precise definition was not formulated until 1835. The study area which was first occupied by Europeans c.1835 is outside these limits. [Jeans, D.N., *An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901*, Reed Education, Sydney 1972, p. 106].
3.2 **Beyond the Limits**

In 1836 an Act of Council attempted to regulate squatting beyond the frontier by allowing grazing beyond the boundaries subject to the payment of a £10 licence fee. It was also an attempt to officially recognize the situation and to obtain recognition of the title of the Crown by the occupiers. As the licenses were to be issued only to reputable settlers ‘vouched for by the Commissioners’, it was also an attempt to remove the stigma of illegal squatting by excluding undesirables.71 Because the licenses had to be renewed annually, tenure was insecure and improvements were made at the licensee’s risk. As there were no surveys, the squatter had to bargain with neighbours as to his boundaries, in reality the licenses were merely the assertion by the Crown of its title. In this situation the squatters hesitated to develop their holdings and the runs remained unfenced and buildings were insubstantial and usually constructed of bark.72 Law and order were also becoming an issue on the frontier with the number of ‘depredations’ by the natives and ‘atrocities’ by the shepherds increasing. An Act of Council in March 1839 signalled yet another attempt to restrain the occupation of Crown lands via a charge on the head of stock, with the funds being used to finance policing of the area.73 In another Act, in May 1839, the area beyond the Limits of Location (The Nineteen Counties) was divided into nine districts [See Figure 2.2] to be supervised by Commissioners who were ‘to exercise a control over the numerous grazing establishments... and to prevent collision between the men in charge of such establishments and the aborigines of the country.’74 They also had to collect license fees and had a small force of Border Police to assist them. At the time Governor Gipps announced to the public that he had received instructions that inquests were to be held into any violent deaths of Aboriginal people resulting from conflict with white men, he noted atrocities recently committed beyond the frontier and stated that:

> - as the Aboriginal possessors of the soil from which the wealth of the country has been principally derived - and as subjects of the Queen, whose authority extends over every part of New Holland - the natives of the Colony have equal right with the people of European origin to the protection and assistance of the law of England.75

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Figure 3.2 Plan of the Primary Division of the Unsettled Crown Lands of New South Wales into Squattage districts in 1840. The study area is part of Area 7 the Murrumbidgee District, with Henry Bingham, based in Yass as its Commissioner. [King, C.J., An Outline Of Closer Settlement In New South Wales, Department of Agriculture New South Wales, 1957, p.49].
With the passage of the Australian Lands Act of 1842 (5 and 6 Vict., C.36) the British Parliament legislated (again) to end free grants. The Act prescribed auction from a minimum upset price of £1 per acre as the sole means of selling Crown land. With no allowance for pre-emptive or other rights, the Act heightened squatters’ insecurity while further asserting Crown rights. In reality the licensees were bitterly opposed to a fee calculated on the size of their holdings. Formerly the £10 annual rental had secured a run of unlimited size, but the new proposal required, in addition to the purchase requirement, a separate fee for every 20 square miles. Confronted by this opposition, the Colonial Office bowed to pastoral interests and Orders in Council of March 1847 under the Imperial Act of 1846 (9 and 10 Vict., c.104) allowed for a more favourable tenure, offering different leases according to the location, while retaining the £10 annual rental for all. New South Wales was then divided into three districts for leasing purposes. The ‘settled’ districts were within the nineteen counties where the annual license was continued; the newly created ‘intermediate’ districts covered the better watered lands near the coastal ports where an 8 year lease covering an area of 25 square miles was offered; and the ‘unsettled’ districts confined by a border delineated by the Barwon-Darling, in which a 14 year lease for a run with a maximum of 50 square miles was obtainable. The Murrumbidgee District, of which the study area was a part was part of the ‘unsettled’ area. Rentals in the ‘unsettled’ districts allowed for a carrying capacity of not more than 4,000 sheep with another £2.10s for each additional 1,000 sheep carrying capacity. The lessees also had the first right of purchase. At the end of the lease if the run was sold the lessee would be compensated for any improvements. Lots were to be rectangular and no lot along a water course was to have more than 440 yards of direct water access for 160 acres and no lot was to extend over both sides of a stream large enough to be a boundary. The right to purchase one square mile in 25 was used by lessees to pick the choicest spots and to strategically control the country.

The following year, 1848, Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, instructed the new Governor, Fitzroy that the term ‘Crown Leases’ gave:

the grantees only an exclusive right to pasturage for their cattle and of cultivating such land as they may require within the larger limits of this assigned to them, but that these leases are not intended to deprive the natives of their former right to hunt over these districts or to wander over them in search of subsistence in the manner to which they have hithertofore accustomed, from the spontaneous produce of the soil, except over land actually cultivated or fenced in for that purpose.

Mutual rights of Aborigines and pastoralists on crown leases were to be recognised.

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79 SRNSW: Col. Sec., Special bundle, Reserves for Aborigines 1848-49, Despatch Early Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies to Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy, 11 February 1848, pp.13-14.
3.3 The Selection Acts of the 1860s

The rapid increase in population caused by the gold rush of the 1850s fuelled the demand for land. This was led by former tenants who were looking for freeholds and successful ex-miners with capital to invest. They were encouraged by city politicians keen to attack their political rivals, the pastoralists.80 It was in this broad context in 1861 that two land laws significantly opened up New South Wales for closer settlement. The 1861 Crown lands Alienation Act (25 Vic. No.1) and the Crown lands Occupation Act (25 Vic. No.2) superseded all previous legislation. The principal of conditional purchase was instituted as well as free selection before survey. Any person could select from 40 to 230 acres of any Crown Lands (except town, suburban or reserved lands) at £1 per acre, subject to conditions of residence and improvement. In the unsettled districts runs that ranged from 25 to 100 square miles depending on the quality of the country were to have five year leases which were to be open to competition by private tender. To encourage permanent improvements lease-holders were entitled to a pre-emptive right over the area at the rate of 4 acres for every pound spent on improvements. They were also able to lease adjoining land to the extent of three times their freehold.81

In the land struggles which followed, the pastoralists used their pre-emptive and other rights to establish freehold estates by a range of strategies. The fourteen year leases granted under the 1847 Orders in Council were terminated and replaced by five year leases in the Intermediate and Unsettled Districts. It was not until 1866 that selection of the grazed Crown Lands by small farmers began in earnest, rising to a peak in the 1870s. The squatters met this ‘threat’ by dummying, or the use of agents to secure land, which was later sold back to them at a pre-arranged price; by peacocking, the selection of the best parts of the runs, in such a way that made the remaining land untenable; or sometimes by bribing selectors to induce them to go elsewhere. By such methods many runs became freehold properties, while on others the most useful land surrounding natural water supplies or improvements such as wells, tanks and fences was secured as freehold by the pastoralist or his agent.82 The 1861 Act had allowed the selector of a Conditional Purchase to pay a deposit of 5s per acre (25%) and pay the balance at the end of three years or pay interest annually at 5% forever. A new Act in 1875 allowed payment of the balance by instalments of 1s per acre and improved selectors’ chances of achieving freehold title, but many did not avail themselves of this opportunity.83

Under the Crown Land’s (Amendment) Act of 1875 (39 Vic No.13) dummying, which had been widely used since the passage of the Free Selection Act of 1861 was made a criminal offence. But as dummying still continued, and subverted the intention of the Act, there was another attempt in the 1880s to reduce the size of the lease holdings and intensify settlement.

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80 Jeans, D.N., An Historical Geography ..., pp. 207-08.
81 King, C.J., An Outline ..., pp. 81-82.
82 Jeans, D.N., An Historical Geography ..., p. 276.
3.4 Further Reforms
This took the form of the 1884 Crown Lands Act (48 Vic. No.18) and the amending Bill of 1889, which continued the process of subdivision of the runs of the squatters, but in a gradual way that provided some security and stability to the run holder. The squatters were to divide their leaseholds into two portions known as the Leasehold Area and the Resumed Area and they could re-lease the leasehold area for fixed periods. In the eastern Division this was limited to 5 years, by way of a Pastoral Lease. The Resumed Area could be occupied under an annual Occupation Licence but the area was to remain open for selection under Conditional Purchase and Conditional Lease and the run holder’s occupation licence for this area could be disposed of by auction if he failed to secure the licence. The boundaries of the three divisions of the State were redrawn from those prescribed in 1847, the study area now becoming part of the Eastern Division, which covered the coastal areas and parts of the eastern slopes, and a new administrative system of Local Land Boards was introduced. The limit for conditional purchase in the Eastern Division was 640 acres, and with conditional lease 1,280 acres, and a time limit of two years was imposed on fencing the boundaries of both conditional leases and conditional purchases.84

The 1889 Crown Lands (Amendment) Act while introducing some radical reform, offered a number of privileges which the 1884 Act withheld. For pastoral leaseholders in the Eastern Division, the leasehold area, on the expiry of the lease, could be dealt with as a resumed area, and the lease holder could apply for an occupation licence over the land formerly held under pastoral lease. Holders of expiring pastoral leases in the Eastern division could also continue to hold their land at a new rent under preferential occupation licence. However, despite these concessions, by July 1890 it was clear that a large area of the Eastern Division had reverted to the Crown by the lapsing of pastoral leases, which greatly stimulated demand for land under conditional purchase.85

Figure 3.3 The Umutbee and Toonga Run of T.H. Mate, c.1889. The resumed area could be occupied under license, but was open to conditional purchase or lease. The leasehold area could be leased for periods up to 5 years. This uncertainty meant that improvements in the way of development were insubstantial. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Pastoral Holding, Run No.438, Image No. 13677801]
Figure 3.4  The Kyeamba Run of John Smith, c.1889. Subsequent subdivision of the area reflects attempts to protect the interests of the run holder and is evident in the parish maps which indicate the names of purchasers of small holdings. See Chapter 3.2 for details. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 1367301]
Figure 3.5  The Little Billabong Run of William Williams, c.1889. See Chapter 3.3 for a detailed discussion of the development on the property within the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 1367301]
In the late 1880s a long period of economic boom in New South Wales came to an end, ushering in an economic depression which extended throughout most of the following decade. This was accompanied by ongoing industrial unrest in some key industries, including the pastoral industry which was hit by the shearsers’ strikes and the shipping industry, crippled by the maritime strike. There were also prolonged droughts and a cycle of very wet years in 1887 and 1889-1891, causing widespread flooding in some areas. The depression was accompanied by a dramatic fall in wool prices and triggered the banking crisis of 1893, when thirteen of the 25 trading banks in New South Wales collapsed.\(^{86}\) This combination of circumstances served to make pastoralism much less economically viable and had serious repercussions for squatters and selectors. By 1890 nearly 1,200 squatting runs were in the hands of financial institutions and, between 1883 and 1893, 95,997 selectors had transferred their holdings to others, in most cases to the holders of the runs on which the selections were made.\(^{87}\)

The 1895 Crown Lands Act (58 Vic. No. 18) introduced at such a time of crisis did not interfere with the rights of the squatters, but offered them instead a number of concessions, by restoring the resumed parts of their runs, until they were needed for settlement and allowing them to apply for re-appraisal of their rents and an extension of their times. The main emphasis of the 1895 Act, however, was the interests of the small settler to whom land was to be made available under new tenures. It also introduced a new principle of classification of land as to value and potential. Until 1895 Conditional Purchase and its associated Conditional Lease had been the principal means of selection and settlement of Crown Lands, but the 1895 Act provided two new options of Homestead Selection and Settlement Lease, both of which were obtainable from areas which had already been classified and made available for the purpose.\(^{88}\)

The Homestead Selection required a rental of 1.25% of the capital value of the block until the issue of the Grant, and thereafter 2.5%. The Grant, to be issued by the Local Land Board required annual payment forever of a perpetual rent, residence forever on the selection, and forfeiture of the land in case these conditions were not carried out. The Settlement Lease was for a term of 28 years, with an annual rent of 1.25% of the capital value of the farm, and required residence for the full term of the lease. The Act also allowed the leaseholder to obtain a Homestead Selection out of his leased land. In all cases the residence term was greatly extended. From a residence term of five years prior to 1895, it now became perpetual residence on Homestead Selections and 28 years on Settlement Leases, and it was not until 1917 that the term on all residential tenures was reverted to five years.\(^{89}\) In view of the prevailing economic situation the Conditional Purchasers' Relief Act was introduced in 1896, offering further concessions to people unable to pay purchase instalments. These were reduced from 1s to 9d per acre, and where conditions allowed the full payment to be completed in 66 years, they were reduced to 6d per acre. Conditional Purchase holders were also permitted to convert to Homestead Selections, on which payments were considerably less than on

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\(^{88}\) King, C.J., *An Outline ..., pp.133-34.

Conditional Purchases.90

The introduction of these new tenures, the Homestead Selection and the Settlement Lease gave fresh impetus to the demand for land at the turn of the century. Other measures also made it more difficult for the pastoralists to increase the size of their holdings, including the introduction of a principle of ‘good faith’ into the law in an effort to prevent dummying. This required every selection to be taken up in good faith and held in good faith and because of legal redress reserved to the Crown it resulted in the elimination of dummying almost entirely.91 Another measure which discouraged larger holdings was the introduction of the 1895 Land Tax Act (59 Vict. No. 16) which levied land tax at the rate of 1d in the pound for the unimproved value of the land.92 In later debates on closer settlement in NSW many advocated the introduction of steeply graded progressive land taxes as being the surest means of reducing the size of the large estates. It was not till after the 1909 Federal elections when the Labor party gained government that the Federal Land Tax (1910) was introduced. However, this effect was somewhat circumvented by the 1906 NSW Local Government Act, which made land tax inoperative in NSW, with the exception of certain freeholds in the Western Division, to which the Local Government Act did not apply.93

3.5 Closer Settlement

Statistics indicate the success of these measures. In 1900, 139,427 acres were made available for Homestead Selection and 329,314 acres for Settlement Lease. By 1901 these figures had increased to 203,873 acres for Homestead Selection and 851,916 acres for Settlement Lease, while between 1895 and the end of 1902, 2,432,000 acres were disposed of as Homestead Selections. During the same period, however, 6,600,000 acres of Crown Land were disposed of as Conditional Purchases and Conditional Leases, the latter with the capacity to be purchased at any time during their period of tenure.94 After the return of troops from both world wars Soldier Settlement schemes were introduced. The history of tenure along the line of road discernable in the parish maps reflects the impact of these legislative and administrative reforms.
4 The Port Phillip Road a.k.a. The Great Southern Road a.k.a. The Hume Highway

Prior to 1928 the main overland route from Sydney to Melbourne was known as the Great South Road. This road in its northern most stages closely followed the route of Hume and Hovell who, in 1824, were the first Europeans to travel overland to the south coast of what became the state of Victoria. After leaving Hume’s property at Lake George they travelled close to the site of the town of Tumut and in November 1824 reached the Murray River in the vicinity of Albury. The portion of the Great South Road or Hume Highway in the study area, diverges to the west of the path taken by Hume and Hovell. It followed a route which had developed through the movement of stock into the area and beyond through Tarcutta, Little Billabong, Holbrook and Albury.

These early road routes were dictated by the need for water and pasturage. Key features of such roads were the natural contours, watering places and level, sheltered campsites. Billy Owens waterhole, near the early alignment, is likely to have been such a place. Road verges were wide to allow for feed for the bullocks that were the principal form of heavy transport. Initially the line of road avoided crossings which required bridges and obstructions were bypassed rather than built over. As a route became formalised, was surveyed and formed best practise in contemporary road design theory called for roads to be straight, level, smooth and hard. The best roads were those that crossed the shortest distance between two points, subject to obstacles, existing towns and traffic requirements. The steepness of a road was at times considered to be a higher imperative than straightness. The expense of cutting through hill sides was also a factor in the best road design. Roads that contoured along the slope were superior to those with a direct descent. Ideally, the construction process was to avoid large geological formations wherever possible, but ultimately the line was a matter of compromise between practicality and cost. Works in the Tarcutta Study Area in the 1930s, particularly the massive cutting and realignments, that occurred at that time, were undertaken to bring a portion of the road up to twentieth century standards by eliminating the curves that had been created in order to avoid the obstacle presented by Sylvia’s Gap, to the immediate north of the study site.

By the early 1850s the Great South Road had only extended as far as Yass where a bridge crossing the Yass River was completed in 1854. A track then continued to Bookham, Jugiong and Coolac to Gundagai where the Murrumbidgee was crossed by ford. The track then followed the southern bank of the river to Jones’ Inn, 20 miles from Gundagai, where it turned sharply west to Lower Tarcutta. It then ran south through Kyeamba Station over Kyeamba Range to Garryowen to Holbrook, thence via Bowna to Albury. The route in this latter area was merely a track serving the

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various holdings. That portion of the road constructed in the 1930s which short-cut the line via Lower Tarcutta, reflects an implementation of a straighter route, more attuned to settlement patterns as they had evolved at that date.

Figure 4.1 Plan showing the early alignments of the line of road through the study area.

By 1865 all creeks were bridged between Adelong Crossing and Albury along the main Southern Road (Hume Highway) and the road was cleared to Little Billabong and from Mullengandra to Albury. Control of the roads was assumed by the Department of Public Works in 1861. At that time very little construction work had been undertaken between Goulburn and Albury.99

The early settlement at Holbrook was an important staging post on the road until the railway from Sydney to Melbourne opened in 1883 and siphoned off a good deal of the long distance traffic. The road lost much of its early significance as a transport route and improvements lagged. Little in the way of construction or maintenance activity occurred and the condition of the road declined. During the Sydney Melbourne Reliability Trial of 1905, for example, the Great Southern Road, was described as an unmarked track, impassable for motor vehicles in wet weather. The Shires Act of 1905 transferred control of public roads to the councils of shires, but with limited local finance, road conditions did not improve. Its importance was only regained after the primacy of motor vehicle traffic was established. With the passing of the Main Roads Act in 1925 the Great Southern Road became eligible for assistance from the Main Roads Funds. Development of the road really took off after 1928 when it was proclaimed a State Highway and named in honour of Hamilton Hume. From that time the road was improved by the construction of deviations and the construction of bituminous or other dustless surfaces. Concrete came into favour for bridge construction as it was seen as a low maintenance material. In the 1920s the Main Roads Board focussed on the ‘great arterial highways’ of the state and began a process of improving width, lines, grades, crossings and surfaces in an effort to improve safety.100

4.1 Construction and Development of the Study Portion

By 1925, when the Main Roads Board was constituted, the Great South Road had been paved for the greater part in gravel or water-bound macadam and the principal streams had been bridged, usually with timber. However the alignment and grade was substandard for motor transport, having been largely developed for foot and and horse or bullock drawn vehicles. The road was tortuous with many sharp bends. One of the features of the road prior to 1925 were "V" gutters which constituted a danger for the faster moving motorized traffic and these were prioritised for elimination. Large sections needed to be relocated, bends straightened and grades reduced. Pending the construction of deviations it was decided to undertake temporary improvements by to the trafficable surface by scarifying and re-shaping the old pavement, followed by re-sheeting with locally available materials. Thereafter the frequent grading to retain the shape and smoothness was the designated policy.101

By the 1930s the introduction of balloon tyres and lightweight car bodies, changed road design


requirements for both alignments and surfaces. Pavements needed to provide a better grip for braking and easier curves were necessary to cope with greater speeds. These imperatives are demonstrated in the development of the Hume Highway in the study area at that time.102

In 1930 a recondition unit was formed by the Main Roads Board to work on the Hume Highway in the Kyeamba Shire. Tenders were to be invited for the reconstruction of five miles of gravel pavement on the Hume Highway within the Shire. In 1931, contractors Winnett and Son completed the formation of a deviation of 2,020 feet on the nineteen miles on the Hume Highway in the Kyeamba Shire. The new road had a gravel pavement and improved visibility and grades. In 1932 causeways were being eliminated and narrow and inadequate culverts were being renewed in both the Kyeamba and Holbrook Shires. Seven reinforced concrete box culverts and five concrete pipe culverts had been completed in the preceding six months. This was often accompanied by filling and gravelling resulting in an improved alignment and grading.103

Figure 4.2: View of a new triple 10ft x 9ft concrete culvert over Keajura Creek, on the Hume Highway in Kyeamba Shire. [‘News of the Month, Main Roads, Vol. III, No.4, December, 1931, p.52.]

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Figure 4.3  Plan showing road surfaces between Albury and Jugiong, 1933. [Highway Maintenance and Improvement in Holbrook, Kyeamba, Gundagai and Demondrille Shires, *Main Roads*, Vol. IV, No.11, July, 1933, pp.153-157.]
By mid 1933 six box and fifteen pipe culverts had been constructed between the Monaro Highway junction and Tarcutta township and the road formation was widened to 28ft. All new work was sheeted with gravel four inches thick. Work had commenced on the realignment between the bridges over Tarcutta Creek and Kyeamba Creek. Triple cell culverts were being constructed at Comatawa Creek (9ft x 9ft), McIntyre’s Creek (double cell 9ft x 8ft) and Kilgowlah Creek (double cell 10 ft x 8ft). These culverts were replacing worn out timber structures, those on a poor or narrow alignment or with an inadequate waterway. Between nine and eleven miles south of the northern shire boundary the road had been widened throughout and the horizontal curves super-elevated and vertical curves eased. The work had been gravelled and was being sheeted with a 1 inch coating of granite gravel. Between Kyeamba Post Office and Kyeamba Gap a small gang had been working for twelve months improving the alignment and grading. The whole section from eleven miles to the southern shire boundary was then considered to be in excellent condition. At fifteen miles, two box culverts had been constructed, eliminating the last two causeways between Tarcutta and Kyeamba gap. Contracts had been let for the lengthening of existing pipe culverts (12) and constructing new pipe culverts (10) on the section of road south of eleven miles. The formation was already of standard width, but the lack of width between the headwalls of the smaller culverts had prevented traffic from making full use of the widened road.  

Figure 4.4  
Grading and realigning to ease a sharp dip and a reversed curve, Kyeamba Shire.  
Figure 4.5  Grading and realigning to ease a sharp dip and a reversed curve, Kyeamba Shire. [Highway Maintenance and Improvement in Holbrook, Kyeamba, Gundagai and Demondrille Shires’, Main Roads, Vol. IV No.11, July, 1933, pp.153-157.]

Figure 4.6  Typical old timber culvert (Kilgowlah Creek) which was re-newed in 1933. [‘Highway Maintenance and Improvement in Holbrook, Kyeamba, Gundagai and Demondrille Shires’, Main Roads, Vol. IV, No.11, July, 1933, pp.153-157.]
In early 1934 Winnett and Co completed reconstruction in gravel of 1.5 miles of the Hume Highway near Little Billabong. The section was raised a foot above high flood level. South of Tarcutta, a realignment of .75 mile of road was completed and two large box culverts were built over a branch of Keajura Creek, an existing timber bridge was skewed on its piers and the whole length gravelled.105

Contractor A.H. Wilson was reconstructing another 1.5 miles near Little Billabong in early 1935. In February, earthworks and culverts were almost completed and gravel pavement was being laid. The work was designed to improve alignment and to replace causeways with culverts. Two sections below the high flood level of Billabong Creek were to be raised to give a one foot clearance above that level. Contractor W.A. Winnett was constructing a two span reinforced concrete bridge over Billabong Creek.106

By 1935 the section of the highway from Tarcutta to the Victorian Border had been permanently aligned and the surface ‘treated throughout’. The most noticeable area of improvement had been that between Tarcutta and Holbrook, parts of which in 1925 had been un-constructed and not even cleared of timber. This section was almost impassable in wet weather and contained numerous narrow timber culverts with badly aligned approaches. In 1935 it was considered to be of a first class standard throughout, having excellent alignment and providing one of the finest stretches of road in the state. On the roadside in this section there was an almost continuous growth of native trees which added an attractiveness to the route. The 28 mile from Tumblong to Tarcutta had still not been bituminised in 1935.107

Improvements to the alignment of the Hume Highway in the Kyeamba Shire in 1935 resulted in the technical advance of moving two reinforced concrete culverts to new locations. The culverts were situated in the centres of two curves that had been constructed several years previously but were already considered unsatisfactory. The two 700 feet radius curves which once represented an improvement, with increases in the volume and speed of traffic, had become dangerous. Realignment had been postponed due to the anticipated expense of scrapping the culverts - a two cell of 5ft x3ft and a single cell of 5ft x 2 ft each 31 ft between curves valued at £250 each and with a similar expenditure for the new ones.108

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Figure 4.7  New Culvert, at Kilgowlah Creek, Hume Highway, Shire of Kyeamba, 1935.
[‘From the Divisions’, Main Roads, Vol. VI, No.2, February, 1935, p.31.]

Figure 4.8  Old timber structure, at Kilgowlah Creek, Hume Highway, Shire of Kyeamba.,
Figure 4.9  Jacking of the box culvert prior to removal. ['Moving Concrete Box Culverts’, *Main Roads*, Vol. VII, No.2, February 1936, pp.69-70]

Figure 4.10  The box in the process of moving, Kyeamba, 1935. A general view of the landscape provides a backdrop. ['Moving Concrete Box Culverts’, *Main Roads*, Vol. VII, No.2, February 1936, pp.69-70]
Figure 4.11  General View showing route of new road where the culvert was to be employed and the old alignment in Kyeamba Shire, c.1935. ['Moving Concrete Box Culverts’, Main Roads, Vol. VII, No.2, February 1936, pp.69-70]

According to local historian, Sherry Morris who prepared a history of the RTA’s South-West Region to mark their 75th anniversary, work on that portion of the study area from the Monaro Highway junction to Tarcutta was not commenced until 1938 with the focus of work previously being on that portion from Tumblong to the Monaro Highway turnoff. That major deviation is first evident on the 1929 edition of the Umutbee Parish Maps which was modified until its cancellation in 1944. Indicating that this work occurred in the intervening years, but with surprisingly little fanfare given the major divergence in the route that this work entailed. Some 240 rationed relief workers camped in situ were employed as unskilled labour on the task, with mechanized assistance, particularly at the 22 metre deep Sylvia’s Gap (to the north of the study area), which, according to Morris, was the largest cutting the DMR had attempted to date. The plant included 25-30 owner driver lorries, six compressors, six tractors, two heavy duty rippers, a 1.5metre capacity revolving bowl pneumatic tyred scoop, a 4.5 metre capacity cable-operated pneumatic tyres carry-all scoop, a .75 cubic metre capacity steam shovel, a two bag concrete mixer, a motor grader, buckscrapers, jackhammers, other small plant and a trailbuilder consisting of a 25kw tractor fitted with a 3.3 metre wide hydraulically operated blade - a stark contrast to the equipage of other work sites, and representing the peak of mechanized construction processes. The Tumblong-Tarcutta deviation as a whole was considered to be an exceptional work for the time, the success of which led to the Department acquiring a substantial fleet of road building machinery.109

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South of the major re-alignment at Tarcutta, improvements to 1940 were confined to the existing alignment. The line from Tarcutta to Albury was bitumen surfaced by 1936. By 1939, 95 per cent of the Hume Highway between Sydney and Albury had been surfaced with bitumen. From the early years of World War Two onwards, use of heavy vehicles, including semi-trailers for freight haulage accelerated the deterioration of the State's main roads, necessitating constant upgrading.\(^{110}\)

Sprayed bitumen surfaces and stone aggregate were widely used in the period from the 1930s to the 1960s, using a hot-mix created by the DMR. But by the late 1950s these surfaces were not strong enough to withstand heavy vehicle use, particularly combined with flooding. Heavy and protracted rain in the winter of 1956 caused a weakening of the foundations of the highway on the south-western slopes. Heavy vehicles broke though the bitumen surfaced gravel road pavement. The worst affected area was located between Tarcutta and Holbrook. Heavy vehicular traffic was halted for 2 weeks and there were also delays for lighter vehicles. It was not until April 1957 that restoration work was completed. However the Minister for Highways said should similar rains occur that the public should expect similar disruption as the road, constructed 25 to 30 years previously was being asked to sustain a weight and volume of traffic far in excess of that expected at construction. Breakdown of the road could be expected during protracted rainfall. More durable surfaces and bridges needed to be developed. Prestressed concrete construction began to replace

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reinforced concrete bridges and culverts.111

Improvements in safety provisions continued, in 1965 the first road side rest areas in NSW were introduced on the Hume and Federal Highways.112 In 1967, 11.3 miles of lanes for slow moving traffic had been provided in the 28.5 miles of the road between the Kyeamba Shire northern boundary and the Victorian Border.113 In 1968 a 3-span pre-stressed concrete bridge 105 ft long was constructed over Little Billabong Creek, by Siebels Concrete Constructions for $40,170.20.114 In 1981 a tender was accepted for the construction of a culvert over Keajura Creek, 19.1 ks south of Tarcutta.115
5 Development in the Study Area

5.1 Introduction
The Holbrook -Tarcutta area was originally part of the tribal land of the Wiradjuri Aboriginal people. Holbrook was on the direct route to Yellowin, the principal meeting place of the Murray River, Yass and local Aboriginal peoples. Like elsewhere, early routes often followed and perpetuated Aboriginal paths and trade routes. The explorers, Hume and Hovell, were the first Europeans to disturb their hunting and fishing when they crossed from Tumbarumba into the Holbrook Shire on 10th November, 1824 on the first overland expedition to Victoria from the Sydney region by Europeans.116 Charles Sturt, who also explored the region in 1829, commented on the beauty of the rich and lightly timbered valley through which the Murrumbidgee River flowed, country that was the product of Aboriginal land management practices. European settlement of the area did not begin until the 1830s, when stock began to be moved beyond the nineteen counties as far south as the Murray region. Within fifteen years of Sturt’s visit, most of the water frontages along the Murrumbidgee were occupied by pastoralists, alienating a crucial resource from the Wiradjuri and imposing a new land management regime on much of the area which often resulted in conflict with the Wiradjuri people, who resisted this occupation vigorously. By the late 1840s squatting runs dominated the area.117

5.2 Tarcutta Study Area
In 1836 the first Europeans to occupy Wiradjuri land in the Tarcutta area arrived. They were Thomas Hodges Mate, an English Cabinet maker and John Smith, an immigrant engineer. Mate established ‘Umutbee’ and ‘Toonga’ (‘Tonga’), which in combination were identified as Run Number 438. It encompassed 101,700 acres including the future site of the town of Tarcutta. Smith assisted Mate for some 9-12 months, constructing a store and inn at Tarcutta, before occupying Kyeamba, some 20 miles further south. In 1838 there were some 17 male and 2 female free at Umutbee. Mate’s residence and inn was located within the area that became the town of Tarcutta and so are not within the study area.118 By 1871 there were some 400 persons per square mile in the Tarcutta area.119

Of the 6km of the Hume Highway that runs south from the junction with the Sturt Highway approximately 4.5km lies largely within the Parish Of Tarcutta (the most northerly section) and 1.5km (the southern portion) lies within the Parish of Umutbee. This section of road falls within the area resumed from Mate’s Umutbee & Tonga Run. The parish maps including that of 1923 indicate that until that time at least the 4.5km section within the Parish of Tarcutta was located to the west running beside Tarcutta Creek to Lower Tarcutta. The current line of this most northern section of

117 Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, Regional Histories of New South Wales, 1996, pp.132-134; Swan, 1970, p. 21)
the Hume Highway under study makes its first appearance on the 1929 Umutbee Parish Map. This portion of the road is likely to have been developed some time after this date and prior to the maps cancellation in 1944. As discussed in the preceding chapter Sherry Morris has suggested that work commenced in 1938. Evidence of former lines of road may be evident in the study area. [See Figures 5.1.1 and 5.1.2]

The southern portion of the Tarcutta Study Area from where the present day Lower Tarcutta Road branches off is indicated in the 1887 Umutbee Parish Map. On Portion 38 Toonga is marked as the station of T. H. Mate and there are a number of alternative lines of road marked in the area. In the 1899 Parish Map there may be structures indicated on that portion. There is evidence of earlier lines of road on the Umutbee Parish Map in the study area as late as 1944.

The increasing number of portions over the period as the larger holdings were broken up reflect changes in land and settlement legislation discussed previously. In the post WWII period a Soldier Settlement was established at Toonga further increasing the density of settlement and landuse. See images 5.1.1 to 5.1.7 for details concerning the development of the area. No other documentary evidence was obtainable for the area.
Figure 5.2.1 Part of the Parish of Tarcutta Parish Map, dated 1894, the earliest map available. This view shows where the road runs through the Parish of Tarcutta. Note that the Highway as such is not formed in the vicinity of the present day line of road. The road adjacent to lots 35 to 39 approximates part of the current line of road. The entire area through which the line now passes is broken into small holdings in the name of BJ Ryder. The road marked as the South Road that runs to Lower Tarcutta follows the line of the present day Lower Tarcutta Road. The present day line of road crosses the parish border in portion 82 in the bottom top right hand corner of the image. See detail in Figure 4.1.2. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Tarcutta Parish Map 1894, Image No. 15253101]
Figure 5.2.2  Detail of part of the Parish of Tarcutta Parish Map, dated 1932. The new line of road is encircled in yellow. This line of road diverges from the road line that followed the western boundary of portions 35 to 39 and cuts across 34, 59, 91 and 82. The junction with the Sturt is formed in portion 34 near the boundary with portion 35. The former South Road is on the left, adjacent to Tarcutta Creek and is encircled in orange. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Tarcutta Parish Map 1932, Image No. 12481501]
Figure 5.1.3 Parish of Umutbee 1887. A view of the study area within the context of the parish, this map shows the Village of Tarcutta. The South Road approximates the current line of the Hume Highway in the study area until it diverges to the west at the approximate site of the current juncture with Lower Tarcutta Road and various alternate tracks. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Parish Map 1887, Image No. 15303801]
Figure 5.2.4 Part of the Parish of Umutbee 1887. A more detailed view of the various lines of road in the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Parish Map 1887, Image No. 15303801]
Figure 5.2.5  Parish of Umutbee 1899. A detailed view of the various lines of road in the study area. The two square marks under the word “Toonga” may indicate the site of buildings. These appear to beyond the line of Lower Tarcutta Road and therefore will not be in the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Parish Map 1899, Image No.15254301]
Figure 5.2.6  Parish of Umutbee 1929. This map shows the new line of the Hume Highway as it diverges at the present day juncture with Lower Tarcutta Road. Other lines of road are evident within the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Parish Map 1929, Image No. 12480401]
Figure 5.2.7  Parish of Umutbee 1944. A close up of the study area with the alternate lines if road clearly marked. Evidence of these lines may remain in the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Umutbee Parish Map 1944, Image No 12480301]
5.3 Kyeamba Hill Area

By late 1839 John Smith who had accompanied T.H. Mate into the area had constructed a number of slab and bark huts on Kyeamba and thirty acres were under cultivation. Some 26 Europeans had taken up residence on the holding and there were 220 cattle and 4560 sheep. With his homestead located close to the Port Phillip Road Smith converted the house to an inn, known as the Traveller’s Joy, later also known as the Traveller’s Rest and later still as Kyeamba Inn. In 1843 it was licensed to a J. Johnstone and Smith had moved to a new stone residence north of the inn. Smith became insolvent later in that year and Thomas Walker took over the licence to his runs, with Smith remaining as manager, not only of Kyeamba but of American Yards (later Humula) and other holdings. At the end of 1843 there were some 52 Europeans resident at Kyeamba. The company began to employ Chinese vegetable gardeners on the flats of Kyeamba Creek and some wheat for domestic consumption was cultivated. In 1847 a four acre vineyard had been established and Walker and Co brought out six German vignerons to develop the industry. Heinrich Rau, Sebastian Schubach and Johann Frauenfelder arrived in 1849. They remained on the property for two years before moving to Albury to establish a vineyard there. Smith then oversaw the winemaking, commencing production in 1849 and constructing a press in 1850. His first outlet was the Traveller’s Joy and after 1852 to the Victorian goldfields, through an Albury outlet. By the late 1850s there were occasional sales to Sydney and Melbourne.

In 1858 another German family arrived to assist with the enterprise - Sebastian and Maria Spies, in the meantime Kyeamba had been re-acquired by Smith. On the Spies arrival in 1858 the property had a quarry, sawmill, machinery shed, wine press and cellars. The vineyard consisted of 12 acres of vines protected on three sides by rows of fruit trees and on the fourth by a belt of willows. A grove of oak, elm, ash and birch was opposite the house. The wine press was a stone and brick building with a shingled roof and window shutters. It was located 50 metres up a rise from the creek. Beneath was a 10m square stone walled cellar with a separate entry chamber, a brick floor and piers supporting large pit sawn hardwood timber flooring. The floor level of the cellar approximated the water level of the creek and there was a shaft of water for use in there. Beside the winepress was a second cellar and a series of small single roomed quarters for the vignerons. A stone west wing was added to the wine press in the late 1860s and included a distillery and is reputedly one of the last stone structures built at Kyeamba. Cuttings from the vineyard contributed to the establishment of viticulture on the Murray Valley.120

The NSW Mounted Police had an office on Portion 6 of Kyeamba, probably in the 1850s. It was listed with two constables in December 1863, but only one after 1875. It is not known when the office was transferred but the land with remaining hut and stables were granted to Alick Smith in compensation for land resumed for the highway in 1902.121 The bushranger Dan (Mad Dog) Morgan was active in the area between Gundagai and Albury between 1862 and 1865. According to local historian, Jenny White, in a particularly busy 24 hour period he ‘held up a road camp at Kyeamba, shot a Chinaman, and held up two buggies and the Albury Mail Coach, taking several hostages’.122

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It is reputed that Morgan rested in the upstairs room of the Traveller’s Joy, from where he could keep an eye on the police based just down the road, and that he kept a change of horses in the stable.\(^{123}\)

By 1871 there were some 300 people per sq mile in the area. Another Police Office was located on portion 42 and Johnathon Winston-Gregson has reported on the surviving elements. Apparently this residence, was located adjacent to the line of road and consisted of eight rooms with a small gaol attached at the back. It was reputedly used as a gaol until 1895, then as a school master’s residence until 1915, when it was leased to a S. Oakman for farm buildings.\(^{124}\)

With the advent of the Robertson Selection Acts of the 1860s referred to in Chapter 2, John Smith selected much of the good land on Kyeamba. Sections were made in his own name and that of his sons, George and Alick. The *Town and Country Journal* reported in 1872 that the vineyard with a good orchard before the house and acacias and willows fringing the river bank together with the backdrop of hills making a ‘pretty picture’.\(^{125}\) In the 1880s the vineyard was closed, the inn shut down and most of the vines ripped up. From that time wool production became the focus of activity, with some cattle.

The Smith’s continued to develop Kyeamba with a reservoir constructed post WWI, and in the 1930s a tennis court was added and a swimming pool. The homestead had the usual complement of milking and chook sheds, garages and outbuildings. It survives beyond the study area, while still within the visual curtilage and has been described by Johnathon Winston-Gregson. There were also a number of cottages on Kyeamba which accommodated farm workers, and also a men’s dining room, in the vicinity of the homestead and the study area.\(^{126}\)

Kyeamba village developed along the line of the South Road and included the *Traveller’s Joy/ Rest/ Kiamba Inn*, the Telegraph Station, the aforementopned Police Office and school with associated residences. The Telegraph Station opened in 1861 and became a Post Office in 1891. Kyeamba was a repairing and testing station for the Sydney-Melbourne Telegraph Line. As a postal exchange it connected Wagga Wagga, Tumburumba, Germanton (Holbook) and Tarcutta.\(^{127}\) Between 1861 and 1891, through the auspices of the various land acts the area under cultivation in NSW almost quadrupled and in doing so fostered increased road traffic. As noted by Rosemary Broomham in *Vital Connections: A History of NSW Roads from 1788*:

The sense of community achieved in many of the country towns which grew up in the period was inextricably linked

\(^{123}\) Margaret Carnegie, *Friday Mount*, p.142.


\(^{125}\) Cited in Carnegie, *Friday Mount*, p.143.


with road-based services such as the regular delivery of mail and newspapers.  

When the Post Office was destroyed by fire in 1916, postal services were resumed in association with the “Accommodation House” of John Bell at the junction of the Hume Highway and the Tumburumba Road. That establishment was also known as John Bells Inn, but never had a licence due to a prior conviction for operating as an unlicensed premises. The house was “a grey weatherboard structure with pressed metal ceiling sheets used to line the internal walls” and has also been described by Johnathon Winston-Gregson. By 1915, the Accommodation House was a coaching station where horses were changed, meals provided for passengers (up to 31 at a time) and accommodation provided. By 1925 it also included a small shop. In 1927 the House and Post Office was purchased by Billy Ball along with adjacent land as a closer settlement block. The block was bounded by Tumbarumba Road, the Hume Highway, Gininderra, the stock reserve, Kyeamba Station and Kyeamba Creek. Jenny While believes it probably became known as Kyeamba Park from that time. A telephone exchange was opened in the Post Office in the same year. As well as the duties of postmistress, telephonist, host and mother of five Elvie Ball also managed a ‘fine orchard’ on the site.  

The Balls sold to Max and Ida O’Connor in 1936 who continued with the Post Office until 1942 when they gave it up to focus on developing Kyeamba Park, which was expanded from 450 acres to 2054 acres with a purchase of land formerly part of Kyeamba Station. A new homestead was constructed. The Accommodation House was removed in 1993 to make way for the new line of the Hume Highway. Archaeological evidence is likely to remain at the site and is within the study area.  

In 1942 when Max O’Connor resigned from the Post Office, he and other locals assisted the Byes to construct a house on the condition that they would run a Post Office. Land on the western side of the Highway, originally part of Kyeamba Station was made available and a house and post office constructed. The Byes bought the land and installed six petrol bowsers. By 1947, the business had become a half-way station for Colliers Transport of Melbourne and later a Golden Fleece Service Station. Prior to its destruction by fire in 1955, it had become a Shell Service Station. That same year an automatic telephone exchange was installed and the postal service was replaced by a roadside mail service.  

Severe rabbit infestations in the post WWII period thwarted local attempts to offer the area for soldier settlement. Kyeamba South, the 5,200 acre property of Guy Smith was purchased by the Palmer Family in 1947 and expanded over the next three years to 13,000 acres including Kyeamba Station. To deal with the rabbit problem warrens were ploughed and dug up, fences were patrolled and a pack of 100 dogs roamed the property. There may be evidence of the extensive digging and ripping of the land that took place in that time to eradicate the menace, eventually defeated by  

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myxomatosis.

With the defeat of the rabbits, Kyeamba was cleared of all vegetation except for the largest trees to maximise the ploughing area which was planted with cereal crops. This was followed by some 12,000 acres planted with pasture and by 1959 some 17,000 sheep and 10,000 lambs stocked the property. Footrot forced a change to oats for cattle fattening and Kyeamba developed a reputation for its fat cattle and breeding stock. Clearing of the land and the sinking of tanks continued.

The following sequence of plans document the development of the area.
Figure 5.3.1  Smith’s *Kyeamba* Run showing the impact of various reforms in land legislation. The study area runs through the Parish of Kilgowla in the north. In the southern portion the line of the South Road or Hume Highway is the dividing line between the Parishes of Kyeamba and Murraguldrie. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 13674401]
Figure 5.3.2 The northern portion of the Kyeamba Gap study area. The Tumbarumba Road junction is at the bottom of the view. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 13674401]
Figure 5.3.3  Part of the Kyeamba Hill Study area from the Pastoral Holding Plan after the runs breakup following land reform legislation. This view shows the Kyeamba burial ground and cultivation paddocks in portion 25. It is here that Smith built his second house after he converted the original residence to an inn known as the Traveller’s Joy/Rest and also as Kyeamba Inn. The areas under cultivation be the vineyards with those on the flats of Keajura Creek associated with the Chinese vegetable gardens. Keajura Creek which traverses the portion in a north-south direction is likely to be the creek which supplied the cellar and some sort of piping is likely to be in the vicinity. The site however appears to be beyond the immediate study area. The junction with the Tumbarumba Road as it proceeds to Wagga is in the top right corner. This map continues to the south from that in Figure 4.2.2 [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 13674401]
Figure 5.3.4  Part of the Kyeamba Hill Study area from the Pastoral Holding Plan after the runs breakup following land reform legislation. This map continues to the south from Kyeamba Station from that in Figure No. 4.2.3. In this view the site of the Kyeamba Inn (Traveller’s Joy/Rest/Inn) on portion 43, fence lines, the Telegraph Office and the Police Paddock are shown. All are likely to be within the study area. Portion 5 in the name of George Smith shows a house and stockyard which appears to be outside the immediate area of concern.[Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 13674401]
Figure 5.3.5 Part of a survey dated 1849 along the line of road which shows the relative positions of the Traveller’s Inn, the road to Tumbarumba and the America Yards (Humula). A blacksmith near the line of road and Kiamba, indicating it was then in the hands of Walker. [SRNSW: Surveyor General, Maps and Plans, Townsend, Sources of Ten Mile Creek above junction of Bowlers part Port Phillip Road, Bullabung & Four Mile Creek, Deans Creek & Port Phillip Road (Townsend’s sheet 6,142) Kiamba Creek from 5-mile tree - County Mitchell etc. Map No. 4122]
Figure 5.3.6  This detail from an 1858 indicates the Kiamba Inn and Blacksmith’s shop with outbuildings and a cultivation paddock in the vicinity. [Lands Department, Plan No. 83-1457]
Figure 5.3.7  This is the southern most portion of the line of road in the Kyeamba Hill study area as shown on the Kyeamba Pastoral Holding plan. This map continues to the south from Kyeamba Station from that in Figure No. 4.2.4. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Pastoral Holding, Run No.456, Image No. 13674401]
Figure 5.3.8  This detail from the 1902 Plan of Portion 42 Parish of Murraguldrie indicates the post office building and outbuilding and the school building and the cottage and outbuilding. [Lands Department, Plan of Portion 42 Parish of Murraguldrie]
Figure 5.3.9  This detail from a 1957 plan indicates the site where the Colliers established their transport business. This had been acquired by the Byes in the 1940s when they set up a post office there. A house and garage are also indicated within the study area. [Lands Department: Plan of Portions 26 and 27 and 58 County of Wynyard, Parish of Kyeamba].
Figure 5.3.10  The Kilgowa Parish Map of 1896 through which the northern portion of the Kyeamba Gap study area passes. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kilgowa Parish Map, Image No. 15302601]
Figure 5.3.11  Part of the Kilgowlia Parish Map of 1896 showing the northern most portion of the Kyeamba Hill Study area. The junction with the Tumburumba Road is shown on the lower left as it proceeds west toward Wagga. Keajura Creek crosses the road in the top right. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257402]
Figure 5.3.12  The north east portion of the 1883 Kyeamba Parish Map showing part of the Kyeamba Hill Study area. The road to Tumbarumba is shown and the burial ground at Kyeamba is indicated. The burial ground is outside the study area. This part of the road is to the direct south of that shown in Figure 4.2.11. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257402]
Figure 5.3.13  The above is an enlargement showing the line of road under study in the north east portion of the Kyeamba Parish Map of 1883. The road to Tumbarumba is shown and the burial ground at Kyeamba is indicated. The burial ground is outside the study area.[Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257402]
Figure 5.3.14  South east portion of the Kyeamba Parish Map of 1883 showing part of the Kyeamba Hill Study area. The *Kyeamba Inn (Traveller’s Joy/Rest/Inn)* is indicated on portion 43 in the study area as is the Telegraph Office. This follows on from the plan show in Figure 4.2.13. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257404]
**Figure 5.3.15** South east portion of the Kyeamba Parish Map of 1883 showing the southern most portion of the Kyeamba Hill Study area. This follows on from the plan show in Figure 4.2.14. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257404]
Figure 5.3.16  This enlargement of the south east portion of the Kyeamba Parish Map of 1883 shows in the Kyeamba Hill Study area at least 4 structures at Kyeamba Inn (*Traveller's Joy/Rest/Inn*) and one at the Telegraph Office. Both are within the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No. 15257404]
Figure 5.3.17  The south east portion of the Kyeamba Parish Map of 1918 showing part of the Kyeamba Hill Study area. Telegraph Lines are shown within the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Kyeamba Parish Map, Image No.15257501]
Figure 5.3.18 The north west portion of the Murraguldrie Parish Map of 1883 through which the study area runs. The telegraph line within the study area is indicated as are the Telegraph Office and Kyeamba Inn (Traveller’s Joy/Rest/Inn). No additional potential sites are indicated to those shown on the Kyeamba Parish Map as the line of road forms the border between the two parishes. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Murraguldrie Parish Map, Image No. 15254501]
5.4 The Little Billabong Study Area

The village of Little Billabong which was established beyond the Nineteen Counties, c.1848 was an unplanned village that developed in response to the local situation. The site which has been excavated and studied by Johnathon Winston-Gregson, has in his opinion the capacity to demonstrate the effect on rural settlements of the interaction between the ‘entrenched pastoral interests with the proponents of the Crown Lands Alienation Act of 1861’. As noted in earlier sections the Act created the free selector, a direct competitor with the long established squatters. At Little Billabong the lines of power were still evident in the investigation of the 1980s.\textsuperscript{132} Little Billabong is to the south of another former village site Hillside, which is outside the study area, but linked by the line of the Hume. Despite their close proximity the villages developed separately.

The Little Billabong settlement began in 1848 when Thomas Mitchell established the Little Billabong Run around the base of Lunt’s Sugarloaf. The head station was located on the Tumbarumba road some 2.6 km east of the junction with the Port Phillip Road. In 1848 Surveyor Townsend marked a Reserve at Little Billabong for Thomas Ford who ran an inn and a stable there.\textsuperscript{133} While little is known of the station, Winston-Gregson claims that it was a political and economic focal point prior to its abandonment in 1890. By 1855 the run was sold to William Henry Williams who had purchased it from a Reuben Sherwin. Williams is the last known occupant of the homestead, of which archaeological evidence remained in 1984. According to Winston-Gregson, Williams faced considerable bureaucratic, financial and legal obstacles in his purchase which took eleven months to finalise, thanks to the interference of Umutbee’s Thomas Mate and others. A man with limited means he ‘never escaped the grasp of men with larger resources’. Ultimately selling to Albury mill owner, McLaurin, who with the purchase attained a continuous 25 km frontage to the Great South Road. In the 1860s the Little Billabong Hotel was established there with the licensee William’s brother-in-law William Rial. Winston-Gregson postulates that this is the Traveller’s Joy, but that inn is further to the north in the Kyeamba Study area. In the early years, Rial experimented with horse racing. The track has been presumed to have been located on the river flats, near the hotel, it is not known how long this venture lasted but the hotel prospered. It may also have served as a post office and store until 1925. The Post Office was established in 1877. St Paul’s Churchmount, Little Billabong was dedicated in 1878. It was a single-nave, neo-Gothic structure of machine-fired brick on granite ashlar footings. It had a corrugated iron roof and a porch opening to the east. In 1984 it was described as a ‘gaunt ruin’, testament to the failure of closer settlement. It was constructed adjacent to the Port Phillip Road, near the nub of the settlement. Today it can be seen on a remote hilltop and removed from any contemporary point of access. The layout of the village of Little Billabong, in Winston-Gregson’s opinion ‘is a rare example of a post facto survey being unable to realign free selections into neat rectangles.’\textsuperscript{134}

Between 1865 and 1870 Williams purchased various allotments within a 5km radius of his homestead in the names of himself and his family as he attempted to thwart selectors. Dummies


\textsuperscript{133} Margaret Carnegie, Friday Mount, pp. 181-182.

\textsuperscript{134} J.H. Winston-Gregson, ‘People in the landscape… , pp.33-35.
were employed to match selectors holdings and impede their expansion. The first independent selectors in the area arrived between 1875 and 1880, they became the progenitors of Little Billabong as a community. The genuine free selectors remained in a small pocket, some 3 sq km in area, astride the Great South Road, in hilly country at the intersection with the Tumbarumba Road and within the study area.135

The settlement Of Little Billabong survived through trade from travellers on the road using the hotel and the post office. Work labouring as shearsers, fencers and agricultural work for the larger landholders also sustained the community. With the ruin of Williams, when his title to land used as security for loans was disputed in 1889, James McLaurin began purchasing the run at a mortgagee sale. This ushered in a period of stagnation which lasted until the early 1900s. McLaurin demolished Williams’ homestead, establishing a new homestead some 2 km to the north.136 A provisional school was established in 1897 and a school house was constructed near the church in 1903. It survived until 1918. The school had been reduced to half-time status in 1912, temporary closure from 1913 to 1917 and then removal. In the 1980s all that remained was a shallow terrace with a stone edging near the top of Churchmount. Postholes delimited the school yard. Access was via the Port Phillip Road, the line of which was evident as a terrace in the hillside. By 1899 Little Billabong had been incorporated into the Tumbarumba Gold Field. This saw an increase in commercial activity as the town lay part way between diggings at Four Mile Creek and Westby.137

Little Billabong Hotel remained at the ‘heart’ of the settlement into the 1880s and was on the Cobb & Co coach route to Tumbarumba until they ceased operations in 1890. Around 1900 James Quinlan removed the hotel to the west bank of Little Billabong Creek, but retained the original building as a general store. The new hotel was burnt down in the late 1950s, and the site has been bull-dozed and been subject to fossicking by bottle hunters. In the 1980s a floor plan was still discernable. A concrete-lined well with a tank-stand remained and remnant plantings were evident. This site is located within the study area. According to Winston-Gregson the hotel stood beside the original track to Tumbarumba, near where it crossed Little Billabong Creek. In 1929 the road was moved 500 m to the north of the hotel, the creek was straightened and a substantial bridge erected. The hotel remained in operation and is visible in a 1944 aerial view.138

By 1914 there had been no new residential development at Little Billabong, the main homestead had been abandoned as had the church and school. Mining had ceased in the area. The hotel continued to function and in the post WWI period small dairy farms developed to cater to the more substantial Holbrook market. The post office was run by a small landholder and the church was restored and rededicated as St Thomas’s. In the mid 1920s a community hall was constructed and a recreation reserve gazetted. The closer settlement had occurred through the breakup of stock reserves around Little Billabong. Most of these land holders were labourers. The town disappeared in the Great Depression when work in the area dried up. The church ceased to be used in 1929 as

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135 J.H. Winston-Gregson, ‘People in the landscape..., pp.33-34.
136 J.H. Winston-Gregson, ‘People in the landscape..., p.35.
137 J.H. Winston-Gregson, ‘People in the landscape..., p.35.
138 J.H. Winston-Gregson, ‘People in the landscape..., p.35.
did the post office and the hotel passed from local hands. The archaeological evidence that survives in the area, according to Winston-Gregson, is from that later period.139
Figure 5.4.1  *Little Billabong* and *The Falls* Pastoral Holding, Run No. 429, c.1889. The Line of the South Road can be seen running beside Little Billabong Creek. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabong and The Falls, Run 429, Image No. 10099101]
Figure 5.4.2 This detail from an 1853 plan shows structures near the creek in the vicinity of the line of road and cultivation paddocks. [SRNSW: Surveyor General, Maps and Plans, Surveyor Parkinson, Billabong Enirons at Sydney/Melbourne road crossing of Billabung Creek 5 November 1853. AO Map No.1538]
Figure 5.4.3 Little Billabung Parish Map, 1892. The line of road runs in a north-south direction through the middle of the parish. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabung Parish Map, Image No. 15278201]
Figure 5.4.4 The northern portion of the study area in the Parish of Little Billabung, 1892. An ex burial ground is shown on portion 18. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabung Parish Map, Image No. 15278201]
Figure 5.4.5  The mid portion of the study area in the Parish of Little Billabung, 1892. The Sugar Loaf is indicated. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabung Parish Map, Image No. 15278201]
Figure 5.4.6  The southern most portion of the study area in the Parish of Little Billabung, 1892. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabung Parish Map, Image No. 15278201]
**Figure 5.4.7** Detail from the Little Billabung Parish Map for 1917. Little Billabong Public School is indicated adjacent to the line of road, near portion 37. It appears to be in the study area. [Lands Department, Historic Map Preservation Project, Little Billabung Parish Map 1917, Image No. 15278201]