Lines of Road
A Methodology for Assessment

FINAL REPORT

Margaret Preston's, *The Red Road to Mulgoa*, 1944.
DECEMBER 2004
On behalf of the NSW Roads and Traffic Authority
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The car gave city dwellers in the 1950s an unprecedented access to the landscape – the mythical ‘real Australia’. The glimpses of landscape through the windows as the intent driver overtakes us on the road, make the car the medium for viewing the landscape, rather than being set in it. It’s an uneasy feeling with the children staring and the woman smiling at us familiarly.¹ This significant Australian painting touches on elements of the aesthetic and social value associated with lines of road.

1 Background

Lines of road have been increasingly recognised as valuable items of environmental heritage. The recently completed studies of potential heritage items under RTA control nominated over 50 lines of roads as potentially significant items. In the heritage assessment process, although the standard criteria as prescribed by the NSW Heritage Office can be applied, lines of road present a unique set of issues. These issues are largely associated with the linear form of lines of road and the associated complexities associated with defining the curtilage of a line of road for heritage purposes.

While the curtilage of a line of road for which the RTA is responsible may be legally defined via its gazetted definition, the reasons for a road’s cultural significance may relate to its contribution to a cultural landscape. In these circumstances boundaries may extend well beyond the area under the RTA’s control. In some instances the significance of a line of road may lie in the engineering skill and road-making technology employed, that is, the fabric, the line, or both. Yet in other instances, historical values relating to the use of a line by Aboriginal peoples, colonial explorers, or even contemporary users may prompt a different valuation, where aesthetic, historic and social considerations are more important than the fabric.

Many lines of road that are culturally significant are also still currently in use and generally there is an expectation that these roads will be maintained or modified to meet the needs of increasingly sophisticated means of transport and increased numbers of motor vehicles. However, recently there have been calls from the community at a grass roots level for roads not to be upgraded because of the appreciation of their aesthetic, historic, social, technical or scientific qualities. It is an area conducive to conflict with the potential for public involvement reminiscent of some of the forest debates of the preceding two decades.

1.1 Background to the commissioning of this report

While a number of assessments have been commissioned by various NSW government agencies (e.g. the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service and regional RTA offices) no methodology, specific to lines of road, has been devised to facilitate the undertaking of these assessments and therefore to enhance comparative opportunities, a crucial element of the heritage assessment process. This is not only a problem within NSW, it is a problem faced by heritage asset managers worldwide. Lynne Sebastian, in a contribution to Common Ground, the journal of the US National Parks Service, highlights the difficulty in assessing and managing parts of the American interstate highway system as heritage items. The problems identified by Sebastian largely stem from the linearity of lines of road as well as from their ongoing functionality, specifically the need for ongoing upgrades and maintenance. Sebastian cryptically commented, ‘The bad news is that everyone is equally uncertain how to deal with this issue. The good news? Well, I guess the good news is that you don’t have to feel lonesome any more’.

Complicating the management of lines of road as heritage items is the overlapping and often unclear administrative jurisdictions of the multiple bodies that may be responsible for the line of road. It is often the case that administrative jurisdictions will vary along the length of a

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single line of road, shifting from RTA control to the control of a local council, local land owners or some other State or federal government body. Even within a discrete section of road, the jurisdictions are complicated. In the case of classified roads, for example, the RTA, is the responsible body for the road easement, whereas management of the road side easement may be under the jurisdiction of a local council or, if a travelling stock route, the Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources (DIPNR) and, in some cases, the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Lines of road present a unique set of difficulties in the heritage identification, assessment and management process. This is largely because:

1. The heritage curtilage may be difficult to define. Where does it start? Where does it end? Is the whole line of road significant? Will changes to one part of the line affect the significance of another?;

2. The planning system is reliant on the identification of heritage items in physical/cadastral terms and is not particularly amenable to protecting items that have more fluid boundaries;

3. Lines of road will often cross numerous jurisdictional boundaries. Their identification and management therefore will require clear inter-agency commitments; and

4. Processes for identifying and assessing the heritage significance of the more intangible aspects of heritage, including those presented in cultural landscapes are only in their infancy, and not particularly well understood.

The Environment Branch of the RTA commissioned this review to further understand some of the issues underpinning the consideration of lines of road as heritage items and to develop a methodology for assessing their significance. The process, which draws on the assessment guidelines of the NSW Heritage Office and the principles of Australia ICOMOS, as expressed in the Burra Charter, incorporates a number of exemplar assessments to explore the efficacy of the developed methodology.

This review will assist the RTA in meeting its obligations under section 170 of the Heritage Act 1977 (NSW) to prepare a register of all of items of environmental heritage, which are owned or occupied by the RTA.

1.2 Methodology

This report presents a step-by-step process for assessing a line of road, drawing on frameworks established by the NSW Heritage Office. While these Heritage Office frameworks have been adapted to meet the specific assessment issues posed by lines of road, all adaptations have been developed to ensure consistency with NSW Heritage Office assessment models.

It is assumed that the audience for this report will include heritage practitioners undertaking assessments of lines of road, RTA staff, and asset managers. As such, the report attempts to provide both a working model for assessing lines of road as well as an understanding of the specific problems that may be encountered in the management of lines of road as significant heritage items. The model has been presented within the overall context of the RTA’s legislative and policy obligations and the NSW heritage assessment process. The model has been tested against a number of case studies which serve to elucidate the complexities of lines of roads as heritage items, the potential ways in which lines of road can be considered as ‘culturally significant’, as well as practical and effective means of managing that significance.
1.3 Structure of the report

Chapter 2 briefly considers the overarching management context with particular reference to the legislative framework pertinent to the management of lines of road as heritage items and with regard to the RTA’s legal responsibility to manage the State’s road system. Chapter two also provides an overview of the State’s system for assessing heritage significance.

Chapter 3 presents a broad discussion of the nature of a line of road, the kind of significances it may have and discusses the concept of cultural landscapes and cultural routes; necessary concepts in assessing the heritage values of a line of road.

Chapter 4 is a stand-alone chapter that presents a step-by-step, stage-by-stage, model of assessment for a line of road.

Chapter 5 goes beyond the assessment phase and discusses processes relating to the management of significant lines of road in the context of the NSW Heritage Office’s Heritage Management System.

Chapter 6 concludes the findings of our research and provides discussion on potential limitations/Issues with the model as well as issues to be addressed.

Chapter 7 presents three case studies selected because they present exemplars of different assessment and, subsequent, management issues that might be encountered when assessing a line of road. The three case studies selected are Heathcote Road, Mulgoa Road and Mount Victoria Pass in the context of the western descents from the Blue Mountains and the cultural landscape of which it is a component.

Appendix 1 includes a list of the NSW Historical Themes.

Appendix 2 includes a brief discussion on some of the sources that may be useful to assist practitioners in undertaking an assessment of lines of road.

1.4 Authorship

This report was prepared by Heritage Assessment And History (HAAH) for the RTA. The report was prepared collaboratively by:

Julie Dinsmor, Conservation Planner – BA, MA, MURP;
Emma Dortins, Historian and Heritage Consultant (BA Hons); and
Sue Rosen, Historian and Heritage Consultant, BA, MA.

This team brings a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of lines of road, covering the disciplines of history, heritage assessment, historical archaeology and urban planning.

1.5 Acknowledgements

Heritage Assessment And History would like to acknowledge the support of the RTA in the preparation of this report. In particular, the ongoing and invaluable assistance of the following staff: Maria Whipp, Environmental Officer, Planning and Heritage and Rachel McMullan, Heritage Officer from the Environment Branch; Michael Bushby, General Manager, Infrastructure Maintenance, RNIM; and Charlie Smith and staff at the RTA Archives. Stuart Read and Bruce Baskerville, Heritage Project officers and Libby Robertson, Librarian at the NSW Heritage Office and Juliet Ramsay of the Commonwealth Department of Environment and Heritage were also helpful in providing references for cultural landscape methodologies as was Sharon Veale, Project Officer at the Department of Environment and Conservation. Associate Professor, Dr Carol Liston, Head of School of Humanities, University of Western
Sydney and Dr Michael Pearson of Heritage Project Management provided important advice and acted as initial sounding boards for this project.
The Braemar Road

The road that leads to Braemar winds ever in and out.
It wanders here and dawdles there, and trips and turns about
Like a child upon an errand that play has put to rout.

By the road that leads to Braemar, the greybeard poplars stand,
And on the sky's pale tapestry are brodered in a band
With the flashing frosty needle that gleams in winter's hand.
There are haggard apple-orchards on either side the way,
That once flung scented largesse to every summer's day
To mingle with the incense where hot pine-needles lay.
And down the road's long vista the shadows spread like wings
As lightly spun and purple as the shade the evening brings
For circling children's eyelids round with mystic drowsy rings.

The rutty road to Braemar all weather-worn and brown,
Goes tumbling on its journey until it nears the town.
Then with glory of the wattle-bloom its arms are weighted down!
Oh, the long, long road to anywhere seems haply without end,
But who shall call it weary with the love of some good friend
To greet him like the wattle as he turns the final bend!

Nina Murdoch
2 The Management Context

This chapter firstly reviews the main legislative and policy obligations of the RTA in relation to the management of assets such as lines of road and then outlines the current State framework for the assessment of their significance as heritage items.

2.1 The RTA Legislative Context

In regard to the management of lines of road, the RTA is responsible for the protection and management of identified heritage items:

- Located within the road reserve of freeways, tollways and transitways (unless they are managed by another authority); and
- Which are State assets located within the road formation. State assets include State roads and bridges as well as those bridges controlled by the RTA on regional and local roads, unless it is established that the item is under the care, control or management of another agency. 5

For items between the road formation and road reserve boundary, responsibility lies with the local council or other deemed authority, unless it can be demonstrated that the RTA is exercising care, control or management of this land.

Unlike many of the RTA’s other potential heritage items such as bridges and ferries, lines of road, as heritage items, establish a unique set of environmental planning and heritage issues. This is principally because:

1. They often cover vast geographical areas, crossing many jurisdictional boundaries;
2. They may be owned or vested in multiple government instrumentalities; and
3. Their heritage significance often extends beyond the RTA defined jurisdictional curtilage.

This may mean, depending on the significance of the item and its designation, that State Road, Freeway etc, that protection and management of the item will require joint co-operation between the RTA and local council as well as other land owners.

The principal pieces of legislation governing the identification, protection and management of items of environmental heritage such as lines of road in the State of NSW are the Heritage Act 1977 and the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979.

The implications of these pieces of legislation in relation to the management of lines of road as items of environmental heritage are outlined below.

2.1.1 The Heritage Act 1977 (NSW)

The Heritage Act 1977 is the key legislative instrument to ensure the protection of the State’s heritage resources. The most recent amendment to the Act, the Heritage Amendment Act 1998, served to make explicit the responsibilities of State government instrumentalities such as the RTA in the management of their heritage resources.

Specifically, the amendment Act:

- Preserved the requirement of State government instrumentalities to, prepare a ‘Heritage and Conservation Register’, otherwise known as a section 170 Register;

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Formalised the establishment of a State Heritage Register to provide protection for all items of State heritage significance;

Provided for the transfer of items of State significance from heritage and conservation registers to the State Heritage Register;

Requires instrumentalities to manage items on their Heritage and Conservation Register in accordance with State Owned Heritage Management Principles and the NSW Heritage Office’s Heritage Assessment Management Guidelines; and

Established annual reporting obligations in regard to the management of items of environmental heritage.

In regard to its section 170 Register, the RTA is required by the Act to prepare a register of all of its heritage items that are owned or occupied by the RTA. This is to include all items subject to interim heritage orders, as well as items listed on the State Heritage Register or as heritage items in any environmental planning instrument such as Local and Regional Environmental Plans. As the requirement to prepare a section 170 Register is confined to items owned or occupied by the RTA, the listing of items beyond the road reservation, which may specifically be an issue for lines of road, will necessitate intra-agency communication and commitment.

The Roads Act 1993 (NSW), which is one of the enabling pieces of legislation for the RTA, identifies local councils as being the responsible authority for most classified roads. In many circumstances the RTA manages the road but ownership remains with the local council. This also establishes potential uncertainty about where responsibility lies for the management for these lines of road as heritage items. Under these circumstances sections 170(4)(b) and 170A of the Heritage Act clarify that it is indeed the responsibility of the RTA for the protection and management of such heritage items.

2.1.1.1 Works on State Heritage Items

The NSW Heritage Council has an approval role for many activities that impact on items recognised to be of State significance, i.e. listed on the State Heritage Register. RTA works on a line of road that is listed on the State Heritage Register will require NSW Heritage Council approval under section 60 of the NSW Heritage Act.

In certain circumstances, however, exemptions may be granted. The Minister administering the Act may grant these exemptions under section 57 of the Act, from time to time (most recently June 2004). Two types of exemptions may apply:

1. **Standard Exemptions**. These cover all items listed on the State Heritage Register and typically cover activities that are required to ensure the ongoing maintenance and operation of assets. These activities may include building maintenance, minor repairs and alterations to the interiors of some items. Activities subject to the standard exemptions are fully discussed in the NSW Heritage Office publication, *Standard Exemptions for Works Requiring Heritage Council Approval*. Standard exemptions do not apply to relics or items of importance to Aboriginal people; and

2. **Site Specific Exemptions** for particular heritage items.

Section 40 of the Heritage Act allows for the Minister administering the Act to enter into heritage agreements with the owner of an item listed on the State Heritage Register. Such agreements may be for a variety of purposes with respect to the conservation of the item. Included among them is the exemption of specified activities or activities occurring on items.

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of State significance. This section may provide a potential mechanism under which approval for activities involved in the ongoing management of major lines of road, which may not be covered by the standard exemptions, could be negotiated.

2.1.2 The Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979

The Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 (NSW) (EP&A Act) is the principal piece of planning legislation for the State. It establishes the framework for planning and outlines the processes that must be followed to protect the environment (including heritage) when undertaking works.

The protection of heritage assets is principally undertaken through the use of environmental planning instruments such as Local Environmental Plans (LEPs) and Regional Environmental Plans (REPs). If an item is listed in the heritage schedule of an environmental planning instrument, the EP&A Act sets in place certain protection mechanisms.

The listing of an RTA asset such as a line of road in an environmental planning instrument such as an LEP may alter the approvals required for undertaking works on that item. Typically many of the activities carried out by the RTA are subject to a Part 5 assessment under the EP&A Act and as such are permissible without development consent. However, the listing of an item in an LEP may necessitate the preparation of a Part 4 assessment (Development With Consent) to be determined by local council.

Exemptions to this requirement, particularly in regard to lines of road, may be provided if the environmental planning instrument has adopted the ‘savings’ provision of Clause 35 [Schedule 1, paragraphs 6 and or 8] of the Environmental Planning and Assessment Model Provisions, or adopted a similar clause. If the planning instrument has adopted the savings provision, which allows for certain types of activities, such as the reconstruction, alteration, maintenance and repair of roads to occur without the need for development consent, and subject to the limitations of that clause, the consent requirement will be effectively overridden and consideration of the proposed activity can proceed in accordance with the requirements of Part 5 of the EP&A Act.

Further exemption from preparing a development application under Part 4 of the EP&A Act may be found through the provisions of State Environmental Planning Policy (SEPP) No. 4 (Development Without Consent). Clause 11C is particularly relevant to lines of road because it provides exemptions to roadwork on classified roads or proposed classified roads. The provisions contained within SEPP 4 are designed to permit development that is of minor environmental significance, in regard to public utility undertakings, such as those carried out by the RTA. In these cases the consideration of the proposed activity can proceed in accordance with the requirements of Part 5 of the EP&A Act. However, the provisions of SEPP 4, do not apply to the alteration or addition to, or the extension or demolition of, a building or work which is listed in the State Heritage Register, or identified in an environmental planning instrument (LEP, REP, SEPP) as an item of environmental heritage, or is a non heritage item located within a heritage conservation area.

The implications of a listing of a line of road in environmental planning instruments on the day-to-day management of the line, particularly in those circumstances where the Model Provisions and exemptions under SEPP 4, do not apply, will need particular consideration in the RTA’s planning program.
2.1.3 Other Relevant Legislative & Policy Obligations

A number of other pieces of State legislation are particularly important in the identification and management of items of environmental heritage such as lines of road. They include, but are not limited to:

2.1.3.1 National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW)

The National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW) (NPWA) established legislative mechanisms to allow for the management of historic sites and protection of Aboriginal places and relics, in addition to the protection of natural areas and endangered flora and fauna. Lines of roads traversing a gazetted National Park, or jointly owned and or managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), eg the Great North Road will also be affected by the requirements of this Act.

Activities affecting a line of road through a National Park, be it of heritage significance or not, will require consultation with the NPWS at all stages of the planning, assessment and construction processes. A line of road which has heritage significance and which passes through a National Park should also be considered in any plan of management for that particular park. The NPWS is required to prepare plans of management for all gazetted national parks and historic sites. The plan of management will clarify what activities can and cannot occur in relation to the line of road in respect to the NPWA.

2.1.3.2 The Local Government Act 1993 (NSW)

The powers of the Local Government Act 1993 (NSW) are available to councils to control the demolition of buildings and structures listed in a draft LEP’s heritage schedule through their local approvals policy.

2.1.3.3 RTA Corporate Responsibility

The RTA’s corporate commitment to environmental heritage is also fully articulated in its Policy for the Management of Heritage Items, which is:

To ensure that the Authority identifies and takes appropriate action in relation to all heritage items which it affects; that the Authority identifies and manages all heritage items which it owns or for which it has care and control; and that the heritage significance of the Authority’s assets is established and maintained; in accordance with the requirements of relevant NSW and Federal legislation.7

The RTA’s responsibility for the management of heritage items is further defined by the NSW State Government’s Total Asset Management Manual (1992 and updated 1996)8 and the associated Heritage Asset Management Guideline9 as well as the NSW State Government’s Heritage Policy of 1996.10

In addition, the RTA has a number of internal policy and planning documents that outline its internal commitments to heritage protection and management, these include:

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10 NSW State Government, Heritage Policy, 1996.
The Heritage Strategic Plan 1999-2004;\textsuperscript{11} and
The RTA Heritage Management Guidelines.\textsuperscript{12}

\textbf{2.2 The Heritage Management System}

As noted by Ramsay and Truscott,\textsuperscript{13} the management of heritage items becomes problematic when management and administrative processes do not make clear the heritage values of the item and because of this, heritage values are often not given appropriate consideration. For example, regular modifications and upgrading to modern roads can put at risk early fabric; or tarmacking a gravel road may drastically alter a valued aesthetic quality. While work into understanding and assessing heritage significance is evolving, the NSW Heritage Office has developed a Heritage Management System which aims to ensure that a standard process for assessing heritage significance is used and that heritage significance is fully recognised in the ongoing management of heritage items.

The system adopted by the NSW Heritage Office recognises three major phases:

1. Investigating Heritage Significance;
2. Assessing Heritage Significance; and

These three phases are highly interdependent and involve a significant degree of reiteration. While this report aims to discuss all three phases, emphasis is placed on the process of investigating and assessing the significance of lines of road. Our process for the assessment of significance, which builds on the work of the NSW Heritage Office, is fully articulated in Chapter 4. Further discussion on investigating and managing significance is provided in Chapter 5.

\textbf{2.2.1 Investigating Heritage Significance}

This phase involves developing a full understanding of the item through the use of a range of tools including historical research, archaeological research and community consultation. Any or all of these tools may be appropriate, depending on the nature of the item or area of study, to assist in developing the necessary understanding of the item or study area. Key steps in this process, as advocated by the NSW Heritage Office include:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Investigating the historical context of the item or study area;
  \item Investigating the community’s understanding of the item;
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{11} RTA, \textit{Heritage Strategic Plan 1999-2004}.
Establishing local historical themes and relating them to State themes;
Investigating the history of the item; and
Investigating the fabric of the item.

### 2.2.2 Assessing Heritage Significance

The NSW Heritage Office framework for assessing the heritage significance of potential heritage items, identifies the following steps as being of importance:

- Summarising what is known about the item;
- Describing previous & current uses, associations & meanings;
- Assessing significance using NSW assessment criteria;
- Determining level of significance; and
- Preparing a statement of significance.

Fundamentally this phase involves assessing the significance of the item against the seven assessment criteria adopted by the NSW Heritage Council. These assessment criteria have evolved from those adopted in the ICOMOS Burra Charter as well as J.S. Kerr’s *Conservation Plan* and are intended to provide consistency with those adopted by other heritage agencies. They are as follows:

- **a)** An item is important in the course, or pattern, of NSW’s cultural or natural history;
- **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;
- **c)** An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW;
- **d)** An item has strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group in NSW for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- **e)** An item has potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW’s cultural or natural history;
- **f)** An item has uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW cultural or natural history;
- **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.

If a place, item or structure meets one or more of these criteria, it is considered to be of significance. An item is not considered to be more significant if it meets a number of criteria significance thresholds. There is no endorsed methodology for ranking items as being either more or less significant than other significant items. An item is either assessed to be significant or not significant. Further, an item should not be assessed as not being significant on the grounds that items with similar characteristics have already been identified and listed.

The assessment process must also 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. If an item is of local significance this is not however considered to be of less value or importance than an item of State significance and has the
equivalent degree of statutory protection, albeit administered at a local level: The essential difference being the level of government responsible for the item’s protection.

It is also possible for an item to be considered of national or international significance. Certain lines of road within Australia may indeed be significant under either of these two categories.

From our review of material, examination of the NSW Heritage Office criteria of significance, and item type categories in the light of lines of road (see Chapter 3 of this report) it appears clear that a given 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.

2.2.3 Managing Heritage Significance

The aim of this third phase in the Heritage Management System is to analyse the management implications of the assessment, including the constraints and opportunities the assessment identifies while taking into account the owners’ and users’ requirements. Interpretation of the significance is also an important feature of this phase.

The focus of this report is on the practicalities of implementing phases one and two of the NSW Heritage Management System (investigating and assessing heritage significance) with an eye on the management implications of possible types of assessments for the RTA. The ongoing management issues, where the RTA are likely to be confronted with conundrums associated with meeting their obligations under the Heritage Act 1977, the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979 as well as the other acts and policies that govern them, are a matter that is in the process of being resolved and the subject of ongoing discussion. Indeed the commissioning of this work is part of that process. Chapters 3 and 4 hopefully make some contribution to that debate.
'The day Addie left I was so upset Harry decided to take me for a drive. Harry's drives were without purpose: more precisely, they were circular journeys which the path of the new main roads and highways seemed only to frustrate. Every tree stump, every aging gum tree sitting alone in a paddock, every derelict wooden hut - looking half pissed, leaning like Slimy Ted at angles that seemed to defy gravity, supported only by blackberry vines and an almost human tenacity - every vista that looked away from the road, seemed to be a cause of another of Harry's interminable stops. We would all empty out of the battered Holden EK stationwagon - we being Maria Magadalena Svevo, Sonja, almost always a couple of cousins, of whom I have an unending supply - mess about in the roadside cutting, then head off into the bush with Harry beginning stories....

... Harry's was a landscape comprehensible not in terms of beauty but in the subterranean meanings of his stories. The new roads were not made for such journeys, but, as Harry put it, were simply straight lines to get you from A to B as quickly as possible, which was, he maintained the way only fools travelled. The old roads built along the routes of the carriage ways, that more often than not were cleared widenings of old Aboriginal pathways, were the roads Harry seemed to like best. But he also made do with the highways, stopping the car at the oddest points to get out and chat about such places as the site where Father Noone - he of the magical powers - had frozen an adulterer on the spot.'

3 Lines of Road and Heritage Significance

In this chapter the broad theoretical framework within which the assessment of lines of road can take place is discussed in the context of local exemplars.

3.1 The theoretical framework

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 that has placed them prominently on the heritage assessment table at this time. 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 Walker14 drew attention to works such as Edna Walling’s Country Roads (1952)15 which reinforced the need to preserve the ecological values of the roadside; Hardy Wilson’s The Cow Pasture Road (1920)16 which describes 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.17 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.’18

Heritage practitioners and governments are grappling with the task of the identification, assessment and management of potentially significant lines of road.19 As we finalise this report, Australia ICOMOS has announced a national Historic Roads conference to be held in November 2005.

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17 Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarev, Man Made America – Chaos or Control, Yale University Press, 1963.
In our task of providing a model for the assessment of the heritage significance of RTA-controlled lines of road we have drawn on this extensive debate to answer the following key questions:

- In what ways might 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?

These two questions define the form of this chapter and are inextricably interrelated. 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 as outlined in Chapter 2 of this report.

In discussing these two questions, the following information has been used to inform the debate:

- The preliminary heritage studies undertaken to assist the RTA in determining items requiring further assessment for inclusion in their section 170, Heritage and Conservation Register. These preliminary studies, also known as phase one studies, in combination, nominated over 50 lines of road for further heritage assessment;
- 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[^20], while not comprehensive, found over 100 listings of lines of road. The agencies and bodies furnishing the listings include State government instrumentalities including the Department of Environment and Conservation, and Ministry for Science and Medical Research, and a large number of local authorities, including Mosman, Blacktown and Gosford councils. 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. Note that because of the nature of the searches undertaken, the numbers referred to in the discussion below are of necessity, approximate; 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.

### 3.2 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](http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/07_subnav_01.cfm), as discussed in Chapter 2. 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

[^20]: 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.
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.

3.2.1 **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.21

As the thematic histories provided as part of the phase one, preliminary, heritage studies demonstrate, a large number of the RTA controlled roads nominated as potential heritage items have evolved from transport routes established within the first decades of the colony. These routes are intimately related to the history of settlement of NSW and the cultural and economic development of the districts they served, and thus highly likely to be of historic significance. The phase one study undertaken for the City sub-region, for example, nominated three lines of road - Parramatta Road, Liverpool Road/Hume Highway and Oxford Street/Old South Head Road as having historic significance because of their ability to demonstrate the colonial response to Sydney’s topography, by following the ridge lines, and the settlement and planning of the Sydney area. While isolated remnants of early road fabric are extant, it is these roads’ alignment and place in the landscape of the Sydney area that contributes to our understanding of the place of each road in the course and pattern of NSW’s history.22

A line of road may also demonstrate historical processes through surviving original fabric. The Great North Road between Devines Hill and Mount Manning, Wisemans Ferry,23 has been assessed as being of historic significance because the course of the road, through steep and rugged country and the remains of its walls, buttresses, drainage systems and quarries can demonstrate a colonial world view; provide information about systems of government; the organisation of convict labour; and the interactions between the colonisers and the natural landscape of NSW:

> ‘The Great North Road is a signifier of the outlooks of early colonial society. Its magnificent structures were powerful, tangible symbols of the colony’s perceived place and role in the course of empire and unmistakable evidence that the civilised state was being attained. It was a triumph over a rugged and inhospitable landscape.’24

More recently constructed lines of road also have the potential to be of historic significance through their ability to provide insights into the course or pattern of NSW’s history in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pearl Beach Road in the Gosford Local Government Area, for instance, has been listed on the council’s LEP, partly on the strength of its historic

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23 State Heritage Register Gazetted 2 April 1999, *Database Number 5051461*.
significance in demonstrating important aspects of the development of tourism in the area in the 1920s.25 Similarly, the Sydney-Newcastle Freeway, nominated by the phase one Hunter Region Study has the potential to demonstrate much about the development of NSW and its systems of government in the latter part of the twentieth century.26

3.2.2 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.27

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.

Nevertheless, the overall statements of significance provided indicate that a number of the items are in fact significant partly on the basis of their capacity to demonstrate strong associations with significant persons. Finchs Ascent, part of the Great North Road, is listed partly on the strength of its association with Surveyor Hineage Finch who surveyed the line between Castle Hill and Wollombi and supervised its construction.28 The Great North Road between Devines Hill and Mount Manning, an ascent which superseded Finch’s route, is also stated to be of significance partly through its association with several notable figures in colonial administration, surveying and engineering including Governor Darling, Thomas Mitchell and Percy Simpson, one of Australia’s earliest road engineers.29

As the Mt Victoria case study in Chapter 7 shows, there is a very strong association with that pass and Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell who insisted on its construction. Equally, the Mulgoa Road, which is also the subject of a case study in Chapter 7, derives some of its significance from its strong association with William Cox the architect and builder of the first road across the Blue Mountains. Mulgoa Road in its earliest alignment appears to have been constructed to link the various properties of the Cox family to each other and to the rest of the colony. The Wool Road, inland from Nowra near Bulee Mountain, in a recent study, was thought to be locally significant under this criterion because of its association with a number of early settlers.30

The phase one Liverpool sub-Region Study, nominated Heathcote Road for further investigation partly on the strength of its potential to demonstrate a strong association with several groups of people of significance in the history of the Liverpool area, and NSW more

25 Gosford Local Environment Plan, State Heritage Inventory, Database No. 1620108.
26 Heritas Architecture, RTA S170 Heritage & Conservation Register Upgrade, Hunter Region, August 2003, pp. 22-3.
28 Gosford Local Environment Plan, State Heritage Inventory, Database No. 1620003.
29 State Heritage Register Gazetted 2 April 1999, Database Number 5051461.
generally. The line of road may be demonstrated to have strong links from the outbreak of World War One to the present with the particular military divisions resident at Holsworthy and with the inmates of the Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp. The concept of cultural routes, discussed further in section 3.3.1.4, 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). Thus, Heathcote Road can be investigated not only as a road frequently used by the army, for instance, but as a site of interaction between the army divisions, with their distinctive military culture, and the largely civilian population of the Liverpool area.

A line of road may also be found to have associative significance with an important event on further investigation. For example, the phase one Hunter Region Study nominated the Putty Road as a potential heritage item because, although substantially constructed during World War Two, the line closely follows Howes Track established by the 1819 expedition from Windsor to the Hunter by Windsor Chief Constable John Howe and two Aboriginal guides, Myles and Mullaboy.

3.2.3 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 of structure, or 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

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34 Heritas Architecture, RTA S170 Heritage & Conservation Register Upgrade, Hunter Region, August 2003, pp. 6-7.
Characteers that might be looked for include ‘meanings, evocative qualities, symbolic values, symbolic landmarks, outstanding landforms or features and compositional qualities of specific landscapes.’37 The phase one studies nominated several routes for their potential aesthetic/technical significance, as well as historic significance, as examples of early road construction in NSW. These included a section of road off the Bruxner Highway at Tenterfield due to its potential ability to demonstrate technical achievements in road construction, its surviving physical fabric of 380 metres of macadamised road, with dry stone walls and evidence of drainage systems, providing an exceptionally legible example of this important technology of the late nineteenth century.38 The Pearl Beach Road, discussed above under criterion A, is similarly listed partly on the strength of the capacity of its surviving physical fabric to demonstrate road design and construction technologies, in this case of the 1920s.39 Other candidates are the main descents over the Blue Mountains in addition to Cox’s original line, the Great Western Highway, Bell’s Line of Road, Berghoffer’s Pass, ‘Line and Lawson’s Long Alley, as these lines of road have the potential to demonstrate important aspects of early nineteenth century road construction technology.

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 the Kokoda Trail. Closer to hand, the Old Ford Road at Campbelltown has been assessed as having aesthetic significance because it winds down the side of an escarpment to the Georges River, curving and bending to follow the contours of the land, providing a distinctive experience of the highly significant landscape, representative of the Cumberland woodlands prior to European occupation.40 Similarly, the Appin Road has been nominated as a potential heritage item partly on the strength of its aesthetic significance, in particular, the views or vistas that may be gained from it. The Macarthur South Landscape Urban Design, Heritage and Open Space Study of 1990 stated:

‘Visually [the Appin Road] is a major element of the cultural landscape of the Appin ridge [as] marked by the continuing relationship to the original settlement and land alienation patterns the scenic qualities of the Appin...’

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38 Ian Jack Heritage Consulting, *RTA Regional Study, Northern Region*, April 2004, SHI form no. 4304018.
39 Gosford Local Environment Plan, *State Heritage Inventory, Database No. 1620108*.
Road provide an important rural visual experience for travellers."\(^{41}\)

The study cites the emerging views of the rural landscapes and vegetation as the traveller heads southward and the visual approach to the town of Appin, as significant views to be gained from the road. It is the alignment of the road and the low-density development and subdivision patterns along its slopes that combine to make this line of road aesthetically distinctive.\(^{42}\)

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. Mosman Council has listed over 40 of its streets as heritage items because the technology used for their construction has become a distinctive visual element associated with the Mosman district. The statement of significance for the items articulates the connection aptly:

> ‘Mosman’s divided roads are integral to the municipality’s visual character and sense of place. Built as a utilitarian response to the steep harbourside topography, they reflect, in their fabric and construction technology, the development of Mosman’s suburban structure. The large collection of these are features that make Mosman instantly and uniquely recognisable.’

\(^{43}\)

3.2.4 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.\(^{44}\)

Meredith Walker,\(^{45}\) 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.

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\(^{41}\) 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.

\(^{42}\) 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.

\(^{43}\) Mosman Local Environment Plan, 2001, see for example Awaba Street, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 2060023.


A number of lines of road have been recognised as significant within their local context for embodying a sense of place or sense of identity for local travellers. Devils Elbow on the Debenham Road between West Gosford and Somersby, for example, has been assessed as having social significance as a local landmark. The road provides an important local access route and the elbow of the road and its drystone retaining wall are generally recognised as a landmark feature on this everyday route. Similarly, the distinctive visual character of the group of divided roads listed by Mosman Council, discussed above under criterion C, contributes to a sense of place, being part of what makes Mosman a distinctive place to live in and travel around on a day to day basis. These landmarks and features are likely to act as iconic local features on which many individuals attach their own associations and meanings related to place.

As noted above, 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. Meredith Walker highlights a need for the heritage profession to develop processes that allow for the identification of the meanings of places, such as lines of road, for those who regularly use them. In particular Walker highlights the importance of oral histories in uncovering local meaning systems and associations, but also points to the internet, local publications and the use of signs to capture the experience of travellers. However, in the absence of such approaches it is worthwhile to undertake at least a desktop and phone or email investigation of such values, rather than none at all.

The Camden Historical Society took it into their own hands to conduct a Camden Interim Heritage Study, in 1985 to help inform, and speed along, the commissioning of a professional heritage study by Camden Council. The Historical Society prepared a thematic history and nominated potential heritage items worthy of further investigation. One of the items identified was Cowpasture Road. This line of road is currently being considered as a potential cultural landscape item by Camden Council, and was nominated as a potential heritage item by the Liverpool sub-Region phase one study partly on the strength of the high level of community interest and esteem for the line of road, and concern that it be identified as an item needing careful management into the future.

The community may not always be unanimous about the aspects of the local environment that are valued. The National Trust has recently expressed concern that the distinctive low-key rustic character (potential aesthetic significance - criterion C) of two twisting dirt roads, Bloom Hill Road, south-east of Bathurst, and Point Plomer Road, near Crescent Head, which the Trust feels contribute to an understanding of each area’s history and to local culture and scenery, may be lost to road improvements currently being considered due to safety concerns. The Sydney Morning Herald coverage of the debate indicates that there are members of the communities and councils involved who feel that these dirt roads are part of their sense of identity as rural dwellers, some apparently stating that they would prefer to buy a 4WD vehicle and thereby adapt themselves to the current condition of the road than to have the road sealed, while others find this incomprehensible. An indicator of the strength of feeling regarding this issue, is that as part of this debate there has been a call for a new class of road

46 Gosford Local Environment Plan, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 1620047.
49 Sydney Morning Herald, ‘Don’t let dirt roads bite the dust, urges heritage body,’ Tuesday 31 August 2004.
to be declared: ‘The Rustic Road – never to be sealed’. Aside from Point Plomer Road, other roads nominated for such a categorisation are: Maria River Road between Crescent Head and Port Macquarie; the road to Seal Rocks; Congo Road, Moruya; North Durras Road near Batemans Bay and the NPWS road to Myall Lakes. Concerns have also been raised by the Convict Trails Project for small sections of the Great North Road that are still in use, but which have retained elements of their 1830s construction detail because they have never been rebuilt or re-aligned. A lack of accord does not diminish the significance of a line of road under this criterion, as it is not necessary for an item to be esteemed by the whole community for it to have social significance.

Lines of road have the potential to be part of significant cultural landscapes having social significance not only for local residents or travellers, but also for a citywide, national or even global community. Oxford Street, for example, nominated by phase one City sub-region study, as well as being an early and important route in Sydney, has become the focal point for the Sydney gay community since the 1970s. The road is lined with shops, bars and cafes that are significant to the gay community and is the stage for the yearly Mardi Gras celebrations (since 1978), drawing participants and observers from all walks of life and all over the globe to celebrate gay culture. With equivalent precincts in other States and countries, Oxford Street has the potential to be socially significant to a global community as a stage for the playing out of community commonalities and differences, a forge for a collective as well as an individual sense of identity. Clive Faro and Gary Wotherspoon’s Street Scene: A History of Oxford Street provides ample evidence of the street’s social significance at a local, national and international level.

3.2.5 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.

The phase one studies nominated several routes for further assessment because they may have scientific or research potential as well as potential aesthetic/technical and historic significance, as examples of early road construction in NSW. These included Parramatta Road (apart from its historic significance due to the fact that it approximates the original meandering route, dating from c.1793) because of the potential for existing nineteenth century milestones, sandstone kerbing and bridges to contribute to knowledge about the colony and early road building. The main descents over the Blue Mountains in addition to Cox’s original line, the Great Western Highway, Bell’s Line of Road, Berghoffer’s Pass, Locker’s Line and Lawson’s Long Alley, have the potential to yield new or further scientific or archaeological

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51 Email to NSW Heritage Advisors Network and engineering Heritage Australia from Convict Trail Project, 30 September 2003.
information, as a suite of roads, through their physical fabric and alignment in combination with documentary records of their design, construction and use.

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.

3.2.6 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.  

The abandoned section of the Wool Road through Bulee Gap, near Nowra, has been recognised as having State significance under this criterion as an uncommon example of a mid-nineteenth century road left largely unaltered by later road upgrades. Further adding to its significance is graffiti in the gap related to the Volunteer Defence Corp who defended the pass during World War Two when the road was mined and made impassable to prevent invasion by the Japanese. Other examples of lines of road that are significant under this criterion are the Great North Road and Mount Victoria Pass due to the extant fabric from the 1820s and 1830s, a characteristic which also contributes to their significance under criterion E.

3.2.7 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 Bulee Gap section of the Wool Road is significant at a State level under this criterion because it retains many of the principal characteristics of mid-nineteenth century roads in NSW in a relatively unaltered form the cutting through Bulee Gap is a particularly useful example of nineteenth century road works. Victoria Pass is also significant under this criterion because of its ability to demonstrate road building philosophy and technology of the 1830s.

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3.3 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, 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.59 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.60

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 catchment61 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.’62

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’.63 The Heritage Office encourages the consideration of curtilage both at the time of assessment and when management decisions regarding the item are being made.64

In a background paper for a heritage industry charette65 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

59  The term cultural significance is intended to be synonymous with the terms heritage significance and cultural heritage value, *Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter*, 1999, Article 1.2, and commentary p. 2.
management that respected the heritage qualities of the item in the context of its place in the landscape.\(^\text{66}\) 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.’\(^\text{67}\)

### 3.3.1 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 roads 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.\(^\text{68}\)

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.

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\(^{68}\) Movable Heritage at http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/09_index.htm#1
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.

3.3.1.1 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. At least ten lines of road have already been assessed as significant archaeological items across the State and currently appear in the online State Heritage Inventory. An example of one such line is the macadamised road off the Bruxner Highway at Tenterfield, discussed under criterion C (section 3.2.3), because the section of road is significant due to its rare physical fabric from which specific scientific information about road building techniques may be gained. The Great North Road between Devines Hill and Mount Manning, for example, (discussed previously under criterion A at 3.2.1 and criterion B at 3.2.2) has also been assessed as an archaeological item with the potential to yield important information on road engineering during the 1820s and 1830s and on the work patterns, skills and organisation of convict work 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. The lines of descent from the Blue Mountains have been nominated in this study as an example of this scenario. 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 indeed be the case for the Mulgoa Road which has been subject to a number of realignments since its original construction circa 1820.

3.3.1.2 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. Over sixty of the 100 lines of road reviewed in the online State Heritage Inventory were listed as significant built items. One example, the Old Ford Road, discussed under criterion C (section 3.2.3, has been assessed as a built item, which represents an early link to the Holsworthy and Eckersley settlements on the Georges River and can demonstrate aspects of late nineteenth 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 evident along the course of Parramatta Road.

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 Old Ford Road derives at least partly from its relationship with the surrounding remnant Cumberland woodland landscape and its ability to facilitate a
distinctive journey through that landscape. The appropriate curtilage of this line of road may be its visual catchment, or a wider area incorporating the 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. Rouse Hill House and its numerous outbuildings have been used by the Heritage Office as an illustration. Similarly, a suite of fragmented road networks and pavements within the grounds of Rozelle Hospital, which can demonstrate aspects of the horticultural development of the area between 1876 and the 1950s, is listed as a single built item on the Department of Health section 170 Register. Although the road remnants are spread over an area and have a wide range of dates of construction, they have a common significance and are thus listed as a single built item; the implied curtilage is the hospital grounds.

The lines of road managed by the RTA, however, form a widely spread web over the State. 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: a linear curtilage. For example, two sections of Heathcote Road may be considered significant primarily for their built fabric; the alignment; cuttings; and retaining walls on the descent and ascent of firstly, Deadmans Creek and secondly, the Woronora River. These two sections which demonstrate the technologies, standards and practices of road-making in the 1930-1940s, are separated by several kilometres of road along the Woronora Plateau, which is 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. However, it was concluded through the case study undertaken in Chapter 7, that these two physically interesting sections only have meaning in the relation to the defence imperative as a whole and are best considered along with the entire road and its associated structures such as bridges etc.

3.3.1.3 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. Our analysis of the current listings on the online State Heritage Inventory revealed a variety of uses for this category.

Firstly it is used to unite a line of road or section of road remnant with other structures. The Lake Innes House ruins and environs (including boathouse and corduroy road site), for example, on the Ruins Way, Port Macquarie is listed as an area/complex/group: the estate through its buildings, outbuildings, pathways, roads and gardens making a substantial contribution to the study of the settlement of NSW. Secondly this category has been used to unite a group of roads that form a significant pattern. The Milperra Soldiers’ Settlement, for example, is listed as an area/complex/group. The Soldiers’ Settlement was commenced after World War One, and although none of the buildings that formed part of the settlement appear to have survived, the road pattern and some remaining lot boundaries provide physical significant evidence of this major national scheme. Thirdly, the area/complex/group category has been used to incorporate an urban precinct such as the Burwood Road Precinct.

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70  Campbelltown Local Environment Plan, 1998, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5001148.
72  Department of Health, Section 170 Register, SHI Database No. 3540409.
73  As referred to in Burra Charter, 1999, Article 1.1
74  Hastings Local Environment Plan 2001, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 1730074.
75  Bankstown Local Environment Plan No. 20, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 1060223.
that is significant for its ‘outstanding architectural and streetscape qualities’ in which the role of Burwood Road itself is implied but not explicitly acknowledged.\(^{76}\)

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 many, and may be appropriate for the consideration of Queen Street nominated by the Liverpool study or the lines of descent from the Blue Mountains. Roads such as the Hume Highway, which cover vast geographical distances, could potentially be comprised of scores of significant area/complex/groups along their length as well as the whole being a significant built item or landscape item.

### 3.3.1.4 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.’\(^{77}\)

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.’\(^{78}\)

The 1992 UNESCO World Heritage Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognise and protect cultural landscapes, which was 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.’\(^{79}\)

The UNESCO World Heritage Convention Operational Guidelines identify three specific categories of cultural landscapes; the NSW Heritage Office has also acknowledged these categories:

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\(^{76}\) Part of the Burwood Road Conservation Area, *State Heritage Inventory Database No. 1250209.*

\(^{77}\) NSW Heritage Office, *NSW Heritage Manual - Heritage Terms and Abbreviations*, NSW Heritage Office and Department of Urban Affairs and Planning, 1996, p.3.


- 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.

Lines of road under the management of the RTA are largely of the evolved type of landscape as defined by UNESCO, developed for social and economic reasons, some of which may be relic but more often, are 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.80

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,81 there is 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 its management will become most acute when people with differing values and meanings try to use the landscape in different and incompatible ways.82 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 with the family.

The meanings ascribed to cultural landscapes have been well reflected in Australian cultural expressions since the colonial period. As noted by Ramsay and Truscott,83 tracks feature

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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. 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 Road to Gundagai*; and road films which emphasise the importance of journeys, such as *Doing Time With Patsy Kline* (1997). The evocation of lines of road and landscape that emerges in literature, such as the description of Harry’s typical journeying in Richard Flanagan’s *Death of a River Guide* (1996) is a further testament of their cultural value 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. The aesthetic significance of a line of road, such as Appin Road discussed under criterion C, (section 3.2.3), where the vistas and sensations involved in the journey are potentially significant, is one such example. The Mulgoa Road, discussed in the Chapter 7 case studies, is also recognised as an integral component of an important cultural landscape.

### 3.3.1.4.1 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

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Is multi-dimensional, with different aspects developing and adding to its prime purpose, which may be religious, commercial, administrative or otherwise.86

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.’87

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 remains a fertile one for lines of road within NSW.

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 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 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

87 ICOMOS CIIC, International Congress of the ICOMOS CIIC, Conclusions, Pamplona, Navara, Spain, June 2001, p.4.
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 lines of road that have multiple layers of significance that are significant for demonstrating the interaction between different groups of people, and between people and the surrounding natural environment. Oxford Street (discussed under criterion D; section 3.2.4) might well be a candidate for listing as a cultural landscape. Appin Road (discussed under criterion C; section 3.2.3) may also 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.

3.3.1.4.2 Assessment methodologies for cultural landscapes

Although the US National Parks Service in 1996 published a methodology for inventorying cultural landscapes under their control, 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. 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.

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90 National Parks Service, Park Cultural Landscapes Program, Cultural Landscape Inventory Initiative, April 1996.
In support of the NSW Heritage Office’s 2003 *Charette on Cultural Landscapes*, Meredith Walker provided a review of current approaches and practice in the assessment of rural cultural landscapes. As a part of this process Walker interviewed and surveyed a number of heritage practitioners. The conclusions of this process were that all practitioners followed the same basic approach implicit in the Burra Charter and the NSW Heritage Office assessment guidelines, that is:

- Documentary research;
- On site investigation;
- Some further documentary research etc.; and
- Assessment.93

Walker concluded that practitioners working in the area of cultural landscape assessment typically do not apply rigid approaches, but cover the same aspects in most projects. In developing an understanding of a cultural landscape, Walker’s assessment emphasised:

- The value of title searches of whole portions from first grant;
- The role of art and literature;
- The importance of involving the asset owners and community in the assessment process and development of policy;
- That all aspects of significance (aesthetic/scenic, historic, scientific and social, other) are best investigated and assessed together; and
- That heritage investigations need to be undertaken at a very early stage in the strategic planning process to ensure a closer fit for heritage and planning.

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-Wilson94 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
- **Non-continuous** boundaries which may include group listings where a number of features are amalgamated.

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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. As an illustration of this Camden Council in Sydney’s southwest is currently grappling with the boundaries of lines of road as cultural landscapes. The council is considering listing eleven road corridors as potential heritage items. The road corridors are considered to have potential significance as cultural landscapes. These corridors are considered not only to include the road from kerb to kerb, but also to include an indefinite curtilage. The road corridors are being nominated for listing as potential heritage items to flag the importance of these cultural landscapes and to ensure that if a development proposal affects the road, that appropriate investigations are undertaken and that the road’s significance is taken into account in that decision making process. Council have only nominated the items as ‘potential items’ as opposed to making a ‘full listing’ due to a lack of clarity about the management implications, in particular the issues associated with curtilage and potential flow-on impacts on surrounding landowners.95

3.4 Conclusion

From our review of the literature and an examination of the NSW Heritage Office criteria for significance assessment in light of lines of road it appears clear that a given 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. Lines of road may also fit into most of the identified heritage item types defined by the Heritage Office; that is, they can be classed as built items, archaeological, area/complex/group or landscape items depending on the nature of the item. It is clear however, that not all RTA controlled lines of road are necessarily significant, and it is the task of this pilot study to develop a methodology which will assist the RTA in determining those which are. The following chapter offers a step-by-step methodology for assessing lines of road that undoubtedly will be improved as the model is utilised under various scenarios.

Jeffrey Smart’s *Cahill Expressway, 1962* [National Gallery of Victoria]

In this very still painting of a usually frenetic route, Smart captures the essence of a romantic landscape more usually associated with less developed rural landscapes. Nevertheless it is a place with which many people can identify, conveying a sense of urban isolation. This painting was used in 1968 to inspire a book of short stories, all of which used the picture as a starting point.
4 A Model for Assessing Lines of Road for Section 170 Listing by the RTA

After consideration of the existing State, national and international frameworks for the assessment of lines of roads, the authors concluded that any proposed methodology must, at a minimum, build upon, and be largely consistent with the existing assessment processes supported by the NSW Heritage Office.

Recently, the sub-committees of the NSW Heritage Office have been developing guidelines for the assessment of heritage significance under each of the seven heritage assessment criteria. The purpose of these guidelines is to ensure a consistent approach to the examination of each criterion by heritage professionals. The first of these guidelines to be completed are the guidelines for criterion A - An item is important in the course, or pattern of NSW’s cultural or natural history. The NSW Heritage Council endorsed the guidelines for criterion A on 4 August 2004.96 Our proposed model for the heritage assessment of lines of road is based on these most recent guidelines but has been developed to incorporate the other six criteria and to deal specifically with issues associated with lines of road.

For large organisations like the RTA with an enormous asset register the comprehensive assessment of all assets for heritage values is necessarily a staged process, with preliminary assessments being initially undertaken and detailed assessments ideally commissioned once a preliminary ‘target’ list has been identified. The proposed model can be applied at both the preliminary assessment phase as well as at the detailed assessment phase: the difference being in the amount of detail incorporated at each phase.

Under each step, guidance particularly relevant to the assessment of lines of road has been provided. An indication of the costs, time and resources that might be applied to an assessment of lines of road (in terms of both budget and documentary sources available) is provided through the case studies found in Chapter 7 of this report. These case studies model the assessment process and importantly, their preparation has been documented with: copies of evidence; the resources available; an analysis of the time allocated for each aspect of the model; and a brief critique of the process to assist the RTA scope, manage and assess future studies.

In examining assessment models for the purpose of this study we found that the reiterative process proposed for this model is a common feature of most assessment process models:97 all steps are reiterative, developing on accumulated knowledge and understandings as the assessment proceeds. The response to each step will need to be modified as research proceeds and understandings develop. For example, in some circumstances, the geographical extent of the road will be clear and unambiguous, however in other circumstances more detailed investigation will be required or it may be determined that the full length of a particular road is not significant, while other parts are. Sometimes it will not be until the more detailed historical or archaeological investigation has been undertaken that a more precise geographical/physical definition of the significant component of a line of road can be made. This step, therefore, may need to be refined in terms of the physical extent of the area of significance after the history and other aspects of the research has been completed.

While initially the 33 steps of this process may appear daunting they, in effect, reflect the intellectual process that an assessment involves. After the initial chronology and thematic

96 These guidelines are yet to be published.
analysis has been undertaken, the revisiting of various stages will take the effect of refinement and editing as each additional criterion is considered. It should not involve a major rewrite or reformulation under each criterion. Based on the knowledge acquired through the chronology and thematic write up, the significance of a particular line of road should be assessed against the seven assessment criteria adopted by the NSW Heritage Office. Not all criteria will be relevant to any one line of road.

For each of the seven identified criteria, the following processes should be followed:

**STEP 1 IDENTIFICATION & DESCRIPTION OF THE LINE OF ROAD**

The item must be specifically identified and described. The description should include a statement of physical extent and an account of the physical components that comprise the item.

**Potential Sources:**

Cadastral information, gazettal notices and roads files at State Records in the Surveyor General’s and Lands Department series, as well as records held by the RTA, are significant sources for defining the geographic/spatial extent of the line of road.

Research questions should be formulated to assist with research design and the identification of potential sources. These questions are derived from the seven assessment criteria. They will be added to as the research and analysis proceeds but initially might include:

- When was the road built?
- Why was it built?
- Who built it?
- Why was this particular line or road followed?
- How was it built?
- What particular design or construction qualities can it demonstrate?
- Did its construction present any particular technical difficulties?
- How does it relate to the development of the region?
- What role does it play in the landscape?
- What is the physical extent of its influence?
- How has this road changed/remained constant over time?
- How has it been viewed by contemporary and past communities?
- Has the road played a part in defining a communities’ sense of place and self?
- What kinds of journeys and exchanges has the road facilitated?
- Can an interrelation between these journeys and exchanges and the physical nature of the road be understood?
### STEP 2  HISTORICAL RESEARCH & THEME IDENTIFICATION

Research the historical development of the item, its associations and the physical, social political and economic context, arranging the research materials chronologically. Prepare a chronology, noting the theme(s) that may provide contexts for each period. *Once completed, this step will form an appendix to the final report.*

The themes relating to the road’s development should simply be listed at the end of each chronological section. The NSW Heritage Office has a published list of themes which should be drawn on for this purpose (refer to Appendix A).

**Potential sources:** Published local and regional and thematic histories; RTA Files, Lands Department; Department of Public Works and Surveyor’s General files at State Records; local historical society records and members; and the local studies collections of area libraries.

### STEP 3  THEMATIC WRITE-UP

This step involves the writing up of each of the major themes in a prose or narrative form, emphasising the manner in which each historical process (theme) has shaped or influenced the line of road, or has been shaped or influenced by the line of road. These thematic histories will be subject to revision as each of the assessment criteria are, in turn, focused on. Each thematic section should be concluded with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the theme. The ability to demonstrate a particular theme will necessarily be revised after the team field visit.

### STEP 4  PRIORITISE THEMES

Prioritise the thematic sections according to the ability of the item to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the theme(s). Clarify what elements best demonstrate the theme(s) and prioritise these elements in terms of their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

In this step highlight which are the most important and/or dominant historic themes that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.

### STEP 5  WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION A – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN THE COURSE, OR PATTERN, OF NSW'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Write a succinct statement of historical significance, clearly drawn from the thematic conclusions, stating why the item is significant in the course or pattern of cultural or natural history. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.
STEP 6 CONSIDER 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

Revisit Step 2 the chronology, and develop it with this criterion in mind, specifically identifying the persons or groups associated with the line of road. Investigate the lives and the thematic contexts within which contributions have been made undertaking additional research as necessary.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions, adding to them as necessary.

Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research.

Potential Sources: Published biographies; family history and genealogical societies; Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society.

STEP 7 WRITE UP MAJOR ASSOCIATIONS

Write up each major association, emphasising the manner in which each association has shaped or influenced the line of road, or has been shaped or influenced by the line of road.

Determine the nature of a significant person or group’s relationship with the line of road and to other related historical resources and assess why the line is a significant representation or demonstration of the accomplishments of the person or group.

Under this criterion, it is critical that the significance of the person, or group of people, is established and that their association with the line of road is a significant association. The person or group must have made contributions or played a role that is significant within a particular theme, or themes, in the historical development of NSW. It must be made clear how the line of road represents or demonstrates a significant aspect of a person or group’s thematic contribution.

The line of road associated with a particular person or group must be compared to other items associated with the person or group to demonstrate that the line of road is a good example that clearly articulates the association that is still surviving. The contribution of the person or group should be compared with others active or influential in the field within the same theme or themes to establish their comparative significance. The comparisons must be contextual for example within a local area, or state or institutional structure. These associative histories will be subject to revision as each of the assessment criteria are, in turn, focused on.

Conclude each associative section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the association. The ability to demonstrate a particular association and theme will necessarily be revised after the team field visit.

STEP 8 PRIORITISE ASSOCIATIONS

Prioritise the preceding associative sections according to the ability of the line of road to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the association related to the relevant theme(s). Clarify what elements best demonstrate the association and the themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

In this step highlight which are the most important and/or dominant historic associations that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible rank them, but don’t split
hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.

**STEP 9 WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIVE SIGNIFICANCE UNDER 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**

Write a succinct statement of associative historical significance, clearly drawn from the associative and thematic conclusions, stating why the line of road item is significant due to its association with a person of importance in NSW’s cultural or natural history. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

**STEP 10 CONSIDER CRITERION C – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW**

Revisit Step 2, the chronology, and develop it with this criterion in mind, specifically identifying the aesthetic characteristics of the line of road and/or drawing out the specifics of the technical achievement the line can demonstrate undertaking additional research as necessary and drawing out the association with the historic themes.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions.

Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research and analysis.

*Potential Sources:* Industry and technical journals such as the Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society; Main Roads Magazine; Department of Main Roads Annual Reports; art works; literature; and community sources.

**STEP 11 WRITE UP MAJOR AESTHETIC AND TECHNICAL QUALITIES**

Write up the aesthetic/technical qualities emphasising the manner in which the line of road in its setting is aesthetically significant and/or of high creative or technical achievement linking these to the historical themes of NSW.

Some of the following questions might be considered:

- Does the line of road demonstrate a creative or technical innovation within its historic context and the historic themes of NSW?
- Is the line of road associated with a creative or technical innovation within its historic context and the historic themes of NSW?
- In what ways has the line of road, its fabric and/or its setting inspired creative or technical innovation or achievement and to what historic themes are these related?
- In what ways is the line of road aesthetically distinctive?
- What experiences and feelings are evoked in the community or its users by the line?
- What meanings, evocative qualities, symbolic values, or outstanding features or compositional qualities does the line of road possess in its own right or in the context of its setting?
To which historic themes are the aesthetic qualities of the line of road related?

Does the line of road exemplify a particular taste, style or technology and associated with the historic themes of NSW?

Do the aesthetic or technical qualities represent or demonstrate a highly original and influential style and/or does it represent a seminal or climactic work of its kind? To which historic themes of NSW are these related?

Are the aesthetic and technical qualities intact? Has their integrity been maintained?

Compare the assessment with other similar items, but note that the line of road must not be excluded because others of similar value have already been identified and placed on a statutory list. The comparisons must be contextual, for example, within a local area or the state. These aesthetic/technical histories will be subject to revision as each of assessment criterion is, in turn, focused on.

Conclude each aesthetic/technical history with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the significant aesthetic/technical qualities. The ability to demonstrate a particular aesthetic/technical quality will necessarily be revised after the team field visit.

STEP 12 PRIORITISE SIGNIFICANT AESTHETIC/TECHNICAL ATTRIBUTES

Prioritise the aesthetic/technical sections according to the ability of the line of road to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the significant aesthetic or technical attributes related to the relevant historic theme(s). Clarify what elements best demonstrate the attributes and the themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

In this step highlight which are the most important and/or dominant aesthetic/technical qualities that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.

STEP 13 WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION C - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW

Write a succinct statement of aesthetic or creative/technical significance, clearly drawn from Step 12, stating why the line of road is significant under this criterion and the ways in which the significant qualities are demonstrated by the line of road. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

STEP 14 CONSIDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS A STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

Revisit Step 2, the chronology of historic development, and enhance it with this criterion in mind, specifically identifying the social, cultural or spiritual aspects of, or associated with, the
line of road and/or drawing out the reasons for the strong community association and reconsidering the identified themes and adding to them if necessary.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions.
Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research and analysis and in the light of community input.
Consult with the local community to ascertain if the line of road has value for a particular group, whether local or from a broader catchment, and then specifically make contact with the group to clarify and articulate the reasons for the line’s significance under this criterion.
Community representatives should, ideally, be involved in the team site visit. **Potential sources:** the local community and cultural institutions - oral history, community meetings, and local press and historical society are all potential means of access to local cultural groups.

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**STEP 15 WRITE UP MAJOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS**

Write up under separate headings, the social, cultural or spiritual associations that particular groups place on the line of road, emphasising the manner in which the line of road in its setting is valued by the groups and link these to the historic themes of NSW. Conclude each associative section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the valued qualities.

Identify the reasons that the line of road is held in esteem by each particular group and the impact of its loss on the community. Specify if, and in what ways, these qualities contribute to the group’s sense of place.

Compare the assessment with other similar items but note, that the line of road must not be excluded because items of similar value have already been identified and placed on a statutory list.

Determine if the context for the line of road’s social or cultural associations is localised or state wide.

Conclude each cultural association section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the significant cultural associations/values. The ability to demonstrate a particular cultural association or value will necessarily be revised after the team field visit. The write up of the valuation for a particular group’s attachment or association should be validated by the group prior to its finalisation and inclusion in the assessment.

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**STEP 16 PRIORITISE THE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS**

Prioritise the social, cultural or spiritual sections according to the ability of the line of road to demonstrate social, cultural or spiritual values and qualities. Clarify what elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and rank these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

If appropriate and/or possible, highlight which are the most important and/or dominant social, cultural or spiritual elements that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs and be particularly conscious of cultural bias and cultural differences, both in the study team and in the community at large. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.
STEP 17 WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP IN NSW FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

Write a succinct statement of significance relating to the line’s association with a particular community or group due to social, cultural or spiritual reasons, clearly drawn from the preceding steps. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

STEP 18 CONSIDER CRITERION E – AN ITEM HAS THE POTENTIAL TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Revisit Step 2, the chronology of historic development, and enhance it with this criterion in mind. Use information from the site visit, as well as the comparative research, archaeological and relevant environmental (flora and fauna) assessments to determine whether the line of road contributes to an understanding of cultural or natural history. Relate this new potential data to our understanding of the identified themes associated with the line.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions.

Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research and analysis.

Use information from the site visit to assess the integrity of the line of road and its capacity to yield new or substantial information.

Potential sources: Scientific, technical and other professional journals; Environmental Impact Statements and other environmental baseline studies.

STEP 19 WRITE UP THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Write up the ways in which the line of road and/or its setting has the ability to reveal new information relating to the cultural and/or natural history of the State or local area and link these to the historical themes of NSW. If necessary undertake further research. Consider if this information would be available elsewhere and if the line constitutes a benchmark or reference site or type.

STEP 20 PRIORITISE THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Prioritise the ways in which the line of road can reveal new information relating to the cultural and/or natural history of the State and/or local area. Clarify what elements best demonstrate the attributes and the themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.
In this step highlight which are the most important and/or dominant elements that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of its individual parts.

**STEP 21 WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION E - THE POTENTIAL THE LINE OF ROAD HAS TO YIELD NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY**

Write a succinct statement of significance relating to the line of road’s potential to yield new information based on the preceding step. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

**STEP 22 CONSIDER CRITERION F – AN ITEM HAS UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY**

Revisit Step 2, the chronology of historic development, and enhance it with this criterion in mind. Use information from the site visit, as well as the comparative research, archaeological and relevant environmental (flora and fauna) assessments to determine whether the line of road presents any uncommon, rare or endangered features: relate this new data to the identified themes associated with the line. If necessary, undertake further research to confirm findings.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions.

Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research and analysis.

Use information from the site visit to assess whether any aspects of the line of road are uncommon, rare, or endangered.

Consider whether:
- The line of road provides evidence of a defunct custom, way of life or process;
- The line of road demonstrates a process, custom or other human activity that is in danger of being lost;
- The line of road provides unusually accurate evidence of a significant human activity;
- An aspect of the line of road is the only example of its type;
- The line of road demonstrates a design or construction technique of exceptional interest; and
- The line of road provides real evidence of a significant human activity that is important to a community.

**Potential sources:** State Heritage Register and Inventory; Register of the National Estate; Engineering Heritage Register; heritage and other environmental studies undertaken by the RTA, the National Parks and Wildlife Service, Department of Environment and Conservation and the Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources; relevant experts.
STEP 23 WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT ARE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Drawing from the chronology and thematic histories, write up each element of the line of road that has uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW, or an area’s, cultural or natural history. Articulate the ways that the line of road is able to demonstrate uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of an area’s or NSW’s cultural or natural history.

If necessary, undertake further research.

STEP 24 PRIORITISE THE WAYS THE LINE OF ROAD CAN DEMONSTRATE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Prioritise the uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of the line of road. Clarify which elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

If appropriate and/or possible, highlight which are the most important uncommon, rare or endangered elements that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.

STEP 25 WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION F - AN ITEM HAS UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Write a succinct statement of significance identifying and evaluating the significance of the line’s uncommon, rare or endangered aspects. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

STEP 26 CONSIDER CRITERION G – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW'S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS

Revisit Step 2, the chronology of historic development, and enhance it with this criterion in mind. Use information from the site visit, as well as the comparative research, archaeological and relevant environmental (flora and fauna) assessments to determine whether the line of road provides a good example of a principal class of natural or cultural places and environments. Relate this new data to our understanding of the identified themes associated with the line. If necessary, undertake further research to confirm findings.

Revisit Step 1 and reconsider the research questions.

Revisit Steps 3 and 4 modifying in the light of additional research and analysis.
Use information from the site visit to assess whether any aspects of the line of road demonstrate the principal characteristics of a particular type of road or landscape.

**Potential sources:** State Heritage Register and Inventory; Register of the National Estate; Engineering Heritage Register; heritage and other environmental studies undertaken by the RTA, the National Parks and Wildlife Service, Department of Environment and Conservation and the Department of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources; and relevant experts.

**STEP 27 WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES**

Write up aspects of the line of road that demonstrate the principal characteristics of a class of NSW’s cultural or natural places. Draw out from the chronology and thematic histories each of the principal characteristics that the particular line of road can demonstrate. These characteristics should be linked to the historic themes of NSW. Articulate the ways the line of road is able to demonstrate these qualities.

**STEP 28 PRIORITISE THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES**

Prioritise those elements of the line of road that are capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW’s cultural or natural places. Clarify which elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

If appropriate and/or possible, highlight the most important elements of the line of road that demonstrate the principal characteristics of a class of NSW’s cultural or natural places. As far as possible prioritise them, but don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of its individual parts.

**STEP 29 WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION G - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS**

Write a succinct statement of significance identifying and evaluating the significance of the line’s ability to demonstrate a principal class of natural or cultural places and environments. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

This statement will need to be reviewed and/or revised after consideration of the other criteria and after the fieldwork has been undertaken.

**STEP 30  UNDERTAKE FIELD VISIT**

Undertake a field visit to the line of road with all team members. Ideally, community representatives; relevant stakeholder representatives such as asset managers and local council staff; and relevant specialists such as landscape and flora and fauna experts, should be a part of this process. Discuss the on-the-ground reality in relation to the documentary research and findings to date.
Note discrepancies and anomalies.

**STEP 31  REVISE DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH**

Investigate discrepancies and anomalies arising from the field trip and consultation process. Revisit steps 1, 2, 3 and 4 and all following processes.

Refer the results of the consultation and assessment process back to communities, stakeholders and experts for validation. Pass on any additional information that may be relevant to a community and stakeholders in a reciprocative fashion. Try to return to the communities as much of the findings as is feasible given the constraints of the brief and needs of the RTA.

**STEP 32  REVISE DOCUMENTARY BASED ASSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE**

Revise statements of significance in light of additional information and analysis.

**STEP 33  PREPARE A SINGLE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**

The overall statement should succinctly summarise the ways in which the item is significant, indicating the heritage values that the line of road can demonstrate in part or as a whole, and whether the significance is at a local, State or national level.
ALONG THE ROAD TO GUNDAGAI

There's a scene that lingers in my memory,
Of an old bush home and friends I long to see.
That's why I am yearning, just to be returning
Along the road to Gundagai.

There's a track winding back to an old fashioned shack
Along the road to Gundagai.
Where the blue gums are growing
And the Murrumbidgee's flowing beneath that sunny sky;
Where my daddy and mother are waiting for me,
And the pals of my childhood once more I will see.
Then no more will I roam, when I'm heading right for home
Along the road to Gundagai.

Chorus:
There's a track winding back to an old fashioned shack
Along the road to Gundagai.
Where the blue gums are growing and the Murrumbidgee's flowing,
Beneath that sunny sky;
Where my daddy and mother are waiting for me,
And the pals of my childhood once more I will see.
Then no more will I roam, when I'm heading right for home
Along the road to Gundagai.
5 Establishing a Management Model for Significant Lines of Road

Chapter 3 of this report discussed ways of investigating the significance of a line of road and Chapter 4 presented a model for assessing that significance. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss processes relating to management of lines of road which are assessed to be significant.

5.1 Cultural Resource Management – an Overview

The management implications for a line of road that has heritage significance are determined by the nature of that significance and the elements or aspects of the road that contribute to it. For example, a line of road may be part of a suite of elements owned by a number of entities that together are culturally significant. All responsible parties must undertake management of that suite of significant elements in a collaborative fashion. In such an instance it is important to understand what it is that the line of road contributes to the whole and how they interact to contribute to the formation of the overall significance of the place. In other instances the line of road may simply be significant as a built item regardless of its siting in the landscape. The line of Old Windsor Road, for example, is important because it is the second oldest road in the colony and features in many early accounts of life in colonial NSW. Retention of the original line of road is necessary to ensure retention of the significance of the Old Windsor Road: retention of existing fabric, however, may not be. In another instance it may be the technical achievement that a line of road demonstrates that makes it important, for example the existence of remnants of macadamised road on the Bruxner Highway. In such a circumstance retention of the significant fabric would be a desirable management outcome.

5.1.1 Managing Significance

While discussions regarding the management of significance are likely to occur during the investigating and assessing stages of the NSW Heritage Assessment Process, as outlined in chapters 2, 3 and 4, specific decisions regarding the management of the heritage resource should be made once the item’s heritage significance is fully understood. The following steps are advocated in the consideration of the management of potentially significant lines of road.

**PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS WITH ASSET OWNER/MANAGER**

Once the statement of significance has been prepared, discussions should be undertaken with the owner and/or manager of the asset. In regard to lines of road, ownership may be vested with a single authority, or there may be a number of owners. In other circumstances the owner may be a different entity to the manager. This is particularly the case where the RTA manages the road on behalf of another authority such as a local council. It is important that there is a dialogue established at the earliest stage to ensure that a management solution appropriate to all affected stakeholders is found.

It is vital to identify the specific requirements of the asset owner and constraints that will affect the long-term management of the road. A particular line of road may require future augmentation, resurfacing, etc, and this will need to be considered in terms of the developing asset management plans and conservation management plans for the item. It is also vital to explore the various management trade-offs that can be made or opportunities that can be found in looking at a long-term conservation strategy for the asset.
DEVELOP CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on discussions with the asset owner and manager, the assessment team should develop a series of conservation and management recommendations designed to ensure the protection of those aspects of the line of road considered to be of heritage significance. This may take the form of a draft Conservation Management Plan.

UNDELETE FURTHER STAKEHOLDER & COMMUNITY CONSULTATION

Any decisions regarding the long-term management of assets such as roads are likely to impact on large numbers of stakeholders including users of the road and people living along the line of road. It is vital that discussions be held with these stakeholders and the wider community to assist in identifying viable management solutions for the line of road. This consultation may take the form of community meetings, local surveys, and the targeting of key interest groups. Information taken from this process should be used to refine or revisit proposed management strategies. This step should be used to further inform the draft Conservation Management Plan.

REVIEW STATUTORY CONTROLS

Ensure that proposed management responses are consistent with any statutory and non-statutory or policy instruments. This will mean considering the options in terms of environmental planning legislation, due diligence obligations, the objectives of the RTA and its statutory requirements, and the adopted policies of the State government. As with the preceding step, the information from this step should be used to review and refine the draft Conservation Management Plan.

PREPARE CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN

A Conservation Management Plan (CMP) should be prepared for each significant line of road. The CMP should outline the long-term management strategy for the line of road; any management constraints; potential uses of the item; ownership and management issues; as well as ongoing maintenance strategy. This CMP should be consistent with the NSW State Government’s Total Asset Management – Heritage Asset Management Guidelines.

The following charts summarise the entire NSW Heritage Office Heritage Management System as it relates to lines of road.
## Summary of Model for Investigating, Assessing & Managing Lines of Road

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See Insert on following page for more detailed criteria
Summary of Model for Assessing the Heritage Significance of Lines of Road

**STEP 1.** Identify and describe the line of road. Include a statement of the physical extent of the line of road and an account of the physical components that make up the item. Formulate key research questions.

**STEP 2.** Research the historic development of the item, associations and the physical, social and political context, arranging the research chronologically. This will be a reiterative process as consideration of each criterion is undertaken. Associate development with the appropriate NSW historic themes.

**STEP 3.** Write up each major theme in a prose or narrative form, emphasising the manner in which each historical process (theme) has shaped or influenced the line of road, or has been shaped or influenced by the line of road. Conclude each thematic section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the theme.

**STEP 4.** Prioritise the thematic sections according to the ability of the item to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the theme(s). Clarify what physical elements best demonstrate the theme(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the whole item; or determine a level of significance for each item making up a group.

**STEP 5.** Write a succinct statement of historical significance, clearly drawn from the thematic conclusions, stating why the item is significant in the course or pattern of cultural or natural history, and clearly stating a level of significance for the line of road, or group or suite of roads.

**STEP 6.** Consider the item under Criteria 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. Investigate the lives and the thematic contexts within which contributions have been made. Any associations must be clearly identified and assessed. Revisit Step 2.

**STEP 7.** Write up each major association, emphasising the manner in which each association has shaped or influenced the line of road, or has been shaped or influenced by the line of road. Determine the nature of a significant person or group's association with the line of road. Conclude each associative section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the association. Consider in the light of the outcomes of Steps 3 and 4.

**STEP 8.** Prioritise associations according to the ability of the line of road to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the association related to the relevant themes.

**STEP 9.** Write a succinct statement of associative historical significance clearly drawn from the associative and thematic conclusions, stating why the line of road is significant due to its association with a person of importance in NSW's cultural or natural history, and identifying whether the item is of local, State or national significance.
STEP 10. Consider Criterion C – An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW. Revisit the chronology and develop with this criterion in mind.

STEP 11. Write up major aesthetic and technical qualities, emphasising the manner in which the line of road, in its setting is aesthetically significant and/or of high creative or technical achievement linking these to the historical themes of NSW. Conclude each aesthetic/technical section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the aesthetic/significant qualities.

STEP 12. Prioritise the aesthetic/technical sections relating to the line of road’s ability to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the significant aesthetic or technical attributes related to the relevant historic theme(s).

STEP 13. Write a succinct statement of aesthetic or creative/technical significance, clearly drawn from Step 12, stating why the line of road is significant under this criterion and the ways in which the significant qualities are demonstrated by the road. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

STEP 14. Consider the item under Criterion D - An item has a strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons. Revisit the chronology and enhance with this criterion in mind. Reconsider the research questions and steps 3 & 4.

STEP 15. Write up under separate headings the social cultural or spiritual associations that particular groups place on the line of road, emphasising the manner in which the line of road in its setting is valued by the groups and link these to the historic themes of NSW. Conclude each associative section with a paragraph assessing the ability of the item to demonstrate the valued qualities. Consider in the light of the outcomes of Steps 3 and 4.

Step 16. Prioritise the social, cultural or spiritual sections according to the ability of the line of road to demonstrate important aspects or elements of the significant social, cultural or spiritual values and qualities. Clarify what physical elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and rank these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

STEP 17. Write a succinct statement of significance relating to the line’s association with a particular community or group due to social, cultural or spiritual reasons, clearly drawn from the preceding steps. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for the line of road, be it: local, State, national, etc.
STEP 18. Consider Criterion E – An item has the potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW’s cultural or natural history or an area’s cultural or natural history. Revisit the chronology of historic development and enhance it with this criterion in mind.

STEP 19. Write up the ways in which the line of road and/or its setting has the ability to reveal new information relating to the cultural and/or natural history of the State or local area and link these to the historical themes of NSW. If necessary undertake further research. Consider if this information would be available elsewhere and if the line constitutes a benchmark or reference site or type.

STEP 20. Prioritise the ways in which the line of road can reveal new information relating to the cultural and/or natural history of the State and/or local area. Clarify what elements best demonstrate the attributes and the themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

STEP 21. Write a succinct statement of significance relating to the line of road’s potential to yield new information clearly drawn from the preceding steps, stating why the line of road is significant under this criterion, and referring to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

STEP 22. Consider Criterion F – An item has uncommon rare or endangered aspects of NSW’s cultural or natural history or an area’s cultural or natural history. Revisit the chronology of historic development and enhance it with this criterion in mind. Use information from the site visit, as well as the comparative research, archaeological and relevant environmental (flora and fauna) assessments to determine whether the line of road presents any uncommon, rare or endangered features: relate this new data to our understanding of the identified themes associated with the line. If necessary undertake further research to confirm findings.

STEP 23. Write up the aspects of the road that are uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW’s cultural or natural history or an area’s cultural or natural history. Articulate the ways that the line of road is able to demonstrate uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of an area’s or NSW’s cultural or natural history.

STEP 24. Prioritise the uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of the line of road. Clarify which elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

STEP 25. Write a succinct statement of significance identifying and evaluating the significance of the line’s uncommon, rare or endangered aspects. The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes.
**STEP 26. Consider Criterion G – An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places; cultural or natural environments.**

Revisit the chronology of historic development and enhance it with this criterion in mind. Use information from the site visit, as well as the comparative research, archaeological and relevant environmental (flora and fauna) assessments to determine whether the line of road provides a good example of a principal class of natural or cultural places and environments. Relate this new data to our understanding of the identified themes associated with the line. If necessary undertake further research to confirm findings.

**STEP 27. Write up aspects of the line of road that demonstrate the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places.**

Draw out from the chronology and thematic histories each of the principal characteristics that the particular line of road can demonstrate. These characteristics should be linked to the historic themes of NSW. Articulate the ways the line of road is able to demonstrate these qualities.

**STEP 28. Prioritise those elements of the line of road that are capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places.**

Clarify which elements best demonstrate the attributes and any associated historic themes(s), and prioritise these elements for their contribution to the significance of the line of road; or determine a level of significance for each line of road making up a group or suite.

**STEP 29. Write a succinct statement of significance identifying and evaluating the significance of the line's ability to demonstrate a principal class of natural or cultural places and environments.**

The statement of significance should clearly state why the line of road is significant under this criterion and refer to the NSW historic themes. The statement should also clarify the level of significance for this particular element, be it: local, State, national, etc.

**STEP 30. Undertake a field visit to the line of road with all team members.**

Ideally, community representatives; relevant stakeholder representatives such as asset managers and local council staff; and relevant specialists such as landscape and flora and fauna experts, should be a part of this process. Discuss the on-the-ground reality in relation to the documentary research and findings to date.

**STEP 31. Investigate discrepancies and anomalies arising from the field trip and consultation process.**

Revisit steps 1, 2, 3 and 4 and all following processes. Refer the communities, stakeholders and experts for validation. Pass on any additional information that may be relevant to a community and stakeholders in a reciprocative fashion. Try to return to the communities as much of the findings as is feasible given the constraints of the brief and needs of the RTA.

**STEP 32. Revise documentary based assessments of significance in light of additional information and analysis.**

**STEP 33. The overall statement should succinctly summarise the ways in which the item is significant, indicating the heritage values that the line of road can demonstrate in part or as a whole, and whether the significance is at a local, State or national level.**
HIGHWAY TO HELL
by Young, Young & Scott

Livin' easy, lovin' free, season ticket on a one-way ride
Askin' nothin', leave me be, takin' everythin' in my stride
Don't need reason, don't need rhyme
Ain't nothing that I'd rather do
Goin' down, party time, my friends are gonna be there too

I'm on the highway to hell
Highway to Hell
I'm on the highway to hell

No stop signs, speed limit, nobody's gonna slow me down
Like a wheel, gonna spin it, nobody's gonna mess me around
Hey Satan, payin' my dues, playin' in a rockin' band
Hey Mumma, look at me, I'm on my way to the promised land

I'm on the highway to hell
Highway to Hell
I'm on the highway to hell

Don't stop me

I'm on the highway to hell
On the highway to hell
Highway to Hell
I'm on the highway to hell

And I'm going down, all the way
I'm on the highway to hell
6 Conclusions and Recommendations

This study was commissioned because of the unique set of considerations that lines of road, as potential heritage items, present to the RTA. In particular:

1. The boundaries of the line of road are often difficult to define;
2. The planning system is reliant on the identification of heritage items in physical/cadastral terms and is not particularly amenable to protecting items that have more fluid boundaries;
3. Lines of road often cross numerous jurisdictional boundaries, and therefore ownership issues need to be addressed; and
4. The processes for identifying and assessing the heritage significance of the more intangible aspects of heritage, including those presented in cultural landscapes, are only in their infancy and not particularly well understood.

6.1 The methodology

In developing the proposed methodology for assessing the heritage significance of lines of road, Heritage Assessment And History focused on the most recent guidelines for the assessment of heritage significance under criterion A of the NSW Heritage Office’s seven assessment criteria (An item important in the course, or pattern of NSW’s cultural or natural history). The NSW Heritage Council endorsed this model on 4 August 2004.

Using the endorsed guidelines for the consideration of criterion A, the framework was broadened to include each of the seven assessment criteria used by the Heritage Office to assess heritage significance. The proposed methodology is a clearly articulated, step-by-step process, which takes the practitioner from background research to the preparation of a statement of significance for the item. The obvious intention in both the developed methodology and guidelines developed by the NSW Heritage Office is to ensure consistency and uniformity in the assessment process. This, in turn, ensures that assessments can be compared against each other and that there is a level of reassurance that all items are assessed on a common basis.

6.1.1 Application of the methodology to lines of road

Three case studies were undertaken within this pilot project, they can be found in Chapter 7. Heathcote Road, Mulgoa Road and Mount Victoria Pass and were selected as case studies with reference to a list of lines of road nominated by the phase one studies as items of potential significance. The HAAH team selected these three lines of road for trial assessment as it was anticipated, from what was known of their histories and physical attributes, that the three lines would be found to be significant in different ways, and reflect the wide scope of differences in significance that were identified through our research in Chapter 3.

The team members applied the step-by-step methodology to each line of road as far as was possible within the project’s time frame. The issue of time allocation and its impact on the application of the methodology is further explored below in section 6.2.

The significance of all three lines of road was confirmed through the assessment process and it was indeed found that each line of road had a different character. Each line of road was found to have strong relationships with the surrounding landscape and to demonstrate important processes in the history of the areas in question through their placement in the landscape. In all three cases, the views of the surrounding landscape and built items to be
gained from the road were considered to be strongly related to the significance of the line of road. Mulgoa Road and Mount Victoria Pass were each strongly associated, functionally and aesthetically, with a range of other recognised heritage items including archaeological sites, extant early homesteads, other lines of road and natural World Heritage areas. In fact, it was concluded that Mount Victoria Pass is of national significance as part of a suite of associated lines of road and associated convict road gang sites making the western descent of the Great Dividing Range.

The case studies did not conclude an exact definition of the item in question rather; they aimed to provide a strong foundation for a detailed consideration of curtilage.

6.1.2 Strengths and Limitations of the Methodology in Application to Lines of Road

The application of this rigorous, step-by-step, methodology was found to have significant benefits for the assessment of lines of road. As extensive and complex items that facilitate movement through landscapes, lines of road are likely to be associated in some way with a cultural landscape or series of landscapes, and have some of the attributes of the 'cultural route' discussed in Chapter 3. The three lines of road selected for the case studies evolved over long periods of time and have layered and complex histories. Although much of Heathcote Road, for example was constructed in 1940-1941, the northwestern portion of the route has been in use since the late nineteenth century, and it was found that the road has several layers of significance related to different periods in its development and use. Assessing such an item can be daunting. Three features of the methodology in particular were found to have benefits for the careful examination of such a large and complex item as a line of road:

- The iterative nature of the methodology;
- The formalisation of the process of examining the subject item in terms of the NSW Historic Themes; and
- The repeated calls to re-examine the attributes and elements of the subject item and to articulate their association with, and demonstration of, the themes.

The procedures embodied in the methodology have the potential to allow a detailed, reflective examination of a line of road as well as firmly tying the examination of the significance criteria to a concern for the facilitation of effective management of the item. Areas of original fabric that require conservation can be identified, significant experiences and vistas described and significant associations with other items drawn out.

The authors of this report did, however, recognise some limitations in this approach. Through the application of the methodology, which has only had a very limited trial to date, the team became concerned that the formality of this approach to assessment may have the potential to draw confidence away from the qualitative nature of assessment, and stifle the imaginative aspect of the task. Our review of literature and assessments of lines of road to date, summarised in Chapter 3, found the potentially evocative and subjective nature of the significance of lines of road to be already well recognised and important. A methodology for assessing lines of road should thus nurture these aspects of the task of assessment. In response to this concern, the team added qualifiers to the explanations of a number of steps in the methodology, for instance Step 4, 'Prioritise Themes'. Here, the instruction to prioritise the themes and rank the physical elements of the line of road in the order of their contribution to the significance of the line of road, has been qualified by the following:

‘In this step filter out the most important and/or dominant themes that the line of road is capable of demonstrating. As far as possible prioritise them, but
don’t split hairs. It is also of great importance that the significance of the line of road as a whole is considered, as well as an analysis of the contribution of its parts.’

It is our intention here to encourage a thoughtful response to the steps and prevent the use of this rigorous methodology from degenerating into a reductionist quantitative process of ranking and anatomising: encouraging the process of considering items and groups of items as a functional or aesthetic whole.

Also when a number of closely associated themes were associated with a road, the repetition of the task of preparing thematic histories was found to impede rather than facilitate the process and so adaptations were made. In adopting the methodology the practitioner needs to be given sufficient flexibility in interpreting the guidelines to the specific situation (i.e. line of road; time constraints etc) with which they are dealing.

6.2 Allocation of Time

It is also important that a realistic timeframe be allocated for undertaking the assessment of lines of road. In our experience, approximately 15 to 18 hours per item is commonly allocated by State government instrumentalities for these types of case studies. As has been demonstrated in the different approaches to the case studies, the methodology lends itself to varying levels of input to suit the intensity of assessment, and could be employed in assessments from preliminary heritage studies through to full heritage assessments. The process will also provide support in the development of even more detailed studies such as Conservation Management Plans.

When evaluating assessments performed under this methodology, the expectations of the degree of comprehensiveness need to match the budgetary allocation. All three case studies exceeded the arbitrary allotted 15-18 hour time budget, with the Mulgoa Road and Heathcote Road taking 30-35 hours each, and Mount Victoria Pass taking approximately 60 hours. In the cases of the Mulgoa Road and Heathcote Road, background research was kept to a minimum and some steps in the process were amalgamated. The assessment of the lines of descent over the Blue Mountains (Mount Victoria Pass) is more rigorous, particularly in terms of its background research, and well exceeded the time that would typically be available for such assessments. The rigour of assessment was possible because the author had already undertaken a great deal of work for another report and had information readily at hand to be employed on the task. But even so, some components were omitted. The extent of the background research however, allowed the criteria to be more fully investigated than was the case in either of the other two assessments. Associative significance, for example, is not always apparent from preparing a cursory history of the item and site visit. The more rigorous approach adopted for Mount Victoria Pass enabled a better understanding of the potential significance of the item to be borne out. However, despite the amount of time spent on this case study, further research was still begging. For example, whether an item presents unique natural or cultural values is often not obvious to all practitioners and often requires a truly multidisciplinary team for the assessment: In the assessment of Mount Victoria Pass, as well as Mulgoa Road and Heathcote Road, there were insufficient resources to allow this.

6.3 Community consultation

The authors would also like to strongly reinforce the need for community and stakeholder consultation to become a key aspect of assessments of significance. This is already a mandatory component of the environmental planing and assessment process, which covers items of environmental heritage. The process of uncovering meanings, values and associations can best be assisted through having an open dialogue with the community. Approaches such as the use of oral histories are particularly useful in gaining a better insight
into these local meaning systems and hence in defining what it is that is significant about a line of road. Meredith Walker, in a presentation at the Cultural Landscapes Charette held by the NSW Heritage Office in 2003, argued that the meanings associated with a place are often best reflected through stories rather than factual evidence. The adopted methodology must be able to incorporate stories, images, and other ‘less empiric’ evidence in a meaningful and useful way.

Again, the timeframe available for these assessments will mean that any consultation will often be at best cursory, however, it is believed that any initial consultative efforts should be augmented through the CMP process. It is also advocated that the RTA use its existing consultative forums, e.g., planning focus meetings for preparation and exhibition of environmental impact statements, and other planning processes, to undertake pre-emptive community assessments of the importance of these identified lines of road.

6.4 Multiple Owners and Joint Responsibility for Heritage Assets

The consideration of lines of road as potential heritage items also reinforces the need for there to be greater consideration of joint ownership/management issues. The heritage management system and, in the broader context, the environmental planning system as they currently exist in NSW are designed to best deal with single items within well-defined boundaries and with single owners. Lines of road and cultural landscapes present a challenge to this system and will require further discussion between State government agencies.

6.5 Curtilage issues

Consideration needs also to be given to revisiting the concept of curtilage to enable the broader definitions of curtilage such as those that apply to lines of road and cultural landscapes to be accommodated. The problems posed by these linear assets of the RTA, may soon emerge for other bodies, applying to items such as electricity distribution lines, gas pipelines, irrigation canals, telephone and telegraph lines, rail lines, and sewage and water distribution pipelines.

6.6 Cultural landscapes

The NSW Heritage Office has identified that there is an absence of specific policies and tools for the management of cultural landscapes. This can also be said for lines of road as heritage items in their own right. In an attempt to address this situation, the Heritage Office has acknowledged that a policy document needs to be prepared to identify objectives, policy and directives for cultural landscape management. It is proposed that such a policy would provide guidance to State government instrumentalities and land owners. Dialogue is required to ensure that consideration of issues specific to lines of road be dovetailed into this process.

6.7 Scoping

There is a danger in presenting this model that an expectation could develop that fulfilment of all of the specified steps is necessary, and indeed always possible, and that reports could be appear deficient if they do not sufficiently deal with each of the 33 steps. Rather than discard

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the model because it appears too onerous, the authors felt, that the level of detail and rigour could vary depending on the specific circumstances of each assessment (i.e., time, budget, etc). Even when used in a less than comprehensive manner the model allows a sufficient degree of analysis to enable a well substantiated case for an assessment to be put forward. Further, it allows the identification of gaps in both the research and analysis and for a judgement to be formed on the veracity of the assessment: Thus enabling decisions to be made by RTA management as to which assets need further investigation. This is well illustrated by the Mount Victoria Pass case study. The research presented to date, despite its gaps, leaves no doubt that the place is of exceptional significance, although the extent of the curtilage would benefit from further refinement and discussion. One very reasonable question that will need resolution at some point in time is: should the curtilage include all the western descents in a cultural landscape or should Bell’s Line be cut? Further research will be required at the stage when the RTA needs to develop on-going management policies of its heritage values in association with other stakeholders. Nevertheless, each of the three case studies, as presented, will be a useful guide, starting point and source to be further developed at that time: any further work on these lines of road should build on the work to date and be reiterative.
Margaret Preston's, *The Red Road to Mulgoa*, 1944.
7 Case Studies
7.1 Heathcote Road
7.1 Heathcote Road

7.1.1 Preamble

Heathcote Road (RTA Road No. 512) was selected as a case study for assessment as a line of road substantially designed and constructed in the mid twentieth century, which was also considered to have potential significance in relation to the surrounding natural environment as well as the potential to demonstrate cultural exchanges between groups of people significant in the history of NSW.

7.1.2 The Assessment

7.1.2.1 STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION & DESCRIPTION OF THE LINE OF ROAD

Heathcote Road runs from Newbridge Road, Moorebank, to the Princes Highway at Engadine in Sydney's south. The road runs south-east through Moorebank, Wattle Grove and Hammondville residential districts, for approximately four kilometres, then enters the Holsworthy Military Reserve. For most of its length the road follows the eastern edge of the Military Reserve in a fairly smooth inverted S shape, running roughly parallel to the Georges River and then Mill Creek, a tributary of Georges River. The journey is for the most part through bushland, and has a peculiar integrity due to the lack of route options: there are no through routes intersecting with Heathcote Road between Anzac Road at Moorebank and New Illawarra Road at Lucas Heights.

From Liverpool to the vicinity of Holsworthy/Pleasure Point, the road is level and straight. This portion of the road has been identified on nineteenth century maps, and provided a road link to the Holsworthy Army Camp and the German Concentration Camp during the Great War and beyond. The road then descends to Deadmans Creek between sandstone cuttings and outcrops and spectacular sandstone woodland. Rising again from Deadmans Creek, the road traverses a plateau between Williams Creek and Deadmans Creek, the bush becoming short and scrubby. After the junction with New Illawarra Road coming from the north, on the southern edge of the Lucas Heights Regional Waste Depot, Heathcote Road descends again through spectacular sandstone country, with a less regular line, to the Woronora River, crossing a long bridge before ascending through the Heathcote National Park and the suburb of Engadine to meet the Princes Highway. This latter section of the road was planned, designed and constructed in 1940-1941.

Heathcote Road has been subject to some alterations since its construction. Between Newbridge Road and the entrance to the Holsworthy Military Camp, the road has been widened to three/four lanes and crosses over the South Western Motorway on a recently constructed overpass. The road crosses Harris Creek on a two lane, reinforced concrete bridge constructed in 1941. As the road approaches Williams Creek, and until the ascent to the plateau on the far side of Deadmans Creek, it is comprised of two lanes and features some presumably original cuttings and remnant retaining walls. The two-lane reinforced concrete bridges over Williams and Deadmans Creeks were constructed in 1941-3. On the plateau section, much of the road has been widened to three lanes. On the descent and ascent to and from Woronora River, several two-lane sections are extant as well as several large cuttings. The reinforced concrete Woronora River Bridge was constructed in 1941. A remnant stone block retaining wall can be seen on the northern side of the road towards Engadine. An extensive stone block retaining wall was located below the southern side of the road as it passes through the Heathcote National Park. It is likely to be one of many that cannot be readily observed from the carriageway.
7.1.2.2 STEP 2: HISTORICAL RESEARCH & THEME IDENTIFICATION

Chronology:
The pre-1910 history of the road and surrounding area has only been minimally investigated.

Liverpool was selected as a site for a town by Governor Macquarie in 1810 in response to demands for land in that area, already well known as a farming district, but settlement to the south and east of the Georges River was scant until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Old Illawarra Road (now Forest and Wollongong Roads) was surveyed by Thomas Mitchell and constructed with convict labour between 1842 and 1845. This road led from Sydney to Wollongong, through Newtown, Arncliffe and Hurstville to Lugarno where a hand punt was established across the Georges River. The road then wound south through Menai, along the western side of today’s Lucas Heights and forded the Woronora River near today’s North Engadine and continued to Wollongong. Parish maps from the 1890s show settlement along this road and the Menai Road (See Figure 1).

In 1884 the settlement of Eckersley was established in the area to the south-east of the Georges River and to the west of Menai: orchards and vineyards were established in the area. Links with the established towns were via the Old Illawarra Road, Green Hills Avenue at Liverpool, and a number of routes which forded the upper reaches of the Georges River to connect the settlement directly to Campbelltown. An 1899 Holsworthy Parish map shows subdivision activity in the Holsworthy area and the development of various roads and tracks. The line of road shown leading south-east from Liverpool and crossing Harris Creek before turning south, is marked on the 1905 parish map as ‘Road 50lks wide’ and, is likely to be on the approximate line of the current Heathcote Road between Liverpool and Holsworthy. The Eckersley settlement was short-lived as the land was resumed in 1912 for the Holsworthy field firing range.

A small group of farmers inhabited the Menai area, then known as Bangor, by the first decades of the twentieth century. Prior to World War One, livestock were driven from Liverpool through Menai to the slaughter yards at Sutherland, crossing the Woronora River on a sandbar adjacent to the current Menai Road Bridge at low tide. Livestock were then transported from Sutherland to Sydney by rail: the rail link to Sutherland being opened in the 1880s. The first bridge over the Woronora River, a timber bridge on the Menai Road opened in 1912, partly in response to energetic petitioning by residents of Sutherland and Bangor across the previous decade, and possibly partly due to its usefulness for access to the Holsworthy Military Reserve planned from 1910. It is possible that the route between Liverpool and Menai was similar to the northern section of the present Heathcote Road but departed from the road route after crossing Deadmans Creek and Mill Creek and then joining the Menai Road to Sutherland. It is also possible that this track followed an Aboriginal route from the Cumberland Plain to the coast.

Themes: Migration; Communication; Transport; Pastoralism

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2 Edward Higginbotham, Conservation Plan for the Old Ford Road, continuation of Georges River Road, Kentlyn, NSW, Campbelltown City Council, 1996, cited by online State Heritage Inventory form for the Old Ford Road, Database No. 501148

3 Fred Midgley, Menai: A Pageant of events, 1964; St George Call, Sutherland Siftings 22nd July 1905, p. 4; Peter Spearritt, Sydney Since the Twenties, Hale and Iremonger, 1978, p. 9.
Figure 1: Map of the Parish of Holsworthy 1899. Note the subdivision activity in the vicinity of the current Military Reserve, the ‘Eckersley’ settlement and the development of various roads and tracks, and settlement in the east along the Old Illawarra Road. The line of road shown leading south-east from Liverpool and crossing Harris Creek is very similar to the configuration of the current Heathcote Road as it departs Liverpool.
view of road leading to the south-east from Liverpool.
Liverpool had hosted military activities from the late nineteenth century. From about 1910 the Australian forces were readied for a war with Germany and the encampments at Liverpool became more active. Lord Kitchener visited to inspect the forces in 1910 and, as a result of his report, an area of 883 acres was acquired at Holsworthy for a Remount Depot in 1912. As a consequence, the Eckersley settlement was dismantled. The Old Illawarra Road heading south-east from Liverpool to Holsworthy remained open to public access and later became part of Heathcote Road, the road turning south after crossing Harris Creek, remained in use inside the Holsworthy Military Reserve. Holsworthy hosted various military divisions once war was declared including the 3rd and 6th Light Horse regiments. The military personnel created interest in Liverpool and ensured the flourishing of local businesses for the duration of the war. Keating writes that the inhabitants of Liverpool felt they were ‘finally at the centre of something important’. The war also brought motor vehicles to Liverpool in significant numbers for the first time and the heavy flows of military traffic resulted in wear on the roads. Liverpool Council was under pressure to repair and upgrade roads, in particular Illawarra Road (now Heathcote Road), to withstand the influx of heavy vehicle traffic. The continuous use of the route by people and vehicles travelling to and from the army camps resulted in the then Illawarra Road being dubbed the ‘Army Road’. In 1916 Council received payment from 16 licensed drivers for repair work to the Illawarra (now Heathcote) Road.

The German Concentration Camp was established at Holsworthy in 1914 under the War Precautions Act (1914). The camp held well over 5,000 men for most of the war, finally closing in 1919. The inmates included German prisoners of war, Australian born men of German descent, German men who had been living in Australia at outbreak of war, and Austro-Hungarians, many of whom had been working in the mines and forestry industry in Western Australia at outbreak of war. The prisoners lived in very close proximity and developed their own civilisation at the camp. Cultural and political differences were negotiated to collaboratively create a micro-economy, as well as art, music, theatre, and some of the time, a sense of self-worth, despite the dreary and isolated conditions and ever-present sense of despair nurtured by their lack of control over their destinies.

Dalmatian born, Anthony Splivalo, who lived and worked in Western Australia for several years before being arrested and transported to Rottnest Island and then to the Holsworthy German Camp, writes of his arrival at the camp via the Liverpool – Holsworthy road in his war memoir The Home Fires. The prisoners reached Liverpool station on a guarded train and were met by a military garrison. The men were marched the four or five kilometres to the camp feeling highly apprehensive, poked and pushed along by the garrison. He recalls:

‘...The terrain was dry, the weather was hot. Only the first few men at the head of our column breathed clean air; the rest of us, including our guards breathed and swallowed the red dust raised by marching feet. We tramped and tramped, and finally came to a rise whence we were able to distinguish the outlines of our new home ...The moment we began to move along this final stretch of our march from Liverpool, the crowd inside burst into a succession of thunderous hurrahs ... at least here were people, as strange as they might be to us, who were glad to see us... who would break the awful spell of silence we had endured on our march.'

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4 Keating, 1996, p.150.
7 Splivalo, 1982, pp. 87-8
Later, Splivalo relates his participation in the welcome shouts to new arrivals as the inmates notice a thick cloud of dust moving towards the camp along the road from Liverpool and raise their voices in welcome.\(^8\)

In Splivalo’s account, the prisoners and their guards felt isolated from the world in the lonely bush-bound camp, looking through the fences to the adjacent military installation and the road from Liverpool, an umbilical chord to civilisation.\(^9\) Re-approaching Liverpool, however, on his release about four years later (seven months after the war had ended) via horse-drawn cart and a dirt track, Splivalo experienced only dread, fearing that the patriotic sentiments cultivated during the war would leave Australians, formerly his friends, hostile to him.\(^10\)

From the Liverpool side, signs on the Illawarra Road prohibited civilians from having contact with the internees. (see Figure 3) Keating writes that the presence of the German Camp created tensions within the town of Liverpool. Several businesses with proprietors of German extraction disappeared from the Liverpool scene during the war years, and both adults and children faced suspicion, rumor and sometimes humiliation.\(^11\)

One local history claims that Germans interned at the outbreak of the war were engaged in the construction of a road between Menai and Liverpool.\(^12\)

**Themes**: Defence; Ethnic Influences; Environment – Cultural Landscape; Migration.

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**Figure 3**: The notice to the public regulating approach and entry to the German Camp (Source: Splivalo, 1982, p. 98).

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\(^8\) Splivalo, 1982, p. 129.
\(^9\) Splivalo, 1982, see esp. pp. 95-98
\(^10\) Splivalo, 1982, pp. 206-7
\(^12\) Midgley, 1964, n.p.; St George Call, Sutherland Siftings 22nf July 1905, p. 4
Work in the Liverpool district was very scarce by early 1930. In the Liverpool area unemployment relief work concentrated on the provision of basic infrastructure such as roads and drainage. Under one relief scheme, Liverpool men worked on surfacing Heathcote Road, still known as Illawarra Road, with bitumen as far as the ‘old German Camp’ using horses and drays from the Holsworthy Remount Depot and forming with pick and shovel. The men worked hard, and for those who were used to clerical work in particular, the labour was punishing.13

Hammondville, between Heathcote Road and the Georges River, was planned during the Great Depression as a land settlement scheme by Reverend RBS Hammond, evangelist, temperance campaigner and social reformer, who set up a non-profit company to clear the site and build the first small homes by 1932. Companies and private philanthropists donated materials for more houses. By 1946 some 150 homes had been built and were taken up by unemployed and working-class families by means of an accessible rent/purchase system. Through the 1930s, the conservative element in Liverpool, including the Liverpool Municipal Council, did not welcome these new working-class families to the fringe of their town, concerned that this non-conservative voting population would overturn the status-quo. The housing and sanitary conditions of the settlement were criticised by the council. In 1938 the composition of the council did indeed change with the election of radical union organiser and journalist T.G. Wilson ‘either by the influx of the dreaded non-conservative population from outside or perhaps by the local experience itself’.14

The military presence was maintained in the Liverpool area through the 1920s and 1930s, with a further 33,860 acres being added to the training area in July 1938 to train the expanding Citizens Militia Forces. Throughout the 1930s the locals of Liverpool interacted with the military. Citizens were often found trespassing on army land at the Remount Depot at Holsworthy on Illawarra/Heathcote Road and in April 1939, patrols were mounted there in an attempt to stop locals from helping themselves to wood, sand, gravel and manure.15

Themes: Government and Administration; Migration; Economy; Labour; Commerce; Defence

The twentieth century ushered in a new form of transport, the motor vehicle. From its establishment in 1925 the Main Roads Board set out to research and implement high standards for road design for the motor age. A greater emphasis was placed on good road alignment including new standards for super-elevation to prevent vehicles turning over on curves; minimum radii for curves; and the calculation of minimum distance for visibility at the relevant speed. Consistent attempts were made to improve road surfaces in the Sydney area, and awareness was growing that co-ordinated research and experimentation relating to road surfacing was needed. The Board introduced standard road widths much wider than the 12 feet specified by Governor Macquarie more than a century earlier. Many roads were reconstructed, particularly in Sydney, and hundreds of open crossings and dilapidated timber bridges were replaced with sturdy concrete slab and beam bridges, wider and higher than the timber bridges and on improved alignments. The potential for the use of motor vehicles in road building also began to be explored. From the early 1920s extensive use was made of trucks and tractors for transporting materials and undertaking heavy earthworks, and for pulling road ploughs, graders, drag spreaders and the like, in the place of animal labour. A new fleet of specialised motorised road building plant was also developed, from steam engine road rollers to bitumen spraying lorries and enormous heat treatment machines. By 1927 the Main Roads Board owned about £223,000 worth of mechanised plant and was assisting local

councils to invest in mechanised plant also. Developments in motor vehicle technology, such as the diesel engine and pneumatic tyres, made for increasingly efficient, transportable machinery. A complete transition to motorised machinery was by no means immediate, with horse and bullock teams still employed on some major projects, such as the Sydney to Newcastle Road, into the late 1920s and beyond.16 Heathcote Road was largely constructed in 1940-1941 with the technological developments of the motor age much in evidence in its design and construction.

Themes: Transport; Technology; Government and Administration.

World War Two upturned the road infrastructure priorities in place in the interwar period to serve civic Sydney. During 1940 and 1941 roads were built for the ease of movement of troops and defence supplies to and within military camps and other defence establishments and to munitions factories. Military strategists were also concerned to provide multiple access routes to important items of infrastructure and around major obstacles, rivers, escarpments and the like.17 Heathcote Road was substantially constructed during 1940-1941 to provide an improved cross-country connection with Holsworthy, in comparison with the sole previous road connection via Menai and the bridge near the mouth of the Woronora River. The new construction was 13 miles long and surfaced with bitumen for the full length. It incorporated four new concrete bridges, over Harris, Williams and Deadmans Creeks and the Woronora River. The Liverpool-Wallgrove Road (Main Road No. 515) was also upgraded at this time, and with Heathcote Road, provided a strategic connection between the Great Western Highway and the Princes Highway bypassing city traffic.18 Sutherland Shire Council put forward a request for the construction of a bridge across the Georges River at Lugarno in January 1940, hoping that the project might qualify as a work of strategic importance, but their request was rejected, possibly partly because of the proximity of that route to the Holsworthy - Heathcote route, already in an advanced stage of planning.19

The construction of Heathcote Road in 1940-1941 required extensive clearing, cutting and filling, in particular in the steep gully of Deadmans Creek, and on the ascent and descent from the Woronora River crossing. (see Figures 4-10) Many of the processes, previously undertaken using manual labour or animal-drawn equipment, were mechanised, with tractors, trucks, motorised rollers and air compress technology used for clearing, forming, rolling and drilling work.20 Nevertheless, the processes undertaken were similar to those that had dominated the roadmaking tradition in NSW throughout the nineteenth century, and were only to be radically altered in the post-war decades. In its construction processes, Heathcote Road was similar to a number of roads constructed at that time in the Botany region, where new routes were followed.21 Robert Fretus, the contractor for the bridges over Deadmans and Williams Creeks, was encouraged by the Department to work quickly, as Main Road No. 512, and consequently the bridges, were being built as urgent defence work.22 A large number of Sutherland Shire residents were employed on the construction of the road.23 Perhaps Liverpool residents were also employed in construction of the road.

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17 DMR, 1976, p. 172  
18 DMR, 1976, p. 172  
20 Pictures Feb 1940 – September 1940, Frame order Nos. GPO 1 – 23464 through 23475, GPO 1 – 23515 through 23520, GPO 1 – 23612 through 23615 and GPO 1 – 235 21 through 23634, State Library online Piccan catalogue.  
21 RTA Phase 1 Botany sub-Region Study, 2004, pp. 1-2  
22 RTA Bridge Construction and General Files: 259.1932, 259.184 and 411.1807  
23 Kirkby, 1970, pp. 87
Themes: Technology; Transport; Defence; Labour; Environment – Cultural Landscape.

Figure 4: Part of the Heathcote Road site in March 1940, showing the dense bushland, steep grades and rocky ground to be negotiated. (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23475).

Figure 5: Clearing of the road site using bulldozers in February 1940 (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 29050).
Figure 6: A worker drilling a hole using a hand operated percussive drill powered by compressed air. Once the hole (or series of holes) is deep enough, they are loaded with dynamite and detonated to split the rock. Extensive use was made of this procedure in the construction of Heathcote Road through steep sandstone country. Prior to the development of compressed air technology, these holes were driven by sledgehammer. From the 1950s, hand holding for this type of work was replaced by a device called an Airtrack which has a mast about 4m high, with adjustment, mounted on a pair of caterpillar tracks. (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23632).
Figure 7: A box cutting following a curve in the road, August 1940. (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23612).

Figure 8: Approach to the Woronora River in September 1940 showing extensive cutting and filling. (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23629).
Figure 9: Forming the road using motorised rollers August 1940 (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23519).

Figure 10: The road required a number of retaining walls, some of impressive size, which were constructed from large, square-cut stone blocks, the stone sourced on site. (Source: SLNSW PICMAN online catalogue; GPO 1 – 23518).
The military camps and installations in the Liverpool area accommodated, at different times through World War Two, new recruits in training, and various Australian and American divisions. The Remount Depot at the Holsworthy installation dismissed the last of its horses, and by 1942, had been replaced by an Armoured Fighting Vehicle School at Moorebank. The roads of the entire Liverpool area were host to heavy military motor vehicles for the duration. Throughout the war, Heathcote Road provided an important link in the transport network between the Holsworthy Camp and the constellation of other military installations of the Liverpool area, for example, the Base Ordnance Depot at Moorebank, a School of Military Engineering at Casula, training camps at Warwick Farm and Hargrave Park, and the Bankstown Aerodrome. The road was also a link between the installations and resources of the Liverpool area and Wollongong-Port Kembla, as well as with the military camp established at Loftus within the Royal National Park in December 1941. Once again, Liverpool was inundated with military personnel and happenings, such as plane crashes, bombings with four sacks that missed target, one non-fatal accidental shooting of a civilian and property damage from explosives. The town was also inundated with ‘bachelors’, many of them American, creating both excitement and some tension. The Sutherland area was considered a possible target for Japanese attack as the war progressed: strategists anticipating that a landing through Sydney Heads would be less likely to be attempted than a landing on the beaches of Cronulla or Bate Bay, or alternatively to the north of the harbour. Fortification and precautionary activities ensued and the Sutherland Shire became a focus of defence activities. Again, Heathcote Road would have acted as one of the main transport conduits facilitating these endeavours.

Themes: Defence; Migration; Ethnic influences; Labour

Note that the Post-War history of the road and the surrounding area has not been thoroughly investigated.

Post-war the Liverpool area’s population growth was supplemented by many migrants who were initially housed in hostels, often consisting of barely converted military dormitories. Three of the main hostels were at Leightonfield (on the Liverpool rail line), Cabramatta and Hammondville or possibly the present Wattle Grove (on the edge of the Holsworthy military reserve), on Heathcote Road. Many migrants settled and built in the northern parts of the Liverpool area when their options improved.

Recent migrants and the Australian born came together in leisure activities around the Heathcote Road during the 1960s. A weir beneath the current Woronora River Bridge created a popular swimming hole for those from the north and south. Rom and Louise Dortins visited the weir from time to time before they were married, Louise lost her glasses in the water on one occasion in 1966-1967 and a boy from the East Hills migrant hostel recovered them, earning himself a reward. Rom remembers that on weekends Heathcote Road was lined with parked cars on both sides of the bridge for several hundred metres, the picnickers squeezing their cars into the narrow shoulders and against the rock cuttings: the weir was later due to public safety issues. Picnickers also stopped along the road at Williams Creek and Deadmans Creek. An application to dredge sand from Deadmans Creek was made to the Council of the Shire of Sutherland in 1961-1962. It was recommended that this not be allowed partly because of the number of children who swam there. Currently, stopping along the road is difficult and discouraged by railings and the high speed of traffic.

References:

26 Kirkby, 1970, pp. 91-7
In the 1990s, Christopher Keating recorded that the Hammondville community as established by Reverend Hammond in 1932 was thriving with many of the first settlers still living in the suburb, and the residents having an unusual level of social cohesiveness and celebrating the present and future through, in particular, activities and events based around children.29

The Holsworthy Military Camp and Reserve are still in operation. Closely spaced signage along the fence on the south-eastern side of Heathcote Road warns the public against entry to the firing range.

The Sutherland Shire is surrounded by water and bush. As Phillip Mathews relates:

‘Botany Bay and the Georges River snakes around its northern perimeter and swings south behind a huge military reserve. The saltwater estuary of Port Hacking divides the shire from the Royal National Park, the southern boundary; and the Woronora River … forms another natural boundary. To the east is the Tasman Sea...The Shire is thus a distinctive landscape in the Sydney area and has a distinctive history.30

For those who live in Sutherland Shire and visit, a sense of place is perhaps connected to this landscape and its isolation from other areas of greater Sydney. While the Princes Highway, crossing the Georges River at Tom Uglys Bridge, and Rocky Point and Taren Point Roads crossing the Georges River at the Captain Cook Bridge form the main links between the Sutherland Shire and the city, Heathcote Road has provided an important link to the Liverpool area, also a significant centre of employment, for sixty years. The journey from Liverpool to Sutherland via Heathcote Road, through the spectacular sandstone country of the Military Reserve and Heathcote National Park, and emerging on the Princes Highway at Heathcote, captures this sense of splendid isolation.

Themes: Migration; Defence; Transport; Leisure; Government and Administration.

7.1.2.3 STEP 3: THEMATIC WRITE-UP

AND

7.1.2.4 STEP 4: PRIORITISE THEMES

Transport: Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movements.

Communication: Activities related to the creation and conveyance of information.

Environment – cultural landscape: activities associated with the interactions between humans, human societies and the shaping of their physical surroundings.

Heathcote Road connects the Liverpool and Sutherland areas across the Georges and Woronora Rivers and the sandstone woodland dominated landscape of the Woronora Plateau. The role and character of the road as a communication and transport route is inseparable from its place in this landscape, thus, the themes of transport, communication and environment – cultural landscape have been treated together, by way of a summary introduction to the more detailed explication of the themes of defence, migration and ethnic influences, technology, labour and leisure.

29 Keating, 1996, pp. 168
30 Mathews, Phillip, Sutherland. Birthplace of the Nation, The Currawong Press, 1977, pp.9-16
The area of land to the south-east of the Georges River and west of the Woronora River remained little populated until the last decades of the nineteenth century when the settlement of Eckersley was founded. The subsequent resumption of large areas of land for military purposes has resulted in the maintenance of this low population density and the preservation of much of the woodland landscape. When Heathcote Road was constructed in 1940-1941 as part of the State’s defence programme it intersected with only one major transport corridor between Moorebank and the Princes Highway, the Sydney-Wollongong or Illawarra Road on the approximate route of that laid out by Sir Thomas Mitchell in the 1840s. The area to the south-east of the Georges River, traversed by Heathcote Road, has remained comparatively isolated to the present.

For the civilian and then military settlements established in the area to the south-east of the Georges River from the 1880s, a connection with Liverpool, though an isolated outpost of civilisation into the twentieth century, was of primary importance. The north-western section of the present Heathcote Road approximately follows the line of the northern part of the Old Illawarra Road which formed an important communication and transport route for the settlement of Eckersley 1884-1912, in connecting it with Liverpool (the southern section of this road remains in use within the Military Reserve but is not accessible to the public). That road then formed the primary route linking the Holsworthy Remount Depot, Military Camp, and Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp, which was isolated and surrounded by bush, with the town of Liverpool through World War One and beyond: the road thus forming the strongest communication and transport link between these installations and the civilian world. The Holsworthy military reserve remained in use through the interwar period, as part of the army’s recruitment and training programme, and the Liverpool-Holsworthy road remained a communication and transport link of primary importance. A civilian settlement was established at Hammondville in 1932, along the Liverpool-Holsworthy Road. (See defence and migration/ethnic influences sections for a more detailed treatment.)

World War Two changed the interwar road infrastructure priorities which were primarily focused on serving civic Sydney. During 1940 and 1941 roads were built for the ease of movement of troops and defence supplies, to provide access to and within military camps and other defence establishments, and to munitions factories. Strategists were also concerned to provide multiple access routes to important items of infrastructure and around major obstacles; rivers, escarpments and the like. Heathcote Road was substantially constructed during 1940-41 to provide an improved cross-country connection with Holsworthy, in comparison with the sole previous road connection via Menai and the bridge near the mouth of the Woronora River. The Liverpool-Wallgrove Road (Main Road No. 515) was also upgraded at this time, and, with Heathcote Road provided a strategic connection between the Great Western Highway and the Princes Highway bypassing city traffic.31 The line of the Old Illawarra Road between Liverpool and Holsworthy was upgraded and extended to the southeast by 13 miles, to meet the Princes Highway near Sutherland. The construction of the new section of road required extensive clearing, cutting and filling, especially to negotiate the steep descents and ascents associated with Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River. (See the themes of technology and labour for a more detailed discussion of the construction process, and defence for its use for military traffic during World War Two)

Sutherland Shire is surrounded by water and bushland and forms a somewhat distinct physical and cultural landscape within the Sydney area. As Phillip Mathews relates:

> Botany Bay and the Georges River snakes around its northern perimeter and swings south behind a huge military reserve. The saltwater estuary of Port Hacking divides the shire from the Royal National Park, the  

31 DMR, 1976, p. 172
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For those who live in Sutherland Shire and visit, a sense of place is perhaps connected to this landscape and its isolation from other areas of greater Sydney. While the Princes Highway, crossing the Georges River at Tom Uglys Bridge, and Rocky Point and Taren Point Roads crossing the Georges River at the Captain Cook Bridge form the main links with the city, Heathcote Road has provided an important link to the Liverpool area, also a significant centre of employment, for sixty years. Improvements to road access through the twentieth century, including the construction of Heathcote Road, as well as increased accessibility to motor vehicles and the rail service, has enabled residents to commute to other centres of employment, education etc in the city centre and western Sydney, and also for centres of employment such as the ANSTO facility at Lucas Heights.

Through its alignment, the north-west section of Heathcote Road between Liverpool and the entrance to the Holsworthy Barracks demonstrates the importance of the historic relationship of the successive civilian and military settlements in the Holsworthy area with the town of Liverpool. The alignment of the whole of the present Heathcote Road, and its place in Sydney’s road network can, along with documentary sources, demonstrate aspects of the strategic planning undertaken at the commencement of World War Two with the aim of facilitating communication and transport between Sydney’s military installations, and creating a road network which would be less vulnerable to enemy attack. These defence aims required the construction of a relatively long section of road, in this case 13 miles or approximately twenty kilometres, to address the sparsity of cross country road routes between the Liverpool and Sutherland area across the relatively isolated area bounded by the Georges and Woronora Rivers. The journey from Liverpool via the Heathcote Road through the spectacular sandstone country of the Military Reserve and Heathcote National Park, still has the ability to evoke the sense of isolation experienced by groups migrating to the area, and, as one emerges onto the Princes Highway, to evoke the sense of physical and cultural distinctness identified as part of the landscape and experience of the Sutherland Shire to the present.

Governing –Defence: Activities associated with defending places from hostile takeover and occupation (This theme also serves to cover military capacity building and training, whether for defensive or offensive purposes).

Liverpool hosted military activities from the late nineteenth century. The road connecting Holsworthy and Liverpool (part of the present Heathcote Road) began its military service from about 1910 when Lord Kitchener visited to inspect the Australian forces readied for a war with Germany. On Kitchener’s recommendation, an area of 883 acres was acquired in an isolated area to the south-east of the Georges River, necessitating the resumption of land on which the settlement of Eckersley had been established in the 1880s. The road connecting the Eckersley settlement to the town of Liverpool to the north-west remained in use as the primary link between Liverpool and the new Remount Depot established in 1912. The various other access routes developed to serve Eckersley were either severed by the resumption or remained in use inside the military area. The Remount Depot hosted various military divisions once war was declared, including the 3rd and 6th Light Horse regiments. As well as military equine traffic, the war also brought motor vehicles to Liverpool in significant numbers for the first time, and the heavy flows of military traffic resulted in wear on the roads. Liverpool Council was under pressure to repair and upgrade roads, in particular Illawarra Road between Liverpool and Holsworthy, now Heathcote Road, to withstand the

32 Mathews, Phillip, Sutherland. Birthplace of the Nation, The Currawong Press, 1977, pp.9-16
influx of heavy vehicle traffic. The continuous use of the road by people and vehicles travelling to and from the army camps from Liverpool resulted in the then Illawarra Road being dubbed the ‘Army Road’.

During the Great War the road also provided access to the adjacent Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp, a significant aspect of the Australia’s defence activities on the ‘home front’. The German Concentration Camp was established at Holsworthy in 1914 under the War Precautions Act. The camp held well over 5000 men for most of the war, finally closing in 1919. The inmates included German prisoners of war, Australian born men of German descent and German men who had been living in Australia at outbreak of war, and Austro-Hungarians, many of whom had been working in the mines and forestry industry in Western Australia at outbreak of war.33 Dalmatian born, Anthony Splivalo, who lived and worked in Western Australia for several years before being arrested and transported to Rottnest Island and then the Holsworthy German Camp, writes of his arrival at the camp via the Liverpool – Holsworthy road in his war memoir *The Home Fires*. The prisoners reached Liverpool station on a guarded train and were met by a military garrison. The men were marched six or seven kilometres to the camp, feeling highly apprehensive, poked and pushed along by the garrison. He recalls:

‘...The terrain was dry, the weather was hot. Only the first few men at the head of our column breathed clean air; the rest of us, including our guards breathed and swallowed the red dust raised by marching feet. We tramped and tramped, and finally came to a rise whence we were able to distinguish the outlines of our new home...The moment we began to move along this final stretch of our march from Liverpool, the crowd inside burst into a succession of thunderous hurrahs ... at least here were people, as strange as they might be to us, who were glad to see us... who would break the awful spell of silence we had endured on our march.’34

Later, Splivalo relates his participation in the welcome shouts to new arrivals as the inmates of the camp notice a thick cloud of dust moving towards the camp along the road from Liverpool and raise their voices in welcome.35

In Splivalo’s account the prisoners and their guards felt isolated from the world in the lonely bush-bound camp looking through the fences to the adjacent military installation and the road from Liverpool, an umbilical chord to civilisation. From the Liverpool side, signs on the Illawarra Road prohibited civilians from having contact with the internees.36 One local history claims that Germans interned at the outbreak of the war were engaged in the construction of a road between Menai and Liverpool.37

The military presence was maintained in the Liverpool area through the 1920s and 1930s, with a further 33,860 acres being added to the training area in July 1938 to train the expanding Citizens Militia Forces. Road access to the military establishment at Holsworthy was improved under an unemployment relief scheme in the 1930s. Liverpool men worked on surfacing the road from Liverpool to the ‘old German Camp’.38

34 Splivalo, 1982, pp. 87-8
35 Splivalo, 1982, p. 129.
36 Splivalo, 1982, see esp. pp. 95-98
37 Midgley, 1964, n.p.; St George Call, Sutherland Siftings 22nf July 1905, p. 4.
The present Heathcote Road was substantially constructed in the early 1940s as a strategic
defence work to provide an improved cross-country connection with the military installation
at Holsworthy. The Liverpool-Holsworthy road discussed above, was upgraded and extended
across Deadmans Creek, along the Woronora Plateau, across the Woronora River to the south
of Menai (where the river was bridged on Menai Road) to meet the Princes Highway. With
the Liverpool-Wallgrove Road, the new Heathcote Road also provided a strategic connection
between the Great Western Highway and the Princes Highway, bypassing city traffic.

The Remount Depot at Holsworthy dismissed the last of its horses, and by 1942, had been
replaced by an Armoured Fighting Vehicle School at Moorebank. The roads of the entire
Liverpool area were host to heavy military motor vehicles for the duration. 39 Throughout the
war, Heathcote Road provided an important link in the transport network between the
Holsworthy Camp and the constellation of other military installations of the Liverpool area,
for example, a School of Military Engineering at Casula, training camps at Warwick Farm
and Hargrave Park and the Bankstown Aerodrome. The road was also a link between the
installations and resources of the Liverpool area and Wollongong-Port Kembla, as well as
with the military camp established at Loftus within the Royal National Park in December
1941. The Sutherland Shire was considered a possible target for Japanese attack as the war
progressed, strategists anticipating that a landing through Sydney Heads would be less likely
than a landing on the beaches of Cronulla or Bate Bay, or alternatively to the north of the
harbour. Fortification and precautionary activities ensued and the Sutherland Shire became a
focus of defence activities. 40 Again, Heathcote Road would have acted as one of the main
transport conduits facilitating these endeavours.

The Holsworthy Military Reserve continues in operation today.

Through its alignment, the north-western section of Heathcote Road between Liverpool and
the entrance to the Holsworthy Barracks demonstrates the importance of the historic
relationship of the military settlements in the Holsworthy area with the town of Liverpool.
The alignment of the whole of the present Heathcote Road, and its place in Sydney’s road
network can, along with documentary sources, demonstrate aspects of the strategic planning
undertaken at the commencement of World War Two with the aim of facilitating
communication and transport between Sydney’s military installations, and creating a road
network which would be less vulnerable to enemy attack.

The intensive use of the road for defence related activities, particularly during the war years,
has not necessarily resulted in tangible evidence embodied in the fabric of the road, but is
nevertheless an important part of the history of the road and the role of the road in the wider
landscape. It is significant that during the Great War, the Liverpool community spoke of the
road as the ‘Army Road’, and it is possible that the road has been known as the ‘Army Road’
or the ‘Military Road’ by later generations of civilians as well. Splivalo’s memoirs indicate
that the road from Liverpool was very much a part of the landscape of imprisonment for the
inmates of the German Camp, and although the road and the landscape between Liverpool
and Holsworthy have changed much since 1919, to travel along the road nevertheless adds to
an understanding of his experience of the remoteness and isolation of the German Camp
despite its location not far from one of Sydney’s satellite towns. It is possible that army
records and other literature not accessed for the purposes of this study would provide insights
into the experience of the military personnel who have lived and worked at Holsworthy in
conjunction with the line of road itself.

The retention of much woodland vegetation along the road, which makes the journey along it
distinctive, is to a large extent, the result of the military control and use of the Holsworthy

40 Kirkby, 1970, pp. 91-7
area. Frequent signage along the right hand side of the road travelling from Liverpool warns
the traveller against entering the military reserve, citing live ammunition and unexploded
mines as potential dangers.

**Migration:** Activities and processes associated with the resettling of people from one place to
another (international, interstate, intrastate) and the impacts of such movements, and

**Ethnic Influences:** Activities associated with common cultural traditions and peoples of
shared descent, and with exchanges between such traditions and peoples.

The area of land bounded by the Georges and Woronora Rivers has been associated with a
number of migrations: intrastate, interstate and international. The Holsworthy - Liverpool and
then the Heathcote Road itself has been the chief road link to a number of these settlements.
The migrants discussed below include inhabitants of Eckersley; prisoners of war at the
German Camp; the Hammondville community; and military personnel who have lived at the
Holsworthy Camp cum Holsworthy Barracks.

In 1884 the settlement of Eckersley was established in the area to the south-east of the
Georges River: orchards and vineyards were established in the area. Links with the
established towns were via the Old Illawarra Road, Green Hills Avenue at Liverpool, and a
number of routes which forded the upper reaches of the Georges River to connect the
settlement directly to Campbeltown.41 An 1899 Holsworthy Parish map shows subdivision
activity in the Holsworthy area and the development of various roads and tracks. The line of
road, shown leading south-east from Liverpool and crossing Harris Creek before apparently
turning south, marked on the 1905 parish map as ‘Road 50 lks wide’, is likely to be on the
approximate line of the current Heathcote Road between Liverpool and Holsworthy. The
Eckersley settlement was short-lived as the land was resumed in 1912 for the Holsworthy
field firing range and Remount Depot, resulting in a forced migration from the area for the
settlers concerned.

The Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp, which was established adjacent to the Remount
Depot in 1914, held over 5,000 men for over four years. This group of unwilling migrants to
the Holsworthy area included German prisoners of war; Australian born men of German
descent; German men who had been living in Australia at outbreak of war; and Austro-
Hungarians, many of whom had been working in the mining or forestry industries in Western
Australia at outbreak of war.42 In Anthony Splivalo’s account, living in very close proximity,
individuals and groups from the different ethnic and cultural groups represented in the camp
were forced to negotiate their cultural, political and personal differences to co-exist. The
camp grew into a small, almost completely enclosed world of European culture. Despite some
ongoing tensions and isolated acts of violence, the inmates collaborated to create a micro-
economy, as well as art, music, theatre and, some of the time, a sense of self-worth, despite
the dreary and isolated conditions and ever-present sense of despair nurtured by the long
imprisonment.43

As discussed above, the prisoners were marched into the camp via the road from Liverpool
and were contained by a formidable fence overlooking the road. The camp, and adjacent
military establishment were surrounded by bush. Although prisoners did not see Liverpool
again until their release, a reading of Anthony Splivalo’s memoir suggests that the road to
Liverpool was, to some extent, a symbolic connection to civilisation. But for the camp
inmates, the overall impact of their uprooting in most cases, from civilian life and forced

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41 E Higginbotham, Conservation Plan for the Old Ford Road, continuation of Georges River Road,
Kentlyn, NSW, Campbelltown City Council, 1996, cited by online State Heritage Inventory form for the
Old Ford Road, Database No. 501148
migration to the camp, was particularly for those like Splivalo who had known and loved Australia before the war, a rejection, a violent severing from friends, family and freedom at the hands of Australian patriotism. Nearby, citizens of Liverpool experienced the booming economy of war and were bathed in patriotic propaganda. Signs on the road from Liverpool forbade locals from approaching the camp, but they were very much aware of its existence. Keating writes that the presence of the German Camp did have an impact on Liverpool, causing tensions within the town. Several businesses with proprietors of German extraction disappeared from the Liverpool scene during the war years, and both adults and children faced suspicion, rumor and sometimes humiliation.44

Hammondville, between Heathcote Road and the Georges River, was planned during the Great Depression as a land settlement scheme by Reverend RBS Hammond, evangelist, temperance campaigner and social reformer. Hammond set up a non-profit company to clear the site and build the first small homes by 1932. Companies and private philanthropists donated materials for more houses and by 1946 some 150 homes had been built. These houses were taken up by unemployed and working-class families by means of an accessible rent/purchase system. Through the 1930s, the conservative element in Liverpool, including the Liverpool Municipal Council, did not welcome these new working-class families, many of whom were from Sydney’s inner suburbs, to the fringe of their town, concerned that this non-conservative voting population would overturn the status-quo. The housing and sanitary conditions of the settlement were criticised by council with regularity. In 1938 the composition of the Council did indeed change, with the election of radical union organiser and journalist T.G. Wilson ‘either by the influx of the dreaded non-conservative population from outside or perhaps by the local experience itself’.45 Again, the primary access route to the settlement was via the northern section of the Liverpool-Holsworthy Road. In the 1990s, Christopher Keating recorded that the Hammondville community was thriving, with many of the first settlers still living in the suburb, the residents having an unusual level of social cohesiveness and celebrating the present and future through, in particular, activities and events based around children.46 Community consultation or the accession of already documented community consultation may give an insight into the cultural exchanges that have taken place between the Hammondville population and Liverpool in the area via Heathcote Road, and whether any meaning is attributed to the road associated with that process by those involved.47

Military use of the Holsworthy area since 1912 has resulted the resettlement of a large number of individuals into the Holsworthy Military Reserve, and Liverpool more widely, over the rest of the century. The economic, social and cultural impacts of those migrations have been an important aspect in the history of Liverpool, and perhaps also that of Sutherland. The story of the army’s involvement in the Holsworthy area and in and around Liverpool has been briefly recounted in the preceding discussion in relation to the theme of defence, but the personal stories of the military personnel involved and the story of the cultural exchanges between the army and the surrounding civilian population are not captured in that telling.

Military records have not been investigated within the scope of this study but could be expected to yield information on the scale of migrations, the living circumstances and experiences of those associated with the reserve including the 3rd and 6th Light Horse regiments during World War One; new recruits for the Citizens Militia Forces during the 1920s-30s; various Australian and American Divisions during World War Two; the Combined Australian Forces Gaol; and the inhabitants of the Holsworthy Barracks to the present. When the Remount Depot was first established at Holsworthy in the 1910s, Liverpool

46 Keating, 1996, pp. 168
itself was very much an isolated town removed from both Sydney and Parramatta. The Remount Depot was further isolated, being several miles along the Illawarra Road. Splivalo depicts the Military Camp and the Prisoner of War Camp at Holsworthy as back to back in the wilderness, with the camp guards just as lonely and isolated from civilisation as their prisoners were. The construction of Heathcote Road in 1940-1941, in providing a cross-country connection, and greater use of motor vehicles as the century progressed, probably diluted that sense of isolation somewhat. The rigid military discipline characterising the Australian Forces for much of the twentieth century would nevertheless have maintained the sense of a closed community within the barracks. The change in the culture of the Armed Forces in general, through the 1980s and 1990s, with the relaxation of rules regarding marital status, for example, and an increase in numbers of personnel living outside the camps in private accommodation, is likely to have further changed the experience of those living and working at Holsworthy.

Keating documents of some of the impacts of the influx of military personnel from the perspective of the civilian population of Liverpool. Some exchanges between the civilian community and the army could be captured by the theme commerce (activities related to buying, selling and exchanging goods and services). According to Keating, the influx of military personnel into Liverpool during World War One ensured the flourishing of local businesses for the duration of the war. The council’s taking of contributions from licensed drivers for repair work to the Illawarra (now Heathcote) Road in 1916, when that road was under heavy use by the army could be considered as a civilian subsidy of army activity, but it is not known whether that generated any resentment. Commerce of a non-sanctioned kind occurred during the 1930s; citizens were often found trespassing on army land at Holsworthy and in April 1939, patrols were mounted on the road in an attempt to stop locals from helping themselves to wood, sand, gravel and manure. During World War Two the influx of military personnel in Liverpool, especially in the form of American Soldiers again brought money to the Liverpool area.

The sub-culture of the army itself and the ethnic cultures associated with military migrations fostered other kinds of cultural exchange. During World War One military personnel created a buzz of interest in the Liverpool. Keating writes that the inhabitants of Liverpool felt they were ‘finally at the centre of something important’, after close to a century of experiencing life in an isolated settlement on the Great South Road. In World War Two the civilian landscape of Liverpool was suddenly a stage for events such as plane crashes, bombings with four sacks that missed target, one non-fatal accidental shooting of a civilian and property damage from explosives. The town was also inundated with ‘bachelors’, many of them American, creating both excitement and some tension.

As a result of a series of migrations into the Holsworthy - Hammondville area, some of them associated with ethnic influences, Heathcote Road has formed a stage or conduit for cultural exchanges between the well established civilian town of Liverpool in particular, and resources, groups, cultures and ideas associated with prisoners of war at the German Camp, the army and the inhabitants of Hammondville. From sources already accessed it would seem that the physical positioning of the migrant groups has contributed much to their experience of migration, and to the nature of their impact on Liverpool, and that the Liverpool – Holsworthy road in particular has the potential to demonstrate much about these experiences, as the primary access route both physically and imaginatively to those isolated areas.

**Technology:** Activities and processes associated with the knowledge or use of mechanical arts and applied sciences.

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50 Keating, 1996, p. 177; Kirkby, 1970, p. 89
Most of the length of Heathcote Road was completely designed and constructed in the mid-twentienth century with the purpose of creating a through route from Liverpool to Sutherland suited to high-speed motor vehicle traffic. The road was constructed according to the roadmaking philosophies developed through the 1930s, to serve the ‘motor age’, including new standards for road width, curve radii and the construction of bridges, but still using a lot of manual labour and old-style road making techniques, assisted by machines. The excellent photographic record of the construction of Heathcote Road in 1940-1941 shows that the project required extensive clearing, cutting and filling, and the construction of a number of large retaining walls in the steep gully of Deadmans Creek, and on the ascent and descent from the Woronora River crossing in particular. Tractors, trucks, motorised rollers and air compress technology was utilised. The road was later surfaced with bitumen.

The physical fabric of two sections of Heathcote Road in particular are capable of demonstrating the theme of technology: the two sections ascending and descending to and from Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River. On both these sections of road, the overall alignment of the road through the rough sandstone country has remained unaltered, and the 1940-1941 road formation, cuttings and box cuttings and several stone block retaining walls can be observed, as well as the reinforced concrete bridges over Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River which remain in close to original state and embody the standards of the day. Other parts of the road around the unaltered Harris Creek and Williams Creek bridges and along the plateau may also yield further insights into technology. Further research into the deciding factors for the design of the overall alignment of the road may also yield information that means that the overall alignment of the road can also demonstrate certain aspects of the theme of technology.

Overall, the journey along the Heathcote Road is able to be undertaken in comfort by motor vehicle, and is primarily an experience of travelling through the sandstone woodland country with its distinctive Gymea Lillies and rocky outcrops. The weathered 1940-1941 stone cuttings, unobtrusive retaining walls constructed of local stone and retention of the narrow carriageway in a number of places gives a sense of actually winding through the rock, which is such a dominant element of the surrounding natural landscape. In most places, the construction of new retaining walls and cuttings has followed the lead of the old (though the retaining walls instructively use rough-cut lumps of rock much too large to be lifted by hand).

**Labour:** Activities associated with work practices and organised and unorganised labour.

The working lives of the army personnel associated with the Holsworthy Reserve have been briefly discussed above under the theme of migration, and as is concluded in that section, research involving army records or consultation with current or past army personnel may yield insights into their experience of Heathcote Road and the surrounding landscape as a workplace as well as insights into the planning and practice of work around Heathcote Road.

Further research is required regarding the use of the land and travel across it prior to 1910, including use by Aboriginal groups. There is some indication in the secondary sources of farmers driving cattle from Liverpool through Menai to the slaughter yards at Sutherland, crossing the Woronora River on a sandbar adjacent to the current Menai Road Bridge at low tide.

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51 RTA Phase 1 Botany sub-Region Study, pp. 1-2
52 Pictures Feb 1940 – September 1940, Frame order Nos. GPO 1 – 23464 through 23475, GPO 1 – 23515 through 23520, GPO 1 – 23612 through 23615 and GPO 1 – 235 21 through 23634, State Library online Picman catalogue.
Men from Liverpool re-formed and surfaced the road between Liverpool and the former German Camp under the Unemployed Relief work scheme during the mid 1930s. The men, from many walks of life, worked with pick and shovel and no doubt suffered both physically and emotionally from their downturn in fortune as a result of the Great Depression. The use of roadmaking work for Unemployment Relief was commonplace in NSW in that period and was also carried out on, for example, the Pacific Highway, Henry Lawson Drive and Camden Valley Way.54 As the section of road between Liverpool and the German Camp has been substantially altered over the intervening decades it is unlikely that any physical evidence of the re-surfacing process remains. Nevertheless further research into council records, for example, in conjunction with the line of road itself, may provide some insights into relief work in the Liverpool area.

The construction of Heathcote Road in 1940-1941 required extensive clearing, cutting and filling, in particular in the steep gully of Deadmans Creek, and on the ascent and descent from the Woronora River crossing. Tractors, trucks, motorised rollers and air compress technology were operated by workers who spent at least eight months between February and September 1940 transforming a rocky landscape into a road. A large number of Sutherland Shire residents were employed on the construction of the road.55 Perhaps Liverpool residents were also employed in construction of the road. Robert Fretus, the contractor for the bridges over Deadmans and Williams Creeks, was encouraged by the Department to work quickly, as Main Road No. 512 and consequently the bridges was being built as an urgent defence work.56

The road itself, especially the extant cuttings and stone block retaining walls, along with the photographic record of the road’s construction, are evidence of the extensive investment of labour in the road and of some of the work practices involved. The beautiful but inhospitable sandstone woodland through which the road travels appears to have changed little since the 1940s, and, with the photographic record, provides insights into the experience of those building and using the road, and possibly those travelling along former tracks and roads between the Liverpool and Sutherland areas.

Leisure: Activities associated with recreation and relaxation.

Recent migrants and the Australian born came together in leisure activities around the Heathcote Road during the 1960s. A weir downstream of the current Woronora River Bridge created a popular swimming hole for those from the north and south. Rom and Louise Dortins visited the weir from time to time before they were married. Louise lost her glasses in the water on one occasion in 1966-1967 and a boy from the East Hills migrant hostel recovered them, earning himself a reward. Rom remembers that on weekends Heathcote Road was lined with parked cars on both sides of the bridge for several hundred metres, the picnickers squeezing their cars into the narrow shoulders and against the rock cuttings. The weir was subsequently demolished as it was perceived to be a public safety issue. Picnickers also stopped along the road at Williams Creek and Deadmans Creek. An application to dredge sand from Deadmans Creek was made to the council of the Shire of Sutherland in late 1961-1962. It was recommended that this not be allowed partly because of the number of children who swam there.57

Currently, stopping along the road at these locations is difficult and discouraged by railings and the high speed of traffic along what is now considered to be a relatively narrow road, although the site of the Woronora Weir, in particular remains, a picturesque and amenable spot. These memories perhaps act as reminders of changes in leisure patterns, with an

55 Kirkby, 1970, pp. 87
56 RTA Bridge Construction and General Files: 259.1932, 259.184 and 411.1807
increased emphasis on coastal recreation and organised and indoor leisure to the present, and the tightening of regulations surrounding public and private land.

7.1.2.5 STEP 5: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION A – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN THE COURSE, OR PATTERN, OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Heathcote Road has historic significance within southern Sydney as its alignment and place in the road network can demonstrate aspects of the strategic planning undertaken at the commencement of World War Two with the dual aim of facilitating communication and transport links between military installations, and creating a road network which would render Sydney less vulnerable to enemy attack. The road was substantially constructed in 1940-1941 to provide more efficient cross-country access to the Holsworthy Military Reserve than the previous route via Menai, and saw heavy military traffic through the war years, facilitating movement between the military installations in the Bankstown, Liverpool, Sutherland and Wollongong areas. With the Liverpool-Wallgrove Road, the new Heathcote Road was designed to provide a strategic connection between the Great Western Highway and the Princes Highway by bypassing city traffic. This strengthening of road connections became important as the war progressed, as the beaches and harbours of the Sutherland Shire were considered to be a potential target for Japanese attack.

The north-western section of the road, which began life as part of the Old Illawarra Road through Eckersley has historic significance in the local area as an important transport and communication route and conduit for cultural exchange. It formed the primary transport and communication link between Liverpool and the German Concentration Camp 1914-19, the Holsworthy Remount Depot cum Barracks from 1912 to the present, and the Hammondville settlement 1932 to the present. Each of these Holsworthy-Hammondville settlements/installs has been to some extent dependant on Liverpool as a transport node and an outpost of civilisation and, in turn, they have had economic, cultural and political impacts on Liverpool. The place of the Liverpool – Holsworthy road link in the landscape is a key to an understanding of the interaction between Liverpool and these satellite communities.

7.1.2.6 STEP 6: CONSIDER 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

Possible associations with groups include:

a) The army based at Holsworthy;
b) The inmates of the ‘German Camp’; and
c) The Hammondville community.

7.1.2.7 STEP 7: WRITE UP MAJOR ASSOCIATIONS

The army based at Holsworthy

Heathcote Road has a strong association with the army divisions based at Holsworthy 1912 to the present. The road has long been viewed by the wider community as connected with the army. Army personnel may attribute (or may historically have attributed) particular meaning to the road as part of their landscape of work, and an important link between the Camp or Barracks and the civilian life outside (this has not been investigated). The route has facilitated
cultural exchanges between the army, an important element in the development of Liverpool, and the local civilian population.

The inmates of the ‘German Camp’

The inmates of the Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1919 were forced together as a group by Australian defence on the home front policy. The inmates, including German prisoners of war; Australians of German descent; German men who had been living in Australia at outbreak of war; and Austro-Hungarians, many of whom had been working in the mines and forestry industry in Western Australia at outbreak of war, were all identified as a threat to domestic security under the War Precautions Act. The fact that these diverse groups were imprisoned together under the Act is revealing about the patriotism and defense mentality that characterised Australian involvement in World War One. The north-western section of Heathcote Road connected the camp with Liverpool and is associated with the prisoner’s experiences of imprisonment. The prisoners were marched into the camp via the road from Liverpool and contained by a formidable fence overlooking the road. Although prisoners did not see Liverpool again until their release, a reading of Anthony Splivalo’s memoir *The Home Fires* suggests that the road to Liverpool was, to some extent, a symbolic connection to civilisation. Signs on the road from Liverpool forbade locals from approaching the camp but they were very much aware of its existence. Thus, there was no cultural exchange along the route between the Australians of Liverpool and the German and Austro-Hungarian prisoners. For the camp inmates, the ‘cultural exchange’ embodied in the camp at the end of the road from Liverpool was, particularly for those like Splivalo, who had known and loved Australia before the war, a rejection: a violent severing from friends, family and freedom at the hands of Australian patriotism.

The Hammondville Community

Reverend RBS Hammond, evangelist, temperance campaigner and social reformer, planned Hammondville, between Heathcote Road and the Georges River, during the Great Depression as a land settlement scheme. Working-class families, many of them migrating from inner Sydney suburbs settled at Hammondville. The success of the community is evidenced by the large number of original families, who settled at Hammondville from the 1930s to the 1950s, still remaining in the 1990s. In the early years of the community, the conservative element in Liverpool, including the Liverpool Municipal Council, did not welcome these new working-class families to the fringe of their town, concerned that this non-conservative voting population would overturn the status quo. As a consequence, the housing and sanitary conditions of the settlement were criticised by Council with regularity. The primary access route to the settlement was via the northern section of the Liverpool-Holsworthy Road. The placement of the settlement in the landscape, on the far side of the Georges River away from the Liverpool Centre, on the outskirts but still uncomfortably close, is symbolic of their social and political import from the point of view of the Liverpool oligarchy. Further research into the Hammondville community and its interactions with other parts of the Liverpool area from the perspective of the Hammondville community itself would be instructive.

7.1.2.8 STEP 8: PRIORITISE ASSOCIATIONS

a) The army based at Holsworthy;

b) The inmates of the ‘German Camp’; and

c) The Hammondville Community.
7.1.2.9 STEP 9: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIVE SIGNIFICANCE UNDER 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

Heathcote Road is associated with three identifiable groups of importance in NSW’s cultural history, forming a significant part of the local landscape which defined (and in two cases still defines) their social status and facilitated interactions with the wider civilian population. The road has a strong ongoing association with the army divisions accommodated and trained within the Holsworthy Military Reserve. This association has been continuous from 1912 to the present day, the road forming a significant route connecting the camp and reserve with other parts of the greater Sydney area and forming, particularly in war-time, a recognised conduit of cultural exchange between the army and local civilians. The northern section of Heathcote Road, between Liverpool and Holsworthy, has a special association with the inmates of the Holsworthy Prisoner of War Camp between 1914 and 1919, forming a recognised part of their landscape of captivity and isolation from civilian life. The road has a special association with community of Hammondville, a housing scheme established during the Great Depression as part of the landscape of isolation, and unfamiliarity, but also of opportunity, which characterised the early part of this community’s migration experience.

7.1.2.10 STEP 10: CONSIDER CRITERION C – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW

AND

7.1.2.11 STEP 11: WRITE UP MAJOR AESTHETIC AND TECHNICAL QUALITIES

AND

7.1.2.12 STEP 12: PRIORITISE SIGNIFICANT AESTHETIC/TECHNICAL ATTRIBUTES

A meaningful comparative assessment with other similar items has not been possible within the scope of this preliminary assessment; therefore the item is assessed on its own merits.

The ability of the item to demonstrate the aesthetic/technical qualities discussed below has been confirmed through a site visit.

Heathcote Road represents a technical achievement as a road constructed through rugged sandstone country in the mid-twentieth century. Many cuttings and some retaining walls were required, as well as a major crossing over the Woronora River. The construction of the road was achieved with the use of machinery, air compress technology and reinforced concrete bridge technology which had been adapted for use in road building across the previous decade.

Heathcote Road has the ability to demonstrate its technical qualities as substantial parts of the physical fabric of the road remain intact as built. The physical fabric of two sections of Heathcote Road in particular are capable of demonstrating the theme of technology: the two sections ascending and descending to and from Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River. On both of these sections of road, the overall alignment of the road through the rough sandstone...
country has remained unaltered, and the 1940-1941 road formation, cuttings and box cuttings and several stone block retaining walls can be observed, as well as the reinforced concrete bridges over Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River which remain in close to original state and embody the standards of the day. Other parts of the road, around the unaltered Harris Creek and Williams Creek bridges and along the plateau, may also yield further insights into technology. The road itself, especially the extant cuttings and stone block retaining walls, along with the photographic record of the road’s construction, are evidence of the extensive investment of labour in the road and of some of the work practices involved. The road has distinctive aesthetic/technical attributes because of the use of the technology characteristic of 1930s roadmaking: the road follows a fairly smooth line for much of the route despite the rugged country and can be travelled at reasonable speed in comfort, but the experience of passing through the bush remains very immediate. The road is fairly narrow by today’s standards, with two lanes of traffic accommodated on a single carriageway, there are no expressway-style walls and the rock outcrops and large trees dominate the vistas and lean over the roadway.

Heathcote Road facilitates a distinctive journey through sandstone woodland country with its Gymea Lilies and rocky outcrops. The weathered 1940-1941 stone cuttings, unobtrusive retaining walls constructed of local stone and retention of the narrow carriageway in a number of places gives a sense of actually winding through the rock, which is such a dominant element of the surrounding natural landscape. The beautiful but inhospitable sandstone woodland through which the road travels appears to have changed little since the 1940s, and, with the photographic record, provides insights into the experience of those building and using the road, and possibly those travelling along former tracks and roads between the Liverpool and Sutherland areas.

The journey from urban and industrialised Liverpool via the Heathcote Road, through the spectacular sandstone country of the Military Reserve and Heathcote National Park, still has the ability to evoke the sense of isolation experienced by groups migrating to the area, and, as one emerges onto the Princes Highway, to evoke the sense of physical and cultural distinctness identified as part of the landscape and experience of the Sutherland Shire to the present.

7.1.2.13 STEP 13: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE
UNDER CRITERION C - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN
DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A
HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN
NSW

Heathcote Road represents a technical achievement, as a road constructed through rugged sandstone country in the mid-twentieth century. The construction of the road was achieved with the use of machinery, air compress technology and reinforced concrete bridge technology which had been adapted for use in road building across the previous decade. The physical fabric of two sections of Heathcote Road, in particular, is capable of demonstrating the technology and work practices utilised; the ascent and descent to and from Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River. On these sections the overall alignment of the road has remained unaltered, and the 1940-1941 road formation, cuttings and box cuttings and several stone block retaining walls can be observed, as well as the reinforced concrete bridges over Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River, which remain in close to original state. The road itself, along with the photographic record of the road’s construction, are evidence of the extensive investment of labour in the road and of some of the work practices involved. The road has distinctive aesthetic attributes associated with 1930s roadmaking, following a fairly smooth line for much of the route despite the rugged country, and able to be travelled at reasonable speed and in comfort, but the experience of passing through the bush remains very
immediate. The weathered 1940-1941 stone cuttings, unobtrusive retaining walls constructed of local stone and retention of the narrow carriageway in a number of places gives a sense of actually winding through the rock, which is such a dominant element of the surrounding natural landscape. Thus Heathcote Road facilitates a distinctive journey through the sandstone woodland country, which provides insights into the experience of those building and using the road, and possibly those travelling along former tracks and roads between the Liverpool and Sutherland areas and is evocative of the sense of isolation experienced by groups migrating to the area.

7.1.2.14 STEP 14: CONSIDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS A STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

AND

7.1.2.15 STEP 15: WRITE UP MAJOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

From the research undertaken for this preliminary assessment of Heathcote Road there appear to be several communities for which Heathcote Road may embody certain aspects of a sense of place or sense of identity. Further research in the form of community consultation, oral history, etc is required to establish whether there is any esteem for or attachment to Heathcote Road from the perspective of the communities in question.

As discussed above in relation to criterion B, Heathcote Road is likely to contribute to the sense of place of the army personnel residing at Holsworthy Barracks, and possibly also to that of the Hammondville community, as the road is a primary access route to those communities, and in the case of the army personnel, forms part of their work landscape. Additional research is required to establish whether this is in fact the case.

Sutherland Shire is surrounded by water and bushland and forms a somewhat distinct physical and cultural landscape within the Sydney area, being bounded by water and bushland. For those who live in, and visit, the Sutherland Shire, a sense of place is perhaps connected to this landscape and its isolation from other areas of greater Sydney. While the Princes Highway, crossing the Georges River at Tom Uglys Bridge and Rocky Point and Taren Point roads crossing the Georges River at the Captain Cook Bridge form the main links with the city, Heathcote Road has provided an important link to the Liverpool area, also a significant centre of employment, for sixty years. Improvements to road access through the twentieth century, including the construction of Heathcote Road, as well as increased accessibility to motor vehicles and the rail service, has enabled residents to commute to other centres of employment and education in the city centre and to Sydney’s west, and also for centres of employment, such as the ANSTO facility at Lucas Heights.

From the limited community consultation undertaken, it seems that Heathcote Road was part of a landscape of activities associated with leisure for those from the Sutherland, Liverpool and Bankstown communities during the 1960s. Rom Dortins remembers the narrow Heathcote Road being lined with cars for hundreds of metres on either side of the Woronora River Bridge as people from east and west flocked to the Woronora Weir to swim and picnic on holidays and weekends. Rom also remembers having picnics elsewhere along the road. Currently, stopping along the road at these locations is difficult and discouraged by railings and the high speed of traffic along what is now considered to be a relatively narrow road, although the Woronora Weir in particular remains a picturesque and amenable spot. These memories perhaps act as reminders of changes in leisure patterns, with an increased emphasis
on coastal recreation and organised and indoor leisure to the present, and the tightening of regulations surrounding public and private land.

7.1.2.16 STEP 16: PRIORITISE THE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Additional research and consultation is required before these associations and potential associations can be evaluated and prioritised.

7.1.2.17 STEP 17: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP IN NSW FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

Heathcote Road was associated with leisure activities for people from surrounding districts during the 1960s, and 1970s when locals parked along the road to have picnics or to swim at the Woronora River Weir, formerly downstream of Woronora River Bridge on Heathcote Road. For this reason the road is esteemed as part of a landscape of youth and pleasure for those who grew up locally. The journey from urban and industrialised Liverpool via the Heathcote Road, through the spectacular sandstone country of the Military Reserve and Heathcote National Park, still has the ability to evoke the sense of physical and cultural distinctness identified as part of the landscape and experience of the Sutherland Shire to the present. The road is thus potentially associated with the sense of place and sense of identity of parts of the Sutherland community. Further research may also establish special links between Heathcote Road and the Holsworthy Barracks community and/or the Hammondville community, for which the road forms an important transport and communication link.

7.1.2.18 STEP 18: CONSIDER CRITERION E – AN ITEM HAS THE POTENTIAL TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The item is not considered to be significant under this criterion.

7.1.2.19 STEP 19: WRITE UP THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

N/A

7.1.2.20 STEP 20: PRIORITISE THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

N/A

7.1.2.21 STEP 21: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION E - THE POTENTIAL THE LINE OF ROAD HAS TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY
OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The item is not considered to be significant under this criterion.

7.1.2.22 STEP 22: CONSIDER CRITERION F – AN ITEM HAS
UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S
CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL
OR NATURAL HISTORY

The item is not considered to be significant under this criterion.

7.1.2.23 STEP 23: WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF
ROAD THAT ARE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS
OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S
CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

N/A

7.1.2.24 STEP 24: PRIORITISE THE WAYS THE LINE OF ROAD
CAN DEMONSTRATE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED
ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN
AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

N/A

7.1.2.25 STEP 25: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE
UNDER CRITERION F – AN ITEM HAS UNCOMMON, RARE OR
ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The item is not considered to be significant under this criterion.

7.1.2.26 STEP 26: CONSIDER CRITERION G – AN ITEM IS
IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL
CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR
NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS

Representative of roads constructed in the 1930s and early 1940s.

7.1.2.27 STEP 27: WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF
ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES

The Heathcote Road was planned, designed and constructed in 1939-42. Substantial portions of the original alignment and fabric of the road remain intact, and, with the comprehensive photographic record of the road’s construction, Heathcote Road is capable of demonstrating the state of the art of roadmaking at the end of the 1930s.
7.1.2.28 STEP 28: PRIORITISE THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES

a) Alignment;

b) Formation, cuttings; and

c) Bridges, retaining walls.

7.1.2.29 STEP 29: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION G - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS

The Heathcote Road was planned, designed and constructed in 1939-1942. Substantial portions of the original alignment and fabric of the road remain intact, and, with the comprehensive photographic record of the road’s construction, Heathcote Road is capable of demonstrating the state of the art of roadmaking at the end of the 1930s.

7.1.2.30 STEP 30: UNDERTAKE FIELD RESEARCH

A site inspection of approximately three hours was undertaken by Emma Dortins, in conjunction with Romualds Dortins on 2 September 2004.

7.1.2.31 STEP 31: REVISE DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

7.1.2.32 STEP 32: REVISE DOCUMENTARY BASED ASSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

7.1.2.33 STEP 33: PREPARE A SINGLE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Heathcote Road has local historic, aesthetic and technical, associative, social and representative significance. The road has historic significance as its alignment and place in the road network can demonstrate aspects of the strategic planning undertaken at the commencement of World War Two. The road was substantially constructed in 1940-1941 to provide efficient cross-country access to the Holsworthy Military Reserve and, with the Liverpool-Wallgrove Road, to provide a strategic connection between the Great Western Highway and the Princes Highway. The physical fabric of the road, especially the sections approaching Deadmans Creek and the Woronora River, along with the photographic record of the road’s construction, are capable of demonstrating the application of roadmaking technologies and practices developed through the 1930s. The Liverpool – Holsworthy section of the road has historic significance in the local area as an important transport and communication route and conduit for cultural exchange. It has significant associations with the German Prisoner of War Camp 1914-19, the Holsworthy Remount Depot cum Barracks from 1912 to the present, and the Hammondville settlement 1932 to the present. The place of the Liverpool – Holsworthy road in the landscape is a key to an understanding of the interaction between Liverpool and these satellite communities. Further research in the road’s
use and perception by the military may reveal that the whole route has significance as a cultural route which continues to facilitate a distinctive movement, exchange and experience of the landscape for that group. Heathcote Road has aesthetic significance as it facilitates a distinctive journey from urban and industrialised Liverpool via the Heathcote Road, through the spectacular sandstone country of the Military Reserve and Heathcote National Park. The journey is evocative of the sense of isolation experienced by groups migrating to the area and also has the ability to evoke the sense of physical and cultural distinctness identified as part of the landscape and experience of the Sutherland Shire to the present. Heathcote Road has local social significance in its association with leisure activities for people from surrounding districts during the 1960s and 1970s and further research may also establish special links between Heathcote Road and the Holsworthy Barracks community and/or the Hammondville community, for which the road forms an important transport and communication link.

### 7.1.3 Resourcing

#### 7.1.3.1 Hours and Costs

Between 30 and 35 hours was spent on this assessment.

#### 7.1.3.2 Sources

The sources drawn on for this assessment were restricted to the phase one heritage studies for the RTA Liverpool and Sutherland sub-regions; a limited number of published local histories; Anthony Splivalo's memoir *The Home Fires*; cartographic information available online from the Land and Property Information service; the photographic record of the road’s construction available through the State Library’s Picman catalogue; and very limited onsite community consultation.

RTA construction and maintenance files for the road were known to be available but were not accessed due to time constraints.

Army records are likely to provide interesting insights into the use of the road, but were not investigated.

#### 7.1.3.3 Outcomes and Limitations

Research, community consultation and analysis were limited by time constraints imposed by the nature of this investigation.

As it was known that the road was largely constructed in 1940, the history and assessment focused on the mid-twentieth century, although even this section is not considered comprehensive. Due to time/budgetary constraints the following areas were not investigated, or less thoroughly investigated:

Aboriginal history and the possible association of the road with Aboriginal routes was not investigated; pre-1910 settlement history was only cursorily investigated. The possible association of the route with the livestock transport tracks mentioned in one local history was not investigated; post-World War Two history was only minimally investigated.

Research was assisted by the phase one Liverpool and Botany sub-region heritage studies in that some sources relating to the line of road had been identified, and the context of the line of road in the surrounding areas had been investigated to some extent.
Though somewhat arduous, the step by step methodology was instructive, as it assisted in identifying gaps in research and analysis, which, even if they have not been filled within the scope of this work, have been signposted for further investigation. The rigorous nature of the methodology encouraged the clear articulation of the less tangible aspects of the significance or potential significance of the item and the exploration of any links of these less tangible aspects with the physical qualities of the line of road. For example, the research questions prompted by a consideration of the concept of cultural routes it became possible to begin to draw out such things as exchange between the military and civilian populations and the role of Heathcote Road in those exchanges by virtue of its position in the landscape.

The reiterative nature of the methodology, and the procedure it provides for linking the use of the historic themes to the assessment process, assisted in the consideration of the history of the line of road from a number of perspectives and broke down certain preconceptions for the writer. For example, when I considered the theme of labour in conjunction with associative significance, I realised I had viewed the Holsworthy Military Reserve as a ‘black box’ or a cohesive administrative unit without a human face, when in fact the army is also a group of people who work and live at Holsworthy and may have distinctive experiences and a distinctive view of the local landscape including Heathcote Road, which would be worth investigating in a more comprehensive assessment.
7.2 The Mulgoa Road
7.2 The Mulgoa Road

7.2.1 Preamble
This case study focuses on the Mulgoa Road which provides north-south movement between Wallacia and Penrith in Sydney’s west. This particular example has been selected because the road, which winds through landscapes strongly associated with early nineteenth century pastoral activities, has been subject to a number of realignments. The early line of the road can however, still be clearly read in the landscape. Some of these realignments currently present themselves as local streets.

7.2.2 The Assessment

7.2.2.1 STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION & DESCRIPTION OF THE LINE OF ROAD

The Mulgoa Road follows a course from the original Western Road (now the Great Western Highway) due south along the Nepean River to where it terminates at Park Road at Wallacia (see Figure 1). The road was officially surveyed and proclaimed on 19 September 1863, with its route confirmed on 22 January 1864. Its history, however, stretches back to the early 1820s. The road’s official identifier, Main Road 155, is also shared with the Castlereagh Road, which connects with the Mulgoa Road at Penrith at the intersection of the Western Highway.

The road was built to facilitate movement of traffic between properties and townships which had developed along the course of the Nepean River in the early 1800s. Prior to the crossing of the Blue Mountains and completion of Cox’s Road across the mountains, principal movements within the area followed this and other nearby north-south routes (principally The Northern Road).

Early maps of the area indicate that the road followed a path from George Cox’s 600 acre land holdings near the present junction between the Nepean River and Jerrys Creek and the current township of Wallacia; through the various land grants of Henry and William Cox; past the Mulgoa public school and St Thomas’ Church; deviating into Edward Cox’s land where it joined the Kings Hill (now Kingshill) Road; and then onto The Northern Road. This alignment is demonstrated through Figure 2, which shows the early land grants of the Mulgoa Valley and the meandering Nepean River to the west. A close-up of the same map, shown in Figure 3 highlights the Mulgoa Road in its earliest alignment as described above. A comparison between AO Map No. 255 and a current map of the area (Figure 4) clearly shows that the current St Thomas Road followed the original line of the Mulgoa Road. This was altered by a subsequent deviation to the road, probably in the 1940s.

A departmental map of roads in the County of Cumberland taken from the 1936 Department of Main Roads Annual Report shows that in 1926 the road was constructed of earth or gravel. By 1936 the initial section from Penrith to Regentville had been reconstructed with water bound macadam and a tar and bitumen surface.

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2 Archives Office Map No. 255 – Mulgoa Parish Map, No date. While this map is not dated, reference to land grant dates indicates that the map was likely drawn in the early 1820s.
3 It is likely that St Thomas’ Church and the Mulgoa Public School postdate the drawing of AO Map 255 – Mulgoa Parish Map. These are both ‘drawn in by a different hand’.
The Main Roads Board, and it successor the Department of Main Roads (DMR), focused on the ongoing upgrade of the main road network. For the Mulgoa Road, particularly to the south of Regentville, this first involved the incorporation of tracks and minor roads into a main road and then subsequently, the realignment and resurfacing of the road to facilitate better travel. Some bypassed sections were sold to adjacent landholders and the RTA has retained others⁴. In the 1940s, a section of the road to the south of Penrith was straightened, and later, in 1953, the Department of Main Roads undertook earthworks, gravel pavement and bitumen surfacing of the road. This provided the opportunity to test a number of available surfacing techniques. Portland cement, bitumen emulsion and quarry grit were trialed as potential surfaces for the road. Obviously bitumen was the preferred choice, because by 1955 Penrith Council had the road resurfaced with bitumen. The completion of the first section of the Main Western Freeway in 1971 also necessitated the construction of a bridge on the Mulgoa Road to cross the freeway. A similar bridge was constructed at the nearby Northern Road.

The road, which has been classified as a Tourist Route by the RTA, winds its way past the sites of historic, architectural, and horticultural significance, including the ruins of Sir John Jamison’s stately home, Regentville; the former homes of the Cox family, Winbourne (remains), Fernhill, Glenmore and the Cottage (Fern Hill); the historic St Thomas’ Church; as well as other important early homes of the region including Fairlight and Glenleigh. The road also passes by land of important ecological value: The Mulgoa Nature Reserve, which is bounded on the west by Mulgoa Creek and on the east by the Glenmore Park Estate, contains important and rare geological formations, important native flora and fauna species as well as the Regentville ruins.

Figure 2: Mulgoa Parish Map - AO Map 255 (date unknown) showing early land grants in the Mulgoa Valley and earliest known alignment of the Mulgoa Road.
7.2.2.2 STEP 2: HISTORICAL RESEARCH & THEME IDENTIFICATION

7.2.2.2.1 Early Settlement - 1789 to 1815

The Nepean River was first discovered on 27 June 1789. In 1803, the surveyors Grimes and Meehan undertook the first subdivision survey along the Nepean: the first grants in the area were made later that year. On 1 February 1804, Captain Daniel Woodriffe was granted 1,000 acres of land, which he called ‘Rodley Farm’. Woodriffe subsequently leased the estate to William Martin who set about to ‘work the land’. Martin was also later responsible for operating the Government boat on the Nepean. The Mulgoa Road, in its closest proximity to Penrith, transects Woodriffe’s original 1000-acre grant. Captain Woodriffe’s closest neighbour was William Neate Chapman who, on 10 February 1804, was granted 1,300 acres on an adjacent parcel of land in the area now known as Penrith: Chapman named the property Lambridge. Like Woodriffe, Chapman was also an absentee farmer, his property being leased, and later owned by John McHenry.

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, further land grants were made in the nearby Mulgoa Valley. In 1805, 1,000 acres was granted to Thomas Jamison, Surgeon-General to the colony. By 1807 he had extended his landholdings in the area to 2,300 acres. Jamison’s grant, as can be seen by Figure 2, lay immediately to the south of Woodriffe’s grant as the land begins to slope down toward the Nepean River. Present day Regentville and Jamisontown, along the northern extremity of Mulgoa Road are in the vicinity of Jamison’s original grant.

Jamison had joined the Royal Navy as a Surgeon in 1777 and sailed to Australia as a surgeon’s mate aboard HMS Sirius in 1787. Jamison became the Surgeon-General of the colony in 1801, spending much of his time on Norfolk Island. In 1801 he was the first to vaccinate children against smallpox and in 1804, published the colony’s first medical paper on the subject.

In 1809, Edward Cox, son of William Cox, was granted 300 acres on the Mulgoa Creek the property at Mulgoa was to be known as Fern Hill. Also in that year, Thomas Hobby was granted 640 acres to the north of Edward Cox’s land, and in 1811, 1,000 acres of land between Penrith and Mulgoa was allocated to the seven children of the Parramatta based Surgeon, Luttrell. As members of the Luttrell family were not particularly successful as farmers, their lands were eventually incorporated into the estates of the Cox and Jamison families.

The Mulgoa Valley was an important centre of agricultural activity in the early colony. Early settlers in the area attempted to grow wheat, which was met with mixed fortune. Yields from previously unworked soils were typically good, however it was soon found that successive cropping would lead to a rapid depletion of soil nutrients, and therefore, successive crop failures. In 1803 wheat rust destroyed approximately one-fifth of the local wheat crop. Attempts to grow barley and hops were also met with similar early disappointments. Maize or Indian corn fared better as a crop and tended to be planted by the owners of smaller estates.

Men such as Thomas Jamison and nearby neighbours, John and Gregory Blaxland, held an early monopoly on the production of wheat, making it difficult for smaller landholders to

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Figure 3: Mulgoa Parish Map - AO Map 255. Close-up of previous figure showing original line of road from George Cox’s property near the site of the present day Wallacia township, through the land of William Cox Senior, past St Thomas Church then through William Cox’s land along Kings Hill Road to The Northern Road to the east.

Figure 4: UBD Map of Mulgoa Road showing the original line of road along St Thomas Road.
Governor Macquarie to the colony in 1810, who quickly put an end to Government practices which supported the larger landholders at the expense of the smaller ones.

The Nepean was also a major centre for early colonial grazing activities. The importation of Merino sheep in 1797 provided an added boost to the success of these early activities. While men such as Samuel Marsden, at nearby ‘Mamre’, and John Macarthur were the most successful of the early graziers, locals within the Mulgoa Valley, including Thomas Hobby who had 500 sheep by 1804, were quick to take up the successes of this industry. It is known that William Cox Senior had stocked his Clarendon estate at Richmond with 150 sheep bought from Samuel Marsden's flock and also purchased Captain Waterhouse’s flock of Merinos from the Reliance. It is likely that other members of the Cox family also followed suit. Many of the early estates in the district raised sheep and cattle together. Most of these early estates within the vicinity of the Mulgoa Road were largely self-sufficient and therefore there was little pressure for large townships to evolve around them.

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Cox family and some of their neighbours, including John Blaxland, maintained some of the most significant pastoral estates in the colony. Access to the Nepean and its creeks and tributaries being an important requirement for the watering and washing of stock.

NSW Heritage Office Themes associated with this period include: Agriculture (Developing National and Regional Economies); Pastoralism (Developing National and Regional Economies); and Persons (Marking the phases of life). (The associated National Themes are provided in brackets beside the NSW Historic Themes.)

7.2.2.2.2 Expansion West and Opening Up of the Region - 1813 - 1815

Drought, caterpillar plagues and a shortage of feed for stock across the Cumberland Plain led to increasing pressure for further arable land to be found to the west of the Blue Mountains. Gregory Blaxland, who felt particularly aggrieved by the lack of available grazing land (most likely because the conservative William Bligh on his arrival to the country reduced Blaxland’s promised land grant) was one of the principal initiators of the push west. Together with William Lawson, a farmer and grazier from Veteran Hall at Prospect; William Charles Wentworth, a political liberal and large landholder; and four servants, Blaxland forged his way across the Blue Mountains. By adopting the principle of following the ridges lines, the three explorers and their servants managed to successfully provide a route to the west, which had remained impenetrable for the proceeding 25 years of the colony. While the details of all of the four servants is not known, details of one, James Byrnes, a former convict who had also accompanied the botanist George Caley on a previous unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains, have survived. Figure 3 shows a small land grant of 100 acres owned by a ‘James Byrne’ nestled between a number of the Cox family grants at Mulgoa.

The crossing of the Blue Mountains by Gregory Blaxland, William Lawson and William Wentworth in 1813 provided the necessary catalyst for the opening up of the area. Once Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth had identified a clear route over the mountains, Governor Macquarie commissioned the construction of a road to approximate the route taken by the three explorers and their assistants. Governor Macquarie appointed William Cox, a former Captain in the NSW Corps, with a convict workforce of 30 men to construct a road that was ‘at least 12 feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease’ from Emu Plains to Bathurst. Cox had recently been appointed by Macquarie as

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the Chief Magistrate for the Hawkesbury on the death of Andrew Thompson in October 1810, and had developed a reputation for his entrepreneurial skills, humanitarian outlook, and skills as a builder. While many of his more notable buildings such the Windsor Courthouse and St Matthew’s Rectory at Windsor were constructed after the completion of the road across the Blue Mountains, other buildings such as Glebe House at Castlereagh (1813) and the School House at Richmond (1813), as well as numerous roads, stood as testament to his skills as a builder.

It is clear that Cox used a number of Mulgoa residents on the construction of the road. **Thomas Hobby**, for example, was Cox’s assistant on the project. For his role, Hobby was granted 500 acres and six cows (Thomas Hobby’s land was sited directly to the north of Edward Cox’s Mulgoa land grant). **Richard Lewis**, who was a neighbour of Hobby’s, and indeed of Cox’s, was the appointed as Chief Superintendent for the construction of the Blue Mountain’s road and received a grant of 200 acres, a horse and four cows. For the remaining convicts involved in the construction of the road, Cox organised their ‘ticket of leave’ on completion of the project. Once Cox had completed the Blue Mountains road, he commenced building a road from Emu Ford back to Parramatta. Work commenced on the road back to Parramatta in 1815 and was completed that same year.

**NSW Heritage Office Themes** associated with this period include: Agriculture (Developing National and Regional Economies); Pastoralism (Developing National and Regional Economies); Persons (Marking the phases of life); Exploration (Developing National and Regional Economies); Transport (Developing National and Regional Economies); Convict (Peopling Australia); and Government and Administration (Governing). (The associated National Themes are provided in brackets beside the NSW Historic Themes.)

**Figure 5**: Rebecca Martens (undated) Pencil sketch, ‘Mulgoa Valley’. Possibly an early image of the Mulgoa Road showing the road winding through the picturesque landscape of the Mulgoa Valley flanked by a three-railed

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post and rail fence and the tall timbers of the local eucalypts.

7.2.2.2.3 Consolidation of Land Grants and Agricultural Development - 1815 - 1870

With the completion of William Cox’s road across the mountains in 1815 and consolidation of the road between Parramatta and Penrith, land along the Nepean became more attractive for settlement. William Cox, in addition to his other extensive landholdings at Richmond, was granted 1,020 acres at Bringelly in 1816 and his son George was granted 600 acres also in that year. The following year William Cox was granted a further 760 acres at Bringelly and in 1818 one of his other sons, Henry, was granted 400 acres.

The Mulgoa Road in its earliest alignment has strong linkages with the activities of this family. The road appears to have been constructed to link each of the Cox family properties with each other as well as to the main north-south route at the Northern Road (also known as the Cowpasture Road). This is clearly shown in AO Map 255 (Figures 2 and 3), which show the road commencing at George Cox’s property near the present day Wallacia and then linking the properties of Henry, William and Edward Cox. It is possible that William Cox and his sons, perhaps with the help of his neighbours Hobby and Lewis, constructed Mulgoa Road in its earliest alignment.

While William Cox’s principal residence was on his substantial landholdings at Clarendon in Richmond, William Cox began building one of the colony’s first houses of weatherboard and brick-nog construction, 'The Cottage' on his son Edward’s 1809 land grant 'Fern Hill'. Fern Hill took its name from the ancestral home of the Cox family 'Fern Hill' located between Poole and Wimborne, Dorsetshire. The Cottage was constructed sometime between 1811 and 1814. During a period when Edward had returned home to England to make a study of the wool industry, Henry Cox and wife, Frances McKenzie, daughter of the Secretary of the Bank of New South Wales lived at The Cottage while they built their own home, Glenmore further along the Mulgoa Road. Edward Cox later lived at The Cottage with his bride Jane Maria Brooks from 1827 while they built their home, Fernhill, which was completed in the 1840s.

Due to its intactness, age, exquisite simplicity and links to the Cox family, The Cottage is one of the most architecturally significant buildings of the early colonial period.

‘Beautifully sited on a small rise near Mulgoa Creek, the
Cottage is one of the earliest and most important colonial
houses, and still retains its fine rural setting.’

In 1819, Governor Macquarie granted Nathaniel Norton 800 acres at Mulgoa. Norton’s early land grants can be identified in Figures 2 and 3. Norton built ‘a slab cottage, plastered with clay, whitewashed and roofed with shingles’, in a similar style to Cox’s cottage, on his property known as Fairlight. While the original Fairlight cottage has been demolished, William Jarrett who purchased the property in 1876 constructed a new house on the site of the original. This house, which is also known as Fairlight, is constructed in a ‘late-colonial’ style and still stands located off Fairlight Road.

Also in 1819 John Blaxland, brother of explorer Gregory Blaxland, acquired 600 acres by grant from Governor Macquarie. John and Gregory Blaxland both had substantial land...

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holdings in the area; John managing his ‘Luddenham Estates’ and Gregory, ‘Lee Holme’, to the south of the Reverend Samuel Marsden’s property ‘Mamre’.
Figure 6: Fernhill, Mulgoa by C. Cox, c.1830, showing the Mulgoa Road and St Thomas’ Church in the background (Courtesy of the National Library of Australia). The image reflects the parkland like landscape of the Mulgoa Valley, with the road acting as a thread, linking key architectural elements of the landscape together.

Figure 3 shows one of the parcels of land owned by John Blaxland to the extreme south of the Mulgoa Parish Map, neighbouring William Cox Senior to the west. It is reputed that John had a brewery and flourmill on the Nepean near Wallacia, possibly located on this parcel of land.18

One of the people accompanying Governor Macquarie on his 1815 inspection of Cox’s Road was Sir John Jamison, the son of the then deceased Thomas Jamison. Sir John Jamison arrived in Australia to take over his father’s Penrith landholdings in 1814. Between 1817 and 1822 he acquired additional lands by grant and purchase to increase his father’s original landholdings to 4,220 acres along the Nepean River.19 Construction of Jamison’s home, Regentville, was commenced in 1823: the Sydney Gazette recording that a foundation stone had been laid on 9 September 1823.20 Regentville, which was completed in 1825, was reputed to be one of the most spectacular and lavishly appointed homes in the colony at the time. The house was constructed of sandstone quarried from the estate and marble ‘found nearby’. Peter Cunningham described the aesthetic majesty of the estate in 1828,

‘the river winding at a sluggish pace through this scene of exuberant fertility, and the abrupt woody range of the Blue Mountains behind it.’21

20 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, *Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville* at HYPERLINK "http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/"
While the main Regentville house was burnt to the ground in 1869, significant archaeological remains of the house and its attendant buildings are still extant and are incorporated into the Mulgoa Nature Reserve. Four masonry gateposts located on the Mulgoa Road just beyond School House Creek mark the entrance to this once grand estate. Figure 7 is a Conrad Martin pencil sketch of Jamison’s Regentville, drawn in 1835.

Like his neighbour, William Cox, Sir John Jamison was a highly influential figure in early colonial society. President of the Royal Agricultural Society and one of the founders of the Bank of NSW, Jamison amassed significant land holdings throughout the colony. In 1819, Governor Macquarie appointed Jamison as a magistrate for the District of Evan, which was to include Penrith and Mulgoa. Like his father Thomas, Sir John Jamison was trained as a surgeon. In 1808 he travelled with the British fleet to the Baltic and was responsible for eradicating an outbreak of scurvy in the Swedish Navy. For his efforts, Charles XIII of Sweden conferred on him the order of Gustavus Vasa. In 1813, the Prince Regent on behalf of George III conferred upon Jamison the honour of knighthood, also in recognition for his deeds. Jamison was the founder and president of the Sydney Turf Club (1825-1827) and the Australian Racing and Jockey Club; in 1837 he was appointed to the Legislative Council and remained a member until 1843.

Once the route to the west had been cleared, the opportunities provided by the banks of the Nepean for the grazing of sheep and cattle were provided with a new dimension. Many of the early pastoral estates, including those of the Coxes, Sir John Jamison and the Blaxlands were to become the base for expanded pastoral enterprises west of the Great Dividing Range. The increased demand for fine wool and a decrease in the costs of textile manufacture encouraged the pastoral boom of the 1830s, further cementing the fortunes of these families. The grazing of both sheep and cattle was typical, however some pastoral dynasties, namely the Blaxlands, were principally involved in cattle raising, earning Governor Macquarie’s displeasure for refusing to graze sheep.

Stock was raised on the estates nestled around the Nepean and then typically driven across the mountains to larger land holdings to the west for grazing, later returning to the Cumberland Plain for fattening. Sheep, in particular, seemed to thrive in the drier western climate and therefore typically remaining west of the divide.

Subsequent to the opening up of the west, Sir John Jamison had the bulk of his agricultural operations in his property at Capertee. However his Regentville property still remained the centre of many diverse agricultural activities. Jamison, for example, was reputedly one of the best and most prolific wine and brandy makers in the colony, based on his Regentville harvests. A young Henry Parkes even worked for several months at the vineyard after he and his wife were robbed of their possessions on their way out of Sydney. Jamison was also a major supplier of meat and grain to Government stores and also sent regular consignments of wool to London.

Jamison made a significant contribution to the early agricultural development of the colony, but more specifically, to the Mulgoa and Penrith valleys. Jamison was known to have a cloth mill on his property, as well as vineyards, a dairy, granary and orchards. He also leased some of his land at Mulgoa to small tenant farmers. Tenant farming was a popular activity in the area, with many of the larger landholders leasing their land for small-scale agricultural use. Many of the tenant farmers were original grantees to the land but had sold their land to the larger landholders, subsequently leasing it back. Some of these leases were ‘clearing leases’

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22 *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Entry for Jamison, Sir John, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1958.
23 *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Entry for Jamison, Sir John, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1958.
Figure 7: Sketch of Regentville by Conrad Martin, 1835. The sketch highlights the scale and grandeur of this home which was once advantaged by the vistas of the Nepean River and spectacular Nepean Gorge to the west and Mulgoa Valley to its south.

where farming rights were provided to the lessee in return for the clearing of land. Much of the arable alluvial land on Jamison’s Regentville property was leased to smaller tenant farmers. A wide variety of crops were grown including maize, which thrived on local soils, and tobacco, which was used for smoking and as an insecticidal sheep wash.

Like Sir John Jamison’s Regentville, the Cox family properties were both architectural and agricultural showpieces. The Coxes, apart from their grazing activities, engaged in mixed farming, orcharding, dairying and viticulture: by the end of the 1830s they had employed several German vigneron to manage their local vineyards. The good fortunes of these men, facilitated by the pastoral boom are well reflected in the architectural and agricultural heritage that they left behind along the Mulgoa Road.

In 1825, Henry Cox and his bride Frances Mackenzie moved into their recently completed home, Glenmore. Glenmore, which was constructed of local sandstone, was a single-storeyed construction with two projecting wings to the rear. Two sets of French windows flanked the main entrance and a number of attic rooms were nestled underneath a hipped-roof set off by two dormer windows. Glenmore is sited in the grounds of the present day Glenmore Golf Club located near one of the prominent bends in the Mulgoa Road. Towering pines flag the entrance to Glenmore from the Mulgoa Road.

The first Anglican service at Mulgoa was held in a barn near ‘The Cottage’ in 1827; it was preceded over by the Reverend J.S. Hassall, the nephew of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. The need for a church was well recognised within the local community and George Cox was elected as secretary to raise funds for its construction. Edward Cox donated 5 acres for a church and burial ground, while George Cox donated 38 acres for the parsonage. St Thomas’ Church was built between 1836 and 1838 by James Atkinson and William Chisolm and was designed by the Reverend Thomas Makinson. The stone in the buildings was

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quarried from the Winbourne Estate. Jane Jamison, daughter of Sir John Jamison, laid the foundation stone for the church on 22 August 1836. The church, which has both historic and aesthetic significance, is the final resting place of a number of members of the Cox family. Their contribution to the church’s construction is monumentalised in the stained glass windows of the church.

Figure 8: Photograph of St. Thomas’ Church Mulgoa described as ‘as one of the most romantic rural churches in New South Wales’. The church is an important architectural landmark within the Mulgoa Valley. St Thomas’ Church together with Fernhill, ‘The Cottage’, and the winding Mulgoa Road that acts as an essential thread between these elements, act as a group to form a significant and largely intact early colonial landscape.

Figure 9: Photograph of George Cox’s Headstone at St. Thomas’ Church Mulgoa. The strong association of the Cox family with Mulgoa is well demonstrated by the number of Cox family members buried at St. Thomas’

Helen Proudfoot recognises the church ‘as one of the most romantic rural churches in New South Wales’.\(^{26}\) Proudfoot goes on to say, the church:

‘…is important both for its superb landscape value and because it is the only extant example of a reasonably intact late 1830s Gothic Revival rural Anglican Parish church.’\(^{27}\)

In 1840, Edward and Henry Cox completed their homes along the Mulgoa Road. Fernhill was constructed on Edward’s land grant on the western side of the Mulgoa Road between The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church for he and his wife Jane Maria Brooks. Fernhill was constructed in the Greek Revival style from locally hewn stone. Approximately twenty stonemasons were brought from Ireland to construct the home and its attendant buildings over a four-year period. Fernhill is aesthetically significant from both a built architectural perspective as well as from a landscape perspective. Helen Proudfoot in her description of the property states:

‘The house is approached by a picturesque drive past clumped apple-trees, reflecting pond and two stone bridges, and the whole is a unique example of the adaptation of a simple species of native tree to create a park in the manner of the English landscape garden – a most subtly contrived landscape with not one imported species.’\(^{28}\)


Colonel Mundy described the property in 1852, as:

‘by far the most lovely and extensive landscape – as a home view – I ever met with in Australia’…a stranger might imagine himself at the country house of some substantial English squire…there is a unity of homelike landscape unlike anything else of its kind I have met without England.

In addition to its undisputed architectural merit, Fernhill is also exceptionally important because of its landscape significance. The landscape at Fernhill reflects the mid-nineteenth century English landscape school’s approach to the construction of romanticised ‘natural environments’, and particularly the teachings of Thomas Shepherd. Included in the formal elements of the Fernhill landscape are its vistas to The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church and the inclusion of ornamental bridges, water features and bands of native trees. Indeed, Fernhill

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29 State Heritage Inventory for Fernhill, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5045436.
may be unique in that it may be the only remaining example of an Australian garden designed along English landscape principles which relied solely on the use of indigenous species.\textsuperscript{31}

**George Cox** built Winbourne in the early 1840s for he and his wife Elizabeth Bell. Elizabeth was the daughter of Archibald Bell, who was responsible for finding an alternate route across the Blue Mountains, known as Bell’s Line. The Winbourne Estate was located on the western side of the Mulgoa Road between the townships of Mulgoa and Wallacia. Winbourne was the largest of the Cox residences in the Mulgoa Valley:

‘It was a massive two-storey stone house surrounded by verandahs, a fine, formal Greek-Revival edifice with thirty-six smooth-shafted stone Doric columns. There were stables, a winery, a Roman bathhouse, and a picturesque gatehouse.’\textsuperscript{32}

Sarah Matthew who was visiting from England in 1832 wrote that Winbourne:

‘was a very pretty place. The garden is in excellent order; and the shrubbery very beautiful in the variety of both native trees and shrubs, as well as those of an English shrubbery. A short distance from the house, on the side of a rocky range, is the vineyard, which is advancing rapidly: the vines are loaded with fruit, though only three years old.’\textsuperscript{33}

James Backhouse, a member of the Society of Friends who visited the colony in 1836 remarked on the sense of design and appreciation for the landscape that George Cox and his family had introduced to the Mulgoa Valley. He remarked that Winbourne was a

‘Substantial mansions, having the features of an Englishman’s park: such indeed is much of the district.’\textsuperscript{34}

The Cox family sold Winbourne in the 1890s. In 1914 the main house was transformed into a successful guest house until it was destroyed by fire in 1920; some parts of the original structure are still extant and are currently used by the Christian Brothers as part of their Mount Scion complex.

The Cox’s appreciation for the aesthetics of both the built and natural environment well reflected in the homes of Henry, Edward and George and of The Cottage built by their father William. This appreciation is not just reflected in the Cox family properties in their own right, but also as a significant landscape group. The siting of St Thomas’ Church, Fernhill and The Cottage, with their strong visual relationship to each other reinforces this family’s appreciation of landscape design. The fact that this visual relationship exists, largely unaltered, to the present day reinforces the importance of the Mulgoa Valley as a significant historical landscape. The Mulgoa Road, which in itself has aesthetic merit, is an important component of this landscape group serving to unite the more formal landscape components of the Cox family homes and St Thomas’ Church.

**NSW Heritage Office Themes** associated with this period include: Agriculture (Developing National and Regional Economies); Pastoralism (Developing National and Regional Economies); Persons (Marking the phases of life); Exploration (Developing National and

\textsuperscript{31} State Heritage Inventory for Fernhill, *State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5045436*.


\textsuperscript{34} Cited in Linda Mahony, Doug Mahony, Kevin Whieldon and Stephanie Walsh, *Mulgoa! Mulgoa! Where is That?*, 1988, p.9.
Regional Economies); Transport (Developing National and Regional Economies); Industry (Developing National and Regional Economies); Religion (Developing Australia’s Cultural Life); Towns, Suburbs and Villages (Building Settlements, Towns and Cities); Government and Administration (Governing); Environment – Cultural Landscape (Developing National and Regional Economies). The associated National Themes are provided in brackets beside the NSW Historic Themes.

**Figure 11:** Hardy Wilson sketch of Winbourne Gatehouse. (Courtesy of the National Library of Australia). Winbourne was the largest of the Cox family properties along the Mulgoa Road. The main house was destroyed by fire in 1920.
7.2.2.2.4 Decline of the Pastoral Estate – 1840s to 1860s

The 1840s brought considerable social change to the area along the Mulgoa Road, as it did to the rest of the colony. In November 1840, the last convict ship arrived in Sydney and the private assignment of convicts ended. This had an impact on the pastoral estates of the Nepean, which were heavily reliant on large convict labour forces to carry out their day-to-day operations. The area did see a corresponding influx of free settlers searching for new opportunities; however, the increased cost of labour placed a new financial pressure on the wealthy pastoralists.

The pastoral boom, which continued throughout the 1830s, had slowed by 1840s, and was affected by significant economic downturn. This, along with the passing of men such as William Cox in 1837 and Sir John Jamison in 1844, had a significant impact on the area and its prosperity. The properties of these men being subject to subdivision by their heirs and new uses such as the development of small towns, and small-scale farms changed the Mulgoa Road landscape forever. While some of the Cox family estates remained intact, most had reduced acreage given the changed nature of agricultural development in the area and the need to weather the economic downturn.

For Edward Cox, his plans to extend Fernhill with a second storey were put on hold indefinitely. Henry Cox moved to Mudgee in an attempt to survive the depression and Glenmore was sold to T.S. Mort and then later to James Riley who was to become Penrith’s first Mayor in 1871.

George Cox continued to live at Winbourne but suffered from the impacts of several crop failures and was forced to retire due to ill health in 1851. On his death in 1868, ownership of Winbourne passed to George’s son, George Henry. George Henry sought to extend the farm by purchasing additional acreage and increasing, its already extensive commercial and farming operations. Eventually drought and the economic downturn of the 1890s forced George Henry to sell the property.

After his death, Sir John Jamison’s widow and family continued to live at Regentville, remaining there until probably the early 1860s, despite an unsuccessful attempt to sell the house in 1847. The house was leased to Frederick Bell who spent 1500 pounds on repairs and on 6 May 1862 opened it as ‘a private asylum for insane and nervous patients’. The asylum does not appear to have been successful and had ceased operation within two years. By 1865 John Shiels had taken over the lease and had been granted a publican’s licence to operate as the Regentville Inn. This venture also appears to have failed and by 1869, Shiels was attempting to prematurely terminate his lease when on 22 May 1869 the house, ‘was willfully and maliciously set on fire by some person or persons unknown’.35

The period of the 1840s to 1860s was characterised by economic downturn, the breakup of the large pastoral estates and the departure of many of the key local identities along the Mulgoa Road. With the break up of the large pastoral estates, the valley, in which the Mulgoa Road is an important component, was changed forever. Despite these changes however, the essential early nineteenth century rural character of the Mulgoa Valley with its elegant vistas and architectural showpieces has remained untouched to the present day.

NSW Heritage Office Themes associated with this period include: Agriculture (Developing National and Regional Economies); Pastoralism (Developing National and Regional Economies); Persons (Marking the phases of life); Convict (Peopling Australia); and Labour (Working). (The associated National Themes are provided in brackets beside the NSW Historic Themes.)

35 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville at http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/.
7.2.2.2.5 Government Administration and Road Building – 1860s to Present

The road network in the Penrith region had, until 1815, a predominantly north-south focus to allow movement between, and access to, those properties located on the agriculturally richer alluvial soils of the Nepean River. With ongoing enhancements to the Western Road and opening up of the main western railway line, which reached Penrith by 1863, there was a considerable focus of development in Penrith and around the Western Road. The break up of the larger pastoral estates in the 1840s had enabled this to occur. The importance of the main north-south ‘feeder’ routes in the region was reinforced by their gazettal as main roads during this period. The Mulgoa Road was officially surveyed and proclaimed on 19 September 1863, with its route confirmed on 22 January 1864.

Penrith, had in the latter half of the nineteenth century, gained momentum as an important regional centre and by 1871, the Municipality of Penrith was proclaimed. Later, in 1893, the neighbouring Municipality of Mulgoa was also proclaimed. Terry Kass notes that the proclamation of the Mulgoa Municipality created, ‘a small area with few financial resources and a striking inability to maintain the roads’.  

In 1890 an irrigation scheme was commenced in the Mulgoa Valley and land was subdivided into small farms as well as town blocks. The scheme was proposed by two speculative investors, George Chaffey, a pioneer of irrigation in the Mildura District and Sacramento, California and Henry Gorman, an ambitious estate agent. Land was released in quarter acre blocks and local amenities including a post-office, a hotel, known as the Irrigation Hotel and new public hall were built along the Mulgoa Road. The depression of the early 1890s had a significant impact on the viability of this ambitious scheme, which, by the mid-1890s had failed. The failure of this scheme had a significant impact on the viability of the municipality and the outlook of its new breed of ambitious and hopeful settlers.

Due to financial pressures, George Cox’s Winbourne was sold by his son and heir George Henry to the Hewitt family in the 1890s. The Hewitt’s also struggled to retain the property and were forced to due financial hardship to subdivide the property into smaller farms. The main house at Winbourne property was leased to Tom Campbell in 1914 who transformed the former Cox mansion into a select guest house. The popularity and notoriety of Winbourne as a guest house encouraged other local landowners to follow suit, with many local properties being transformed into guesthouses to provide Sydney siders with benefits of clean country air and the recreational opportunities of the nearby Nepean River. The growth of the hospitality industry within the Mulgoa Valley provided some relief to this ailing region.

One issue of note in the management of these guest houses was the provision of access from the rail station at Penrith. Passenger services by way of car and coach were provided to holiday travellers. The roads through the Mulgoa Valley were noted to be in a poor state, with holidaymakers, particularly during heavy rains being required to get out of their vehicles and walk to their destination despite the mud.

By the late 1890s, roads were becoming a more important transport option in the colony. The advent of the motorcar and its increasing popularity by the early 1900s meant that ongoing pressure was placed on the road builders to improve the local road network.

The inability to the NSW Department of Public Works to meet the growing demand for road construction and maintenance necessitated a number of ongoing institutional reforms. These commenced with the decision by the NSW State Government to compulsorily form shires in 1906. This included the integration of the ailing Mulgoa Municipality into the Penrith Shire in 1913. In addition to a number of other functions, the shires were made responsible for the construction and maintenance of local roads. Funding for local road construction and

maintenance was to come through the shire’s ability to levy taxes on residents for road works as well as through State government grants. Roads considered to be of State importance were proclaimed as National Works and were fully funded by the State government. The Great Western Highway at the northern extremity of the Mulgoa Road was one of these.

The Main Roads Act came into force at the beginning of 1925. The Act provided for the establishment of a three-person Board to oversee the management of the ‘Main Road’ network; funding was to come through revenue raised from motor vehicle licensing. By 1928, administration of the roads network was decentralised and included the formation of an Outer Metropolitan Division, which included the management of the Mulgoa Road. Later, after the abolition of the Main Roads Board in 1932, the Outer Division was divided to become the Outer Metropolitan Divisions 1 and 2, with the Mulgoa Road falling into Division 1. This was later to be renamed Central Division in 1954.

The formation of the Main Roads Board was precipitated by the need to regularise and improve the road network across the State. The Mains Road Board promoted the need for a network of roads radiating out from the centre of Sydney supported by a system of circumferential roads, which served to link the main arterial roads. A system of road classification was also adopted, which saw roads being categorised as State Highways, Trunk Roads and Main Roads. The Mulgoa Road (MR 155), as a key circumferential road, was categorised as a Main Road.

The Main Roads Board, and it successor the Department of Main Roads, focused on the ongoing upgrade of the main road network. For the Mulgoa Road, particularly to the south of Regentville, this first involved the incorporation of tracks and minor roads into a main road and then subsequently, the realignment and resurfacing of the road to facilitate better travel. Some bypassed sections were sold to adjacent landholders, whereas the RTA has retained others.37 In the 1940s, sections of the road to the south of Penrith were realigned (see Figure 12). Plans 1 to 4 in Appendix A shows the proposed alignment changes to the Mulgoa Road to remove hair pin bends and improve the conditions of the road. In 1953 the Department of Main Roads undertook earthworks, gravel pavement and bitumen surfacing of the road. This provided the opportunity to test a number of available surfacing techniques. Portland cement, bitumen emulsion and quarry grit were trialed as potential surfaces for the road. Obviously bitumen was the preferred choice, because by 1955 Penrith Council had the road resurfaced with bitumen.

In 1976 the Traffic Authority of NSW was established with the Department of Motor Transport being responsible for traffic management and traffic signals, signage and road markings were transferred to the Department of Main Roads (DMR). Responsibility for the management of the Mulgoa Road and other roads in the Penrith local government area was transferred to the newly formed Blacktown Division in 1983.

**NSW Heritage Office Themes** associated with this period include: Agriculture (Developing National and Regional Economies); Transport (Developing National and Regional Economies); Towns, Suburbs and Villages (Building Settlements, Towns and Cities); Government and Administration (Governing); and Environment – Cultural Landscape (Developing National and Regional Economies). (The associated National Themes are provided in brackets beside the NSW Historic Themes.)

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Figure 12: AO Map (No Number) 1926 showing alignment of Mulgoa Road including a number of hairpin bends.
7.2.3 CHRONOLOGY OF THE MULGOA ROAD – A SUMMARY

1789 Discovery of Nepean River
1804 First land grants at Penrith to Captain Daniel Woodriffe and William Neate Chapman
1805 Issue of 1000-acre land grant to Thomas Jamison at Jamisontown
1809 Issue of a number of land grants in Mulgoa Valley – Thomas Hobby and W.C. Lewis
1810 Issue of further land grants in Mulgoa Valley to Edward Cox and Luttrell Family and an additional grant to Thomas Hobby
1811 Construction of The Cottage on Edward Cox’s landholdings at Fern Hill by William Cox
1813 Crossing of the Blue Mountains by Gregory Blaxland, William Lawson and William Charles Wentworth
1815 Completion of William Cox’s road over the Blue Mountains
1816 Issue of land grants to William Cox Senior and Edward Cox as well as James King
1817 Establishment of courthouse and lock-up at Penrith
1817 Issue of 1500-acre land grant to Sir John Jamison at Regentville
1819 Issue of land grants to Nathaniel Norton and John Blaxland
1825 Completion of Sir John Jamison’s Regentville and Henry Cox’s Glenmore properties
1832 New Act which made arrangements to finance road works through the use of tolls
1833 Act passed stipulating that minor roads be maintained at the expense of locals
1837 William Cox Senior dies
1840 End of convict transportation and major economic downturn. Completion of Edward Cox’s Fernhill and George Cox’s Winbourne
1844 Sir John Jamison dies
1848 Sydney Suburban Roads Act passed which made provision for roads nearer to Sydney
1849 Cumberland Roads Act extended trust system of roads management to include seven county districts including one for Penrith
1857 Mulgoa Valley affected by floods - stem rust affects local wheat crops
1863 Railway reaches Penrith
1863 19 September route of Mulgoa Road officially surveyed and proclaimed
1864 22 January route of Mulgoa Road confirmed
1871 Proclamation of Penrith Municipality
1890 Irrigation scheme in Mulgoa Valley commenced precipitating subdivision of large land grants into smaller blocks
1893 Proclamation of Mulgoa Municipality
1906 Compulsory formation of shires
1913 Integration of Mulgoa Municipality into newly formed Penrith Shire
1925 Formation of the Main Roads Board
1926 Annual Report (1936) indicates that Mulgoa Road has gravel surface
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Decentralisation of Administration of Main Roads Board to create six divisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Abolition of Main Roads Board and formation of Department of Main Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Formation of new DMR divisions including Metropolitan Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Annual Report (1936) indicates the Mulgoa Road surface is water bound macadam with tar and bitumen surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Creation of Outer Metropolitan Divisions 1 &amp; 2. No. 2 responsible for area including the Mulgoa Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940s</td>
<td>Section of Mulgoa Road south of Penrith straightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>DMR undertakes resurfacing trials on Mulgoa Road testing Portland cement, bitumen emulsion and quarry grit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>The Penrith Council reconsolidate the Mulgoa Road surface with bitumen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Outer Metropolitan Division of DMR renamed Parramatta Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Construction of bridge on Mulgoa Road to cross the new Great Western Freeway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Formation of Traffic Authority of NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Formation of Blacktown Division of DMR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2.3.1  STEP 3: THEMATIC WRITE-UP

The following themes adopted by the NSW Heritage Office are relevant to the consideration of the Mulgoa Road as an item of cultural heritage: Due to the strong linkages between a number of themes, their discussions have been amalgamated.

7.2.3.1.1 NSW Theme: Agriculture, Pastoralism and Industry

The Mulgoa Valley was an important centre of agricultural activity for the early colony. The formation of the Mulgoa Road is linked to the agricultural use of the Mulgoa Valley by the early landholders such as the Cox, Blaxland and Jamison families. This role has not changed, even to the present day, although the agricultural activities are vastly changed from those that the valley supported in the early nineteenth century.

The land along the alignment of the Mulgoa Road was initially used for the production of wheat and mixed crops. Early attempts to grow wheat in the area were met with mixed fortunes. The alluvial land along the Nepean River had all of the pretence of being agriculturally rich, and yields from previously unworked soils were typically good. However it was soon found that successive cropping would lead to a rapid depletion of soil nutrients, and therefore, ongoing crop failures. Outbreaks of wheat rust were an ongoing problem throughout the nineteenth century, with major crop failures in the area also reported after heavy rains in 1857 and again in early 1860s. That said, there were some obvious successes in the production of wheat. Men such as John and Gregory Blaxland and Thomas Jamison held an early monopoly on the local production of wheat, making it difficult for smaller landholders to compete and survive. This monopolistic situation was sustained until the arrival of Governor Macquarie to the colony in 1810, who quickly put an end to Government practices which supported the larger landholders at the expense of the smaller ones.

Attempts to grow barley and hops were also met with similar early disappointments. Maize or Indian corn fared better as a crop and tended to be planted by the owners of smaller estates.38

The Mulgoa Valley was a major centre for early colonial grazing activities. The importation of Merino sheep in 1797 provided an added boost to the success of these early activities. While men such as Samuel Marsden, at nearby Mamre’, and John Macarthur were the most successful of the early graziers, locals within the Mulgoa Valley, including Thomas Hobby who had 500 sheep by 1804, were quick to take up the successes of this industry.39 It is known that William Cox Senior had stocked his Clarendon estate at Richmond with 150 sheep bought from Samuel Marsden’s flock and also purchased Captain Waterhouse’s flock of Merinos from the Reliance.40 It is likely that other members of the Cox family also followed suit. Many of the early estates in the district raised sheep and cattle together and most were largely self-sufficient and therefore there was little pressure for large townships and their supporting infrastructure to evolve around them.

By the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, Sir John Jamison, the Blaxland brothers and the Cox family maintained some of the most significant pastoral estates in the colony. Many of which were focused around the Mulgoa Road. Access to the Nepean and its creeks and tributaries being an important requirement for the watering and washing of stock.

The completion of William Cox’s road across the Blue Mountains in 1815 enabled an unprecedented expansion of the pastoral activities of landholders of the Mulgoa Valley. Many of the early pastoral estates, including those of the Coxes, Sir John Jamison and the Blaxlands were to become the base for expanded pastoral enterprises west of the Great Divide. The

increased demand for fine wool and decrease in the costs of textile manufacture encouraged the pastoral boom of the 1830s, further cementing the fortunes of these families. The grazing of both sheep and cattle was typical, however some pastoral dynasties, namely the Blaxlands were principally involved in cattle raising. Stock was raised on the estates nestled around the Nepean and then typically driven across the mountains to larger land holdings to the west for grazing; later returning to the Cumberland Plain for fattening. Sheep, in particular, seemed to thrive in the drier western climate and therefore tended to remain in the west.

The properties of the larger landholders in the Mulgoa Valley, namely those of Sir John Jamison, the Coxes and John Blaxland were largely self-sufficient operations engaged in many diverse agricultural, pastoral and industrial activities. Sir John Jamison, for example, was reputedly one of the best and most prolific wine and brandy makers in the colony based on his Regentville harvests. Jamison was also a major supplier of meat and grain to Government stores and also sent regular consignments of wool to London. He was known to have a cloth mill on his property, as well as vineyards, a dairy, granary and orchards. Similarly, the Cox family, apart from their grazing activities, engaged in mixed farming, orcharding, dairying and viticulture and, by the end of the 1830s, they had employed several German vigneron to manage their local vineyards. John Blaxland was also involved in a diverse range of agricultural pursuits including a brewery and flourmill on his property near Wallacia.

Tenant farming was a popular activity in the area, with many of the larger landholders leasing their land for small-scale agricultural use. Many of the tenant farmers were original grantees to the land but had sold their land to the larger landholders subsequently leasing it back. Some of these leases were ‘clearing leases’ where farming rights were provided to the lessee in return for the clearing of land. Much of the arable alluvial land on Jamison’s Regentville property, for example, was leased to smaller tenant farmers. A wide variety of crops were grown by the tenant farmers including maize, which thrived on local the soils, and tobacco which was used for smoking and as a sheep wash.

The 1840s brought considerable social change to the area along the Mulgoa Road, as it did to the rest of the colony. In November 1840, the last convict ship arrived in Sydney and the private assignment of convicts ended. This had an impact on the large pastoral estates of the Nepean, which were heavily reliant on large convict labour forces to carry out their day-to-day operations. The area did see a corresponding influx of free settlers searching for new opportunities, however the increased cost of labour placed a new financial pressure on the wealthy pastoralists.

The pastoral boom, which continued throughout the 1830s, had slowed by 1840s, and was affected by significant widespread economic downturn. This along with the passing of men such as William Cox in 1837 and Sir John Jamison in 1844 also had a significant impact on the area and its prosperity. While some of the family estates remained intact, most had reduced acreage given the changed nature of agricultural development in the area, and the need to weather the economic downturn.

In 1890 an irrigation scheme was commenced in the Mulgoa Valley and land was subdivided into small farms as well as town blocks. The scheme was proposed by two speculative investors, George Chaffey, a pioneer of irrigation in the Mildura District and Sacramento, California and Henry Gorman, an ambitious estate agent. Land was released in quarter acre blocks and local amenities including a post-office, a hotel, known as the Irrigation Hotel, and new public hall were built along the Mulgoa Road. The depression of the early 1890s had a significant impact on the viability of this ambitious scheme, which, by the mid-1890s had failed. The failure of this scheme had a significant impact on the viability of the municipality and the outlook of its new breed of ambitious and hopeful settlers.
7.2.3.1.2 NSW Theme: Persons

The Mulgoa Road has a strong association with a number of key colonial families and individuals, interestingly each of these is not only strongly associated with this road, but also Cox’s Road over the Blue Mountains. Each of these associations is discussed in turn in the following sections.

The Cox Family

The Mulgoa Road is intimately associated with the Cox family, and most notably William Cox.

William Cox was born at Winbourne Minster in Dorsetshire, England, 19 December 1764. He joined the Wilts militia in 1793 at the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars and was subsequently appointed as lieutenant in the New South Wales Corp on September 28, 1797. Cox travelled to NSW in 1799 on the Minerva and was responsible for transporting a number of Irish Exiles who had been transported as political prisoners to escape the death penalty for their roles in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. One of the prisoners was Joseph Holt who Cox later employed due to his expertise in farming matters as an overseer for Cox’s agricultural operations. Holt was sentenced to the colonies due to his role as a leader in the rebellion.

By the time Cox had arrived in the colony he had earned a reputation for his organisational and managerial skills as well as of his fair treatment of the convict classes. This theme was to be reinforced through his successful management of the construction of Cox’s Road across the Blue Mountains as well as Cox’s other entrepreneurial endeavours.

Cox was accompanied to the colony by his wife, Rebecca, and his four youngest sons Charles, George, Henry and Frederick. Two of his other sons, William Junior and James, were still being educated in England, staying there until their education was complete. On arriving in the colony, Cox was appointed as Regimental Paymaster, replacing John Macarthur. He immediately began buying up land and livestock including the Merino flock from the Reliance. By 1801 Cox had purchased approximately 1,380 acres of land including Brush Farm, in the Field of Mars district, which he purchased from John Macarthur. Joseph Holt was to manage this property on Cox’s behalf. The Vineyard at Rydalmere was occupied by Cox in 1802 and was later taken up by Gregory Blaxland. Cox eventually settled in the Hawkesbury in 1804, building Clarence House.

Cox used his position as Regimental Paymaster to ensure ready finances for his ongoing land purchases. However his practice of borrowing Government funds to finance his activities was brought into question when in 1803 the regimental account was shown to be significantly in overdraft. This led to Cox’s suspension from military duties and a requirement, in 1807, to return home to England to answer charges relating to his bankruptcy. He was cleared of all charges due to a lack of evidence and was promoted to Captain. On returning to the colony however, Cox decided to resign his post to focus on his agricultural interests.

In 1809, Edward Cox, one of William’s sons, was granted 300 acres on the Mulgoa Creek; the property at Mulgoa was to be known as Fern Hill which took its name from the ancestral home of the Cox family ‘Fern Hill’ located between Poole and Wimborne, Dorsetshire. On this grant of land, William Cox began building one of the colony’s first houses of weatherboard and brick-nog construction, to be known as ‘The Cottage’ or ‘Cox’s Cottage’. The Cottage was constructed sometime between 1811 and 1814.

William Cox, in addition to his other extensive landholdings at Richmond, was granted 1,020 acres at Bringelly in 1816 and his son George was granted 600 acres in the area also in that year. The following year William Cox was granted a further 760 acres at Bringelly and in 1818 one of his other sons, Henry, was granted 400 acres.

During a period when Edward had returned home to England to make a study of the wool industry, Henry Cox and his wife, Frances McKenzie, daughter of the Secretary of the Bank of New South Wales lived at The Cottage while they built their own home, Glenmore (completed in 1825) further south along the Mulgoa Road. Edward Cox later lived at The Cottage with his bride Jane Maria Brooks from 1827 while they built their home, Fernhill (completed in the early 1840s).

Once the route to the west had been cleared, the Cox family properties both at Mulgoa and Richmond were to serve as a pastoral base for expanded enterprises west of the Great Dividing Range. One of the properties included in the ‘western operation’ was Hereford, a 2,000-acre block across the river from the Government township at Bathurst. Hereford was received by William Cox as part payment for his services in the construction of the Blue Mountains Road. The pastoral boom of the 1830s further cemented the fortunes of the Cox family. Stock was raised on their estates nestled around the Nepean and then cattle were driven across the mountains to larger land holdings to the west for grazing, later returning to the Cumberland Plain for fattening. Sheep seemed to thrive in the drier western climate and were fully grazed in the west.

William Cox and his sons were instrumental in the opening up of the Mulgoa Valley. An early Mulgoa Parish Map (AO 255) (see Figure 3) highlights that the Mulgoa Road, in its earliest alignment, was constructed as a means of connecting each of the Cox family properties, as well as connecting them to the ‘township of Mulgoa’ and the rest of the district via the Northern Road. The map highlights that the road followed a path from George Cox’s 600 acre land holdings near the present junction between the Nepean River and Jerrys Creek and the current township of Wallacia; through the various land grants of Henry and William Cox; past the Mulgoa public school and St Thomas’ Church; deviating into Edward Cox’s land where it joined the Kings Hill (now Kingshill) Road; and then onto The Northern Road. A number of the original homes of the Cox family, Fernhill, Glenmore, The Cottage (Fern Hill) and the remains of Winbourne stand dotted along the Mulgoa Road today.

Henry, George and Edward Cox were all prominent settlers in the Mulgoa district. George Cox and his wife, Frances McKenzie, daughter of the Secretary of the Bank of New South Wales built their property Glenmore in 1825 on George’s 1818 land grant of 400 acres. Glenmore, which was constructed of local sandstone, was a single-storeyed construction with two projecting wings to the rear. Two sets of French windows flank the main entrance and a number of attic rooms are nestled underneath a hipped-roof set off by two dormer windows. Glenmore is sited in the grounds of the present day Glenmore Golf Club located near one of the prominent bends in the Mulgoa Road. Towering pines flag the entrance to Glenmore from the Mulgoa Road.

The Cox family, and particularly Edward and George Cox were instrumental in assuring the construction of St. Thomas’ Church in Mulgoa. The need for a church was well recognised within the local community and George Cox was soon elected as secretary to raise funds for its construction. Edward Cox donated 5 acres for a church and burial ground, while George Cox donated 38 acres for the parsonage. The church was built between 1836 and 1838 by James Atkinson and William Chisholm and was designed by the Reverend Thomas Makinson. Jane Jamison, daughter of Sir John Jamison, laid the foundation stone for the church on 22 August 1836.

In the early 1840s Edward and George Cox completed their homes along the Mulgoa Road. Fernhill was constructed on Edward’s land grant on the western side of the Mulgoa Road

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43 Australian Encyclopaedia, Entry for Cox, William, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1958.
44 Archives Office Map No. 255 – Mulgoa Parish Map, No date. While this map is not dated, reference to land grant dates indicates that the map was likely drawn in the early 1820s. N.B. It is likely that St Thomas’ Church and the Mulgoa Public School postdate the drawing of AO Map 255 – Mulgoa Parish Map. These are both ‘drawn in’ by a different hand.
45 Quoted in http://www.angelfire.com/rnb/mrbirrell/pg000004.htm
between The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church for he and his wife Jane Maria Brooks. Fernhill was constructed in the Greek Revival style from locally hewn stone. Approximately twenty stonemasons were brought from Ireland to construct the home and its attendant buildings over a four-year period. Fernhill is aesthetically significant from both a built architectural perspective as well as from a landscape perspective. Its significance is further reinforced through its visual relationships with The Cottage and St. Thomas’ Church.

While most of the Cox family estates remained intact, many were reduced in size to weather the economic crisis of the 1840s. This in turn enabled the opening up of the area for smaller scale agricultural activities. After the economic downturn of the 1840s, Henry and his wife moved to Mudgee in an attempt to survive the depression: Glenmore was sold to T.S. Mort and then later to James Riley who was to become Penrith’s first Mayor in 1871. George remained at Winbourne and was succeeded by his son George Henry Cox who retained Winbourne until 1890 when economic depression and drought forced George Henry to sell the property.

Edward lived at Fernhill until his death in 1863 at which time, Fernhill and The Cottage passed to his son Edward King Cox who ran a racehorse stud, famous for breeding several Melbourne Cup winners, until his death in 1883. The house was later sold in 1888. The Cox family continued the pastoral tradition established by William Cox throughout the nineteenth century: during the first half of the century, using their properties along the Nepean as a base and in the latter half of the century, moving their operations to the western plains.

William Cox’s legacies in the Hawkesbury include the Windsor Court House (1821-22) and St. Matthews Rectory, Windsor (1823-25). However Cox is best remembered as a road builder, and particularly for his 101 mile long road from Emu Plains to Bathurst across the Blue Mountains, following the route discovered by Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson. The Blue Mountains Road was completed in just 27 weeks. Cox’s skills as one of the colony’s most important road builders have been memorialised through the ‘Cox Building’ in Canberra, which is occupied by the Federal Department of Transport, and named in honour of Australia's first road builder William Cox.

The Jamisons – Thomas and Sir John

To its northern extremity, the Mulgoa Road is associated with Thomas Jamison and his son and heir, Sir John Jamison.

Thomas Jamison was born in 1745 at Egmont, Cumberland. He was the son of an Anglican Rector. In 1777 Jamison joined the Royal Navy as a surgeon, sailing to Australia aboard the HMS Sirius as a surgeon’s mate in 1787. Jamison spent much of his early years in the colony on Norfolk Island as Surgeon-General of the colony. In 1801 he was the first to vaccinate children against smallpox and in 1804, published the colony’s first medical paper on the subject. In 1805, 1,000 acres of land near to present day Penrith were granted to Thomas Jamison. By 1807 Jamison had extended his landholdings in the area to 2,300 acres.

Jamison’s grant, as can be seen by Figure 2, lay immediately to the south of Captain Woodriffe’s grant as the land begins to slope down toward the Nepean River. The present day Regentville and Jamisontown, along the northern extremity of Mulgoa Road, are in the vicinity of Jamison’s original grant.

Like his son who followed him, Jamison was a colourful character in early colonial society and reputedly one of the principal instigators in the conspiracy against William Bligh. Thomas died in London in 1811 giving evidence pertaining to the rebellion against Bligh. His estate on the Nepean was left to his son, Sir John Jamison.

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Sir John Jamison arrived in Australia to take over his father’s Penrith landholdings in 1814. Between 1817 and 1822 he acquired additional lands by grant and purchase to increase his father’s original landholdings to 4,220 acres along the Nepean River. Like his father Thomas, Sir John Jamison was trained as a surgeon. In 1808 he travelled with the British fleet to the Baltic and was responsible for eradicating an outbreak of scurvy in the Swedish Navy. For his efforts, Charles XIII of Sweden conferred on him the order of Gustavus Vasa. In 1813, the Prince Regent on behalf of George III conferred upon Jamison the honour of knighthood also in recognition for his deeds.

Sir John Jamison was a highly influential figure in early colonial society. President of the Royal Agricultural Society and one of the founders of the Bank of NSW, Jamison amassed significant land holdings throughout the colony. In 1819, Governor Macquarie appointed Jamison as a magistrate for the District of Evan, which was to include Penrith and Mulgoa. Jamison was also the founder and president of the Sydney Turf Club (1825-27) and the Australian Racing and Jockey Club. In 1837 he was appointed to the Legislative Council and remained a member until 1843.

Construction of Jamison’s home, Regentville was commenced in 1823: the Sydney Gazette recording that a foundation stone had been laid on 9 September 1823. Regentville, which was completed in 1825, was reputed to be one of the most spectacular and lavishly appointed homes in the colony at the time. The house was constructed of sandstone quarried from the estate and marble ‘found nearby’. Peter Cunningham described the aesthetic majesty of the estate in 1828:

‘the river winding at a sluggish pace through this scene of exuberant fertility, and the abrupt woody range of the Blue Mountains behind it.’

Subsequent to the opening up of the west, Sir John Jamison had the bulk of his agricultural operations located on his property at Capertee. However his Regentville property still remained the centre of many diverse agricultural activities. Jamison, for example, was reputedly one of the best and most prolific wine and brandy makers in the colony, based on his Regentville harvests. A young Henry Parkes even worked for several months at the vineyard after he and his wife were robbed of their possessions on their way out of Sydney. Jamison was also a major supplier of meat and grain to Government stores and also sent regular consignments of wool to London.

Jamison made a significant contribution to the early agricultural development of the colony, but more specifically, to the Mulgoa and Penrith valleys. Jamison was known to have a cloth mill on his property, as well as vineyards, a dairy, granary and orchards. He also leased some of his land at Mulgoa to small tenant farmers. Many of the tenant farmers were original grantees to the land but had sold their land to the larger landholders, subsequently leasing back the land. Some of these leases were ‘clearing leases’ where farming rights were provided to the lessee in return for the clearing of land. Much of the arable alluvial land on Jamison’s Regentville property was leased to smaller tenant farmers. A wide variety of crops were grown by the tenant farmers including maize, which thrived on local soils, and tobacco which was used for smoking and as an insecticidal sheep wash.

After Jamison’s death in 1844, his widow and family continued to live at Regentville until probably the early 1860s despite an unsuccessful attempt to sell the house in 1847. The house was leased to Frederick Bell who spent 1500 pounds on repairs and on 6 May 1862 opened it as ‘a private asylum for insane and nervous patients’. The asylum does not appear to have

51 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville at HYPERLINK "http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/"
been successful and had ceased operation within two years. By 1865 John Shiels had taken over the lease and been granted a publican’s licence to operate as the Regentville Inn.

Figure 13: Regentville Penrith c.1840 (Artist Unknown)
Courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

This venture also appears to have failed and by 1869, Shiels was attempting to prematurely terminate his lease when on 22 May 1869 the house, ‘was willfully and maliciously set on fire by some person or persons unknown’.  

While the main Regentville house was burnt to the ground in 1869, significant archaeological remains of the house and its attendant buildings are still extant and are incorporated into the Mulgoa Nature Reserve. Four masonry gateposts located on the Mulgoa Road just beyond School House Creek mark the entrance to this once grand estate.

Other persons associated with the Mulgoa Road

Other persons associated with the Mulgoa Road include John Blaxland, brother of explorer Gregory Blaxland, who held significant landholdings in the Luddenham area and was an integral part of one of Australia’s largest pastoral dynasties; Thomas Hobby who was Cox’s assistant in the construction of the Blue Mountains Road; Richard Lewis, who was also a neighbour of the Cox’s and Hobby and appointed Chief Superintendent on the Blue Mountains Road; and James Byrne, also a neighbour, associated with the discovery of the route across the mountains, along with Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth, and later the construction of the Cox’s Blue Mountains Road. Further historical research is required to fully elucidate the associations between these men, their families, and the Mulgoa Road.

53 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville at http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/.
7.2.3.1.3 NSW Theme: Transport and Exploration

Initially transportation between the land holdings along the Nepean was primarily by river due to the difficulty of road transport. With the construction of Cox’s road over the Blue Mountains, and subsequently, the Main Western Road from Parramatta to Penrith, increasing reliance was given to the local road network. The emphasis was particularly on the movement of traffic on a north-south axis along the river. One of the first roads in the area to do this was the Northern Road (also known as The Cowpastures Road).

In 1813 Gregory Blaxland, William Lawson and William Wentworth set out to find a clear route west across the Blue Mountains. Their push west was strongly driven by a need to find further arable lands to enable expansion of their existing pastoral and agricultural pursuits. Four assigned convicts assisted the three explorers. One of whom, James Byrne, had previously assisted the botanist George Caley in a failed attempt to cross the mountains. James Byrne was granted a parcel of 100 acres for his services in the vicinity of the Mulgoa Road, William Cox was to become one of his neighbours.

Once Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth had identified a clear route over the mountains, Governor Macquarie commissioned the road to approximate the route taken by the three explorers and their assistants. Governor Macquarie appointed William Cox, a former Captain in the NSW Corps, with a convict workforce of 30 men to construct a road that was ‘at least 12 feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease’54 from Emu Plains to Bathurst. At about this time, Cox had just completed construction of a fine weatherboard and brick-nog construction, ‘The Cottage’ on his son Edward’s 1809 Mulgoa land grant ‘Fern Hill’.

Cox’s Road across the Blue Mountains has a strong association with the people of the Mulgoa Valley and those who lived along the Mulgoa Road from its earliest times. Cox, for example, used a number of Mulgoa residents on the construction of the road. Thomas Hobby, a neighbour of the Cox’s, for example, was Cox’s assistant on the project. Richard Lewis, who was also a neighbour of the Cox’s and Hobby, was the appointed as Chief Superintendent. James Byrne, also a neighbour, was associated with the identification of the route across the mountains and was also later involved in the construction of the road. Accompanying Macquarie on his inspection tour of the completed Blue Mountains Road was Sir John Jamison, also a local resident.

The construction of “Cox’s Road” was perhaps the most significant engineering achievement of the colony to date and solidified Cox’s reputation as a road builder. Once Cox had completed the Blue Mountains road, he commenced building a road from Emu Ford back to Parramatta. Work commenced on the road back to Parramatta in 1815 and was completed that same year.

William’s sons George, Henry and Edward were each granted parcels of land along the Mulgoa Road in the vicinity of their father’s landholdings. The Mulgoa Road, in its earliest alignment, followed a path from George Cox’s 600 acre land holdings near the present junction between the Nepean River and Jerrys Creek and the current township of Wallacia; through the various land grants of Henry and William Cox; past the Mulgoa public school and St Thomas’ Church; deviating into Edward Cox’s land where it joined the Kings Hill (now Kingshill) Road; and then onto The Northern Road. It is likely that this alignment was built in the early 1820s and most likely at the direction of William Cox, possibly with the assistance of his neighbours, Hobby, Lewis and Byrne.

The road served to connect the area near the present township of Wallacia and the township of Mulgoa to the Northern Road. Further historical research is required to determine when the southern, early, section of the Mulgoa Road joined with the lands to the north near to Sir John

Jamison’s landholdings, however it is likely that this occurred at this time of the subdivision of the large rural holdings of Jamison and the Cox family, subsequent to the economic downturn of the 1840s and the passing away of William Cox and Sir John Jamison, also around this time. It is known that the alignment of The Mulgoa Road was officially surveyed and proclaimed on 19 September 1863, with its route confirmed on 22 January 1864.

As the area became subdivided and developed, a more direct route following the river was found, this saw the continual realignment of the road to meet the changing demands of its users. In addition, to the removal of hairpin bends and straightening in other locations to facilitate safer and faster travel, the road was also subject to ongoing resurfacing. Until 1926 the road was primarily constructed of gravel, but by 1936 it had been reconstructed with water bound macadam with a tar and bitumen surface.

With the changing land uses in the area and increasing reliance on motor vehicles, the Main Roads Board, and it successor the Department of Main Roads, focused on the ongoing upgrade of the main road network. For the Mulgoa Road, particularly to the south of Regentville, this first involved the incorporation of tracks and minor roads into a main road and then subsequently in the 1940s and 1950s, the realignment and resurfacing of the road to facilitate better travel. Some bypassed sections were sold to adjacent landholders, whereas the RTA has retained others. Figure 12 and Plans 1 to 4 in Appendix A show the proposed alignment changes to the Mulgoa Road to remove hairpin bends and improve the conditions of the road.

As a transport corridor, the road is also of technological importance, being the subject to a number of surfacing experiments. In 1953 the Department of Main Roads undertook earthworks, gravel pavement and bitumen surfacing of the road. This provided the opportunity to test a number of available surfacing techniques. Portland cement, bitumen emulsion and quarry grit were trialed as potential surfaces for the road. Obviously bitumen was the preferred choice, because by 1955 Penrith Council had the road resurfaced with bitumen. A review of the Mulgoa Road over this thirty-year period, neatly demonstrates the evolution of road surfacing techniques adopted in NSW.

7.2.3.1.4 NSW Theme: Towns, Suburbs and Villages

A review of the history of the Mulgoa Road reveals its importance in facilitating the development of the townships of Mulgoa and Wallacia. The township of Mulgoa is focused, in its development, around the early alignment of Mulgoa Road. AO Map 255 (Figure 3) highlights the early settlement of Mulgoa with St Thomas’ Church (c.1836) and the Mulgoa Primary School (c.1883), located between the properties of the Cox family and the Northern Road. In its earliest alignment, the road provided a vital link for the large estates of the Mulgoa Valley.

The Mulgoa Valley, for the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated by the large rural estates of the Cox family, as well as John Blaxland (to the southern extremity and to the east) and Sir John Jamison (to the northern extremity). A number of smaller properties, namely those of William Cox’s assistants in the construction of the Blue Mountains Road, lay nestled between the estates of William Cox and his sons. The significant land holdings of the Cox, Jamison and Blaxland families were largely self-sufficient, with granaries, dairies, vineyards, mixed use gardens, blacksmiths and other workshops. Because of this, there were few catalysts for towns like Mulgoa and Wallacia to develop. One such catalyst, however, was the church.

In 1827, the first Anglican service was held in a barn near 'The Cottage' at Mulgoa; it was preceded over by the Reverend J.S. Hassall, the nephew of the Reverend Samuel Marsden. The need for a church was well recognised within the local community and George Cox was

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soon elected as secretary to raise funds for its construction. Edward Cox donated 5 acres for a church and burial ground, while George Cox donated 38 acres for the parsonage. The church was built between 1836 and 1838 by James Atkinson and William Chisholm and was designed by the Reverend Thomas Makinson.

The township of Wallacia at the southern end of the Mulgoa Road is located on George Cox’s 600-acre land grant near to the junction of the Nepean River and Jerrys Creek. Indeed the Mulgoa Road, in its earliest alignment, and to the present day, commenced at this location. It is likely that Mulgoa and Wallacia received their greatest impetus for development, subsequent to the break up of the large estates of the Cox, Blaxland and Jamison families in the 1840s. The successes and affluence of the early nineteenth century for the Mulgoa Valley were not necessarily repeated in the later half of the century. In 1890 an irrigation scheme was commenced in the Mulgoa Valley with land being subdivided into small farms as well as town blocks. Many small ambitious farmers took up the opportunity provided by the scheme. The scheme however, was a failure, which had an adverse impact on the area and the outlook of its new breed of ambitious and hopeful settlers.

This failure was further compounded by decisions made in 1893 to proclaim Mulgoa as a Municipality. Terry Kass notes that the proclamation of the Mulgoa Municipality created, ‘a small area with few financial resources and a striking inability to maintain the roads’. One positive influence on the economy of the Mulgoa Valley in the early twentieth century was the development of a number of ‘health resorts’ and guest houses along the Mulgoa Road, the most notable being at Winbourne which operated from 1914 to 1920. Despite these mixed fortunes, during the nineteenth century, the Mulgoa Valley, and the Mulgoa Road which winds it way from the valley’s end to end is one of the most aesthetically and architecturally rich areas within the State.

7.2.3.1.5 NSW Theme: Leisure

The Mulgoa Road has an association with early twentieth century leisure activities. In 1912 a weir across the Nepean River was constructed at Wallacia, this provided enhanced local opportunities for activities such as boating and fishing. This opportunity was seized upon by business man Thomas Campbell who leased George Cox’s Winbourne mansion for the purpose of providing select guest house accommodation. The notoriety of the Winbourne Guest House and its apparent success encouraged the development other similar enterprises along the Mulgoa Road. A number of renown guest houses were established along the Mulgoa Road during the early half of the twentieth century including: Fernhill; Claremont; The Wattles; Glenroy; Nirvana; Pasadena and Gundemar.

One issue of note in the management of these guest houses was the provision of access from the rail station at Penrith. Passenger services by way of car and coach were provided to holiday travellers. The roads through the Mulgoa Valley were noted to be in a poor state, with holidaymakers, particularly during heavy rains, being required to get out of their vehicles and walk to their destination despite the mud.

58 From Linda Mahony, Doug Mahony, Kevin Whieldon and Stephanie Walsh, Mulgoa! Mulgoa! Where is That!, 1988, p.53.
Figure 14: Advertisement for Winbourne Holiday Resort. The Mulgoa Road was home to many guest houses in the early twentieth century which provided a new source of needed revenue to the Mulgoa Valley.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ From Linda Mahony, Doug Mahony, Kevin Whieldon and Stephanie Walsh, Mulgoa! Mulgoa! Where is That?, 1988, p.53.
7.2.3.1.6 NSW Theme: Environment – Natural

The Mulgoa Road follows the alluvial contour of the Nepean River, which is bounded on its western side by the Great Dividing Range and World Heritage Listed, Blue Mountains National Park. While the road has been subject to some realignment, in its current form it follows the natural contours set by this renowned river valley. While obviously travelling through altered natural environments, the Mulgoa Road retains much of its natural setting with stands of native vegetation, including the tall eucalypts which gracefully flank the road, particularly around St Thomas Church, evoking a strong appreciation of the area in its most natural and pristine form.

On its eastern boundary the road passes by important natural environments, with the gazetted Mulgoa Nature Reserve skirting the eastern side of the road at Regentville. The Mulgoa Nature Reserve contains rare geological formations, important native flora and fauna as well as the archaeological remains of Sir John Jamison’s property Regentville.

7.2.3.1.7 NSW Theme: Environment – Culturally Evolved / Cultural Landscape

The Mulgoa Road and its surrounding environs demonstrate both strong biodiversity values as well as important cultural and landscape values. The current landscape highlights the historic use of the area by prominent early colonial families including the Cox and Jamison families for agricultural purposes. The continued existence of the early homes (or their remains) of these families dotted along the extent of the road is highly evocative of the former use of both the road as a means of linking these early nineteenth century homes as well as providing a means of access to the growing township of Penrith and the rest of the region.

In the State Heritage Register listing for Edward Cox’s Fernhill it is noted that in regard to the combined impact of the three properties, Fernhill, The Cottage and St. Thomas’ Church:

‘the landscape is exceptionally significant in its own right irrespective of the buildings, and is as important as the architectural, historic and visual relationships of the buildings themselves. This group of three sites retain their original visual relationship to each other and demonstrating the ambitions and changes in wealth and status of an important early colonial family (the Coxes) from 1810-1880s. The landscape between the Cottage, the Church and Fernhill has remained virtually unaltered since the 1850s. This landscape is a unique piece of evidence of a very rare attitude in the mid-nineteenth century towards the natural environment’. 60

It is the opinion of the author of this report that the Mulgoa Road is also an important component of this landscape group. The road, which in itself has aesthetic merit, is an important component of this landscape group serving to unite the more formal landscape components of the Cox family homes and St Thomas’ Church. The fact that this visual relationship exists, largely unaltered, to the present day reinforces the importance of the Mulgoa Valley as a significant historical landscape of which the road is an important part.

The Mulgoa Valley has retained its essentially rural character and, with its outstanding examples of early nineteenth century architecture and landscapes the Mulgoa Road provides an important thread that links all of these elements together.

The importance of the Mulgoa Valley and indeed the road that winds through it, has also been recognised through Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 which precludes any development from occurring including the:

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60 NSW Heritage Office, State Heritage Register, Database No. 5045436.
‘...upgrading or strengthening of Mulgoa Road required to maintain the safety and efficiency of Mulgoa Road’ if it ‘detracts from the present rural character and function of Mulgoa Road’.  

Figure 15: Photograph of a former alignment of the Mulgoa Road (now St. Thomas’ Road). Flanked by stands of eucalypts and paddocks of grazing cattle, this early section of the Mulgoa Road resonates with aesthetic and historic qualities and is an important element in a culturally rich landscape. 

61 Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 – Mulgoa Valley, particularly clause 15.
7.2.3.2 STEP 4: PRIORITISE THEMES

The key themes associated with the Mulgoa Road in order of priority are:

- NSW Theme: Pastoralism
- NSW Theme: Persons
- NSW Theme: Environment – Culturally Evolved / Cultural Landscape
- NSW Theme: Transport
- NSW Theme: Exploration
- NSW Theme: Agriculture
- NSW Theme: Towns, suburbs and villages
- NSW Theme: Environment – Natural
- NSW Theme: Leisure

7.2.3.3 STEP 5: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION A – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN THE COURSE, OR PATTERN, OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mulgoa Road played an important role in the opening up of land along Nepean River in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is strongly and intimately associated with early pastoral activities in the colony particularly those associated with William Cox and his sons; Sir John Jamison; and John Blaxland, whose properties were located along the extent of this road. In its earliest alignment, the road served as a vital thread between the pastoral estates of the Cox family. Once William Cox had completed construction of the road across the Blue Mountains these estates were to serve as a base for extensive pastoral activities to the west of the Great Divide and played an important role in the agricultural development of the State, and indeed, the nation.

7.2.3.4 STEP 6: CONSIDER 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

AND

7.2.3.5 STEP 7: WRITE UP MAJOR ASSOCIATIONS

The Mulgoa Road has a strong association with a number of key colonial families and individuals, interestingly each of these is not only strongly associated with this road, but also Cox’s Road over the Blue Mountains.

*The Cox Family – William Cox and his sons*

The Mulgoa Road has strong association with the Cox family, most notably William Cox and his sons Edward, George and Henry Cox.

In 1809, Edward Cox was granted 300 acres on the Mulgoa Creek; the property at Mulgoa was to be known as *Fern Hill* which took its name from the ancestral home of the Cox family 'Fern Hill' located between Poole and Wimborne, Dorsetshire. On this grant of land, William Cox began building one of the colony’s first houses of weatherboard and brick-nog
construction, to be known as 'The Cottage' or 'Cox's Cottage'. The Cottage was constructed sometime between 1811 and 1814.62

William Cox, in addition to other extensive landholdings at Richmond, was granted 1,020 acres at Bringelly (Mulgoa) in 1816 and his son George was granted 600 acres in the area also in that year. The following year William Cox was granted a further 760 acres at Bringelly and in 1818 one of his other sons, Henry, was granted 400 acres.

Henry, George and Edward Cox were all prominent settlers in along the Mulgoa Road. Once the route to the west had been cleared, the Cox family properties both at Mulgoa and Richmond were to serve as a pastoral base for expanded enterprises west of the Great Dividing Range. The pastoral boom of the 1830s further cemented the fortunes of the Cox family. Stock was raised on their estates nestled around the Nepean and then cattle were driven across the mountains to larger land holdings to the west for grazing, later returning to the Cumberland Plain for fattening. Sheep seemed to thrive in the drier western climate and were fully grazed in the west.

Early maps of the district indicate that the road was probably constructed to link each of the Cox family properties as well as to link them these properties to the township of Mulgoa, and to the rest of the region via the Northern Road. A number of the original homes of the Cox family, Fernhill, Glenmore, the Cottage (Fern Hill) and the remains of Winbourne still stand dotted along the Mulgoa Road today.

George Cox and his wife, Frances McKenzie, daughter of the Secretary of the Bank of New South Wales built their property Glenmore in 1825 on George’s 1818 land grant of 400 acres. Glenmore, which was constructed of local sandstone, is sited in the grounds of the present day Glenmore Golf Club located near one of the prominent bends in the Mulgoa Road. Towering pines flag the entrance to Glenmore from the Mulgoa Road.

In the early 1840s Edward and George Cox completed their homes along the Mulgoa Road. Fernhill was constructed on Edward’s land grant on the western side of the Mulgoa Road between The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church for he and his wife Jane Maria Brooks. Fernhill was constructed in the Greek Revival style from locally hewn stone. Approximately twenty stonemasons were brought from Ireland to construct the home and its attendant buildings over a four-year period. Fernhill is aesthetically significant from both a built architectural perspective as well as from a landscape perspective. Its significance is further reinforced through its visual relationships with The Cottage and St. Thomas’ Church.

The Cox family, and particularly Edward and George Cox, were instrumental in assuring the construction of St. Thomas’ Church in Mulgoa. The need for a church was well recognised within the local community and George Cox was soon elected as secretary to raise funds for its construction. Edward Cox donated 5 acres for a church and burial ground, while George Cox donated 38 acres for the parsonage.63 The church was built between 1836 and 1838 by James Atkinson and William Chisholm and was designed by the Reverend Thomas Makinson.

While most of the Cox family estates remained intact, many were reduced in size to weather the economic crisis of the 1840s. This in turn enabled the opening up of the area for smaller scale agricultural activities. After the economic downturn of the 1840s, Henry and his wife moved to Mudgee in an attempt to survive the depression: Glenmore was sold to T.S. Mort and then later to James Riley who was to become Penrith’s first Mayor in 1871. George remained at Winbourne and was succeeded by his son George Henry Cox who retained Winbourne until 1890 when economic depression and drought forced George Henry to sell the property.

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63 Quoted in http://www.angelfire.com/rnb/mrbirrell/pg000004.htm
Edward lived at Fernhill until his death in 1863 at which time, Fernhill and The Cottage passed to his son Edward King Cox who ran a racehorse stud, famous for breeding several Melbourne Cup winners, until his death in 1883. The house was later sold in 1888. The Cox family continued the pastoral tradition established by William Cox throughout the nineteenth century: during the first half of the century, using their properties along the Nepean as a base and in the latter half of the century, moving their operations to the western plains.

Thomas and Sir John Jamison

To its northern extremity, the Mulgoa Road is associated with Thomas Jamison and his son and heir, Sir John Jamison.

In 1805, 1,000 acres of land near to present day Penrith were granted to the colonial surgeon Thomas Jamison. By 1807 Jamison had extended his landholdings in the area to 2,300 acres. Jamison’s grant, as can be seen by Figure 2 lay immediately to the south of Captain Woodriffe’s grant as the land begins to slope down toward the Nepean River. The present day Regentville and Jamisontown, along the northern extremity of Mulgoa Road, are in the vicinity of Jamison’s original grant.

Like his son who followed him, Jamison was a colourful character in early colonial society and reputedly one of the principal instigators in the conspiracy against William Bligh. Thomas died in London in 1811 giving evidence pertaining to the rebellion against Bligh. His estate on the Nepean was left to his son, Sir John Jamison.

Sir John Jamison arrived in Australia to take over his father’s Penrith landholdings in 1814. Between 1817 and 1822 he acquired additional lands by grant and purchase to increase his father’s original landholdings to 4,220 acres along the Nepean River. Like his father Thomas, Sir John Jamison was trained as a surgeon and was a highly influential figure in early colonial society. President of the Royal Agricultural Society and one of the founders of the Bank of NSW, Jamison amassed significant land holdings throughout the colony.

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Jamison made a significant contribution to the early agricultural development of the colony, but more specifically, to the Mulgoa and Penrith valleys. Jamison was known to have a cloth mill on his property, as well as vineyards, a dairy, granary and orchards. He also leased some of his land at Mulgoa to small tenant farmers. Many of the tenant farmers were original grantees to the land but had sold their land to the larger landholders, subsequently leasing back the land. Much of the arable alluvial land on Jamison’s Regentville property was leased to smaller tenant farmers. A wide variety of crops were grown by the tenant farmers including maize, which thrived on local soils, and tobacco which was used for smoking and as an insecticidal sheep wash.

66 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville at HYPERLINK "http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/"
After Jamison’s death in 1844, his widow and family continued to live at Regentville. In 1847 the family made an unsuccessful attempt to sell the house, remaining there until probably the early 1860s. The house was leased to Frederick Bell who spent 1500 pounds on repairs and on 6 May 1862 opened it as ‘a private asylum for insane and nervous patients’. The asylum does not appear to have been successful and had ceased operation within two years. By 1865 John Shiels had taken over the lease and been granted a publican’s licence to operate as the Regentville Inn.

This venture also appears to have failed and by 1869, Shiels was attempting to prematurely terminate his lease when on 22 May 1869 the house, ‘was willfully and maliciously set on fire by some person or persons unknown’. 67

While the main Regentville house was burnt to the ground in 1869, significant archaeological remains of the house and its attendant buildings are still extant and are incorporated into the Mulgoa Nature Reserve. Four masonry gateposts located on the Mulgoa Road just beyond School House Creek mark the entrance to this once grand estate.

Other Associations

Other persons associated with the Mulgoa Road include John Blaxland, brother of explorer Gregory Blaxland, who held significant landholdings in the Luddenham area and was an integral part of one of Australia’s largest pastoral dynasties; Thomas Hobby who was Cox’s assistant in the construction of the Blue Mountains Road; Richard Lewis, who was also a neighbour of the Cox’s and Hobby and appointed Chief Superintendent on the Blue Mountains Road; and James Byrne, also a neighbour, associated with the discovery of the route across the mountains, along with Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth, and later the construction of the Blue Mountains Road. Further historical research is required to fully elucidate the associations between these men, their families, and the Mulgoa Road.

7.2.3.6 STEP 8: PRIORITISE ASSOCIATIONS

The Mulgoa Road is strongly associated with the following persons in order of priority:

1. The Cox Family, notably William Cox and his sons Edward, Henry and George Cox.

2. Sir John Jamison, and to a lesser extent, his father Thomas Jamison.

7.2.3.7 STEP 9: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIVE SIGNIFICANCE UNDER 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

The Mulgoa Road is significant through its association with William Cox and his sons Edward, George and Henry. The road, in its earliest alignment, was built to connect the four estates of these men and to provide a route between their respective properties and the rest of the colony. Once the route to the west was provided, with the completion of William Cox’s Road across the Blue Mountains, these estates were to serve as the base for the significant pastoral enterprises of the Cox family. The Mulgoa Road, no doubt, played an important role in facilitating these early pastoral activities.

The road, which winds between the early land grants of the Cox family was obviously sited by the family, not only to facilitate access, but also to enhance the aesthetic linkages between each of the Cox properties which have been so obviously sited to enjoy each other’s visual amenity. The family’s appreciation of the principles of landscape design has been well

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67 Wilson, A and The Centre for Historical Archaeology, University of Sydney, Historical Archaeological Investigations at Regentville at http://acl.arts.usyd.edu.au/research/regentville/.
reflected in the siting and alignment of this road which is a key element in the Mulgoa Valley landscape.

The Mulgoa Road also has associative significance to Sir John Jamison whose estate, Regentville, was located on the northern extremity of the road. Like the Cox family estates, Regentville was to provide an early base for Jamison’s pastoral activities west of the Great Dividing Range. Regentville also played a significant role in the agricultural development of the Penrith and Mulgoa valleys with its cloth mill, granary, orchards and vineyard.

The Mulgoa Road has high associative significance with Australia’s first road builder, William Cox and his sons Edward, Henry and George Cox. The road also has moderate significance with the activities of Sir John Jamison.

7.2.3.8 STEP 10: CONSIDER CRITERION C - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW

AND

7.2.3.9 STEP 11: WRITE UP MAJOR AESTHETIC AND TECHNICAL QUALITIES

The Mulgoa Road is capable of demonstrating both aesthetic and technical qualities which add to its significance as a heritage item.

Aesthetic Qualities

The road is an integral component of an important cultural landscape which incorporates the architecturally significant properties of: The Cottage, built by William Cox; Fernhill built for Edward Cox; and St Thomas’ Church. Other important elements of this landscape include the ruins of Sir John Jamison’s stately home, Regentville; the former homes of other members of the Cox family, including George Cox’s Winbourne (remains) and Henry Cox’s Glenmore; as well as other important early homes of the region including Fairlight and Glenleigh. The road also passes by land of important ecological value: The Mulgoa Nature Reserve, which is bounded on the west by Mulgoa Creek and on the east by the Glenmore Park Estate, contains important and rare geological formations, important native flora and fauna species as well as the Regentville ruins.

St. Thomas’ Church which is a critical element of the Mulgoa Valley landscape is described by Helen Proudfoot as ‘as one of the most romantic rural churches in New South Wales’.68 Proudfoot goes on to say, the church,’... is important both for its superb landscape value and because it is the only extant example of a reasonably intact late 1830s Gothic Revival rural Anglican Parish church.’69

Fernhill which was constructed on Edward Cox’s land grant on the western side of the Mulgoa Road between The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church has been described as possibly ‘the finest extant Greek Revival temple house in NSW’.70 In addition to its undisputed architectural merit, Fernhill is also exceptionally important because of its landscape significance. The landscape at Fernhill reflects the mid-nineteenth century English landscape school’s approach to the construction of romanticised ‘natural environments’, and particularly the teachings of Thomas Shepherd. Included in the formal elements of the Fernhill landscape, are its vistas to The Cottage and St Thomas’ Church as well as the inclusion of ornamental bridges, water features and bands of native trees. Indeed, Fernhill may be unique in that it

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70 State Heritage Inventory for Fernhill, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5045436.
may be the only remaining example of an Australian garden designed along English landscape principles which relied solely on the use of indigenous species.  

Edward Cox’s appreciation for the aesthetics of both the built and natural environment is also well reflected in the homes of his brothers and father. This appreciation is not just reflected in the Cox family properties in their own right, but also as a significant landscape group. The siting of St Thomas’ Church, Fernhill and The Cottage, with their strong visual relationship to each other reinforces this family’s appreciation of landscape design. The State Heritage Register listing for Edward Cox’s Fernhill notes that in regard to the combined impact of the three properties, Fernhill, The Cottage and St. Thomas’ Church:

‘the landscape is exceptionally significant in its own right irrespective of the buildings, and is as important as the architectural, historic and visual relationships of the buildings themselves. This group of three sites retain their original visual relationship to each other and demonstrating the ambitions and changes in wealth and status of an important early colonial family (the Coxes) from 1810-1880s. The landscape between the Cottage, the Church and Fernhill has remained virtually unaltered since the 1850s. This landscape is a unique piece of evidence of a very rare attitude in the mid-nineteenth century towards the natural environment’.  

The fact that this visual relationship exists, largely unaltered, to the present day reinforces the importance of the Mulgoa Valley as a significant historical landscape. It is the opinion of the author of this report that the Mulgoa Road is also an important component of this landscape group. The road, which in itself has aesthetic merit, serves to unite the more formal landscape components of the Cox family homes and St Thomas’ Church.

Numerous artists have captured the aesthetic qualities of the Mulgoa Road and the landscape of which it is an integral part from the early colonial period to the present. Rebecca Martins pencil sketch of the Mulgoa Valley shows the Mulgoa Road winding through the picturesque landscape of the Mulgoa Valley flanked by a three-railed post and rail fence and the tall timbers of the local eucalypts (see Figure 5). Similarly C. Cox’s (c.1830) Fernhill, Mulgoa, showing the Mulgoa Road with St Thomas’ Church in the background image reflects the parkland like landscape of the Mulgoa Valley, with the road acting as a thread, linking the more formal architectural elements of the landscape together (see Figure 6). Margaret Preston’s The Red Road to Mulgoa (1944) (see Report Cover) again focuses on the inherent beauty of the road with its rich red and ochre soils winding its way through the tall eucalypts which flank the sides of the road and overshadow the essentially rural post and rail fences which define the road.

The importance of the Mulgoa Valley and indeed the road that winds through it, has also been recognised through Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 which precludes any development from occurring including the:

‘…upgrading or strengthening of Mulgoa Road required to maintain the safety and efficiency of Mulgoa Road’ if it ‘detracts from the present rural character and function of Mulgoa Road’.  

The Mulgoa Valley has retained its essentially rural character and, with its outstanding examples of early nineteenth century architecture and landscapes, the Mulgoa Road provides

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71 State Heritage Inventory for Fernhill, State Heritage Inventory Database No. 5045436.
72 NSW Heritage Office, State Heritage Register, Database No. 5045436.
73 Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 – Mulgoa Valley, particularly clause 15.
an important thread that links all of these elements together. The continued existence of the early homes (or their remains) of important colonial families dotted along the extent of the road is highly evocative of the former use of both the road as a means of linking these early nineteenth century homes as well as providing a means of access to the growing township of Penrith and the rest of the region. The meandering of the road to follow the natural contours of the alluvial footprint of the river adds to the aesthetic and experiential qualities of the road. The road’s location, situated within the shadow of the majestic Nepean Gorge, only further accentuates these aesthetic qualities.

**Technical Qualities**

The Mulgoa Road is capable of demonstrating distinct technical qualities relating to road construction and surfacing.

Maps of the Parish of Mulgoa (including AO Map 255) highlight that the earliest alignment of the Mulgoa Road followed a roughly south – north path from George Cox’s land grant (Winbourne) near to present day Wallacia; through the various land grants of Henry Cox (Glenmore) and William Cox; past the Mulgoa public school and St Thomas’ Church; deviating into Edward Cox’s land (Fern Hill) where it joined the Kings Hill (now Kingshill) Road; and then onto The Northern Road.

Further historical research is required to determine when the southern, early, section of the Mulgoa Road was joined with the lands to the north near to Sir John Jamison’s landholdings, however it is likely that this occurred at this time of the subdivision of the large rural holdings of Jamison and the Cox family, subsequent to the economic downturn of the 1840s, and the passing away of William Cox and Sir John Jamison, also around this time. It is known that the alignment of The Mulgoa Road was officially surveyed and proclaimed on 19 September 1863, with its route confirmed on 22 January 1864.

As the area became subdivided and developed, a more direct route following the river was found, this saw the continual realignment of the road to meet the changing demands of its users. In addition, to the removal of hairpin bends and straightening in other locations to facilitate safer and faster travel, the road was also subject to ongoing resurfacing. Until 1926 the road was primarily constructed of gravel, but by 1936 it had been reconstructed with water bound macadam with a tar and bitumen surface.

As a transport corridor, the road is also of technological importance, being the subject to a number of surfacing experiments. In 1953 the Department of Main Roads undertook earthworks, gravel pavement and bitumen surfacing of the road. This provided the opportunity to test a number of available surfacing techniques. Portland cement, bitumen emulsion and quarry grit were trialed as potential surfaces for the road. Obviously bitumen was the preferred choice because, by 1955, Penrith Council had the road resurfaced with bitumen. A review of the Mulgoa Road over this thirty-year period, neatly demonstrates the evolution of road surfacing techniques and attitudes to road design and construction adopted in NSW.

**7.2.3.10 STEP 12: PRIORITISE SIGNIFICANT AESTHETIC/TECHNICAL ATTRIBUTES**

The Mulgoa Road demonstrates:

1. Significant aesthetic landscape qualities. The particular aesthetic qualities of the Mulgoa Road are most significant in that section of road to the south of the Great Western Freeway and, more specifically, in the vicinity of St Thomas’ Church, The Cottage and Fernhill.

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It is likely that St Thomas’ Church and the Mulgoa Public School postdate the drawing of AO Map 255 – Mulgoa Parish Map. These are both ‘drawn in by a different hand.’
2. Significant technical qualities recording the evolution in road construction and road surfacing techniques from the 1820s to the present date. These technical qualities can best be demonstrated through physical observation, supplemented by documentary sources, relating to the entire line of road.

In both circumstances the realigned and former sections of the road are important to the understanding of the line of road’s significance. St Thomas’ Road, for example, which was formerly a part of the Mulgoa Road prior to being by-passed, is a critical element of the road particularly in terms of its aesthetic significance. As such, St Thomas Road should be treated as part of the Mulgoa Road in considering its significance and long-term management of the road as a heritage asset.

7.2.3.11 STEP 13: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION C - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW

The Mulgoa Valley has retained its essentially rural character and, with its outstanding examples of early nineteenth century architecture and landscapes, the Mulgoa Road provides an important thread that links all of these elements together. The continued existence of the early homes (or their remains) of important colonial families dotted along the extent of the road is highly evocative of the former use of both the road as a means of linking these early nineteenth century homes as well as providing a means of access to the growing township of Penrith and the rest of the region. The meandering of the road to follow the natural contours of the alluvial footprint of the river adds to the aesthetic and experiential qualities of the road. The road’s location, situated within the shadow of the majestic Nepean Gorge, only further accentuates its significant aesthetic qualities.

The Mulgoa Road, which has been subject to a number of realignments and resurfacing experiments, is capable of demonstrating the evolution of road surfacing techniques and attitudes to road design and construction adopted in NSW across a one hundred and eighty five year period. The entire line of road, including the former sections of the road which have been removed as a consequence of realignment, are all integral components which add to the technical significance of this line of road.

7.2.3.12 STEP 14: CONSIDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS A STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

AND

7.2.3.13 STEP 15: WRITE UP MAJOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Further community and stakeholder consultation is required to fully assess the item under this criterion. However it is clear from undertaking this exercise that the local community and indeed the broader community including heritage practitioners and urban planners hold the Mulgoa Valley and its landscape in high esteem.

This esteem is well reflected in the Mulgoa Valley Regional Environmental (REP) No. 13 which precludes any development from occurring, including the:

‘...upgrading or strengthening of Mulgoa Road required to maintain the safety and efficiency of Mulgoa Road’ if
it ‘detracts from the present rural character and function of Mulgoa Road’.75

Further testament to the esteem that the local community holds for the road and the landscape of which it is an integral part can, in fact, be inferred from the care that has been taken to preserve the essentially rural character of the landscape and key elements of that landscape including the St Thomas’ Church, Fernhill and The Cottage. All of these elements have been well protected and conserved or preserved by the local community.

An analysis of the Community Representations Report for REP 13 would, no doubt, provide good insight into the views of the local community regarding this stretch of road.

7.2.3.14 STEP 16: PRIORITISE THE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the absence of more extensive consultation, the following preliminary priorities are identified:

1. The Mulgoa Road is recognised by the community as an integral part of the historical landscape of the Mulgoa Valley;
2. The Mulgoa Road in itself is recognised by the local community to have important aesthetic qualities which are reflected in the retention of vistas to and from the road and protection of key landscape elements along the road; and
3. The Mulgoa Road has a social association with leisure activities which occurred within the Mulgoa Valley in the early half of the century.

7.2.3.15 STEP 17: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP IN NSW FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

The Mulgoa Road is an important element in the historical landscape of the Mulgoa Valley. This landscape appears to be held in high esteem by the local community who have sought to protect the essentially rural character of the area as well as to protect, preserve and enhance its key landscape elements.

7.2.3.16 STEP 18: CONSIDER CRITERION E – AN ITEM HAS THE POTENTIAL TO REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mulgoa Road has the capacity to reveal new information which may provide a greater insight into early pastoral activities in the colony and more specifically, the pastoral activities of the Cox family who used this road for access between their respective estates. Further research is required to provide an understanding of the road’s role in the early pastoral activities, perhaps through Cox family papers.

Being subject to a number of realignments and resurfacing trials in the twentieth century, the Mulgoa Road also has the capacity to reveal further information about attitudes to road design and construction as they progressed through the century. This information will be found in the physical fabric of the road as well as documentary evidence, road files etc, which outline the proposed road modifications.

75 Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 – Mulgoa Valley, particularly clause 15.
7.2.3.17 STEP 19: WRITE UP THE WAYS THAT THE LINE OF ROAD CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

AND
7.2.3.18 STEP 20: PRIORITISE THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mulgoa Road has the capacity to reveal new information about:

1. Early pastoral activities within the colony, and specifically, the activities of one of the great pastoral dynasties, the Cox family; and

2. Evolving attitudes and knowledge relating to road design and construction over the twentieth century.

7.2.3.19 STEP 21: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION E - THE POTENTIAL THE LINE OF ROAD HAS TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Significant sections of the Mulgoa Road and the landscape of which it is an integral part, have remained relatively unaltered throughout the twentieth century. The road provided an important route from the early pastoral estates of the Cox family to the rest of colony. The documentary and physical evidence related to the road itself, may serve to provide further information about the pastoral activities of the Cox family and early colonial pastoralism, more generally.

The line of road, as it was proclaimed in 1863, was the product of the incorporation of tracks and minor roads into a main road. Over time the road was realigned including the removal of hairpin bends and straightening in other locations to facilitate safer and faster travel. The road was also subject to ongoing resurfacing experiments. The physical and documentary relating to the Mulgoa Road has the capacity to reveal further information about attitudes to road design and construction as they progressed throughout the twentieth century.

7.2.3.20 STEP 22: CONSIDER CRITERION F – AN ITEM HAS UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mulgoa Road, within the context of the greater Sydney Metropolitan Region, provides an uncommon insight into nineteenth century pastoralism. The Mulgoa Valley has remained relatively unaltered, despite some subdivision, and still evokes the essential character of the nineteenth century rural landscape. Key vistas that the Cox family sought to achieve in the construction of their homes have been preserved. This is largely uncommon within the Sydney basin due to the large amount of urban development which has occurred. Many similar former estates have become isolated within and endless sea of housing and industrial developments.

AND

7.2.3.21 STEP 23: WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT ARE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

7.2.3.22 STEP 24: PRIORITISE THE WAYS THE LINE OF ROAD CAN DEMONSTRATE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED
ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mulgoa Road, and the landscape of which it is an essential part, are capable of evoking an appreciation for the nineteenth century rural landscape and early pastoralism within the Sydney basin.

7.2.3.23 STEP 25: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION F - AN ITEM HAS UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The landscape of the Mulgoa Valley has remained relatively unaltered despite some subdivision of the larger rural estates and realigning of the Mulgoa Road. As such, the area is capable of evoking an appreciation for the nineteenth century rural landscape and early pastoral activities within the Sydney basin. This, largely unaltered, rural landscape is uncommon within the Sydney basin due to the ongoing encroachment of urban development. The protection of these significant characteristics therefore, is vital.

7.2.3.24 STEP 26: CONSIDER 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

The Mulgoa Road is capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of the nineteenth century pastoral landscape.

The road also provides an excellent case study for the evolution in attitudes and knowledge relating to road design and construction from the 1820s to the present.

AND

7.2.3.25 STEP 27: WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES

7.2.3.26 STEP 28: PRIORITISE THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF ROAD THAT DEMONSTRATE THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES

The Mulgoa Road is capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of:

1. The nineteenth pastoral landscape; and
2. The evolution in road design and construction techniques across the twentieth century.

7.2.3.27 STEP 29: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION G – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL ENVIRONMENTS

The Mulgoa Road, along with the landscape of which it is an element, are capable of demonstrating the essential character and functional requirements (ie access) of the nineteenth century pastoral estate.

The road, which was first constructed circa 1820 by the Cox family, has slowly evolved to its present state. The road resulted from the incorporation of numerous rural trails and roads and
has subsequently been subject to a number of realignments to remove hairpin bends and to straighten various sections. The road has also been subject to a number of resurfacing experiments during the twentieth century. The physical and documentary evidence relating to the road is capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of the evolution of road design and construction crossing two centuries.

7.2.3.28 STEP 30: UNDERTAKE FIELD RESEARCH

A field visit was undertaken and documentary and photographic evidence collected. In addition to the main road, drains, culverts and former alignments were identified and inspected. After the field visit the preceding steps were modified.

7.2.3.29 STEP 31: REVISE DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

Documentary research was revised as a result of the field trip.

AND

7.2.3.30 STEP 32: REVISE DOCUMENTARY BASED ASSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The documentary based assessments of significance have evolved over the preparation of this report. Statements of significance for each of the seven NSW heritage Office criteria have been updated in the respective sections accordingly.

7.2.3.31 STEP 33: PREPARE A SINGLE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Mulgoa Road is an important historic line of road that served to provide access to the rural estates of the early settlers of the Mulgoa Valley. The road has strong association with the family of William Cox, the builder of the first line of road across the Blue Mountains. It has high historic and high associative significance.

Meandering through rural properties of the Mulgoa Valley, the road, which in itself has aesthetic merit, is an important component of a landscape group serving to unite the more formal landscape components of the Cox family homes, St Thomas’ Church and other early homes of the region. A strong visual relationship between The Cottage, Fernhill and St Thomas’ Church and the Mulgoa Road exists, largely unaltered, to the present day. This visual relationship reinforces the importance of the Mulgoa Valley as a significant historical landscape of which the road is an important part. The earlier alignments of the Mulgoa Road, some of which now form local streets, are an integral part of the significance of the road, as they demonstrate the process of evolution of the route from a private access road to the main road that it currently is. These early alignments are also an important historical component of the route that was formed to link each of the pastoral estates of the Cox family.

The Mulgoa Valley has retained its essential rural character and, with its outstanding examples of early nineteenth century architecture and landscapes the Mulgoa Road provides an important thread that links all of these elements together.

7.2.4 Discussion

This particular example was selected because the road, which winds through landscapes strongly associated with early nineteenth century pastoral activities, has been subject to a number of realignments. The early line of the road can however, still be clearly read in the landscape. Some of these realignments currently present themselves as local streets. This issue itself is of interest in the identification and management of lines of road as heritage items. These local streets are an integral component of Mulgoa Road in its earliest alignment
and hence are integral to the significance of the item. The management of Mulgoa Road, including its previous alignments, as an item of cultural significance raises issues about how the item should best be recorded if it were to be included in the RTA section 170 Register and indeed how it should be managed given that the jurisdiction of management includes both the RTA, Penrith City Council and perhaps local landholders.

7.2.4.1 Outcomes and Limitations

This assessment has been prepared within certain time and budgetary constraints. Approximately thirty-five hours was spent on the preparation of this report: 15 hours in background research, 3 hours in site inspections and 17 hours in report preparation. The background research was confined to reviewing secondary sources and readily available parish maps. A more comprehensive assessment of this line of road would require a more extensive review of:

- Pictorial sources such as early artwork;
- The papers relating to the Cox family and Sir John Jamison;
- RTA road files; and
- Consultation with the community along the Mulgoa Road as well as the families of early settlers along the road.

Given the number of steps to be undertaken and a determination to stick to the realistic timeframe of 30 hours, the author regretfully spent more time on the initial assessment phases and, as a consequence, spent insufficient time on the preparation of the Statement of Significance. Insufficient time was also allocated to the analysis of the twentieth century history of the road. It is the author’s opinion that models such as the one trialed in this study should not be overly prescriptive, allowing the assessor sufficient flexibility to amalgamate steps and adapt the process on a case by case basis to ensure that the end goal, that is, the assessment of the item’s significance is best met. The model, should serve to assist in the process of assessment, rather than constrain it.
7.2.5  Resourcing

7.2.5.1  Hours and costs
A total of thirty hours was spent on the review of the Mulgoa Road. No additional costs were incurred.

7.2.5.2  Sources

7.2.5.2.1  Primary
Archives Office Map 255 – No date
Archives Office Map (NO. Unknown) - 1926
Sydney Regional Environmental Plan No. 13 – Mulgoa Valley, particularly clause 15.

7.2.5.2.2  Secondary
HRA, Series 1, Vol. III.

7.2.5.2.3  Electronic
NSW Heritage Office, State Heritage Register, Database No. 5045436.

7.2.6  Appendix A  Maps and Plans
7.3 Mount Victoria Pass
7.3 Mount Victoria Pass

7.3.1 Introduction

This particular example has been put forward because of the complexities it presents for the assessment and management processes for lines of road. These can be briefly summarised as:

- The road is one of several roads that have attempted to tackle the western descent of the mountains and can be viewed as part of a suite or complex of roads that are capable of demonstrating important aspects of NSW history.

- Management of the Pass as a heritage item and its interpretation to the public would need to be done in consultation and possibly collaboration with the owners of these other roads.

- Associated with the road are remains of the infrastructure built to accommodate and sustain the convict workforce which are on private land, management and interpretation would also need to be undertaken in consultation with private property owners.

- Victoria Pass together with the other associated roads, convict sites and other early travel sites along, and in the vicinity of, the western descents from the Blue Mountains, forms a significant cultural landscape. As an example it enables this particular type of heritage item classification and the discussion on cultural landscapes and cultural routes to be elucidated. Although components of this landscape could be assessed through the lens of the built item category type or the archaeological type category, the physical and historical associations of the conglomeration of these items coalesce to form a cultural landscape within a broader setting that also includes significant natural landscapes whose values have been recognised in the World Heritage Listing of the Blue Mountains of which the area nominated forms part of the western boundary.

- The array of evidence at hand allowed the opportunity to indicate the quantity and type of sources pertinent to roads that can be drawn on in the heritage assessment process.

- The extensive source material at hand allowed a fairly detailed assessment that allowed the articulation of the reasons for the place’s significance to be drawn out in relation to the NSW historic themes more convincingly than if only a shallow secondary sourced based assessment was undertaken.

- The assessment process also allowed a demonstration of the potential complexity of an assessment on such an old and complex site.
7.3.2 The Assessment

7.3.2.1 STEP 1: IDENTIFICATION & DESCRIPTION OF THE LINE OF ROAD

The descent of the Blue Mountains via Mitchell’s Pass at Mount Victoria is part of the Great Western Highway, which extends from Parramatta to Bathurst. It is one of a number of routes that have tackled the difficult descent from the Blue Mountains to the western plains of NSW. Other lines with which it has an association are Bell’s Line of Road, Cox’s Line, Lockyer’s Line, Lawson’s Long Alley, and Berghofers’ Pass. The curtilage for this assessment while focussed on Victoria Pass from the intersection of Mount York Road at the top of the pass to Little Hartley at the bottom is roughly an arc which encompasses Mount York Rd, Mount York, and Bell. Victoria Pass is also associated with the site of the former Mount Victoria stockade located at the bottom of the pass on private land; the convict wells adjacent to Mount York Road, Collitt’s Inn and other sites in the vicinity associated with the convict period. By itself, but more importantly with these other sites, Victoria Pass is part of a complex of sites of exceptional heritage significance in NSW and Australia. It is associated with, and can demonstrate, the historic themes of transport, technology, convicts, government and administration and cultural landscapes.

Research questions:

When was the road built?

Why was it built?

Who built it?

Why was this particular line of road followed?

How was it built?

What can particular design or construction qualities can it demonstrate?

Did its construction present any particular technical difficulties?

How does it relate to the development of the region?

What role does it play in the landscape?

How does it relate to the other lines of descent?

What is the physical extent of its influence?

How has this road changed/remained constant over time?

How has it been viewed by contemporary and past communities?

Has the road played a part in defining communities’ sense of place and self?

What kinds of journeys and exchanges has the road facilitated?

Can an interrelation between these journeys and exchanges and the physical nature of the road be understood?
7.3.2.2 STEP 2: HISTORICAL RESEARCH & THEME IDENTIFICATION

(To be appended to the assessment report on completion of the process.)

1813 - 1820

By 1813 most arable land in the Cumberland Plain had been occupied and with increasing pressure from a land hungry population, compounded by shortages due to drought and a caterpillar plague, there was an urgency to finding a means across the mountain barrier to the west of the Hawkesbury-Nepean. In 1813 a wealthy free settler Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth the native born son of surgeon D’Arcy Wentworth and Lieutenant William Lawson formerly of the NSW Corps and latterly of the NSW Veterans Company, and four servants crossed the continuous ridge from Emu Plains to Mount York, that runs between the Cox and Grose Rivers. It was Lawson’s skills as a surveyor that enabled the route to be accurately mapped and re-traced. Later in the year, Assistant Surveyor George Evans, accompanied by five servants, including James Byrnes, who had been on the previous expedition, confirmed the route.¹

Construction began on a road suitable for drays and stock roughly following this route in July 1814. Governor Macquarie ordered William Cox a former Captain in the NSW Corps with a convict workforce of 30 men to construct a road that was ‘at least 12 feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease’.² Construction involved the blazing of trees along the alignment, cutting and clearing and then grubbing the stumps. The road was graded and bridges and culverts constructed where necessary. The tools used were axes crowbars, block and tackle, gunpowder, augers and irons.³ Cox described the Mount York descent as ‘... going down steep between immense large boulders, when it opens with a very steep gully in front, and towards the left it falls off so steep that it is with much difficulty that a person can get down it at all.’

The road Cox constructed was ‘such as a cart can go down empty or with a very light load without a possibility of its being able to return with any sort of load whatever’, it was all that could be achieved with the resources available.⁴ Cox’s diary recording this feat survives, providing details of the construction process and the difficulties experienced by he and his men. The surviving evidence, both physical and documentary, enables the technical achievement to be appreciated in detail (and in situ) with the working and living conditions of Cox and his convict laborers able to be readily evoked by the place.⁵

NSW Historic Themes: Convict; Migration; Agriculture; Commerce; Communication; Environment- Cultural Landscape; Exploration; Pastoralism; Technology; Transport, Labour; Government and Administration; Creative Endeavor; Persons.

³ Croft & Associates in assoc. with Meredith Walker, Blue Mountains Heritage Study Final Report, 1982, p.34.
⁴ Cox's Journal, Nov.3, in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.1, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, p.44.
The 1820s

The difficulties presented by the precipitous Mount York descent resulted in an alternative line known as Lawson's Long Alley being constructed by William Lawson c.1823-24. Augustus Earle’s View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period. Examined in conjunction with various traveler’s accounts it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (see Figure A). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins 1822 account of travelling with her husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road, she wrote of gathering the ‘resolution’ required to embark on the descent, something to eat and a ‘drop’ of wine, and of the men cutting down trees to chain behind the drays. In walking down, the route appeared to be ‘impossible’. Mrs Hawkins and her mother had to carry the youngest child wearing long dresses which made keeping a footing difficult.⁶

In another attempt to ameliorate the difficulties of the crossing Archibald Bell, the son of a former ensign in the NSW Corps, acting on the advice of an Aboriginal woman from the interior, followed an established Aboriginal route across the mountains as far as Mount Tomah from Richmond, and later succeeded in finding a descent and travelled through to the Coxs River in September 1823. Almost immediately Surveyor Hoddle was sent to confirm the route with five assistants and two Aboriginal guides. Although steep and dangerous in parts, Hoddle assessed the line as being superior to Cox’s Line and less hazardous. Preparations were made for construction of a road using convict labour, however the line as constructed was difficult for vehicular traffic and after the opening of Victoria Pass in 1832, Bell’s Line fell into sparse localised use with through traffic being largely associated with the movement of stock.⁷

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⁶ Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins letter to her sister in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.II, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, pp.24-25.

Figure A: Augustus Earle’s View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. The convicts working on the line of road are under the supervision of a member of the Veteran’s Corps who were dismissed in 1827 because of endemic corruption in their dealings with the gangs. This image is related to the NSW historic themes of convict, labour, government and administration, technology, transport and environment - cultural landscapes. (National Library).
In the later half of the 1820s Governor Darling formed the Roads and Bridges Department to administer the establishment of a permanent road system extending from Sydney to the north, west and south. These roads were the major infrastructural developments of the period and were made necessary by the movement of colonists to the Hunter, Bathurst and Goulburn areas and beyond. Such undertakings demanded not only considerable surveying and engineering skills but also a great deal of hard physical labour. From 1826, in New South Wales, male convicts who re-offended were banished to a remote road gang to work, in irons, on roads and bridges. An Assistant Surveyor was appointed to supervise and administer work on each of the three major roads and a convict overseer was allocated to each gang. Further refinements were made when the new Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, Major Edmund Lockyer directed in 1828 that each iron gang should consist of up to sixty men and be supervised by a principal overseer and three assistants. A ‘Road Party’ on the other hand was to consist of fifty un-ironed men supervised by a principal overseer and two assistants. Bridge parties were to consist of twenty-five well behaved and skilled men under the supervision of a single overseer. The hierarchical system was designed to both punish and reward via promotion accompanied by privileges and release from irons and demotion and additional sentencing including flogging. It was an attempt by Darling to dovetail the requirements of the penal system with the demands of an increasingly free society.

In response to a reward of a grant of land offered by Governor Darling to the discoverer of an improved line of descent, Hamilton Hume in 1827 recommended a new line from the mountains to Bathurst, via (later) Hartley Vale, off Bell’s Line. Investigating this proposal, Acting Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell recommended another route which avoided Mount Blaxland and descended Mount York not far from Cox’s Pass.

Major Edmund Lockyer was then set to the task of overseeing the construction of this new line work, on which continued across 1828 and into 1829. Known as Lockyer’s line it required ‘considerable cutting and infilling and heavy masonry retaining walls, side drains and culverts’. Meanwhile, in 1828 Thomas Mitchell succeeded Oxley as Surveyor-General and in 1829 official responsibility for road and bridge works (and the convict road gangs) were transferred to him when Lockyer’s position was abolished when he refused to accept a reduced salary. Road construction activity, iron gang policies and the administration of the roads department that led to the construction of the Blue Mountains descent via Mount Victoria derived from the interaction between Mitchell, Darling and Darling’s successor as Governor, Richard Bourke. Progress on the Western Road was slow and convict resistance included sabotaging the works and the application of the ‘government stroke’, i.e., the least amount of work necessary to avoid punishment, such as lifting a pick and merely letting it fall. Further, the security requirements themselves inhibited efficient construction processes.

**NSW Historic Themes:** Convict; Migration; Agriculture; Commerce; Communication; Environment- Cultural Landscape; Exploration; Pastoralism; Technology; Transport; Utilities, Labour; Government and Administration; Creative Endeavour; Persons.

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The 1830s

After an inspection of Lockyer’s Line in early 1830 Governor Darling complained that there was ‘considerable deviation from the direction intended’ and expressed his concern that the road was difficult for heavy drays. Mitchell was requested to correct the situation.  

12 Best practice in road making 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, while 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 formations wherever possible, but ultimately the line was a matter of compromise between practicality and cost.  

13 An examination of historic maps showing the variously proposed lines of road demonstrates the theory in practice. Today it is possible to traverse these routes to gain an understanding of the concerns of the time and to assess the validity of the arguments (and the motivations) of the chief proponents of various routes, inevitably providing comment on the competencies of the colonial administration and the nature of colonial society. Mitchell was adept at using any argument that would suit his purpose and justify his decisions, but as can be seen in Figure B he had a strong preference for straightness and this was the principle that dominated in laying out the line of road.

Road making as an engineering skill had been developing across the early years of the nineteenth century in Great Britain and a number of House of Commons committees had investigated means of improving road design and construction. In 1819 Thomas Telford gave evidence to a Select Committee which emphasised the need for drainage, minimum convexity and the use of cuttings to avoid steep gradients. John MacAdam advocated the use of drains and culverts and in agreement with Telford, graduated layers of broken, angular stones rising to the surface. With no institute for the training of road engineers in England, it is probable that civil engineers in this field were trained on the job, and the colonial surveyors engaged on the roads were no exception. Percy Simpson adopted MacAdam’s principles on the Great North Road in 1828 and Assistant Surveyor Lambie, who supervised work on the Western Road in 1831 had worked with MacAdam in Great Britain. Assistant Surveyor Elliot, who also worked on the Western Road, had been recommended by Thomas Telford. David Lennox who was engaged to design the bridge over the Coxs River at the site of the stockade had been trained by Telford.  

14 The appearance of MacAdam’s Remarks on the Present System of Road Making in 1824 may have also have contributed to broader understandings of the process and may explain the very pointed and informed comments and criticisms exchanged between Governors Darling and Bourke, the Surveyor-General and his assistants. The arguments put forward by the Surveyor-General Mitchell to Governor Darling concerning the superiority of the Mount Victoria descent over that at Mount York reflect an awareness of current thinking in England concerning the principles of laying out a line of road. Charles Darwin, who travelled along the Western Road in January 1836 noted the MacAdam

12 SR NSW: Col. Sec to S.G. Letters to SG, Land Board, 4/3907, pp.31-33. R. 3015.
principles employed in the colony. The various descents from the mountains plus other remnants of the various lines of road are able to demonstrate the implementation of these theories as they were applied in the colony and can comment on the sophistication of public works in relation to that which was under implementation in Great Britain and elsewhere and in doing so make a comment on the nature of colonial society in relation to other societies around the world. Was NSW a mere dumping ground for UK felons or was it a sophisticated emerging new society at the forefront of advance in technology?

In April 1830 the focus of work on a western descent from the mountains was still Mount York where gangs were engaged making repairs to rain damaged sections of road. In May, Mitchell, following Darling’s instruction of January, re-examined the route and decided on yet another line of road ‘along the tongue southward of Mount York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge.’ Despite being under instruction from the Governor to mark out the entire line, and to seek approval prior to commencing work, Mitchell ordered Assistant Surveyor Elliot, the surveyor responsible for supervision of the Western Road works, to immediately move No. 2 and No. 6 iron gangs from Mount York to commence on the new descent. Meanwhile, Mitchell continued toward Bathurst marking the new line of road (see Figures B and C). In a detailed report dated 23 June 1830 Mitchell informed Governor Darling of the new line of road from the Vale of Clwydd to Bathurst and of the alternative to the Mount York descent, which he had named Mount Victoria. Mitchell requested that Clement Doughty, a convict who had assisted him in marking the entire line, be appointed as an overseer at Mount Victoria where work had commenced.

The change in plan came as a surprise to Darling and a bitter dispute arose, Darling insisted that the new descent of Mount York to Collitt’s Inn be completed and the work at Mount Victoria discontinued. Mitchell was instructed to complete the line of descent from Mount York to Collitt’s and reminded that he should have waited ‘for the necessary authority’ before moving the iron gangs from Mount York. Mitchell quickly challenged the authority of Darling over areas that Mitchell considered to be part of his jurisdiction. Replying from Collitt’s Inn, he argued that the new line of descent at Mount Victoria was superior to that down Mount York and would not be superseded. Mitchell pointed out that prior to his taking responsibility for the colony’s roads (and bringing his considerable skills to the task), years of labour had been spent on two lines of road to Bathurst, including forty miles of line cleared by mistake, with the result being an ill-laid out road, and a descent from Mount York which had yet again collapsed. He argued that the Mount Victoria descent had to be adopted because it was shorter, less steep and would be cheaper than the other less satisfactory alternatives. Noting that he had been placed in charge of the Roads Department by the Secretary of State, Sir George Murray, Mitchell stated that if he was required to abandon the new works then he

17 Mitchell, Diary entry, 4 June 1830 cited in William C. Foster, Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and his world, 1792-1855, The Institute of Surveyors, Sydney, 1985, p.140.
wanted the matter referred to the British Government for adjudication. It was a protracted debate in which Mitchell optimistically (and falsely) claimed the descent of Mount Victoria could be practicable by October. He further claimed that the current swampy route via Mount Blaxland was nearly impassable and ten miles longer. In defiance of the Governor, Mitchell continued the work at Mount Victoria and finally in September 1830 Darling capitulated and gave permission for the Mount Victoria descent.

Darling and Mitchell, the two most powerful bureaucrats in the colony, had enormous scope for disagreement. The new descent from Mount Victoria, while promising to be of an improved gradient, also entailed expensive cutting and the formation of enormous walls and Darling was under pressure from the British administration to keep the costs of the convict system, then under sustained attack in Great Britain, to a minimum. He was concerned with the waste of effort and funds that had already been expended on modifying the line from Mount York. While this aspect of the saga was being played out, in an attempt to curb Mitchell, Darling on 7 July 1830, appointed Assistant Surveyor Nicholson as supervisor of the Department of Roads and Bridges and issued instructions that surveyors were to take instruction from Nicholson, rather than Mitchell. With Mitchell having only obtained control of Roads and Bridges in January, he was incensed at the appointment and successfully appealed to the British authorities and with the backing of Viscount Goderich who succeeded Sir George Murray as British Secretary of State for the Colonies, control of the Road Branch reverted back to Mitchell in mid 1832.

From Darling’s point of view Mitchell was a megalomaniac, wishing to control roads, land grants, exploration etc. Darling felt Mitchell was jealous of any of his staff getting credit, and justified his 7 July 1830 order on the basis that Nicholson, who was employed to work in the Road Department of the Surveyor-General could not get out of the office to view and report on work and that no information on the progress of road works was available in Mitchell’s absence. According to Darling it was a convict overseer, Clement Doughty who was instructed by Mitchell as to the construction of the new line, despite the presence of an assistant surveyor on the spot. Darling felt this was because Doughty was unlikely to take any of the glory from Mitchell. On October 25 Darling ordered the dismissal of Doughty due to the rearrangement of the Roads Department, but Mitchell appealed and Doughty’s employment at Mount Victoria was extended until the end of the year when the work there was expected to be more advanced. Doughty’s career however was relatively short lived in

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25 William C. Foster, Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell and his World 1792-1855, Sydney, Institution of Surveyors NSW Inc. 1985, pp.140-142.
1833, when stationed at the Assistant Surveyor’s depot at Mount Clarence he was convicted of a violent rape at Bowens Hollow and subsequently sentenced to death in the NSW Supreme Court. The evidence at the trial depicts a violent and abusive character, who without provocation knocked down his assigned servant with several blows, and repeatedly kicked her while using abusive language. Two hours later he came into the kitchen with only his shirt on, tore Ellen’s clothes off and raped her. It’s surprising that such a violent character was so strongly endorsed by Mitchell and that he was in a position of authority on the roads.\footnote{SR NSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and other papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T 35, No.24; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and depositions, 1824 - 1856, CGS 880, T.157.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure_b.png}
\caption{Sketch showing the different Lines of Road descending from the Blue Mountains towards Bathurst, 1830 indicates Mount Victoria, Major Mitchell’s marked line as far as the River Lett, the old road down Mount York and the current descent from the mountains near Darling’s Causeway. This plan which was clearly generated within the context of the Darling-Mitchell dispute shows the alternative gradients of the descent between points A-C (behind Collitt’s as insisted on by Darling) and A-B (by Mount Victoria as demanded by Mitchell). This image relates to the NSW historic themes of transport, technology, communication, and environment- cultural landscape (T.L. Mitchell, Report upon The Progress Made In Roads and in the Construction of Public Works in New South Wales From the Year 1827 to June 1855 by Colonel Sir T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General, Government Printer, Sydney, 1856).}
\end{figure}
Figure C: This illustration of 31 July 1830 shows the new line of road at Mount Victoria after being cleared of trees. This view should be compared with those in figures D and E to gain an idea of the extent of cutting and road work required to build the pass. This image relates to the NSW Historic themes of technology, transport, convicts, and environment - cultural landscape (T.L. Mitchell, Report on the New Line of Road Toward Bathurst, 29 November 1827, in Report upon The Progress Made In Roads and in the Construction of Public Works in New South Wales From the Year 1827 to June 1855 By Colonel Sir T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General, Government Printer, Sydney, 1856).
**Figure D:** This idealised view of Victoria Pass has been attributed to Mitchell, c. 1831 - suggesting that this was his vision (plan) for the Pass, rather than the reality at the time. This image relates to the NSW Historic themes of technology, transport, convicts, and environment - cultural landscape (Dixson Library, State Library of NSW).
**Figure E:** This view of Victoria Pass, by Surveyor William Romaine Govett is called *Accident on the Road at Victoria Pass*. It depicts a surveyor with his theodolite and a member of the military guard, a dray tumbling over the wall and a convict road party toward the top of the Pass. This image relates to the NSW Historic themes of technology, transport, convicts, and environment - cultural landscape (Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW).
Figure F: Conrad Martens drew this sketch of winching equipment on the wall at Mount Victoria, c. 1838. It provides evidence of the construction techniques and equipment then in use. This image relates to the NSW Historic themes of technology, transport and convicts (Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW).
In March 1831 the iron gangs at Mount Victoria were placed under military guard and huts for soldiers were erected and occupied. Mount Victoria was to be the focus of works.\textsuperscript{32} In May, the Colonial Secretary complained to Nicholson, the Surveyor of Roads, that:

‘...the square formed by the Huts of the Road Gangs at Mount Victoria is so large as to facilitate the escape of the prisoners... you will immediately cause the dimensions of the Square, and the number of the Huts to be reduced to the accommodation necessary for two hundred men as these gangs will receive no accession to this number...’.\textsuperscript{33}

The old road at this time was practically impassable and Governor Darling, who was still side-lining Mitchell, instructed Nicholson, to open the new line of road between Mount Victoria and Bathurst as soon as practicable and to perfect it later.\textsuperscript{34} In November instructions were received to construct a commissary and commissariat residence at Mount Victoria.\textsuperscript{35} Archaeological remains of these structures are extant on private property at the foot of Mount Victoria and are an important component of the history of the road’s construction with the potential to yield information related to living and working on the road from the point of view of convicts, overseers, surveyors and the military.

Despite their recent construction, by February 1832, the officers and prisoners quarters and huts at Mount Victoria were in a very poor state and needed repair.\textsuperscript{36} In April Nicholson, the Surveyor of Roads, based at Parramatta, visited Mount Victoria and inspected a breach in the wall formed by the upper drainage having been neglected and later prepared construction drawings and explained these to Assistant Surveyor Lambie who was in immediate charge of the works.\textsuperscript{37} By May, with major work on the Great North Road completed, preparations were underway to march the iron gangs from Wisemans Ferry to Mount Victoria.\textsuperscript{38} The condition of the buildings remained a continuing bug-bear for the assistant surveyors overseeing the road works, in June, the military (who guarded but did not supervise or guide works) complained that:

‘The huts composing the square from the manner in which they are constructed afford no greater security than those of the Common Road Gangs beside the sloping situation of this ground a facility to the prisoners getting on the Roofs of the Huts forming the lower side of the Square from which they can easily drop down outside and in a dark night may escape unperceived by the sentries. I therefore respectfully recommend that Palisading similar to that at Coxs River be erected at Mount Victoria...’.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{32} SR NSW: Col. Sec., Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 3 Jan 1831 - 31 Mar 1832, 4/3935, pp. 40/43, R.3002;
\textsuperscript{33} SR NSW: Col. Sec., Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 1831 - 1832, 4/3935, p.80 R.3002
\textsuperscript{34} SR NSW: Col. Sec. to John Nicholson 17 May 1831, Col. Sec., Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 1831 - 1832, 4/3935, p.75 R.3002; SG, Letters Received from Surveyors, 2 Jan 1830 - 25 July 1831, 2/1561.2. R.3080.
\textsuperscript{35} SR NSW: Col. Sec., Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 1831 - 1832, 4/3935, p.203 R.3002
\textsuperscript{36} SR NSW: Col. Sec., Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 1831 - 1832, 4/3935, p.241 R.3002
\textsuperscript{37} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 14 Feb1832-22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, p.48, R. 3080.
\textsuperscript{38} SR NSW: SG, Copies of letters sent to Col. Sec., 7 Jun 1831- 17 Nov 1832, 4/5398, p. 407, R.2839.
\textsuperscript{39} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1548, p.32, Reel 3072.
Palisading around the Mount Victoria camp was approved in July but with only three more weeks of work anticipated, Nicholson decided not to proceed as the men were about to be moved to No. 2 Stockade Coxs River. No 20 road party (an un-ironed gang) could finish the Mount Victoria wall and perfect the work.\textsuperscript{40} It was hoped that the road would be passable by mid August. A portion of a cutting on the Sydney side was reported to have been 14ft wide but was only 12 ft and had to be widened, Nicholson reported on the difficulties if implementing the work:

‘... this augmentation of work, together with the extra Huts and Barracks for the Military at Mount Walker will I trust be in such forwardness by Saturday fortnight that the Iron Gangs can move, some interruption has also been occasioned by the military requiring that the Men shall work on bodies of twenty five each, whereby a piece of work (a drain for instance) at which but six men can work causes nineteen to be idle; but as the safe custody of the Men appears to be of such primary importance I trust to be able to remedy this obstacle in a great measure by attaching a certain number of men out of Irons to the Iron Gang to do such work as requires detached bodies.

Great obstructions still exist from want of Tools, which renders the estimating the period for the completion of any work difficult..

I beg to forward also for your approbation a Requisition for Carts and Bullocks, the want of which are a source of great delay in the operations here and which I had the honour to bring to your notice some short time back.’\textsuperscript{41}

The assistant-surveyors supervised works along the line of road, taking levels and making on the spot decisions regarding the extent of cutting required, instructing the convict overseers on the specifics of the road and wall building tasks. Nicholson (who had been demoted from the position of Surveyor of Roads and Bridges to an assistant surveyor after Mitchell’s victory over Darling, when his office was abolished) decided to alter the cutting 1000ft back, and directed the construction of timber work for bank security, as well as overseeing the widening of the upper end. The assistant surveyors were also magistrates and held court regularly to punish minor offences, supervised the issue of commissariat stores and inspected the convict housing and living conditions. They were jacks-of-all-trades.\textsuperscript{42}

George Bennett’s account of his crossing of the Blue Mountains in September 1832 provides a description of the Mount Victoria establishment and his comments reflect on conditions in the area. His reference to ‘plump and thriving’ prisoners contrasts with the later harrowing account of the prisoner Thomas Cook, whose diary of his experience as a prisoner on the Western Road, including a stint at Mount Victoria, is one of the very rare first hand convict accounts surviving. Bennett wrote:

‘The iron gang employed upon this pass was just leaving for dinner when we passed, so we availed ourselves of the opportunity to visit the Barracks, to see them

\textsuperscript{40} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.152-154, Reel 3080.

\textsuperscript{41} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.170 -171, Reel 3080.

\textsuperscript{42} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.164; 176; 179, R.3080.
mustered, and the messes passed out. The clothes of these men were in bad condition, from the quarry work, in which most of them were employed; but as far as their personal state was concerned, they appeared plump and thriving. The barrack was a temporary stockade, in which the bark huts were situated, and around these a barricade was erected, outside which sentinels were stationed.43

Victoria Pass was officially opened by Governor Bourke in November 1832. The Currency Lad newspaper described the importance of the new pass to the settlers in the west:

‘... the settlers of that place [Bathurst] now derive the most essential advantage, especially the great wheat-growers, who are at this season busily engaged, pouring their weighty and valuable loads to Sydney for shipment, and whose teams are now enabled to ascend this stupendous mountain with comparative ease to what they had to encounter on the old and dangerous route by Mount York.’44

Despite, the extended work at Mount Victoria and perhaps because of the presence of the recalcitrant No. 9 Road Party there, part of the wall again gave way, and in mid January 1833, Mitchell proposed that an ironed gang from No. 2 Stockade, Coxs River be moved back to Mount Victoria to perfect the work. With ironed gangs requiring the security of a stockade, Nicholson must have indeed been dismayed, as he had partly dismantled the Mount Victoria Stockade to repair that at Coxs River after the prisoners’ celebratory arrival riot. Nicholson’s response illustrates the conflicts within the management of the system. Ironed gangs were only allowed to worked at a distance of less than three miles from their accommodation so while a move back would resolve the distance issue, prisoners from No. 2 Stockade were unlikely to be happy in less capacious housing and more destructive riotous behaviour could be anticipated. Nicholson further felt the work at Mount Victoria could wait while the rest of the line was at least formed.45

The No. 9 Road Party remained at Mount Victoria and in February were working on the parapet wall and doing further side cutting. Work continued across March, April and into May.46 Assistant Surveyor-General Perry commenting on Mount Victoria wrote:

‘The most material part of the establishment at Mount Victoria remains, that is the shell of the Military Barrack & Square but it is objected that if only part of the men had been removed there an additional military force would have been necessary.’47

46 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, pp.219; 241, R. 3080; SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, p.248, R. 3080.
47 ML SLNSW: Bourke Family Papers, CY 2798
The following instructions were issued by the Governor:

‘...that portion of the Buildings allotted to the Military may be repaired as soon as possible as it is intended to place a small party on the spot for Escort. The Stockade may be left as it is, but the Commissariat house and other excellent Buildings at Mount Victoria should be kept up.’

As work continued at Mount Victoria the behaviour of the No. 9 Road Party became notorious. The Surveyor-General complained in October:

‘The conduct of the Road Party No. 9 stationed near Mount Victoria and, until lately under Overseer Skeene has been much complained of; drays have been robbed, and cattle slaughtered in the neighbourhood of this gang, and although, in general such crimes have been brought home to the individuals, there is every reason to believe that prisoners in that gang have been concerned in these depredations. To persons applying, Mr Nicholson has not been able to afford any assistance, having, as he states, no constables to send out. Since the return of the Mounted Police to this part of the country, there have, however, been no complaints, and it is understood that three bush rangers, who had friends in the gang, and lurked about it, have in consequence of the return of the Police, left that district.

The work performed by this gang is not at all satisfactory; the object for employing it here was the completion of the Mount Victoria pass - whereas it has been forming the road in the valley - I spoke to Mr Nicholson, many months ago, of the impropriety of giving Skeene any charge in this neighbourhood, having learnt at that time, that he had married a daughter of Collet who has always been adverse to the formation of this road. This man has nevertheless, been continued at that place, until he resigned a few weeks back, the Stockade having been accidentally burnt down a short time previously.

...of the gang is mainly attributable to this overseer who holds a ticket of leave, but which I consider it would be justice to deprive him of, although he has left the department, considering all circumstances connected with the conduct of the gang lately under his charge, for he has built a house on the road side, and, so situated, it can scarcely be doubted that he will encourage drinking and disorder amongst the men employed in that neighbourhood.

.... I should propose, however, that four wooden houses be provided for a detached party from the Ironed Gang - to be employed to complete the wall at Mount Victoria - and that the experiment of shutting up a road party in such houses be tried on the Road Party No.9 -... which have such a bad name, and which I wish to remove to form the very bad part of the Blue mountain road (now much complained of) about twelve miles from Emu for which I can substitute a new line in a level and shorter direction, the present road at that place never having had any work done upon it ....

A convict labour force had its down side with prisoners who were not strongly motivated workers. Many were charged with neglect of duty and other related misdemeanours. Neglect of duty could include sleeping on watch; being late back from messages; losing documents and money; getting drunk; straight refusal was the case for Christopher Cooke, who reputedly told his overseer that he would neither run for him or for the Captain; going slow, as in the case of Cornelius Dywer and John Downie who were supposed to be gathering thatch and mixing mortar at Mount Victoria and achieved very little in the time allocated, Downie compounded the charge by insisting on a pass to the hospital, in what was considered blatant avoidance of work. More seriously, John Flinn not only refused to work but was also charged with attempting to raise a “spirit of resistance” by sooling other workers to throw down their tools and cease work before the day’s end. John Moody was sentenced to 25 lashes for refusing a direction of his overseer, laughing at him and informing him that as a carpenter, he was not supposed to work at any other trade than his own.

Baron Charles von Hugel described the descent from Mount Victoria in 1834 about this time as a new good road which deteriorated to a wretched and unsigned road with old and new road tracks intersecting in all directions, ‘expecting the carriage to be smashed to bits’ by the rocks, swamps and steep slippery places. Repairs to the road were still being undertaken in August with a picked party to begin constructing the wall in September. Even though the massive walls at Mount Victoria had largely been completed and no other portions of the road required such massive formations, construction of the road continued over the next two years. By April 1835 a party of masons had been at Mount Victoria again for 9 months and only the foundation of the buttress had been laid ‘the party there have been employed in erecting depot huts and cutting and preparing timber for wooden houses’. Supervision of road works was under Assistant Surveyor Dulhunty. Despite significant progress, by this time, Mitchell complained that the road formed by the iron gangs had been rounded or barrelled in so unusual a manner and was so narrow that, according to Mitchell, carriages were in danger of overturning when passing. In December, construction of the wall was reported to be well advanced. In January 1836 the governor requested that the old buildings at Mount Victoria be fitted up and repaired to be used temporarily by the magistrate. By July, a party under Assistant Overseer Barnes, was located there. A prisoner Mathew Masefield asked Sub-Inspector Binning to remove him to another gang, stating that he would ‘take to the bush’ if he was not moved because of abuse by his overseer. In a mockery of the process the complaint was construed as the use of threatening language and Masefield was sentenced to

49 SR NSW: Col. Sec. papers regarding Bathurst and Southern Roads, COD 207, pp.110-112.
51 von Hugel, op. cit., p..342.
52 SR NSW: Register of letters received from Roads Branch, 1833-1836, 1846-1850, 2/1417. R.2804.
53 SR NSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 7/2686
54 SR NSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 7/2686
seven days solitary.\textsuperscript{56} In another incident involving Binning and Barnes at Mount Victoria, Thomas Gates was charged with disorderly conduct and abusive language, because William Jones, who was about to be transferred to Binning’s service, absconded after being warned by Gates that Binning could not be satisfied and would work him to death; Binning’s was “too bad a place for any man to go to”. As a result Jones was sentenced to 12 months in irons, it being his second offence for absconding while Gates received a show of mercy and was merely admonished.\textsuperscript{57} In late 1836 responsibility transferred to the Royal Engineers. With the loss of the records of the Royal Engineer’s in the Garden Palace fire of 1882 there is little surviving evidence of management policies on the road from that date.

\textbf{NSW Historic Themes: Convict; Migration; Agriculture; Commerce; Communication; Environment - Cultural Landscape; Exploration; Pastoralism; Technology; Transport; Labour; Government and Administration; Creative Endeavor; Persons.}

\textit{1840 - 1907}

Responsibility for road construction became the responsibility of the Department of Public Works in \textbf{1857}.\textsuperscript{58} From the late \textbf{1860s} the road became less used as the railway was extended across the mountains.\textsuperscript{59}

\textbf{NSW Historic Themes: Government and Administration; Transport; Communication; Technology.}

\textit{1907 - 1939}

Berghofer’s Pass was constructed across \textbf{1907-1912}. John William Berghofer was a German immigrant who became the first president of the Blaxland Shire (now Greater Lithgow) in 1906 and proposed the new road and pass at Mount Victoria.\textsuperscript{60} The steepness of the grade of \textbf{Mount Victoria Pass} had caused difficulties for many years and although a path along the hillside (probably related to the time of construction of the original pass and linking the Mount Victoria convict stockade with works sites on the pass) was known to exist, the expense of such an undertaking was a deterrent. The construction of \textbf{Berghofer’s Pass} was a local government undertaking, rather than a state government responsibility, motivated by increasing traffic along the route, with the steepness presenting a challenge to early motor vehicles. With grants from the Department of Public Works, some 20,000 yards of rock and 18,000 yards of earth were cut from the mountain’s side. Over 4 years some £4000 was spent before the work was taken over by the Department of Public Works.\textsuperscript{61}

Berghofer’s Pass had easier grades than the former Mount Victoria descent but very sharp turns. Its upper portions were formerly part of Mount York Road, between Mount York Road and St Georges Parade. Between 1912 and \textbf{1920} Mount Victoria Pass was neglected as Berghofers became the main road thoroughfare but in 1920, with the development of more powerful motor vehicles that could manage the grade, was re-opened to traffic. Both roads


\textsuperscript{57} SR NSW: Vale Of Clywdd Bench Book, C1, pp.102-103, 112-113.

\textsuperscript{58} Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.


\textsuperscript{60} Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.

\textsuperscript{61} Lithgow Mercury, 3 January 1912 cited in Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, pp.2-3.
were used until Victoria Pass was upgraded by widening and reconstructed with a gravel pavement in 1933-1934. It was later surfaced with bitumen. Berghofer’s Pass was closed to traffic on **22 February 1935**.62 Evidence of its early surfacing and construction are extant; culverts; water troughs; construction timbers; a quarry; dry stone revetment walls; ceramic pipes; drains, inscriptions (Berhoffer and the Blaxland Shire/Blue Mountains Shire boundary); and causeways are evident along the line of road.63

![Figure G: Victoria Inn, Little Hartley, looking directly up the line of road ascending Victoria Pass, 1887. This image is associated with the NSW historic themes of transport and communications (State Library of NSW, GPO 1 – 05516).](image)

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62 Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofer Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.4.

63 Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofer Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, pp.29-30.
1939 to present

Between 1939 and 1945 Bell’s Line of Road was significantly upgraded as a military priority. The line was upgraded using unemployment relief labour: unemployment relief program being reinvigorated in 1942 after the onset of the Pacific War. Other upgrades occurred in the post war period into the late 1940s.\textsuperscript{64}

To commemorate the 160 years since Cox’s ‘epic’ road building feat, the Department of Main Road’s journal, \textit{Main Roads} published in 1974 full the diary Cox kept while undertaking the work.\textsuperscript{65}

\textbf{NSW Historic Themes:} Commerce; Communication; Environment - Cultural Landscape; Technology; Transport; Utilities, Labour; Government and Administration; Creative Endeavor; Persons, Defence

7.3.2.3 Step 3: Thematic Write-up

While there are numerous themes associated with Mount Victoria Pass and associated lines of road (pastoralism, commerce, agriculture, migration, exploration, accommodation, creative endeavor and persons), the principal NSW historic themes distilled for the purposes of this exercise, in order of priority, are:

\textbf{Technology:} Activities and processes associated with the knowledge or use of mechanical arts and applied sciences

\textbf{Convict:} Activities related to incarceration, transport, reform accommodation and working during the convict period in NSW (1788-1859) - does not include activities associated with the conviction of persons in NSW that are unrelated to the imperial ‘convict system’.

\textbf{Environment - Cultural Landscapes:} Activities associated with the interactions between humans, human societies and the shaping of their physical surroundings.

\textbf{Transport:} Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movement.

\textbf{Labour:} Activities associated with work practices and organised and unorganised labour.

\textbf{Government and Administration:} Activities associated with governance of local areas, regions, the state and the nation and the administration of public programs - includes both principled and corrupt activities.

\textbf{Communication:} Activities relating to the creation and conveyance of information

Many of these themes as they pertain to Mount Victoria pass are closely interrelated and to enable a more cohesive and lucid thematic history, those that are most closely connected have been merged into a single discourse. These are:

\textsuperscript{64} The Bell’s Line Road (main Road No. 184) History and Recent Improvement’ in \textit{Main Roads}, Vol. XVI, September 1950, pp.18-23.

\textsuperscript{65} \textit{Main Roads}, September and December 1974 editions.
Technology, Transport and Communications; and
Convicts and Labour.

The following themes have been dealt with singly:
Environment- cultural landscape; and
Government and Administration.

To cope with the interconnectedness and, again, in an attempt to produce a document that people can read rather than repeat related detail that is dominant under another thematic heading, extensive use of cross referencing has been made.

7.3.2.4 Step 4: Thematic Prioritisation
7.3.2.4.1 Technology, Transport and Communications

Preamble
The Blue Mountains presented a formidable obstacle to the expansion of the early European colony in NSW and the colony was essentially confined to the Cumberland Plain until a route west was found in 1813. From that time the formation and reformation of a serviceable transport link has been almost constantly on the agenda. Prior to the establishment of the telegraph, the Western Road and from the late 1860s the rail, were the only means of direct communication between the populous Cumberland Plain and the interior to the immediate west. The various descents developed from 1814 challenged the engineering and road making skills of a generation of road makers, engineers and surveyors as they engaged with the difficult terrain. Evidence of the contemporary road making technology is extant across this landscape, with Mount Victoria developing as the ultimate success story, having remained in use as a transport route almost constantly, with only a short period of redundancy in the early twentieth century, and still utilised today.

The three NSW historical themes of Transport, Communication and Technology which are so strongly represented in the story of the construction of Mount Victoria Pass and the other associated descents are all components of the single national theme of developing local, regional and national economies.

Mount Victoria Pass and its capacity to demonstrate the NSW Historic themes of Technology, Transport and Communications

In 1813 Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth and William Lawson and four servants were the first Europeans to cross the Blue Mountains from the Cumberland Plain. The route they followed was the continuous ridge from Emu Plains to Mount York running between the Cox and Grose rivers, which has remained the focus of transport development, whether by road or rail, since that time.  

In July 1814 Governor Macquarie ordered William Cox to construct the first European road across the mountains, it was to be was ‘at least 12 feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease’. Construction, with a convict workforce,

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involved blazing trees along the alignment, cutting and clearing them and grubbing the stumps (see Convict and Labour - section 2.3.2.4.2). The road was then graded and bridges and culverts constructed where necessary. The tools were simple axes, crowbars, block and tackle, gunpowder, augers and irons. Cox described the precipitous Mount York descent as ‘... going down steep between immense large boulders, when it opens with a very steep gully in front, and towards the left it falls off so steep that it is with much difficulty that a person can get down it at all.’ In Cox’s own words Cox’s Line of descent was ‘such as a cart can go down empty or with a very light load without a possibility of its being able to return with any sort of load whatever’. It was the best that could be done with the resources available.

The challenges presented by the Mount York descent resulted in an alternative line known as Lawson’s Long Alley being constructed by William Lawson c.1823-1824. Augustus Earle’s View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many travellers then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking any of the descents (Cox’s Line, Lawson’s Long Alley, Lockyer’s line). This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period, examined in conjunction with various traveller’s accounts it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (Figure A). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins’ 1822 account of travelling with her husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road, she wrote of gathering the ‘resolution’ required to embark on the descent, something to eat and a ‘drop’ of wine, and of the men cutting down trees to chain behind the drays to act as a drag. In walking down, the route appeared to be ‘impossible’ to her and her mother, who had to tackle the descent in long dresses with young children.

In another attempt to ameliorate the difficulties experienced by travellers Archibald Bell, acting on the advice of an Aboriginal woman from the interior, followed an established Aboriginal route across the mountains as far as Mount Tomah from Richmond, and later succeeded in finding a descent, travelling through to the Coxs River in September 1823. Almost immediately Surveyor Hoddle was sent to confirm the route with five assistants and two Aboriginal guides. Although steep and dangerous in parts, Hoddle assessed the line as being superior to Cox’s Line and less hazardous. Preparations were made for construction of another road (also using convict labour) however despite the positive forecast the line as constructed was difficult for vehicular traffic and after the opening of Victoria Pass, Bell’s Line fell into sparse localised usage until after improvements following the Second World War in the twentieth century, with through traffic in the interim being largely associated with the movement of stock.

In response to an offer by Governor Darling of a grant of land to be awarded for the finder of an improved line of descent, in 1827 Hamilton Hume recommended a new line from (later) Hartley Vale to Bathurst off Bell’s Line. Investigating this proposal Thomas Mitchell recommended another route which avoided Mount Blaxland and descended Mount York not far from Cox’s Pass. Major Edmund Lockyer was then set the task of overseeing its construction which continued across 1828-1829 and into 1830. Known as Lockyer’s line it

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69 Cox's Journal, Nov.3, in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.1, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, p.44.
70 Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins letter to her sister in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.II, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, pp.24-25.
required ‘considerable cutting and infilling and heavy masonry retaining walls, side drains and culverts’, evidence of which is still extant. 72 These later lines of descent down Mount York can be walked today and compared with that of Cox’s Line. Cox’s diary recording his work also survives, provides details of the construction process and the difficulties experienced by he and his men. The combined physical and documentary evidence enables the work to be assessed and appreciated in detail.73

In an attempt by Governor Darling to systemise, reform and rationalise the penal system, in 1826 a separate Roads and Bridges Department was formed in New South Wales and male convicts who re-offended were from then on able to be banished to work in an ironed gang on the construction of roads and bridges. An assistant surveyor was appointed to supervise and administer work on each of the three great roads emanating from Sydney: the Northern, the Western and the Southern roads, 74 which were the major infrastructural developments of the period having been made necessary by the movement of colonists to the Hunter, Bathurst and Goulburn areas and beyond. Such undertakings demanded not only considerable surveying and engineering skills but also a great deal of hard physical labour.75 The convict iron gangs and road parties, their overseers, and the supervising assistant surveyors were the human resources applied to the construction of Lockyer’s line and Mount Victoria Pass in the late 1820s and the 1830s, the surviving elements of which are partly a testament to this particular application of labour (see Convict, Labour - section 2.3.2.4.2). However, progress on the Western Road was slow and convict resistance included sabotaging the works and the application of the ‘government stroke’, i.e., the least amount of work necessary to avoid punishment, such as lifting a pick and merely letting it fall. Further, the security requirements themselves inhibited efficient construction processes, by forcing the clustering of men, rather than their disposal on the works in the most productive manner.76

After an inspection of Lockyer’s line in early 1830 Governor Darling complained that there was ‘considerable deviation from the direction intended’ and, expressing concern that the road would be difficult for heavy drays, he requested Mitchell to correct the situation.77 In April 1830 the focus of work on a western descent from the mountains was still Mount York where gangs were engaged making repairs to rain damaged sections of road, such repairs are a running theme in the documentation and in walking the line of road after heavy rain today the problems encountered are only too evident, with washaways a constant reminder of what such surfaces were like in the early nineteenth century.78 In May, Mitchell, effecting Darling’s instruction, re-examined the route and decided on yet another line of road ‘along the tongue southward of Mount York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge.’79 In a detailed report dated 23 June 1830 Mitchell informed Governor Darling of a new line of road from the Vale of Clywdd to Bathurst and of the alternative to the Mount York descent, which he had named Mount Victoria.80 Despite being under instruction from the Governor to mark out the entire line, and to seek approval prior to commencing work, Mitchell ordered Assistant Surveyor

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77 SR NSW: Col. Sec to S.G. Letters to SG, Land Board, 4/3907, pp.31-33. R. 3015.
79 Mitchell, Diary entry, 4 June 1830 cited in Foster, p.140.
Elliot, who was then the surveyor responsible for supervision of the Western Road works, to immediately move No. 2 and No.6 iron gangs from Mount York to commence on the new descent (see Figure C).

The change in plan came as a surprise to Darling and a bitter dispute arose, Darling insisted that the new descent of Mount York to Collitt’s Inn be completed and the work at Mount Victoria discontinued. In defiance of the Governor, Mitchell continued the work at Mount Victoria. The new descent from Mount Victoria, while promising to be of an improved gradient, also entailed expensive cutting and the formation of enormous walls. Mitchell challenged the Governor to find a line superior to his, arguing that the new line of descent at Mount Victoria was better than that down Mount York and would not be superseded. Mitchell pointed out that prior to his taking responsibility for the Colony’s roads (and bringing his considerable skills to the task), years of labour had been spent on two lines of road to Bathurst, including forty miles of line cleared by mistake, with the result being an ill-laid out road, and a descent from Mount York which had yet again collapsed (see Figure D). He argued that the Mount Victoria descent had to be adopted because it was shorter, less steep and would be cheaper than the other less satisfactory alternatives. Finally in September 1830 Darling capitulated and gave permission for the Mount Victoria descent (see government and administration - section 7.3.2.4.4). In a later justification of the change in route Mitchell claimed that he was correcting the deficiencies of the line of road constructed by Lockyer in 1929, which he had found when placed in charge of road works, to be useless, not on course, circuitous and extending across hills and rivers. The physical evidence pertaining to these arguments can be seen in the various lines of road today.

Road making as an engineering skill had been developing across the early years of the nineteenth century in Great Britain and a number of House of Commons committees had investigated means of improving road design and construction. In 1819 Thomas Telford gave evidence to a Select Committee which emphasised the need for drainage, minimum convexity and the use of cuttings to avoid steep gradients. John MacAdam advocated the use of drains and culverts and in agreement with Telford, graduated layers of broken, angular stones rising to the surface. With no institute for the training of road engineers in England, it is probable that civil engineers in this field were trained on the job, and the colonial surveyors engaged on the roads were no exception. Percy Simpson adopted MacAdam’s principles on the Great North Road in 1828 and Assistant Surveyor Lambie, who supervised work on the Western Road in 1831, had worked with MacAdam in Great Britain. Assistant Surveyor Elliot, who also worked on the Western Road, had been recommended by Thomas Telford. David Lennox who was engaged to design the bridge over the Coxs River at the site of the No. 2 Stockade had been trained by Telford. Charles Darwin, who travelled along the Western Road in

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82 Foster, op. cit., pp.140-142.
84 Foster, op. cit., pp.140-142.
January 1836, noted the MacAdam principles employed in the colony. The appearance of MacAdam’s Remarks on the Present System of Road Making in 1824 may have also contributed to broader understandings of the process and may explain the very pointed and informed comments and criticisms exchanged between Governors Darling and Bourke the Surveyor-General and his assistants. The arguments put forward by Surveyor-General Mitchell to Governor Darling concerning the superiority of the Mount Victoria descent over that at Mount York reflect an awareness of current thinking in England concerning the principles of laying out a line of road. The various descents from the mountains plus other remnants of the various lines of road are able to demonstrate the implementation of these theories as they were applied in the colony and can comment on the sophistication of public works in relation to that which was under implementation in Great Britain and elsewhere and in doing so make a comment on the nature of colonial society in relation to other societies around the world. Was NSW a mere dumping ground for UK felons or was it a sophisticated emerging new society at the forefront of advance in technology?

Contemporary road making 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, while 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. An examination of historic maps showing the variously proposed lines of road demonstrates the theory in practise and today it is possible to traverse these routes to gain an understanding of the concerns of the time and to assess the validity of the arguments (and the motivations) of the chief proponents of various routes, inevitably providing comment on the technological competencies of the colonial administration in this sphere. Mitchell was adept at using any argument that would suit his purpose and justify his decisions, but as can be seen in Figure B he had a strong preference for straightness and this was the principle that dominated in laying out the line of road.

During construction, drainage problems and difficulties associated with the slope caused failures in the walls and bank at Mount Victoria and the surveyors were required to develop plans on the spot to resolve difficulties (see Figure E). Construction problems were compounded, in the words of Assistant Surveyor Nicholson:

‘... by the military requiring that the Men shall work on bodies of twenty five each, whereby a piece of work (a drain for instance) at which but six men can work causes nineteen to be idle; but as the safe custody of the Men appears to be a such primary importance I trust to be able to remedy this obstacle in a great measure by attaching a certain number of men out of Irons to the Iron Gang to do such work as requires detached bodies.’

He continued:

89 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 14 Feb1832-22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, pp.48; 164; 176; 179 R. 3080.
‘Great obstructions still exist from want of Tools, which renders the estimating the period for the completion of any work difficult,’

and,

‘I beg to forward also for your approbation a Requisition for Carts and Bullocks, the want of which are a source of great delay in the operations here and which I had the honour to bring to your notice some short time back,’

Victoria Pass officially opened by Governor Bourke in November 1832. The Currency Lad newspaper described the importance of the new pass to the settlers in the west

‘... the settlers of that place [Bathurst] now derive the most essential advantage, especially the great wheat-growers, who are at this season busily engaged, pouring their weighty and valuable loads to Sydney for shipment, and whose teams are now enabled to ascend this stupendous mountain with comparative ease to what they had to encounter on the old and dangerous route by Mount York.’

But work continued on the walls, as conflicts inherently tied to the use of a convict work force impeded progress. With ironed gangs only allowed to be worked at a distance of less than three miles from their accommodation, the construction and maintenance of infrastructure to accommodate the convicts, their military guards and civil administration took a great deal of time and resources. In January 1833 Nicholson felt that the situation was such that:

‘... the work which they [an ironed gang] would have to do at Victoria although important is not imperatively called for, the place where the wall fell is secured so that it would stand for two or three years or longer and there is now a parapet (of loose Stones, but large) built about four feet on its base, three feet high and two feet wide at its top; all the way down the side where the Bank is steep which renders it both in reality and appearance as safe as any part of the Road; so that the rebuilding the Wall and the construction of a more finished Parapet is not pressing; there is some cutting above the neck, and the widening of the side cutting which would occupy them but neither of which are indispensably called for ....

... I would further beg to observe that there is no Stockade at present at Victoria, and to replace what it has been necessary to remove from thence (to the new Stockade for its repairs after bad conduct of the Gangs on their arrival there) together with the construction of a Stockade round the Huts would occupy at least three months, if any definite period could be calculated upon,

90 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.170-171, Reel 3080.
in the present inefficient state as to the supply of Tools and Implements that exists in this District.”

Baron Charles von Hugel described the descent from Mount Victoria in 1834 as a new good road which deteriorated to a wretched and unsigned road with old and new road tracks intersecting in all directions, with the traveller ‘expecting the carriage to be smashed to bits’ by the rocks, swamps and steep slippery places. Repairs to the road at Mount Victoria were still being undertaken in August with a picked party to begin constructing the wall in September. By April 1835 a party of convict masons had been at Mount Victoria for nine months and only the foundation of the buttress had been laid ‘the party there have been employed in erecting depot huts and cutting and preparing timber for wooden houses’. Supervision of road works was under Assistant Surveyor Dulhunty. Despite significant progress, by this time Mitchell complained that the road formed by the iron gangs had been rounded or barrelled in so unusual a manner and was so narrow that carriages were in danger of overturning when passing. In late 1836 responsibility transferred to the Royal Engineers. With the loss of the records of the Royal Engineer’s in the Garden Palace fire of 1882 there is little surviving evidence of management policies in the convict era from that date.

While later records from the department of Public Works which took over the management of the road in 1857 are likely to have survived, and those from post 1928 of the Department of Main Roads they were not examined as part of this study due to the preliminary nature of the assessment and the feeling that the significance of the place had been well established, but future studies should examine these files to complete the picture of development of the road.

The road became less used as the railway was extended across the mountains in the late 1860s but with the advent of motorised means of transport John William Berghofers was a German immigrant who became the first president of the Blaxland Shire (now Greater Lithgow) in 1906 and proposed a new road and pass at Mount Victoria. The steepness of the grade of Mount Victoria Pass had caused difficulties for many years and although a path along the hillside (probably related to the time of construction of the original pass and linking the Mount Victoria convict stockade with works sites on the pass) was known to exist, the expense of such an undertaking was a deterrent. The construction of Berghofer’s Pass was a local government undertaking, rather than a State government responsibility, motivated by increasing traffic along the route, with the steepness presenting a challenge to early motor vehicles. With grants from the Department of Public Works, some 20,000 yards of rock and 18,000 yards of earth were cut from the mountain’s side. Over 4 years from 1907 some £4000 was spent before the works was taken over by the Department of Public Works and completed in 1912.

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93 von Hugel, op. cit., p..342.
94 SR NSW: Register of letters received from Roads Branch, 1833-1836, 1846-1850, 2/1417. R.2804.
95 SR NSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 7/2686
96 SR NSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 7/2686
97 Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.
99 Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.
100 Lithgow Mercury, 3 January 1912 cited in Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, pp.2-3.
Berghofer’s Pass had easier grades than the former Mount Victoria descent but very sharp turns. Its upper portions were formerly part of Mount York Road, between Mount York Road and St Georges Parade. Between 1912 and 1920 Mount Victoria Pass was neglected as Berghofers’ became the main road thoroughfare, but in 1920 with the development of more powerful motor vehicles that could manage the grade, Mount Victoria Pass was re-opened to traffic. Both roads were used until Mount Victoria Pass was upgraded by widening and reconstructed with a gravel pavement in 1933-1934. It was later surfaced with bitumen and Berghofer’s Pass was closed to traffic on 22 February 1935.101 Evidence of its early surfacing and construction were still extant in 1987: culverts; water troughs; construction timbers; a quarry; dry stone revetment walls; ceramic pipes; drains; inscriptions (Berhoffer and the Blaxland Shire/Blue Mountains Shire boundary); and causeways were still evident along the line of road. Edward Higginbotham’s 1987 report indicates that the relics at that time allowed the construction of Berghofer’s Pass to be understood in detail.102

Summary

**Technology:** Activities and processes associated with the knowledge or use of mechanical arts and applied sciences

The complex of roads associated with the western descent of the Blue Mountains is capable of demonstrating road building techniques from the earliest day in the colony’s application of ‘road making science’ which was evolving in England in parallel with developments in the mountains. The physical evidence, plus the documentation of the virtues of particular routes and methods and the difficulties encountered in the terrain and with the facilities and workforce provide strong evidence of the engineering and construction problems encountered and mastered in the process.

**Communication:** Activities relating to the creation and conveyance of information

Mount Victoria Pass, Cox’s Road, Bell’s Line, Lawson’s Long Alley, Lockyer’s Line and Berghofer’s Pass are lines of road that demonstrate over two centuries the attempts at establishing a reliable and safe means of communication between Sydney and the Cumberland Plain and interior NSW to the immediate west. As modes of transport improved so the emphasis shifted from a particular line, and in the case of Mount Victoria and Bell’s Line, shifted back again. The different gradients and turns and the modifications to the type of surface are a testament to the capacity of transport means of the time and accepted standards of travel. The importance of this line of communication is demonstrated by the persistence with which it has been pursued and prioritised during the European history of NSW. Unlike the Great North Road which presented such difficulties as to be abandoned as a transport corridor.

**Transport:** Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movement.

The complex of roads associated with the western descent of the Blue Mountains are evidence of the first and all subsequent attempts to provide a transport route from the Cumberland Plain to the interior to the immediate west. The survival of all the lines of road in one form or another, in relatively close proximity, yet taking different approaches to the problem has the capacity to demonstrate how these problems were tackled and are a physical representation of the importance of doing so successfully.

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101 Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p4.
102 Edward Higginbotham, ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, pp.29-30.
7.3.2.4.2 Convict and Labour

Preamble

The western descents from the Blue Mountains were all constructed using convict labour across a period from 1814 to 1840, when the convict system became, from the 1820s, increasingly organised and attempted to meet criticisms of the penal transportation system in Britain, which claimed it neither reformed nor consistently punished. The stockade site at the foot of Mount Victoria is evidence of implementation of increased security provisions that came into effect in the 1830s as pressure on the system from its opponents heightened. Mount Victoria Pass and the associated other descents can demonstrate aspects of the living and working conditions of the recidivist convicts sentenced to a term on the roads. The surviving documentary evidence, particularly the court records, provides intimate insights into the reality of the convict experience, and is made more powerful by an in situ reading.

As a site of labour the Mount Victoria Pass and the associated sites were a work site, not only for the convict forced labour, but also for: the military officers and rank and file who lived on sight and were responsible for security; for convict overseers, some with a ticket-of-leave and some whom had served out their sentences; and for civil workers, such as clerks and the doctor. Other workers were employees of the contractor who supplied provisions, the mounted police and the assistant surveyors who until late 1836 supervised the work. From late 1836 the Royal Engineers oversaw works. While this work force was essentially male, there were a number of women engaged in domestic duties including child care, these were the wives of the military, the doctor and the contractor’s agent and female assigned servants to the civil administration. The evidence concerning their presences is scarce and often incidental, largely emerging in court records as they give evidence concerning crimes such as thefts and rapes committed by gang members: it is clear however that many had responsibility for supervising convict assigned servants as well as in some instances for assisting their husbands in the performance of their duties.\[103\]

The NSW theme of convict is associated with the national theme of peopling Australia and the NSW theme of labour is linked with the national theme of working.

Mount Victoria Pass and its capacity to demonstrate the NSW Historic themes of convict and Labour

In July 1814, using a convict workforce of 30 men, William Cox, a former captain in the NSW Corps, began construction on a road suitable for drays and stock roughly following Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson’s route across the Blue Mountains. The road that was ‘at least 12 feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with ease’.\[104\] Construction involved the blazing of trees along the alignment, cutting and clearing and then the grubbing of stumps. The road was graded and bridges and culverts constructed where necessary. The tools used were axes crowbars, block and tackle, gunpowder, augers and irons.\[105\] It became known as Cox’s Road and Cox’s diary recording this feat survives, providing details of the construction process and the difficulties experienced by he and his men, enabling the work to be appreciated in detail and evoking, particularly when walking the line, the working conditions experienced by Cox and his party.\[106\]

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The difficulties presented by the Mount York descent resulted in an alternative line known as **Lawson’s Long Alley** being constructed by William Lawson c.1823-24 and it is probable that a convict workforce was also engaged in its construction. Augustus Earle’s *View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones*, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period, examined in conjunction with various traveler’s accounts it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (see **Figure A**). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins’1822 account of travelling with her husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road, she wrote of gathering the ‘resolution’ required to embark on the descent, something to eat and a ‘drop’ of wine, and of the men cutting down trees to chain behind the drays to act as a drag. In walking down, the route appeared to be ‘impossible’.107 In another attempt to ameliorate the difficult mountain crossing Archibald Bell, the son of a former ensign in the NSW Corps, acting on the advice of an Aboriginal woman from the interior, followed an established Aboriginal route across the mountains as far as Mount Tomah from Richmond, and later succeeded in finding a descent, travelling through to the Coxs River in September 1823. Almost immediately Surveyor Hoddle was sent to confirm the route with five assistants and two Aboriginal guides. Although steep and dangerous in parts, Hoddle assessed the line as being superior to Cox’s Line and less hazardous. Preparations were made for construction of a road using convict labour, however the line as constructed was difficult for vehicular traffic and after the opening of Victoria Pass, Bell’s Line fell into sparse localised use with through traffic being largely associated with the movement of stock.108

In the later half of the 1820s Governor Darling formed the Roads and Bridges Department to administer the establishment of a permanent road system extending from Sydney to the north, west and south. These roads were the major infrastructural developments of the period and were made necessary by the movement of colonists to the Hunter, Bathurst and Goulburn areas and beyond. Such undertakings demanded not only considerable surveying and engineering skills but also a great deal of hard physical labour. Darling was able to dovetail the requirements of the penal system with the demands of an increasingly free society (see **Figure A**). From 1826, in New South Wales, male convicts who re-offended could be banished to a remote road gang to work, in irons, on roads and bridges. At that time, Darling was attempting to reduce costs by reducing the number of convicts in government employment by using only the worst of offenders in the gangs; convicts who settlers were unwilling to take on assignment. This innovation also saved the expense of establishing penal settlements further afield.109 An assistant surveyor was appointed to supervise and administer work on each of the three major roads and a convict overseer was allocated to each gang.110 Further refinements were made when the department head of the Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, Major Edmund Lockyer directed that each iron gang should consist of up to sixty men and be supervised by a principal overseer and three assistants. A ‘Road Party’ on the other hand was to consist of fifty un-ironed men supervised by a principal overseer and two assistants. Bridge parties were to consist of twenty-five well behaved and skilled men under

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the supervision of a single overseer. The hierarchical system was designed to both punish and reward via promotion accompanied by privileges and release from irons and demotion and additional sentencing including flogging.\footnote{Sue Rosen, ‘The No. 2 Stockade Cox’s River: A study of the convict experience’ (working title), PHD Thesis.}

In 1827 Acting Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell recommended another route and Lockyer was then set to the task of overseeing its construction, which continued across 1828-1829 and into 1830. Known as Lockyer’s Line it required ‘considerable cutting and infilling and heavy masonry retaining walls, side drains and culverts’ with the labour performed by these convict road gangs.\footnote{Grace Karskens, ‘An Historical and Archaeological Study of Victoria Pass Mount Victoria, NSW’, DMR, 1988, pp.5-6.} Meanwhile, in 1828 Thomas Mitchell succeeded Oxley as Surveyor-General and in 1829 official responsibility for road and bridge works (and the convict road gangs) was transferred to him. Road construction activity, iron gang policies and the administration of the roads department that led to the construction of the Blue Mountains descent via Mount Victoria derived from the interaction between Mitchell, Darling and Darling’s successor as Governor, Richard Bourke.

After an inspection of the Lockyer’s Line in early 1830 Governor Darling complained that there was ‘considerable deviation from the direction intended’ and expressing concern that the road would be difficult for heavy drays, he requested Mitchell to correct the situation.\footnote{SR NSW: Col. Sec to S.G. Letters to SG, Land Board, 4/3907, pp.31-33. R. 3015.} In April 1830 the focus of work on a western descent from the mountains was still Mount York where gangs were engaged in making repairs to rain damaged sections of road.\footnote{SR NSW: Assignment & Employment of Convicts, 1827-1830, 9/2689. R.590.} In May, Mitchell, affecting Darling’s instruction, re-examined the route and decided on yet another line of road ‘along the tongue southward of Mount York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge’.\footnote{Mitchell, Diary entry, 4 June 1830 cited in Foster, p.140.} (see Figure C). In a detailed report dated 23 June 1830 Mitchell informed Governor Darling of the new line of road from the Vale of Clwydd to Bathurst and of the alternative to the Mount York descent, which he had named Mount Victoria.\footnote{Mitchell to Alexander Macleay, 23 June 1830, Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. XVI, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1923, pp.135-137.} Despite being under instruction from the Governor to mark out the entire line, and to seek approval prior to commencing work, Mitchell ordered Assistant Surveyor Elliot, who was then the surveyor responsible for supervision of the Western Road works, to immediately move No. 2 and No. 6 iron gangs from Mount York to commence on the new descent.\footnote{Sue Rosen, ‘The No. 2 Stockade Cox’s river: A study of the convict experience’ (working title), draft PHD thesis.} It was a convict overseer, Clement Doughty who was instructed by Mitchell as to the construction of the new line.\footnote{Darling Sir George Murray, 28 March 1831, Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. XVI, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1923, p.142-144.} On October 25 Darling ordered the dismissal of Doughty due to the rearrangement of the Roads Department, but Mitchell appealed and Doughty’s employment at Mount Victoria was extended until the end of the year when the work there was expected to be more advanced.\footnote{Harrington to Mitchell, 25 October 1830, Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. XVI, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1923, p.147; Darling to Sir George Murray, 28 March 1831, Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. XVI, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1923, pp.119-130. Mitchell to Sir George Murray, 28 March 1831, Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol. XVI, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1923, pp.131-134.} Doughty’s career however was relatively short lived, in 1833, when stationed at the Assistant Surveyor’s depot at Mount Clarence he was convicted of a violent rape at Bowen’s Hollow and subsequently sentenced to death in the NSW Supreme Court. The evidence at the trial...
depicts Doughty, who was so strongly endorsed by Mitchell, as a violent and abusive character.  

March 1831 the iron gangs were placed under military guard and huts for soldiers were erected and occupied. Mount Victoria was to be the focus of works. In May, the Colonial Secretary complained to Nicholson, the Surveyor of Road that:

‘...the square formed by the Huts of the Road Gangs at Mount Victoria is so large as to facilitate the escape of the prisoners... you will immediately cause the dimensions of the Square, and the number of the Huts to be reduced to the accommodation necessary for two hundred men - as these gangs will receive no accession to this number.’

Despite their recent construction, by February 1832, the officers and quarters and huts at Mount Victoria were in a very poor state and needed repair. In April Nicholson, the Surveyor of Roads based at Parramatta, visited Mount Victoria and inspected a breach in the wall due to the neglect of the upper drainage and later prepared drawings for the wall.

By May, with major work on the Great North Road completed, preparations were underway to march the iron gangs from Wisemans Ferry to Mount Victoria. Meanwhile the condition of the buildings remained a continuing bug-bear for the assistant surveyors overseeing the road works, in June, the military (who guarded but did not supervise or guide works) complained that:

‘The huts composing the square from the manner in which they are constructed afford no greater security than those of the Common Road Gangs beside the sloping situation of this ground a facility to the prisoners getting on the Roofs of the Huts forming the lower side of the Square from which they can easily drop down outside and in a dark night may escape unperceived by the sentries. I therefore respectfully recommend that Palisading similar to that at Cox’s River be erected at Mount Victoria ...’

Palisading around the Mount Victoria camp was approved in July but as it was estimated that only three more weeks work required, Nicholson decided not to proceed with it as the ironed gangs were about to be moved to No. 2 Stockade Cox’s River. A road party (an un-ironed gang) would finish the Mount Victoria wall and perfect the work.
efficient construction processes. The assistant surveyors supervised works along the line of road they were also magistrates and held court regularly to punish minor offences, supervised the issue of commissariat stores and inspected the convict housing and living conditions.\footnote{128 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 14 Feb1832-22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, pp.164; 176; 179, R. 3080.}

The assistant surveyors supervised works along the line of road, taking levels and making on the spot decisions regarding the extent of cutting required, instructing the convict overseers on the specifics of the road and wall building tasks (see Figure E). Nicholson (who had been demoted to an assistant surveyor after Mitchell’s victory over Darling, when the position of Surveyor of Roads and Bridges was abolished) decided to alter the cutting 1000ft back, and directed the construction of timber work for the security of bank when the wall gave way as well as overseeing the widening of the upper end. The surveyors were also magistrates and held court regularly to punish minor offences, supervised the issue of commissariat stores and inspected the convict housing and living conditions. They were jacks-of-all-trades.\footnote{129 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 14 Feb1832-22 Dec 1834, 2/1562, pp.164; 176; 179, R. 3080.}

It was hoped that the road would be passable by mid August. A portion of a cutting on the Sydney side was reported to have been 14ft wide but was only 12ft and had to be widened, Nicholson reported:

‘... this augmentation of work, together with the extra Huts and Barracks for the Military at Mount Walker will I trust be in such forwardness by Saturday fortnight that the Iron Gangs can move, some interruption has also been occasioned by the military requiring that the Men shall work on bodies of twenty five each, whereby a piece of work (a drain for instance) at which but six men can work causes nineteen to be idle; but as the safe custody of the Men appears to be a such primary importance I trust to be able to remedy this obstacle in a great measure by attaching a certain number of men out of Irons to the Iron Gang to do such work as requires detached bodies.

Great obstructions still exist from want of Tools, which renders the estimating the period for the completion of any work difficult.

I beg to forward also for your approbation a Requisition for Carts and Bullocks, the want of which are a source of great delay in the operations here and which I had the honour to bring to your notice some short time back.’\footnote{130 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.170-171, Reel 3080.}

George Bennett’s account of his crossing of the Blue Mountains in September 1832 provides a description of the Mount Victoria establishment and his comments reflect on conditions in the area. His reference to ‘plump and thriving’ prisoners contrasts with the later harrowing account of the prisoner Thomas Cook, whose diary of his experience as a prisoner on the Western Road, including Mount Victoria, is one of the very rare first hand convict accounts surviving. Bennett wrote:

‘The iron gang employed upon this pass was just leaving for dinner when we passed, so we availed ourselves of
the opportunity to visit the Barracks, to see them mustered, and the messes passed out. The clothes of these men were in bad condition, from the quarry work, in which most of them were employed; but as far as their personal state was concerned, they appeared plump and thriving. The barrack was a temporary stockade, in which the bark huts were situated, and around these a barricade was erected, outside which sentinels were stationed.131

Mount Victoria Pass was officially opened in November 1832 and the iron gangs were moved to No. 2 Stockade Coxs River, however shortly after additional work was required there and the No. 9 Road Party was stationed there. Despite, the extended work at Mount Victoria and perhaps because of the presence of the recalcitrant No. 9 Road Party there, part of the wall gave way, and in mid January 1833, Mitchell proposed that an ironed gang from the stockade be moved back to Mount Victoria to perfect the work. With ironed gangs requiring the security of a stockade, Nicholson must have indeed been dismayed, as he had partly dismantled the Mount Victoria Stockade to repair that at Coxs River after the prisoners’ celebratory arrival riot. Nicholson’s response illustrates the conflicts within the management of the system. Ironed gangs had to be housed in stockades and were only allowed to be worked at a distance of less than three miles from their accommodation so while a move back would resolve the distance issue, prisoners at Coxs River were unlikely to be happy in less capacious housing and more destructive riotous behaviour could be anticipated. Nicholson further felt the work at Mount Victoria could wait while the rest of the line was at least formed.132

The No. 9 Road Party remained at Mount Victoria and in February were working on the parapet wall and doing further side cutting133 (see Figure F). Assistant Surveyor-General Perry commenting on Mount Victoria wrote:

‘The most material part of the establishment at Mount Victoria remains, that is the shell of the Military Barrack and Square but it is objected that if only part of the men had been removed there an additional military force would have been necessary.’134

The Governor issued the following instructions:

‘... that portion of the Buildings allotted to the Military may be repaired as soon as possible as it is intended to place a small party on the spot for Escort. The Stockade may be left as it is, but the Commissariat house and other excellent Buildings at Mount Victoria should be kept up.’135

133 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, pp.219; 241, R. 3080; SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, p.248, R. 3080.
134 ML SLNSW: Bourke Family Papers, CY 2798
As work continued at Mount Victoria, the behavior of the No. 9 Road Party became notorious. The Surveyor-General complained in **October 1833**:

‘The conduct of the Road Party No.9 stationed near Mount Victoria and, until lately under Overseer Skeene has been much complained of; drays have been robbed, and cattle slaughtered in the neighbourhood of this gang, and although, in general such crimes have been brought home to the individuals, there is every reason to believe that prisoners in that gang have been concerned in these depredations. To persons applying, Mr Nicholson has not been able to afford any assistance, having, as he states, no constables to send out. Since the return of the Mounted Police to this part of the country, there have, however, been no complaints, and it is understood that three bushrangers, who had friends in the gang, and lurked about it, have in consequence of the return of the Police, left that district.

The work performed by this gang is not at all satisfactory; the object for employing it here was the completion of the Mount Victoria pass - whereas it has been forming the road in the valley - I spoke to Mr Nicholson, many months ago, of the impropriety of giving Skeene any charge in this neighbourhood, having learnt at that time, that he had married a daughter of Collet who has always been adverse to the formation of this road. This man has nevertheless, been continued at that place, until he resigned a few weeks back, the Stockade having been accidentally burnt down a short time previously.

... [the behaviour] of the gang is mainly attributable to this overseer who holds a ticket of leave, but which I consider it would be justice to deprive him of, although he has left the department, considering all circumstances connected with the conduct of the gang lately under his charge, for he has built a house on the road side, and, so situated, it can scarcely be doubted that he will encourage drinking and disorder amongst the men employed in that neighbourhood.

.... I should propose, however, that four wooden houses be provided for a detached party from the Ironed Gang - to be employed to complete the wall at Mount Victoria - and that the experiment of shutting up a road party in such houses be tried on the Road Party No.9 - ...., which have such a bad name, and which I wish to remove to form the very bad part of the Blue mountains Road - (now much complained of) about twelve miles from Emu - for which I can substitute a new line in a level and
shorter direction, the present road at that place never having had any work done upon it ...'.

A convict labour force had its down side with prisoners who were not strongly motivated workers. Many were charged with neglect of duty and other related misdemeanors. Neglect of duty could include: sleeping on watch; being late back from messages; losing documents and money; getting drunk; going slow - as in the case of Cornelius Dywer and John Downie who were supposed to be gathering thatch and mixing mortar at Mount Victoria and achieved very little in the time allocated, Downie compounded the charge by insisting on a pass to the hospital, in what was considered blatant avoidance of work. More seriously, John Flinn not only refused to work but was also charged with attempting to raise a “spirit of resistance” by sooling other workers to throw down their tools and cease work before the day’s end. John Moody was sentenced to 25 lashes for refusing a direction of his overseer, laughing at him and informing him that as a carpenter, he was not supposed to work at any other trade than his own.

However, conditions weren’t entirely wonderful for the convict workers, on one occasion a party under assistant overseer Barnes was located at Mount Victoria as was overseer Thorp’s gang. A prisoner Mathew Masefield asked Sub-Inspector Binning to remove him to another gang, stating that he would ‘take to the bush’ if he was not moved because of Thorp’s abuse. In a mockery of the court process the complaint was construed as the use of threatening language and Masefield was sentenced to seven days solitary confinement. In another incident involving Binning and Barnes at Mount Victoria, Thomas Gates was charged with disorderly conduct and abusive language, because William Jones, who was about to be transferred to Binning’s service absconded after being warned by Gates that Binning could not be satisfied and would work him to death: Binning’s was ‘too bad a place for any man to go to’. As a result Jones was sentenced to 12 months in irons, it being his second offence for absconding while Gates received a show of mercy and was merely admonished.

Repairs to the road were still being undertaken in August 1834 with a picked party to begin constructing the wall in September. Even though the massive walls at Mount Victoria had largely been completed and no other portions of the road required such massive formations, construction of the road continued over the next two years. By April 1835 a party of convict masons had again been at Mount Victoria for nine months and only the foundation of the buttress had been laid ‘the party there have been employed in erecting depot huts and cutting and preparing timber for wooden houses’. Despite significant progress, by this time Mitchell complained that the road formed by the iron gangs had been rounded or barreled in so unusual a manner and was so narrow that carriages were in danger of overturning when passing. In December, construction of the wall was reported to be well advanced.

Late 1836 responsibility for road works transferred to the Royal Engineers. With the loss of the records of the Royal Engineer’s in the Garden Palace fire of 1882 there is little surviving evidence of the management policies towards convicts from that date.
Summary

**Convicts:** Activities related to incarceration, transport, reform accommodation and working during the convict period in NSW (1788-1859) - does not include activities associated with the conviction of persons in NSW that are unrelated to the imperial ‘convict system’.

All the early western descents from the Blue Mountains were constructed by a convict workforce and with the exception of those involved in the construction of Cox’s Road were under colonial sentences, many were recidivists. Evidence of the work performed by the convict workforce is embedded in the fabric of road works at Mount Victoria. Cox’s Road, Lockyer’s Line and Lawson’s Long Alley also hold evidence of their contribution to the development of this infrastructure. This suite of roads and the site of the Mount Victoria Stockade at the foot of the pass can collectively demonstrate aspects of how they lived and worked at the Pass. Documentary evidence together with the archaeological resource have a powerful ability to demonstrate aspects of this seminal theme in the history of NSW.

**Labour:** Activities associated with work practices and organised and unorganised labour.

The complex of roads of which Mount Victoria Pass is one, and the associated work sites, such as the Mount Victoria Stockade site as well as others along the Western Road (No. 2 Stockade Coxs River, No. 3 Stockade Hassans Walls and Bowens Hollow Lumber Yard site, Mount Clarence depot as well as the numerous road party sites) are an extraordinary resource capable, with the documentary evidence, of illuminating the working life and associated living conditions life of convict labourers, free and convict overseers, the supervising surveyors, the military (rank and file plus officers) as well as the Mounted Police who patrolled the area. While largely a male workforce there is substantial but scatty evidence indicating that a number of women, wives and assigned servants also worked at these sites.

### 7.3.2.4.3 Environment – Cultural Landscapes

**Preamble**

The cultural landscape associated with the western descents of the Blue Mountains has the capacity to be ‘read’ in terms of its earliest formation by Europeans and with such significant natural landscapes forming part of the setting a real sense of early colonial travel can be conjured in the imagination of the informed observer. The ability of the landscape to do this is enhanced by the availability of documentary sources in the form of official correspondence, paintings, plans and diaries. The remains, of inns and graveyards, convict constructed wells, the magnificent walls of Mount Victoria and the stockade archaeological site at the foot of the mountain all add meaning to the place.

This NSW theme is part of the national theme of developing local and regional economies

**Mount Victoria Pass and its capacity to demonstrate the NSW Historic themes of environment - cultural landscape**

In 1813 Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth and William Lawson and four servants crossed the continuous ridge from Emu Plains to Mount York, running between the Cox and Grose rivers. Later in the year, Assistant Surveyor George Evans, on his expedition to confirm the route, commented on Aboriginal land management practices, of the land being ‘fired’ in all directions. Construction began on a road suitable for drays and stock, roughly following this route, in July 1814. Governor Macquarie ordered William Cox a former Captain in the NSW Corps with a convict workforce to construct a road that was ‘at least 12

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feet wide, so as to permit two carts or other wheeled carriages to pass each other with
ease’.  

145 At the foot of the pass Pierce Collitt constructed an inn to service passing trade (see technology, transport and communications - section 7.3.2.4.1).

Early on, the difficulties presented by the Mount York descent resulted in the construction of an alternative line known as Lawson’s Long Alley by William Lawson c.1823-1824 and Bell’s Line, from Richmond via Mount Tomah (see technology, transport and communications - section 7.3.2.4.1). Augustus Earle’s View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period, examined in conjunction with various traveller’s accounts, it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (see Figure A). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins’ 1822 account of traveling with her husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road, she wrote of gathering the ‘resolution’ required to embark on the descent. 

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The establishment of various lines of descent had a formative impact on the development of the cultural landscape, the aggregate of which came not only to comprise the road but the surrounding sites associated with convict infrastructure and military housing, but inns to service travellers and farms and contractors’ establishment that supplied the sizeable workforce. The movement of stock through the area and the cutting down of trees at the top of Mount York were other elements in the relatively rapid transformation of the place from a natural environment - featuring the more subtle impact of its original indigenous owners who had shaped the landscape largely with fire. This Europeanisation of the landscape was given a further impetus when in response to an offer by Governor Darling of a grant of land to be awarded for the finder of an improved line of descent in 1827 Hamilton Hume recommended a new line from (later) Hartley Vale to Bathurst off Bell’s Line. Investigating this proposal Major Thomas Mitchell recommended another route which avoided Mount Blaxland and descended Mount York not far from Cox’s Pass. Major Edmund Lockyer was then set the task of overseeing its construction, which continued across 1828-29 and into 1830. After an inspection of the line of road in early 1830 Governor Darling complained that there was ‘considerable deviation from the direction intended’ and expressed the concern that the road was difficult for heavy drays. Mitchell was requested to correct the situation.

149 Darling was concerned that the road was difficult for heavy drays and requested that a mooted new line be determined as soon as possible. 

150 Contemporary road making theory called for roads to be straight, level, smooth and hard. Ideally, the construction process was to avoid large geological formations wherever possible, but ultimately the line was a matter of compromise.


147 Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins letter to her sister in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.II, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, pp.24-25.


149 SR NSW: Col. Sec to S.G. Letters to SG, Land Board, 4/3907, pp.31-33. R. 3015.

150 SR NSW Col. Sec to S.G. Letters to SG, Land Board, 4/3907, pp.31-33. R. 3015.
between practicality and costs. An examination of historic maps showing the variously proposed lines of road demonstrates the theory in practice. As can be seen in Figure B Mitchell had a strong preference for straightness and this was the principle that dominated in laying out the line of road. It is along these lines of road with an eye to waterways that grants of land were parcellled out to the occupiers (see Figure G).

In May 1830, Mitchell, affecting Darling's instruction, re-examined the route and decided on yet another line of road 'along the tongue southward of Mount York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge.' Construction immediately commenced (see Figures C and D).

In March 1831 the iron gangs at Mount Victoria were placed under military guard and huts for soldiers were erected and occupied. Mount Victoria was to be the focus of works and, later in the year a commissary and residence were constructed there. In May, the Colonial Secretary complained to Nicholson, the Surveyor of Roads that:

‘...the square formed by the Huts of the Road Gangs at Mount Victoria is so large as to facilitate the escape of the prisoners... you will immediately cause the dimensions of the Square, and the number of the Huts to be reduced to the accommodation necessary for two hundred men - as these gangs will receive no accession to this number.’

George Bennett’s account of his crossing of the Blue Mountains in September 1832 provides a description of the Mount Victoria establishment, Bennett wrote:

‘The iron gang employed upon this pass was just leaving for dinner when we passed, so we availed ourselves of the opportunity to visit the Barracks, to see them mustered, and the messes passed out ... The barrack was a temporary stockade, in which the bark huts were situated, and around these a barricade was erected, outside which sentinels were stationed.'

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153 Mitchell, Diary entry, 4 June 1830 cited in Foster, p.140.
155 SR NSW: Col. Sec.,Letters to Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, 3 Jan 1831 - 31 Mar 1832, 4/3935, pp.40;43; 203, R.3002.
The No. 9 Road Party remained at Mount Victoria and in **February** were working on the parapet wall and doing further side cutting. Assistant Surveyor-General Perry commenting on Mount Victoria wrote:

> ‘The most material part of the establishment at Mount Victoria remains, that is the shell of the Military Barrack & Square but it is objected that if only part of the men had been removed there an additional military force would have been necessary.’

The Governor issued the following instructions:

> ‘...that portion of the Buildings allotted to the Military may be repaired as soon as possible as it is intended to place a small party on the spot for Escort. The Stockade may be left as it is, but the Commissariat house and other excellent Buildings at Mount Victoria should be kept up.’

Baron Charles von Hugel described the descent from Mount Victoria in 1834 as a new good road which deteriorated to a wretched and unsigned road with old and new road tracks intersecting in all directions. By **April 1835** a party of convict masons had been at Mount Victoria again for nine months and only the foundation of the buttress had been laid ‘the party there have been employed in erecting depot huts and cutting and preparing timber for wooden houses’. Despite significant progress, by this time Mitchell complained that the road formed by the iron gangs had been rounded or barreled in so unusual a manner and was so narrow that, according to Mitchell, carriages were in danger of overturning when passing and work on the wall continued. In **January 1836** the governor requested that the old buildings at Mount Victoria be fitted up and repaired to be used temporarily by the magistrate. Late **1836** responsibility transferred to the Royal Engineers. With the loss of the records of the Royal Engineer’s in the Garden Palace fire of 1882 there is little surviving evidence of management policies on the road from that date.

In the late **1860s** the road became less used as the railway was extended across the mountains.

John William Berghofers was a German immigrant who became the first president of the Blaxland Shire (now Greater Lithgow) in 1906 and proposed a new road and pass at Mount Victoria. The steepness of the grade of Mount Victoria Pass had caused difficulties for many years and although a path along the hillside (probably related to the time of construction of the original pass and linking the Mount Victoria convict stockade with works sites on the pass) was known to exist, the expense of such an undertaking was a deterrent. With grants

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158 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, pp.219; 241, R. 3080; SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1526, p.248, R. 3080.
159 ML SLNSW: Bourke Family Papers, CY 2798
161 von Hugel, op. cit., p.342.
162 SR NSW: Mitchell to Col. Sec. 2 April 1835. 7/2686
164 SRNSW: Register of letters received from Roads Branch, 1833-1836, 1846-1850, 2/1417. R.2804.
166 Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.
from the Department of Public Works, some 20,000 yards of rock and 18,000 yards of earth were cut from the mountain’s side. Over 4 years from 1907 some £4000 was spent before the works were taken over by the Department of Public Works and completed in 1912.167

Berghofer’s Pass had easier grades than the former Mount Victoria descent but very sharp turns. Its upper portions were formerly part of Mount York Road, between Mount York Road and St Georges Parade. Between 1912 and 1920 Mount Victoria Pass was neglected as Berghofer’s became the main road thoroughfare but in 1920, with the development of more powerful motor vehicles that could manage the grade, Mount Victoria Pass was re-opened to traffic. Both roads were used until Mount Victoria Pass was upgraded by widening and reconstructed with a gravel pavement in 1933-1934. It was later surfaced with bitumen and Berghofer’s Pass was closed to traffic on 22 February 1935.

Summary

Environment - Cultural Landscapes: Activities associated with the interactions between humans, human societies and the shaping of their physical surroundings.

The complex suite of lines of road and sites associated with their construction and early use, for example the Mount Victoria Stockade site and Collitt’s Inn are capable of demonstrating the early formation of the European cultural landscape in this area, from its earliest European occupation. The views, both contemporary and those in the numerous early depictions together with diarised accounts of early traveller’s journeys, allow the experience of travel in the nineteenth century to be evoked most vividly. The evolution of the landscape is capable of being understood because of the physical remains and evidence in situ coupled with the vast array of documentary evidence that enable it to be interpreted more fully.

7.3.2.4.4 Government and Administration

Preamble

Mount Victoria Pass and its capacity to demonstrate the NSW historic themes of Government and Administration

By 1813 most arable land in the Cumberland Plain had been occupied and with the pressures of an increasing population compounded by drought and caterpillar plagues there was an urgency to find a means across the mountain barrier to the west of the Hawkesbury-Nepean. In that year, to the relief of Governor Macquarie, two entrepreneurial free settlers Gregory and William Wentworth, accompanied by Lieutenant William Lawson formerly of the NSW Corps and latterly a Lieutenant in the NSW Veterans Company, all of whom had a great deal to gain by finding a means to access the country to the west, crossed with four servants the continuous ridge from Emu Plains to Mount York, running between the Cox and Grose rivers. Later in the year Assistant Surveyor George Evans confirmed that the mountains could be crossed.168 The ‘discoverers’ were duly rewarded in recognition of an achievement that had been sought by various governors and notable colonists since at least 1793. In 1814 Governor Macquarie ordered William Cox with a convict workforce to construct a road roughly along this route.169 The difficulties presented by the Mount York descent resulted in an alternative line known as Lawson’s Long Alley constructed by William Lawson c.1823-1824. Also in

167 Lithgow Mercury, 3 January 1912 cited in Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofer’s Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, pp.2-3.
1823 Archibald Bell discovered a route between Richmond to the Coxs River. Bell’s Line of Road: it was rough, steep and dangerous.

In the later half of the 1820s Governor Darling formed the Roads and Bridges Department to administer the establishment of a permanent road system extending from Sydney to the north, west and south. These roads were the major infrastructural developments of the period and were made necessary by the movement of colonists to the Hunter, Bathurst and Goulburn areas and beyond. Darling was able to dovetail the requirements of the penal system with the demands of an increasingly free society. From 1826, in New South Wales, male convicts who re-offended could be banished to a remote road gang to work, in irons, on roads and bridges. An assistant surveyor was appointed to supervise and administer work on each of the three major roads and a convict overseer was allocated to each gang. Further refinements to improve the system were made over the following 15 years as the authorities sought to implement the philosophies of the British penal reform movement via a system of punish and reward using promotion accompanied by privileges and release from irons and demotion and additional sentencing including flogging.

In response to an offer by Governor Darling of a grant of land to be awarded for the finder of an improved line of descent, in 1827 Hamilton Hume recommended a new line from (later) Hartley Vale to Bathurst off Bell’s Line. Investigating this proposal, Thomas Mitchell recommended another route which avoided Mount Blaxland and descended Mount York not far from Cox’s Pass and sought alternative routes. Edmund Lockyer was then set to the task of overseeing its construction across which continued across 1828-1829 and into 1830 and it became known as Lockyer’s line. Meanwhile, in 1828 Thomas Mitchell succeeded Oxley as Surveyor-General and in 1829 official responsibility for road and bridge works (and the convict road gangs) was transferred to him. Road construction activity, iron gang policies and the administration of the roads department that led to the construction of the Blue Mountains descent via Mount Victoria derived from the interaction between Mitchell, Darling and Darling’s successor as Governor, Richard Bourke. All complicated by the security requirements which inhibited efficient construction processes.

After an inspection of the line of road in early 1830 Governor Darling complained that there was ‘considerable deviation from the direction intended’ and expressed the concern that the road was difficult for heavy drays. Mitchell was requested to correct the situation. The appearance of MacAdam’s Remarks on the Present System of Road Making in 1824 may have contributed to broader understandings of the road making process and may explain the very pointed and informed comments and criticisms exchanged between governors Darling and Bourke the Surveyor-General and his assistants. Today it is possible to traverse these routes to gain an understanding of the concerns of the time and to assess the validity of the arguments (and the motivations) of the chief proponents of various routes, inevitably providing comment on the competencies of the colonial administration and the nature of colonial society.

In April 1830 the focus of work on a western descent from the mountains was still Mount York where gangs were engaged making repairs to rain damaged sections of road. In May, Mitchell, following Darling’s instruction of January, re-examined the route and decided on yet another line of road ‘along the tongue southward of Mount York by which a gently inclined road could be made by lowering a narrow crest of loose rock which joins two parts of the ridge.’ Despite being under instruction from the Governor to mark out the entire line,
and to seek approval prior to commencing work, Mitchell ordered Assistant Surveyor Elliot, who was then the surveyor responsible for supervision of the Western Road works, to immediately move No. 2 and No. 6 iron gangs from Mount York to commence on the new descent which he named Mount Victoria while Mitchell continued toward Bathurst marking the new line of road.175

Mitchell later requested that Clement Doughty, who had assisted him in marking the entire line and knew Mitchell’s intentions, be appointed as an overseer at Mount Victoria where work had commenced.176 The change in plan came as a surprise to Darling and a bitter dispute arose: Darling insisted that the new descent of Mount York to Collitt’s Inn be completed and the work at Mount Victoria discontinued. Mitchell was instructed to complete the line of descent from Mount York to Collitt’s and reminded that he should have waited ‘for the necessary authority’ before moving the iron gangs from Mount York.177 Mitchell quickly challenged the authority of Darling over areas that Mitchell considered to be part of his jurisdiction. Replying from Collitt’s Inn, he argued that the new line of descent at Mount Victoria was superior to that down Mount York and would not be superseded. Mitchell pointed out that prior to his taking responsibility for the colony’s roads (and bringing his considerable skills to the task), years of labour had been spent on two lines of road to Bathurst, including forty miles of line cleared by mistake, with the result being an ill-laid out road, and a descent from Mount York which had yet again collapsed. He argued that the Mount Victoria descent had to be adopted because it was shorter, less steep and would be cheaper than the other less satisfactory alternatives. Noting that the Secretary of State, Sir George Murray, had placed him in charge of the Roads Department, Mitchell stated that if he was required to abandon the new works then he wanted the matter referred to the British Government for adjudication.178 It was a protracted debate in which Mitchell optimistically (and falsely) claimed the descent of Mount Victoria could be practicable by October 1831, that the current swampy route via Mount Blaxland was not only nearly impassable but also ten miles longer.179 In defiance of the Governor, Mitchell continued the work at Mount Victoria and finally in September 1830 Darling capitulated and gave permission for the Mount Victoria descent.180

Darling and Mitchell, the two most powerful bureaucrats in the colony, had enormous scope for disagreement. The new descent from Mount Victoria, while promising to be of an improved gradient, also entailed expensive cutting and the formation of enormous walls and Darling was under pressure from the British administration to keep the costs of the convict system, then under sustained attack in Great Britain, to a minimum. He was concerned with the waste of effort and funds that had already been expended on modifying the line from Mount York. While this aspect of the saga was being played out, in an attempt to curb Mitchell, Darling on 7 July 1830, appointed Assistant Surveyor Nicholson as supervisor of the Department of Roads and Bridges and issued instructions that surveyors were to take instruction from Nicholson, rather than Mitchell. With Mitchell having only obtained control of Roads and Bridges in January, he was incensed at the appointment and successfully appealed to the British authorities, and with the backing of Viscount Goderich who succeeded

180 Foster, op. cit., pp.140-142.
Sir George Murray as British Secretary of State for the Colonies, control of the Road Branch reverted to Mitchell.\textsuperscript{181}

From Darling’s point of view Mitchell was a megalomaniac, wishing to control roads, land grants, exploration etc.\textsuperscript{182} Darling felt Mitchell was jealous of any of his staff getting credit, and justified his order on the basis that Nicholson, who was employed to work in the Road Department of the Surveyor-General could not get out of the office to view and report on work and that no information on the progress of road works was available in Mitchell’s frequent absences.\textsuperscript{183} According to Darling it was a convict overseer, Clement Doughty who was instructed by Mitchell as to the construction of the new line, despite the presence of an assistant surveyor on the spot. Darling felt this was because Doughty was unlikely to take any of the glory from Mitchell.\textsuperscript{184} On October 25 Darling ordered the dismissal of Doughty due to the rearrangement of the Roads Department, but Mitchell appealed and Doughty’s employment at Mount Victoria was extended until the end of the year when the work there was expected to be more advanced.\textsuperscript{185} Doughty’s career however was relatively short lived in 1833, when stationed at the Assistant Surveyor’s depot at Mount Clarence he was convicted of a violent rape at Bowens Hollow and subsequently sentenced to death in the NSW Supreme Court. The evidence at the trial depicts a violent and abusive character. That such a violent character was so strongly endorsed by Mitchell and that he was in a position of authority on the roads must have coloured the experience of those in his charge.\textsuperscript{186}

While Mitchell, with the backing of Viscount Goderich, won the battle with Darling and control of road construction,\textsuperscript{187} over the history of the road’s construction, his control was incrementally eroded by administrative changes which refined the system to better meet the penal reforms demanded locally and in Britain. Over the next half decade, prior to losing control of road works totally, the prerequisites of road building were never a dictating factor in reforms to the road gang system imposed from outside the Surveyor-General’s Department, but rather the management and control of the convict work force had priority.

Conflict between the military who were responsible for security, the surveying department concerned with road construction and the convict department concerned with convict welfare were features of life on the Western Road.\textsuperscript{188} As Assistant Surveyor Nicholson reported in August 1832:

‘... some interruption has also been occasioned by the military requiring that the Men shall work on bodies of twenty five each, whereby a piece of work (a drain for


\textsuperscript{186} SR NSW: Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Informations and other papers 1824-1947, CGS 13477, T 35, No.24; Supreme Court, Criminal Jurisdiction, Clerk of the Peace, Papers and depositions, 1824 - 1836, CGS 880, T.157.


\textsuperscript{188} SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.152-154, Reel 3080.
instance) at which but six men can work causes nineteen to be idle; but as the safe custody of the Men appears to be a such primary importance I trust to be able to remedy this obstacle in a great measure by attaching a certain number of men out of Irons to the Iron Gang to do such work as requires detached bodies.

Great obstructions still exist from want of Tools, which renders the estimating the period for the completion of any work difficult...

I beg to forward also for your approbation a Requisition for Carts and Bullocks, the want of which are a source of great delay in the operations here and which I had the honour to bring to your notice some short time back.  

While Mount Victoria Pass was officially opened by Governor Bourke in November 1832, in mid January 1833, Mitchell proposed that an ironed gang from the stockade be moved back to Mount Victoria to perfect the work. With ironed gangs requiring the security of a stockade, Nicholson must have indeed been dismayed, as he had partly dismantled the Mount Victoria Stockade to repair that at Coxs River after the prisoners’ celebratory arrival riot. The situation ultimately contributed to his dismissal. Nicholson’s response illustrates the conflicts within the management of the system. Ironed gangs were only allowed to worked at a distance of less than three miles from their accommodation so while a move back would resolve the distance issue, prisoners at Coxs River were unlikely to be happy in less capacious housing and more destructive riotous behaviour could be anticipated. Nicholson further felt the work at Mount Victoria could wait while the rest of the line was at least formed. Even though the massive walls at Mount Victoria had largely been completed and no other portions of the road required such massive formations, construction of the road continued into 1836.

Late 1836 responsibility transferred to the Royal Engineers. With the loss of the records of the Royal Engineer’s in the Garden Palace fire of 1882 there is little surviving evidence of management policies on the road from that date. Responsibility for road construction became the responsibility of the Department of Public Works in 1857. The road became less used as the railway was extended across the mountains.

During the course of the World War Two Bell’s Line of Road was subject to major reconstruction to provide an alternate inland transport route as a supply line for the war effort.

189 SR NSW: SG, Letters received from surveyors, 2/1562, pp.170-171, Reel 3080.
191 Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p. 2.
**Summary**

**Government and Administration:** Activities associated with governance of local areas, regions, the state and the nation and the administration of public programs, includes both principled and corrupt activities.

The construction of a descent from the Blue Mountains to the west, and Mount Victoria Pass in particular with its associated line of road, provided the theatrical set for a number of crises of administration. Not only did assistant surveyors lose their jobs and damage career prospects, the conflict between Mitchell and Darling contributed to Darling’s recall as Governor. Other lines of road with which it was associated, Lawson’s Long Alley and Lockyer’s Line are all demonstrations of various governmental attempts to deal with the problem of access to and from the interior to the west and the governance of that country as the European occupation was enforced. In the twentieth century, the Bell’s Line of Road can demonstrate the prominence, of defence requirements in government across the state.

7.3.2.5 STEP 5: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION A – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN THE COURSE, OR PATTERN, OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Mount Victoria Pass, together with the suite of associated lines of road and convict road gang sites, is of national significance because of the group’s ability to demonstrate aspects of Australian history related to the historic theme of technology, via the various means of descent employed across two centuries as well as the engineering feats demonstrated by the parapet walls on the Mount Victoria Pass itself. Victoria Pass, along with Cox’s Road, Lawson’s Long Alley, and Lockyer’s Line is also able to illuminate the themes of transport and communication and the very existence of the Mount Victoria descent can be related to the themes of governance and administration. Inherently connected with this are the themes of convict and labour, both of these when dovetailed together served the important colonial purpose of infrastructure development. Perhaps most importantly of all, the roads as infrastructure and landscape elements, and the associated convict stockade sites, and inn sites can demonstrate the formation of the European cultural landscape in this area.

7.3.2.6 STEP 6: CONSIDER 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.

AND

7.3.2.7 STEP 7: WRITE UP MAJOR ASSOCIATIONS

The lines of descent from the Blue Mountains to the Bathurst Plains have some association with Gregory Blaxland, William Wentworth and William Lawson and four servants who were the first Europeans to succeed in crossing the mountains. The various lines of road descending from Mount York and Mount Victoria to some greater or lesser extent approximate their path or are in its vicinity. Lawson who went on to forge quite a local career as an explorer and pastoralist has the strongest association of the three men. Other persons of note who have some link with the feat of establishing a link with the west are George Evans, Archibald Bell, Hamilton Hume, and Major Edmund Lockyer. However it is Mount Victoria Pass that has a strong and special association with Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell who discovered the pass and instigated and fought for its construction. Assistant surveyors who
oversaw work on the road included Lambie, Nicholson, and Dulhunty, but these men operated under the general direction and plan of Major Mitchell.

**Lieutenant William Lawson** drove the first herd of stock over the mountains in 1815; escorted the Freycinet expedition (1819); and became the Commandant at Bathurst after taking up a grant of 1000 acres on the Campbell River, near Bathurst as a reward for his role in the first successful crossing of the Blue Mountains. It was Lawson who constructed the first alternate descent which became known as Lawson’s Long Alley and he is attributed with the first discovery of coal in the Hartley area.

**Assistant Surveyor George Evans** confirmed the route over the Blue Mountains. Evans was a significant early colonial figure, an explorer and artist. However like Blaxland and Wentworth, aside from his name being associated with various landmarks and being a pioneer/explorer of the route, the western descent lines of road do not demonstrate any particular association with him.

**Archibald Bell** is associated with bringing to the attention of the European community part of an Aboriginal pathway across the mountains, which became incorporated in Bell’s Line of Road.

**Hamilton Hume** also found an alternate route and introduced the newly arrived Major Mitchell to the area: his association with the area is passing, although he has left a journal of his expedition.

**Major Edmund Lockyer** was the principal Surveyor of Roads and Bridges under Governor Darling and was responsible for re-organisation of convict labour in the road gangs. When he refused to accept a reduced salary his position was abolished and his responsibilities transferred to the Surveyor-General. It was under his supervision that a new line of descent down Mount York was partially constructed in 1828. Lockyer’s Line was discontinued when Major Mitchell decided upon the Mount Victoria descent.

**Major Thomas Mitchell** the Surveyor-General is the person with whom Mount Victoria Pass and the line to Bathurst from there has the strongest association. Mitchell discovered the pass, insisted and persisted in its construction and generally oversaw its design. The road was shaped by Mitchell and it stands as possibly his greatest, grandest, and most monumental structural work. Mitchell’s technical arguments as to why the line of road was superior to others enable the line of road to be considered in the light of best practice road making theory, that was then emerging and influencing construction in NSW. Other road makers at the time included Assistant Surveyor Percy Simpson who oversaw construction of the Wisemans Ferry section of the Great North Road, but it was Mitchell whose efforts were effected in the face of significant opposition from Darling and it was Mitchell who as Surveyor-General had the overall vision for the line of road. Mitchell, as Surveyor-General was a significant and powerful administrator in NSW from this time until his retirement in 1855. The dispute with Governor Darling and his backing by the British administration, very early in his appointment, contributed to his power and his ego: the Mount Victoria descent is a physical reminder of this governmental and administrative stoush between the two most important men in the colony.

Mitchell won the day on this particular issue, and with the backing of Viscount Goderich who succeeded Murray as Secretary of State, control of the Road Branch reverted to him. Over the history of the road’s construction however, his control was incrementally eroded by administrative changes which refined the system to better meet the penal reforms demanded

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locally and in Britain. Over the next half decade, prior to losing control of road works totally, the prerequisites of road building were never a dictating factor in reforms to the road gang system imposed from outside the Surveyor-General’s Department, but rather the management and control of the convict work force had priority.

In the early twentieth century, local mayor John William Berghofers, a German immigrant who became the first president of the Blaxland Shire (now Greater Lithgow), was instrumental in initiating the construction of a new road and pass at Mount Victoria, which became known as Berghofers’ Pass.194

Various convicts, including the diarist Thomas Cook who recorded his experiences there, also have an association with Mount Victoria but these have not been explored in the context of this assessment due to time constraints but should be followed up when a more comprehensive study is undertaken.

7.3.2.8 STEP 8: PRIORITISE ASSOCIATIONS

1. Major Thomas Mitchell
2. Lieutenant William Lawson
3. Major Edmund Lockyer
4. Archibald Bell
5. John William Berghofer
6. Thomas Cook and other convicts

7.3.2.9 STEP 9: WRITE A STATEMENT OF HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIVE SIGNIFICANCE UNDER 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

The western lines of descent from the Blue Mountains and the emergence of Mount Victoria Pass as the premier line is due largely to the drive, planning and vision of Major Thomas Mitchell the Surveyor-General who decided on the line and the form of work for the road and whose surviving correspondence articulates the reasoning behind his decision, in comparison to other proposed lines. The Mount Victoria descent and its associated lines of road also have a more general association with surveyors, who in effect were the engineers on the spot who oversaw and directed its construction.

The association of Mount Victoria Pass with the various explorers and road makers, particularly Surveyor Mitchell, and the assistant surveyors, overseers and convicts and, much later Berghofer, is related to the NSW historic theme of persons. Other themes related to this association are those of government and administration, convicts, labour, technology, creative endeavour and communication. These were the people who made, instigated and built the roads, leaving their mark on the road and the associated landscape.

194 Edward Higginbotham. ‘Historical and Archaeological Analysis of proposed route of Telecom Optical Fibre Cable at Berghofers Pass, Mount Victoria, NSW’, p.2.
7.3.2.10 STEP 10: CONSIDER CRITERION C – AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS AND/OR A HIGH DEGREE OF CREATIVE OR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN NSW

AND

7.3.2.11 STEP 11: WRITE UP MAJOR AESTHETIC AND TECHNICAL QUALITIES

AND

7.3.2.12 STEP 12: PRIORITISE SIGNIFICANT AESTHETIC/TECHNICAL ATTRIBUTES

**Engineering**

Together the lines of road associated with the western descent of the Blue Mountains demonstrate colonial expertise and technical competence in tackling the very difficult engineering problems associated with creating a safe route between Sydney and Bathurst and beyond (see write up of technology theme). More specifically, the physical fabric of the elements that make up the lines of descent can demonstrate the means and methods of construction employed using the known workforce and skills available as indicated in the surviving documentation from the colonial period. The articulated road making theory and the practices of significant British road makers, with whom a number of the assistant surveyors trained, is evidenced in the evolution of the lines of road culminating in the construction of Mount Victoria Pass. The need to tackle the problem of access across the mountains is associated with the historic themes of commerce, communication and transport and the effort that was expended on tackling this problem as evidenced by the surviving suite of roads is testimony to the importance of these imperatives.

The magnificent walls of Victoria Pass, which still stand, are intact and in use, despite the construction of Berghofer’s Pass and widening in the 1930s, and are similar in design to those on the Great North Road near Wisemans Ferry which are now defunct. The structure at Mount Victoria Pass is aesthetically rare and remarkably intact.

**Labour organisation and management**

Of equal importance with the engineering skills the lines of road, and Mount Victoria in particular, can demonstrate the links between the road gang accommodation sites, convict management practices and the lines of roads themselves which are also technically significant because of their capacity to reveal how such major infrastructural projects were managed. These were works that were undertaken in isolated locations, with none of the infrastructure common to work sites in Britain, villages, towns etc, that were being carved out of the natural environment, from scratch. In Britain many roads evolved over many hundreds of years from use prior to even the times of the Romans. On top of this there was a largely unskilled and coerced workforce of recidivist convicts; a shortage of engineers and funds; and the requirements of security and the military guard necessary to ensure it. The site of No.1 Stockade Mount Victoria and the convict gang sites at the bottom of Mount York together with tracks leading to work areas and any signs of remnant infrastructure related to them and the roads, are important because they can demonstrate the practical side of road making (in contrast to the grand overview plans). These links are associated with the NSW historic themes of labour and convicts as well as transport and technology.
**Landmark Qualities**

The visual and landmark aesthetics of Mount Victoria Pass have been recorded in the numerous images, both painted and photographic, that have been made of the place since its construction. These aesthetic qualities are related to the historic themes of technology, environment - cultural landscape, communication, convicts, transport, labour, creative endeavour, law and order and serve as a grand monument to the administrative and political tussle of Major Mitchell and Governor Darling.

The difficulties presented by the precipitous Mount York descent resulted in an alternative line known as Lawson’s Long Alley being constructed by William Lawson c.1823-1824. Augustus Earle’s *View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones*, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period. Examined in conjunction with various traveller’s accounts it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (see Figure A). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins’ 1822 account of travelling with husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road, she wrote of gathering the ‘resolution’ required to embark on the descent, something to eat and a ‘drop’ of wine, and of the men cutting down trees necessary to chain behind the drays. In walking down, the route appeared to be ‘impossible’ to her and her mother and children had to be carried in long dresses, which made keeping a footing difficult.  

While a search has not been undertaken in this assessment for the period of construction of Berghofer’s Pass it too is likely to have documentary evidence at State Records likely to augment understandings of the extant physical resource: As are later developments of Victoria Pass.

**Contemporary Aesthetic Qualities**

As there was no community consultation or review of current art, literary or tourism literature this part of the assessment could not be undertaken.

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the general public and tourist bodies who have photographed the vicinity and placed them on the leisure travel itinerary for more than 100 years.

7.3.2.14 STEP 14: CONSIDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS A STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

AND

7.3.2.15 STEP 15: WRITE UP MAJOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Not adequately researched for this assessment. Community consultation would be necessary in a later study to determine the existence, nature and extent of the associations under this criterion. At this preliminary stage it is possible to say that the defunct lines of road have been developed as walking tracks that are valued in the local area and by the history/heritage community and professionals who are likely to have played a role in their preservation as walking tracks. The tracks are known by the a fairly broad community in the region consisting of walkers, local historians and locals interested in their history and the outdoors in a less organised way.

7.3.2.16 STEP 16: PRIORITISE THE SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Not applicable

7.3.2.17 STEP 17: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE UNDER CRITERION D – AN ITEM HAS STRONG OR SPECIAL ASSOCIATION WITH A PARTICULAR COMMUNITY OR CULTURAL GROUP IN NSW FOR SOCIAL, CULTURAL OR SPIRITUAL REASONS

Not adequately researched for this assessment. The western descents are likely to have significance for descendants of those who worked on the road and to the historical community, as well as those who have an aesthetic appreciation of the place.

7.3.2.18 STEP 18: CONSIDER CRITERION E – AN ITEM HAS THE POTENTIAL TO YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

AND

7.3.2.19 STEP 19: WRITE UP THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

AND
7.3.2.20 STEP 20 - PRIORITISE THE WAYS THAT THE LINE CAN REVEAL NEW INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Firstly the various western descents of the Blue Mountains are archaeological sites with extant remains that can reveal information concerning their means of construction and the degree of technical competence associated with it. With surviving documentary information such as Cox’s diary which records this feat: providing details of the construction process and the difficulties experienced by he and his men: the importance work can be appreciated in detail and in situ, evoking the working conditions experienced by Cox and his party. The records surviving from Mount Victoria’s construction phase also enhance the capacity of investigators to interpret the physical fabric.

Secondly, the surviving lines of road that are able to be traversed today allow the twenty-first century person to experience something of the nature of the enormity of the task of constructing a descent and to vicariously (with a little imagination) experience difficulties presented by Mount York for travellers of the day or what it may have been like to work in chains on its construction. Augustus Earle’s View from the summit of Mount York, looking towards the Bathurst Plains, convicts breaking stones, c.1826 gives an impression of the precipitousness of the descent and the vertigo that was experienced by many then, and which can be experienced today in approaching the descents and in walking Cox’s Line. This view gives a glimpse of the nature of the cultural landscape as it emerged across this period. Examined in conjunction with various traveller’s accounts it has the capacity to provide a strikingly rich evocation of travel along the road in the 1820s (see Figure A). Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins’ 1822 account of travelling with husband, mother and eight children to take up residence in Bathurst, where her husband was to be the commissariat storekeeper, is one of a number of surviving accounts of this road. She wrote of gathering the resolution required to embark on the descent, something to eat and a drop of wine, and of the men cutting down trees necessary to chain behind the drays. In walking down, the route appeared to be impossible.

Thirdly, the archaeological remains associated with the housing and secure confinement of the convict workers, their overseers, and military guards together with the documentary evidence have the potential to reveal new information about the living and working conditions associated with such major infrastructural developments. One-hundred and ninety-eight Archaeological remains of these structures are extant on private property at the foot of Mount Victoria and are an important component of the history of the road’s construction with the potential to yield information related to living and working on the road from the point of view of convicts, overseers, surveyors and the military.

Fourthly, the surviving lines of road, together with the documentary evidence, provide evidence of nineteenth century road making theory when the major tools were picks, shovels, explosives and a reluctant and recalcitrant workforce. An examination of historic maps showing the variously proposed lines of road demonstrates the theory in practice and today it is possible to traverse these routes to gain an understanding of the concerns of the time and to assess the validity of the arguments (and the motivations) of the chief proponents of various routes, inevitably providing comment on the competencies of the colonial administration and the nature of colonial society.

197 Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins letter to her sister in George Mackaness, Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales, 1813-1841, Pt.II, Australian Historical Monographs, 1978, pp.24-25.
7.3.2.21 STEP 21 - WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE
CRITERION E - THE POTENTIAL THE LINE OF ROAD HAS TO
YIELD INFORMATION THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO AN
UNDERSTANDING OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY
OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

The Mount Victoria Pass and other associated lines of road tackling the western descent of the
Blue Mountains have the capacity, together with the surviving documentary information, to
yield new information concerning ways of living and working of the recidivist convict
population and the associated military and civil bureaucracy that managed their confinement.
They can also reveal information on the state of technological advancement of the colony and
the sophistication of colonial society, particularly in regard to engineering and road making
skills.

7.3.2.22 STEP 22: CONSIDER CRITERION F - AN ITEM HAS
UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS OF NSW’S
CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S CULTURAL
OR NATURAL HISTORY

AND

7.3.2.23 STEP 23: WRITE UP THE ASPECTS OF THE LINE OF
ROAD THAT ARE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED ASPECTS
OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN AREA’S
CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

AND

7.3.2.24 STEP 24: PRIORITISE THE WAYS THE LINE OF ROAD
CAN DEMONSTRATE UNCOMMON, RARE OR ENDANGERED
ASPECTS OF NSW’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY OR AN
AREA’S CULTURAL OR NATURAL HISTORY

Firstly, the conglomeration of several lines of road plus the association of various types of
convict road gang sites in such a unique setting is rare. While other convict built roads exist
(the Great North Road and various roads in Tasmania) the geography and importance of this
particular descent makes it unique. That the Mount Victoria Pass has been in (almost)
continuous use since its formation, with no alternative matching its viability, is itself a
testament to its rarity.

Secondly, the capacity to supplement the physical with the documentary evidence at this site
is also rare, with a vast array of sources, letters, diaries, maps, plans and paintings all
contributing to the understanding of its associations and attributes.

Subsequent studies need to undertake comparative work, particularly in regard to the
Tasmanian experience to determine if the site is rare at a national level.
The lines of road are capable of contributing to an understanding of the NSW historic themes of technology, convicts, transport and communication, labour, law and order and cultural landscapes. The Mount Victoria Pass and its associated lines of road and convict sites is rare in NSW and may be rare nationally because of the unique combination of natural and cultural aesthetics as well as the rarity of the extant archaeological resource pertinent to experience of recidivist convicts; a particular level of the convict system hierarchy that evolved over the 1820s and into its prime in the 1830s on this particular line of road.

Mount Victoria Pass, the associated descents and convict sites are capable of demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of secondary punishment places, namely the road gang sites that developed in NSW in the 1820s and continued to be used across the 1830s.

Although the following would need to be confirmed via a comparative assessment, particularly with the Tasmanian experience, it is possible to say that:

**Firstly**, the roads with their associated convict sites are able to demonstrate the relationship between the convict/labour system and government policy in the development of infrastructure and the characteristics of the relationship between the secure and stockaded iron gang stockades as well as non-stockaded road party sites. With the surviving documentation they are able to elucidate the role of these places in the early to mid-nineteenth century when the penal system was at its harshest.

**Secondly**, the Mount Victoria Pass, with its magnificent walls is capable of demonstrating a class of road that under construction in rugged areas of NSW in the 1820s and 1830s. Cox’s Road, and Lawson’s Long Alley and Lockyer’s Line could also be said to be representative of early nineteenth century roads.
7.3.2.29 STEP 29: WRITE A STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

**CRITERIA G** - AN ITEM IS IMPORTANT IN DEMONSTRATING
THE PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A CLASS OF NSW’S
CULTURAL OR NATURAL PLACES; CULTURAL OR NATURAL
ENVIRONMENTS

Mount Victoria Pass and the associated convict sites and alternate lines of descent from the
mountains are able to demonstrate a complex working and secondary punishment
environment that developed around the need to provide essential infrastructure for the colony
and also to punish and reform recidivist criminals. If the lines of road are considered as a
suite, they can also demonstrate road-building technologies from the time in a sequenced way,
and their capacity to do this in such close proximity is extremely rare.

Whether this significance is at a State or national level would need to be determined in a
subsequent study that would enable comparative assessment to be undertaken.

7.3.2.30 STEP 30: UNDERTAKE FIELD VISIT

A number of site visits have been undertaken, however not for the purposes of this study due
to time constraints.

7.3.2.31 STEP 31: REVISE DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

Have not done so for this exercise due to time constraints.

7.3.2.32 STEP 32: REVISE DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH BASED
ASSSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Not applicable due to non-undertaking of steps 30 and 31.

7.3.2.33 STEP 33: PREPARE A SINGLE STATEMENT OF
SIGNIFICANCE

Mount Victoria Pass, together with the suite of associated lines of road and convict road gang
sites is of national cultural significance because of the group’s ability to demonstrate aspects
of Australian history related to the historic theme of technology, via the various means of
descent employed across two centuries as well as the engineering feats demonstrated by the
parapet walls on the Mount Victoria Pass itself. Victoria Pass, along with Cox’s Road,
Lawson’s Long Alley, and Lockyer’s Line is also able to illuminate the themes of transport
and communication and the very existence of the Mount Victoria descent can be related to the
themes of governance and administration. Inherently connected with this are the themes of
convict and labour which were dovetailed together to serve the important colonial purpose of
infrastructure development. Perhaps most importantly of all, the roads as infrastructure and
landscape elements, and the associated convict stockade sites, and inn sites can demonstrate
the formation of the European cultural landscape in this area.

The association with Major Thomas Mitchell the Surveyor-General, whose planning, vision
and persistent drive saw Mount Victoria Pass emerge as the premier line of descent, is
exceptional due to the capacity of the pass, in association with surviving documentary
evidence, to demonstrate that vision and drive. The Mount Victoria descent and its associated
lines of road also have a more general association with surveyors who, in effect, were the
engineers on the spot who oversaw and directed its construction. Other people associated with
the place include overseers and convicts and much later Berghofers. These were the people
who instigated and built the roads, leaving their mark on the road and the associated
These associations are related to the NSW historic theme of persons. Together the lines of road and accommodation sites associated with the western descent of the Blue Mountains have an exceptional capacity to demonstrate colonial expertise and technical competence in tackling the very difficult engineering problems associated with creating a safe route between Sydney and Bathurst and beyond. The fabric together with the surviving documentary evidence can articulate the ways and means of construction and of life during their construction. These lines of road and the exceptional landmark and aesthetic qualities of Mount Victoria Pass have been recognised by the general public and tourist bodies that have photographed the vicinity and placed them on the leisure travel itinerary for more than 100 years.

The Mount Victoria Pass and other associated lines of road tackling the western descent of the Blue Mountains have an exceptional capacity with the surviving documentary information, to yield new information concerning ways of living and working of the recidivist convict population and the associated military and civil bureaucracy that managed their confinement. They also have an exceptional ability to reveal information on the state of technological advancement of the colony and the sophistication of colonial society, particularly in regard to engineering and road making skills.

The Mount Victoria Pass and its associated lines of road and convict sites are rare in NSW because of the unique combination of natural and cultural aesthetics as well as the rarity of the extant archaeological resource pertinent to experience of recidivist convicts, a particular level of the convict system hierarchy that evolved over the 1820s and into its prime in the 1830s on this particular line of road.

Mount Victoria Pass and the associated convict sites and alternate lines of descent from the mountains have an exceptional ability to demonstrate a complex working and secondary punishment environment that developed around the need to provide essential infrastructure for the colony and also punish and reform recidivist criminals. If the lines of road are considered as a suite, the place also has an exceptional ability to demonstrate road-building technologies from the time in a sequenced way. Their combined capacity to do this in such close physical proximity is extremely rare.

7.3.3 Discussion

This case study was undertaken as an early application of the proposed methodology for assessing lines of road as items of heritage significance. The case study demonstrates how complex lines of road, as heritage items can be to assess. Mount Victoria Pass has a long history and is associated with major historic processes, events and persons. It is also part of a suite of items which have historically shared a common function.

A major difficulty in applying this methodology to this particularly complex landscape was the length of time taken in writing up the thematic histories, when so many events were relevant to so many themes. Initially they were written up separately with subtle differences depending on the thematic filter through which one sifted the chronology developed in step 2. But as psycho-linguistic reading theory articulates, when a mature, efficient reader reads they draw extensively on predicative skills, scanning rapidly and regressing only when meaning is lost. When many of the same words and phrases are encountered they tend to skip words and in doing so are likely to miss any of the subtleties hidden in the text. Indeed it becomes very difficult to read in any kind of meaningful way.

To reduce the repetition and improve the readability the decision was made to blend and merge a number of the thematic discourses and to eliminate others entirely. We have concluded that it is worth considering making the thematic histories almost entirely
summaries, rather than thematic histories, with reference back to the chronological history for detail. Perhaps it was the complexities of this site, and the vast amount of material available that made the task so difficult. That said, in undergoing the process of writing the chronology (step 2) with an eye to the themes that were being demonstrated, the focus of the analysis was elevated from a general to a thematic one which then directed the mind to looking at how the place could demonstrate the association.

7.3.4 Resources

This assessment, which did not involve a site visit or community consultation, took a total of 60 hours to complete. Given the extensive resources already available for this assessment, it would normally take a great deal more, consider at least a factor of 10 or 20, its impossible to tell, if you allow for starting from scratch. However with most sites of significance there is often a starting point from which clues to the location of sources can be obtained and the process begun. The assessment was drawn from a draft PhD thesis, which is close to completion, and so the assessment had the advantage of an enormous array of sources that had already been integrated into a coherent discourse. However, the rearrangement of the material for this purpose was still a lengthy undertaking which we undertook because the exercise had the attraction of allowing a demonstration of the enormous capacity of this complex site to demonstrate significances.
8 Appendices
8.1 NSW State Government Historic Themes
### ‘New South Wales Historical Themes’
(table showing correlation of National, State and local themes, with revised annotations and examples)

dated 4 October 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australian Theme</th>
<th>NSW Theme</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Tracing the natural evolution of Australia, Environment - naturally evolved</td>
<td>There are two aspects to this theme: (1) Features occurring naturally in the physical environment which have significance independent of human intervention (2) Features occurring naturally in the physical environment which have shaped or influenced human life and cultures.</td>
<td>A geological formation, fossil site, ecological community, island, soil site, river flats, estuary, mountain range, reef, lake, woodland, seagrass bed, wetland, desert, alps, plain, valley, headland, evidence of flooding, earthquake, bushfire and other natural occurrences.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Peopling Australia, Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures</td>
<td>Activities associated with maintaining, developing, experiencing and remembering Aboriginal cultural identities and practises, past and present; with demonstrating distinctive ways of life; and with interactions demonstrating race relations.</td>
<td>place name, camp site, midden, fish trap, trade route, massacre site, shipwreck contact site, missions and institutions, whaling station, pastoral workers camp, timber mill settlement, removed children’s home, town reserve, protest site, places relating to self-determination, keeping place, resistance &amp; protest sites, places of segregation, places of indentured labour, places of reconciliation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Peopling Australia, Convict</td>
<td>Activities relating to incarceration, transport, reform, accommodation and working during the convict period in NSW (1788-1850) – does not include activities associated with the conviction of persons in NSW that are unrelated to the imperial ‘convict system’: use the theme of Law &amp; Order for such activities</td>
<td>Prison, convict shipwreck, convict system document, ticket-of-leave and probationary living quarters, guards uniform, landscapes-of-control, lumber yard, quarry, gallows site, convict-built structure, convict ship arrival site, convict barracks, convict hospital, estate based on convict labour, place of secondary punishment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Peopling Australia</td>
<td>Ethnic influences</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities associated with common cultural traditions and peoples of shared descent, and with exchanges between such traditions and peoples.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Peopling Australia</td>
<td>Migration</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities and processes associated with the resettling of people from one place to another (international, interstate, intrastate) and the impacts of such movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities relating to the cultivation and rearing of plant and animal species, usually for commercial purposes, can include aquaculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities relating to buying, selling and exchanging goods and services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities relating to the creation and conveyance of information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment - cultural landscape</td>
<td>Activities associated with the interactions between humans, human societies and the shaping of their physical surroundings</td>
<td>A landscape type, bushfire fighting equipment, soil conservation structures, national park, nature reserve, market garden, land clearing tools, evidence of Aboriginal land management, avenue of trees, surf beach, fishing spot, plantation, place important in arguments for nature or cultural heritage conservation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Events</td>
<td>Activities and processes that mark the consequences of natural and cultural occurrences</td>
<td>Monument, photographs, flood marks, memorial, ceremonial costume, honour board, blazed tree, obelisk, camp site, boundary, legislation, place of pilgrimage, places of protest, demonstration, congregation, celebration.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploration</td>
<td>Activities associated with making places previously unknown to a cultural group known to them.</td>
<td>Explorers route, marked tree, camp site, explorer’s journal, artefacts collected on an expedition, captain’s log, surveyor’s notebook, mountain pass, water source, Aboriginal trade route, landing site, map.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>Activities associated with gathering, producing, distributing, and consuming resources from aquatic environments useful to humans.</td>
<td>Fishing boat, whaling station, marine reserve, fisher camp, seafood factory, fish shop, oyster lease, artificial reef, fishing boat wreck, mooring, dock, marina, wharf, fish farm, fish trap.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>Activities associated with identifying and managing land covered in trees for commercial timber purposes.</td>
<td>Forested area, forest reserve, timber plantation, forestry equipment, saw mill, mill settlement, arboretum, charcoal kiln, coppiced trees, forest regrowth, timber tracks, whim.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Activities associated with preparing and providing medical assistance and/or promoting or maintaining the well being of humans</td>
<td>Hospital, sanatorium, asylum, surgical equipment, ambulance, nurses quarters, medical school, baby clinic, hospital therapy garden, landscaped grounds, herbalist shop, pharmacy, medical consulting rooms.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>Activities associated with the manufacture, production and distribution of goods</td>
<td>Factory, workshop, depot, industrial machinery, timber mill, quarry, private railway or wharf, shipbuilding yard, slipway, blacksmithy, cannery, foundry, kiln, smelter, tannery, brewery, factory office, company records.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>Activities associated with the identification, extraction, processing and distribution of mineral ores, precious stones and other such inorganic substances.</td>
<td>Mine, quarry, race, mining field or landscape, processing plant, manager’s office, mineral specimen, mining equipment, mining license, ore laden shipwreck, collier, mine shaft, sluice gate, mineral deposit, slag heap, assay office, water race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Pastoralism</td>
<td>Activities associated with the breeding, raising, processing and distribution of livestock for human use</td>
<td>Pastoral station, shearing shed, slaughter yard, stud book, photos of prize-winning stock, homestead, pastoral landscape, common, fencing, grassland, well, water trough, freezer boat shipwreck, wool store.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Activities associated with systematic observations, experiments and processes for the explanation of observable phenomena</td>
<td>Laboratory, experimental equipment, text book, observatory, botanical garden, arboretum, research station, university research reserve, weather station, soil conservation area, fossil site, archaeological research site.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Activities and processes associated with the knowledge or use of mechanical arts and applied sciences</td>
<td>Computer, telegraph equipment, electric domestic appliances, underwater concrete footings, museum collection, office equipment, Aboriginal places evidencing changes in tool types.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Developing local, regional and national economies</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movements</td>
<td>Railway station, highway, lane, train, ferry, wharf, tickets, carriage, dray, stock route, canal, bridge, footpath, aerodrome, barge, harbour, lighthouse, shipwreck, canal, radar station, toll gate, horse yard, coach stop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Building settlements, towns and cities</td>
<td>Towns, suburbs and villages</td>
<td>Activities associated with creating, planning and managing urban functions, landscapes and lifestyles in towns, suburbs and villages</td>
<td>Town plan, streetscape, village reserve, concentrations of urban functions, civic centre, subdivision pattern, abandoned town site, urban square, fire hydrant, market place, abandoned wharf, relocated civic centre, boundary feature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Building settlements, towns and cities</td>
<td>Land tenure</td>
<td>Activities and processes for identifying forms of ownership and occupancy of land and water, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal</td>
<td>Fence, survey mark, subdivision pattern, land title document, boundary hedge, stone wall, shelterbelt, cliff, river, seawall, rock engravings, shelters &amp; habitation sites, cairn, survey mark, trig station, colonial/state border markers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Building settlements, towns and cities</td>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>Activities associated with the provision of services, especially on a communal basis</td>
<td>Water pipeline, sewage tunnel, gas retort, powerhouse, County Council office, garbage dump, windmill, radio tower, bridge, culvert, weir, well, cess pit, reservoir, dam, places demonstrating absence of utilities at Aboriginal fringe camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Building settlements, towns and cities</td>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Activities associated with the provision of accommodation, and particular types of accommodation – does not include architectural styles – use the theme of Creative Endeavour for such activities.</td>
<td>Terrace, apartment, semi-detached house, holiday house, hostel, bungalow, mansion, shack, house boat, caravan, cave, humpy, migrant hostel, homestead, cottage, house site (archaeological).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Working</td>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>Activities associated with work practises and organised and unorganised labour</td>
<td>Trade union office, bundy clock, time-and-motion study (document), union banner, union membership card, strike site, staff change rooms, servants quarters, shearing shed, green ban site, brothel, kitchen, nurses station, hotel with an occupational patronage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Educating</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Activities associated with teaching and learning by children and adults, formally and informally.</td>
<td>School, kindergarten, university campus, mechanics institute, playground, hall of residence, text book, teachers college, sail training boat wreck, sportsfield, seminary, field studies centre, library, physical evidence of academic achievement (e.g. a medal or certificate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Governing</td>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>Activities associated with defending places from hostile takeover and occupation</td>
<td>Battle ground, fortification, RAAF base, barracks, uniforms, military maps and documents, war memorials, shipwreck lost to mines, scuttled naval vessel, POW camp, bomb practice ground, parade ground, massacre site, air raid shelter, drill hall,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Governing</td>
<td>Government and administration</td>
<td>Activities associated with the governance of local areas, regions, the State and the nation, and the administration of public programs – includes both principled and corrupt activities.</td>
<td>Municipal chamber, County Council offices, departmental office, legislative document, symbols of the Crown, State and municipal flags, ballot box, mayoral regalia, places acquired/disposed of by the state, customs boat, pilot boat, site of key event (eg federation, royal visit), protest site, physical evidence of corrupt practises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Governing</td>
<td>Law and order</td>
<td>Activities associated with maintaining, promoting and implementing criminal and civil law and legal processes</td>
<td>Courthouse, police station, lock-up, protest site, law chambers, handcuffs, legal document, gaol complex, water police boat, police vehicle, jail, prison complex (archaeological), detention centre, judicial symbols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Governing</td>
<td>Welfare</td>
<td>Activities and process associated with the provision of social services by the state or philanthropic organisations</td>
<td>Orphanage, retirement home, public housing, special school, trades training institution, employment agency,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Domestic life</td>
<td>Activities associated with creating, maintaining, living in and working around houses and institutions.</td>
<td>Domestic artefact scatter, kitchen furnishings, bed, clothing, garden tools, shed, arrangement of interior rooms, kitchen garden, pet grave, chicken coop, home office, road camp, barrack, asylum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Creative endeavour</td>
<td>Activities associated with the production and performance of literary, artistic, architectural and other imaginative, interpretive or inventive works; and/or associated with the production and expression of cultural phenomena; and/or environments that have inspired such creative activities.</td>
<td>Opera house, theatre costume, film studio, writer’s studio, parade tableau, manuscripts, sound recording, cinema, exemplar of an architectural style, work of art, craftwork, and/or public garden, bandstand, concert hall, rock art site, rotunda, library, public hall; and/or a particular place to which there has been a particular creative, stylistic or design response.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Activities associated with recreation and relaxation</td>
<td>Resort, ski lodge, chalet, cruise ship, passenger rail carriage, swimming pool, dance hall, hotel, caravan park, tourist brochures, park, beach, clubhouse, lookout, common, bush walking track, Aboriginal Christmas camp site, fishing spot, picnic place, swimming hole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Activities associated with particular systems of faith and worship</td>
<td>Church, monastery, convent, rectory, presbytery, manse, parsonage, hall, chapter house, graveyard, monument, church organ, synagogue, temple, mosque, madrasa, carved tree, burial ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Social institutions</td>
<td>Activities and organisational arrangements for the provision of social activities</td>
<td>CWA Room, Masonic hall, School of Arts, Mechanic’s Institute, museum, art gallery, RSL Club, public hall, historical society collection, public library, community centre, Aboriginal mission hall or school room.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Developing Australia’s cultural life</td>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>Activities associated with organised recreational and health promotional activities</td>
<td>Oval, race course, swimming pool, bowling club, bowling green, trophies, calendar of fixtures, cricket set, yacht pens, tennis court, rugby field, speedway, sporting equipment, bocce court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Marking the phases of life</td>
<td>Birth and Death</td>
<td>Activities associated with the initial stages of human life and the bearing of children, and with the final stages of human life and disposal of the dead.</td>
<td>Birth control clinic, maternity hospital, nursery, baby clinic, baptism register, circumcision equipment, and Hospice, nursing home, funeral parlour, grave furnishings, cremation site, cemetery, burial register, disaster site, memorial plantings, shipwreck with loss of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Marking the phases of life</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Local themes</td>
<td>Activities of, and associations with, identifiable individuals, families and communal groups</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes:

Editorial
• The table is arranged numerically in the order of the national themes, and then within each national theme alphabetically in order of the state themes – no other particular order is intended.

Thematic usages
• The inclusion of an example against one theme does not exclude its consideration against one or more of the other themes (e.g. Asylum) to indicate that the physical development of an item can be shaped by more than one historical process of theme during its existence.
• Aboriginal histories can be analysed using any theme(s) relevant to the place or object being considered – it is not necessary to restrict analysis to the theme of ‘Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures’ only.
• The theme of ‘Domestic Life’ can be used to explore the historical contexts for interior or private, domestic spaces and objects.
• The theme of ‘Forestry’ can be used for the active management of natural and regrowth trees for timber production while the theme of ‘Agriculture’ can be used for the intensive cultivation of exotic trees for purposes other than timber production.

Correlations
• The placement of the 36 State themes against the National themes was informed by the arrangement of the 84 national sub-themes and 116 national sub-sub-themes developed by the AHC for each of its National themes – the placements are not random.
• The development of local themes is accommodated within this framework with each local theme regarded as a correlation to a State theme in a similar manner to the relationship between the State and National themes.
• Generally, local = local government area, but can also be used in other ways, such as a particular ethnic or social community, or a locality that is smaller than an LGA or straddles an LGA boundary, or a locality larger than an LGA such as a SHR historical region or an ecclesiastical diocese or an area smaller than the whole state but larger than an LGA, such as the area within an Aboriginal nation or Land Council.
8.2 Sources & Samples
Aside from the records referenced in the footnotes of this assessment, other sources that would be extremely valuable for the assessment of lines of road are:

**At State Records:**

*Surveyor General*
- Surveyors Field Books
- Letters from Surveyors
- Maps and Plans
- Surveyors Sketch Books

*Lands Department, Roads Branch*
- Correspondence Files
- Plan Catalogue Books
- Indexes to road plan catalogue numbers
- Lists of roads granted at Quarter sessions
- Catalogue of Roads surveyed
- Surveyors Field Notes

*Lands Department, Road Branch, Parramatta*

*Surveyor of Roads and Bridges*

*Department of Public Works, Roads Branch and Roads and Bridges Branch:*

**Shelf lists:**
- Correspondence relating to roads 1871-1906
- Correspondence relating to roads 1907-1914
- Correspondence relating to roads and bridges 1913-1921
- Correspondence relating to roads 1922-1935
- Correspondence relating to bridges 1907-1935

These shelf lists indicate the file number and location and briefly describe its contents, naming the issue and the road or bridge involved.
For post 1935 material. Records from the Department of Road, the Ministry for Transport and the National Works branch may be of assistance.

**Appended Files and Extracts:**

A sample extract of the shelf list for the *Department of Public Works Series: Correspondence relating to roads, 1922-1935* which were transferred to archives from the Department of Main Roads in January 1980 has been appended to indicate the possible finds in these records.

An extract from the *Lands Department, Roads Branch, Plan Catalogue Book No.3* which is a valuable key for identify particular road files. The catalogue is arranged by County and the extract appended is for the County of Cumberland. The file numbers contained in this book relate to Roads Branch Correspondence files which contain details about individual roads.

An entire file from the *Lands Department, Roads Branch Correspondence Files, File No. 84/106* from location 10/15181 to do with the *Old Windsor Road*.

An entire file from the *Lands Department, Roads Branch Correspondence Files, File No. 84/104* from location 10/15181 to do with the *Main Southern Road*.
Department of Public Works Series: Correspondence relating to roads, 1922-1935
Lands Department, Roads Branch Correspondence
Files: File No. 84/106 from location 10/15181 –
The Old Windsor Road
Lands Department, Roads Branch Correspondence
Files: File No. 84/104 from location 10/15181 -
The Main Southern Road.