
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT

RESEARCH DESIGN & TEST EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY

FOR

Lots 11 – 18 in DP 1021340

LAND EAST OF PUNT RD & NORTH OF HALL ST

Pitt Town, NSW



Joseph Lycett's 'View of Wilberforce' 1825 [State Library of Victoria].

The relationship between the course of the river and the position of Wilberforce suggests that high ground in the foreground is located on the Study Area. The date of 1825 refers to the printed edition. The view itself was completed between c.1820 and 1822.

Graham Wilson & Peter Douglas

on Behalf of

AHMS

**ARCHAEOLOGICAL &
HERITAGE MANAGEMENT
SOLUTIONS PTY LTD**

JOHNSON PROPERTY GROUP

349 Annandale St
Annandale
NSW 2038
P: (02) 9555-4000

ACN 088 058 388 ABN 45 088 058 388

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HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENT
INCLUDING
**A PROPOSED RESEARCH DESIGN & TEST EXCAVATION
METHODOLOGY**
FOR
LAND EAST OF PUNT ROAD & NORTH OF HALL ST
AT
PITT TOWN NSW

**REPORT PREPARED TO IDENTIFY & TEST EXCAVATE HISTORIC RELICS ON LAND
WITHIN DP LOT NO'S 11 – 18, DEPOSITED PLAN 1021340, PITT TOWN.**

GRAHAM WILSON & PETER DOUGLAS

On behalf of

JOHNSON PROPERTY GROUP

JUNE 2005

1.0 Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND, PROJECT INITIATION & RATIONALE

Johnson Property Group commissioned **Archaeological & Heritage Management Solutions Pty Ltd (AHMS)** to undertake historical archaeological assessment of land at Pitt Town in NSW for which they have a purchase option from the current landowners. Initial research undertaken for the assessment concluded that portions of the subject land, east of Punt road and North of Hall Street, have potential to contain physical remains (relics, as defined in the NSW Heritage Act, 1977) of Governor Bligh's early Nineteenth Century farm, known as 'Blighton'. As a result of this, the assessment report was extended to include a Research Design & Excavation Methodology for archaeological test investigation during which it is proposed to attempt to detect any such relics. The end result of both the assessment and the proposed test investigation is to identify any archaeological constraints and opportunities that may affect future use of the subject land, including development.

Pitt Town is situated about 8km northeast of Windsor and 60km northwest of Sydney's CBD. The subject land (hereafter referred to as the 'Study Area') consists of eight rural allotments immediately north of Pitt Town (Lots 11 – 18 as shown in Deposited Plan 1021340, Pitt Town, NSW). It is approximately 61.4 hectares in area, with its boundaries being Punt Road in the west, the Hawkesbury River to the north, and Hall Street to the south and east. Figures 1.1 – 1.3 show the study area's location and current configuration.

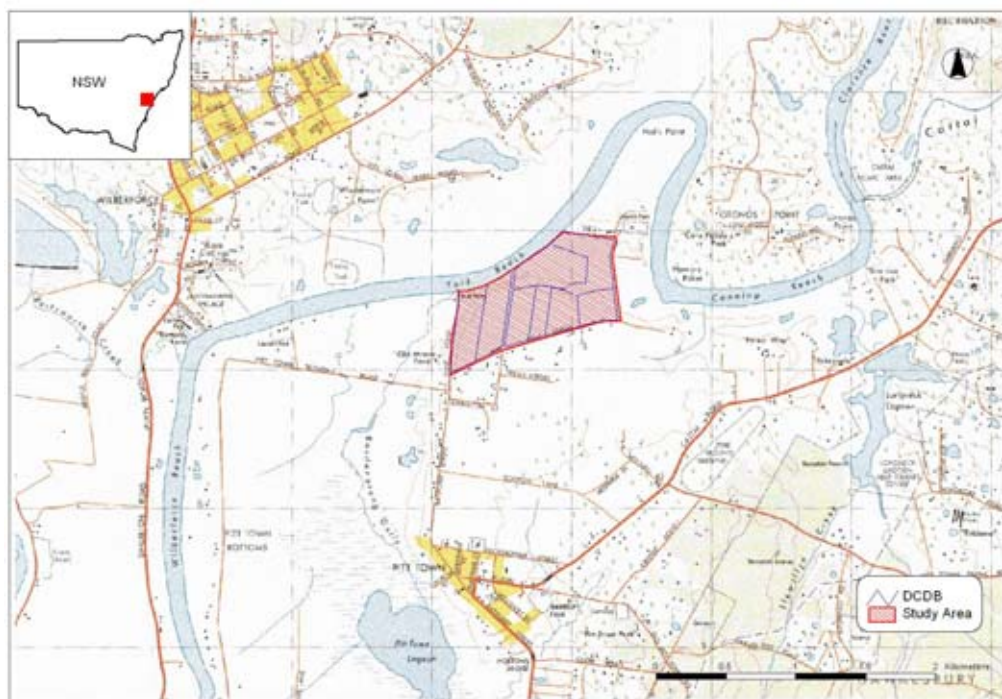


Figure 1.1 Study Area and its surrounding context.

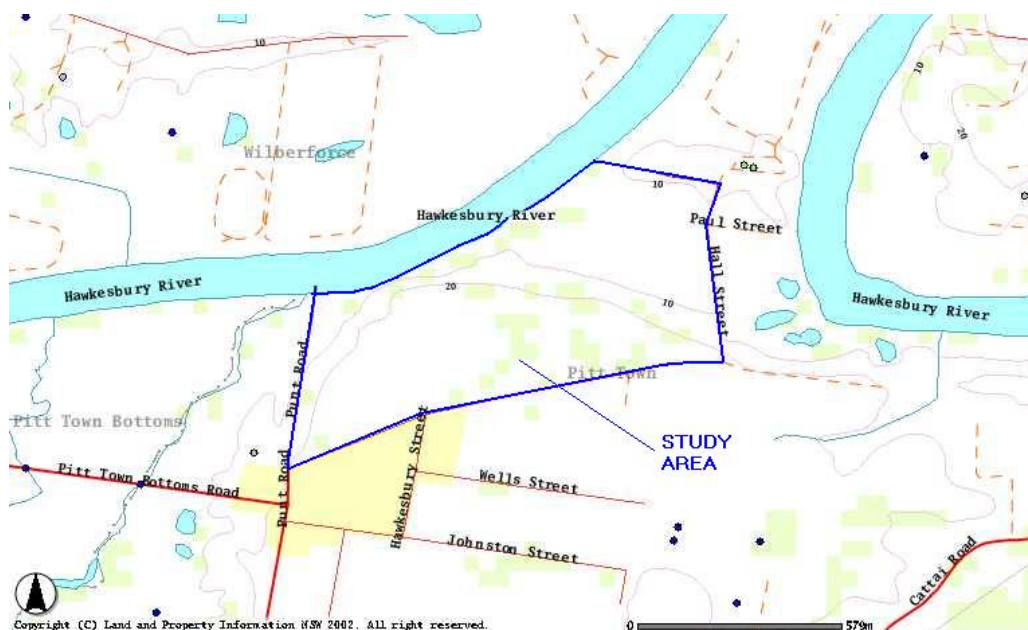


Figure 1.2: Detail Plan of the Study Area

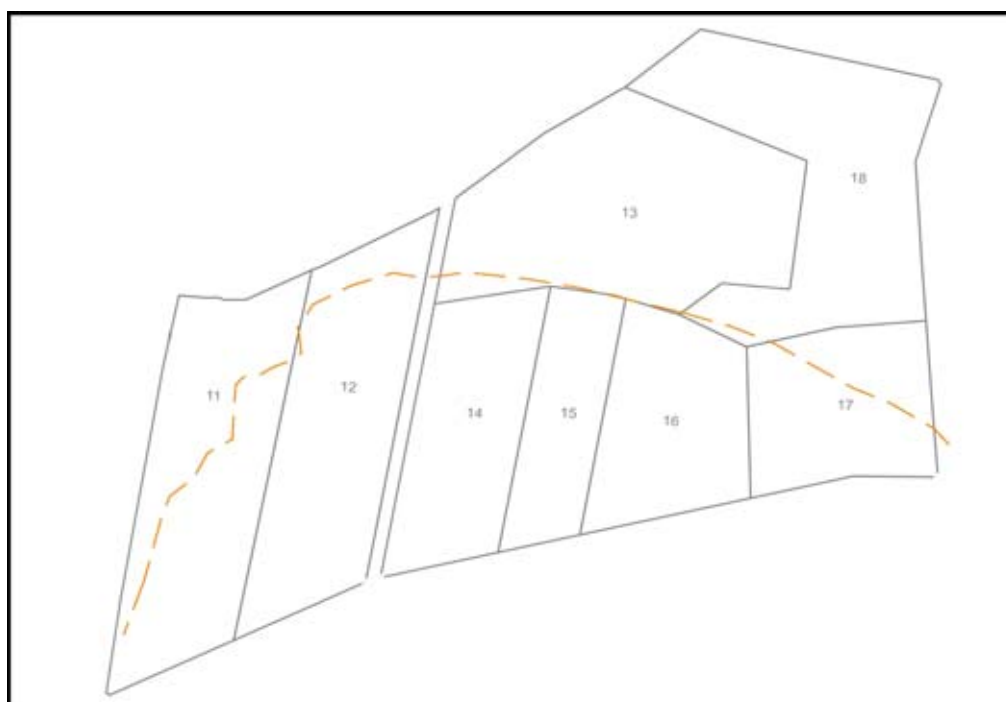


Figure 1.3 Property divisions within the Study Area - Current Lot Numbers.

The general locality has been occupied more or less continuously for several thousands of years by both Aboriginal and European people. A companion document examines the nature of Aboriginal occupation¹ whereas the current report focuses upon historical occupation of the area. This began with exploration of the Hawkesbury region in c1788 and the locality has been a farming settlement since c1794. As will be demonstrated, it has close historical associations with Governors Phillip, Bligh and Macquarie.

¹ AHMS, March 2004

In 1807, Bligh, who has the most prominent historical associations with the area, established a “Model Farm” on an Estate that incorporated all of the study area. It was named ‘Blighon’ and was an extensive farmstead, consisting of at least nine major buildings plus ancillary structures, yards, fenced paddocks, gardens and plantings. The farm was a diverse and integrated endeavour that had its origins within the Model Farm system that developed in Britain during the Eighteenth Century. As such, it combined animal husbandry with broad acre horticulture. Cattle and sheep were grazed, but the farm also had a strong focus upon both dairying and pig breeding.

‘Blighon’ was farmed under Bligh’s direction for only twelve months (in 1807) and land that once formed the Estate has been subdivided many times since then. The study area incorporates most of the northern half of the former Blighon Estate (Figure 1.4).

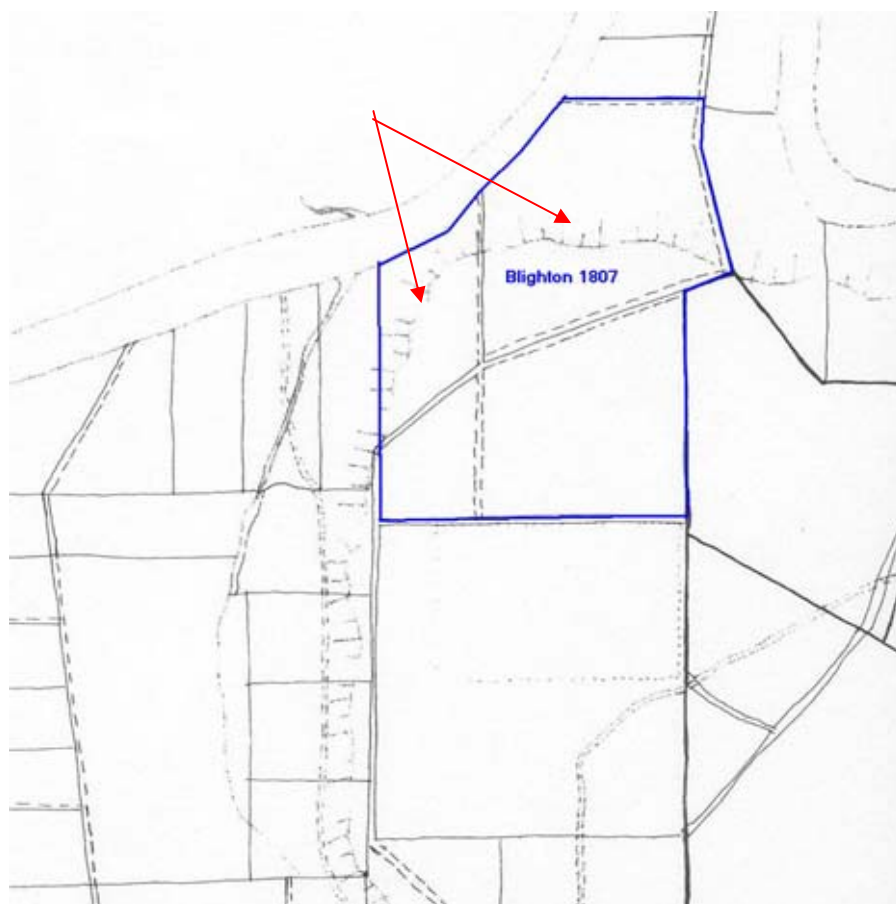


Figure 1.4: Plan showing the boundaries of the Blighon Estate and the Study Area (arrowed). (Base Map Graham Brooks & Associates P/L August 2003).

The agricultural history of the place since the early Nineteenth Century is characterised by cyclic development and replacement of the field systems and farm buildings. During the late Nineteenth Century the structures associated with Blighon were allowed to decay, as pastoral activity became the focus of land use in the area. During the Twentieth Century, removal of old, redundant features and buildings accelerated with the introduction of orcharding and the subsequent removal of these orchards in the 1980s and 1990s.

Cultural occupation in the locality incorporating the study area therefore has a lengthy history that comprises many discrete phases, each linked by subtle and often unseen associations. Aboriginal people lived there for thousands of years before the British arrived in Australia and the locality was the site of early historic contact between Europeans and Aboriginal people. The lowland was developed in the mid-1790s as

the principal food source for the colony at Port Jackson. Bligh's Model Farm sought to improve and extend the rudimentary and inefficient farming practices that characterised agricultural activity to that date. Subsequent political events saw the farm pass through the hands of a number of tenant farmers and eventually into the orbit of the Hall family who worked the land for three generations (1814-1882). Thereafter the property continued to operate as a pastoral enterprise until the introduction of orcharding in the late-1930s by the Cleary family.

Today there are limited visible remains of this occupation sequence, but the study area contains scattered physical 'relics' associated with occupation and land use over the last 210 years. The purpose of this report is to attempt to identify the location, condition, and significance of these relics so that this information can be used to devise a management strategy for conservation of historic sites and/or their archaeological investigation and documentation before future development takes place.

The report was prepared in accordance with the Heritage Council's Guidelines "Archaeological Assessments" (1996), and the 'Revised Assessment of Heritage Significance in accordance with the new 'Criteria for Listing on the State Heritage Register' in 'Assessing Heritage Significance' (2001), a NSW Heritage Manual update. It is divided into the following sub-sections:

- Section 2 summarises relevant heritage legislation and results of a search of heritage listings for the site;
- Section 3 summarises methods used during research, site inspection and recording undertaken as part of the assessment;
- Section 4 presents the assessment results;
- Evaluation of the site's cultural significance is presented in Section 5;
- Section 6 describes conclusions of the assessment and recommendations for future management of relics in the study area;
- A Research design and Methodology for proposed test investigation of the site is presented in Section 7.

1.2 STUDY TEAM & ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Graham Wilson, Caroline Wilby, and Fiona Leslie undertook historical research on past use and occupation of the study area. The history was written by Graham Wilson and reviewed by Peter Douglas. Peter and Graham conducted the field survey and wrote the balance of the assessment report. Graphics used in the report were prepared by various staff under the direction of Peter Douglas and Graham Wilson. Most of the photographs showing the study area were taken by Fiona Leslie. Peter Douglas took the photographs showing artefacts identified in the field. Emeritus Professor Richard Wright reviewed the final draft of the assessment and provided information regarding non-invasive testing methods that will be employed during archaeological test investigation within the study area.

The authors wish to acknowledge the following people for their assistance and provision of verbal and written information during the assessment: Mrs Coral Cleary and Mr Phil Cleary, Mr Graham Brooks, Mr Paul Hedge and Mr Keith Johnson.

2.0 Statutory Heritage Considerations

Current and future management of the site and its historic heritage values is determined by a number of legal requirements and statutory heritage listings. These are described below.

2.1 THE NSW HERITAGE ACT (1977)

The NSW Heritage Act, 1977 (as amended in 1999) is a statute designed to conserve and regulate development that affects New South Wales environmental heritage assets.¹ Archaeological remains of past cultural occupation are afforded automatic statutory protection by the relic's provisions of the Heritage Act. The Act defines a 'relic' as:

any deposit, object or material evidence relating to the settlement of the area that comprises NSW, not being an aboriginal settlement, and which is fifty or more years old.

Sections 139 to 145 of the Act prevent the excavation or disturbance of land for the purpose of discovering, exposing or moving a relic, except by a qualified archaeologist to whom an excavation permit has been issued by the Heritage Council of NSW.

2.2 STATUTORY HERITAGE REGISTERS & SCHEDULES

Heritage listings for sites are made on either statutory or non-statutory registers. In New South Wales protection for heritage items listed on statutory registers is provided by the *NSW Heritage Act, 1977* (as discussed above) and the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979*.

2.2.1 The State Heritage Register

The State Heritage Register is a statutory list of places and items of State heritage significance made by the Minister of Infrastructure, Planning and Natural Resources. The Register lists a diverse range of places, including archaeological sites, that are particularly important to the State and which enrich our understanding of the history of NSW. State heritage significance is defined by the NSW Heritage Office as:

significance to the State in relation to the historical, scientific cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic value of the item (Section 4A (1), Heritage Act, 1977).²

Places and items listed on the Register are legally protected under the NSW Heritage Act and require approval from the Heritage Council of NSW prior to undertaking work that results in their alteration or modification.

- **There are no listings for the study area within the NSW State Heritage Register.**

¹ NSW Heritage Act, <http://www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/>, p1

² NSW Heritage Office website. www.heritage.nsw.gov.au 10/02/04

2.2.2 The State Heritage Inventory

The State Heritage Inventory (SHI) is an electronic database of statutory listed heritage items in New South Wales that are protected by heritage schedules attached to Local Environmental Plans (LEP's) and Regional Environmental Plans (REP's) or by the State Heritage Register. The inventory includes historical archaeological sites, maritime and industrial archaeological sites, urban landscapes, private and civic buildings, heritage items owned by State government agencies, moveable heritage and Aboriginal heritage³.

- **There are no listings for the study area within the NSW State Heritage Inventory.**

2.2.3 Local Planning Instruments

A Local Environmental Plan (LEP) is a legal document that sets out some of the rules relating to the development of an area or a particular site. It contains information on the zoning of land and any special provisions relating to the development of the land. It is prepared by a Council in accordance with the *Environmental Planning and Assessment Act 1979*, and only comes into force once it is "gazetted" (ie published in the Government Gazette) by the NSW Minister for Planning.

- **The subject land is currently zoned 7d1 under Hawkesbury LEP 1989 (as amended). The subject land had been identified for rezoning in the proposed amendment to Hawkesbury LEP 1989 (Amendment 145). Future consideration of this proposed amendment to the LEP has been deferred subject to further heritage investigations, namely archaeological test investigation and analysis of heritage landscape issues.**

³ NSW Heritage Office website, www.heritage.nsw.gov.au, 10/02/04

3.0 Methods

3.1 ARCHIVAL & DATABASE RESEARCH

Numerous primary and secondary sources held by State Records of New South Wales, the Mitchell Library and the local Studies section of Hawkesbury City Library, Windsor were examined during research on historical development of the Study Area. Material examined at State records included a search of the Surveyors' Field Books, Surveyors' Notebooks and the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence. The maps and plans associated with the Surveyor General's Department were also consulted. For all records quoted in the report the original spelling has been retained without qualification. A search of the earliest records relating to land, and particularly the survey of land, failed to produce any field sketches or field books that could be reliably associated with the Study Area.

The Mitchell Library contained a number of valuable sources of relevant information. They included the:

- Small Picture File;
- Subdivision Plans;
- Norton Smith Papers;
- Wentworth papers,
- Banks Papers; and the
- George Hall Papers.

These formed the most important primary sources for the site being associated with most of the main protagonists involved with its historical use and occupation, however the last-mentioned (located at ML MS A2585) proved to be singularly uninformative in regard to the Hall family occupation period.

The aerial photograph series, held by the NSW Department of Conservation and Land management (CALM) provided the main source of information regarding development of the subject site after the Second World War. A selection of these images, taken between 1947 (the earliest run) and the present, were collected for analysis.

Hawkesbury City Council Library contained two filing cabinet drawers marked as 'Hall Family History Files' with hand written notes regarding original files. The relevant original files are apparently located in an unspecified location and have not been sighted.

Where possible the provenance of the documents used in this analysis was investigated. The necessity to do so as a routine matter was emphasised by the discovery of reference to a so-called '*Painting of one of the first farms at Pitt Town 1798*' ([1798] FILMNUM: 60-15 Hawkesbury City Council Library). Investigation of this paintings origins and accuracy revealed that it was in fact a crude copy of an engraving of another painting - '*Saunderson's Farm looking down the river*'; the river in this case being Parramatta River.

Mrs Coral Cleary and Mr Phil Cleary provided oral historical information regarding their use and occupation of the study area after c1940.

3.2 PHYSICAL INSPECTION AND RECORDING

A field survey was undertaken on the 16, 17 and 23 September 2004. The work consisted of a survey on foot in which a series of transects, usually less than 10m apart, were undertaken over the whole property. Areas excluded from this work consisted of the following:

- Sections of the property where tall grass, reeds or standing crops impaired visibility.
- Along the base of the riverbank cut, where access from the land was impossible.
- Areas in which ground had been prepared for the planting of new crops.

The field survey endeavoured to locate and record standing structural remains, landscape modifications, plantings, and artefact and debris scatters possibly associated with the site of earlier structures.

During the conduct of the survey constant reference was made to the archival plans, paintings and photographs. Similarly the aerial photographs were used as an aid to locating possible cultural features. This material was also used in the field in order to locate any remains of landscape features; particularly plantings, buildings and field divisions that were depicted in Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century views of the landscape.

3.3 MODELLING

Information gathered during the research phase described in Section 3.1 formed the basis for predictive modelling of the effect of various development episodes and changes in land boundaries that led to its current configuration. All maps and plans providing detailed information were compared against a current survey in order to test their veracity. The software used to achieve this overlaying was *Macromedia Freehand MX*.

In the case of the plans associated with the 1841 sale of the property, the detail shown was of a sufficient scale to attempt relocation by overlay of a number of early nineteenth century building sites. Once these were overlayed upon a current survey plan it was found that individual divisions shown on the 1841 plan were locally accurate, but the plan as a whole had an error in the range of tens of metres. The location and dimensions of buildings shown on the original sketch plans were notional in nature and can therefore provide only a general indication of the location of these buildings within the current landscape.

The photographs, drawings and paintings collected during research were also compared with the current landscape and a current survey plan in order to place features illustrated in them within a contemporary context. The technique has varying degrees of accuracy and in the case of non-photographic information, assumes that the original illustrator was creating an accurate record of the scene.

The written primary sources were also broken down into individual units in order to determine the number, type and form of buildings, yards, paddocks, and associated structures. An attempt was then made to determine the original historical configuration of the 'Blighton' complex.

Discussion and examination of all sources used in the modelling process is outlined in Section 4, as are the integrated results of this work.

4.0 Results

4.1 ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

4.1.1 Background

Environmental factors such as topography, climate, soils, vegetation, access to water and other natural resources strongly determined the range of cultural activities undertaken within any given area in the past. This in turn influenced the types of archaeological sites that may be found in a particular area today. The subject sites environmental setting is discussed below.

4.1.2 Topography

The Study Area is bounded by Hall Street and Punt Road in Pitt Town, NSW and is situated on the southern bank of the Hawkesbury River, adjacent to a section of the River known as York Reach. Pitt Town is located 4km northeast of Windsor.

Geographically, the Study Area is located on the north eastern edge of the Cumberland Lowlands - an extensive low lying plain characterised by gently undulating ridges and low hills on Wianamatta Group shales and Hawkesbury sandstone parent rock.¹ The Cumberland Lowlands encompasses most of Sydney's western suburbs, extending from the base of the Blue Mountains in the west, the Hornsby Plateau and Macdonald Ranges to the northeast and the Woronora Plateau to the southeast. The plain is dissected by a dense drainage system flowing northward.²

The topography of the study area is variable. In the west it is dominated by an elevated alluvial terrace and associated plateau (or levee) that descends steeply north and west to the relatively flat fluvial corridor of the Hawkesbury River. Further east the elevated terrace merges into a gentler undulating rise descending towards the southeast and north. A former low lying back swamp appears to have been situated in the northeast portion of the Study Area draining east-west into the Hawkesbury River. Surface water is likely to have flowed into this basin from more elevated areas to the north and south.

The dominating factor in the development of the landscape, soils and vegetation is the Hawkesbury River. The periodic flooding of the river was recognised by the first Europeans to visit the region prior to any vegetation clearance. The one in one hundred year flood level in the Pitt Town area is 17.3m above AHD. Importantly, a large proportion of land in the northern and central portions of the study area sits below this level and is likely to have been affected by previous flooding events. During such an event the elevated southern terrace would have formed a large temporary island surrounded by water across the floodplain. The highest elevation on the southern terrace is along its northern edge. Here it rises over 20m above the adjacent floodplain descending slightly to the southeast towards a generally flat topography.

Drainage lines are difficult to define in the study area. This is most likely a result of the predominantly sand composition of the deposit. Deep sand deposits commonly store water, releasing precipitation slowly in the form of subterranean water flows³. The former back swamp in the north east is likely to have been fed from surrounding elevated area by this form of drainage.

¹ Bannerman (1990): 2

² Bannerman (1990): 2

³ Comber (2004): 64

4.1.3 Geology and Soils

Bannerman and Hazelton's soil landscape map for the Penrith 1:100 000 map sheet indicates that the study area extends across two separate soil landscapes: Agnes Banks and Freeman's Reach.⁴

As defined by Bannerman and Hazelton, the elevated alluvial terraces, undulating rises and associated plateaus in the southern portion of the study area are contained within the Agnes Banks alluvial soil landscape. This landscape typically consists of low parallel dunes deposited on flat Tertiary and Pleistocene terraces with an average slope of less than 5% and local relieve of 7m. It occurs in two discrete patches adjacent to the Hawkesbury River, one east of Richmond and the other just north of Pitt Town. The underlying geology of this landscape is coarse to medium grain quartz sands derived from Upper Hawkesbury and Nepean catchment sandstones. Soils are typically deep acidic and sandy overlying yellow sandy clays containing iron rich nodules (coffee rock).

It is worth noting that many authors, including Mitchell and Gobert, distinguish between the two sand bodies at Richmond and Pitt Town, separating the *Pitt Town Sands* from the *Agnes Banks Sands*.⁵ After analysing the stratigraphy of alluvial sequence in the Hawkesbury Valley Gobert argues soil development was less pronounced at Pitt Town. She interpreted the sediments as being of Pliocene or Pleistocene age deposited as a levee on an incised floodplain. Drilling by Baker found that the maximum thickness of the sand body was 9m with an average depth of 4m and that the sand overlays clay, although the boundary between the two units was uneven.⁶ Whilst argument over the nomenclature of this soil landscape continues, it is generally accepted that both sand bodies are fluvial deposits overlying older clays of the Londonderry Formation, are partially redistributed by westerly winds and are early Pleistocene or Pliocene in age.

Remaining low-lying areas of land in the northern portion of the study area, including the former back-swamp area and adjacent northern hill-slope, are contained within the Freeman's Reach soil landscape.⁷ Bannerman and Hazelton describe this landscape as being discontinuous, extending along the banks of the Hawkesbury / Nepean River north of Victoria Bridge.⁸ It is essentially an active floodplain consisting of alluvium derived from Narrabeen Group, Hawkesbury Sandstone and Wianamatta Group soil materials. Soils are typically deep friable brown sands and loams subject to erosion and frequent flooding. The landscape is typically level with some minor relief (less than 10m) extending to scrolls, levees and back swamps. Isolated deposits of ancient river gravels are commonly found along the Hawkesbury / Nepean fluvial corridor.

4.1.4 Vegetation

Prior to land clearance the Nepean-Hawkesbury floodplain in the Windsor area was characterised by high alluvial levee banks that separate depressions known as 'back swamps' from freshwater riparian wetlands. Vegetation on these elevated levees consisted of Tall Open forest dominated by Forest red gum (*Eucalyptus tereticornis*) with trees typically over 30 metres in height. Understorey species would have included grasses, such as spear grass (*Stipa verticillata*) and *Microlaena*, shrub species such as Blackthorn (*Bursaria spinosa*) and *Hymenanthera dentata*, ferns including Bracken (*Pteridium esculentum*) and vines such as Sarsaparilla (*Smilax spp*). Floodplains typically consisted of dense stands of Swamp Oak (*Casuarina glauca*).

During an exploration along the Hawkesbury - Nepean River in 1791 Captain-

⁴ Bannerman (1990)

⁵ Mitchell in Comber (2004): 67

⁶ 1977, as referred to in Comber (2004)

⁷ Bannerman (1990): 72

⁸ Bannerman (1990): 72

Lieutenant Watkin Tench made the following comment on soils, vegetation and fauna bordering the Hawkesbury River.⁹ Based on the map of the route followed it is highly likely that this description refers directly to the section of river bordering the study area.

The whole of the country we passed was poor, and the soil within a mile of the river changed to a coarse deep sand, which I have invariable found to compose its banks, in every part, without exception, that I ever saw. The stream at this place is about three hundred and fifty feet wide; the water pure and excellent to the taste; the banks are about twenty feet high, and covered with trees, many of which had been evidently bent by the force of the current, in the direction which it runs, and some of them contained rubbish and drift wood in their branches, at least forty-five feet above the level of the stream. We saw many ducks.

Evidently, the river and surrounding land within the study area had undergone at least one considerable flooding event during this period, given the amount of debris present along the creek.

Almost all of the original vegetation within the study area has been removed, with the exception of a few remnant Eucalyptus and Melaleuca trees near the riverbank. Lots 15 and 16 are currently under cultivation (cabbage, at the time of survey). A small citrus orchard is present in Lot 12. Remaining areas are either disused / abandoned crop fields or cleared grazing paddocks.

4.2 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY AREA

4.2.1 Aboriginal Occupation before 1788

The *Darug* people are the traditional owners of the Pitt Town area. The *Darug* are part of a broad language group that originally extended from the eastern suburbs of Sydney as far south as La Perouse, west as far as Bathurst and north as far as the Hawkesbury River.¹⁰

The accounts provided by the early European explorers and settlers provide valuable evidence when attempting to reconstruct aspects of *Darug* traditional lifestyle. The subsistence and economy of Aboriginal groups such as the *Darug* depended largely on the environment in which they lived. Whilst coastal groups exploited marine and estuarine resources, hinterland groups relied on freshwater and terrestrial animals and plants. Animals such as wallabies, kangaroos, possums, flying foxes, water birds, parrots, reptiles, freshwater fish and yabbies played a far greater role in the subsistence of hinterland groups than on the coast. This distinction between the two lifestyles is clearly made in early European accounts.

One account that is particularly relevant to the current study was written by Captain-Lieutenant Watkin Tench during his 1791 exploration along the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. During their search for Richmond Hill, Tench and his companions travelled northwest from Rose Hill (Parramatta) following the Hawkesbury River to Cattai Creek. Maps drawn by Tench indicate that the exploration party crossing directly through the study area (see Figure 4.1). Guided and informed by Colbee an Aboriginal man from the Cadigal tribe, Tench recorded the following information about the local *Darug* group living in the area to the north west of Parramatta:

⁹ Tench (1793): 226

¹⁰Eades (1976)

We asked Colbee the name of the people who lived inland, and he called them Boo-roo-ber-on-gal; and said they were bad; whence we conjectured, that they sometimes war with those on the sea coast.....We asked how they lived. He said, on birds and animals, having no fish.¹¹

On their return journey through the study area the explorers encountered a group of Aboriginal men in canoes. One member of this party introduced himself as Gom-beè-ree. He exchanged two stone hatchets and two spears for two hatchets from the governor and some bread and indicated a path along the river. After the explorers had crossed Bardenarang Creek Gomberee was joined by two other members of the canoe party Yèl-lo-mun-dee and a boy called Dèe-im-ba. The women and children travelling with this group remained on the opposite side of the river throughout the encounter. Tench questioned Yèl-lo-mun-dee and wrote the following account about their lifestyle.

What we were able to learn from them was, that they depend but little on fish, as the river yields only mullets, and that their principal support is derived from small animals which they kill, and some roots (a species of wild yam chiefly) which they dig out of the earth. If we rightly understood them, each man possesses two wives...Neither of the men had suffered the extraction of a front tooth.¹²

He goes on to comment on differences between the dialects of coastal and hinterland groups, commenting that *'all the different terms seemed to be familiar to both parties, though each in speaking preferred its own'*.¹³ A memorial to Tench's and Colbee's meeting with Yèl-lo-mun-dee, Gom-beè-ree and Dèe-im-ba has been erected on Pitt Town Bottoms Road, on the eastern bank of Bardenarang Creek.¹⁴

The relative scarcity of resources in the hinterland and the increased work associated with procuring terrestrial foods through hunting meant that the hinterland was more thinly populated than the coast. Inland population densities were assessed by early settlers as being less than those on the coast. A recent study of early historical sources regarding the Cumberland Plain has suggested that there was a minimum population density of 0.5 persons per square kilometre.¹⁵ This compares with an estimate of 0.75 persons per square kilometre in the coastal zone around Port Jackson¹⁶.

The Pitt Town area itself contains a number of different environments that continue to support a diverse range of plant and animal species. On Hawkesbury / Nepean River terraces, such as those within the study area, tall open forest would have supported a wide variety of game. Similarly, wet sclerophyll forest along creeks and gullies would have provided shelter for numerous animal and plant species that could be eaten or used for other purposes such as providing shelter and medicines. A number of tree species present in the Pitt Town area supplied bark that could be used in the production of twine for nets and baskets. Consumable plants species found in the area include figs, yams, fern roots, cabbage tree palm hearts and certain lilies.

Plant management practices that bear remarkable similarity to those reported in northern Australia were also conducted in the Sydney region. For instance, evidence has been found that indicates the *Darug* practiced fire-stick land management in and around Sydney. When the first fleet arrived in Sydney, Captain John Hunter found an environment where:

the trees stand very wide of one another, and have no underwood; in short the woods ... resemble a deer park, as much as if they had been

¹¹ Tench (1793): 225

¹² Tench (1793): 230

¹³ Tench (1793): 230

¹⁴ Bardenarang is spelled variously as Bardonnerrang and Bardororong. The date at which the name entered common European usage has not been determined.

¹⁵ Attenbrow (2002): 17

¹⁶ Attenbrow (2002): 17

intended for such a purpose.

This is the classic result of Aboriginal firing of the landscape. 'Fire-stick farming' opened up access to land and created pockets of early succession vegetation that increased the number of edible plant foods. Early regrowth vegetation, particularly grasses, attracted animals, which in turn made them easier to hunt. Aboriginal firing of the landscape was an important tool in manipulating the environment to increase food sources.

Plant management was not just restricted to manipulation of the environment. Plant processing also figured prominently and enabled the *Darug* and other groups to broaden their range of food sources. Hunter provides an interesting account of trying to eat a poisonous yam (probably *Dioscorea bulbifera*) and becoming violently sick. Hunter had seen Aborigines digging this same yam and concluded:

They no doubt have some way of preparing these roots, before they can eat them.

Such plant management and processing practices were an important part of the economies of Aboriginal groups living in hinterland areas such as Pitt Town.

4.2.2 Exploration and Contact - 1789-1794

The first European expedition into the Hawkesbury region was undertaken in June 1789 by Governor Arthur Phillip. The investigation was initiated by the need to provide the Colony with well-watered arable land. The initial investigation was undertaken by boat travelling the length of the river from Broken Bay to Richmond Hill. The richness of the Hawkesbury floodplain, when compared to the disappointing land surrounding Port Jackson and Botany Bay induced Phillip to propose settlement of the region to be undertaken at some later date. This initial exploration was followed later in the year and in 1790 by several journeys by land undertaken by Captain-Lieutenant Watkin Tench. These were primarily directed to the region immediately west of the settlement at Rose Hill during which contact was made with the Nepean section of the river.

As mentioned above, in April 1791 Governor Phillip in company with Tench, Dawes, Collins and the guides Colebee and Boladeree set out from Rose Hill with the aim of reaching Richmond Hill. The party appears to have followed the Pitt Town ridge and passed down the eastern side of the ridge as it approached the Hawkesbury River. This places their first contact with the River on the eastern side of Hawkesbury Street on 12 April 1791 (an interpretation of this evidence is outlined in Appendix 1). After following the river eastwards to Cattai Creek the party realised it had travelled too far east and retraced its steps, by-passing Hall's point and reconnecting with the river by travelling through the low-lying land in Lots 13 and 18. It was at this point that the initial encounter with the canoe-borne party of Yèl-lo-mun-dee, Gom-beè-ree and Dèe-im-ba took place and that a pathway was indicated.

4.2.3 European Settlement – First Grants 1794-1807

In 1794 the alienation of riverside properties in the vicinity of Green Hills (Windsor) commenced with the release of 22 grants. These properties were on the river flats in the vicinity of South Creek and formed a cluster along both the Creek and the Wilberforce Reach of the Hawkesbury. Three of these properties were however located to the east of the main cluster along the riverbank adjacent to the Canning Reach. The first grants along the Canning Reach were made to Thomas Webb (later designated as Portion 11 of Ph Pitt Town) and Joseph Caldwell on 3 November 1794

and then to Joseph Welsted on the 19 November 1794.¹⁷ All three grants were of 30 acres a standard for the district.

In February 1795 David Collins reported that:

*On the 28th Thomas Webb, a settler, who had removed from his farm at Liberty Plains to another on the banks of the Hawkesbury, was dangerously wounded there, while working on his grounds by some of the wood natives, who had previously plundered his hut. About the same time a party of these people threw a spear at some soldiers who were going up the river in a small boat. All these unpleasant circumstances were to be attributed to the ill treatment the natives had received from the settlers.*¹⁸

Webb subsequently died of his wounds and was buried the following month.¹⁹ This action took place on the eastern side of Hall's Point immediately adjacent to the northeast corner of the Study Area.

Thomas Tylor

On 1 May 1797 the first section of the Study Area was alienated.²⁰ This took the form of a 60-acre grant to Thomas Tylor (later designated as Portion 15 Ph Pitt Town). The district had been named Mulgrave Place making it a distinct land district. Tylor had served as a corporal in the New South Wales Corps, arriving in New South Wales by the *Queen* in October 1790. He took his discharge on 26 November 1794 and like many other former soldiers he received an initial grant of 25 acres in the district of Liberty Plains (Concord).²¹ The move from Concord to the Hawkesbury was undertaken by a number of families of military settlers in the late 1790s, partly as a Government policy to settle the discharged military on the 'frontier' of settlement in its most fertile zones. The earlier grants between Sydney and Parramatta were often in areas that were convenient to the existing settlements but within soil landscapes of low fertility.

Among the other families to receive Hawkesbury grants in May 1797 was that of Henry Fleming who gained possession of the 30-acre block adjoining the western boundary of the Tylor grant.²² Six-year old Henry Fleming was the son of Sergeant Joseph Fleming of the New South Wales Corps.²³ Like Tylor, Joseph Fleming had received 25 acres at Concord on 11 November 1794.²⁴ Joseph Fleming died before April 1796 and his widow Mary married convict Benjamin Jones in Sydney in 1798.²⁵ The family moved to the Hawkesbury property of Henry Fleming where the family began an association with the district that would eventually involve control of the Study Area.

By 1800 Tylor owned 6 pigs and had sown 10 acres of Wheat with 12 acres of maize to be planted.²⁶ It is assumed that Tylor and his wife, Catherine Johnston (e) were resident on the property during this period. On 12 April 1803 Tylor was granted a

¹⁷ Ryan (1981): 28, 30, and 65. The grant documents refer to the grantee as both Thomas Webb and James Webb – the latter designation appears to be an error.

¹⁸ Collins (1975): Vol 1 p.346.

¹⁹ The Chronological Register (NSWBDM) burial, Thomas Webb settler 21 May 1795.

²⁰ Ryan (1981): 103 and LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882

²¹ Statham (1992): 351 and Ryan (1981) 29. Tylor, sometimes Tyler and Taylor, enlisted in Britain on 3 December 1789. He subsequently spent much of his service in New South Wales on Norfolk Island.

²² Ryan (1981): 102

²³ Joseph Fleming his wife Mary and daughter arrived in Sydney in 1791 by the *William and Ann*.

²⁴ Ryan (1981): 29

²⁵ Jones arrived by the *Britannia* in 1791. Jones and his family eventually moved to Van Diemen's Land in 1815 leaving Henry Fleming behind as trustee of the Jones estates (Warner (1990): 162)

²⁶ Settlers Muster Book 1800: entry AA373

further 110 acres adjacent to the southern boundary of his existing farm (later designated as Portion 46 Ph Pitt Town).²⁷

At some time before 1806 approximately 24 acres of the western part of the original grant was transferred to Benjamin Jones.²⁸ The transfer was not registered; however details of the transaction are presented in later newspaper reports.²⁹ The Land and Stock Muster for 1806 listed Tylor as possessing 150 acres rather than the combined area of 170 acres. At this time he had 12 acres under wheat, 5½ acres of maize, and 2½ acres of barley, 1 acre of orchard and garden and 129 acres of pasture.³⁰

In April 1807 Thomas Tylor and Catharine Tylor otherwise Johnson announced their intention to leave the Colony by the *Commerce*.³¹

James Simpson

The third part of the Study Area forming the northern and eastern section between Hall Street and the River was alienated in 1802 by James Simpson. Simpson had arrived on 7 October 1792 by the *Royal Admiral* possibly as a convict.³² Simpson's life in the Colony and in the Hawkesbury district in particular remains unclear. He does not appear to have been eligible for a grant and his first association with land on the Hawkesbury is through the lease of existing properties.

In 1800 Simpson was leasing 50 acres including the deceased Thomas Webb's grant of 30 acres and probably William Waring's 20 acres of ground.³³ He was in possession of 12 pigs, had sown 28 acres of wheat and was to sow a further 4 acres of maize.³⁴ In 1801 Simpson and in company with a Thomas Bateman or Pateman had 31 acres under wheat and maize and 75 pigs, this was presumably the Webb and Waring grants.³⁵

James Simpson was granted 160 acres in the district of Mulgrave Place on 31 March 1802.³⁶ This took the form of two areas of land, one of 110 acres (later Portion 14 Ph Pitt Town) and a second area of 50 acres (later Portion 12 Ph Pitt Town) located at Hall's Point. The Land and Stock Muster of 1802 indicates that 46 acres of cleared ground were under crop by Simpson and Bateman on land that had been granted but it is not clear if this was concentrated on one grant or spread across the two portions. At this time 32 acres were under wheat, 4 acres under barley and 10 acres were to be

²⁷ LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882

²⁸ Jones had acquired the 200 acres forming Portion 70 immediately to the south of Tylor's second grant on 30 June 1803 (Ryan (1981): 158). In Warner (1989): 167 it is stated that Benjamin Jones purchased the western portion of the Tylor property in c.1801 but this would have reduced the Tylor property to only 36 acres. A transfer of land following the acquisition of the southern, 110 acre block by Tylor in 1803 appears to be more likely, given the relationship between the boundary of the western side of Tylor's new block and the new, eastern boundary of Fleming's extended block.

²⁹ SG 11 May 1841: 4. Tylor did eventually leave the Colony but his wife may have remained in New South Wales (see Hardy (1985): 150-151)

³⁰ Land and Stock Muster of NSW 1806: entry B0554

³¹ SG 19 April 1807: 1

³² The records regarding Simpson's status are equivocal, in some records he is recorded as arriving free and in others as free by servitude.

³³ William Waring was granted 30 acres on the banks of the River Hawkesbury in the district of Mulgrave Place 14 February 1798 (Ryan (1981): 109). Waring arrived by the *Admiral Gambier* in 1792 and although the grant is described as 30 acres in extent it is shown in all subsequent maps as being of 20 acres only. The Waring grant was located on the western boundary of the Webb grant.

³⁴ Settlers Muster Book 1800: entry AA258

³⁵ King's List 1801: entry BD265

³⁶ Ryan (1981): 149 and LTO No 80 (2) Ap 39619 Grant to James Simpson 31 March 1802 Two allotments in district of Mulgrave: one of 50 acres bounded on S by 30 acres of James Webb, the second of 110 acres bounded on W by Tyler Farm, N by Waring Farm, E by Buck Farm: 160 acres known as Simpson Farm.

planted with maize. Livestock consisted of two goats and 26 hogs with 250 bushels of wheat and 200 bushels of maize in hand.³⁷

By 1806 Simpson and Bateman had cleared a considerable portion of the 160-acre grant. At the time of the Land and Stock Muster, 50 acres were sown with wheat, 4 acres with barley, ½ acre of potatoes, 2 acres of garden and orchard, 23 acres of fallow land and 80½ acres of pasture. Livestock consisted of 12 hogs while there were only 15 bushels of wheat in hand.³⁸ Both Simpson and Bateman were resident on the property but were not being victualled from the Government stores while their two convict servants Charles Mooney and William Purvey were.

During this period the so-called 'Black War' was waged along the course of the Hawkesbury between Richmond Hill and Portland Head. The records associated with this particular phase of the region's history are scant. The first well-documented incident was the murder of an Aboriginal boy in October 1794.³⁹ By mid 1795 the Hawkesbury district was in a state of open warfare, particularly after the death of Thomas Webb in May 1795. The situation was further inflamed in 1799 when two Aboriginal boys were murdered at Windsor by the settlers Edward Powell, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timms and William Butler.⁴⁰ At the subsequent trial testimony was sought from a member of the Court, Lt. Neil McKellar, in regard to the orders he had issued to his troops in regard to the indigenous population while in command of the Hawkesbury detachment. McKellar's response was "To destroy them whenever they were met with after having been guilty of outrages except Native children as were domesticated amongst the Settlers."⁴¹ McKellar had been selected for command of the proposed Hawkesbury settlement in 1792 indicating that punitive action was taken against the local peoples on the Hawkesbury from the very beginning of European settlement.

Hostilities reached a peak in 1804 and 1805 with the process of attack and counterattack moving downstream from the Windsor-Richmond district to Portland Head. This latter region had been alienated in 1803 following a series of grants to the "Coromandel" settlers. The families include the Halls, Johnstons, and Davisons who would later figure in property dealings in the study area and surrounds. Their presence in the Pitt Town-Wilberforce-Ebenezer district would result in significant changes to the development of the region.

During 1796-1797 the Hawkesbury district was connected by road to Toongabbie and Parramatta. This road followed the course of the present Old Windsor Road. It is not clear at this point if the road was extended from Green Hills (Windsor) to the future Pitt Town region.

4.2.4 Establishment of the Blighton Estate: 1807-1809

A significant change took place to the Study Area following the arrival of William Bligh as fourth Governor of the colony of New South Wales.⁴² Bligh arrived in Sydney on 6

³⁷ Land and Stock held by free officers etc in 1802: entry A6347

³⁸ Land and Stock Muster of NSW 1806: entry B0559

³⁹ Willey (1979): 173

⁴⁰ Willey (1979): 158

⁴¹ Willey (1979): 158

⁴² Bligh was appointed on 22 April 1805 due in part to the recommendation provided by Sir Joseph Banks. Bligh received a salary of £2000 and the ability to retain his naval rank and remain eligible for future promotion. William Bligh, the son of Francis and Jane Bligh, was born near Plymouth on 9 September 1754. He commenced his Naval career in 1770 as an able seaman on H.M.S. *Hunter* and in the following year was appointed as a midshipman. On 17 March 1776 he was appointed master of the *Resolution*, under the command of Lt. James Cook. On 4 February 1781 he was married to Elizabeth Betham and was shortly after appointed master of the *Belle Poule*. Between 1783 and 1787 he was a captain in the merchant service and in the latter year he was offered the command of the HMS *Bounty*, on an expedition to procure breadfruit trees for cultivation in the West Indies. On 28 April 1788 the vessel was

August 1806 and succeeded Philip Gidley King on 14 August. Bligh had been directed to curb the trade in spirits, a course that would inevitably bring him into conflict with the main retailers, the officers of the New South Wales Corps.⁴³ Soon after his arrival the outgoing-Governor King granted Bligh 240 acres outside Sydney (the 'Camperdown' Estate), 105 acres at Parramatta (the 'Mt Betham' Estate) and 1000 acres at Rouse Hill (the 'Copenhagen' Estate).⁴⁴ In the following January Bligh reciprocated by granting an estate of 790 acres to Mrs King named as 'Thanks'. Bligh had been accompanied to the Colony by his daughter Mary, wife of Lt. John Putland, captain of HMS *Porpoise*. Mary Putland was granted 600 acres of land in the district of Evan (St Mary's) by Governor King back-dated to 1 January 1806.⁴⁵ This system of reciprocal grants was wholly irregular.

At the time of Bligh's arrival the Colony was suffering the effects of severe flooding which had occurred in the Hawkesbury River region during March 1806 and by a general fall-off in shipping to Sydney. The Colony was operating below subsistence level with the importation of significant quantities of staple foodstuffs still being necessary. On 30 September 1806 Bligh returned to Sydney from his first visit to the Hawkesbury, an area to which he had previously ordered the despatch of seed maize for planting for the relief of the settlers.⁴⁶ As part of the importance Bligh viewed the Hawkesbury he also offered to take wheat from the next crop into the Government stores at 15 shillings per bushel, a prospect that cemented his relationship with the settlers.⁴⁷ King had previously pursued a policy of establishing centres for food production away from the Hawkesbury on places such as Norfolk Island. He was concerned that a single incidence of flooding in the Hawkesbury could effectively result in famine in the Colony as a whole.⁴⁸ In regard to the Hawkesbury farmers and to farmers throughout the Colony King had lamented in March 1806 that:

*As a very few, indeed scarce any, of our Cultivators have the least Notion of a regular System of Agriculture beyond what the Customs and Observances of the oldest Settler affords the others.*⁴⁹

seized by acting-lieutenant Fletcher Christian. Bligh was set adrift with loyal members of the crew and eventually arrived in London in March 1790. In October he was acquitted at the court-martial to inquire into the loss of the *Bounty* and in August 1791 he set sail with the *Providence* and the *Assistant* in order to complete his mission. Bligh was on half pay until April 1795 when he was placed in command of the *Calcutta*. In 1797 Bligh commanded HMS *Director* at the battle of Camperdown where he distinguished himself by capturing the Dutch flagship. In 1801, in command of HMS *Glanton*, he fought at the Battle of Copenhagen under Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson. During this same year he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society.

Following the events surrounding his removal from office in New South Wales Bligh arrived in Britain on 25 October 1810. At the court-martial of Johnston the charges against Bligh were disproved after full investigation, and Johnston was cashiered. Bligh stated that the mutiny was very much about trading interests, especially in spirits, and named Macarthur particularly as being dissatisfied with its prohibition. Following his court martial Bligh received a governor's pension and was firstly gazetted rear admiral of the Blue and then, in 1814, as vice-admiral. He died while on a visit to London on 7 December 1817.

⁴³ Bligh's other reforms included the following - all promissory notes were to be paid in sterling; new port regulations were issued concerning the landing of spirits; barter, in spirits in particular, was outlawed; an order was issued banning the use of non-government stills; formal approval from London was required for all land grants, and town lots were regulated resulting in the demolition of several private homes.

⁴⁴ 10 August 1806 (Ryan (1981): 190)

⁴⁵ Ryan (1981): 186

⁴⁶ SG 5 October 1806: 2

⁴⁷ SG: 21 December 1806

⁴⁸ King (1981): 95

⁴⁹ HRA vol v: 650 King to Camden 15 March 1806

This visit was followed by a second in November 1806 during which Bligh remained at the Hawkesbury “where his presence has had a most salutary operation in influencing the Settlers to industry and exertion”.⁵⁰

These visits and his growing familiarity with the importance to the survival of the Colony of the Hawkesbury’s agricultural potential drew Bligh into a close alliance with the Hawkesbury settlers. Bligh was later to describe the events surrounding the formation of ‘Blighon’ thus:

*All the Land upon the material part of the Banks of the Hawkesbury being granted away to Individuals, except a small spot in which Government House stood, and the extent of that Settlement rendering it necessary to have a resting-Place in my journeys, as well as to render it easier for the Settlers to have access to me, I directed the Rev’d Samuel Marsden to purchase a small Place eligible for my purpose, which he did of a Person returning to England for one hundred and fifty Pounds of my own money at the rate of a Pound per Acre, and to which I added by purchase an adjoining piece of about one hundred Acres for one hundred Pounds. In the cultivation of part of this spot, I also wished to prove by example to the Settlers that a few Acres properly taken care of would produce as much as a great many by their modes of farming, where considerable time and labour would be saved for other valuable concerns.*⁵¹

Bligh had recognised the agricultural potential of the region and stated in despatches to England:

*The fine River of Hawkesbury (notwithstanding the evils attending it by Floods) is a great benefit to the principal part of our Corn Settlement.*⁵²

Bligh’s career had a number of previous agricultural dimensions. In 1788 Bligh had planted a garden at Adventure Bay in Tasmania in order to supply future voyagers to that land. Bligh’s fame or infamy had derived from an agricultural venture, the voyage of HMS *Bounty* and the attempt to supply the West Indies with breadfruit. Apart from these activities and his strong associations with Sir Joseph Banks, Bligh himself does not appear to have been a farmer or estate owner. He did however recognise mismanagement and false economy in any field of endeavour.

Farming practices along the Hawkesbury depended almost entirely upon the bounty of the river itself. A record of the manner in which land was managed during this period is provided in the memoirs of Joseph Holt. He states that:

*The Hawkesbury lies low under the Blue Mountains and is the finest land in the world. It produces two crops a year and I lived in that part of the world thirteen years and thirteen years before I went there the land was in cultivation and it never got one pound of manure, nor did it want any. At my leaving the country, the farmers throw the dung in the rivers and burns the straw, to get it out the way.*⁵³

Bligh described the method of cultivation commonly employed throughout the Colony:

*This severe labour of hoeing must continue in most places while the stumps of the Trees remain in great numbers and lie near to each other; but as I am encouraging the use of the Plough, and granting Oxen to those who desire to purchase them.*⁵⁴

⁵⁰ SG: 30 Nov 1806 (Supp 2)

⁵¹ HRA Vol 6 :524 Bligh to Castlereagh 30 June 1808

⁵² HRA vol 6: 144 Bligh to Windham 31 October 1807

⁵³ O’Shaughnessy (1988): 56

⁵⁴ HRA vol 6: 145-146 Bligh to Windham 31 October 1807

Bligh was very much a man of the Enlightenment, despite the reputation extended to him in the twentieth century. In 1793 he received a gold medal from the Royal Society of Arts and in 1801 was elected a fellow of the Royal Society for distinguished services to navigation and botany. His close associates included Sir Joseph Banks and his mentor Duncan Campbell, an influential merchant, plantation owner and agent of imperial policy who happened to be his wife's uncle. The Enlightenment also saw the propagation of the concept of the 'model' farm'. In Britain model farmsteads were being built by prominent landowners in order to set an example to their tenantry and society at large.⁵⁵ This could be viewed as an obligation that came with power, something that Bligh, as a naval officer was all too familiar with. A revolution in agricultural practices in England commenced in c.1740 but the idea of demonstrating best practice by example received a formal footing under George III who viewed agriculture as "that greatest of all manufactures".⁵⁶ Agriculture, when managed properly was also seen as creating a society of good citizens.⁵⁷

Bligh also recognised the association between an ordered and regulated system of agriculture and the benefits such a system played in creating an ordered and regulated society. His views on this topic were not those of repression but lean more closely to those of a social democrat. In a private letter to Sir Joseph Banks in 1807 Bligh stated his position in the Colony thus:

*I am not here for my ease or comfort but to do justice and relieve the oppressed poor settlers who must be the support of the Country and are honest Men than those who wish to keep them under.*⁵⁸

The systematic approach advocated by the model farm concept may have appealed to Bligh's sense of an ordered landscape and an ordered society operating in an optimum fashion. The sense of duty and obligation behind the idea of the model farm may have induced Bligh to promote the scheme since it reflected upon his position as the King's representative in the Colony. George III created his own model farm at Windsor Great Park in the 1790s employing the expertise of one of the most significant promoters of the concept in Nathaniel Kent.⁵⁹ The concept also received added impetus as a result of inflated grain prices during the Napoleonic Wars where efficiency in agriculture became a patriotic duty as well as an economic necessity.⁶⁰

Bligh's future estate manager, Andrew Thompson in a declaration dated 19 December 1807 expressed the sentiments driving the model farm system:

Having undertaken the Management of an Estate for His Excellency Gov'r Bligh, purchased last Season from Tyler and Simpson, with the grand design of showing what great Improvements and Progress could be made on Farming and Colonial Estates here, Season by Season, under strict attention and industry, proper plans, and good Management, and by such a Noble, laudible and public example in a Chief Governor (as shown by the King of Great Britain Himself), has had its desired effects to convince and excite all descriptions of People to that Spirit of Adventure and persevering Industry which ultimately give a people happiness, plenty, and Independence. And whereas His Excellency has been pleased to trust this little Patriotic Experiment on Colonial farming to my Charge, I do hereby certify and declare that the whole is according to the Statement given, in, and has been managed without impropriety or known Error. And that there is no Debt, charge or encumbrance standing or to pay of or belonging to the Management of this Estate of any nature or kind whatsoever up to this, as I shall answer for the same in my Character,

⁵⁵ Martins (2002): xv

⁵⁶ Martins (2002): 2

⁵⁷ Martins (2002): 2

⁵⁸ Banks Papers ML CY3007 Series 40 pp. 192-193 Bligh to Banks 10 October 1807

⁵⁹ Martins (2002): 68

⁶⁰ Martins (2002): 68

Person and Property in this time past or to come, so long as I may have the Management thereof, as Witness my Hand, voluntarily signed, place, and date as above.⁶¹

In practice the model farm advocated a departure from the disorderly 'design' of the traditional, medieval farmstead replacing it with symmetrically ordered farm buildings and houses arranged about central yards. Each component of the farm complex was placed to insure efficiency of movement of staff, stock, produce and waste. Individual areas or buildings were dedicated to individual functions. The arrangement of these features within the landscape should also have an aesthetic imperative that had the effect of improving the landscape with an almost theatrical air.⁶² It is clear from Bligh's activities in the following twelve months suggest that he had absorbed many of these notions but putting British theory into Australian practice would prove to be an experiment that would eventually recoil on the Governor.

Government farming on the Hawkesbury had been previously restricted to King's rental of a private farm of 171 acres for the Government. This was 'Cornwallis Farm' belonging to the absent owner Capt. Michael Hogan. According to King this had been "successfully and advantageously cropped on account of Government since 1800" with the lease expiring in 1804.⁶³

Bligh purchased the Tylor grant on 1 January 1807.⁶⁴ The sale notice issued in November 1806 described the property thus:

To be sold by Private Contract. A Desirable Farm of 150 Acres, 20 of which are in cultivation, all free from flood, excellently adapted to trade, and equally so to either stock or agriculture; with a good dwelling house and barns, garden and orchard containing upwards of 100 fruit trees and all other appurtenances, the property of Thomas Tylor, of whom particulars may be had on the premises at Hawkesbury.⁶⁵

The person chosen by Bligh to manage his new 'model' farm was former convict Andrew Thompson. Thompson was born in Kirk Yetholm, Scotland in 1773 and had been transported for fourteen years in 1792 following conviction for being in possession of stolen goods. He was initially attached to the men's provision store and later joined the nascent police force, serving initially at Toongabbie in 1793. In 1796 he moved to Green Hills and was made constable. He was pardoned in 1798 and rose to the rank of chief constable. Thompson purchased a number of properties along South Creek and the Hawkesbury. In 1802, he constructed the first toll bridge over South Creek and was involved in a number of trading and manufacturing enterprises. Thompson built four ships, the *Nancy*, *Hope*, *Hawkesbury* and the *Governor Bligh*; he also purchased the *Speedwell* from Captain Grono. On Bligh's arrival Thompson was one of the largest grain growers and wealthiest settlers in the colony.

Thompson was an astute choice and cooperated with Bligh both in this venture and as Bligh's mouthpiece amongst the Hawkesbury settlers. He also had responsibility for at least some of Lt Putland's stock since these appear as separate items within the returns forwarded monthly to Bligh.⁶⁶ The association with Bligh in what was an extra-gubernatorial business enterprise would later bring Thompson to the attention of Bligh's enemies in the New South Wales Corps.

⁶¹ *Declaration of Andrew Thompson Hawkesbury 19 December 1807- copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808* [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI: p. 366]

⁶² Martins (2002): 66

⁶³ HRA vol 5: 10 King to Hobart 14 August 1804 and p. 453 King to Camden 30 April 1805

⁶⁴ LTO Book 240 No 683 1 January 1807 conveyance to William Bligh Indenture 1 March 1882

⁶⁵ SG: 16 Nov 1806: 2

⁶⁶ The relationship between the Bligh's and Putland's stock has led to the belief that Putland estates bordered 'Blighton'. There is no evidence to support this contention although some of Putland's stock may have been agisted on 'Blighton'.

Bligh had purchased a well-established property that contained at least 20 acres fit for grain cultivation, one acre of garden and orchard and 125 acres of pasture. The use of the term 'pasture' was probably what was later described as 'forest pasture' where the undergrowth was cleared leaving the main trees standing. The property also contained a dwelling house and an unspecified number of barns. The location of these structures may have partly determined the configuration the farm complex would take under Bligh. The precise position of the Tylor complex is not clear but it is likely that the dwelling is likely to have been located on high ground on the first Tylor block (that is, the current Lots 11 and 12) since the Tylor's had occupied this block for five years. The location of the barns may have been on either or both of the two Tylor grants.

The first reports regarding the farm are weekly returns dated 16 to 21 and 23 to 28 February 1807 from William Haydon the farm's overseer to Andrew Thompson (see Appendix 2 for details of Thompson's returns).⁶⁷ These are returns of labour detailing pale splitting, carrying in palings, manuring the land, preparing clay for bricks, brick making, brush cutting and burning-off and repairing the corn house and making a yard. The corn house would appear to have been one of Tylor's barns. Eleven men were employed in these tasks during this two-week period. Repair of the barn continued into the following month as did brick making and ground preparation.⁶⁸ During March the property was surveyed by James Mein.⁶⁹ In April the stockyard was completed and a further clamp of bricks burnt.⁷⁰ These returns indicate that William Haydon was replaced by Thomas Bundle as overseer in April 1807.

In June 1807 most of the labour force was employed in agricultural duties, the preparation of timber and brick making.⁷¹ Work was also undertaken on the repair of two houses and a barn. This predated the purchase of the adjoining 110 acres of James Simpson grant on 24 June 1807 suggesting that these three structures were on the Tylor grants.⁷²

Following this purchase Thompson submitted an aggregate return from 10 January to 31 July 1807. The total work carried out to buildings and yards was as follows:

- 2 houses repaired
- 1 barn repaired
- 1 paled yard (27½ yards by 27½ yards) constructed
- 1 railed yard (77 yards by 77 yards) constructed
- 1 stock shed 120 feet long in the railed yard under construction
- 1 weatherboard house under construction for the stockman

⁶⁷ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 197 Weekly returns of Labour done at His Excellency's Farm 21 February and 28 February 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808)* [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]

⁶⁸ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 198 Weekly returns of Labour done at His Excellency's Farm 7 March and 14 March 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808)* [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]

⁶⁹ This appears in the original records as John Mein and has been annotated (interpreted) as surveyor James Meehan. A search of Meehan's field and sketch books failed to find any reference to a survey of Bligh's property at this time. A James Mein was however resident on the Hawkesbury at this time. He was one of the 'Coromandel' settlers who arrived in 1802 and subsequently established themselves along the River (*HRA* vol III p.383)

⁷⁰ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 200 Weekly returns of Labour done at His Excellency's Farm 25 April 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808)* [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]

⁷¹ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 204 A return of Labour done at His Excellency's Farm 13 June 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808)* [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]

⁷² LTO Book 240 No 683 24 June 1807 transfer to William Bligh Indenture 1 March 1882. Simpson remained in the Hawkesbury district, possibly on the surviving 50 acres at Hall's Point. In 1808 he was accused of receiving two convicts courtesy of Bligh and in 1809 he held a liquor license in the Hawkesbury district (*SG* 5 March 1809: 1)

- Other yards with pens for the sows and calves constructed⁷³

A return for 22 August 1807 provided more details of these constructions.⁷⁴ The stock shed was constructed in weatherboard and shingled, while the house for the stockman had been completed. Construction included flooring, doors, windows, shutters and chimney. The paled yards were two in number with “Styes, Pens &c”.

On 23 August 1807 Bligh proceeded from Parramatta to Hawkesbury for the muster.⁷⁵ This was possibly his first chance to view the improvements made to ‘Blighton’ and Thompson’s return for August 1807 may have been written specifically for this event.

Throughout the remainder of 1807 a considerable amount of construction work was undertaken. However it is not clear if all of the work listed below was carried out between August and December 1807 or if previously completed work is included in the schedule of 19 December 1807.⁷⁶

The buildings and yards enumerated were as follows:

- 1 Brick Building (as out offices) 54 feet long 15 feet wide and 9 feet high containing kitchen, servants room and coach house, kitchen flagged, window and door frames, roofed but not shingled;
- 1 Brick Barn 50 feet long 18 feet wide and 13 feet high, wall plates tie beams and rafters up, but not shingled;
- 1 Shed 200 feet long weatherboarded and nearly shingled containing at the end two rooms for stockmen, with double brick chimney, doors, windows &c;
- A house for the overseer to live in with dairy, store room &c. with brick chimney, paved floor, windows and doors, also an open part for milking in, another for the sheep &c with pens for calves, sties for pigs. The house is described as being “about the Centre”;
- A six railed fence forming different paddocks or enclosures for stock containing about fifteen acres;
- 1 paled Barnyard 100 feet by 100 feet containing two staddles;
- 1 paled Pig Yard 80 feet by 80 feet;
- 1 paled Sheep Yard;
- 1 paled Milking Yard;
- 1 paled House Yard; and
- 1 paled Stockyard

The person charged with selling the milk delivered from the dairy was one W. Walker who was to have “the Brick House, &c, rent free.”⁷⁷

This formed the last report supplied by Thompson to Bligh in regard to ‘Blighton’ as both were overtaken by the events of January 1808.

By October 1807 Bligh’s relationship with the New South Wales Corps came under strain following his intercession in a dispute between Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp and Major George Johnston, commanding officer of the Corps. This saw Bligh countermand an order from the commanding officer of the Corps. Criticism of Bligh’s

⁷³ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 208 A General Account of Labour done at His Excellency’s Farm Stock, Tools &c up to August 22nd 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]*

⁷⁴ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 207 An Aggregate return of Labour done at His Excellency’s Farm from January 10th to July 31st 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721]*

⁷⁵ SG 30 August 1807: 2

⁷⁶ *Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 202 Return of Stock Improvements etc at His Excellency’s Farm 19 December 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808)*

⁷⁷ HRA vol 6: 365 Extracts from Private Ledger 19 December 1807 Johnston to Castlereagh (Enclosure 5)

use, or misuse, of Government stock, labour and materials appeared in the same month when John Harris wrote to former Governor King that:

*Governor Bligh is now turned a great farmer, and has plenty of stock at the Nepean. Andrew Thompson is his director and right hand man. His farm is all fenced in, and in high cultivation. I am told that he has got an immense flock of cows from Government herd, not picked as Gov. King's were but picked as I would have done had I been Governor king....*⁷⁸

In December 1807 Bligh came into conflict with John Macarthur regarding breaches of the landing regulations and the latter's failure to forfeit a significant bond as directed by the civil court. Macarthur refused to obey a warrant requiring his appearance at court and was subsequently arrested and committed for trial before the criminal court scheduled for 25 January 1808. In the interim Bligh's son-in-law, Lt Putland died of tuberculosis, the funeral bringing together a number of the principal protagonists.⁷⁹

Bligh and Macarthur had already been involved in a series of disputes including Macarthur's intention to distribute large quantities of low-priced imported wine to members of the New South Wales Corps, the seizure of illegal stills and Bligh's prevention of Macarthur from enclosing and taking possession of land granted to him by King on Church Hill, Sydney. It was during this phase of the Bligh Macarthur conflict that 833 settlers signed an address thanking Bligh for improved their lives, and assuring him that they would always regard themselves as bound "at the risque of our lives and properties" to support his government.⁸⁰

At trial Macarthur protested at the presence of the Judge-Advocate Richard Atkins citing his alcoholic character and animosity towards Macarthur as reasons. In this Macarthur was supported by other members of the court (members of the Corps) resulting in the court being dissolved. On the following day Bligh again ordered Macarthur's arrest and the return of the court papers being held by the New South Wales Corps. The Corps in opposition requested a new Judge-Advocate and the release of Macarthur on bail. This resulted in the officers of the Corps being summoned to Government House to answer charges raised by Atkins. Bligh also took the opportunity to inform Johnston that he considered the action of his officers to be treasonable. Johnston, under Macarthur's influence and with a public petition arrested Bligh on the evening of 26 January 1808. Bligh refused to leave for England until lawfully relieved of duty and was subsequently held under arrest and detained Government House for a year. In January 1809 he was given control of HMS *Porpoise* on condition that he returned to England but instead he sailed for Hobart seeking the support of Lieutenant-Governor David Collins.

During the period of his detention in New South Wales the principal officers involved in the coup prepared case documents regarding Bligh's administration and corrupt behaviour. These papers were concerned primarily with the supposed use of Government resources by Bligh for personal benefit. 'Blighton' figured prominently in this material and heavy reliance was placed on both the oral and written testimony of Andrew Thompson regarding the day-to-day operation of the property. These papers were transmitted by George Johnson to Lord Castlereagh on 11 April 1808.⁸¹ At the court martial of Lt.-Col Johnston in 1811 the papers were not produced in Johnston's defence. Much of the information regarding the development and management of

⁷⁸ HRNSW Vol 6 : 346-347

⁷⁹ Putland died on 4 January 1808

⁸⁰ HRNSW Vol VI p.411

⁸¹ These have been reproduced in HRA and they are keys to understanding the operation of the junta immediately after the removal of Bligh (see HRA Series 1 vol VI pp.359-367). The source used by HRA consist of a witnessed copy of the papers that remained in New South Wales and are now held by SRNSW (SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721 (Reports from Andrew Thompson). In transcribing this material for publication in HRA certain liberties were taken with the original orthography and a number of errors and exclusions occurred. For the purposes of this report the 'originals' held by SRNSW have been used.

'Blighton' during Bligh's tenure derives from the testimony (see Appendix 2 for the full text).

Following the removal of Bligh from office Thompson was dismissed as chief constable at the Hawkesbury. He was however rewarded by the regime with a grant of 1,000 acres at Minto following his efforts in rescuing victims of the devastating 1809 floods.

A significant landscape element associated with the 'Blighton' Estate was 'Bligh's Oaks'. This line of trees survived until the 1940s although the precise location of the trees has been subject to speculation. Photographic evidence suggests the line was located along Hall Street. The oaks are said to have been planted in 1807 for Mary Putland by one of Bligh's employees, David Hartley.⁸² Hartley, a farmer born in c.1783 in Loughton Essex was convicted in 1806 under the name David Harknett. He arrived in Sydney on 10 November 1807 by the Duke of Portland and is reputed to have been employed on Bligh's farm as a stockman. In 1811 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. John Grono at Windsor.⁸³ He subsequently took up farming on the Hawkesbury and died at Cattai Creek on 17 November 1863 and was buried at Pitt Town two days later.

The date at which the name 'Blighton' was bequeathed upon the estate remains unclear in all of Andrew Thompson's correspondence.

4.2.5 Blighton after Bligh – Bligh's Heirs & the Hall Estate 1809-1880

The documentation associated with the period following Bligh's sometimes contradictory in nature. Among the first visitors to the site was Col. Foveaux' secretary, the inquisitive Lt. James Finucane - a member of the New South Wales Corps who undertook a number of journeys through the western part of the Cumberland plain. On 5 May 1809 he visited the Hawkesbury and more particularly 'Blighton', a site that had received increased notoriety following the inquiries made by the officers of the Corps during 1808. Finucane's impressions of the site are somewhat at odds with both earlier and later descriptions of the place:

I went to visit an estate of Commodore Bligh pleasantly situated on the banks of the Hawkesbury, in the improvement of which, and in the erection of farm houses, exterior offices etc he is charged by Colonel Johnston with having lavished vast sums of public money. It appeared to me however, that very little money of any kind had been expended on either, or if there had that it was to no purpose.

But I am no judge of rural economy nor of the value of a barn, sheep shed or hog sty which were the only buildings I could discover.⁸⁴

Bligh returned to Sydney from Hobart on 17 January 1810 following the installation of Macquarie as Governor. Bligh made a farewell tour of the interior before leaving for London. This took place at the end of March 1810 and may have included a visit to the Hawkesbury and his Farm.⁸⁵ It is possible that the view of 'Blighton' attributed to George Evans was painted as part of this tour (see Figure 4.5). Bligh's brief sojourn in New South Wales in 1810 also saw the marriage of Bligh's daughter, Mary Putland to Lt.-Col. Maurice O'Connell on 8 May 1810.⁸⁶ O'Connell commanded Macquarie's 73rd Regiment and served as Lieutenant Governor of the Colony.

⁸² Stubbs (1983): vol 1 p.8

⁸³ NSW BDM Marriage V18111270 3A/1811

⁸⁴ Whitaker (1998): 80-81

⁸⁵ SG 31 March 1810: 2

⁸⁶ Maurice Charles O'Connell was born in Riverston (or Riverstown) in County Kerry, Ireland in 1768. Educated in France he studied for the priesthood and subsequently joined the Irish Brigade fighting with the French Army. O'Connell transferred to the British Army and later joined Macquarie's 73rd Regiment. His betrothal to Mary Putland was kept secret from both Bligh and

One of Macquarie's earliest appointments was that of the rehabilitated Andrew Thompson to the post of Magistrate at the Green Hills and as a trustee on the new turnpike road between Parramatta and the Hawkesbury. Thompson's health deteriorated rapidly and he died of tuberculosis on 23 October 1810.

Later in the year the site was visited by Macquarie as part of his first tour of the Colony. His impressions were recorded as follows:

Tuesday 4th Decr. (1810):

Wishing to explore the Hawkesbury River, down as far as Portland Head, and at the same time view the Front Farms on both Banks that far, I set out this morning between 5 and 6 o'clock, accompanied by Mrs. Macquarie, Mrs. Cartwright, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Cox, Mr. Hassall, and the Gentlemen of our Family, in the late Mr. Thompson's Barge and another smaller Boat, on our Excursion to Portland Head. We stopt at Govr. Bligh's Farm of Blighton about six miles below the Green Hills on the Right Bank of the River, a very beautiful situation; and after walking about the grounds there for half an hour we proceeded on our Voyage down the River.⁸⁷

This initial visit by Macquarie to the Hawkesbury district may have prompted his first significant planning scheme, the development of a series of towns throughout the district to act as service centres, places of administration and to a certain extent places of refuge. This plan was put into effect in the following year. Details of Macquarie's second visit to the Study Area are as follows:

Friday 11th Jany. 1811:

Having sent my Horses across the River at Windsor to meet me opposite to Blighton, I proceeded to the latter place in the Carriage with Mrs. Macquarie this morning immediately after Breakfast, in order to survey the Townships of Wilberforce and Pitt Town once, and to mark out their limits; being accompanied by the Surveyor and several Gentlemen. Leaving Mrs. M. at Blighton I crossed the River in a Boat, and mounting my Horse rode through the Phillip District to survey the Scite for the Township intended for this part of the Country; and having finally fixed upon the proper Ground, and the Great Square, Burying Ground, and principal streets being marked out by the Surveyor with Strong Posts, the name /Wilberforce / being Painted on a Board was nailed on a high Post and erected in the middle of the large Square in presence of a great number of the most respectable Settlers in this District. I then recrossed the River to Blighton to join Mrs. M. and having rested there a little while, I proceeded again on a fresh Horse (sending Mrs. M. home in the Carriage by the Main Road) to explore the Ground marked out for the Township of Pitt-Town in the Nelson District. This Ground is not so good or so conveniently situated for the Settlers in general as might be wished, it being not less than 3½ miles from some few of the Front Farms; but no better is to be had, and therefore there is no alternative left but to place the Town on these Heights and which I have accordingly determined on. The Township has consequently been marked out for the Nelson District and named "Pitt-Town"; the Great Square, Burying Ground, and principal Streets being all marked by Strong Posts, describing their respective limits accurately; and the Post with the name of the Town nailed to it, has been erected in the Center of the Great Square.

Macquarie until three days before the marriage. Macquarie gave O'Connell a grant of 2500 acres at Riverston (now Riverstone) as a wedding gift on the day before the marriage. The grant was located across the Windsor Road from Bligh's 'Copenhagen' Estate.

⁸⁷ Macquarie (1810)

Having marked out Pitt-Town, and surveyed the whole of the Grounds accurately, we all returned home to Windsor, where we did not arrive till six o'clock, and then sat down to a good Dinner, finding Mrs. M. safely arrived at home some time before us.⁸⁸

The town of Pitt Town was set out at a point to the northeast of the present town. In regard to the Study Area it is clear that by this stage a road extended from the property capable of carriage traffic. This road was probably the road depicted in later plans extending from the River on Fleming's grant, across Bardenarang Creek and east of Pitt Town Bottoms. This line was parallel to the present Bathurst Street-Punt Road line (see Figure 4.2).

The precise status of 'Blighton' and its occupants in the period immediately following the departure of Bligh is presently unclear. In November 1811 a notice was issued in the Sydney Gazette advertising the lease of all of William Bligh's properties in the Colony, including 'Blighton'.⁸⁹ The property was described as containing houses, garden, stockyards and paddocks in excellent order and beyond the reach of floods with of '40 acres of low land and 50 acres of forest land fit to grow wheat and corn and (indecipherable) acres of uncleared forest land'. The agents for the sale were the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Mr Robert Campbell jnr. The successful lessee appears to have been William Littleton Gaudry (1781?-1816). Gaudry arrived in the Colony in 1807 as a free settler and two years later married Diana, daughter of prominent Sydney merchant Henry Kable.⁹⁰ This should have provided some security in establishing himself as a merchant. The couple resided at Windsor and he became a shareholder in John Howe's auction house and became a debt collector for Kable but his fortunes failed during 1811. In January 1812 a caution against trespass was issued by the anonymous lessee of 'Blighton'.⁹¹ In March of the same year the following advertisement appeared in the Sydney Gazette:

At Blighton Far, the numerous Settlers and Inhabitants on the Hawkesbury River are respectfully acquainted they will be supplied with every Article of Dry Goods, Wine, Spirits, Tea, Sugar &c as reasonably as at any House in Sydney after 14th of April ensuing.⁹²

Again the occupant of 'Blighton' is un-named but in December 1812 it is clear that Gaudry is occupying the premises since he issued a notice for presentation of claims against purchases, these were payable at 'Blighton'.⁹³ Gaudry's occupation of the site may have been short-lived for in November 1813 a notice for the lease of 'Blighton' was again issued.⁹⁴ The agents in this case were the Rev. Samuel Marsden and Bligh's son-in-law, Lt.-Col. Maurice O'Connell.⁹⁵

During 1812 a punt commenced operation between Pitt Town and Wilberforce.⁹⁶ The vessel was constructed by Michael Nowland, the former Superintendent of Convicts at Castle Hill and Hawkesbury settler.⁹⁷ The Pitt Town point of access was located on

⁸⁸ Macquarie (1810)

⁸⁹ SG 23 November 1811: 1

⁹⁰ HFHG (2001): 124

⁹¹ SG 25 January 1812: 2

⁹² SG 21 March 1812: 2

⁹³ SG 26 December 1812: 2

⁹⁴ Gaudry's family maintained links with the Hawkesbury. In 1834 his son Charles married Frances Sommers and a second son George married Elizabeth Walsh in 1837, both at Windsor. Both George and Charles underwent imprisonment in 1836 following a prize-fight at Windsor during which George Gaudry's opponent, James "Stringy-bark" Bishop, died as a result of injuries received (SG 12 November 1836).

⁹⁵ SG 27 November 1813: 2

⁹⁶ Stubbs (1983) Vol 2: 18 Notice 25 April 1812.

⁹⁷ AONSW Col Sec SZ990 p.24. Nowland arrived in New South Wales in 1790 as a convict by the ship *Scarborough*. He was a successful farmer on Norfolk Island and received Lt.-Gov.

Fleming's grant west of Bardenarang Creek (see Figure 4.3). On 30 December 1822 James Davison took over operation of the punt with control eventually passing to the Rev. McGarvie.⁹⁸

The successful lessee was local resident George Hall. George Hall had arrived in New South Wales in June 1802 by the *Coromandel* as part of a group of free settlers, mostly Presbyterian tradesmen and the families.⁹⁹ The *Coromandel* settlers included a number of families related by marriage and included the following, many of whom would play a role in the development of the Pitt Town area and 'Blighton' in particular. The settlers were as follows:

- George Hall, his wife Mary Smith, and children Elizabeth (9), George Smith (7), William (5), and John (6 months).
- James Davison, his wife Jane Johnston, and two sons John (3½) and James (20 months).
- John Howe, his wife Francis Ward, and two daughters Mary (3), and Elizabeth (2 months).
- Andrew Johnston, his wife Mary Beard, and five sons Thomas (10), William (8), John (5), Alexander (3) and Abraham (8 months).
- William Stubbs, his wife Sarah Wingate, and children William (5), Sarah (4) and Elizabeth (1).
- John Tumbull, his wife Ann Warr, and their children Ralph (10), Mary (5), James (4), and Jessica (19 months).
- James Mein and his wife Susannah Skene.
- Andrew Mein.
- Isabella Suddis.
- Ann Selby
- John Johnston (e).

After a temporary start at Toongabbie where the settlers were encouraged to produce crops as quickly as possible, the settlers moved to better quality land on the Hawkesbury. Hall was granted 100 acres downstream from Little Cattai Creek, the property being known as 'Bungool'. Hall had been amongst the Hawkesbury residents to sign a supportive address to Governor Bligh in 1806 but managed to maintain a discrete distance from the events associated with Bligh's dismissal and the operation of the junta that followed it.¹⁰⁰ In 1807 Hall acquired Simpson's 50-acre portion north of 'Blighton'.¹⁰¹ Hall's ties to the Pitt Town district were further cemented in 1810 when his daughter Elizabeth married Henry Fleming at Parramatta.¹⁰²

On 1 January 1814 Hall received the lease of 'Blighton' for 5 years at a rate of £40 p.a.¹⁰³ Hall had purchased Webb's farm, Waring's Farm and Shannon's Farm by the end of 1814, giving him almost complete control of what is now Hall's Point. Total

King's recommendations for a Conditional Pardon due to his good behaviour and usefulness as an overseer. He returned to Sydney from Norfolk Island in October 1796.

⁹⁸ The punt was in poor condition at the time of McGarvie's acquisition and by 11 April 1828 a larger punt had been constructed by Capt. Grono. McGarvie retained his rights to the punt until his death in 1853, leasing operation of the vessel to a number of operators. In 1918 he Government subsidy for the punt withdrawn and in 1921 it ceased operation. Stubbs (1983) Vol 2: 18-19).

⁹⁹ George Hall was born on 5 May 1764 in Lorbottle, Northumberland and died on 26 Oct 1840 at Pitt Town. His wife Mary Smith was born in 1769 in Northumberland and accompanied her husband and four children to New South Wales. George Hall's uncle, William Stirling, was captain of the *Coromandel*. HRA vol III p.383 - "List of Passengers on board the ships *Perseus* and *Coromandel*" in Hobart to King 4 February 1802

¹⁰⁰ Following Bligh's arrest he was coerced by Johnston into signing a petition supporting Johnston's regime – this was later retracted (Warner (1990): 70).

¹⁰¹ Warner (1990): 71

¹⁰² NSWBDM Registry entry V1810907 3A/1810.

¹⁰³ Warner (1990): 72

control was achieved in the following year with the purchase of Henry Buck's Farm.¹⁰⁴ The properties were consolidated as 'Percy Place' with the main house being located on the highest land at Hall's Point on the former Waring property. In 1815 Henry Fleming moved to a town block in the re-located Pitt Town and established an inn and residence while retaining his own property and the western portion of the former Tylor property.¹⁰⁵ Fleming's operation of the inn was not without incident, as was his relationship with James Davison, son of James Davison and Jane Johnston.¹⁰⁶

Maurice O'Connell and Mary Bligh left the Colony by the *General Hewitt* for Ceylon in mid-1814. The manner in which the property was used at this period may be gained from a notice issued by George Hall in September 1815 in which he warned against the trespass of stock on 'Blighton' since the property had been 'purposely taken up for grazing stock'.¹⁰⁷ Following Bligh's death on 7 December 1817 the property passed to his heirs, including his wife and daughters. With the absence of O'Connell and Mary Bligh administration of the property may have been vested in agents appointed in New South Wales.

At some stage during this decade at least part of the property was made available to Matthew Pearson Thompson. Thompson arrived in Sydney in 1814 by the *General Hewitt* as a convict. His fellow passengers included architect Francis Greenway and artist Joseph Lycett, both of whom would enjoy Macquarie's patronage. Despite being under sentence of fourteen years Thompson was almost immediately given the position of schoolmaster at Pitt Town where he established a school in a weatherboard cottage. This was not located in the area set out for the village but in the area to which Pitt Town was relocated in 1815.¹⁰⁸ By 1819 Thompson described his occupancy at 'Blighton' as having resulted in the site being cultivated 'considerably'.¹⁰⁹ Thompson would later become a significant landholder at St Albans and on the Hunter River. The year 1819 may have been the final year of Thompson's occupation for in October 1819 Henry Fleming issued the customary warning regarding trespass of stock on 'Blighton' now described as the "property of Henry Fleming".¹¹⁰ This notice followed one month after the revocation of Fleming's liquor licence in consequence of him running a riotous house.¹¹¹ On 27 November 1819 Fleming issued a further notice of his intention to leave the Colony, although this intention was not carried out.¹¹²

The power of attorney for administration of the 'Blighton' Estate as well as the other Bligh holdings was vested in Capt. James Birnie on 10 June 1820.¹¹³ Birnie was a

¹⁰⁴ Warner (1990): 72

¹⁰⁵ Warner (1990): 72

¹⁰⁶ James Davison had purchased the former Tylor Portion of the Fleming property possibly before 1821 at which time he had the ferry rights from Pitt Town to Wilberforce (SRNSW Col Sec 4/1760 pp.44-45b). In May 1823 Fleming together with James Davison were fined for assaulting and obstructing district constable Thomas Welsh in the execution of his duty (SRNSW Col Sec X820 p97). In 1827 Davison was charged with cattle stealing and received a death sentence that was later commuted to life imprisonment. In the following year the Davison property was purchased by the Ebenezer Church as a manse for the Rev. McGarvie (Warner (1990): 167). In 1819 Davison had married Eliza Maria Suttor, daughter of George Suttor and Sarah Maria Dobinson. Suttor was born at Chelsea in 1774, the son of a gardener and botanist on the estate of Lord Cadogan. He came to the attention of Sir Joseph Banks and was sent to Australia with a collection of trees and plants including grape vines, apples, pears, and hops. He settled at Baulkham Hills and at the time of the Bligh rebellion in 1808 he took up the cause of the deposed governor and was arrested and imprisoned for six months. He referred to Bligh as a "firm and kind-hearted English gentleman, no tyrant and no coward". In 1810 he was summoned to England as a witness on behalf of Bligh, and returned to New South Wales in May 1812. He died at Bathurst on 20 October 1877.

¹⁰⁷ SG 27 September 1815: 1

¹⁰⁸ Barkley (1994): 58-59

¹⁰⁹ SRNSW Col Sec 4/1860 p.57 Petition of Mitigation of Sentence 1819 (Fiche 3201)

¹¹⁰ SG 9 October 1819: 2

¹¹¹ 4 September 1819 (Warner (1990): 163)

¹¹² Warner (1990): 164

¹¹³ James Birnie to Gatty, Haddon and Gatty. 12 January 1826 Wentworth Papers ML A754/CY7001 p 185

shipowner, merchant and landowner and had arrived as captain of the *Mary Ann* in 1809. In 1823 Birnie advertised the lease of the property, 'Blighton' being described as 'about 200 acres of land with building thereon, occupied by George Hall whose time expires in January next'.¹¹⁴ A number of letters between George Hall and James Birnie, and the solicitors for the Bligh Estate survive. In 1824 Hall sent Birnie the following note regarding the renewal of the lease on the property:

Pitt Town Febry 17th 1824.

Sir,

*I take the liberty of writing to you concerning Blighton Farm I will give twenty pounds a year Rent for it which is more than I can make of it only to keep away troublesome neighbours. If sir you will give me a Lease for a Length of time I will Fence it all around and improve on it which might then pay me.*¹¹⁵

The amount offered by Hall was half that originally asked for the property and the 'troublesome neighbours' remain unclear. Birnie's response was as follows:

Sydney Feby 24th 1824

I Recvd your letter on the 17th Instant concerning Blighton Farm. I am sorry to find you cannot give more than twenty Pounds a year rent for it which is a great fall of the value – but as you have rented it all along you shall have the use of the Farm by taking Care of the Buildings for One Year from January last at your (indecipherable) you must be well aware that I cannot let it on an Improving Lease your Answer to this will much oblige.

*NB I now look for the Last Years Rent as soon as convenient*¹¹⁶

The administration of the Bligh properties was the cause of some concern to Birnie who in 1826 reiterated his views to the trustees as "stating my opinion respecting them which was to dispose of them they being uninclosed and of Little Value at Present" and that "not having had any answer from You am at a loss to know what to do".¹¹⁷

By 1828 the original Fleming property had been sold to George Hall after the Flemings had moved to Lower Portland Head. This move may have been associated with a need for Henry Fleming to distance himself from his association with Davison. The property was leased by Hall to the Rev. M.D. Meares and may have been used as a school.¹¹⁸

In 1828 the Blighton Estate as well as those of 'Copenhagen' and 'Camperdown' was advertised for lease. 'Blighton' was described as being 56 acres 'called Tyler's Farm', 110 acres called 'Simpson's Farm', and a further 110 acres formerly Tyler's. The agents in this instance were Jones and Walker of Hunter Street, Sydney suggesting that the dithering Birnie may have been replaced.¹¹⁹ The lease was renewed by Hall who may have subsequently listed the property in a schedule of land in the following year. On 3 February 1829 George Hall applied to the Colonial Secretary for permission to purchase additional land.¹²⁰ Such schedules listed the prospective

¹¹⁴ SG 25 December 1823: Supp 2

¹¹⁵ George Hall to Capt James Birnie. Wentworth Papers ML A754 CY700 p. 199

¹¹⁶ Capt James Birnie to George Hall. Wentworth Papers ML A754 CY700 p. 201

¹¹⁷ James Birnie to Gatty, Haddon and Gatty. 12 January 1826 Wentworth Papers ML A754/CY7001 p 185

¹¹⁸ Warner (1990): 167

¹¹⁹ SG 8 August 1828: 4

¹²⁰ SRNSW Col Sec Letters re Land 2/987 'Application of George Hall Senior of Percy Place Pitt Town for Permission to Purchase Land' 3 February 1829.

applicants improvements made to existing land holdings. Hall was in possession of 5702 acres of which 1000 acres had been cleared. In the schedule of buildings the following were listed:

- *Percy Place, Pitt Town* £1500;
- *Pitt Town* £800;
- *Sackville Reach* £1000; and
- *Mary Mount* £500

It is not clear if Hall included the 'Blighton' Estate in this schedule but it may be the anonymous property listed simply as 'Pitt Town'. Given that the value of holdings were often inflated when applications such as this were made, several hundred pounds worth of buildings suggests a reasonably large complex of buildings although somewhat less in value than the complex when administered by Andrew Thompson. By 1831 Hall had constructed two horse-mills on his Pitt Town holdings.¹²¹ These were designed for grain processing and were described as being within '40 rods' (approximately 220m) of each other. It is unclear if both were located on 'Percy Place' or on the other holdings, including 'Blighton'.

The connection to the Bligh family was re-established in December 1838 with the arrival of the *Fairlie* carrying Sir Maurice O'Connell and Mary Bligh. O'Connell had been appointed to command the forces in NSW. By the time of his arrival the Bligh properties had been conveyed from Elizabeth Bligh, Sir Maurice O'Connell, Mary O'Connell (Bligh), Henry Aston Barker, Harriet Maria Barker (Bligh) to solicitors Charles Hallett and Felix Slade.¹²² This was followed on 30 November 1839 with a consent signed by Elizabeth Bligh, Sir Maurice O'Connell, Mary O'Connell (Bligh), Henry Aston Barker, Harriet Maria Barker (Bligh), Frances Bligh and Jane Bligh.¹²³ All of this was preparatory to the sale of all of William Bligh's land holdings in New South Wales. On 24 January 1840 a power of attorney was given by Charles Hallett and Felix Slade to Stuart Alexander Donaldson and John William Gosling.¹²⁴ Donaldson and Gosling were to act as the agents for Bligh's heirs in this matter. The process of sale was however complicated by the inclusion of lands at Parramatta. O'Connell was senior member of the executive council when, the question of the rights of Bligh's daughters to these lands. This placed Governor Gipps in an extremely delicate position but the matter was settled by compromise in 1841 allowing sale of the remaining properties to take place.

The person with the greatest interest in any possible purchase of 'Blighton' was George Hall. On 26 October 1840 however, while walking from Pitt Town to Percy Place, George Hall slipped and fell into the Hawkesbury resulting in his death by drowning.¹²⁵ His will had been drawn up on 15 October 1836 and was notable for the creation of a trust for five of his sons William, John, Thomas Simpson, Matthew Henry and Ebenezer.¹²⁶ The terms of the trust, later referred to by members of the family as 'The Firm', was to be in force for ten years following George Hall's death. In fact the trust survived for a much longer period.

The properties of Blighton, Camperdown and Copenhagen were finally advertised for sale on 21 May 1841. The properties were to be auctioned by Samuel Lyons acting on behalf of Donaldson and Gosling, solicitors for the Trustees Hallett and Slade.¹²⁷ On 13 and 14 January 1842 the lease and release of the former 'Blighton Estate' were transferred from Charles Hallett and Felix Slade to William Hall, John Hall, Thomas Simpson Hall, Matthew Henry Hall and Ebenezer Hall for £3072.¹²⁸ This completed the

¹²¹ SH 9 May 1831: 4

¹²² LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882 - 22 June 1838 conveyance

¹²³ LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882

¹²⁴ LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882

¹²⁵ Warner (1990): 86

¹²⁶ Warner (1990): 79

¹²⁷ SG 11 May 1841: 4

¹²⁸ LTO Book 240 No 683 Indenture 1 March 1882 (Reg No 766 Bk Z)

annexure by the Hall family of the whole riverfront from Punt Road to the low ground east of Hall Street.

An indication of the use of the site up to the period of the sale is provided by the sale map of 1841 (see Figures 4.11 and 4.12). The boundaries of the old Tylor and Simpson grants remained intact. The Simpson grant however had been divided into three portions with the south-eastern portion being dedicated to wheat production. The wheat field extended south across the line of the current Hall Street into Tylor's second grant. The only buildings shown on this plan consisted of three buildings. These are described as an 'Old Cottage' and two buildings forming a line described as 'Tyler's old brick buildings'. Both sets of buildings were located on Tylor's first grant.

The precise use of the Estate by the Hall brothers is not clear although they may have continued to use the property for grazing purposes and some wheat production as had occurred in their father's time. No record of improvements to the property has been located. A description of the Hall property at Pitt Town was provided by the *Sydney Mail* in 1865.¹²⁹ The piece describes the 'stately oaks planted by one of the early Governor's' and the superior grazing that the lands provided enabling the Hall to produce fine horses. The article describes no other buildings on the property apart from those at 'Percy Place', a possible indication that most of the 'Blighton' complex was not worthy of notice.

4.2.6 Subdivision of the Hall Estate: 1881-1945

During the 1860s and 1870s all but one of the five legatees, Matthew Henry Hall had died (see Appendix 4). The estates of the four other brothers had passed to a number of other members of the family complicating the structure of the Trust to the point of litigation.

In 1881 a settlement between members of the family was reached allowing the property to be subdivided and put up for sale. This process created two separate properties within the Study Area, Lot 3 (formerly Tylor's) and Lot 4 (formerly Simpson's) (see Figure 4.12). These were bounded on the south by a road reserve (Hall Street) and separated by a second road (Hawkesbury Street). Both were gazetted as being 1 chain wide and appear to have followed existing tracks. No buildings are shown on the two lots forming the Study Area. Correspondence between Matthew Smith Hall (executor) and trustee William Henry McKenzie in regard to an inquiry from Surveyor Bumstead who notes that he was unable to sketch the Pitt Town lands as all of the Lands Office Maps are torn 'and not good maps'. He made a particular inquiry into the location of roads in or near the Blighton Estate.¹³⁰

Lots 3 and 4 were purchased by John Johnston (1837-1903) husband and cousin of Elizabeth Hall, a granddaughter of George Hall (see Appendix 4). Photographic evidence for the period following the subdivision suggests that the Study Area was used primarily for grazing.

During this phase of occupation reference is made to a wharf within the Study Area. In 1907 Colo Shire Council made application for the punt to be moved 150 yards downstream near an 'old jetty'.¹³¹ This would place the structure approximately 150m east of Punt Road, that is, below the riverbank near the boundary between Lots 11 and 12. No other references to this structure have been located although it was common practice for many of the riverside properties to have loading facilities for river transport.

By 1942 the larger part of the property was still maintained as pasture with the first orchard being planted at the eastern end of Hall Street (current Lot 17) during the late 1930s or early 1940s (see Figure 4.21).

¹²⁹ SM 16 September 1865

¹³⁰ Hawkesbury City Council Library, Hall Family History Files.

¹³¹ Stubbs (1983) Vol 2: 18

4.2.7 Post-World War II Subdivision & Use: 1946-2004

During the 1940s Norbert Cleary began purchasing sections of the Study Area from Ronald Stubbs and Rex Stubbs. In 1947 it is reputed that the last of 'Bligh's Oaks' was removed for the preparation of the ground for orchards.¹³² The January 1947 aerial photograph of the site shows the only newly prepared ground in Lots 11 and 12, and in the eastern part of Lot 16 (see Figure 4.22).

Throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s orcharding under the Cleary family spread across a large portion of the Study Area. By 1955 all of the high ground on Lots 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 and 17 was occupied by orchards and a field had been prepared in Lot 13. Lot 18 remained under pasture except for a small section on the northwest corner of the Lot that appears to have been dedicated to sand or gravel extraction (see Figure 4.23).

In the period between 1955 and 1982 the Study Area was almost covered by orchards. Most of Lot 13 was now taken up with orchards while fields had been prepared at the northeast and south east corners of Lot 18. Only the central and north-western parts of Lot 18 remained under pasture as did the low-lying areas adjacent to the river in Lots 11 and 12.

The failure of the orchard industries in the late 1980s and early 1990s saw the gradual removal of the existing orchards. The lot boundaries were redefined in 2002 achieving its current configuration, following an internal subdivision in 1990 after the death of Mrs Mary Cleary, wife of Norbert Cleary in 1990.

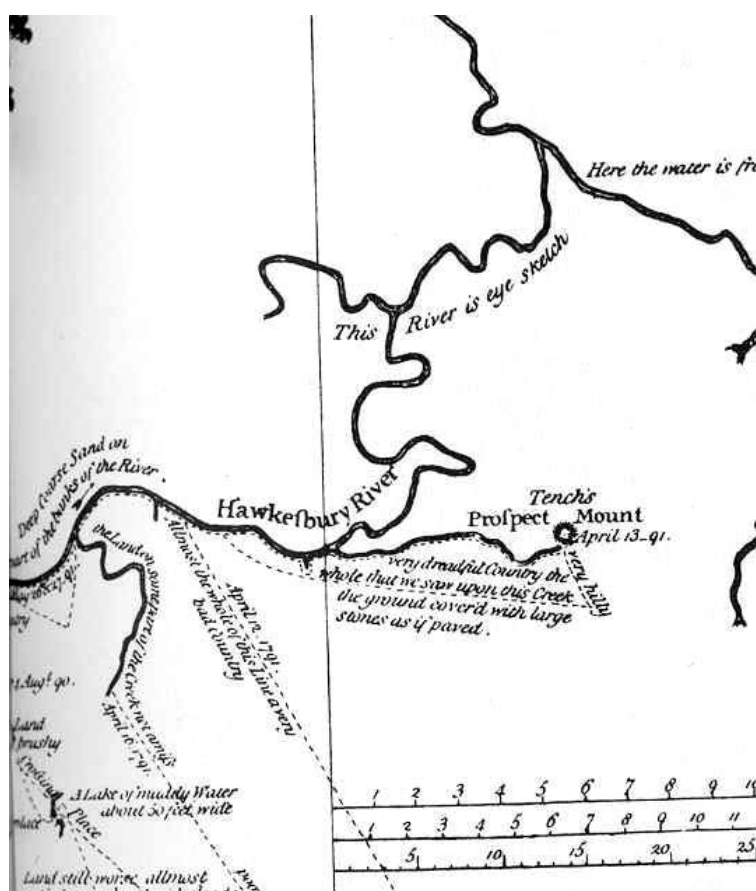


Figure 4.1: 'A Map of the hitherto explored Country Contiguous to Port Jackson' (detail) Tench (1793).

¹³² Stubbs (1983): vol 1 p.8



Figure 4.2: 'Pitt Town' (anon) c.1835 (ML ZM2 811.1114/1835/2).



Figure 4.3: Parish of Pitt Town n.d. (CALM PMN04 image 14093301). The Tylor Grants are listed as Taylor.



Figure 4.4: J. W. Lewin, "View from Governor Bligh's Farm, Hawkesbury". Deutscher Fine Art, Colonial to Modern, Aug. – Sept. 1986. ML ref Q759.994/499.



Figure 4.5: 'Blighton Farm A.D. 1810' attributed to George Evans. (ML SPF – NGA 94.1418).



Figure 4.6: 'Sketch of the Inundation in the Neighborhood of Windsor taken on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816'.
Original: SLNSW PX*D 264.



Figure 4.7: Joseph Lycett 'View of Wilberforce' 1825 SLV.

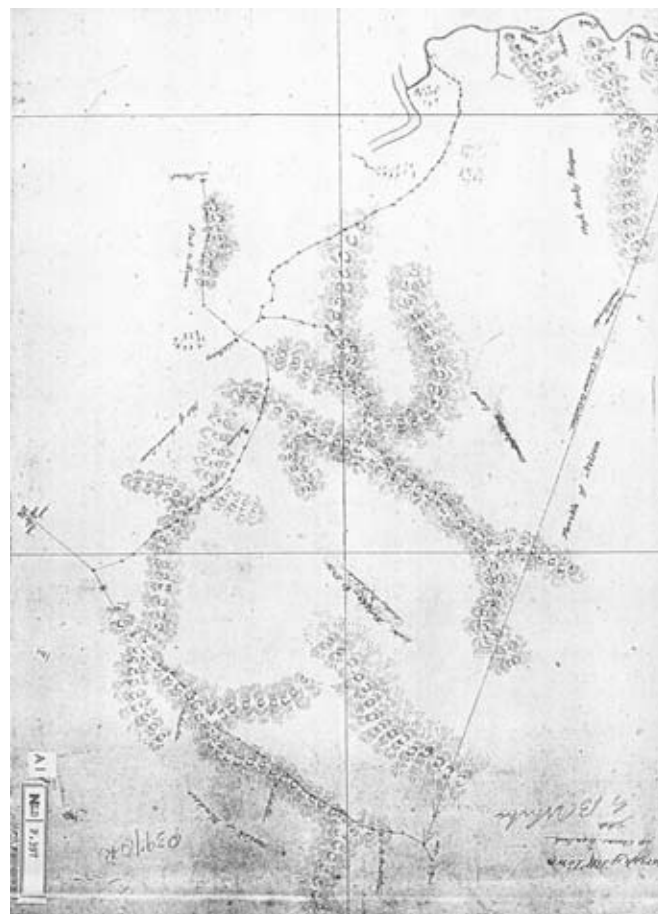


Figure 4.8: G. B. White 'Pitt Town Parish' - shows Cattai Creek & Hawkesbury River, South Creek, Punt-White's house, McDonalds and 31, 32, 33 milestones' April 1827 SRNSW Map SZ391 (P.397).

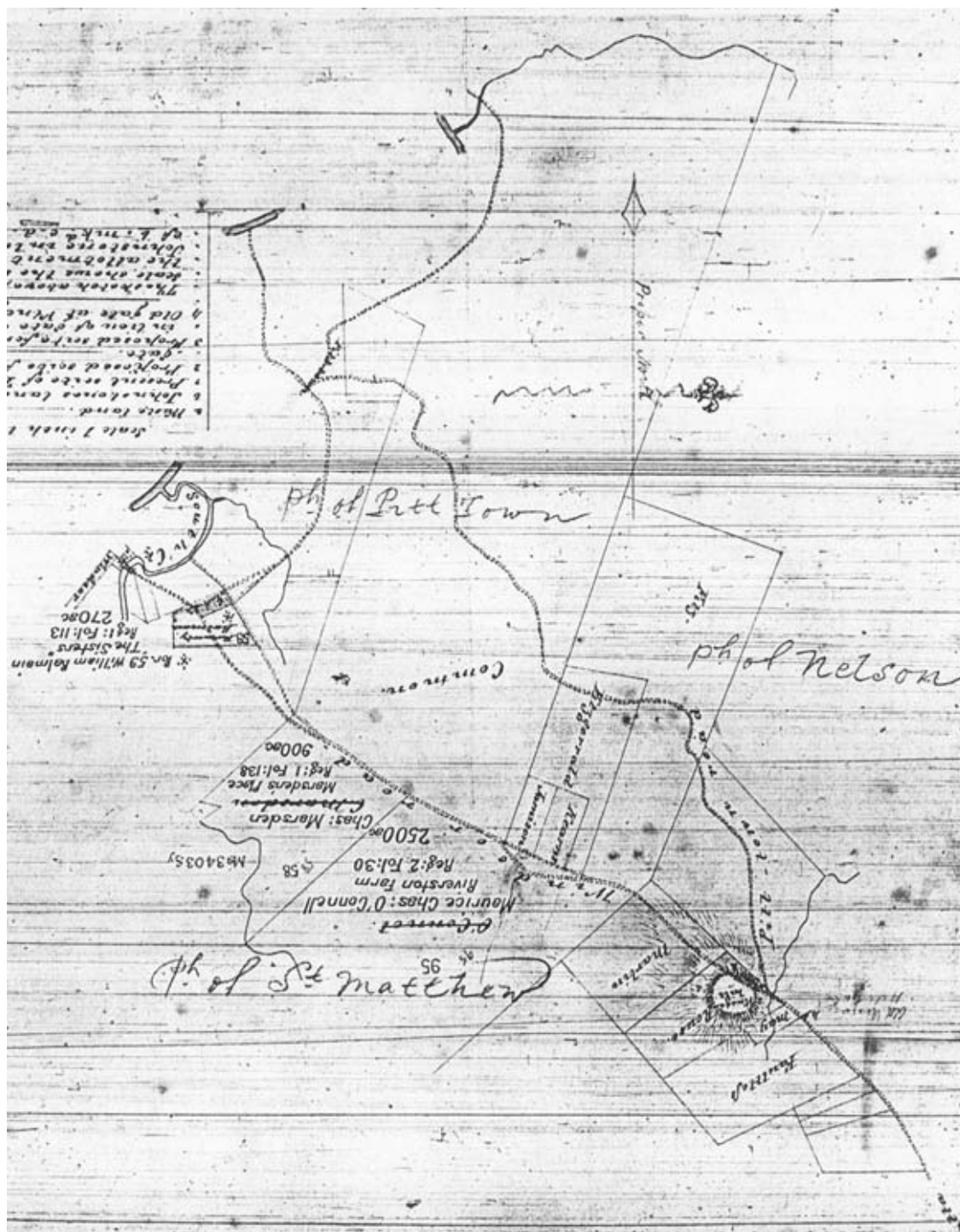


Figure 4.9: Road system 1833 (SRNSW Surveyors' Sketchbooks Vol 1 fol89).

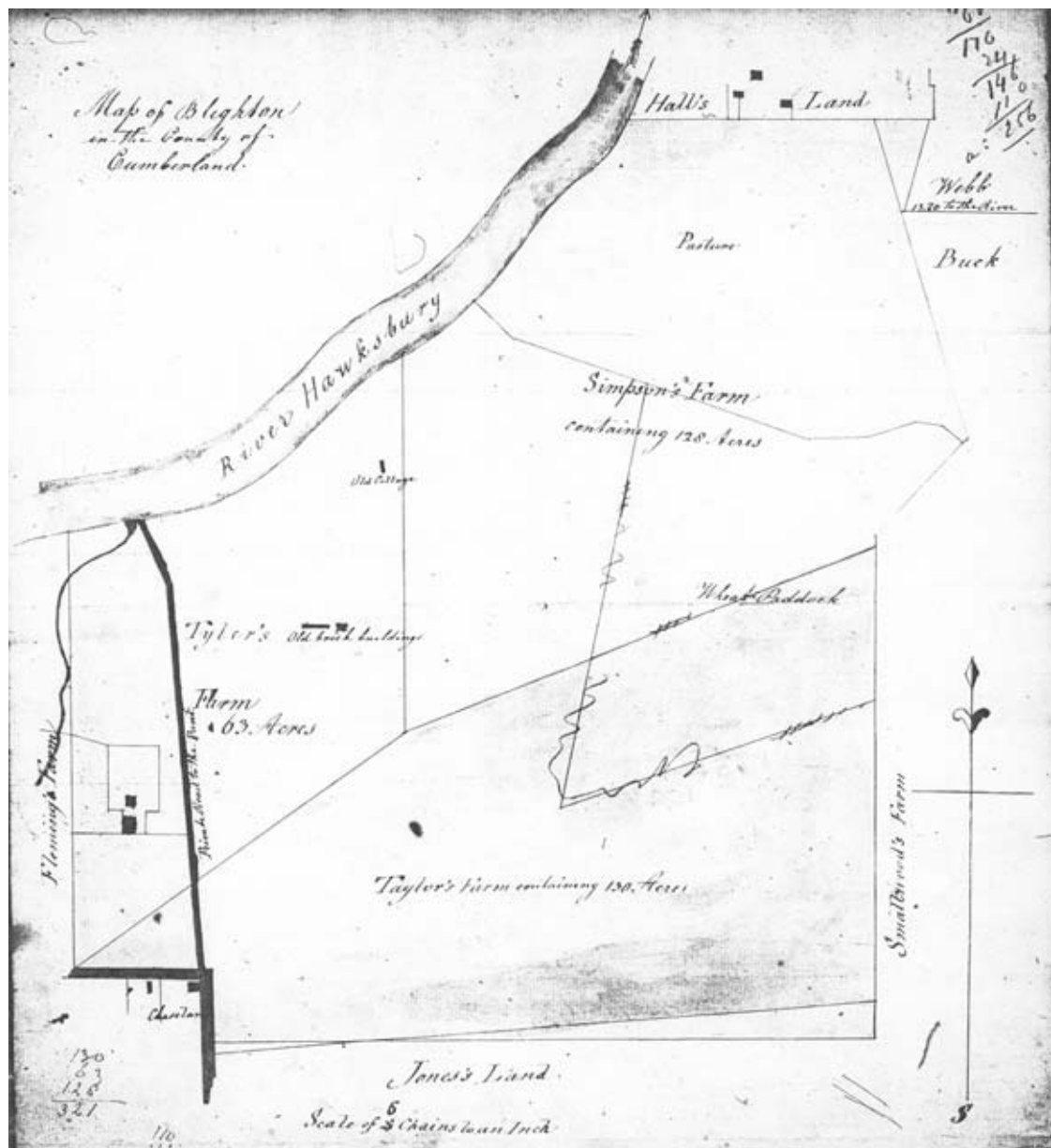


Figure 4.10: Plan of 1841 original sketch plan for the Clint lithographic plan (Source: Norton Smith - Papers re Bligh Estate ML A5434 item 70).

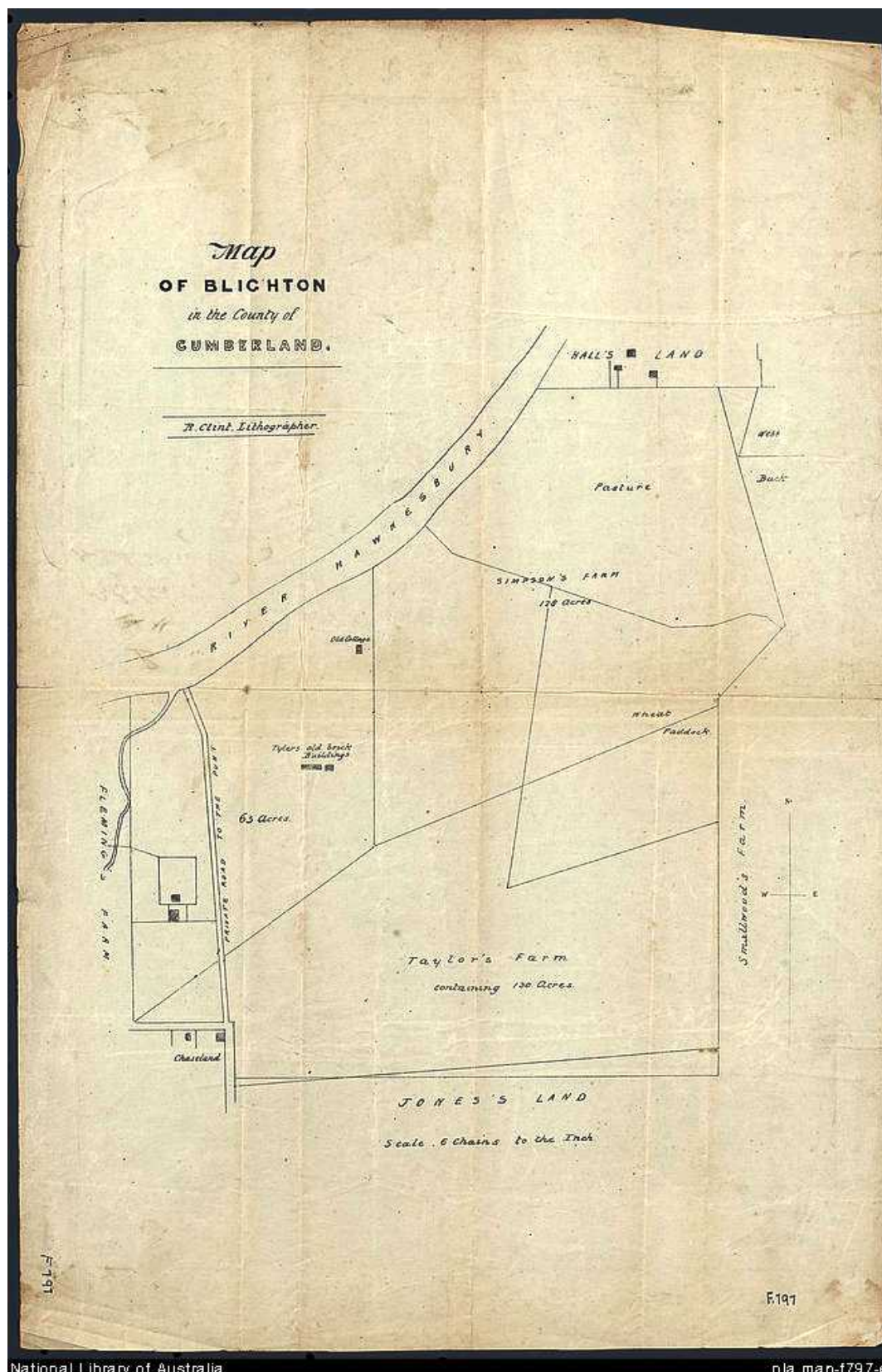


Figure 4.11: 'Map of Blighton in the County of Cumberland' (n.d.
(1841) Raphael Clint Lithographer NLA Map f797.





Figure 4.13: Pitt Town Ferry (SLNSW) undated but part of a series c.1890 (re-issued in 1932).

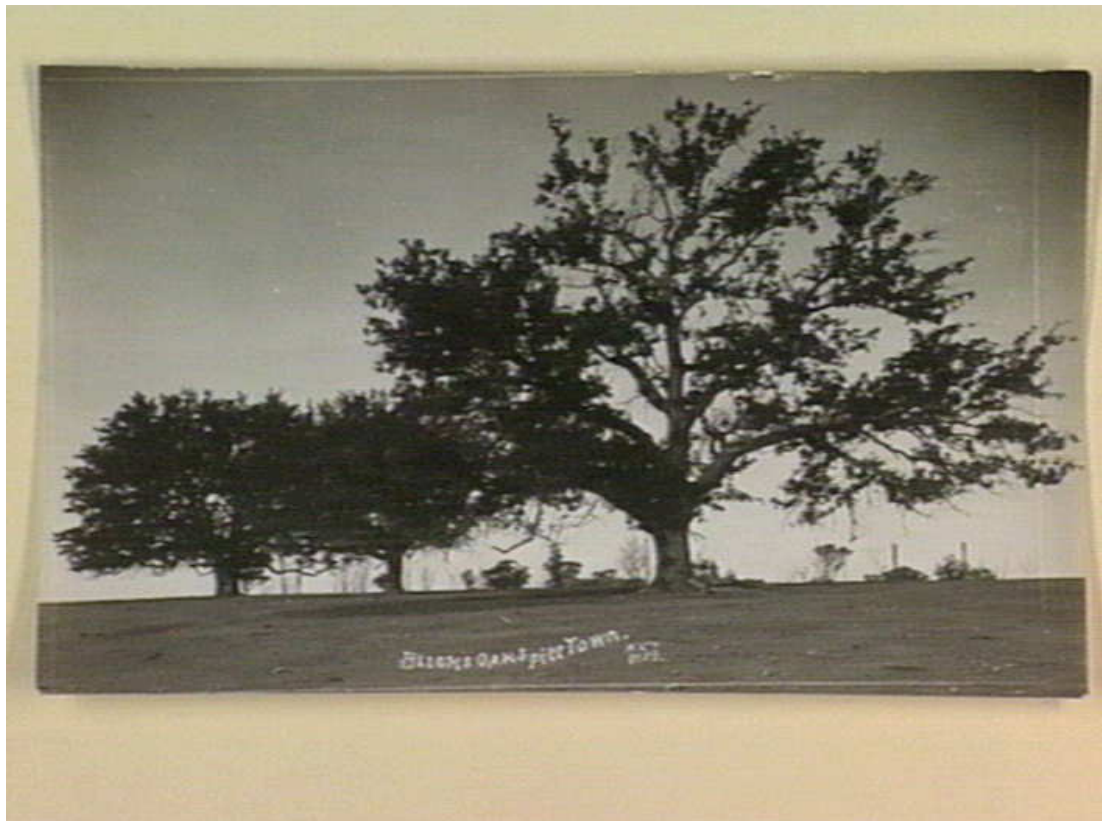


Figure 4.14: Bligh's Oaks (SLV). Undated but part of a series c.1890 reissued in 1932.



Figure 4.15: 'Bligh's oaks at Pitt Town' (n.d.) FILMNUM: PITT TOWN
Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Coral Cleary).

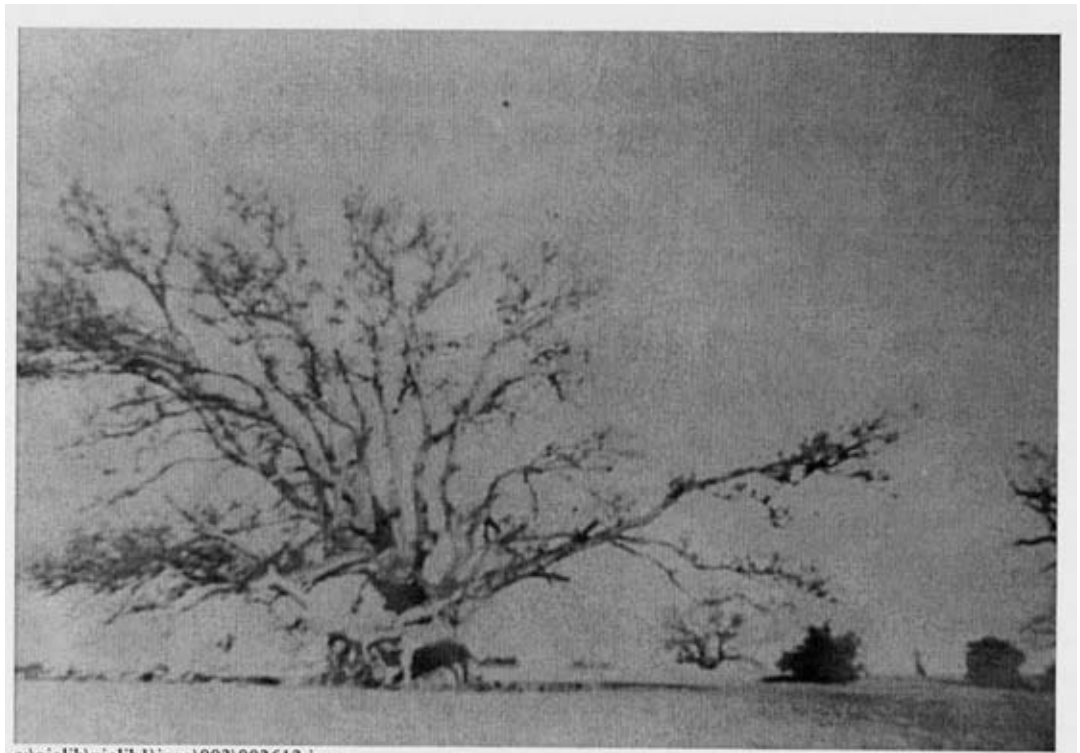


Figure 4.16: 'Bligh's oak tree, Pitt Town' (n.d.) FILMNUM: 67-13
Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection Doreen Brewin).



Figure 4.17: “Bligh’s Oaks’ (n.d.)

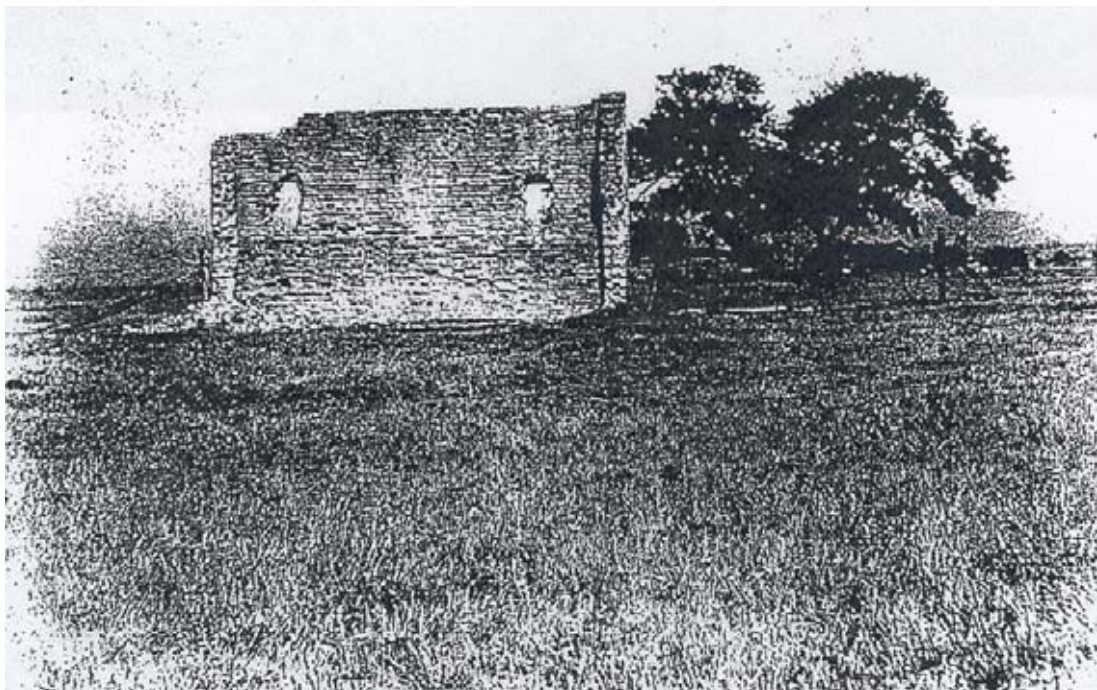


Figure 4.18: ‘View of ruins’ (n.d.) FILMNUM: 60-16 Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Jean Purtell).



Figure 4.19: Matthew J. MacNally “Bligh’s Oaks, Pitt Town” 1931 ML SPF- Pitt Town.

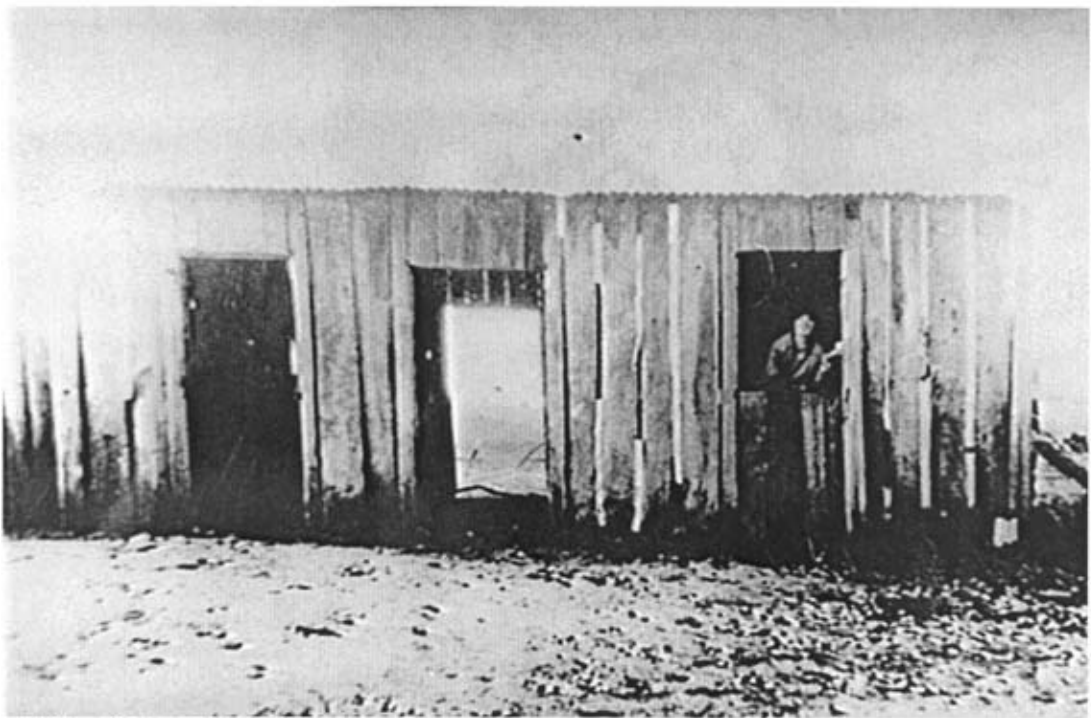


Figure 4.20: ‘Old punt House at Pitt Town’ (n.d.) FILMNUM: 60-18
Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Jean Purtell).

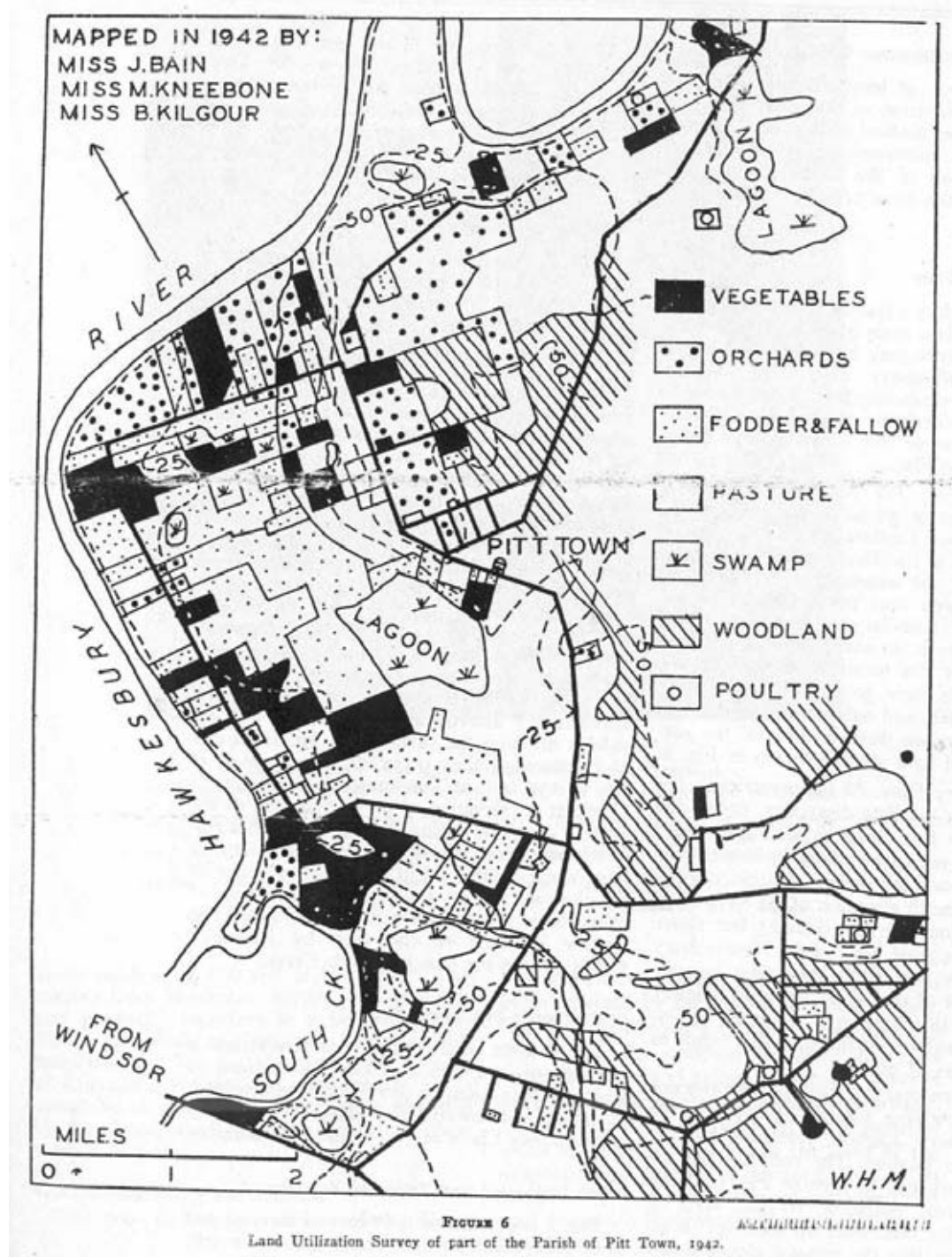


Figure 4.21: W. H. Maze 'Land utilisation surveys in the Kurrajong-Windsor District, New South Wales' *The Australian Geographer* Vol 4 Pt 6 155-174.



Figure 4.22: Aerial 1947 Landsphoto NSW 61-146 Windsor Run 46 January 1947.



Figure 4.23: Aerial 1955 Landsphoto NSW 226/5090 Windsor Run 5 Aug. 1955.



Figure 4.24: Aerial 1982. Land Information Centre NSW 3253-331 Sydney Run 9 20 August 1982.



Figure 4.25: LTO Plan of Land in Deed Bk 3805 No 391 CA 45582 (DP 194556) 28-11-1990.

4.3 MODELLING AND MAPPING OF RESULTS

4.3.1 Documentary Evidence

No documentary evidence indicating (unequivocal) locations and configurations of buildings, yards, paddocks, gardens and plantings on the 'Blighton' Estate has been located. The accounts regarding the sale of the Tylor property in 1806 and Thompson's returns in 1807 and 1808 provide the only firm written descriptions of buildings, yards and paddocks for the whole period of occupation of the site.

The precise number of buildings and ancillary structures constructed during Bligh's tenure is far from clear from the surviving written evidence. The original purchase of 146 acres from Tylor contained a good dwelling house, an unspecified number of barns, and 'all other appurtenances'.¹ The material from which these buildings were constructed is not indicated nor are the materials used in their construction. The original 146 acres contained 20 acres under cultivation at the time of purchase as well as an orchard 1 acre in extent containing more than 100 trees. It is unlikely that Bligh would have removed any of these features.

Thompson's returns for 1807 specify repair to three buildings between January and June, all three are likely to have been part of the Tylor farm and were described as two houses and a barn or corn house. One of these houses may have been the Tylor dwelling house and the other house being a subsidiary dwelling on the block. These returns were issued prior to the purchase of the Simpson grant so that it may be assumed that there were at least four substantial buildings located on one or both of the Tylor blocks.

During the period June 1807 to January 1808 construction was undertaken of at least seven substantial buildings using both brick and weatherboard. The largest of these was a stock shed constructed in weatherboard and shingled. The returns for July and August describe the building as being 120' long and located in the stockyard. In later returns a building having a similar form is described as being 200' long with two rooms at the end for stockmen. In the December 1807 and January 1808 recapitulations of assets only a single, long stock shed is mentioned rather than one of 120' and another of 200'. This suggests that there was a single long weatherboarded stock shed that may have started life at 120' long but with the addition of accommodation for stockmen was in fact 200' long. Whether this was in a single line or L-shaped is not specified. Work on this building extended from July to December 1807.

A series of dwelling houses were also constructed on the estate. These included a weatherboard stockman's house completed by August 1807 and therefore not comparable with the stockmen's accommodation associated with the shed detailed above. A house for the overseer was also constructed with an attached dairy, storeroom and an open part for milking in. Work on this structure had been completed by December 1807. Although the materials used in its construction are not specified it may have been built of weatherboard since the returns specify that it had a brick chimney, a detail that would only be necessary if the remainder of the structure was built in a material other than brick. This structure is also described as being 'about the Centre' implying the existence of a 'square' around which the main buildings were arranged.

Two other houses constructed during the Bligh period are also listed. These were constructed in brick; one measuring 50' by 14' and having three rooms had been completed by January 1808, the second having similar dimensions was still under construction in that month. Also constructed in brick were two substantial ancillary buildings. The first consisted of a brick building described as 'out offices' containing a kitchen, servant's room and coach house 54' by 15' and 9' high. The description of this

¹ SG: 16 Nov 1806: 2

building may in fact be the three-room 'house' described above or a completely separate structure. A ledger entry for December 1807 describes a brick house being made available to W. Walker, the dairyman rent free.² This would tend to indicate that the brick house was a structure entirely separate from the 'out offices'.

The other main ancillary structure forming the complex was a brick barn 50' by 18' and 13' high. This was almost complete by the time the December returns were furnished.

Associated with these structures were a series of yards each of which fulfilled a specific purpose as designated by the 'model farm' system. The first of these yards completed was a six-railed stockyard measuring 231' by 231'. Fencing of this area was completed by April 1807. By July 1807 three more paled yards were completed. These consisted of a pig yard with sties (80' by 80'), a second yard for calves of unspecified dimensions containing pens, and a third yard 82½' by 82½', possibly for sheep.

By August 1807 a further area of 15 acres had been enclosed with a post-and-rail fence. By December 1807 three further paled yards had been completed. These consisted of a barnyard 100' by 100' containing two staddles for wheat stacks, a milking yard and a house yard both of unspecified dimensions. These structures and yards, identified from the written sources, are enumerated in the table overleaf.

The written sources after January 1808 make no direct reference to individual buildings or yards. In correspondence between Bligh's agents and Bligh's heirs reference is made to buildings and enclosures these take the form of standard title information and provide no true indication of the existence of such buildings and enclosures.

Finucane's disappointment with the complex in 1809 is palpable in his description. Clearly having heard the rumours of the squandering of Government resources by Bligh he expected something on a grander scale rather than a modest farmstead. The complex was however of sufficient scale and comfort to accommodate Governor Macquarie and his extensive party of travelling companions in 1811.

A very loose idea of the configuration of the complex may be gained from the written evidence and from the requirements of the model farm system. Firstly, there was the need to house Bligh on his visits and accommodation for the on-site overseer, the chief stockman, ordinary stockmen, domestic servants and the twenty to thirty convict labourers described by Thompson in January 1808 employed in construction, land clearance and the general operation of the farm.

Buildings and yards needed to be arranged conveniently. The house yard (Y08) was probably attached to the main house (S01?) while the stockyard (Y01) and stock shed (S05) were located together as described above. The barnyard (Y06) and the brick barn (S08) are likely to have been placed together. The house for the overseer with its attached dairy, storeroom and milking area (S09) are likely to have been attached to the milking yard (Y07). This in turn would have been located close to the yard with pens for the calves (Y03) and possibly the pig yard (Y04). There is no clear indication for the location of the remaining structures and yards. Some at least would have extended into the Simpson block simply so that there was a presence there to guard stock or crops. The principal buildings and yards may have been arranged around the sites of a central reserved area that provided communication between the various facilities. The presence of a 'Centre' has been mentioned above.

No mention is made in the records of roads, tracks or water supply. It may be assumed however that by mid 1807 a road connected 'Blighton' to either Windsor itself or to the Windsor Road at Rouse Hill. Such a road (Old Pitt Town Road) passed through one of Bligh's other properties 'Copenhagen' and then connected with the Government Farm at Castle Hill, the source of much of Bligh's stock.



² HRA vol 6: 365 Extracts from Private Ledger 19 December 1807 Johnston to Castlereagh (Enclosure 5)




Land North of Hall Street at Pitt Town, NSW: Historical Archaeological Assessment & Research Design


No.	Description	Date	Material
S01	Dwelling house (Tylor)	Jun. 1807 repaired	?
S02	Barn (corn house?) (Tylor)	Feb. 1807 repaired Mar. 1807 repaired	?
S03	Barn (Tylor)		?
S04	House (Tylor)	Jun. 1807 repaired	?
S05	Stock shed	Jul. 1807 under construction Aug. 1807 under construction	W/b 120' long in stock yard
S05 ?	Shed with end rooms for stockmen	Dec. 1807 under construction	W/b 200' long
S06	Stockman's house	Jul. 1807 under construction. Aug. 1807 completed	W/b
S07	Out offices (kitchen, servants room and coach house)	Dec. 1807 under construction	Brick 54' x 15' x 9' high
S07 ?	House 3 rooms	Jan. 1808 completed by this date	Brick 50' x 14'
S08	Barn	Dec. 1807 under construction	Brick 50' x 18' x 13' high
S09	House for overseer with dairy, store room and open part for milking in	Dec. 1807 completed	W/b? Located about the centre
S10	House	Jan. 1808 under construction	Brick approx. 50' x 14'
	Stock Yard	Feb. 1807 under construction Apl. 1807 completed	Railed 231' x 231'


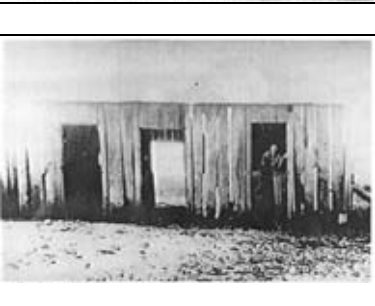
	Stock Yard	Feb. 1807 under construction Apl. 1807 completed	Railed 231' x 231'
Y02	Yard (sheep?)	Jul. 1807 completed	Paled 82½' x 82½'
Y03	Yard with pens (calves?)	Jul. 1807 completed	Paled
Y04	Pig Yard with sties	Jul. 1807 completed	Paled 80' by 80'
Y05	Paddock	Aug. 1807 completed	Railed contains 15 acres
Y06	Barn yard with 2 staddles	Dec. 1807 completed	Paled 100' x 100'
Y07	Milking yard	Dec. 1807 completed	Paled
Y08	House yard	Dec. 1807 completed	Paled

4.3.2 Illustrations



	<p>[Source: J. W. Lewin, "View from Governor Bligh's Farm, Hawkesbury" (Deutscher Fine Art, <i>Colonial to Modern</i>, August -September 1986) ML ref Q759.994/499] Provenance, William Bligh by descent.</p> <p>John Lewin (1770-1819) came to Australia in order to record the ornithological and entomological life for his patron Dru Drury arrived in Sydney in 1800 by the <i>Minerva</i>. In 1801 he accompanied James Grant on his survey expeditions to Bass Strait and to the Hunter River. Lewin received the grant of a small farm at Parramatta but by 1808 he was living in Sydney attempting to work as a portraitist. Lewin became acquainted with Governor Bligh and in May 1808 signed, with eleven others, an address to Lieutenant Governor Paterson. The address protested against the deposition of Bligh and described it "as the highest insult to the King, in the Person of his Representative, Governor Bligh; the highest outrage and contempt to the British government and the Laws . . . and to all regular Government, subordination and discipline so necessary in this Colony". According to the Australian Arts Sales Digest several works by Lewin with a Bligh provenance have been recorded.</p> <p>Given this association the view of 'Blighton' may be dated to the period 1807-1808 although no precise record of Lewin's movements in the Colony during these years has been located. Lewin also received the patronage of Governor Macquarie although the provenance of this view to Bligh's collection suggests a pre-1810 date. The view is taken from the high ground on the northern part of Portion 12 and indicates that no buildings were present at this time on the high land across Portion 11. The type of ground cover is unclear it may be grass or a grain crop such as wheat.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'Blighton Farm A.D. 1810' (attributed to George Evans)]</p> <p>George William Evans arrived on 16 October 1802 by the <i>Buffalo</i> and worked as an artist, surveyor and explorer. He began farming on the Hawkesbury in 1805 but abandoned this work in 1806 following the floods and returned to surveying. The view represented here may have been prepared for Bligh during his final tour of the Colony in 1810.</p> <p>The depiction is unusual in that the section of the Farm shown was probably chosen in order to obtain a view of the mountains and the course of the Hawkesbury – possibly sacrificing a more comprehensive view of the farm buildings. The configuration of the river and the position of the notch in the mountains in the distance indicate the view is to the west-south-west, the river bends being those of Windsor Reach and Argyle Reach rather than the York or Wilberforce Reaches.</p> <p>An alternative interpretation of the painting's configuration is that the scene is the right-hand panel of a diptych forming a panorama.</p> <p>The scene is important in that the location of the two buildings</p>




	<p>in the distance conforms to a location along the line of Hall Street opposite Lot 11. The roadway in front of the building may in fact have formed the later line of Hall Street thus placing these two buildings in either the current road reserve or on the southern side of Hall Street. The buildings in the distance consist of a two storey brick barn approximately 50'-60' long (based on the ratio of door widths on the other buildings). The long building to the right is constructed in weatherboard and does not appear to have been supplied with chimneys. This structure is approximately 120'-150' long. The building in the foreground is constructed in brick. The doors suggest the internal arrangement consisted of small rooms. Attached to the right-hand end of this building is a small structure.</p> <p>The land behind this range of buildings forms a flat that extends for a considerable distance with a low, general fall from right to left.</p> <p>The building in the left foreground would appear to be located on a small rise that crosses the boundary of Lots 11 and 12 approximately 250m south of the Hall Street fence. Significant elements represented in this view are the lines of young trees planted along the margins of the main roadways. None of these lines of trees survived to be represented on the 1947 aerial photograph although it could be speculated that the line of six trees in front of the buildings in the distance may have been the line of 'Bligh's Oaks'.</p> <p>The paled area on the right appears to be a set of gardens or small tilled fields separated by paths but with no internal fence lines.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'Sketch of the Inundation in the Neighborhood of Windsor taken on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816' Original : SLNSW PX*D 264]</p> <p>'Blighton' is probably the brown patch in the centre of the view on the opposite side of the watermarked 'd' - 'High Land Pitt Town'. A noticeable feature is the quantity of uncleared forest south of the main farm area.</p>
	<p>[Source: Joseph Lycett 'View of Wilberforce' 1825 SLV]</p> <p>The relationship between the course of the river and the position of Wilberforce suggests that the high ground in the foreground is located on the Study Area. The date of 1825 refers to the printed edition. The view itself was completed between c.1820 and 1822. No buildings or areas of cultivation are shown on the small part of the Study Area visible in this view.</p>
	<p>[Source: Pitt Town Ferry SLNSW undated but part of a series c.1890 (re-issued in 1932)]</p> <p>The view from the northern bank shows Punt Road with a small cottage located on the eastern side of Punt Road. The cottage is located on the slightly elevated land above the riverbank. This structure is not visible in the 1947 aerial.</p>

	<p>[Source: Bligh's Oaks SLV undated but part of a series c.1890 reissued in 1932]</p> <p>The line of trees represented here consists of one mature tree and two younger trees. The mature tree does not demonstrate the bifurcation associated with the last surviving tree in the planting depicted in later paintings and photographs. The planting and fence line in the background may represent the line of Hall Street indicating the view is towards the south or southeast.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'Bligh's oaks at Pitt Town' (n.d.) FILMNUM: PITT TOWN Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Coral Cleary)]</p> <p>The mature tree in the foreground appear to be the mature tree shown in 'Bligh's Oaks SLV undated but part of a series c.1890 reissued in 1932' (above) but now bifurcated. The post and rail fence may mark the northern side of hall street with a lighter fence constructed perpendicularly from it across the current Lot 11 or 12. The view is from the east.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'Bligh's oak tree, Pitt Town' (n.d.) FILMNUM: 67-13 Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection Doreen Brewin)]</p> <p>This undated view appears to show the tree in the distance in the photograph above. The view is from the north.</p>
	<p>The tree forming the central element of the photograph represents the last surviving element in the row of 'Bligh's Oaks'. The building in the background is the 'Manse' and the relationship between building and tree indicates that this view is looking northwest from a point south of Hall Street and south of Lot 11. The roof configuration of the 'Manse' suggests that half of the roof has been removed since trees are visible through the line of the roof.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'View of ruins' (n.d.) FILMNUM: 60-16 Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Jean Purtell)]</p> <p>The structure in the foreground appears to represent a small brick structure possibly associated with the occupation of 'Blighton'. Comparison with the fence posts and brick dimensions immediately behind the structure and standard brick lengths suggest the building is approximately 5m to 6m long and 2.5m high. The presence of the bifurcated oak in the distance places this structure south of the current line of Hall Street and is not comparable with the building shown in the 1810 painting by Evans. The view is from the southeast.</p>

	<p>[Source: Matthew J. MacNally "Bligh's Oaks, Pitt Town" 1931 ML SPF- Pitt Town]</p> <p>The view shows the two remaining trees associated with the line of 'Bligh's Oaks'. The view places the trees on the crest of a rise looking south towards the line of Hall Street.</p>
	<p>[Source: 'Old punt House at Pitt Town' (n.d.) FILMNUM: 60-18 Hawkesbury City Council Library (original Collection of Jean Purtell)]</p> <p>The structure shown is a vertical timber slab construction with a corrugated iron roof. This appear to be the structure shown on the left of Punt Road in 'Pitt Town Ferry' SLNSW (above). The photograph is undated but may be dated to the 1930s. The structure was reputed to be in existence until 1952.</p>

4.3.3 Maps and Plans

	<p>[Source: 'Pitt Town' (anon) c.1835 (ML ZM2 811.1114/1835/2)]</p> <p>Although dated 1835 the map shows the configuration of properties prior to that date. The excision of the western half of the first Tylor grant for example is not shown nor is the consolidation of the Tylor/Simpson Grants that took place under Bligh. Significantly the road from Pitt Town to the river passes through the Fleming grant and crosses Bardenarang Creek indicating that the crossing to Wilberforce was west of the later Punt Road landing. The southeast corner of the Tylor grant was connected to this road by a track. This followed the southern boundary of the first Tylor grant in the approximate position of the current Hall Street. This line of track continued to the east on the northern side of the Simpson/Tylor boundary and then north toward Halls Point. Two tracks to the River extended from this main track, one in the line of the current Hawkesbury Street and the second along the northern boundary of the Study Area.</p>
	<p>[Source: Parish Pitt Town n.d. (CALM PMN04 image 14093301)]</p> <p>The Tylor Grants are listed as Taylor and both the Punt Road and the former road through the Fleming property are shown.</p>

	<p>[Source: Road system 1833 (SRNSW Surveyors' Sketchbooks Vol 1 fol89)]</p> <p>The map shows the road system in existence in the 1830s extending from the punt on the Hawkesbury through Pitt Town and on to both Windsor and Rouse Hill. The 'Pitt Town Road' passes through the former Bligh property of 'Copenhagen' at Rouse Hill (here marked as Vinegar Hill).</p>
	<p>[Source: Norton Smith - Papers re Bligh Estate ML A5434 item 70 Plan of 1841 original sketch plan for the Clint lithographic plan]</p> <p>This is a notional sketch with some dimensions. The boundaries are accurate in sections of the plan but when viewed as a whole there are significant variations with current survey. The three buildings shown on the former Tylor grant appear to have been roughly sketched whereas the 'Manse' and 'Percy Place' are carefully delineated. No buildings are shown on the former Simpson grant and none on the second Tylor Grant.</p> <p>The only formal roads indicated on the plan are Bathurst Street, Punt Road and Pitt Town Bottoms Road.</p>
	<p>Source: W. H. Maze 'Land utilisation surveys in the Kurrajong-Windsor District, New South Wales' <i>The Australian Geographer</i> Vol 4 Pt 6 155-174]</p> <p>This is an important and accurately delineated landuse map showing the site during the period of conversion from pastoral use to orcharding. The map shows that the first area to be dedicated to orcharding was located on Lot17</p>

The notional position of a number of buildings derived from an examination of both the written evidence and the maps and plans are shown in Figure 4.26 below. These positions must be treated with caution and cannot be considered in any way absolute.

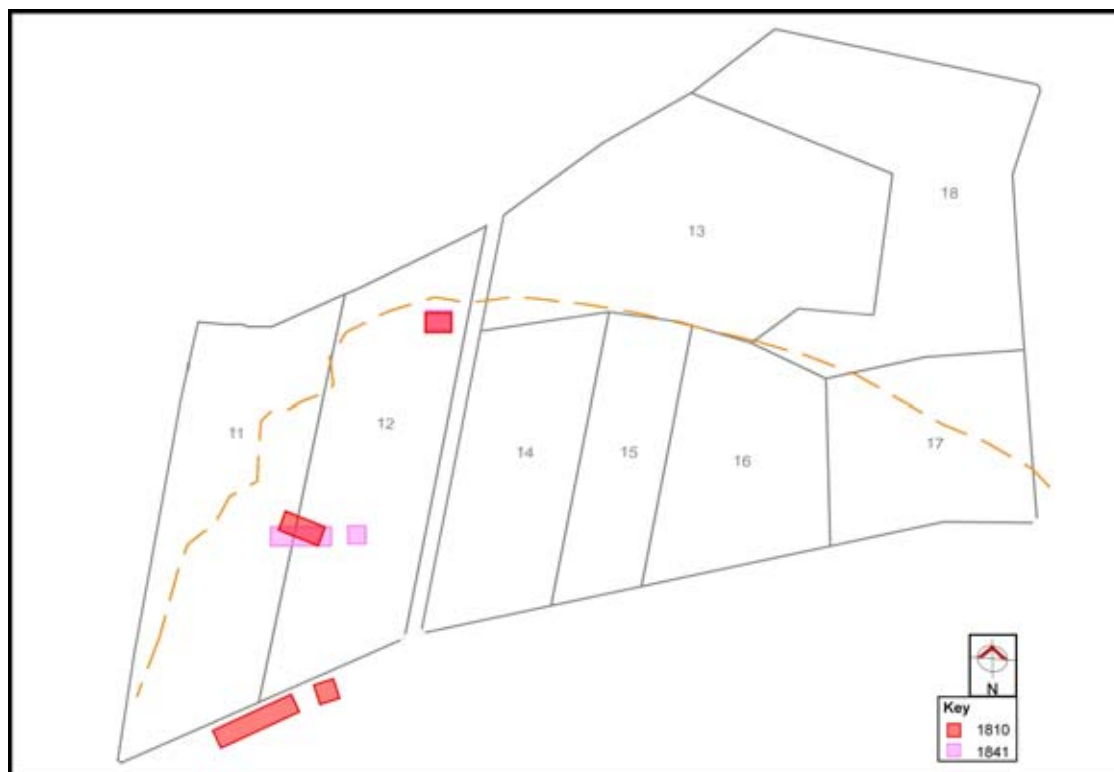


Figure 4.26: Notional location of structures shown in 1810 view and 1841 map

4.3.4 Aerial Photographs

An examination of the 1947 aerial photograph indicated the presence of a number of features that may relate to the operation of the Study Area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These features may include elements associated with the operation of the Tylor and Simpson Grants as well as with the 'Blighton' Estate during the period of Bligh's ownership. The 1947 aerial photograph was chosen for this analysis because it is the first available run for the district and it pre-dates the intensive orcharding that took place after c.1949.

The photograph suggests the sub-surface survival of a number of features including roads, buildings and field divisions that may have been subsequently modified in the period in the second half of the twentieth century through orcharding and the use of mechanical equipment. The following interpretation of these features is based solely on their appearance in this single photograph and is thus notional in character. A noticeably absent are 'Bligh's Oaks'. These were reputedly removed in 1947, the year in which this photograph was taken (January 1947). There was however no visible evidence to indicate the precise location of the missing trees. This would suggest that the removal of the Oaks took place prior to 1947.

Analysis of the aerial photograph was undertaken by passing the image through a red filter and then viewing the resulting image in negative. This had the property of creating a false chroma allowing variations between features to become more apparent than that presented by the black-and-white original. The modified aerial photograph with identified features annotated is presented as Figure 4.27.

The following features were identified on the aerial photograph and have been designated as features F01 to F18.

- F01 - Possible former road in Lot 11, extending from Bathurst St. along break in slope.
- F02 - Field system, narrow lines north-south with east-west disturbance.
- F03 - North-south linear feature cutting across the line of recent cultivation
- F04 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F05 - Field system, lines northeast-southwest
- F06 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F07 - Large field system, trapezoidal boundary with widely spaced internal north-south divisions
- F08 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F09 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F10 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F11 - Area of recent ground disturbance
- F12 - North-south linear feature, road or field boundary?
- F13 - Structural remains?
- F14 - Trapezoidal feature, possibly pens. Central section of feature contains internal divisions
- F15 - Structural feature, possible north-south standing walls
- F16 - Rectangular feature, possibly mound and ditch
- F17 - Field system, northeast-southwest lines
- F18 - Field system, north-south lines
- F19 - linear feature, north-south
- F20 - Area of recent disturbance
- F21 - Field system, north-south lines
- F22 - Area of recent disturbance

All of the field systems listed above appear to be related to cultivation on varying scales from several different periods. Given the history of the site under the Hall family in the period after 1841 only one area can be possibly related to this phase of operation. This is designated as feature F18 and may be related to the wheat paddock in existence before the sale of the property in 1842. Field systems located in the low-lying ground in Lot 11 (feature F05) has the potential to relate to lowland farming carried out under Tylor before 1807.

Several features may indicate the presence of pre-1841 structures and yards. Of particular note is F14, a trapezoidal feature containing what may be a range of structures with internal divisions. These may be pens around a central yard. Feature F15 may be a formerly substantial structure surviving in 1947 as low, standing walls. Similarly feature F13 may be a ruined structure.

The essential information to be gained from the analysis of the 1947 aerial photograph is the ability to indicate areas that pre-dated the period of most significant site modification during orcharding in the later 1940s to 1980s. Many of these areas also appear to predate the primarily pastoral phase of the site's history under the Hall family and may be attributable to Bligh's occupation and in some instances to the Tylor and Simpson phases. Examination of the post-1947 aerial photographs indicated that all traces of the features visible in 1947 had been obscured by subsequent site formation processes.

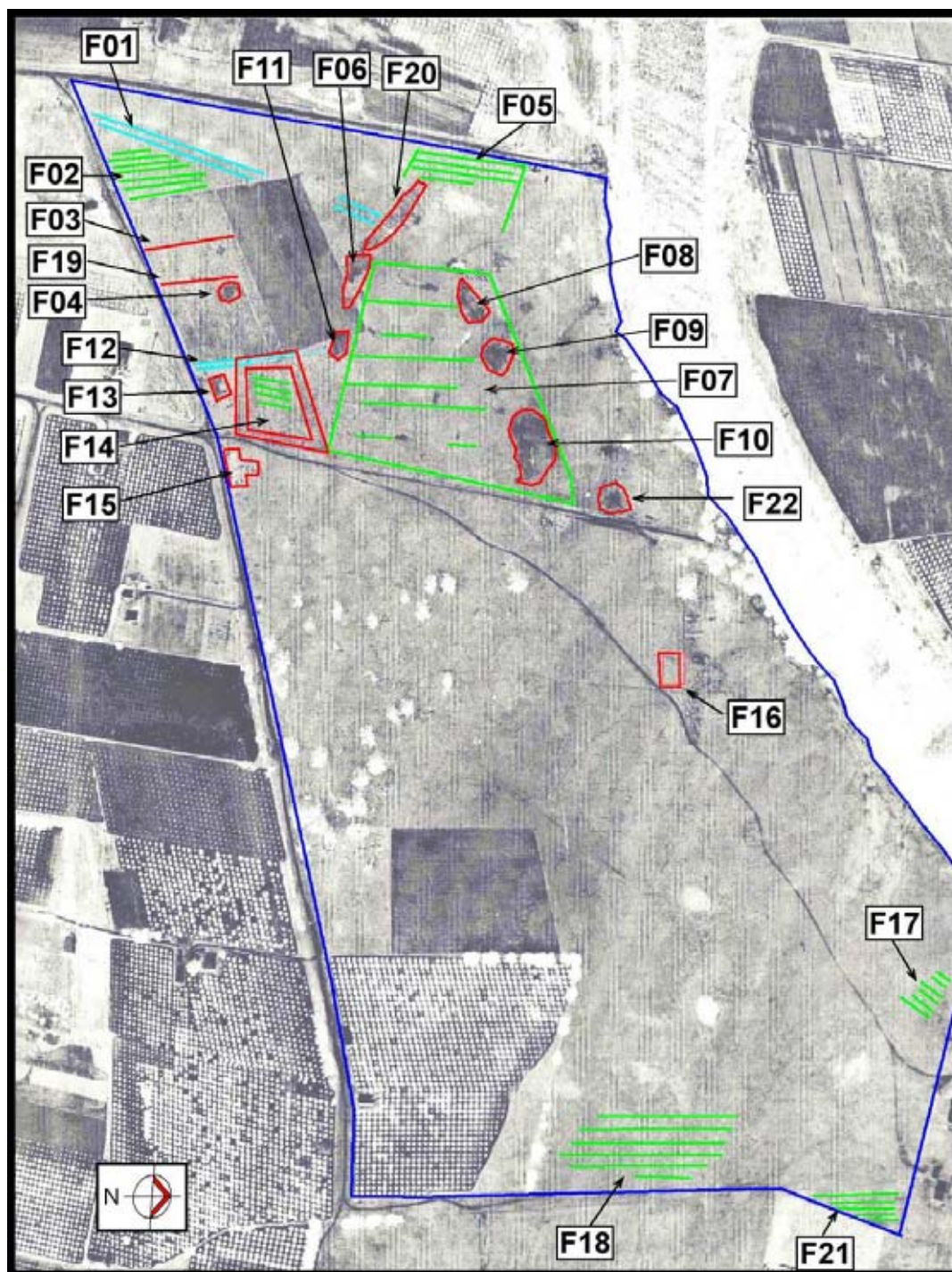


Figure 4.27: Features F01 to F22 identified on the 1947 aerial photograph.

4.4 'RELICS' INDICATED ON THE SITE

The field survey undertaken across all accessible sections of the study are failed to identify an substantial in situ remains of buildings, services, plantings or fence lines that could be reliably attributed to the pre-1900 use of the site.

The physical evidence for occupation of the site during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was restricted to isolated elements such as brick, glass and ceramics, and to a few small areas in which this material formed observable concentrations. The locations of these sites are shown on Figure 5.1.

Site A

Site A is located along the southern boundary of Lot 11 consisted of and area approximately 40m long and 5m wide containing a number of small fragments of sandstock brick and a few fragments of unidentifiable ceramics. All fragments were less than 20mm in diameter. The area had been partly disturbed by tilling and as vehicle access along the southern boundary of the cropped field. No *in situ* structural remains were observed.

Site B

Site B consisted of a small pit excavated recently in order to expose a joint between the water main from the river and an irrigation line running to the west. The pit offered an opportunity to view a section cut into the soil profile. This section indicated that between 200mm and 300mm of the upper portion of the profile had been severely disturbed by tillage. Contained within the section was a significant amount of burnt sandy clay. This formed an area approximately 10m in diameter and may represent either burning of stumps or stubble or it may have been associated with brick-making.

Site C

Site C located in Lots 11 and 12 consisted of a scatter of sandstock brick, glass and ceramic material. The western extent of the scatter was clearly observable in Lot 11 but only the western margin of Site C was observed in Lot 12. Standing crops obscured any vision of the ground and the eastern extent of this site remains unknown at present. The items observed were all less than 6m apart with the density reaching a distance of less than 3m. The scatter itself had a maximum extent of 60m east-west by 90m north-south.

All of the observed ceramics were consistent with a date range of c.1790 to c.1850 while the few small pieces of glass (all black bottle glass) were consistent with a date of c.1790 to c.1890. The glass and ceramic material is consistent with domestic occupation in the late eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century. Several periods of occupation may be represented by this assemblage including the occupation by Thomas Tylor, the period of the 'Blighton' Estate, and with the post-Bligh use of the site, including tenancy by the Hall family.

The sandstock brick fragments consisted of pieces less than 150mm in length. No clear dimensions could be measured. None of the bricks had traces of mortar adhering to them indicating either removal through tilling and weathering, or the use of clay as mortar.

The concentration of this material indicates that they have not moved a great distance from their original source and may represent the remains of a structure or structures formerly located within the area delimited by the scatter.

Site D

Site D consisted of a spread of sandstock brick fragments approximately 250m north of Hall Street along the break in slope in Lot 11. The material consisted of 20 to 30 sandstock brick fragments extending down the slope along a front approximately 40m wide and 30m long. The bricks were loose and appear to have been deposited as a result of discard from the field above during tilling. No other artefact forms were observed in this area.

Site E

Site E was located at the southern limit of the upper field in Lot 11 immediately adjacent to, and north of the field fence line. The material formed a scatter 40m long (east-west) and approximately 5m wide (north-south). Approximately 20 fragments of sandstock brick were present in two main concentrations at the eastern and western ends of the scatter. A small number of black bottle fragments were also present. The bulk of the material was located in the area of tillage and may have been deposited in a similar manner to the material at Site D.

Site F

Site F is located in Lot 12 and occupied an area measuring approximately 35m by 35m immediately adjacent to Hawkesbury Street 500m north of Hall Street. The material was in a recently disturbed area and consisted of sandstock brick fragments generally less than 20mm in diameter. A few small fragments of indeterminate fine earthenware were also present. No in situ structural remains were observed at this location.

Site G

Site G consisted of a flat area located within a paddock on Lot 13 approximately 90m east of Hawkesbury Street and 480m north of Hall Street. The material here consisted of 5 fragments of sandstock brick less than 20mm in diameter, three fragments of indeterminate fine earthenware and a single fragment of clear glass. No structural remains were observed although part of the area is characterised by a low mound approximately 15m in diameter.

Site H

Site H was defined by the presence of two small fragments of sandstock brick, each less than 20mm in diameter. These were recovered from the side of a drainage ditch in Lot 14 at a point 10m east of Hawkesbury Street and 6 m north of Hall Street. The site had been significantly disturbed by cultivation both in the recent and distant past. No structural remains were observed in this area and no relics were observed on the field surface.

Site I

Site I was located on the riverbank forming the northern section of Lot 11. The material located here consisted of a low flat mound extending eastwards from Punt Road for a distance of approximately 50m. The eastern section of this mound contained the remains of a concrete slab and a pile of building debris associated with the demolition of a small cottage built on part of this mound between 1955 and 1982. No structural evidence for any earlier structures was observed in this location.

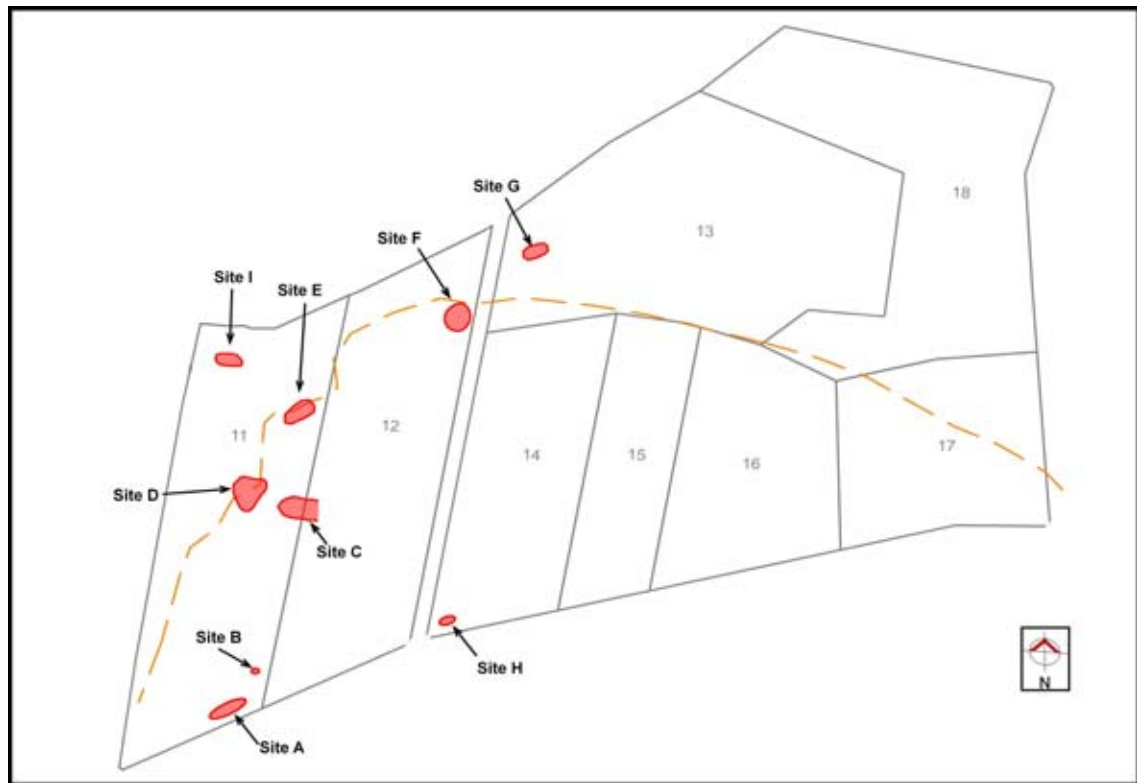


Figure 5.1: Location of Sites where 'relics' were observed



Figure 5.2 Sites A, B and C looking southwest



Figure 5.3 Site C looking northwest



Figure 5.4 Site C Chinese Blue and White porcelain
c.1790-1840



Figure 5.5 Site C Chinese Blue and White porcelain
c.1790-1840



Figure 5.6 Site C Lead glazed coarse earthenware
made in NSW c.1810-1840



Figure 5.7 Site C Fine earthenware 'Wild Rose' pattern
c.1820-1850



Figure 5.8 Site C Black bottle glass c.1790-1890



Figure 5.9 Site C Sandstock brick c.1790-1860



Figure 5.10 Site C Sandstock brick c.1790-1860



Figure 5.11 Site F looking south



Figure 5.12 Site G looking east



Figure 5.13 Site H looking southwest

4.5 LANDSCAPE MODIFICATION

Sections of the report detailing the historical development of the site indicate that the study area has been subject to a number of previous land use practices that have resulted in impacts to the ground surface and to sub-surface soils. The most significant period of impact has been associated with an intensive phase of citrus cultivation in the period after c.1940. Activities associated with this phase include the following:

- Preparation of ground for planting including removal of pasture and tilling
- Levelling of areas of cultivation for terracing
- Excavation of drainage ditches up to 2m deep
- Installation of sub-surface irrigation lines and mains in trenches up to 400mm deep
- Removal of orchards (including stumps and roots) causing severe localised disturbance to a depth of up to 400mm
- Harrowing and disc-ploughing for market gardens following removal of the orchards top a depth of 200mm-300mm

The aerial photographic evidence suggests that some fields have had orchards planted and removed on at least two occasions.

Such activities are likely to have resulted in the damage, dislocation and possible destruction of 'relics' including substantial structural remains. The primary evidence used to determine the impact of previous landuse processes were the aerial photographs dating to 1947, 1955, 1982 and 2000 in conjunction with a field inspection across all accessible parts of the Study Area.

The following definitions were used to distinguish between different degrees of disturbance:

Extremely disturbed: Areas impacted by building sites, cuttings for tracks, drains and other forms of excavation. Depths of disturbance may vary from widespread disturbance of 500mm to localised disturbance of 2m.

Moderately disturbed: Land clearance, cultivation, extensive soil disturbance by machinery, extended periods of trampling and sub-surface irrigation lines at 25m intervals throughout cultivated areas. Much of this area has been used either for orchards or grazing pasture. General depths of disturbance may be in the range of 200mm to 300mm with localised disturbance up to 500mm.

Least disturbed: Partially cleared with some possible grazing, recently disturbed by unformed vehicle tracks but no evidence of recent cultivation. Depths of disturbance are generally less than 200mm.

Disturbance in the Study Area was systematically mapped using each aerial photograph as a base. Features were traced and areas shaded according to the various degrees of disturbance described above. The results are shown in Figures 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16 combines the results of mapping from each aerial photograph with observations on current land use.

Figure 5.17 shows the disturbance zones derived from the three phases of mapping.

In general terms the quantity of cultural material identifiable as having associations with the pre-1900 use and occupation of the Study Area is remarkably poor given the number and type of structures associated with the 'Blighon' phase of the site's history. Intensive mechanical cultivation, the installation of irrigation systems, terracing and the removal of orchards have all contributed to the vertical and lateral movement of artefacts and structural remains. In the areas formerly covered by orchards the degree of ground disturbance extends up to 300mm into the soil profile. The integrity of deposits below this level is unclear and could only be confirmed using invasive techniques.

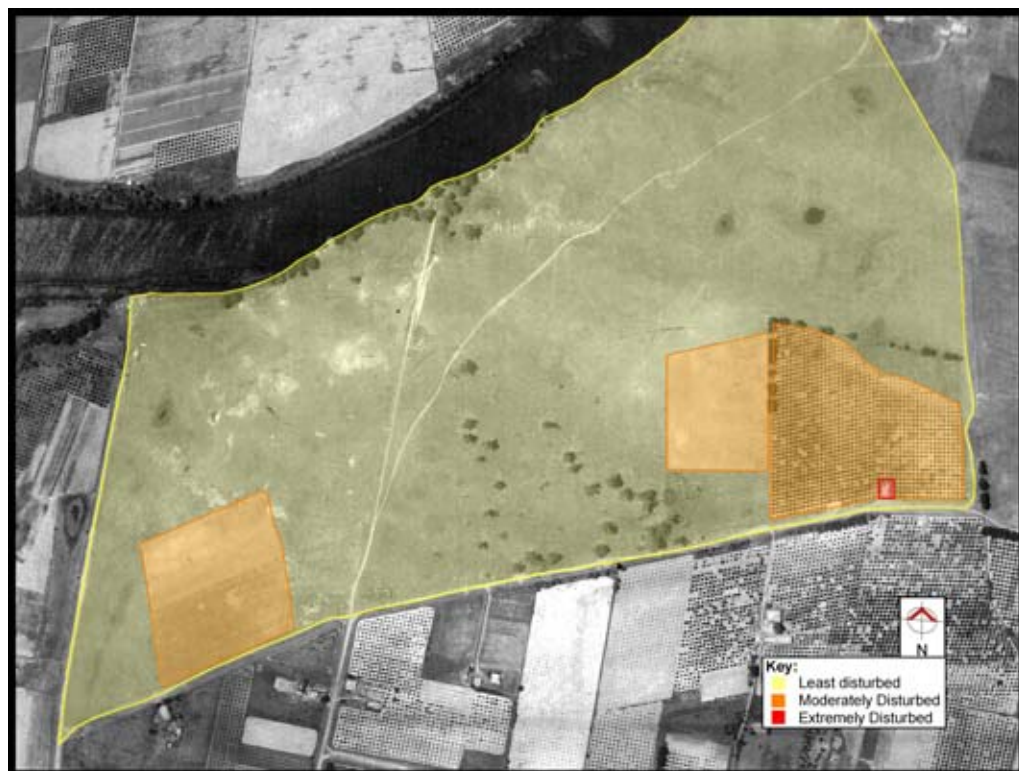


Figure 5.14: Disturbance Zones in 1947



Figure 5.15: Disturbance Zones in 1955



Figure 5.16: Disturbance Zones in 1982

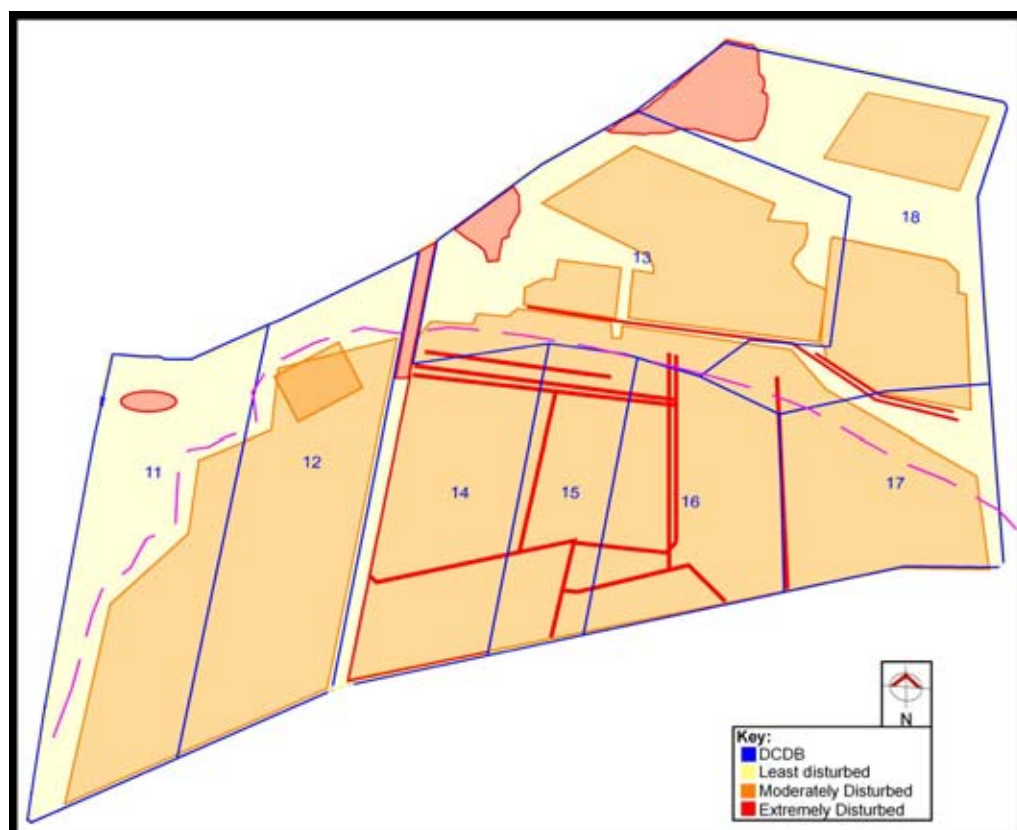


Figure 5.17: Combined Disturbance Zones

4.6 INTERPRETATION OF COMBINED EVIDENCE

Predictive modelling suggests that the following developments took place on the properties later consolidated into the 'Blighton' Estate which includes the Study Area.

1797 - Tylor alienated the northwest portion of the Study Area. It may be assumed that a dwelling house was located on this property. The location of this building is likely to have been above the recognised flood levels (later documentation describes the property as being flood free).

1800 – by this date 24 acres of the Tylor property had been cleared for planting.

1802 - James Simpson acquired the northeast 110 acres of the study area. This was attached to the existing Simpson properties that had been farmed since at least 1800. A large portion of the new grant was subject to flooding and contained a seasonal back swamp. There is no evidence to indicate that Simpson constructed any buildings on this new property.

1803 – Tylor granted 110 acres

1803-1806 – approximately 24 acres of the western part of the first Tylor Grant annexed to the adjoining Fleming grant (total property size of the Tylor grant now 146 acres but often stated in correspondence as being 150 acres)

1806 – Tylor property occupied by a dwelling house and an unspecified number of barns.

1807 (January) – Bligh purchased the two Tylor properties (146 acres). Repairs undertaken immediately after this date suggest that the Tylor building (house and barns) were still standing although their precise location is not mentioned. Given the concern with providing a flood-free farmstead these structures are likely to have been positioned above the 17m contour on the flat to lowly undulating land forming the southern two-thirds of Lots 11 and 12 and on the lands immediately south of Hall Street possibly extending to Johnston Street. By June 1807 repairs to a second house had been undertaken. This was again located on the Tylor grant.

1807 (June) – Bligh purchased the adjoining 110 acres of James Simpson increasing the total holdings to 256 acres. Between June 1807 and December 1808 a number of substantial builds were constructed and a number of yards built. These included a brick barn, two brick houses, a weatherboard house for the overseer and a stock shed described as being 120' or 200' long. Brick out offices containing a servant's room, kitchen and coach house were also constructed. The presence of a coach house suggests that a road was in place by this date connecting 'Blighton' to either Windsor, or with the Windsor Road at Rouse Hill.

These new buildings may have been located on the Tylor grants or on the Simpson grant since first reference to their construction is only made following the acquisition of the Simpson property. Other improvements included the completion of three further yards and the enclosing of a 15-acre paddock. The property was raising cattle, sheep and pigs and a small number of fowl. Crops grown on the property included wheat and maize, Tylor's one acre of garden and orchard may also have been in use.

The complex that formed the 'Blighton' Estate in the period c.1807 to 1810 is linked in its development to the Tylor and Simpson grants and the developments that took place on those properties prior to consolidation. These include forest clearance and the siting of buildings and paddocks. An area that may have been associated with the initial Tylor occupation is site F05 marked on the 1947 aerial photograph (Figure 4.27). This is an area of lowland cultivation and may represent a section of the first phase of land clearance by Tylor. The area may have been subsequently used for grazing as the higher, flood-free zone to the south was progressively cleared and occupied. This

area has remained relatively free of significant disturbance during the orcharding phase of the site's history.

The inferred evidence for the development of the site under Bligh's ownership is derived primarily from a small number of illustrations, the building lists and from an interpretation of the features revealed by the 1947 aerial photograph. In some instances areas identified in the documentary record correspond with concentrations of artefact material that are dateable to the period that includes the period of Bligh's tenure.

These include a number of sites, the most compelling of which are features F06 and F11 on the 1947 plan. These correspond to the inferred locations of a brick building shown in Figure 4.5 ('Blighton Farm A.D. 1810' (attributed to George Evans) (ML SPF – NGA 94.1418)), the location of brick buildings shown in Figure 4.10 (Plan of 1841 original sketch plan for the Clint lithographic plan (Source: Norton Smith - Papers re Bligh Estate ML A5434 item 70)) and to a concentration of artefact material identified in the field survey as Site C.

Similarly features F15, F16 and F22 conform to the locations of small concentrations of artefacts identified as Sites H, G and F respectively. A range of other features identified on the 1947 aerial photograph were not observed during the field survey due to either their removal or their inferred sites being located within standing crops.

There is sufficient data to suggest that a number of the buildings, yards and fields associated with the 'Blighton' Estate were located on the Study area, principally on Lots 11 and 12 and the western part of Lots 13 and 14. The site and these features in particular have the potential to provide evidence of a farmstead that has direct associations with Bligh and with the philosophy of the 'model farm' as an agent for improvement. The concept was known to Bligh's predecessor King but was not put into practice. Bligh's successor Macquarie would also toy with the concept but without the direct and personal role assumed by Bligh. In Australia this concept would later resurface in the 1850s and after as an economic imperative rather than as a vehicle for social change.

Once Bligh's hand had been removed, the 'Blighton' Estate appears to have begun a period of slow decline. During the period c.1810 to c.1820 a number of tenants occupied the site and carried out mixed farming and in some cases retailing to varying degrees. In the 1820s the Hall family who were already well established in the district used the property for pastoral purposes with some grain growing. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s the Hall family's holdings expanded to the north, through the Hunter Valley, into the Namoi-Gwydir district and into southern Queensland. 'Blighton' became an annexure to the home property of 'Percy Place' and thus part of a chain of movement of both people and stock to and from the Sydney region. This position as a starting point for the pastoral expansion undertaken by one notable family places the Study Area at an important node in a significant process.

The Halls appear to have concentrated most of the building activity associated with their Hawkesbury property on 'Percy Place', located immediately north of the Study Area. The buildings, yards and enclosures associated with 'Blighton' may have been reduced from at least ten major buildings to only three by the 1840s. Further use of the site for raising stock, particularly horses further reduced the number of buildings and surviving enclosures. By the 1880s no features such as these are important enough to have been recorded, if they survived in a useable state at all. At least some remnant structures associated with 'Blighton' survived on the southern side of Hall Street (the so-called 'Bligh's Stables') into the 1930s. By 1947 no visible remains survived.

5.0 Cultural Significance of Relics

5.1 PRINCIPLES & EVALUATION CRITERIA

“Heritage significance” and “cultural significance” are terms used to describe an item’s value or importance to our society. The Australian ICOMOS Burra Charter defines cultural significance as,

“Aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations”

This value may be contained in the fabric of the item, its setting and relationship to other items, the response that the item stimulates in those who value it now, or the meaning of that item to contemporary society.

Accurate assessment of the cultural significance of sites, places and items is an essential component of the NSW heritage assessment and planning process. A clear determination of a site’s significance allows informed planning decisions to be made for place, in addition to ensuring that their heritage values are maintained, enhanced, or at least minimally affected by development.

Assessments of significance are made by applying standard evaluation criteria. These criteria are as follows:

- a. *An item is important in the course or pattern of NSW’s cultural or natural **history** (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);*
- b. *An item has strong or special **associations with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW’ cultural or natural history** (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);*
- c. *An item is important in demonstrating **aesthetic characteristics** and/or a high degree of **creative or technical achievement** in NSW (or the local area);*
- d. *An item has strong or special **associations with a particular community or cultural group** in NSW (or the local area) **for social, cultural or spiritual reasons**;*
- e. *An item as **potential to yield information** that will contribute to an understanding of NSW’s cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);*
- f. *An item possesses **uncommon, rare or endangered** aspects of NSW’s cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);and*
- g. *An item is important in **demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW’s cultural or natural places**; or cultural and natural environments.*

The archaeological significance of a site may be seen as directly linked to the scientific or research value of the relics that are present. In Australia this concept is commonly

defined as a set of questions that are used as a means of assessing the significance of an archaeological site within a relative framework:

- i. *Can the site contribute knowledge that no other resource can?*
- ii. *Can the resource contribute knowledge that no other site can?*
- iii. *Is this knowledge relevant to general questions about human history or other substantive questions relating to Australian history, or does it contribute to other major research questions?*

5.2 EVALUATION

The following evaluation presents an assessment of the cultural significance of potential buried remains (relics) within the subject land using the abovementioned criteria and information presented in preceding sections of this report.

An item is important in the course or pattern of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area); and

An item has strong or special associations with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in NSW' cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area).

Any physical remains of the former principal buildings associated with Blighton are considered to be State significant for their historic heritage values and their associations with Governor Bligh. Relics associated with the farmstead's outbuildings and field systems are considered likely to be of lesser significance individually, but they would be State Significant as contributory elements of the historic landscape.

Any such remains are physical manifestations of one of the earliest substantial farms in the area and one of only a few "Model Farms" established in NSW (discussed below under the criterion Rarity). Bligh's associations with any relics and the landscape are the key element in this assessment. He is a figure of indisputable historical importance in the State's past and his commercial activities, undertaken in association with Blighton, were directly related to his dismissal as Governor. The effects of these events were felt in Britain in that they affected Imperial policy in regard to the Colony. In other words, events associated with Blighton extended well beyond NSW and accordingly, any remains of the farmstead must have potential State significance, depending on their integrity and linkage with Bligh's occupation of the place.

Tempering this assessment is the fact that Bligh's tenure and associations with the place were brief and, as a result of subsequent land use practices, it is highly unlikely that extensive, intact remains of the principal buildings and landscape elements associated with Blighton remain *in situ*.

The site is also considered to be highly significant in terms of these assessment criteria for its associations with the well-known Hall family. They were closely associated with the development of Australia's pastoral industry and "colonisation of the frontier" through the Hunter Valley, across the ranges and into the Darling region. Nor does it take into account associations with Simpson and Tyler who were amongst the first European settlers in the district.

An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or the local area);

Any surviving relics associated with Blighton and later occupation periods are not considered likely to have any values in terms of creative or technical achievement per se. Their aesthetic heritage values will be largely contingent upon their integrity, ie the degree to which they would 'present' visually, as intact, recognisable remains of an historic item or site. This cannot be determined without archaeological test investigation across parts of the site likely to contain relics of Blighton.

The heritage landscape values of this place are the subject of a separate assessment report.

An item has strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;

The site is not considered to be significant in terms of this criterion.

An item as potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area);

As demonstrated in preceding sections of this report, the upper portions of the soil profile across most of the subject land has been repeatedly disturbed, mostly in the past 50-60 years. Isolated, fragmentary relics associated with all phases of historic occupation at the place will be found within these soil deposits but they have little or no heritage values under any criteria with the exception of (e - Research). They would probably have very low potential to yield new information about the occupation sequence.

Deposits below the plough zone have some potential to contain intact significant relics particularly within areas identified as the indicative location of the Model farm.

In summary: Relics associated with agricultural use of the site after Blighton, ie from the mid-Nineteenth Century onwards, are considered to have little or no potential to yield significant historical or technical information that could not be obtained from other sites or other sources. Any in situ relics associated with Blighton, particularly any surviving remains of the Model Farm buildings, yards, and occupation deposits, are indisputably State Significant for their research potential. If any such relics exist in a fragmented state they would remain State Significant but they would have limited potential to yield new information, and to form a basis for public interpretation of the place.

If no relics survive then the site probably has nil significance in terms of this criterion.

An item possesses uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of NSW's cultural or natural history (or the cultural or natural history of the local area); and

An item is important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a class of NSW's cultural or natural places; or cultural and natural environments.

The 'model farm' system was a product of the Age of Reason. The philosophy behind it sought to raise the practice of agricultural to a level comparable with the Sciences and Arts through the application of principles that were then being recognised in the

two latter fields. The model farm was designed to bring ordered and logical organization to a farmstead's fields, yards and buildings that would prove both economically attractive to the promoter and educative to the promoter's tenants and neighbours. Any farmstead organised under these principles was required to have aesthetic qualities, both in the arrangement and ornamentation of its buildings and fields, and its ability to enhance the landscape in which it was situated.

At the time of Bligh's arrival in the Colony he was presented with a society that was still struggling at a subsistence or near-subsistence level. Food imports were still required, inexperienced small-scale settlers involved in agricultural production were using methods ill-suited to the ground they were working, while the large landholders operated in a manner that was closer to the plantation system than an English estate.

The chief problems with agricultural production undertaken by free settlers and emancipists were the lack of agricultural experience and the need for labour to work their assets. Bligh's predecessor King had recognised the absence of a system of integrated farming.¹ Rather than instituting reforms he chose to channel much of the available agricultural labour into the Government establishments, a necessity that established Government control over most of the Colony's food production. The seemingly generous grants of 25 to 50 acres were highly inadequate and could not be viably worked by a family or an individual. King's system of renting deserted farms ceased following the establishment of government agricultural establishments.² Experienced agriculturalists arriving in the Colony during King's tenure were usually placed close to the government agricultural establishments such as Toongabbie and Castle Hill so that Government could make use of their skills in exchange for conveniently located labour pools. The convicts working on these establishments were routinely released to the adjoining farms during harvest. The problem with this system was the proximity free settlers found themselves to recalcitrant convicts and the poor quality soils they were provided with. This usually saw the drift of settlers from these regions to the more fertile Hawkesbury.

Bligh had quickly recognised that the Hawkesbury and its small settlers were the principal means of dragging agricultural production to a surplus level improving both the standard of living of those settlers and relieving the burden to Government of food importation. Bligh's method of achieving this was to educate the small settlers of the Hawkesbury through the use of a 'model farm'. This was to show how buildings and fields could be arranged effectively and economically by integrating a series of processes that linked crop production with animal husbandry resulting in the efficient movement of produce and waste.

A concomitant result of the 'model farm' system was the aesthetic benefit resulting from the arrangement, scale and design of buildings and the modification of landscape. Field systems and plantings when positioned using the existing, or modified topography had the ability to turn a utilitarian enterprise into something that elevated the spirits. Whether by chance or design 'Blighdon' achieved some of this as testified by later visitors such as Macquarie and by artists such as Lewin and Lycett.

The degree to which this system was absorbed by the settlers is difficult to gauge. The only commentator on this process who understood the system was Andrew Thompson whose opinion, when being transmitted to Bligh, can only be viewed with bias. Similarly those critics of Bligh and the manner in 'Blighdon' operated were similarly biased. Where Thompson saw great merit in ever-increasing profits resulting from effective management, Bligh's detractors saw only corruption.

Following the deposing of Bligh in January 1808 the farm appears to have continued to operate with a much lower profile. Bligh no longer had direct access to stock and labour and his bailiff, Thompson was effectively isolated and may have returned to the

¹ HRA vol 5: 650 King to Camden 15 March 1806

² HRA vol 4: 80 King to Hobart 9 May 1803

management of his own considerable assets. The two years the Colony laboured under the junta, the officers and former officers of the New South Wales Corps drew to themselves control of the economy, land ownership and agriculture. Macquarie on his arrival in 1810 was frankly disappointed with the appearance of farms in the Colony. He found them productive given the difficulties faced by farmers but deplored the physical state of the farm buildings and residences.³

Macquarie followed a similar path to both King and Bligh in that early in the term of his governorship stock was made available from the Government herds to small settlers on a loan basis in order to build their own herds. In regard to the Hawkesbury he instituted a system of making available flood-free lands to existing lowland settlers as points of refuge and was much of the same opinion as King in that concentrating the Colony's agricultural production in one region exposed it to calamity.⁴

When opening up new areas for settlement Macquarie took steps to establish experimental farming before releasing the areas to general settlement. This was the case with Bathurst in 1815 where he left six labourers in the district to "determine the Capability and Quality of the ground" before settlers were granted lands.⁵

Accordingly, any surviving relics associated with Blighton are considered to be State significant in terms of these criterion, however their heritage values as such is entirely contingent upon their integrity.

5.3 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The subject land was for a brief period the site of one of the earliest Model Farms in NSW. It was established by Governor Bligh as a venture designed to yield capital for his personal gain and as an exemplar of the most efficient means of undertaking agricultural production in a new land. Bligh is a figure of indisputable historical importance in Australia's history and Blighton is well known by those with an interest in that history. His tenure of the place was brief, but the way Bligh undertook the commercial agricultural venture at Blighton had significant ramifications for Australia's history. His commercial activities in association with Blighton were directly related to his dismissal as Governor and this in turn affected British Imperial policy in regard to the Colony. The historical events associated with the place therefore extend beyond NSW at a geo-political level. In terms of the remains of the Model Farm, this significance is contingent upon the integrity of any relics associated with the place and the degree to which it can be demonstrated that they are directly associated with Bligh's occupation/tenure of the land.

³ Ellis (1978): 206

⁴ Ellis (1978): 207

⁵ HRA vol 8: 558 Macquarie to Bathurst 24 June 1815

6.0 Recommendations

Johnson Property Group is examining options for future use of the site. Any future development footprint is yet to be confirmed and will be guided by the results of environmental and heritage studies. It is envisaged that a development application (DA) will be lodged following the identification of constraints and the provision of advice regarding any necessary mitigation and conservation measures. Archaeological test excavation of various landform units within the study area is necessary to provide accurate advice during this early planning stage.

In general terms this excavation will provide information to guide future planning decisions, such as consideration to re-zone land above the 1:100 year flood level from rural to residential and subdivide it into residential allotments and develop land below the 1:100 year flood level for public recreational purposes. This is likely to include playing fields, walking trails and a boat launching facility.

Subdivision and future development of allotments above the 1:100 year flood level may involve: clearing of selected vegetation; possible removal of topsoil to obtain required levels; establishment of building footings; installation of services below ground; and possible re-introduction of fill to raise ground levels. Results of archaeological testing during this early stage will inform conservation and mitigation measures required during later planning phases, ie. before and after subdivision and finalisation of any residential design plans.

Taking this into consideration in addition to the results of the previous assessment it is recommended that Johnson Property Group make an application to the NSW Heritage Council for an Archaeological Excavation Permit, under Section 140 of the Heritage Act, 1977 covering test investigation of localities at the site that have potential to contain intact relics associated with Blighton.

The research design and excavation methodology presented in the following section of this report sets out the methods and approach proposed for this test investigation.

7.0 Research Design & Test Excavation Methodology

7.1 INDICATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

The blue shading in Figure 7.1 shows portions of the subject land considered to have potential to contain relics associated with Blighton and/or later occupation phases. Of these, the sites located above the river flat (dashed line) are those considered likely to contain remains of the Model farm's buildings.

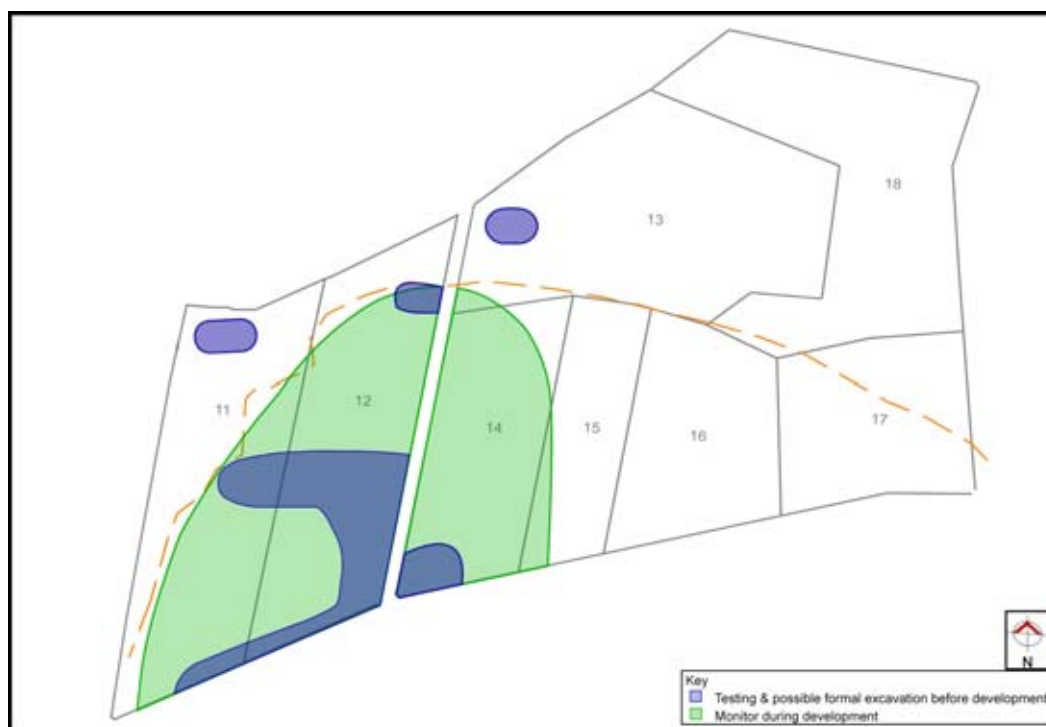


Figure 8.1: Management zones

The proposed archaeological investigation of the subject land will focus upon the three areas above the river flat. At this stage, the investigation proposed is purely an exercise in physical assessment of the site and its contents. The objective of the investigation is to determine, via excavation, the nature, extent and condition of relics within the surface deposits at the site. This information will then be presented in an excavation report that will be used to inform Johnson Property Group regarding archaeological constraints and opportunities regarding future development of the land.

While archaeological excavation is intrinsically destructive, we have clearly demonstrated by recent work at Parramatta Colonial Hospital and the former Third Government Farm site at Castle Hill that it is possible to expose substantial building relics and leave them in situ in an undisturbed state so that decisions can be made regarding their long-term management. A similar approach to the excavation is proposed for the current sites. In brief, the proposed excavation methodology is designed to identify any remains of the buildings, and leave them in situ. The proposed work does not contain provision for removal or destruction of relics with the

exception of those incidentally located in surface deposits, or those that are no longer in their primary depositional context.

The means by which we propose to test the location and extent of potential relics associated with these features is set out below.

7.2 PROPOSED EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY

In general terms, it is proposed to undertake archaeological work on-site in four stages:

1. An initial investigation of the sites using non-invasive testing (resistivity and magnetometry); followed by
2. Machine stripping of overburden covering the sites;
3. Detailed manual investigation and archaeological documentation (per standard methods) of specific features identified by machine excavation within the excavated areas. The objective of this work will be exposure of the relics for (i) recording, and (ii) to facilitate decision-making re their future management.
4. On-site liaison with project management and, if significant relics are discovered, representatives from the NSW Heritage Office;
5. Development of a short (or long)-term in-situ conservation plan of the relics pending the results of 3 (above).

This strategy provides a means by which the sites archaeological potential (as assessed) may be confirmed or refuted so that the results of the work can be taken into consideration during future management planning for the site. It is considered to be an appropriate approach to initial investigation of remaining deposits at the site given the nature and significance of the remains.

If intact relics are identified, these remains will be recorded, covered with geo fabric and/or clean sand, and left in situ.

In regards to Recording, it is proposed to document the results of the investigation in the following manner:

- A survey datum, keyed to Australian Height Datum will be established to record the levels of extant deposits and features;
- Scaled site plans and profile or cross-section drawings will be prepared showing the location of all archaeological deposits and features revealed by excavation. These will be keyed to the site datum;
- The location, dimensions and characteristics of all archaeological features and deposits will be recorded on sequentially numbered proforma context recording sheets. This form of written documentation will be supplemented by preparation of a Harris Matrix showing the stratigraphic relationships between features and deposits;
- Photographic recording of all phases of the work on site will be undertaken;

Cultural artefacts associated with Nineteenth Century occupation that are revealed by the work will be recorded and left in situ. If there is a requirement to remove insignificant deposits containing late occupation artefacts we propose to document these artefacts prior to their removal.

At the conclusion of the excavation results of the test excavation and any post-ex analysis will be documented in a report, as required by standard conditions attached to excavation permits.

We propose to undertake excavation using the following team:

Director/Project Manager: Peter Douglas;
Archaeologists: Fiona Leslie, Graham Wilson and Richard Wright.
Planner/Survey/Photographer: Dan Tuck.

On-site project management will be undertaken by Peter Douglas of Archaeological & Heritage Management Solutions Pty Ltd.

Monitoring of all machine excavation and sub-surface investigative work will be undertaken by Peter Douglas or by Graham Wilson.

Post Excavation analysis will be undertaken by appropriately qualified staff depending on the classes of artefacts recovered. Management and analysis of any environmental evidence recovered from the site will be undertaken by Dr Mike McPhail.

Preparation of a report documenting the results of the all investigations at the site will be undertaken by Peter Douglas.

The Heritage Office holds Resumes for all nominated staff, however full CV's are available on request.

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APPENDICES

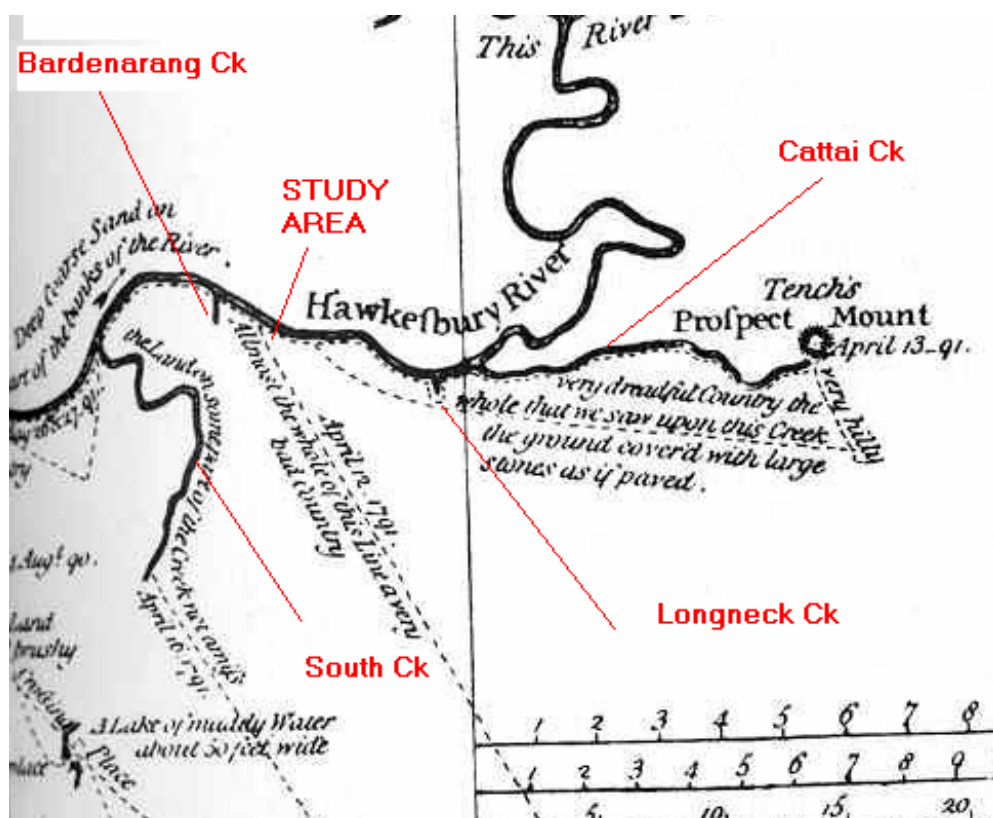
- Appendix 1: Interpretation of Tench's 1791 Journal.**
- Appendix 2: Andrew Thompson's Returns and Testimony.**
- Appendix 3: The Hawkesbury Settlers' Address – 1809.**

Appendix 1: Interpretation of Tench's 1791 Journal.

One of the significant events to take place within the Study Area was the meeting between Governor Phillip's expedition and Yèl-lo-mun-dee, Gom-beè-ree and Dèe-im-ba. Attenbrow states that "it is difficult to say exactly where on the Hawkesbury River and in whose land they were at the time of the encounter" is only partly correct.⁶ From Tench's description and from the map supplied in the original published version it is clear that the expedition followed the Pitt Town ridge and descended towards the River along the eastern side of the spur that is through Lot 12 or 14. Had they approached the river on the western side of the spur (Lot 11) their position would have been made clear to them and they would not have travelled east in order to reach Richmond Hill.

The party then followed the river around Hall's point and then along Cattai Creek. On reaching a hill (Tench's Prospect Mount) their position was made clear and they retraced part of their journey to the west. On the return they avoided the river and cut across the low lying ground south of Canning Creek between the river and Longneck lagoon. The party then appears to have traversed parts of Lot 17 and 18 before rejoining the River in Lot 13. It was at this point that the first contact with Yèl-lo-mun-dee, Gom-beè-ree and Dèe-im-ba was made.

A conversation between the canoe-borne locals and the expedition ensued with Gom-beè-ree making the first landfall and indicating a path along the riverbank. This path appears to have traversed the low ground in Lots 11, 12 and 13 with the expedition fording a stream after which they made camp. The description of the creek crossing and the creek shown on the map suggest that this was Bardenarang Creek.



Interpretation of Features shown on Tench's Map & topographical elements

⁶ Attenbrow (2002): 34

Appendix 2: Andrew Thompson's Returns and Testimony

The following texts are derived from those published in HRA and HRNSW. Where these are in conflict with the originals held at State Records New South Wales the originals have been reproduced cross-referenced to the printed versions.

Memorandum in Gov Bligh's handwriting 1807 (copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI p. 362]

January 1st to purchase Money for 146 Acres of Thomas Tyler £150

By articles found at the Farm as Follows: One Iron pot, One Axe, One Spade, One Shovel, One Grubbing Hoe, Two Hoes, One Old Bucket

To Articles furnished as follows:

One Bucket, One Iron Pot, Two Spades, Six Hoes, Four Scythes, One Brush Hook, One Maul and 2 Wedges, One Mill and One Sieve bor'd Thompson, One Padlock One File Do. Do. 10,000 Nails of Sorts, Two Axes New, 40 Boards, 3 pieces of Quartering

April 18th 1 Bull, 28 Cows, 5 Bull Calves, 15 Heiffer Do., 9 Working Bullocks, 6 Breeding Sows

May 27th. By sale of 93½ Bushels @ 6s 112 Dolls 1s

Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 207 General Account of labour done at His Excellency's Farm, Stock, Tools &c up to August 22nd 1807 as pr Sundry returns (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721] printed version at HRA Series 1 vol VI: pp. 362-363

Wheat sowed chipped and harrowed in 40A 0R 0P

Brush, Corn, Stalks &c cut and burned off of 37A 3R 0P

Breaking up 37A 3R 0P

Timber fell 14A 2R 0P

Burned off 4A 0R 0P

Fell and burned off, Dead Trees left standing and Bodies of others left lying on 28A 0R 0P

Breaking up new Ground and chipping it again 2A 1R 0P

Pulled Husked and delivered of Maize 84 Bushels. Repaired two Houses and a Barn.

One house Built, weather boarded, floored and shingled, with Chimney, Doors, Window Shutters &c &c compleat.

A large Shed for Stock 120 feet long, part Weather boarded and Shingled.

Made three Ladders and split and drew in 4,000 Paling.

Getting and carrying home posts, railing Timber for Sawyers &c &c.

A Paddock fence with Posts and railing one railed Yard 14 Rod Square

Two large paled yards with Styes, Pens &c done with paling, put up and nailed complete

Split and carried home 24,600 Shingles

Sawyers work done of Scantling Boards and Battens 6,556 feet.

Bricks made and burned 25,000

Bricks made and not burned 21,000

Total 46,000

Andrew Thompson to Governor Bligh 16 October 1807 [Source: HRNSW. vol. 6: p. 307-8]

I beg leave to inform your Excellency that I went into the Toongabby yards and exchanged eight of the inferior cows, with the bull, and obtained good and sufficient ones in their room, which will fully answer the purpose and make a great difference and advantage in your Excellency's flock, which, from pasturage and attention, will be

one of the best in the colony to their number, the cows now being again all in calf.; also, all the other stock is in a prosperous state, as per the returns inclosed. I did not get up your Excellency's pigs from Castle Hill, as one of them had just farrowed and could not travel, but I will on Monday next. We are planting the maize to the best advantage by manuring all the upper lands, &c., which will be done in a day or two, when we will turn our prompt attention towards the buildings and inclosures until harvest, that will shortly come on, as all your Excellency's wheat in the upper lands is now in ear, which, with the general crops in this extensive settlement, has every appearance of giving a plentiful and joyful harvest to make the people happy under your Excellency's auspicious and benign government, the beauty and gratification of which would be highly enhanced should your Excellency, amidst your many and important duties, be pleased to visit our ample plains in the full fruition of harvest.

Return of Stock Improvements etc at His Excellency's Farm 19 December 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI pp. 369-370]

7Bligh:
22 Cows
16 year old heifers
1 bull
10 working bullocks
6 male calves
6 female calves
Total 66 Horned cattle
46 ewes
14 wethers
10 male lambs
19 female lambs
Total 89 sheep
29 fowls (chickens turkey and geese)
93 pigs

Putland:
17 horned cattle
2 goats
5 pigs

Reports from Andrew Thompson p. 202 Return of Stock Improvements etc at His Excellency's Farm 19 December 1807 (Andrew Thompson – copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: SRNSW Col Sec 4/1721] printed version at HRA Series 1 vol VI p. 370

One Brick Building (as out offices) 54 feet long 15 Wide and 9 high containing Kitchen, Servants Room and Coach House, Kitchen flagged Window and door frames roofed but not shingled; One Brick Barn 50 feet long 18 f. wide and 13 f. high, Wall Plates tie Beams and Rafters up, but not shingled.

One Shed 200 f. long weatherboarded and nearly shingled containing at the End two Rooms for Stockmen &c as Guards, with double Brick Chimney Doors, Windows &c complete. About the Centre a house for the Overseer to live in with dairy, Store Room &c this has also a Brick Chimney paved Floor with Doors Windows &c complete. Also an open part for milking in, another for the Sheep &c with Pens for Calves, Styes for Pigs, Paired paired and nailed at top and bottom with Convenient Gates, Doors &c.

A Six raild Fence forming different Paddocks or enclosures for Stock, well nailed and battened at each joining Post, containing about fifteen Acres.

Six paled Yards Viz. A Barnyard 100 Feet Square, Pig Yard 80 feet Square with Sheep Yard. Milking Yard House Yard and Stockyard all nailed at top and bottom with convenient Gates and Fastenings to and from each other occasionally.

Bricks made and burned for the above buildings and others to be built, used and unused – 105,000

Scantling Boards and Battens sawed for Do. And others to be done, used and unused 14954 feet

Timber fell and Burned off &c 120 acres

New ground broke up and planted & old Do. Broke up and planted with Maize} 18 Do.

Grubbd up Trees Roots &c for Garden Grounds 3 Do.

Chipped and tilled Maize 18

Built in the Barn Yard two Staddles on which are built two Stacks of Wheat and thatchd complete.

N.B. Much time taken up with Stock &c Also in getting and bringing Home Timber for Sawyers and Fences.

Andrew Thompson

Declaration of Andrew Thompson Hawkesbury 19 December 1807– copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI: p. 366]

Having undertaken the Management of an Estate for His Excellency Gov'r Bligh, purchased last Season from Tyler and Simpson, with the grand design of showing what great Improvements and Progress could be made on Farming and Colonial Estates here, Season by Season, under strict attention and industry, proper plans, and good Management, and by such a Noble, laudible and public example in a Chief Governor (as shown by the King of Great Britain Himself), has had its desired effects to convince and excite all descriptions of People to that Spirit of Adventure and persevering Industry which ultimately give a people happiness, plenty, and Independence. And whereas His Excellency has been pleased to trust this little Patriotic Experiment on Colonial farming to my Charge, I do hereby certify and declare that the whole is according to the Statement given, in, and has been managed without impropriety or known Error. And that there is no Debt, charge or encumbrance standing or to pay of or belonging to the Management of this Estate of any nature or kind whatsoever up to this, as I shall answer for the same in my Character, Person and Property in this time past or to come, so long as I may have the Management thereof, as Witness my Hand, voluntarily signed, place, and date as above.

Some Observations on His Excellency's Farm for the ensuing Year– copy in Johnston to Castlereagh 11 April 1808) [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI: p. 367]

Tyler's Farm, although eligibly and pleasantly situated, has only about 14 Acres of good land now fit or ready to grow Grain without manuring the poor lands, which never pays or yields so well as the fertile plains (and would beg leave to make a proposition on that head if His Excellency is not displeased therewith). And this next Year's produce of said farm, on computing 15 Bushels of Wheat per Acre at 10s per Bushel is £105.0.0

The House and improvements intended and set on foot for this Year will be worth and enhance the Value of this Estate to £400.0.0

Total present and apparent Advantage this Year £505.0.0

(notes on a breeding plan for stock if there were 6 Breeding Cows, Two Mares and Fifty Ewes as the land is good would breed almost every one would provide a total profit of £1065.0.0)

NB But it may be observed that a common Farmer who has to pay for everything would by no means have such profits.

Deposition of Andrew Thompson before J. Jamieson and C. Grimes Esqres, being duly sworn, Deposeth to the Questions asked him [Source: HRA Series 1 vol VI pp. 359-360]

26 Jany 1808

Q: Have you the management of the Public business at the Hawkesbury?

A: I have, under Mr Arndell. There are above an hundred Men victualled by Government. There are from twenty to thirty Men employed on Governor Bligh's Farm; there has been thirty victualled by the Crown. There are seven at Captain Putland's Farm now. I have drawn various supplies for Governor Bligh's farm from the Public Stores. I have the account. I have drawn quantities of Stores on my own account from the Public Stores, which are paid for, and I have credit, I believe with the Commissary. I have the charge of Governor Bligh's Private Concerns at the Hawkesbury. Twenty Cows with Calves were drawn from the Public Herds on account of Governor Bligh, and Eight Cows heavy in Calf on account of Captain and Mrs Putland. Seven or Eight of the Cows were returned to the Government Herds without their Calves, and an equal number drawn in Calf on Governor Bligh's Account. There were Twelve of the best Sows in Pig drawn from the Government drove at Castle Hill, and a Boar and thinks (but can ascertain it by his returns) that Six were returned after Pigging, without their young ones, to Castle Hill; that they were fed by Grain or refuse Grain from the Public Stores, and driven into the Woods in the day time on account of Governor Bligh; that there were Pigs afterwards received both from Sydney and Castle Hill, said to belong to Governor Bligh. There has been a large quantity of Cedar received on account of the Public and Governor Bligh; that I have had a quantity of Cedar from the Mountains on my own account without duty by Permission from the Governor. Part of the Cedar has been appropriated to building Pews in the Church at Hawkesbury. The Pew marked No. 1 is built for the Governor. Andrew Thompson's name is marked on Pew No. 2. The Magistrates Pew will come in about No. 14. The Pew marked No. 2 was built by the Public Labourers and in part by the Public Timber. I manage the Governor's dairy Concerns at the Hawkesbury and dispose of his Milk at 10d Per Quart. I take Grain in payment for the Milk, which Grain I have on hand. I have about Seventy or Eighty Pounds Sterling worth of grain on account of Milk belonging to Governor Bligh. I have put into the Stores about two thousand Bushels of Grain within these twelve Months on my account, but will give an exact return. I have about thirty Convicts in my employ, most of them good Men. I picked them when I had an opportunity. I drew One hundred and ten Gallons of Prize Spirits by Governor Bligh's permission, about two months ago, for which I am to pay about 8s. Per gallon and have sold it in small quantities from 18s - 20s. Per Bottle. I have received during the last Twelve months about Three hundred Gallons exclusive of the Prize Spirits. I have never had any Colonial distilled Spirits to my knowledge in my House, within this last twelve months, or had any sold on my account. George Crossley has informed me he was consulted by the Governor. George Crossley has informed me that the Charge against Mr McArthur was liable to be punished by Fine, Imprisonment, or Pillory, but that he thought it would not reach the Pillory in this Colony. Since the Criminal Court has been sitting, Geo. Crossley has spoken about the Judge-Advocate leaving his Seat, and said that they were not a Court without the Judge-Advocate. I have been consulted by the Governor on Public Affairs and some things of little consequence about the Officers. That I have been on very good terms with the Governor. I have heard that the Governor has said that he preferred sitting down with a Hawkesbury Settler than an Officer, and is not certain Governor Bligh did not tell him so. The Governor has about seventy or Eighty Sheep on his Farm, originally drawn from the Public Flocks. The Governor has a Shed on his Farm of about Two hundred feet long, weather-boarded and shingled, with a Barn of Brick 50 ft. by 18, a Brick House about 50 by 14 feet containing three Rooms, and there is another House of nearly the same dimensions now building; all the Buildings were completed by the Labourers of the Crown. I imagine the Buildings would cost an Individual upwards of a Thousand Pounds; but I can give a nearer Estimate. Nine Oxen were generally employed, fed by Grain from the Public Stores. James Simpson has had two Men fed by the Crown, from nearly the time that Governor Bligh purchased his Farm, one as a Settler and the other as a Constable that I passed my Note for the purchase of the Farm, £100 which was to be paid me from the Produce of Governor Bligh's Farm put into the Store. I hold Governor Bligh's Memorandum to that effect. I have no particular Instructions from Governor Bligh about his Farm, but I have been informed by Governor Bligh that the Stock and Articles drawn from the Store were to be paid for, and he wished everything to be fair and Honorable. And'w Thompson.

Appendix 3: The Hawkesbury Settlers' Address - 1809

Hawkesbury Settlers' Address to Governor Bligh. Hawkesbury, 17th Feby., 1809.
[Source: HRA Vol VII p. 140-141]

Sir,

We, the undersigned (who came Free into the Colony), impressed with the most lively sense of Gratitude, most respectfully acknowledge the blessings we experienced under your Firm, Upright, and Impartial Administration; had your power been equal to your wishes, we have no doubt but you would have put a stop to that System of Monopoly, Extortion, and Oppression long and severely felt by us and our Families, almost to the privation of every Comfort. You would have purified the Streams of Justice, and re-established Discipline, the want of which had left us without protection; you would have let the Laws take their course without regard to persons, and made the Guilty tremble when punishment was sure to follow detection. You would have protected our Persons and Property by known laws, and encouraged Agriculture, which would have rendered us and our Families comfortable; we might then have slept in our Beds without the fear of our Houses being assailed, our wives and daughters violated, and our Property plundered by Bands of lawless Ruffians wandering about with impunity for months at a time, protected by a Pass granted by a Convict Overseer. This, Sir, is strong language; but the Records of the Courts of Justice prove these enormous crimes to exist with impunity, and the want of Discipline by escaping detection. The number of Convicts for life living in Luxury and Idleness--living without visible means of support--damps industry. This serves to shew the State we were in at the time of your arrival; everything was gone too far for any one man to correct; either integrity or ability could not prevail to correct the abuses, which were reduced to a System; every department was equally corrupt, from the highest in Office, or very nearly so, to the lowest Constable. It was considered meritorious to deceive, and criminal to give you or any other Governor information; few would dare to do it for fear of bringing persecution and ruin on themselves and Families, and Perjury was nearly reduced to a System. Our confined circumstances and degraded Situations had broken our Spirits and left us without hope before your arrival. We no sooner began to feel the benefits of your Administration and see your benevolent plans than our Spirits began to revive, and our hopes to brighten, that by Industry we would be able to support our Families in comfort, improve our Farms, and leave our children with a prospect of supporting themselves by a similar conduct.

We no sooner began to feel the benefit of your Measures, and see the reform they were led to produce, than we were alarmed at your being arrested; and we solemnly protest against that Act and declare we had no foreknowledge, act, or part in the said Rebellion; and some of us who did sign an Address to Major Johnston after the Act was committed on the 26th January, 1808, was under the impression of Fear and Terror, the Colony being then under Martial Law, with Bands of men going round with said Addresses, using various threats (among which to take our Indented Servants from us) and that our property should not be worth sixpence in the Colony. Further, to intimidate the Inhabitants, Bands of Soldiers and other of the most abandoned and worthless Characters assembled, heated with Wine and Spirits, made Bonfires, and burnt your Excellency and others in Effigy who were suspected of mistaken Loyalty; during this tumult and outrage we were apprehensive that a scene of proscription and Bloodshed would commence, when twelve Freeholders applied by two Letters of requisition, Six Freeholders to each, to take the Sense of the Freeholders, under the Sanction of three Magistrates, on the alarming State of the Colony; that was refused by Major Johnston, and the most rigorous measures resorted to by him.

After which a few Loyal Inhabitants drew up an Address to Colonel Paterson, praying him to come down and reinstate you in your Government and Authority, and place us again under the protection of the King and known Laws; on which Richard Fitzgerald, High Constable, offered a Free Pardon and a Passage to England to any Convict for Life who would give such information as would convict and Free Settler of having such Address in his possession.

A number of Free Settlers refusing to attend Muster, not considering it legal without being called by Your Excellency's Authority, five of them were sent to Gaol for one month, and their Indented Servants taken from them; this transaction took place at the time their Wheat was shaking in the Field for want of Reapers. These serve to show the danger we are in if they can even have a pretext for coercive measures. The above Statement of Fact will plead for us that we could not do more towards reinstating you in your Authority and Government, but might have increased your personal danger, which we considered imminent.

We most earnestly pray that your Excellency will represent to Our Most Gracious Sovereign, through the means of the Right Hon'ble Viscount Castlereagh, that His Majesty has as Loyal Subjects in New South Wales as in any part of the British Dominions, who wish to impress the Same Sentiments of Loyalty in the minds of their children; permit us to pray you will present the enclosed Memorial to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that you will support the same as an Act of Justice, Humanity, and Necessity, on behalf of a number of oppressed British Subjects, that they may have speedy protection and relief. Sir, whatever may be the event of this Rebellion, now you are forced from us, our best wishes will accompany you; and that you may soon return, armed with Power to enforce your Authority, is the sincere prayer of—

Yours, &c.,

James Davison, Caleb Wilson, James Mein, John Johnston, Andw. Johnston, John Howe, Charles Griffiths, John Turnbull, Sen'r, Ralph Turnbull, Jun'r, John Bowman, Wm. Bowman, David Langley, Richd. Rouse, Thomas Arndell, Robert Moustin.

Appendix 4: Abbreviated Genealogy of the Hall Family

George Hall 1764-1840 =1791 Mary Smith 1769-	–	Elizabeth Hall 1793-1834 = 1810 Henry Fleming ⁷ 1791-1838	–	Joseph Fleming 1811-1891 =(1) Phoebe ? ?-1853 =(2)1858 Mary Harriet Everitt
			–	George Fleming 1813- =1837 Margaret McGinnis
			–	John Henry Fleming ⁸ 1816-1894 =1841 Charlotte Dunstan
			–	Margaret Fleming 1823-
			–	Elizabeth Fleming 1825-
			–	Elizabeth Fleming 1827-
			–	Jane Fleming 1830-
			–	Henry Fleming 1833-
	–	George Smith Hall 1795-1882 = 1815 Frances Grono ⁹ 1798-1862	–	George Smith Hall 1816-1878 =1852 Eliza Smith
			–	John Smith Hall 1817-1879 =1863 Mary Ann Bailey
			–	William Smith Hall 1819-1894 =1847 Elizabeth Fleming
			–	James Smith Hall 1821-1850

⁷ Son of Joseph Fleming and Mary (?)

⁸ June 1838 participated in the massacre of the Kwiambal people on Myall Creek. He escaped detection and returned to the Hawkesbury (Warner (1990): 174 and Elder (1988): 75)

⁹ Daughter of Captain John Grono RN and Elizabeth Bristow.

			– Thomas Smith Hall 1822-1899 =1862 Sophia Turnbull
			– Elizabeth Smith Hall 1824- =1858 William Walker
			– Mary Smith Hall 1827- =1850 John Books
			– Matthew Smith Hall 1830-1911 =1850 Eleanor Vera Brown
			– Margaret Smith Hall 1833-
			– Jane Smith Hall 1836-
			– Eliza Smith Hall 1838- =1852 Thomas Smith
	– William Hall 1797-1871		
	– John Hall 1800-1869 = 1843 Sarah Dutton 1821-1869	–	– Elizabeth Hall 1844-1923 =1861 John Johnston ¹⁰ 1837-1903
	– Mary Hall 1803-1889 = 1819 William Johnston ¹¹ 1795-1878	–	– John Johnston 1837-1903 =1861 Elizabeth Hall 1844-1923
	– James Hawkesbury Hall 1805-1874 = 1829 Hannah Johnston ¹² 1806-1896	–	– Mary Hall 1829- =1851 Thomas Arndell III 1825-
			– Hannah Hall 1831-

¹⁰ Purchased Lots 3 and 4 of the Hall Estate in 1881.

¹¹ Son of Andrew Johnston and Mary Beard

¹² Daughter of Andrew Johnston and Mary Beard

–	Thomas Simpson Hall ¹³ 1808-1870 = 1835 Ann McGinnis ¹⁴ 1815-1893	
–	Matthew Henry Hall 1811-1888 = (1)1829 ¹⁵ Frances Hartley 1814-1896	– Matthew Hall 1830-
	= (2)1851 Ann Brown ¹⁶ 1834-1876	– Amelia J. 1860-
		– Lilleah Hall 1861-
		– Fitz H. Hall 1868-
		– Charlotte Hall 1870-
		– Constance Hall 1878-
–	Ebenezer Hall 1813-1877 =1837 Catherine McGinnis ¹⁷ 1820-1891	– Phoebe Catherine 1838- =1860 Donald Ross
		– Elizabeth Jane Hall 1844-
		– Ebenezer L. Hall 1846
		– Frederick C. Hall 1847-
		– Arthur S. Hall 1850-
		– Ebenezer H. Hall 1853-
		– Maria C. Hall 1854-

¹³ Responsible for the massacre of the Kamilaroi people on the Gwydir in July 1836 (Elder (1988): 67).

¹⁴ Daughter of George McGinnis and Ann Cusley

¹⁵ Not legally married

¹⁶ Daughter of David Brown and Mary McGinnis

¹⁷ Daughter of George McGinnis and Ann Cusley

