ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT PLAN, PORT MACQUARIE.

Volume 3. History & Conservation.

Brick barrel drain. c1830s. Clarence Street. Port Macquarie.

Stage 2.

Edward Higginbotham & Associates

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Volume 3.
Part 1. History.
Part 2. Conservation.

Stage 2.

Edward Higginbotham, MA (Cambridge, PhD (Sydney), MAACA.

EDWARD HIGGINBOTHAM & ASSOCIATES

PO Box 97

HABERFIELD, NSW 2045.

www.higginbotham.com.au

Dr. Edward Higginbotham.
Edward Higginbotham & Associates Pty Ltd.
Phone: +612 9716 5154.
Fax: +612 9716 8547.

Terry Kass, Historian.

&

Vince Murphy, Perumal Murphy Wu Pty. Ltd.

For

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CONTENTS.

Part 1. An outline history of Port Macquarie.

Part 2. The conservation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

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The author would like to thank

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.

Part 1. An outline history of Port Macquarie.

Port Macquarie was occupied in 1821 as a place of secondary punishment, to receive convicts who had transgressed the law for a second time, after transportation to New South Wales. The settlement was originally laid out in 1821 by Surveyor James Meehan. Its convict population peaked in 1825, but was then progressively run down until 1830, when the Hastings Valley was opened up to free settlement. A government establishment remained until 1847, housing "specials" in a newly built gaol, forming a centre for public works in the district.

To anticipate the arrival of free settlers in 1831, the town was resurveyed on a new and regular alignment, which survives intact to the present day. The new street pattern swept away many of the buildings of the former penal establishment.

Much of the Hastings Valley was taken up in large landholdings and did not develop the close network of small farms, characteristic of other North Coast river valleys. Sugar was tried unsuccessfully, although timber getting had a greater impact later in the nineteenth century. The small population, coupled with a reliance on a narrow range of products, hampered extensive development of the Valley and of Port Macquarie itself.

Nonetheless, in accordance with many other country towns, there was a brief spurt of growth in the 1880s, but it soon tapered off in the 1890s depression. During that brief decade of growth, a municipality was formed on 27 March 1887. Even the boom in dairying had little effect upon the town, as suitable land was more extensive in other valleys of the North Coast. Finally the North Coast Railway bypassed the town, running through Wauchope instead.

The plight of the town changed with its emergence as a recreational, but seasonal destination in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, it laid the foundation for later growth. The increase in car ownership enabled the area to develop first as a tourist destination, then later as a place to live, work or retire. From the late 1920s onwards, highway and road improvements gradually made the town more accessible. Finally in 1952 a fully paved road linked Port Macquarie with Sydney, enabling growth to take on an increasing momentum.

Part 2. The conservation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

The report contrasts the public perception of the historical development of Port Macquarie with the cultural significance of the penal settlement (1821-1831) and sites relating to early town development (1831 onwards). The most important sites are poorly represented among standing buildings or visible sites, although their remains generally survive in good condition below ground.

The interpretation and display of below ground archaeological sites are essential, so that equal emphasis may be given to each stage in the historical development of Port Macquarie. The existing levels of interpretation and display are reviewed, and proposals made for the selection of sites to focus visitation, interpretation and education within Port Macquarie.

The establishment of a number of Archaeological Conservation Areas is proposed:

Archaeological Conservation Area.	Inventory Nos.
1. Penal Administration Precinct.	s.12, s.15, 65 part, 128, 129, 146 part.
2. Convict Hut Precinct.	s.01
3. Free Overseers' Houses Precinct.	s.10, s.13, 72, 73
4. Female Factory and Gaol Precinct.	s.19, 159
5. Military Barracks Precinct.	s.24, 190
6. Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct.	s.05, s.06, s.11, 19 part, 114 part
7. Pilot Station Precinct.	s.26, 268, 269, 277

(For the location of each group of sites, see Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1 - 7 at the back of Volume 3).

The proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas include sites representing most institutions and functions of the penal settlement. In many instances, they also represent a unique opportunity to conserve sites belonging to each category. For example, there are no other precincts in Port Macquarie, which could replace the Penal Administration Precinct or the Convict Hut Precinct. The same situation would apply to nearly all the other proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas.

1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1. Background.

Port Macquarie was one of only two penal settlements for the secondary punishment of convicts in New South Wales. It has the potential to make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of transportation and penal settlement, as well as later coastal and regional town development.

The recommendation for an Archaeological Management Plan for Port Macquarie was made in the Hastings Heritage Study, completed in 1991.[1] The Heritage Study resulted in an amendment to the Hastings LEP 1987, implemented on 6 August 1993, which included special provisions for the 'Development of a Place of Potential Archaeological Significance'.

Edward Higginbotham & Associates completed Stage 1 of the Archaeological Management Plan for Port Macquarie in 1994. Stage 1 comprised Volumes 1 and 2 of this study. Stage 2 of the Archaeological Management Plan was commissioned by Hastings Council on 27 February 1995.

Stage 2 of this study was jointly funded by Hastings Council and the National Estate Grants Programme.

1.2. Purpose.

The purpose of Stage 2 of the Archaeological Management Plan is to:

> 1. More precisely define the archaeological significance of different types of sites, as outlined in Stage 1 of the Archaeological Management Plan, which would give scope for the level of archaeological investigation required in each case. This objective has been met by preparing an outline history of Port Macquarie. It enables each archaeological site to be placed in its historical context and provides a basis for determining the contribution of archaeological investigation to our existing knowledge.

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[1] Suters Architects Snell, 1991. *Municipality of Hastings Heritage Study,* Hastings Municipal Council. and the Department of Planning.; Higginbotham, E. 1991, Historical Archaeology of Hastings Municipal Council, N.S.W, Suters Architects Snell.

2. Prepare a brochure for the development industry and the public, outlining the benefits of archaeology. This brochure is presented as a separate document.

3. Provide a selection of archaeological sites, which may be used to focus visitation, interpretation and education within Port Macquarie.

A copy of the brief for Stage 2 of the Archaeological Management Plan is found in Appendix 1, in Part 2 of Volume 3.

1.3. Location of study area.

Port Macquarie is located on the North Coast of New South Wales, 412 kilometres north of Sydney. The study area comprises that part of the town of Port Macquarie which forms the centre of historic settlement.

The study area is bounded by the Pacific Ocean, the Hastings River and Kooloonbung Creek on the east, north and west respectively. It is bounded on the south by Wrights Creek, then Gordon, Murray and Church Streets to Owen Street, thence by a line in an easterly direction to Oxley Beach (see Figure 1.1 in Volume 1).

1.4. Author identification.

The Archaeological Management Plan was prepared by a multi-disciplinary team:

Edward Higginbotham, Historical Archaeologist ,
Terry Kass, Historian, and
Vince Murphy, Heritage Planner.

Part 1. An outline history of Port Macquarie.

1. PUNISHING THE CONVICT.

On the 8 October 1818, Surveyor-General, John Oxley discovered the site of Port Macquarie after travelling down the Hastings River from the mountains.[1] He was impressed with what he saw, and returned in May 1819 on the ship *Lady Nelson* to make an extensive survey of the port and river.[2] In his report of 12 June 1819 and a later one of 1821, he emphasised the suitability of the district and its potential port for settlement.[3] In February 1820, John Gyles, a sugar planter from the West Indies examined the Hastings River as a possible site for sugar cultivation. He also provided an enthusiastic report to Governor Lachlan Macquarie on his return, which confirmed Oxley's report.[4] Macquarie resolved to establish a settlement for secondary punishment on the Hastings after further confirmation by Oxley's visit of December 1820 in company with Captain Francis Allman.[5] The previous centre for secondary punishment, the port of Newcastle in the Hunter Valley was rapidly being overtaken by the spread of free settlement from Sydney. Newcastle was no longer sufficiently isolated to ensure security, whilst the rich lowlands of the valley were coveted by settlers.

Hence, on 21 March 1821, the *Prince Regent* left Sydney with an advance party to establish a settlement commanded by Captain Allman. His second in command was Lieutenant William Earle Bulwer Wilson, who would be engineer to the settlement, while the third officer was a civilian superintendent of convicts, Stephen Partridge, who had been discharged from the army. Partridge later remained at Port Macquarie, dying there in 1878.[6] After a slow voyage hampered by bad seas they landed in mid April. A flag was hoisted on Allman's Hill.[7]

Preparation of the ground for a new settlement commenced. Vegetation was cleared and bark huts were built. A stockade was built for the troops garrisoning the settlement. Better quarters for the garrison and a cottage for the Commandant were built within a stockade.[8] In May 1821, Allman reported that prisoners were busy

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[1] *The History of Port Macquarie*, Port Macquarie, 1983, p. 4 (Hereafter History of Port Macquarie)
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 5
[3] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 5
[4] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, pp. 22-3 (Hereafter Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning')
[5] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 24
[6] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning'., p. 25
[7] *History of Port Macquarie*, 1983, p. 7
[8] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 8

building huts and that their behaviour had been good.[1] In August 1821, Allman moved the temporary encampment to higher ground, where he was building temporary barracks.[2]

In November 1821, Macquarie visited the settlement and confirmed Oxley's choice as the town site. The chosen site possessed a convenient harbour entrance and anchorage, fresh water, timber for building, with hills at the rear suitable for pasture. Macquarie commenced a vigorous building programme.[3] With the influence of Mrs. Macquarie, he laid out the town with the picturesque in mind. Notable buildings were sited upon high points for visual effect. It was the only settlement established for secondary punishment to be laid out in such an aesthetic manner.[4] The picturesque layout was later abandoned for a formal grid layout when the town was prepared as a free settlement, although some elements, such as the church, remain in the places where they were sited by the Macquaries.

In July 1822 Macquarie provided a list of the public works completed during his term of office. For Port Macquarie, he noted the following works:

'1. A Weather-boarded one Story house with a Verandah and necessary Out Offices for the residence and accommodation of the Commandant, with a Garden enclosed and attached thereto.

2. Temporary Weather-boarded barracks for two Subaltern Officers and One Assistant Surgeon.

3. Temporary Weather-boarded barracks for 100 soldiers with Kitchen Gardens attached thereto.

4. A Weather-boarded Barrack for the accommodation of the Superintendent of Convicts with a Kitchen Garden attached to it.

5. A Weather-boarded Barrack for the accommodation of the Chief Constable.

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 30
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', pp. 34-5
[3] *History of Port Macquarie*, pp. 13-4
[4] J. S. Kerr, *Design for Convicts*, Sydney, 1984, pp. 112-3

6. A Range of large well Constructed Temporary Bark Huts for the accommodation of 300 male Convicts with Kitchen Gardens attached thereto.

7. A Weather-boarded Provision Store and Granary enclosed with a strong stockade.

8. A Weather-boarded Guard house close to the landing place.[1]

As the settlement developed into a key centre of secondary exile, temporary buildings were replaced by more robust permanent structures. In 1823, Mr. Uniacke described the settlement:

> Government House stands nearly in the centre of the town on a handsome esplanade open to the sea. To the Northward which commands the whole town are military barracks, calculated to hold one hundred and fifty men, each of the married men having a small cottage garden. On the right of the hill are two handsome cottages which are used as Officer's quarters.
>
> The remainder of the town which is extremely clean is entirely occupied by the prisoners who are kept as distinct as possible from the military and who have each a small neat hut, lathed and plastered and whitewashed, with a garden attached. Maize, sugarcane and gardens grow in the streets intended to be built.[2]

The centre of the settlement stretched along the river bank from Kooloonbung Creek to Allman's Hill.[3]

After the death of the original Commandant, Captain Allman, his successors continued to expand the built fabric of the settlement. About 1825, the Commandant, Captain Gillman rebuilt Government House. He also built Gillman's Folly, a look-out with a flat roof for sighting vessels nearing the harbour.[4]

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[1] HRA, i, X, pp. 698-9
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 41 (Hereafter N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period')
[3] Port Macquarie, Ground plan, Captain Allman, 8 April 1824, A. O. Map 74
[4] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 52

In March 1826, Commandant Captain S. Wright drew a detailed plan of Port Macquarie.[1] It showed the officer's quarters (Inventory 190, S.23) above Government House (Inventory 182, 183, 189, 190, S.21), a brick military barracks (Inventory 190), brick guard-house, and two houses for NCOs (Inventory 190, S.24) and eight for married soldiers (Inventory 190, S.23).[2] The early gaol (Inventory 159, 160, 161, S.19) was built partly on what was later the site of the Presbyterian Church and Police paddock.[3]

A network of roads fanned out from Port Macquarie into the interior, especially to the agricultural settlements, which were established elsewhere in the valley as places of punishment and work. The route into Port Macquarie crossed Kooloonbung Creek by a bridge, located on the 1831 plan on the approximate alignment of Bridge (now Hayward) Street. Some sources suggest there was a guard-house at the western end of the bridge.[4]

To minister to the religious needs of the community and as a focus for order, St. Thomas Church of England was commenced. Its foundation stone was laid on 8 December 1824. It was dedicated on 24 February 1828. Church music was originally provided by singers accompanied by instruments. A seraphine was purchased in 1840. A combined pipe and barrel organ was installed in 1857.[5]

Figure 2.1, overleaf. H. C. Allport, No. 6 The Creek or Bay at Port Macquarie - within the Bar. The Store of Major Innes - of Capt. Geary & Mr. Betts. The Hospital &c - looking North from the Hill near the Church - July 1839. (Mitchell Library, 2PXD 86, Sketches f.3). The building in the left foreground housed the Clerk of Church Quarters (Inventory 118-120).

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 17
[2] Port Macquarie, (M9.933), Capt Wright (Commandant), March 1826, A. O. Map 3821; N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period',p. 55-8
[3] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 20.
[4] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 101 (Hereafter N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement')
[5] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 25
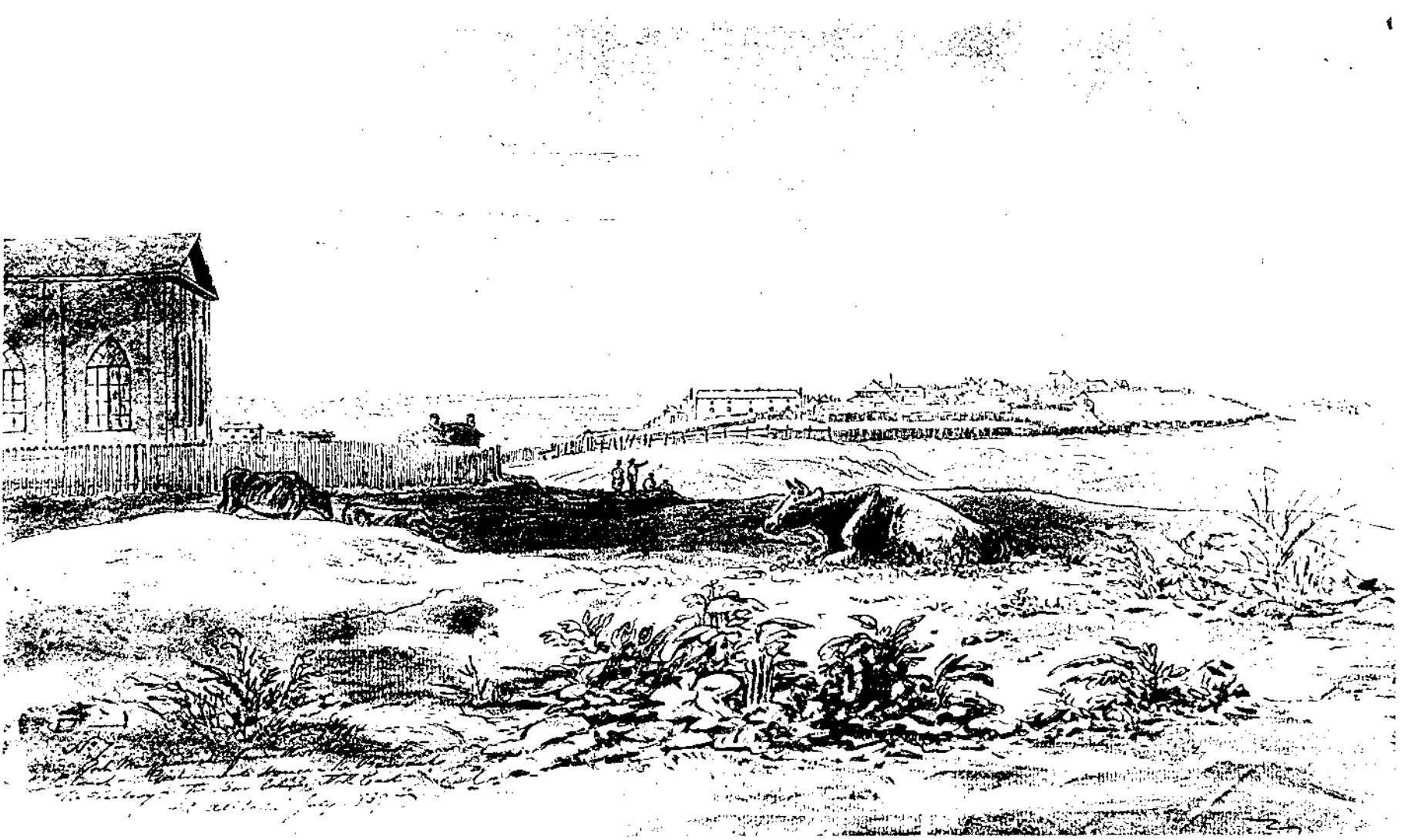
1.1. Planning a penal establishment.

The physical layout of Port Macquarie as a convict settlement can be divided into the buildings and structures erected for accommodation or for administrative purposes, those associated with the maintenance of law and order, or as places of employment for convicts and structures associated with the storage of goods and food.[1]

1.1.1. Accommodation.

Commandant.

The commandant's quarters were built on the eastern side of the settlement in the midst of the administrative area. They were amongst the buildings completed early and were listed in Macquarie's 1822 return. It was described as "A Weather boarded one Story house with a Verandah and necessary Out Offices for the residence and accommodation of the Commandant, with a Garden enclosed and attached thereto". In 1831, it consisted of six brick buildings, with separate kitchen and laundry, and side buildings used as office, servant's room and pantry.[2] After the winding down of the penal establishment, it served as the residence of the magistrate. It survived as a government house for decades, but by the 1860s was in disrepair (Inventory 182, 183, 189, 190, S.21).[3]

Officers.

By 1822, accommodation for officers consisted of "Temporary Weather-boarded barracks for two Subaltern Officers". They were shown near the Commandant's House in later plans. After the winding down of the convict settlement, the officers' quarters and the men's barracks were the first buildings used for the National School (Inventory 190, S.23).[4]

Figure 2.2, overleaf. H. C. Allport, No. 7. Port Macquarie from the Hill near the Church Government House - the Barracks - The Factory - the Bar looking North east - July 1839. (Mitchell Library, 2PXD 86, Sketches f.4). The building in the left foreground housed the Clerk of Church Quarters (Inventory 118-120).

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[1] The following is mainly baesd upon A. O. Maps 74, 3673, 3676, 3682, 3821

[2] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment - Port Macquarie 1818 to 1832*, Sydney, 1988, p 199 (Hereafter I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*)

[3] Chambers, Blagden, Government House, Port Macquarie, 1863 (residence of Major Crummer in 1863) SV1B/Pr MAC/5

[4] "The Schools", in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 179-80)
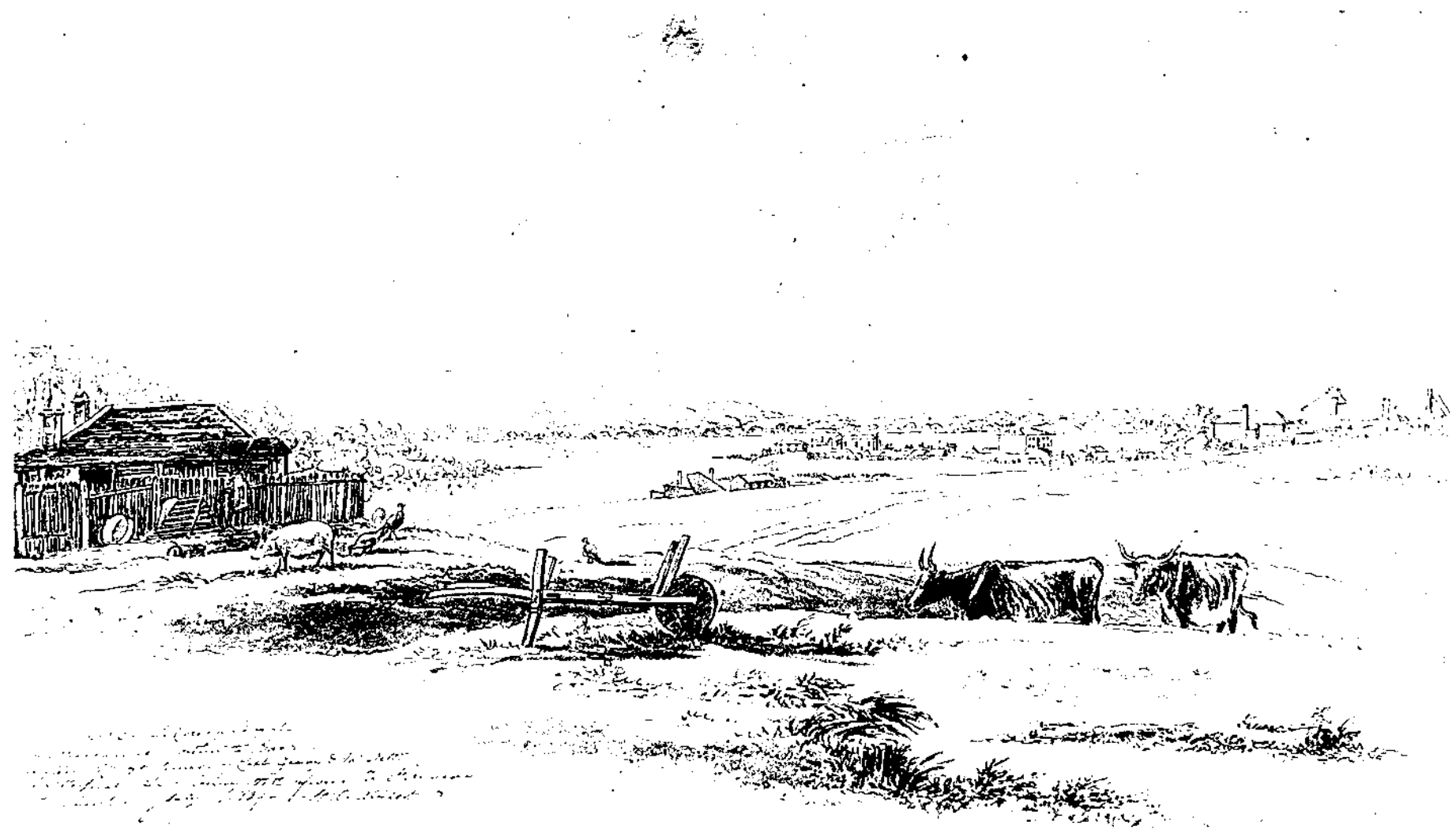
Figure 2.3. Pilot Station and Flagstaff, Port Macquarie, 1910 (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 4972).

Non-commissioned officers.

Non-commissioned officers were also housed separately in their own cottages, within the garrison area. They were not mentioned in Macquarie's 1822 list, but had been built by 1824. Like other buildings erected for the garrison, they were later used for the National School (Inventory 190, S.24).

Officials.

Accommodation for officials was spread over the settlement, unlike the garrison whose living quarters were concentrated on the hill to the east of the settlement. The pilot's quarters, along with boat sheds and crew's quarters were situated close to the water, midway between the garrison and the convict huts. In 1831, the pilot's brick cottage was in need of repair.[1] Later, the pilot's quarters moved closer to Flagstaff Hill (Inventory 148-150, S.15).

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 200

The superintendent of convicts had been provided with "A Weather-boarded Barrack for the accommodation of the Superintendent of Convicts with a Kitchen Garden attached to it" by 1822. Quarters for the Principal Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Convicts were located between the garrison and the convict huts in the same area as the pilot's quarters. (Inventory S.12, S.13).

Overseers' cottages stood in a row nearby along Elizabeth Street, which was later the approximate alignment of Clarence Street. Subsequently and for a brief time only, one of them was used as the hotel conducted by Charles Farrell. Another served as the post office. Almost all were demolished when the streets of the free town were aligned (Inventory 71, 72, 73, 94, S.10, S.13).

Quarters for the surgeon described as "Temporary Weather-boarded barracks for ..... One Assistant Surgeon" had been completed by 1822. By 1826, the surgeon's quarters were located near the other civil officer's houses near the water. It was subsequently used as the clergyman's residence (Inventory 148-152, S.17). The Surgeon's House built behind St. Thomas Church was first occupied in 1828.[1]

"A Weather-boarded Barrack for the accommodation of the Chief Constable" was completed by 1822. In later years, one of the houses in the row along Elizabeth Street appears to have been occupied by the Chief Constable.[2]

Soldiers.
A barrack for soldiers described as "Temporary Weather-boarded barracks for 100 soldiers with Kitchen Gardens attached thereto" had been built by 1822. Brick buildings had been added by 1826. In 1831, the barrack had nine brick buildings and two made of slabs. One of the brick buildings had two rooms each holding fifty men. Associated buildings included a kitchen, bakehouse, guardhouse of brick and stable for three horses.[3] It was used as part of the National School in later years. (Inventory 190).

Convicts.
Convict housing absorbed the main energies of the building trades in Port Macquarie. On their first arrival, temporary huts were erected for convicts in the first clearing made for the settlement. In August 1821, Allman moved the settlement to higher

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 139
[2] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 133
[3] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199

ground. By 1822, convict accommodation was described as "A Range of large well Constructed Temporary Bark Huts for the accommodation of 300 male Convicts with Kitchen Gardens attached thereto". In 1823, Mr. Uniacke reported that "prisoners ... are kept as distinct as possible from the military and ... have each a small neat hut, lathed and plastered and whitewashed, with a garden attached". These huts faced the river and Kooloonbung Creek and are shown in straight rows on the plans of 1824 and 1826 along the streets named Brisbane and Goulburn. By 1831, huts along Brisbane Street facing the Hastings River had diminished considerably in number. (Inventory 2-8, 20-25, 36, 42-4, 66-68, 70, S.01-S.03, S.07).

The prisoners' barrack took many of the convicts previously housed in huts. In 1824, the barracks was shown as two wings, but they were shown on the 1826 plan as a partially enclosed square. In March 1826, the commandant noted that additions to the prisoners barracks were under way.[1] In 1831, the barracks consisted of two wings built of slabs 107 feet by 19 feet and two wings of weatherboard 88 feet by 21 feet.[2] When Port Macquarie was opened to free settlement, the barracks was an impediment to the town layout and was removed (Inventory 36, 37, 38, 38, 40, 41, S.09). A second prisoners' barracks was built on the hill above the lumber yard from Murray Street eastwards. The new barracks was started in 1837 and completed in 1840.

1.1.2. Administration and services.

Hospital.

The hospital was built on the hill overlooking the settlement between 1824 and 1826. In 1831, it comprised four weatherboarded buildings measuring 90 feet by 22 feet and a brick room devoted to operations, all with ten feet wide verandahs. A dispensary, store and accommodation for military patients completed the buildings. Its site was later vested in the Roman Catholic Church.(Inventory 100, 101).

Church.

St. Thomas Church was commenced under orders from Governor Brisbane. The foundation stone was laid on 8 December 1824. It was completed in February 1827. It was built of brick, with a belfry tower, and was built by convict mechanics. It remains as the only surviving standing building in Port Macquarie from the convict period (Inventory 143).

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 148
[2] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199
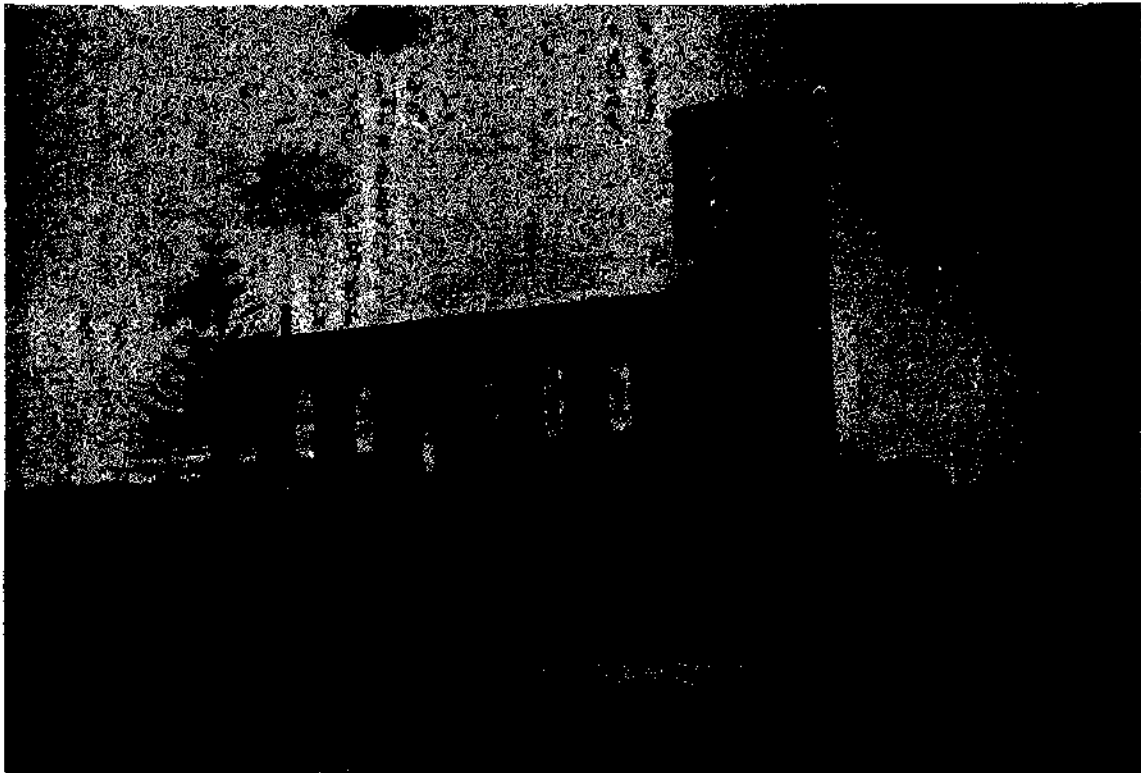
Figure 2.4. Saint Thomas Church. Hay Street. Undated (Hastings & District Historical Society).

Parsonage.

No parsonage was built for the Anglican clergyman, but he was allowed to occupy the former Surgeon's Quarters near the harbour. In 1831, it was described as a slab cottage, 30 feet by 30 feet, with a 64 feet verandah.[1] It continued as the parsonage during the 1830s, but was vacated when the clergyman was provided with a rental allowance.

2.1.1.3. Law and Order.

Police Office.

A police office had been sited near the Military Barracks in 1826 (Inventory 185, S.22). It maintained order through its system of constables. The office lay in the right of way of one of the streets and was removed. The office then moved to the north end of Hay Street. (Inventory S.12, 128).

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment* , p 199

Gaol and Female Factory.

The early Gaol and Female Factory (Inventory 159, 160, 161, S.19) was built partly on what was later the site of the Presbyterian Church and Police paddock.[1] It was shown on the 1824 map. The Female Factory was built in February 1825, and was enclosed with high brick walls. The log walls were plastered internally.[2] In 1831, the complex was described as consisting of one weatherboard building and four slab buildings. Male and female prisoners occupied a slab building, whilst the Gaoler and the Factory Matron occupied a slab building. Two slab buildings functioned as kitchens for female prisoners, whilst a weatherboarded washhouse completed the ensemble.[3] A new gaol, built of brick on a site bounded by what were later Stewart, Lord, Joffre and William Streets, was completed in 1840.

1.1.4. Employment.

Lumber yard.

The lumber yard with its carpenters, cabinet makers and blacksmiths was the major workplace for skilled convicts. It was shown on the 1826 plan. In 1831 it contained a long brick building 162 feet by 22 feet with a yard enclosed by a slab fence.[4] New prisoners barracks were built on the site in the 1830s and later became the Asylum (Inventory 146, 173-181, S.18, S.20).

1.1.5. Stores.

Granary.

Since assured food supplies were vital to the success of the settlement, secure storage for food was an early necessity. By 1822, the convicts had built, " A Weather-boarded Provision Store and Granary enclosed with a strong stockade". The Granary and Treadmill House was sited near the river for ease of handling. In 1831, it was described as a two-storeyed weatherboard building with a hand mill.[5] The treadmill at the rear of the Granary was also used to process sugar cane.[6] It was used as a government store in the 1840s.

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 20
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 21; A. O. Map 1949 (formerly C. 128.730)
[3] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199
[4] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199
[5] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199
[6] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 43

Commissariat Store.

The list of buildings in 1822 described "A Weather-boarded Provision Store and Granary enclosed with a strong stockade". The provision store appears to be the Commissariat store. In 1831, it comprised a two storeyed brick building with shingled roof.[1] The store remained in use as a government building into the 1840s. The site has remained in government hands.

Lime store.

Along with cedar, lime constituted some of the cargoes shipped to Sydney out of Port Macquarie from as early as Allman's administration.[2] Lime stores were shown on early plans near the water's edge. They disappeared by 1832 when the site was used for a slaughter house and wharfs (Inventory 20, 23).

2. REHABILITATING CONVICTS BY WORK.

Convicts were expected to work as part of their rehabilitation. Their work was directed by government to create the infrastructure and services needed in a new country and to develop its resources. Assignment as indentured labour to free settlers was another element of the convict employment regime. Until free settlers arrived at Port Macquarie in the 1830s, almost all convicts worked for the government on government directed tasks. Nevertheless, work for convicts at Port Macquarie was not completely monopolised by government. Some convicts worked directly for officials, even though they might ostensibly be under government direction. Some worked privately for government officials in their free time.

Allowing convicts to choose options such as working for themselves in their own time was a major element in the reformist philosophy of more humane commandants. Governor Macquarie had approved of such choices for prisoners. Ultimately, the entanglement of humane reform, government work and private enterprise contributed to the demise of Port Macquarie as a centre of secondary punishment. The possibility of convicts working for their own ends in their own time also meant that Port Macquarie witnessed far less of the brutality and degradation witnessed in other settlements, such as Norfolk Island or Port Arthur in Tasmania. In addition to problems with the appropriateness of punishment for secondary offenders, Port Macquarie lost its remoteness, as settlement expanded across the colony.

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 199
[2] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p 54

Figure 2.5. The Kooloonbung Creek Dam in 1903, with decorations for the visit of Governor Lawson (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 4983).

Commandants had used a system of incentives to obtain work out of the best behaved and most competent workers at the settlement. Hence, Port Macquarie did not have such a depraved and miserable work force as other places of secondary punishment. Some prisoners were able to complete their daily and weekly tasks early and had time free. Their hired labour was used by officials.[1]

Convict labour can be divided into categories based upon their levels of skill and the quantity of muscle power exerted to complete the task. The most demanding and physically exhausting tasks were those assigned as hard labour to the most intractable prisoners. A hierarchy of skill and prestige ranked prisoners within the settlement.

The hardest labour was reserved for chain gangs, those undergoing the most severe punishment, as well as for those whose record of conformity with convict discipline

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 53-4

was poor. The construction of public works, such as roads and the most menial agricultural tasks, were assigned to those in this category. They cleared land for settlements and for agriculture. The site of Port Macquarie itself and farms at Ballengarra were some of their work. They built roads, the dam across Kooloonbung Creek and carried out agricultural tasks such as hoeing or cutting cane.

Semi-skilled tasks included timber getting, the sawing of lumber and shingle-splitting. Brickmaking, bricklaying, nail-making (apparently reserved for female convicts) and tanning were other tasks undertaken by semi-skilled convicts as were fencing and well-sinking. Most of these tasks were associated with public works or with primitive processing. The brickwork of St Thomas Church testifies to the skill of convict bricklayers. Semi-skilled workers had a trade, which could earn them income, if they worked in their spare time. They were more fortunate than the unskilled, who had no skill to market except brawn. Even more well-endowed with skills were artisans, who could command a higher price.

Skilled prisoners were engaged in numerous tasks, almost all associated with public works. The lumber yard with its carpenters, cabinet makers and blacksmiths, was a primary focus for these craft based skills (Inventory 146, 173-181, S.18, S.20). Other tasks included shipbuilding, plastering and shingling. The roof trusses of St. Thomas Church are evidence of the work of convict carpenters. Furniture shipped out of Port Macquarie privately by some officials, if it survives elsewhere, is evidence of the work of Port Macquarie's convict cabinet makers.

Specially favoured prisoners, such as gentleman convicts or those who were literate, were allotted administrative tasks necessary to run the settlement. Some worked as clerks, copying and filing correspondence. Others, often aged men, were employed as school masters. Yet not all administrative work required literacy skills. Some convicts were employed as watchmen or police officials. For many of these convict workers, the evidence of their work is disparate and scattered, often surviving in the form of letters copied, sent and filed in archives and the occasional piece of literature, such as James Hardy Vaux's *Memoirs* or James Tucker's novel *Ralph Rashleigh*..

With a complete settlement to build, a full range of tasks was available for convicts. In August 1821, Allman noted he had work for brickmakers, bricklayers and house carpenters building shelter.[1] Others worked at agriculture. In August 1823, Thomas Alison Scott, with experience of sugar cane cultivation in Jamaica, arrived in NSW.

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 34

He was appointed to a position at Port Macquarie, arriving there on 29 November 1823. He found the cane planted experimentally in a flourishing condition.[1] Scott left the settlement in February 1828 after his dismissal. He was later acknowledged to have made a major contribution to sugar cane growing in NSW.[2]

Captain Rolland, the commandant in 1824, commenced a farm at Ballengarra on the Wilson River, which became known as Commandant's Farm.[3] Convicts grew maize and sugar cane at Rollands Plains.[4] Others worked in gangs cutting cedar and flooded gum or at shingle splitting. Much of their production was shipped to Sydney. Others were employed as builders in the settlement and as boat builders. Administrative and service tasks, such as clerical work or the baking of bread, occupied others.[5]

In October 1824, Commandant Rolland stated that convicts were employed as clerks, school masters, overseers, constables, servants, hospital wardsmen, bakers, barbers, tanners, miller, rope maker, orderlies, storemen, carpenters, shinglers, coopers, blacksmiths, nailors, labourers, brickmakers, bricklayers, plasterers, painters, cedar cutters, shingle splitters, sawyers, boatmen, boat builders, stevedores, sugar cane grinder, gardeners, watchmen, clearing, fencers, road makers, quarrymen and well-sinkers.[6] Some convicts were unfortunate enough to be employed in the granary working the treadmill.[7] Some convicts worked as school masters.[8]

The lumber yard along the shore was the site of carpenters' and blacksmiths' workshops and sawpits.[9] By 1825, the Government dairy supplied milk to free persons.[10] Brickyards were sited between Bridge Street and Wrights Creek, from Lord Street westwards. They produced a porous sandstock brick.[11]

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 44
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 64-5
[3] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 47
[4] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 15
[5] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 18
[6] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 48-50
[7] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 52
[8] *History of Port Macquarie*, pp. 29-30
[9] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 55
[10] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 52
[11] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 102; W. Gemmell, *And So We Graft from Six to Six - The Brickmakers of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1986, p. 80

At the Female Factory, built in March 1825, women manufactured hand-made nails which were used locally.[1] Women worked at carding wool and flax and pricking seeds from cotton.[2]

In later years, Commandant Henry Gillman spoke of the activities of the convicts,

> Some of them were mechanics; I had all sorts of work for them; the time I was there I built a church; I built a factory for women, and various other public works; I built a brig of 120 tons burden; I had a sugar plantation of perhaps 400 or 500 acres, and an agricultural establishment of 1,000 acres or more; an amazing number of establishments under me on the settlement.[3]

Gillman also established a pottery at Port Macquarie, and requested glaze for its products in December 1825.[4] On 30 July 1827, Commandant Lieutenant Owen launched the *Regent Bird*, built at Port Macquarie for the Moreton Bay trade.[5]

As the settlement was more fully developed, work on building tapered off and convicts were engaged elsewhere. By the late 1820s, the official desire to wind down Port Macquarie as a centre of secondary punishment affected work routines. In 1828 convicts were building a road from Port Macquarie to Blackman's Point.[6]

After Port Macquarie was terminated as a place of secondary punishment, it became a settlement accommodating special convicts (or "gentlemen convicts"), invalids and others. In consequence, convict numbers rose again. J. H. Vaux was one, who was sent there from 1831 to 1836, where he is believed to have worked as a clerk.[7] Other convicts were assigned to free settlers as labour.

The last major work was the construction of the dam and bridge across Kooloonbung Creek, which started in 1843 on the present alignment of Gordon Street. Convict

[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 21

[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 54

[3] Evidence, H. Gillman, 13 Feb 1832 in Great Britain & Ireland - Parliamentary Committees, *Report from Select Committee on Secondary Punishment*, pr 22 June 1832, p. 32, Q 123.

[4] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment - Port Macquarie 1818 to 1832*, Sydney, 1988, p. 124

[5] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 64

[6] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 73

[7] *The Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux*, edited by Noel McLachlan, London, 1964, lxx-lxxi

gangs cut down the hill which ran down to the burial ground and constructed the dam from the spoil. The task took two and half years.[1]

3. EXPANDING A FREE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY.

3.1. Winding down the penal establishment.

After the replacement of Governor Thomas Brisbane with the more austere Ralph Darling, and a general belief that Port Macquarie was a lenient settlement, there was a likelihood that Port Macquarie's role as centre of secondary punishment would be wound down. In July 1826, Governor Darling began to withdraw prisoners from Port Macquarie for assignment to settlers. In September 1826, Captain Gillman, a former Commandant, was sent back to Port Macquarie along with Mr. Carter, Chairman of Quarter Sessions to select men for return.[2] Governor Darling became irritated that Port Macquarie did not seem to be a place of punishment, since prisoners were indulged so much.[3] In September 1827, Darling personally inspected Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay. Although he was satisfied with the Commandants he was still anxious to reduce Port Macquarie and open the valley to free settlement.[4]

A commission of inquiry, comprising J. T. Morisset and James Busby, visited Port Macquarie in June 1828.[5] The Commission generally recommended a hardening of discipline at Port Macquarie and closer observation of convict work by overseers. However, Morisset's own later tenure as Commandant of Norfolk Island in 1830-4 was notoriously harsh and was widely condemned.[6]

Whilst there was a reduction in convict numbers between 1829 and 1830, as a result of the winding down of the settlement for secondary punishment purposes, numbers rose in the 1830s as invalids, lunatics and convict specials were sent there.[7] In February 1829, numbers were as low as 323.[8] However convict labour was again

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 133 (Hereafter N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline')
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 61
[3] B. H. Fletcher, *Ralph Darling - A Governor Maligned*, Melbourne, 1984, pp. 106-7
[4] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 63
[5] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 68
[6] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 74
[7] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 83-4
[8] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 75

Figure 2.6. Clarence Street, Port Macquarie in 1870, looking west (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 4994).
Figure 2.7. Port Macquarie, foreshores of the Hastings River in 1870, looking west (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 4993).

required to build a new gaol for the civil administration, as well as the dam and bridge across Kooloonbung Creek.[1] As an indication of the transition to a free town, Benjamin Sullivan was appointed as the first civil magistrate on 9 June 1832. He was formerly an army major.[2]

To house the convicts away from the town centre, a new prisoners' barracks was built on the hill above the Lumber Yard from Murray Street eastwards, replacing the previous barracks near Kooloonbung Creek. The new barracks was started in 1837 and completed in 1840. It has been estimated as measuring 100 feet by 30 feet with three storeys.[3]

A new gaol, built of brick on a site bounded by what were later Stewart, Lord, Joffre and William Streets, was completed in 1840. It was not initially used as a gaol, but was gazetted as such on 11 July 1859 and used until 1873. It again re-opened as a prison in April 1878 and functioned until 1899. After another temporary re-opening in 1912-3, it was finally demolished in 1917.[4] It was loosely based upon the recommended designs of the British Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and on some contemporary English prisons.[5]

Port Macquarie continued as a centre for invalids, specials and lunatics through the 1830s and 1840s, whilst some other convicts were assigned to free settlers in the town and Hastings Valley. Transportation of convicts to New South Wales ceased in August 1840, thereby cutting off the supply of assigned labour for settlers across the colony. The military detachment was removed from Port Macquarie in April 1847, largely due to the need to deploy troops in the Maori Wars. Invalids and lunatics were also removed to Liverpool at the same time.[6] The complete removal of convicts terminated the convict era at Port Macquarie. Although a prison had been built, it was only used sporadically to house prisoners tried in the New South Wales courts.

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 19
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 74
[3] J. S. Kerr, *Design for Convicts*, Sydney, 1984, p. 74
[4] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 21
[5] J. S. Kerr, *Design for Convicts*, pp. 100-1
[6] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 137

3.2. Establishing and maintaining a commercial economy.

On 19 December 1830, the Commandant officially announced the establishment of free settlement at Port Macquarie and arranged for the survey of the district by surveyors Ralfe and D'Arcy as a preliminary to settling free persons on the land.[1] The town itself was also opened to settlement. The surveys of 1831 completed by Ralfe and D'Arcy show the settlement at the height of the convict period.[2] Yet, by then, some of the convict era buildings were already decaying and crumbling.[3] James Ralfe was surveyor for the district until removed in 1841. He was replaced by J. V. Gorman in 1843.[4]

With free settlement, the former town layout was no longer suitable. A grid pattern of streets focussing upon the harbour and wharf at the end of Horton Street was seen as much more suitable for a properly laid out town. Town plans across the colony were then almost all laid out on the grid scheme and Port Macquarie, with its relatively flat topography was to be no exception. The resulting replanned town layout ensured the demolition of many former convict buildings, since the new street alignments cut across them.[5] The town plan today, is not a reminder of the convict period, but is an artefact of free settlement.

On 13 August 1830, people were allowed to select sites in Port Macquarie for purchase.[6] Town land was sold in half acre lots mainly from 1832 to 1837.[7] Settlers arrived, some to engage in agriculture or pastoral pursuits, some to service the community from stores in the town, or, often to engage in both types of activity. Some former officials, such as A. C. Innes, and Jeremiah Warlters, indulged in both rural and urban economic activity. Major Innes later rented the former government mill, but also built his own mill on the former site of Gillman's Folly.[8]

Clement Hodgkinson described the town in 1840 as,

> built on a gentle rise which shows to advantage its pretty little cottages
> with pointed roofs, its straight broad streets ... and its tall square

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 34
[2] A. O. Maps 3673-6, 3679
[3] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 95
[4] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 131
[5] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 90-1
[6] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 86
[7] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 35
[8] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 94

church tower... A grove of magnificent trees encircles Port Macquarie, and extends along the banks of the river...[1]

The Depression of the early 1840s affected the town severely. Government neglect of public buildings was enhanced by local inhabitants who mined them for building materials for their own purposes.[2] The town did not develop into the major centre, which expectations had forecast for it. After government establishments were withdrawn in 1847, many free settlers left Port Macquarie, along with the officials. The town settled into a quiet backwater for most of the later nineteenth century, attempting to find a remunerative product to ship to markets outside the area.[3]

3.3. Trading by sea.

A steady if irregular maritime traffic between Sydney, Newcastle and Port Macquarie had emerged as ships brought stores and colonially sentenced convicts to Port Macquarie in the 1820s. Yet even for the small ships of the period with their relatively shallow draughts, the Hastings River entrance was troublesome. Shipping continually found difficulty on the bar, since the depth of water over it was only about six feet (1.8 metres).[4] As other rivers along the coast developed, some much better served by their ports, Port Macquarie was bypassed by major shipping lines.

In late November 1821, Richard Neave, a former ship's mate, accepted the position of pilot and harbour master at Port Macquarie.[5] The pilot station was a essential element of the maritime functions of the town. The pilot's quarters and boathouse were originally in the main area approximately on Munster and Murray Streets and Sunset Parade (Inventory 65, 148, 149, 150, S.15)[6] A flagstaff was erected at the entrance to the harbour. By 1831, the pilot's quarters were situated nearby.[7] In 1827, Major Innes had placed warping buoys at the bar so that vessels could be hauled out of the harbour

[1] C. Hodgkinson, *Australia from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, London, 1845, pp. 71-2

[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 36

[3] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 138-40

[4] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, pp. 96-9

[5] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 34

[6] A. O. Map 3821

[7] Plan of Port Macquarie showing new arrangements of streets, (M. 706), Darcy, 4 Jan 1831, A. O. Map 3673

against strong winds or adverse tides.[1] Despite the problems of the river mouth, shipping increased as free settlement grew in the 1830s.[2]

In the climate of optimism in the early 1830s, A. C. Innes, Benjamin Sullivan, Captain Geary and Jeremiah Warlters formed the Port Macquarie Steam Navigation Company to build ships at Port Macquarie, but the company was wound down after the *Port Macquarie Packet* , built for them in Port Macquarie, was lost off the harbour.[3] A number of other vessels are believed to have been built at Port Macquarie during the 1830s.[4]

The public wharf was situated at the end of Horton and Clarence Streets. Horton Street was wider to allow its establishment.[5] Around it developed a range of boatsheds, repair yards, and warehousing facilities. At the public wharf, pigs, cattle, farm produce and milled timber were shipped to market.[6]

A road to New England was formed between 1840 and 1842. It opened in March 1842.[7] However, traversing the road with its steep and narrow descents was slow and it gradually fell into disuse, especially since the bar at the mouth of the Hastings River continued to hamper shipping. By 1849, it was no longer in use.[8]

The bright start of the 1830s faded. In 1840, there was no regular steam service to Port Macquarie.[9] The bar at the river mouth became impassible causing loss of trade.[10] Nevertheless, during the 1840s, the first locally owned ships became prominent. The *Elizabeth Cohen* , owned by Abraham Cohen and family, set up a regular service. It was later sold to the Tozers.[11] A notable shipwreck was Ben Boyd's *Wanderer,* which broke up at the entrance in November 1851.[12]

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 62
[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 84
[3] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , Port Macquarie, 1987, p. 12
[4] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 13
[5] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 94
[6] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 41
[7] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 126
[8] D. N. Jeans, *An Historical Geography of New South Wales to 1901*, Sydney, 1972. p. 144.
[9] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 124
[10] F. Rogers 'The Banks', in F. Rogers, (ed). *Port Macquarie - A History to 1850*, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 181 (Hereafter F. Rogers 'The Banks')
[11] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 12; I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, Port Macquarie, 1991, p. 22 claims the owner was Henry Cohen.
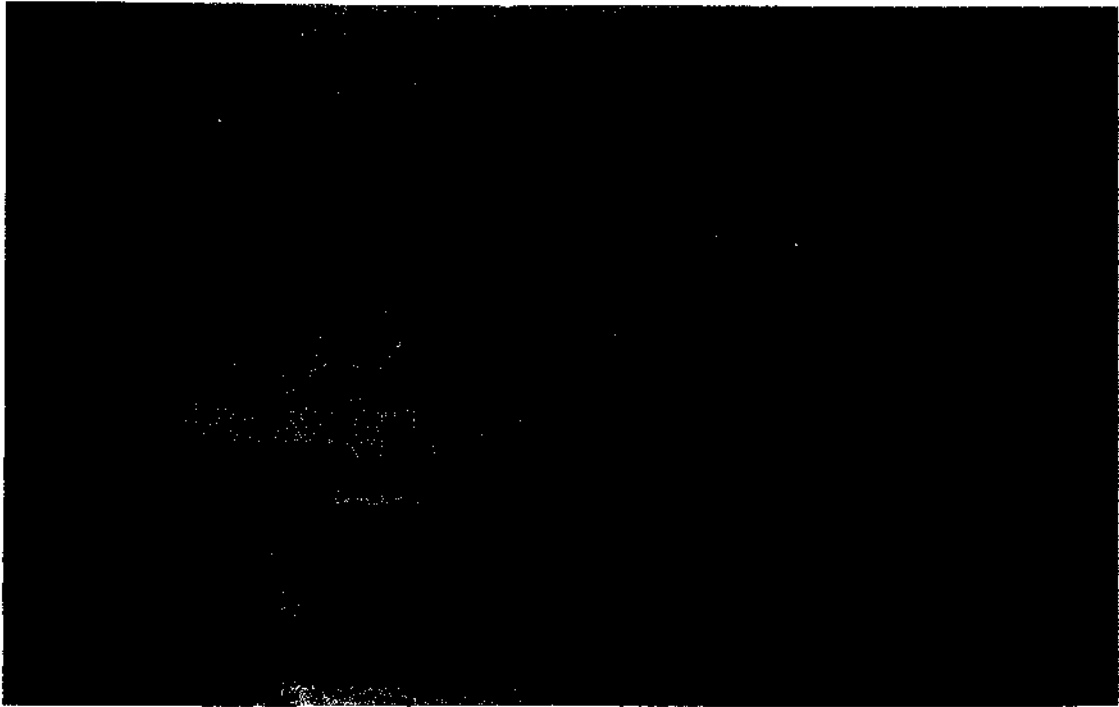[12] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 18-9

Figure 2.8. Government Wharf, Port Macquarie. Undated (Hastings & District Historical Society).
Figure 2.9. Shipyards, Port Macquarie, 1920 (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 4972).

Small sailing vessels served the area, sometimes sailing up the rivers.[1] By the 1860s, the Clarence and Richmond Rivers Steam Navigation Company was serving Port Macquarie. Often three or four ships visited it each week.[2] Maritime traffic was steady though unspectacular in the 1870s. Timber of all types was a major product shipped out of Port Macquarie.[3] It appears to have been stored on the Town Green at the end of Horton Street, whilst awaiting shipment.[4]

In the 1890s, the NSW Public Works Department commenced building a breakwall on the southern side of the river entrance to create enough scour to keep the mouth clear. Contactor George P. Cook began work in 1897. His works were served by a tramway from the Aston Hill quarry. The rails ran along Warlters Street, through the present Westport Park, crossing the creek near Buller Street, then running along Short Street, then north of the Post Office and Royal Hotel to the beginning of the wall at the end of Murray Street.[5]

As a counterweight to the major shipping companies, which had little interest in Port Macquarie and the Hastings, Nicholas Cain developed a shipping fleet from a Hastings River base. He expanded from sawmilling into shipping. After he acquired his first vessel in 1896, the *Premier*, he added others in later years.[6] About 1900, he purchased the *Trilby* , which he put on the cargo trade. Through various company restructures, he serviced the Hastings and Macleay traffic. When his own timber interests grew too great, he established a limited liability company, Cains Coastal Co-operative Steamship Co Ltd, to carry on the cargo and passenger trade. Ships ran every five days. The steamer, *S. S. Kempsey* , was added in July 1907 for the Macleay trade.[7] It was unsuitable for the type of oceanic conditions it met and was lost on 4 January 1912, near the New Hebrides. Cains' company lasted until 1929, when the loss of the *S. S. Pappinbarra* sent the company into liquidation.[8]

John Hibbard also started as sawmiller, later branching out into shipping. He ran a number of vessels out of the river. His home was situated at the corner of Gordon

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[1] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 15
[2] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 15
[3] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 21
[4] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 23
[5] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 28-9
[6] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 23-5
[7] Cains Coastal Co-operative Steamship Co, *Guide to the Lower Northern Rivers*, c. 1912. pp. 2-4
[8] M. Richards, *North Coast Run - Men and Ships of the N. S. W. North Coast*, Wahroonga, 1980, p. 46

Street and Hastings River Drive.[1] Allen Taylor was also maintaining regular services to Port Macquarie by 1903, but soon merged with Cains' line.[2]

Shipping to Port Macquarie peaked about 1914. However, the arrival of the railway at Wauchope started a slow decline. After Cains' line went into liquidation in December 1929, the North Coast Steam Navigation Co carried on the service from 1 February 1930, mainly carrying timber and oxide. It stopped running about 1939 or 1940, due to naval requisitioning of their vessels and the continued silting of the bar.[3] The last steamer to leave Port Macquarie was the *S. S. Bergalia* in 1961.[4]

3.4. Earning a living - agriculture, commerce, manufacture.

Although Port Macquarie was intended to be a self-sustaining convict settlement, in practice stores of all descriptions continued to be brought in. The former government agricultural and pastoral activities set the scene for later free settlers. Cattle were first brought to the settlement in 1821.[5] Horses were first noted at Port Macquarie in 1828. All were privately owned.[6] Many free settlers bred remounts for the Indian Army until the 1840s.[7]

The first sugar cane grown in Australia was planted at Port Macquarie, in the Government gardens, bounded by Clarence, Munster and Murray Streets (Inventory 158). It was later grown at Rawdon Island, Settlement Farm (now Hibbard) and Rollands Plains.[8] The earliest sugar mill at Port Macquarie was a treadmill at the rear of the Granary.[9] Major Innes built a grist mill on Windmill Hill on the site of Gillman's Folly.[10]

With free settlement, a range of new economic activities were brought to Port Macquarie. The greatest innovation was the establishment of shops and hotels, functioning in a cash economy geared to serve free settlers. Provisioning of the

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[1] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 25
[2] M. Richards, *North Coast Run* , p. 90-1
[3] M. Richards, *North Coast Run* , p. 120
[4] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie* , p. 31
[5] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 40
[6] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 40
[7] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 41
[8] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 35
[9] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 43
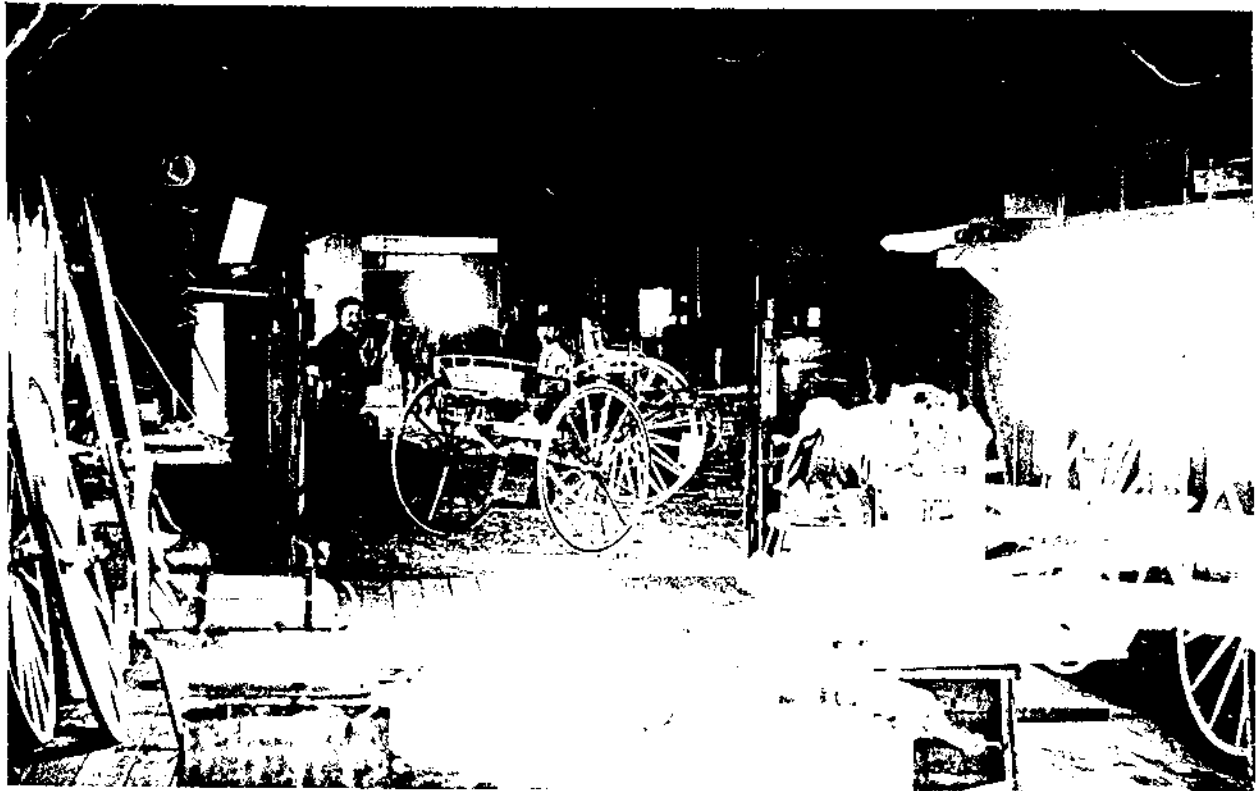[10] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 43

Figure 2.10. Jacob Healey's Family Emporium, corner of Horton and William Streets, Port Macquarie, 1890 (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 5000).

Figure 2.11. Interior of C. Och's Blacksmithing Shop, Port Macquarie, 1910 (Mitchell Library, Videodisc, 'At work and play', 5026).

convict establishment was also taken over by private interests. By 1832, convicts were supplied with food by private contractors, such as J. Allen or A. C. Innes.[1]

New stores included one built by Major Innes, who had purchased Lots 4 and 5 of Section 3 in Horton Street from the government.[2] On that site he erected a large store three storeys high, which was managed by Mr. Gloag in the early 1840s. It sold a wide range of goods.[3]

Other stores included the pharmacy of Horatio Tozer and the stores of Abraham Cohen and Rowe, Ewan & Co.[4] Abraham Cohen became a noted commercial trader in Port Macquarie. His store was located in Horton Street, in what was later Tozer's Terrace and he used his own ship to bring in goods.[5] A host of others entered business, but many failed after a short time. The Commercial Banking Co of Sydney was the first bank to establish a branch in Port Macquarie, arriving in August 1840. However, it closed in 1844, when the Commercial Bank closed all country branches during the depression.[6]

Along with retail stores came hotels. The first inn at Port Macquarie was the 'The New Inn', licensed to Stephen Partridge on 27 August 1830 and established in a government building. When the streets were realigned in the new town survey, it lay in the path of Hay Street and was demolished in 1834.[7] The inn was a brick house of seven rooms, which measured 37 feet by 35 feet with a verandah 37 feet long. A slab building, 24 feet by 12 feet, was also part of the inn (Inventory S.12).[8]

The second inn licence was granted to Michael Farrell on 19 September 1830, for the 'The Settler's Arms', which he put in one of the former overseers' cottages on Clarence Street. The pilot's house stood on its west side, with the post office on the east.[9] It was also removed when streets were re-aligned.[10] His building measured 52 feet by 25 feet (Inventory S. 13, 73).[11]

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 100-1
[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 110
[3] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, Taree, revised edition, 1993, p. 12
[4] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 129
[5] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 103
[6] S. J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System 1788-1851*, Melbourne, 1953, p. 305, 371
[7] *History of Port Macquarie*, , pp. 54-5
[8] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 85; I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment* p. 185
[9] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 85
[10] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 55
[11] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment* p. 185

A third licence was granted to Christopher Doyle on 20 August 1834 for the 'Speed the Plough', sited at the north-east corner of Horton and William Streets. Later the licence was held by Solomon Marks, Abraham Cohen and Mary Doyle.[1] The hotel remained in business until the 1870s (Inventory 81).[2]

The 'Macquarie New Inn' was licensed to Joseph Phillips on 21 July 1835, who held the licence until 19 April 1853. It remained in continuous use as a hotel site until 1995 (Inventory 93).[3]

A license was issued to James Houston on 26 June 1837 for the 'Royal Oak', located on the corner of Short and Clarence Streets.[4] The land had been granted to Henry Mace, but he sold it in November 1833 to Jeremiah Warlters, who built the inn. Warlters held it until his death on 13 October 1869, by which time the hotel had been delicensed and was used as a dwelling. The property passed into the hands of his daughter, Margaret, who married A. W. Gustafson in January 1889. Gustafson operated as a builder in Port Macquarie. She held the property for many years and re-built the former 'Royal Oak' in 1920-1 (Inventory 25, 26).[5]

On 19 October 1835, A. C. Innes, bought Lots 1 and 2 of Section 1, where he built the 'Hotel Royal'. It was later damaged by fire and the remnants were incorporated into the current building.[6] The original hotel opened for business on 1 July 1841, and was subsequently run by various licensees (Inventory 70).[7]

A hotel named 'The Case is Altered' was licensed to John G. Green on Innes' land on 8 December 1848. The name was later altered to 'Shamrock' and held by James McCarthy (Inventory 70).[8]

William Litchfield, an ex-soldier and constable, bought Lot 9 of Section 3 on 6 August 1840 and built a house. Part of the cottage was converted into a store, after he left the police in 1853. His son, George, went off to the goldfields, but returned and married in 1869 and took over the store. The store sold groceries, drapery, fancy

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 55
[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 103
[3] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 56
[4] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 56
[5] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 23458, A. O. K 262495
[6] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 56-7
[7] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 123
[8] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 57

goods and ironmongery. George was active in local affairs. The site was later acquired by the Commercial Banking Co of Sydney. George Litchfield moved to Sydney in 1889 and later died at Lismore in 1904 (Inventory 39-42).[1]

Wool stores were located near the wharf. Bullock teams assembled on The Green.[2] When Lot 2 of Section 11, located adjacent to the public wharf, was sold by John Frazer, a Sydney merchant, to Donald MacDonald, a merchant of Port Macquarie, with the cottage and stores on it, the site sold for £400 (Inventory 23).[3] Boat sheds also clustered around the foreshore near the public wharf (Inventory 20).[4] By the 1880s, Henderson's sawmill was also adjacent.[5]

Almost all goods for the hotels and stores had to be imported from Sydney, and in many instances ultimately from Europe or America, since local production focussed upon forestry, agriculture and pastoralism. From the 1830s throughout the nineteenth century, little manufacturing was carried on at Port Macquarie, apart from the processing of rural products or the production of building materials.

At the 1841 census, the occupational break-up of the Town and County of Macquarie was recorded as:

Landed prop, merchants, bankers & professional persons	40
Shopkeepers and other retail dealers	15
Mechanics and artificers	121
Shepherds and others in care of sheep	174
Gardeners, stockmen and those employed in agriculture	64
Domestic servants	188
All others	942.[6]

The town of Port Macquarie had 41 houses of brick or stone and another 25 of timber in 1841.[7]

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[1] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 7
[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 129
[3] LTOD, No. 786 Bk. 89.
[4] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 23965, A. O. K 262606
[5] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 May 1886, p. 1088
[6] 1841 Census, Port Macquarie Town, A. O. X949
[7] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 12

The 1840s depression affected the town and district severely, creating a number of bankruptcies, numbering among them A. C. Innes and J. B. Fattorini. Depressed conditions also made livestock unsaleable, until the introduction of tallow production gave some financial return. In the 1840s John Dick established a tannery in Port Macquarie, which used the by-products from the boiling down of livestock. His works were situated on the site of an earlier tannery established by Blair, but Dick later moved to the west corner of Horton Street at Gordon Street (Inventory 62).[1]

Tozer's Terrace was a notable building erected during the 1840s (Inventory 38). The site was originally granted to Joseph Simmons. Thomas Tozer arrived in Port Macquarie in 1839 with his children. His wife had died two years before. His son, Horatio, was a chemist and conducted a store. Horatio became active in local affairs. He jointly conducted a boiling down works at the south end of Short Street with Jeremiah Warlters in 1843. However, he was bankrupted in July 1843. After the release from bankruptcy, he acquired Cohen's businesses, including the land where the terrace was built in 1853.[2] By 1846, he was also in business as an auctioneer.[3] Horatio, senior, died on 28 October 1865. The terrace was then acquired by Caroline Susanna Hayward, wife of Frederick Hayward, blacksmith.[4] Over the years, it was used as a general store, wine saloon, boarding house and bank premises.[5]

Thomas Eacott Edwards, junior, bought Lots 2 and 3 of Section 10A in Horton Street, adjoining Dick's Tannery. Here he conducted a general store selling drapery, sewing machines, footwear, flour, and tools (Inventory 61).[6]

By the 1860s produce shipped out of Port Macquarie included farm produce, poultry, corn, pigs, oysters and sometimes wine.[7] Expansion of the products of the district was occasionally successfully managed by local entrepreneurs. About 1886, John Stuart Dick, John Dick's eldest son, began cultivating oysters in Kooloonbung Creek, soon expanding production to the north side of the river.[8]

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 127
[2] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 38848, A. O. K 265726
[3] Treasury - Revenue Branch, Letters Received, 1846, A. O. 4/163, Letter. 46/609
[4] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 38848, A. O. K 265726
[5] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 22-4
[6] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 37
[7] I. Finkel. *The port that was Macquarie*, p. 15
[8] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 45-6

Growth in the district remained stalled as better opportunities beckoned elsewhere. Along the coast, other river valleys, such as the Clarence, Richmond and Tweed, provided far better soils as well as climates more suited to the cultivation of semi-tropical and tropical crops, such as sugar cane and bananas. The only new product which emerged and had any impact was dairying. Dairying entered the Hastings Valley late in the nineteenth century. A co-operative butter factory was established at Wauchope in 1892, followed by the Australian Dairy Company's Factory at Park and Warlters Streets, Westport, opened in 1897.[1] Until then, the district progressed little, as indicated by the population figures for the town:

Port Macquarie population.

1836	820
1841	1053
1846	819
1851	519
1856	492
1861	514
1871	691
1881	773
1891	961
1901	1160
1911	1119
1921	1563
1933	1727
1947	2905
1954	4408
1961	5952
1966	7063
1971	9700
1976	13950
1981	19581
1986	22884
1991	27715.[2]

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[1] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, pp. 48-9
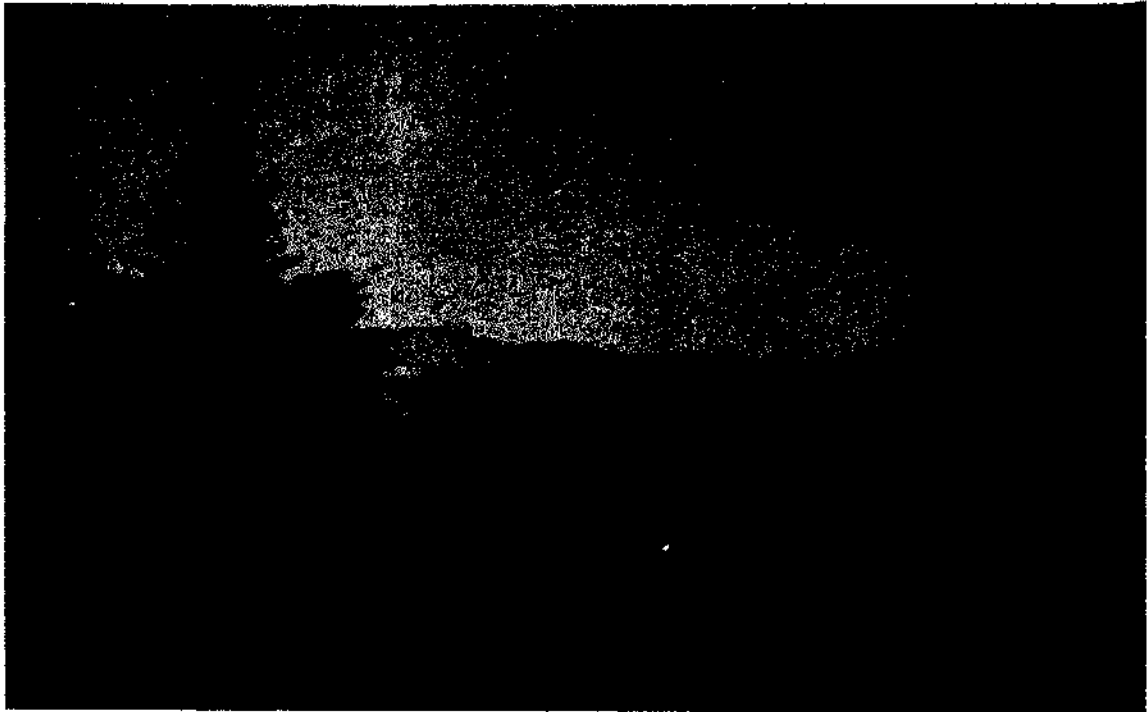[2] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 2, with emendation to comply with ABS figures.

Figure 2.12. Looking south on Horton Street, Port Macquarie, in 1886 (Hastings & District Historical Society).
Figure 2.13. Looking south on Horton Street, Port Macquarie, in 1893 (Hastings & District Historical Society).

Even close to the town centre, settlement did not press too closely. Lot 10 of Section 5, at the corner of Murray and William Streets ,was situated two blocks from the town centre. It was granted to Jeremiah Warlters, and had a cottage upon it from the 1840s. By the late nineteenth century, the cottage was falling into decay and was soon demolished. The land was let for grazing cattle to William Anderson, a butcher, from about 1900 to 1930 (Inventory 136, 137).[1] This example amply illustrates that there was no developmental pressure in the town.

Nevertheless, the 1880s was a period of growth in the commercial functions of the town. Early in the decade, an editorial by Alfred Edward Pountney, in the July 1882 issue of the *Port Macquarie News*, decried the grass grown streets and the decrepit poorly maintained buildings in the main streets of the town[2] Even the central portion of Horton Street was not filled with shops. Lots 4 and 5 of Section 3, granted to A. C. Innes on 7 March 1833, were tenanted by labourers, Richard Badham and James Blair, as well as David Anderson, carpenter, Mary McKime, storekeeper, and Alfred Cummings, livery stable proprietor in 1889 (Inventory 33, 34).[3]

But the town had begun to improve. Two new banks, which opened after their absence since the 1840s, were signs of change. In 1880, the Bank of NSW"s first signature book recorded the first depositors as a contractor, a boarding house proprietor, butcher, blacksmith, wine grower and post master.[4] In 1887, when the Commercial Banking Co opened its branch, its first customers were an innkeeper, newspaper proprietor and two storekeepers.[5]

In 1894, the *Port Macquarie News* reviewed the progress of the last decade and was happily able to list the new buildings of the decade as the Good Templars Hall, Hayward's Assembly Room, the Agricultural Society's buildings, the Masonic Temple, Town Hall, Bank of NSW, the Condon buildings in Horton Street, the Butler Colonnade nearby, the Commercial Bank and four new hotels, as well as considerable remodelling of shops.[6] By the 1890s, Samuel Latham was conducting his solicitor's office in Tozer's Terrace.[7]

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[1] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 28850, A. O. K 263666
[2] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 13
[3] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Applications, RPA 7811
[4] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 182
[5] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 183
[6] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 14
[7] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 24

The 1891 Census gives fuller details of retail and other services available within the town. For example, a furniture warehouse, bakery, coach factory, tailor's shop, the Commercial Bank, a boot shop, an oyster saloon, a blacksmith's shop, the Bank of NSW, a butcher's shop, the post office, Latham's solicitor's office, a pharmacy, auction rooms, Eacott Edwards boot arcade, and a saddlers shop were all located in Horton Street.[1]

On the site of the earlier 'Speed the Plough Inn', at the north-east corner of Horton and William Streets, the 'Tattersalls Hotel' was trading. In 1887, the licensee was Mr. Gersbach. Patrick McGann was owner from July 1888 onwards. It was later de-licensed and managed as a boarding house by Emily Wall. It burned down on the night of 8 May 1905 (Inventory 81).[2]

The continued entry of banks into the town was a sign of improving conditions. The Commercial Banking Co of Sydney had been the first bank to establish a branch in 1840, but had closed in 1844.[3] It re-opened on 30 November 1887 on a site leased from J. Litchfield, and later bought a new site on 17 April 1890 (Inventory 34).[4] The Bank of New South Wales had already opened on 6 July 1880 and bought a site for a bank in 1882 from James Butler for £300. New premises were commenced on that site in November 1882 by J. Healey and completed in 1893. Additions in 1912, 1960, 1978 enlarged the premises (Inventory 32).[5] The Government Savings Bank had opened an agency in the post office on 11 December 1871.[6] The Commonwealth Bank started as an agency in the post office on 13 January 1913. A branch was established in temporary premises in Horton Street in property leased from R. H. Rosenbaum, garage proprietor.[7] In November 1950, the Commonwealth Bank bought the site known as Tozer's Terrace.[8]

Small scale recovery of minerals also occurred in the area. Land at the Brickyards, near the present public swimming pool was bought by Patrick McGann from John Dick and leased in 1889 to B. Craven, who manufactured bricks there.[9] Red oxide

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[1] 1891 Census, Port Macquarie, District 10, Book A, A. O. 2/8404
[2] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 4-5
[3] S. J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System*, p. 305, 371
[4] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 183
[5] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 182
[6] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 184
[7] F. Rogers 'The Banks', p. 184
[8] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 51
[9] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 5

was mined at Shelly Beach and Mustons Hill between 1905 and 1929.[1] In 1921 there were two oxide mines as well as two sawmills employing 50 men.[2] Oxide mining was also undertaken in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the block south of the church near Gordon Street (Inventory 145). Copper ore was brought down to Port Macquarie from mines near the Forbes River and shipped to Port Kembla from 1902-14.[3]

Agricultural and pastoral use of the valley contributed to modest prosperity. The opening of the Australian Dairy Company's Butter Factory at Westport on 16 December 1897 processed the products of the new dairying industry.[4]

Commercial fishing was active. In 1919, there were 34 men employed in fishing on the Hastings Rivers with one steamer and three launches, 13 boats and two punts. There were 22 men employed in oyster cultivation with three launches and 23 boats and punts.[5]

The timber resources of the area were located at some distance from Port Macquarie by the twentieth century. Nevertheless, in 1921 there were two sawmills.[6]

Yet the lack of hustle and bustle and the quiet life of the town still deeply concerned local entrepreneurs and many visitors. The pleasant climate and the abundant historical associations of the district meant an easy going lifestyle, which allowed locals much time to pursue private leisure. It also attracted visitors seeking rest and recreation. As early as the 1880s, Port Macquarie had its boarding houses. The town became a holiday place for honeymooning couples. A gradual influx of retired people settled there. The increase in leisure time in the twentieth century and the emergence of a market for retirement accommodation swung the economy onto a new path.

By 1931, the impact of the leisure market was influencing the town. Amongst the town's businesses were R. M. Rosenbaum's motor garage, W. Doak's bakery and restaurant, T. R. Rosenbaum's building business, Ross and Tolhurst's butchery, R. W.

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[1] Suters Architects Snell, Hastings Heritage Study, June 1991. History by J. W. Turner, p. 9
[2] Wallamba, Manning, Camden Haven & Hastings Rivers - Wonderful Resources..., Will G. Hopper, Jan 1919, p. 95
[3] I. Finkel. The port that was Macquarie , p. 27
[4] I. W. Symonds, Port Macquarie Profiles, p. 49
[5] Wallamba, Manning, Camden Haven & Hastings Rivers , p. 25
[6] Wallamba, Manning, Camden Haven & Hastings Rivers , p. 95

Reckless' boat building and boat hire service, whilst hire cars from Preston Cains all catered for local needs and those of visitors.[1]

3.5. Creating a domestic economy and order.

The evolution of the domestic economy in Port Macquarie is an under explored aspect of its past. As residents settled in Port Macquarie, a domestic order emerged.

Though Port Macquarie was developed as a penal settlement, even in its earliest days, social and political power structures ensured that a private life, based upon family and household, was established and fostered in the town. As women were sent to Port Macquarie, either under sentence or to be with their spouses or male partners, the basis for a domesticity, centred upon the nuclear family, was encouraged. Throughout the nineteenth century, the family was the basis of that domestic order, which apportioned the role of breadwinner to the male "head" of the household and the control of the home and domestic sphere to the female members of the family. That domestic order focussed upon the home, whether rented or owned. Separate cottages were set aside for officials in the penal settlement, as well as for married members of the garrison. Convicts were encouraged to look after their own huts, and were provided with their own gardens. When the area was opened to free settlement in the 1830s, the number of private residences grew so that they became the most common building type in the town.

Despite the nature of the original settlement as a place of secondary punishment, family life was regarded as the basis for the future welfare of the inmates of the settlement. From early 1822, permission was granted to the wives and families of prisoners sentenced to Port Macquarie to follow their menfolk there.[2] On 2 February 1822, a son was born to Stephen Partridge. He is believed to be the first white child born at Port Macquarie.[3] Captain Allman's son, George, his sixth child, was born on 23 November 1822.[4] When Rowland Hassall,was appointed as Assistant Chaplain to the settlement in 1824, he reported to Brisbane that he had conducted three marriages, six baptisms and five burials.[5]

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[1] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie - The Sanatorium of the North Coast*, 1931, no pagination.
[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning',p. 36
[3] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Beginning', p. 37
[4] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 40
[5] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 47

Convicts were invited to pursue the domestic arts. When Captain Henry Gillman replaced Captain Rolland, he encouraged the cultivation of convict gardens and allowed poultry and pigs as an additional indulgence.[1] Fostering an awareness of "home" and of the nutritional value of vegetable produce underlay the promotion of horticulture. By 1830, a number of the female convicts stationed at Port Macquarie had either followed their husbands to the establishment or had married there.[2]

In the 1840s, Caroline Chisholm sent a number of female immigrants into the interior to provide them with suitable employment and to bring them into the marriage market in localities with a shortage of young marriageable women. In 1841, she despatched some of her charges to Port Macquarie.[3]

One instance of the physical setting for the domestic economy was the house built for John Hayward, one of the more notable members of Port Macquarie society. He bought land at the corner of Hay and William Streets and built a substantial house in September 1880. An underground water tank holding 6000 gallons was installed adjoining the dwelling. The builder was B. Craven and James Condon the carpentry, whilst the whole job was supervised by James Butler. Hayward was a baker, born in Port Macquarie in 1856 to Charles Hayward and his wife Rebecca (nee Burrows). He remained in his home until his death on 15 May 1938.[4] His tale could be multiplied many times over with numerous variations for the residences of Port Macquarie.

3.6. Exploiting leisure time.

Leisure affected Port Macquarie in two ways. Local people sought to occupy their abundant free time with a series of amusements, some serious and others less so. A corollary was the development of a holiday and retirement market in NSW as leisure time and paid holidays increased. Port Macquarie initially developed as a place for honeymooning couples. It was followed by the family holiday market from the mid twentieth century. It was succeeded by the sizeable exodus of retirees north from Sydney and Melbourne, seeking a pleasant climate with adequate service facilities.

A good deal of leisure in Port Macquarie, as elsewhere, was pursued on a personal and informal basis. Shooting and fishing were activities often described in the

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 51
[2] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p. 104
[3] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 130
[4] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 14-5

nineteenth and early twentieth century as major pastimes in a town waiting for better times. Yet eventually such activities were to become the magnets, which attracted the population and made Port Macquarie prosperous.

Formal structures for leisure time emerged early in Port Macquarie. The Port Macquarie Literary Society formed by W. M. Gray in 1840-1, encouraged prisoners in amateur theatricals. It used a building in Hay Street built as a granary (Inventory, 128, 129).[1]

James Tucker, a convict 'special' wrote his novel *Ralph Rashleigh,* at Port Macquarie about 1846. It was published many years later, after the manuscript was discovered.[2] He also wrote plays. He lived with the Widderson family after the government establishments closed and worked as a clerk and storekeeper for Rowe, Ewan & Co.[3]

'Louis' Becke, a noted writer of short stories, many with a maritime focus, was born at Port Macquarie on 18 June 1855 and lived with his family, at the corner of William and Owen Streets, until he was 12 years old. Only after he left Port Macquarie did he receive much formal schooling.[4] His father was clerk of petty sessions as well as District Registrar (Inventory 262?).[5]

A racecourse ran between Windmill Hill and the Flagstaff in the early years. The present racecourse opened at its site, west of Clifton Hill, in 1846.[6] During the 1850s and 1860s, rowing and sailing regattas on the river were major activities. Horatio Tozer, senior, was heavily involved.[7]

In the 1870s and 1880s, a number of bodies, which acquired a permanent part in the activities of the town, emerged. The Hastings Agricultural Society held its first show near the town gaol in 1884.[8] The Independent Order of Good Templars is believed to have commenced operations in the late 1870s as the Hope of Hastings Lodge, possibly at the same time as the Masonic Lodge, which commenced on 18 September

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 130

[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 130

[3] P. Pierce, (ed), *The Oxford Literary Guide to Australia*, Melbourne, 1993, p. 88

[4] P. Pierce, (ed), *Oxford Literary Guide to Australia*, p. 88

[5] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 38848, A. O. K 265726; ADB, 7, p. 238

[6] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement in Decline', p. 136

[7] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 23

[8] Suters Architects Snell, Hastings Heritage Study, June 1991. History by J. W. Turner, p. 11

1878. The Templars built a Hall in Horton Street. The site was donated by Benjamin and Margaret Wrigley. The building was a timber hall with a galvanised iron roof built by Anderson and Nelson. It was soon the venue for the Progress Association in 1887, which lead to the formation of the municipal council.[1] It was also used for meetings by the Orange Lodge and the Oddfellows.[2] The Masonic Lodge used Tozer's Terrace as its meeting place from 1878 to 1883.[3] The School of Arts was also built at that time, using bricks salvaged from the former Commandant's House, then collapsing into ruin.[4] The land for the School of Arts was dedicated on 18 January 1884 (Inventory 73).[5] A branch of the Country Woman's Association was formed in March 1929.[6]

During the 1890s, a host of societies were formed, largely due to the energy of recently arrived chemist, Richard A. Ayres. The Port Macquarie Bicycle Club was formed on 22 October 1898. Ayres sold bicycles from the shop next to his pharmacy.[7] In the late 1890s, a Nigger Minstrel Troupe operated under Richard A. Ayres, who was also secretary of the Band and treasurer of the Rifle Club, reformed in August 1899, as well as founding secretary of the Nimrod Fishing Club.[8]

Sport, whether arranged on an informal basis or as organised teams playing in a competition, also emerged. On 9 September 1893, the first football game between a team from the Hastings against the Manning played at Wingham.[9] Followers of football avidly pursued their teams to sporting venues.[10] On 8 August 1903, publican W. Halpin conducted a sports carnival on the Town Green, facing the Royal and Club Hotels.[11]

As early as 1840, Clement Hodgkinson had noted how the warm climate of Port Macquarie was tempered by nearby mountains bringing ample moisture. It lacked the hot scorching winds, accompanied with dust storms, which were such a feature of Sydney at that time.[12] At the foot of Flagstaff Hill, the beach open to the sea was the

[1] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 10-1
[2] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 May 1886, p. 1088
[3] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 24
[4] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 May 1886, p. 1088
[5] M.39.706, Lands Dept Plans Room
[6] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 69
[7] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 31
[8] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 31-2
[9] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, , p. 38
[10] Image 04708, Videodisc, "At Work and Play"
[11] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 16-7
[12] C. Hodgkinson, *Australia from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, pp. 76-7

main bathing place in the 1880s.[1] Before the North Coast Railway was built, Port Macquarie was renowned as a honeymoon destination. Precisely when visitors started arriving as newly married couples in any quantity is uncertain, but as early as the 1880s, beach side boarding houses attracted a clientele to the area.[2] Apart from its fishing and swimming, it was also renowned as a historic town. Visitors were directed to the old cemetery, which held the remains of so many notable early settlers. A paved road to the Tacking Point Lighthouse was renowned as 'Lovers Walk' and many references appear to it. The beach at the foot of the old gaol was provided with dressing sheds and life saving facilities by 1919.[3]

Attention was increasingly devoted to the seaside and river of Port Macquarie with their potential for recreation. Sailing races on the river had long been held. Harry McLaren invented and built the first surf ski at Port Macquarie.[4] The earliest known one was manufactured in spring 1912 with another at Christmas 1913.[5] Over the next three decades, they became a popular accompaniment to leisure activities focussed upon the water.[6]

As visitors began to arrive in larger numbers after the railway to Wauchope opened in 1915 and as the motor car was more generally available, Port Macquarie's facilities were under pressure. Hotels were already established and upgraded their accommodation as required. Camping under the stars was a popular pastime and camping grounds were opened. Baker W. Doak was instrumental in improving the camping reserve with shelter and water.[7] By 1931, camping grounds at Westley's, near Nobby's Beach, were popular destinations.[8] At Easter, a sailing regatta was held over two days, with officials from Sydney Flying Squadron providing their arbitration and management skills.[9]

By 1930, the Commercial Hotel had installed a septic system and a hot water service for its guests and installed lock-up garages.[10] The Royal Hotel, operated by its owner

[1] *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 May 1886, p. 1088
[2] Image 04832, Videodisc, "At Work and Play"
[3] *Wallamba, Manning, Camden Haven & Hastings Rivers* , p. 99-101
[4] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port* , p. 68
[5] Image 05005, Videodisc, "At Work and Play"
[6] Image 05018, 05021, 05022, Videodisc, "At Work and Play"
[7] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* , no pagination.
[8] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* , no pagination.
[9] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* , no pagination.
[10] NSW Government Tourist Bureau & National Roads and Motorists' Association of NSW, *Official Motor Guide to Northern NSW*, Sydney, c. 1930, p. 114

J. McCann, had 40 rooms, and its own hot and cold water supply and sewerage system in 1931.[1]

Recreational resources grew through the 1930s. The golf course was open by 1931.[2] In Horton Street, the former Commercial Hotel, on the site of 'The Macquarie New Inn' of 1835, was demolished between 1936 and 1938 by its owners, Tooth & Co, to build the 'Tourist Hotel' Inventory 93).[3] On 22 December 1937, the original Ritz Cinema opened on the corner of Horton and Clarence Streets.[4] Previously, Mr. Ochs had conducted the Port Picture Palace in Horton Street (Inventory 71).[5]

In 1938, businesses in Port Macquarie included restaurants, conducted by Aroney Brothers, H. R. Bailey and J. F. Dart, whilst E. Hatsatouris combined a restaurant business with a cinema, which competed with another cinema run by A. L. Keena. Miss S. Reid and Miss B. C. Way conducted private hospitals. Cars and boats were available for hire.[6]

By the late 1940s, Port Macquarie had three hotels, the Royal, the Macquarie and the Tourist (formerly the Commercial), which catered for visitors. Weekly stays at the Royal cost £4.4s. whilst the Tourist charged £5. Guest houses included Mrs L. Jenner's Marine Guest House, Miss V. Fenn's Waterview in a central location and Oliver's Cosy Cabins, with fully furnished units, electric light and cooking and lock-up garages managed by V. L. Oliver, late of the 2nd A. I. F.[7] The first motel in Port Macquarie , the Macquarie Motel, was built in Grant St in 1957.[8]

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[1] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* , no pagination.

[2] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* no pagination.

[3] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 33035, A. O. K 264619

[4] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port* , p. 11

[5] ML. Town Plans, Port Macquarie, P16/1

[6] Merchants & Traders Association of NSW, *Country Trade Directory*, Jan 1938, pp. 314-5

[7] NSW Government Tourist Bureau, *Official Hotel & Guest House Directory - Sydney, Suburbs and Country Tourist Districts, NSW*, Sydney, c. late 1940s, pp. 160-1

[8] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port* ., p. 33

3.7. Coping with death.

The earliest burial ground was situated on Commandant's Hill at the north end of Clarence Street. A few stones survive.[1] The second cemetery was established at the south end of Horton Street and was first used in 1824.[2] When Captain John Rolland died on 16 November 1824, he was buried within the walls of Saint Thomas Church, then under construction.[3]

3.8. Relating to earlier inhabitants.

Commandant Francis Allman developed good relations with nearby Aborigines. In May 1822, he gave the title "Chief of the Port Macquarie Blacks" to one of them named Monuggal. Monuggal and other Aborigines were armed by Allman and used to apprehend runaways from the settlement.[4] Governor Darling was particularly anxious to maintain good relations with the earlier inhabitants. Some Aborigines rescued the crew of a pilot cutter, which capsized on the bar on 9 December 1827.[5]

In the early 1830s, a clerk at the settlement named MacDonald, believed to have been George J. MacDonald, became friendly with Aborigines, who frequented Port Macquarie. He lived in a cottage, which was decorated with their artefacts.[6]

In the early twentieth century, there was an aboriginal camp in Westport.[7]

4. ADMINISTERING PORT MACQUARIE.

4.1. Maintaining law and order.

Once the convict settlement wound down, a system of maintaining orderly civil relations succeeded one based upon a military command structure. Late in the convict period, a new Gaol was completed in 1840, but it was only sporadically used.

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[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 22
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 22
[3] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 50
[4] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, pp. 79-80
[5] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p. 98
[6] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 86-90
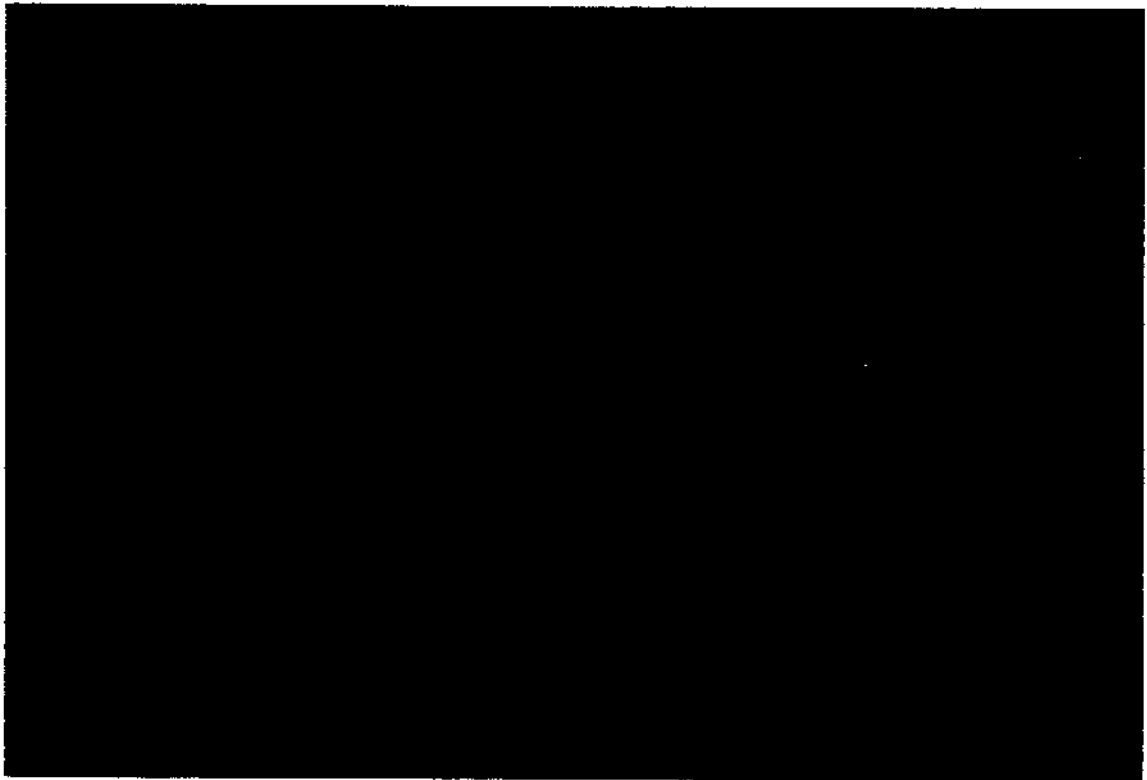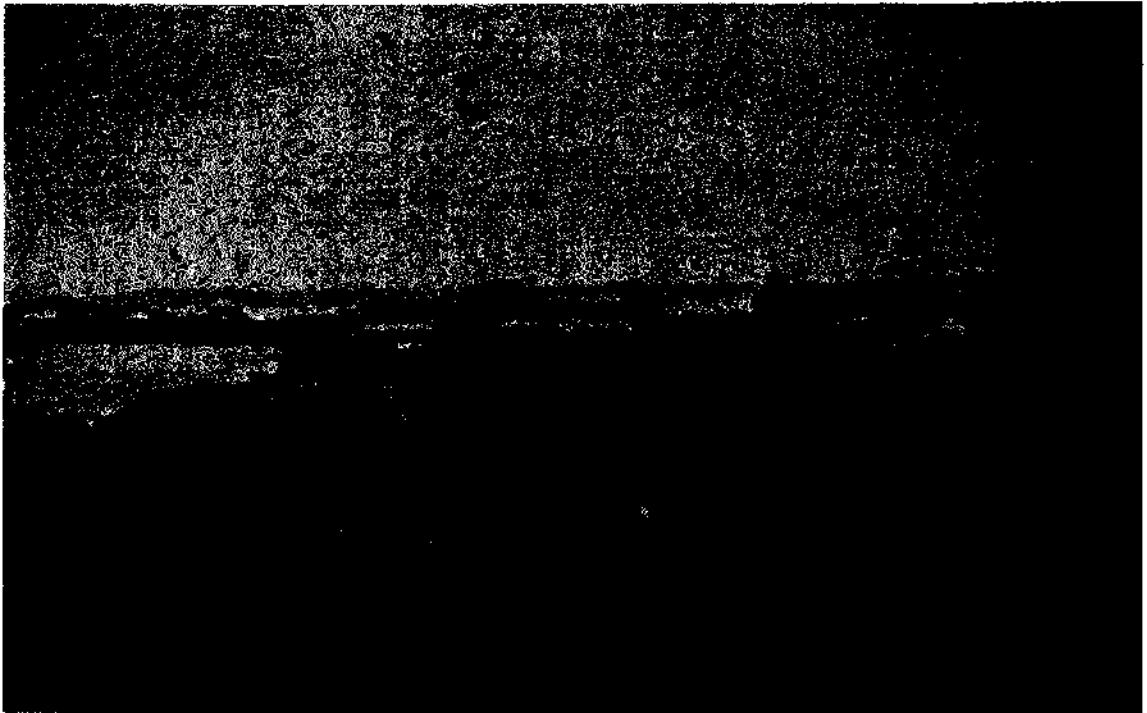[7] J. Moyes, & G. Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 77

Figure 2.14. Looking north on Horton Street, Port Macquarie, in 1893 (Hastings & District Historical Society).
Figure 2.15. The Court House, Clarence Street, Port Macquarie. Undated (Hastings & District Historical Society).

A police office had been sited near the Military Barracks in 1826 (Inventory 185, S.22). It had helped maintain order through its system of constables. In June 1832, the first civil magistrates were appointed. Benjamin Sullivan, a former army major was the first police magistrate. Other magistrates included A. C. Innes, Edward Waterton and Matthew Mitchell. William Nairn Gray was appointed as clerk in July 1832.[1] A military detachment remained at Port Macquarie, although it was not under the control of the police magistrate.[2] On 27 July 1836, the former clerk, W. M. Gray, succeeded Benjamin Sullivan as magistrate.[3] The police office moved to the north end of Hay Street (Inventory S.12, 128).

A site for the Court House was set aside in the 1830s. The original Court House erected on that site was replaced by a new building in 1869.[4] The Port Macquarie court handled business from the Manning, Hastings and Macleay Rivers Districts.[5] A Court of Requests, which handled small debts claims for sums less than £10, was established at Port Macquarie on 3 October 1839.[6] It was a sign of the increasing commercial nature of life at Port Macquarie, since its establishment met a request for the court framed in a large petition of 29 December 1838.

Hastings district sent at least 27 volunteers to the Boer War.[7]

4.2. Serving the community.

Although Port Macquarie had been established by the colonial government, the complete array of infrastructure and services needed to maintain a thriving community were not available immediately. Whilst law and order were high on the agenda of the colonial government, the provision of water, light, health facilities and even education and religion came more slowly. Although a church to serve the Anglican congregation was built, other denominations had to provide their own places of worship, though with some government assistance.

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 97
[2] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 97
[3] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 105
[4] History of Port Macquarie, p. 48
[5] History of Port Macquarie, p. 48
[6] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 120
[7] I. W. Symonds, Port Macquarie Profiles, p. 55

When John Cross was appointed as Chaplain in 1829, it was expected that he would be provided with a parsonage. Contemporary plans show he had the use of a parsonage in Clarence and Munster Streets, later used as the Clerk of Works Office (Inventory 148-151, S. 17).[1] He was given an annual allowance to permit him to rent a residence once that building was no longer fit for him. The house he rented appears to have been at the corner of Owen and Burrawan Streets (Lot 8 of Section 14). A Parsonage site was finally provided in July 1850, when the surgeon's quarters were sold to the Bishop of Newcastle.[2]

With free settlement, the former town layout was no longer regarded as suitable, resulting in wholesale replanning of the town layout in 1832 and the demolition of many old buildings in the path of new street alignments.[3] Magistrate Benjamin Sullivan had the streets formed and gravelled and buildings properly aligned.[4]

Despite the orgy of demolition at the behest of government, there was also a revival of government building in the 1830s, including the new convict barracks and town gaol. The government built a causeway across Kooloonbung Creek using convict labour.[5]

Mail destined for the convict settlement came to the Commandant, who was responsible for its distribution. A Post Office to serve the free settlement opened on 1 August 1832, in the charge of Thomas Fearby.[6] Land was set aside for the Post Office in 1837. A telegraph line from Armidale to Port Macquarie was completed in 1869.[7] A tender to build a new Post Office was accepted on 31 December 1879. The building was completed on 13 November 1880, with the addition of an extra wing and porch in 1913.[8] A telephone exchange opened on 29 April 1910 (Inventory 22).[9]

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[1] A. O. Maps 3677, 3673, 3682; See also Sketch showing situation of Allotment No. 3 of Section 2A in the township of Port Macquarie, (To be kept with M.706d), n. d. A. O. Map 3678

[2] N. Sheather, 'Penal Settlement - The Main Period', p. 76

[3] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 90-1

[4] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 98

[5] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 101

[6] History of Port Macquarie, p. 47

[7] F. Rogers 'The Post Office', in F. Rogers, (ed). Port Macquarie - A History to 1850, Hastings District Historical Soc, Port Macquarie, 1982, p. 186 (Hereafter F. Rogers 'The Post Office')

[8] F. Rogers 'The Post Office', p. 188-9

[9] F. Rogers 'The Post Office', p. 189

The *Port Macquarie News and Hastings River Advocate*, the first newspaper to be published at Port Macquarie, commenced publication on 8 July 1882. It was issued by Alfred Edward Pountney, the son of a farmer at Rollands Plains. Pountney had gained experience in printing at Sydney, Maitland and Manning River. He also operated as an auctioneer.[1] The original newspaper offices were in Horton Street, which later burned down as did another office building (Inventory 103, 104, 105).[2]

Transport improvements significantly affected the accessibility of Port Macquarie and laid the basis for its post-war population boom. Reconstruction of the old New England Road as part of the Oxley Highway was undertaken between 1928 and 1933.[3] The Pacific Highway was also sealed by 1952, with many ferry crossings replaced by bridges. These changes made the town far more accessible to the motorist, at the same time as air transport was making a significant impact. The first air service to Port Macquarie was commenced in December 1949 by Roger and Phillip Dulhunty.[4]

Water supply was in the hands of individuals, who relied upon wells and tanks well into the twentieth century. When John Hayward built a substantial house in September 1880 at the corner of Hay and William Streets, an underground water tank holding 6000 gallons was an essential adjunct.[5] Water supply to three hotels and the camping reserve commenced in 1936 from wells at the butter factory, but it was shut down a few years later, when the water was found to be contaminated.[6] The establishment of the Koree Island Water Scheme of 1957 finally allowed the town to give up its reliance on water tanks.[7]

In 1965, work commenced on the channelling of Kooloonbung Creek and the reclamation of the mud flats.[8]

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[1] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 69
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 52
[3] Suters Architects Snell, Hastings Heritage Study, June 1991. History by J. W. Turner, p. 12
[4] Suters Architects Snell, Hastings Heritage Study, June 1991. History by J. W. Turner, p. 12; *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 59
[5] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 14-5
[6] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 32
[7] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 59
[8] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port*, p. 35

4.3. Expanding local government.

Attempts at the incorporation of the town commenced in 1858, but with little success. Incorporation was finally achieved in March 1887. The first meeting of the newly constituted council was held on 7 June 1887 in the Good Templars Hall.[1] The Town Hall was built in 1892 and was entirely financed by the sale of bricks from the old Asylum. The builders were D. Anderson and W. Nicoll.[2] George William Edwards was appointed as first Town Clerk on 7 June 1887. He served the council for 47 years.[3] He was finally asked to resign, when senility made him prone to errors.[4] The Hastings Shire Council, covering adjacent rural areas, was formed on 7 March 1906 as part of the wholesale establishment of shires to include all previously unincorporated areas.

Town improvements arrived slowly. Streets were lit by acetylene gas in 1905.[5] Electric lighting was installed by some shopkeepers in Horton Street in the mid 1920s. For example, J. M. Power, of the Commercial Hotel, installed a Delco electric lighting plant. Council did not undertake any electricity supply at that time. Electric power for consumers commenced on 12 January 1927, with current supplied by G. P. C. Quast, who provided street lighting and sold power to private consumers.[6] In 1931, G Quast also provided ice. The current was 400 volts AC., supplied from a diesel power plant.[7] After a campaign by alderman E. A. Mowle, the council acquired the electricity company on 7 July 1938. It opened a new power station in Westport in 1940.[8]

4.4. Managing health.

Surgeon Abraham Fenton arrived in 1821 with Captain Allman. He was followed by a succession of government doctors and others in private practice.[9] The first hospital was built on land now owned by the Roman Catholic Church.[10] The former

[1] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 49
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 50
[3] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 31
[4] Registrar-General, Land Titles Office, Primary Application Packets, RPA 28850, A. O. K 263666
[5] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port* , p. 17
[6] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port* , p. 28-9
[7] H. Krantz, *Port Macquarie* , no pagination.
[8] J. Moyes, & G, Mant, *A Town Called Port* , p. 71-2
[9] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 37
[10] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 37

government hospital later disappeared. When foundations were being dug for the new Roman Catholic Church in the 1930s, the old hospital foundations were revealed.[1]

A hospital was gazetted for Port Macquarie on 11 September 1848 and is believed to have been sited in the Asylum.[2] A movement for the establishment of a Cottage Hospital was started in March 1895 by Mrs James Butler. Richard A. Ayres, a local pharmacist, was very active in pressing for the first hospital.[3] It finally opened in Westport in 1901, on the site of the present Hastings District Hospital.[4] A new Hospital opened on 13 October 1951.[5]

During the nineteenth century, doctors were less frequently relied upon than home remedies or the merchandise of the pharmacist. Tozer's chemist shop served the population from about 1839.[6] A. H. Melville was in business as a chemist in the 1880s. Richard A. Ayres bought the pharmacy of A. H. Melville in Horton Street about 1897. Ayres also operated as a dentist and optometrist. He later moved to Liverpool.[7]

Friendly societies, such as the Good Templars and Oddfellows, provided medical insurance for local inhabitants and were active from the late 1870s onwards. In another instance of self-help, workers on the breakwall, under construction along the river mouth, formed the Quarry Sickness and Accident Fund with their foreman, James Pearce, as president on 21 October 1899. The fund reserved a bed in Macleay Hospital for its members and arranged for treatment at the Port Macquarie Hospital after its opening in 1901.[8]

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[1] N. Sheather, 'Free Settlement', p. 100
[2] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 37
[3] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 30-2
[4] *History of Port Macquarie*, pp. 37-40
[5] *History of Port Macquarie*, p. 40
[6] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 23
[7] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, , p. 30-2
[8] I. W. Symonds, *Port Macquarie Profiles*, p. 28-9

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Sketch showing situation of Allotment No. 3 of Section 2A in the township of Port Macquarie, (To be kept with M.706d), n. d. A. O. Map 3678.

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APPENDIX 1. COMMANDANTS OF PORT MACQUARIE CONVICT SETTLEMENT.

Name	Regiment	Term
Captain Francis Allman	48th	March 1821 - April 1824
Captain John Rolland	3rd (Buffs)	April 1824 - November 1824
Lieutenant G. R. Carmac	3rd (Buffs)	November 1824 - December 1824
Captain Henry Gillman	3rd (Buffs)	January 1825 - February 1826
Captain Samuel Wright	3rd (Buffs)	February 1826 - November 1826
Captain Archibald Clunes Innes	3rd (Buffs)	November 1826 - April 1827
Lieutenant Thomas H. Owen	3rd (Buffs)	April 1827 - October 1827
Captain F. C. Crotty	39th	October 1827 - June 1828
Lieutenant Thomas Meyrick	39th	June 1828 - August 1828
Captain Philip Aubin	57th	August 1828 - October 1828
Captain Robert Hunt	57th	October 1828 - November 1828
Captain Henry Smyth	39th	November 1828 - June 1832. [1]

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[1] I. McLachlan, *Place of Banishment*, p. 227.

Part 2. The conservation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

1. THE CONSERVATION AND DISPLAY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN PORT MACQUARIE.

The purpose of this part of the Archaeological Management Plan is to identify, describe and, where possible, to provide solutions to the issues relating to the archaeological sites or resources of Port Macquarie. The essential function of the Archaeological Management Plan concerns the management of the archaeological resource in the context of town planning and development.[1] Beyond this important, but basic goal, is the need to understand the problems of archaeology in Port Macquarie - the public perception of archaeology, the costs of archaeological investigation, conservation and display and the continued destruction of the finite resource of archaeological evidence, as opposed to the undoubted importance of the sites belonging to the penal settlement and subsequent development of the town.

The following text seeks to define and describe these conflicting issues. Within the loose arrangement of a conservation plan, it seeks to provide the means whereby these questions may be resolved.[2] It should be emphasised that, at this stage, the recommendations arising out of this part of the Archaeological Management Plan serve only to institute a conservation process. Its ultimate success will depend on the continued determination of the Council and all other interested parties, to ensure that the cultural heritage of Port Macquarie is given reasonable priority amongst all the competing issues of urban planning and development.

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[1] See Volume 1.
[2] Kerr, J. S., 1985, *The Conservation Plan. A guide to the preparation of conservation plans for places of European cultural significance*, second edition, National Trust of Australia (N.S.W. Branch), Sydney.

2. PORT MACQUARIE - THE CURRENT SITUATION.

2.1. The public perception of the historical context of Port Macquarie.- the visible evidence of the past.

Port Macquarie today bears .little resemblance to the significant earlier stages of the settlement's development. This is clear from a glance at the town's history. Many however do not read history books. Their appreciation of the historical development of their surroundings is largely dependent on the clues provided by the physical appearance of a place or neighbourhood.

People can observe how certain buildings or structures are older than others in both style and appearance, they can read inscriptions, dates on foundation stones or interpretative signage, they can wonder at the age of some majestic trees or they can marvel at the design of a vintage car.

The question arises - what picture of the past does Port Macquarie give us from the buildings that survive today, from the appearance of the streets, parks and other places? The answer is crucial, because it determines how people perceive Port Macquarie, and the value they place on its past.

What impression does the physical appearance of Port Macquarie give? What survives from each stage of its history?

The town is mostly made up of buildings belonging to the 20th century. We may easily see the impact of the modern tourist boom, the hotels, motels, holiday units and accommodation. We can also see that Port Macquarie has been a tourist destination for a number of years. We may still find the older style guest houses in the town, for example. At the same time, the past importance of river and coastal navigation is clearly demonstrated. Evidence includes the surviving river training walls and breakwaters, the port facilities, the Pilot Station, the Pilot's Boatshed and the lighthouse.

The visible physical evidence of development prior to 1900 is quite limited. It is insufficient to evoke images of the settlement in its earlier stages of development.

There are a small number of houses and other buildings belonging to the period from the foundation of the town in 1831 up to 1900. The Historical Museum, the neighbouring Garrison Building, the Courthouse, and the brick barrel drain, form an

important precinct on Clarence Street. Other buildings include the Royal Hotel, the former Bank of NSW, Hayward House and the Methodist Church. The street pattern itself was laid out in 1831 and the Norfolk Pines were first planted in the 19th century as street trees.

There are limited remains of public works undertaken by convict labour up to the 1840s. The Gordon Street Causeway and Bridge over Kooloonbung Creek are well preserved examples. The Gordon Street Cut or Cutting (between Horton and Hay Streets) and the well at the south end of Horton Street are less obvious elements of the same group.

Our ability to form a picture of the penal settlement is made even more difficult. The surviving physical tends to be fragile or fragmented. The Anglican Church of Saint Thomas, the Old Graveyard and the Allman Hill Cemetery are well preserved structures from this initial settlement. Within the church grounds, the former Dispensary of the Hospital and the Residence of the Military Surgeon survive with substantial alterations.[1] The well from the former Gaol and Female Factory is on display, but is often confused with the well or cistern belonging to the later Gaol.

The further we go back into history, the less well defined our picture of Port Macquarie's development becomes. The situation is worst for the most important historical period, namely that of the penal settlement. The Church of Saint Thomas, the two graveyards and the former hospital buildings do not evoke an accurate or sufficiently detailed picture of the original penal settlement or the way of life of those who were sentenced to imprisonment there, or who lived within its confines. Headstones reveal the names and occupations of some of the inhabitants, and sometimes their tragic end. There is, however, nothing in the present physical environment which might permit our appreciation of the nature or extent of the penal establishment, which lead to the settlement coming into existence.

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[1] The guide to the Church of Saint Thomas suggests that the two surviving hospital buildings on the church property were constructed in 1821. However, neither the Dispensary of the Hospital nor the Residence of the Military Surgeon are depicted on maps of the settlement for 1826 or 1831, even though these maps appear to depict all buildings in the settlement. These same maps identify the Surgeons Quarters at another location (Inventory Numbers s.17, 148-152). The building now used as the Rectory is first shown on a map dated to the 1840s. See Maps 3-5 in Volume 1. This discrepancy between the guide to the church and the historical documentation should be resolved before the two buildings can reliably be attributed to 1821. Saint Thomas' Parochial Council, 1988. *Church of Saint Thomas - 1824-1988. Port Macquarie, N.S.W., Australia.* Port Macquarie.

The following table lists the visible or above ground archaeological sites in Port Macquarie, which were included in the Inventory of the Archaeological Management Plan. (Most late 19th and 20th century buildings were excluded from the Inventory. They had little or no archaeological significance, despite the fact that they still make an important contribution to our understanding of the historical development of the town) (Table 2.1).

Period 1. Penal Settlement, 1821-1831.

Inventory No.	Name.	Location.
64	Old Graveyard	Gordon Street
143, part	Saint Thomas' Anglican Church, 1824.	Hay Street
143, part	Former Dispensary of Hospital, 1821.	Hay Street
143, part	Former Residence of Surgeon, 1821.	Hay Street and Murray Street.
159	Well, former Gaol & Female Factory.	Munster Street.
181	Allman Hill Cemetery	Clarence Street.

Period 2. Town development, 1831 onwards.

Inventory No.	Name.	Location.
s.05	Bridge.	Gordon Street
s.06	Dam or Causeway.	Gordon Street
s.11	The Cutting, or the Cut.	Gordon Street, between Horton Street and Hay Street.
s.16	Brick barrel drain or stormwater drain.	Clarence Street, between Hay Street and Murray Street.
1	Pilot's Boatshed.	Clarence Street & Laneway on Foreshore Reserve

19	Former bridge abutments.	Kooloonbung Creek, between William Street & Gordon Street.
39	Building with hipped roof.	Horton Street
66, part	Royal Hotel.	Horton Street
106	Methodist Church, former Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1845.	Horton Street
110	Hayward House.	Horton Street
114	Well.	Horton Street & Gordon Street
127	Historic Courthouse, 1869.	Clarence Street & Hay Street
130	Macquarie Garrison	Hay Street & Clarence Street
132	Port Macquarie Museum	Clarence Street
143, part	Boundary wall to Saint Thomas' Church.	William Street
146	River training walls and breakwaters	Sundowner Tourist Park. Munster Street, off.
212	Culvert from Gaol.	Stewart Street
227	Well or cistern, Historic Well Hotel	Stewart Street & Lord Street
269, part	Flagstaff, Green Mound	William Street at Pacific Drive
269, part	Memorial to Capt. L C Liley, Pilot.	William Street at Pacific Drive
277	Pilots Cottages, 1882.	William Street

Table 2.1. List of the visible archaeological sites in Port Macquarie, which are included in the Inventory of the Archaeological Management Plan.

2.2. The interpretation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

The historical sites of Port Macquarie exhibit varying levels of interpretation and public access. A brief overview is included in the following table (Table 2.2).

Category of interpretation.	Site	Location.
1. Museums.	Hastings and District Historical Society.	Clarence Street.
	Mid North Coast Maritime Museum, Pilot's Station.	William Street.
2. Open for inspection with guided tours.	Courthouse.	Clarence Street.
	Church of Saint Thomas and adjacent buildings.	Hay Street.
3. Self guided tours.	Brochures are available at the Hastings and District Historical Museum for self guided tours of the town.	Various locations.
	Port Macquarie Shipwreck trail, Mid North Coast Maritime Museum, with brochure.	Plaques along the foreshore of the Hastings River.[1]
4. Signage.	A number of historical and archaeological sites have interpretative signage.	Various locations.

Table 2.2. The interpretation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie - the current situation.

The existing level of interpretation of historical sites in Port Macquarie is commendable and has resulted from the commitment of a number of individuals, groups and organisations, including the Council.

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[1] The brochure was not available at the Maritime Museum on 17 August 1995.

While the interpretation of sites includes those belonging to the penal settlement from 1821 to 1831, there is still no obvious focus for understanding the penal purpose of the convict establishment. This is simply to admit that we have not yet been able to overcome the difficulties caused by the poor survival of visible or above ground sites belonging to the penal settlement. It does not mean that the commitment of all concerned has been misdirected. Rather it signals a need for encouragement, by providing a means to overcome the problem. The ultimate goal must be to achieve a significant improvement in the interpretation and display of all periods in the historical development of Port Macquarie.

2.3. Examples of interpretative signage in Port Macquarie.

Figures 2.1 and 2.2. Some examples of existing signage in Port Macquarie for historical sites.
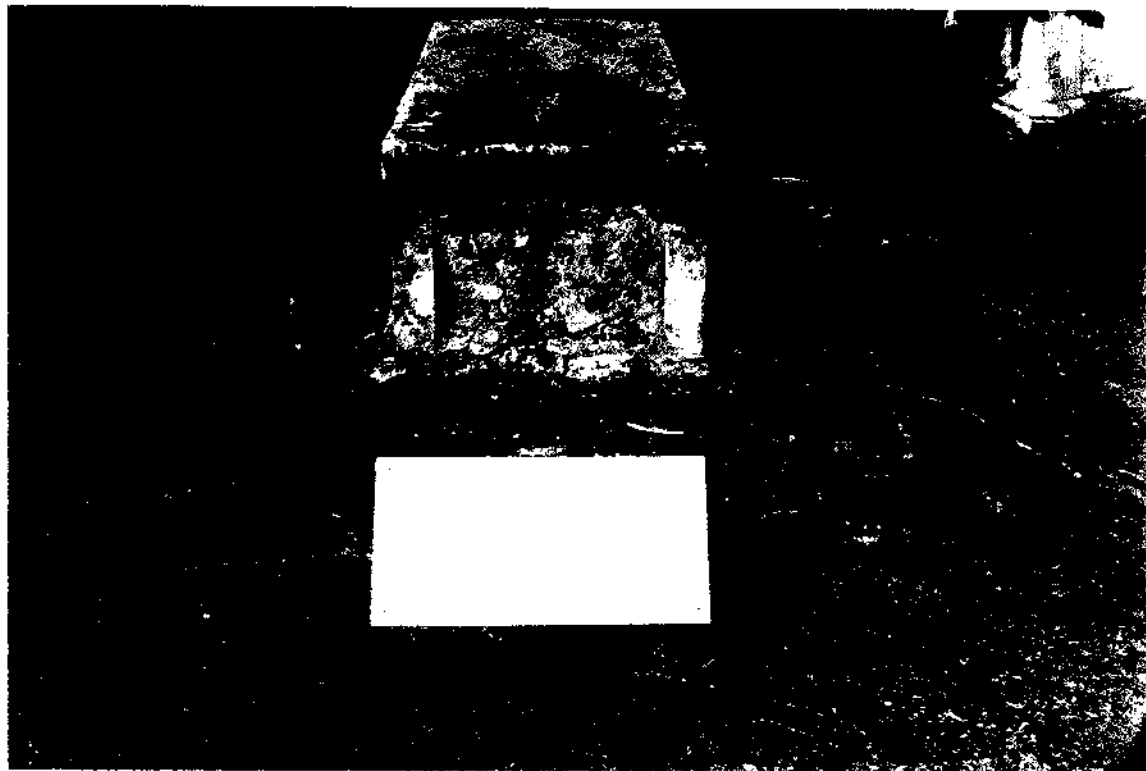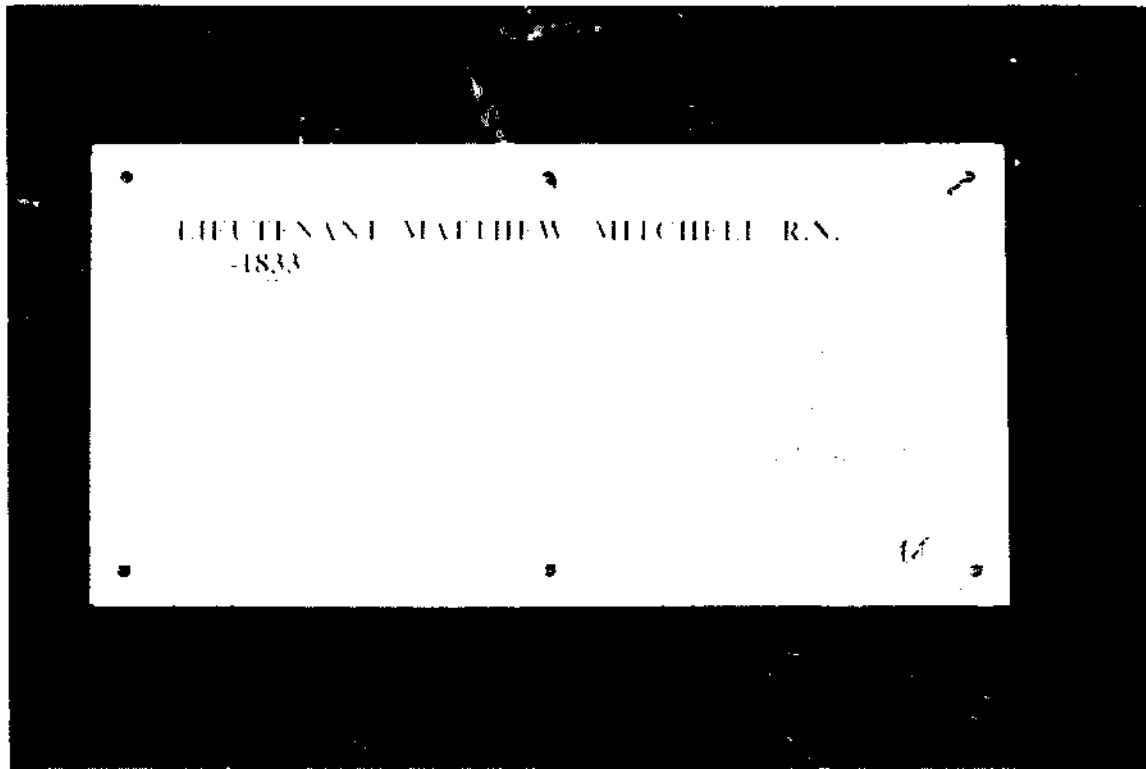
Figures 2.3 and 2.4. Example of interpretative signage in the Old Graveyard, Gordon Street, Port Macquarie.
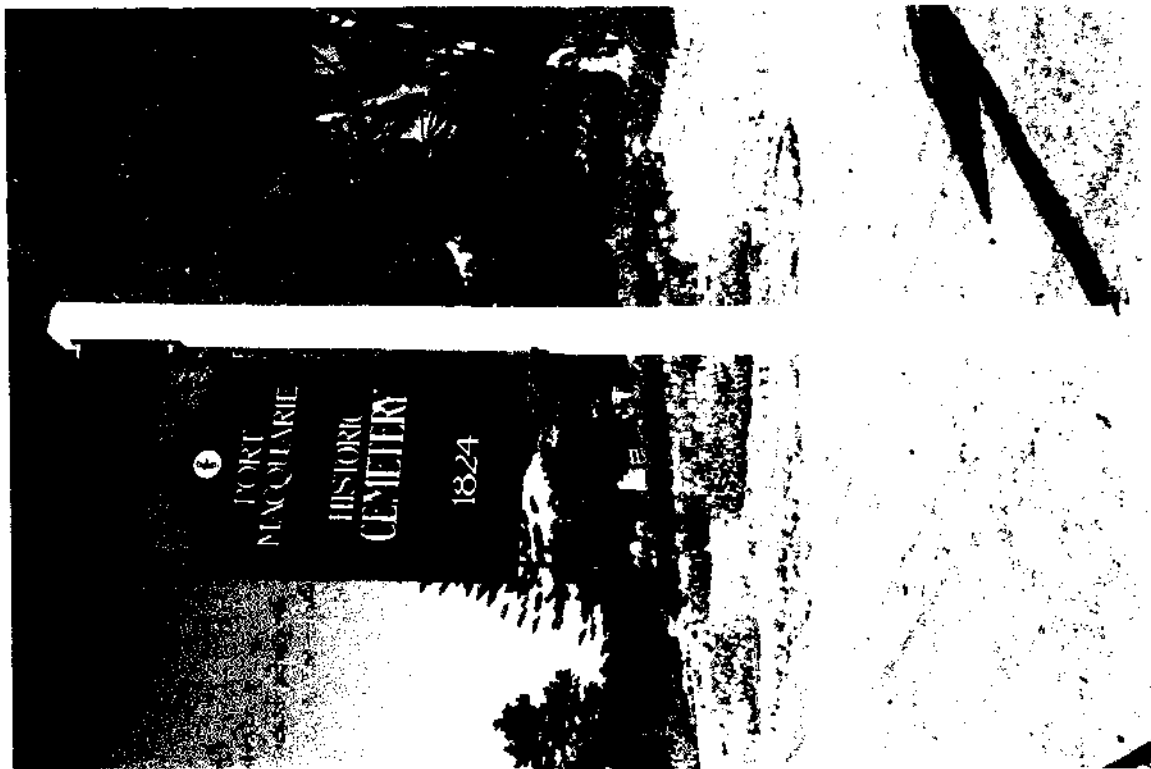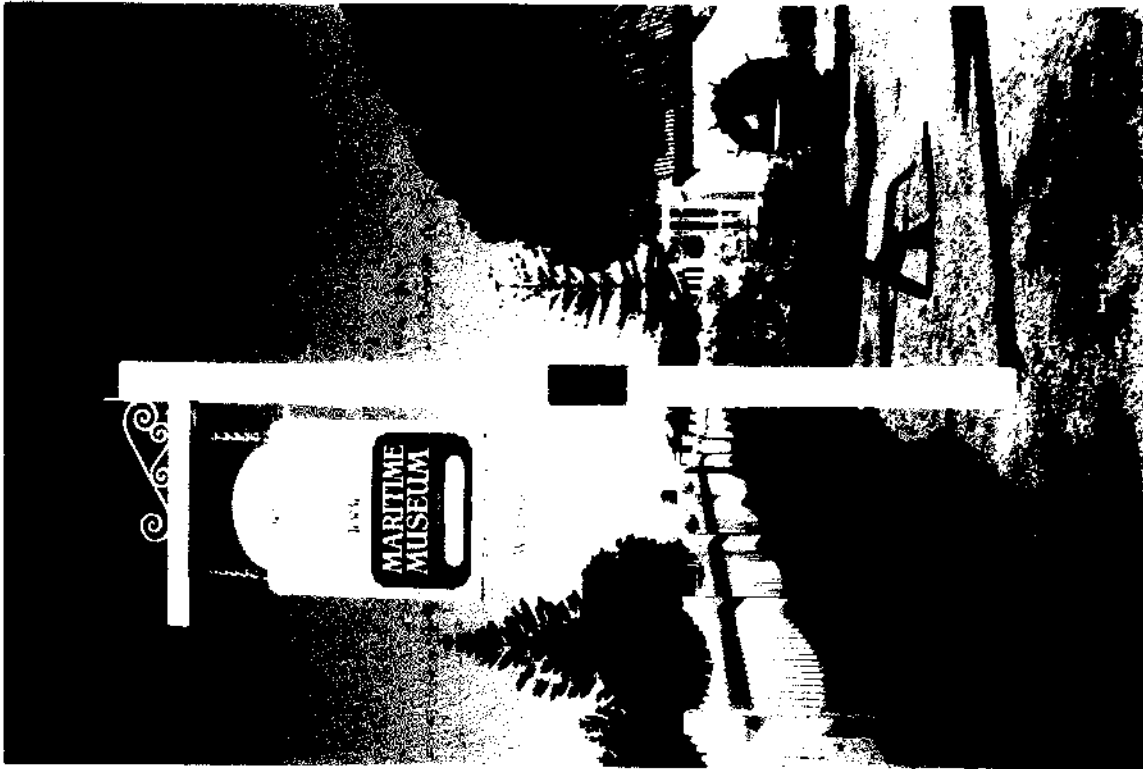
Figures. 2.5 and 2.6. Typical signage for important historical sites in Port Macquarie.

Figure 2.7. Interpretative signage and shelter, Kooloonbung Creek Nature Reserve, Gordon Street, Port Macquarie.
Figure 2.8. Number plaque for use in conjunction with the brochure for the self guided tour of historical and archaeological sites, available from the Hastings and District Historical Museum.

3. THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN PORT MACQUARIE.

3.1. The relative importance of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

The Archaeological Management Plan has assessed the relative cultural significance of all archaeological sites in Port Macquarie. The standard processes of assessment were described in Volume 1 of the study, while the actual cultural significance of each site is listed in the Inventory in Volume 2.[1] The cultural significance of archaeological sites at Port Macquarie has been summarised in Table 3.1. Sites belonging to each period were generally assigned a level and degree of cultural significance.

Nature: Historic. Scientific (archaeological).	Degree Rare	Representative	Associative
1. The penal settlement (Rare, State/National).	State or National.		
2. The early 19th century development of the town (Rare, Regional).	Regional.		
3a. The late 19th or 20th century development of the town (Representative, Regional).		Regional.	
3b. The late 19th or 20th century development of the town (Representative, Local).		Local.	
4. The nature of convict labour or public works undertaken by convict labour (Rare, State).	State.		
5. The government administration or improvement of maritime trade and communications (Rare, Regional).	Regional.		
6. The nature and importance of maritime trade (Rare, Regional).	Regional		

[1] See respectively Volumes 1 and 2 of this study.

7. The religious beliefs and burial practices of the community, from the penal settlement onwards (Rare, State).	State		
8. The nature and importance of mineral extraction and other industries to the region (Rare, Regional).	Regional.		

Table 3.1. Summary of the cultural significance of archaeological sites at Port Macquarie.

This process can be summarised more simply in accordance with the period of town development (Table 3.2).

Historical period.	Degree Rare	Representative	Associative
1. The penal settlement.	State or National.		
2. The early 19th century development of the town.	State or Regional.		
3. The late 19th or 20th century development of the town.		Regional or Local.	

Table 3.2. Summary of the cultural significance of archaeological sites at Port Macquarie in accordance with the period of town development.

The level and degree of cultural significance is in almost complete contrast to the number of sites which survive above ground for each period in Port Macquarie. In other words, when we wish to investigate the most important sites, we have the worst above ground survival rate, but when we look at the least significant sites, we have the best survival rate. It is this inverse relationship, which is at the centre of most, if not all of the problems relating to the archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

3.2. The cultural significance of sites belonging to the penal settlement.

In the Archaeological Management Plan for Port Macquarie, there are a total of 103 inventory listings, which fall into the category of state or national significance. They comprise all the sites belonging to the penal settlement from 1821 to 1831, as well as those sites relating to convict labour up to the 1840s.

A list of these sites has been prepared in the form of a hierarchy of buildings or structures relating to the administration of the penal settlement, because this arrangement will assist in comparative analysis (Table 3.3). A number of listings are combined, where individual sites are now divided by modern property boundaries, or where they may be grouped together as one building type, distributed at a number of locations throughout the penal settlement.

Penal Administration & Convicts.	Building of Structure	Inventory No.
Commandant	Government House, outbuildings and guard house.	s.21, 182, 183, 189, 190
Accommodation for administration staff.	Free Overseers' Houses.	s.10, s.13, 71, 72, 73, 94
	Principal Superintendent's Quarters.	s.12
	Assistant Superintendent's Quarters.	s.13
	Commissariat Storekeeper.	s.15, 121
	Deputy Assistant Commissariat General's Quarters (later Civil Officers Quarters by 1831).	s.15, 123, 124
	Surgeons Quarters, later Clergyman's house.	s.17, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152
Commissariat Department	Granary & Treadmill House	s.15, 128, 129
	Commissariat Store.	s.15, 65, 122, 146
	Granary.	20, 21, 22

Royal Engineers	Acting Engineer's Store.	s.15, 65, 146
Military Department	Main Guard House	s.15, 123, 146
	Military Barracks, Married Soldiers' Houses, Guard House, Officers' Quarters, Non Commissioned Officers' Houses.	s.23, s.24, 190
Pilot	Boat Sheds	s.12, 65, 68
	Pilot's Quarters	s.15, 65, 148, 149, 150
	Two buildings, near Flagstaff.	s.26, 274-276
	Flagstaff	269
Civil Jurisdiction	Gaol.	s.19, 159, 160, 161
	Police Office.	s.22, 185
Religious Establishment	Burying Grounds	64
	Church of Saint Thomas.	143, part
	Graveyard, with inscriptions dating from 1822.	181
Medical Establishment	General Hospital.	100, 101
Other	Post Office	133
Convict accommodation	Prisoners' huts.	s.01, s.02, s.03, s.07, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 40, 42, 43, 44, 66, part, 66, part, 67, 68, 70, part,
	Prisoners' Barracks.	s.09, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41
Public works erected by convict labour	Bridge, on Bridge (now Hayward) Street	s.04, 19, 60, 63

	Dam and Bridge, Gordon Street	s.05, s.06
	Cutting, Gordon Street.	s.11
	Well, Horton Street (part of dam, bridge and cutting group)	114
	Bridge, drain into Hastings River	s.15, 65
Places of convict labour or production	Bell House.	s.12
	Granary & Treadmill House.	s.15, 128, 129
	Lumber Yard.	s.18, s.20, 146, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181
	Lime House.	20, 23
Unidentified buildings	Unidentified buildings (sometimes with other buildings)	s.01, s.02, s.03, s.07, s.14, s.15, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 66, part, 66, part, 67, 68, 76, 77, 118, 119, 120, 125, 126

Table 3.3. Hierarchy of buildings or structures relating to the administration of the penal settlement. (Inventory Numbers in bold type indicate the sites selected for Archaeological Conservation Areas).

Only eight of these inventory listings possess visible or above ground archaeological remains, belonging to the period of the penal settlement from 1821 to 1831, or relating to convict labour up to the 1840s. The remaining listings possess below

ground archaeological remains, most of which are surprisingly well preserved[1] Only a few sites are poorly preserved, namely part of the Military Barracks (s.23), part of the Lumber Yard (179 and 180), and a small number of convict huts (8).[2]

3.3. The cultural significance of penal settlements - the contribution of Port Macquarie.

Port Macquarie has the potential to contribute to historical archaeology in several areas, notably in the study of penal settlements designed for secondary punishment. Port Macquarie was established for this purpose in 1821, but closed in 1830 to make way for free settlers. As a penal settlement it may be compared with the first settlements at Sydney, Parramatta and Norfolk Island, all of which were commenced in 1788. Port Macquarie shares many institutions and public buildings in common with these first settlements.

In terms of secondary punishment it may be compared with Newcastle (1804 - 1824) in New South Wales, and Moreton Bay in Queensland. At Moreton Bay, the settlement commenced at Brisbane Town in 1824, while the agricultural establishment at Eagle Farm opened in 1829. It had a relatively short life and was closed in 1838. A progression can be seen from Newcastle to Port Macquarie and finally Moreton Bay, in order to maintain the isolation of the penal settlements from the expanding free population.

Elsewhere, Norfolk Island was re-opened in 1825 for secondary offenders, while a whole series of institutions were operated in Tasmania, including Sarah Island, Macquarie Harbour (1821 - 1833), Darlington Bay, Maria Island (1825 - 1832), and Port Arthur (1830 - 1877).[3]

Port Macquarie therefore represents one of a small number of penal settlements in Australia. It occupies an important position in the chronological sequence of penal

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[1] Sites are considered to be well preserved, when they fall into the following categories for describing the condition of below ground archaeological remains:
      1. Undisturbed.
      2. Minor disturbance.
      3. Partly disturbed.

[2] Sites are considered to be poorly preserved, when they fall into the following categories for describing the condition of below ground archaeological remains:
      4. Mostly disturbed.
      5. Destroyed.

[3] Provide list of major references to studies of penal settlements

establishments, not only in terms of the design of penal buildings, but also in the evolution of the convict or transportation system as a whole. Significantly Port Macquarie was the last of the penal settlements to be laid out according to picturesque principles, with the major buildings, the Military Barracks, Government House, and the Church of Saint Thomas occupying hill top or prominent positions in the settlement, a plan approved by the Governor and Mrs. Macquarie in 1821.

In general terms, the cultural significance of a place is considered to be reduced by the number of comparative or similar sites. Frequent examples of a particular type of site may become representative of a group, usually at a local level, but also at a regional or state level. However this diminution of significance does not necessarily apply universally. It certainly does not apply to the study of penal settlements, because of the processes of change in the design of buildings for particular purposes, and also because of the evolution of the convict or transportation system. The principal building types of a penal settlement include asylums, convict barracks, gaols, hospitals, huts and other housing, granaries and stores, military barracks and lumber yards. Each building type is found at most penal settlements, but in only a relatively few cases are the buildings identical. In most cases they demonstrate individuality in design and functional detail, as well as having specific sequences of occupation and usage.

Thus it is a misconception to conclude that the presence of comparable penal establishments diminishes the cultural significance of Port Macquarie. The truth is that these other sites enhance the significance of Port Macquarie, because Port Macquarie alone illustrates one stage in the development and evolution of the convict or transportation system as a whole.

While some of the other penal settlements, including Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, have well preserved groups of standing buildings or ruins, this fact does not diminish the archaeological significance of Port Macquarie or other penal settlements, where structures may survive only as below ground archaeological sites. Historical research and archaeological investigation provide the means whereby these sites may contribute to our understanding. In other words, the archaeological significance of the place is still intact, where below ground sites survive in good condition, a situation clearly applying to Port Macquarie.

4. CONSTRAINTS.

4.1. Requirements for conservation.

The Archaeological Management Plan has already made recommendations for the conservation of all visible or above ground archaeological sites in the Inventory. It has not made a similar recommendation for the conservation of all sites of state or national significance, although such a recommendation could be easily justified.

When we compare the conservation requirements for other penal settlements and places of secondary punishment, there is a wide range of variation. For places like Norfolk Island and Port Arthur, both with extensive standing buildings, the conservation, interpretation and display of the archaeological remains is given a high priority. Where sites now lie within urban or other types of development, the conservation requirements have to take into account the needs of the community and for redevelopment. This difference is exemplified by the Archaeological Management Plans for Parramatta, The Rocks and Millers Point, and also by the conservation practices adopted by Sydney and Parramatta City Councils.[1] Newcastle City Council also has a draft Archaeological Management Plan, but at this stage the scope and nature of the conservation recommendations are not finalised.

Where the archaeological sites now lie within an urban context, recommendations refer to the archaeological investigation of sites prior to redevelopment, but do not in all cases require the permanent conservation of below ground archaeological remains. There are instances where below ground archaeological remains have been partly conserved and incorporated into new development, and other instances of more extensive conservation requirements, notably in the case of First Government House in Sydney.

Although below ground sites are enabled to be redeveloped in urban areas, even though they are of state or national significance and belong to former penal settlements, there is still an a priori case for permanent conservation. That these sites are worthy of conservation is indicated by places such as Port Arthur and Norfolk Island, where there are no other strong competing pressures. The significance of

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[1] Edward Higginbotham and Paul-Alan Johnson. 1991. *The Future of Parramatta's Past. An Archaeological Zoning Plan. 1788 to 1844.* Department of Planning, Sydney; Edward Higginbotham, Terry Kass and Meredith Walker. 1991. The Rocks and Millers Point Archaeological Management Plan. Department of Planning N.S.W., and The Sydney Cove Authority.

below ground archaeological sites is not diminished, when they survive in good condition, as is the case at Port Macquarie.

Furthermore the bias towards sites of the recent past in the surviving sample of above ground archaeological sites in Port Macquarie can only be rectified and brought back into balance by the conservation of a number of key archaeological sites belonging to the penal settlement. There is a need to make these below ground archaeological remains visible to the general public by some means, so that an appreciation of all the historical periods of the development of Port Macquarie can be gained by the community as a whole. The failure to conserve these key sites will ultimately mean that the current imbalance in the survival of sites in Port Macquarie will have no means of correction, except by artificial means. To be a legitimate conservation process, the interpretation and display of archaeological sites should include actual remains, preferably in situ.[1]

4.2. Statutory heritage measures.

The relevant provisions of legislation pertaining to archaeological sites in Port Macquarie have been described and discussed in Volume 1 of this study.[2]

The *Heritage Act* requires an excavation permit before the disturbance of any archaeological site at Port Macquarie, except where a site is considered to have little or no historical or archaeological significance. Even in these cases, there is a recommendation that the discovery of relics should be immediately reported to the Heritage Council, to ensure compliance with the requirements of the *Heritage Act*.

The partial or complete conservation of archaeological sites may be required by a number of means. Such means include the attachment of specific conditions to the issue of an excavation permit under the *Heritage Act*, or conditions imposed on a development application under the *EP&A Act.*.

Where development consent is required under *Hastings Local Environment Plan 1987 (LEP 87)*, clause 46 provides for the conservation of relics located within the

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[1] See the ICOMOS *Burra Charter* on the definition of legitimate conservation processes.
[2] See Volume 1.

identified zone of potential archaeological significance. This clause however, has a number of shortcomings.

    1. The clause only operates where development consent is already required. Whether or not consent is required in the first place, depends upon usage, not heritage significance.

    2. Apart from drawing attention to the mandatory requirements of the Heritage Act, the only thing the clause adds is a conservation plan requirement.

What is required is that the town's more important historical and archaeological precincts are given greater recognition, in a manner which encourages their meaningful conservation and interpretation.

Accordingly, it is recommended that Council's LEP be amended to supplement the protection provided by clause 46. It is proposed to create special conservation areas to this end.

The aim of the proposed conservation area controls is to ensure that the potential economic, social and educational value of the town's important archaeological resources are realised. This should be done without creating unnecessary restrictions on development which is unlikely to affect the desired outcomes. Minor alterations to existing buildings would be exempted, for example.

For this reason, the standard provisions normally adopted for conservation areas need to be modified. They should be amended to more specifically target the stated aims. To avoid any confusion, the proposed conservation areas should be named Archaeological Conservation Areas.

It is proposed that the controls in these special conservation areas should include:

    1. A provision that all demolition, excavation and new buildings in the area requires development consent.

    2. the standard provisions relating to relics.

    3. exemptions for internal alterations, and cosmetic external alterations, to existing buildings.

    4. a requirement that any development be assessed in terms of its likely impact on the site's ability to demonstrate its heritage significance.

    5. provisions for requiring interpretation aids as a condition of consent.

4.3. Requirements of the community.

One of the primary objectives of the Archaeological Management Plan is to ensure that the community may continue to enjoy the benefits of living and working in Port Macquarie, subject to normal legislative and planning constraints. Development processes and archaeological conservation priorities are not necessarily incompatible. If at all possible, one should not proceed at the disadvantage of the other.

While some will place a higher priority on development, there are others who place greater value on the educational, cultural and lifestyle benefits of Port Macquarie

The Archaeological Management Plan recognises that there is a role for all levels of government to promote the benefits of conserving all sites of cultural significance, not just archaeological sites. The responsibility of government is to lead by example, and to influence community attitudes by raising the awareness of the many benefits of conservation. This role extends to taking the initiative in the conservation, interpretation and display of archaeological sites. The process is already exemplified by the role of Hastings Council in the conservation of the historic Courthouse on Clarence Street.

5. RESOLUTION OF ISSUES.

This report has highlighted the need to conserve the archaeological sites of state or national significance in Port Macquarie, or at least a selection of them. All these sites belong to the penal settlement (1821-1831) or are related to convict labour up to the 1840s. In many instances of high conservation priority there may be competing community interests, both real and perceived. People want to continue to enjoy the benefits of Port Macquarie as a place to live and work.

To a large extent the solutions lie with the public sector. Government bodies are not so constrained by market pressures. Government also has the ability to demonstrate the tangible benefits of conservation. It is the responsibility of government to take the initiative in the conservation, interpretation and display of archaeological sites. Accordingly, the recommended conservation strategy places major emphasis on an active public sector contribution.

This strategy should be developed in stages. They may be addressed under the following headings:

> 1. Selection of archaeological sites for conservation - Archaeological Conservation Areas.
> 2. The interpretation and display of archaeological sites.

5.1. Selection of archaeological sites for conservation - Archaeological Conservation Areas.

There is a need to conserve a selection of the most important below ground archaeological sites in Port Macquarie, as well as all those still visible or surviving above ground. The selection could be made along the lines of each component part of the penal settlement, its administration and structure (Table 3.3). Initially however, the public ownership of key archaeological sites has been taken as an important criterion.

To impose on all landholders a blanket conservation requirement for below ground archaeological sites of state or national significance might impose an unnecessary burden on some owners. On the other hand it could provide a workable solution for public property, depending on the selection of sites. The fact that archaeological sites on private property might not be selected does not diminish their cultural significance or importance. Instead, it means that the conservation of archaeological sites on

private property should be addressed in a different manner, namely by negotiation and incentive, backed up by publicity, marketing, education and information. The various levels of government may also make use of existing legislation and instruments to encourage private developers to adopt a more responsive position with regard to conservation. The goal should be to encourage the incorporation of archaeological sites and features into new development or as part of the urban setting.

The following sites are in public ownership, possess sites of a state or national level of cultural significance, and have below ground archaeological remains in good condition (Table 5.1):[1]

Inventory No.	Location.
s.01	Clarence Street & Short Street
s.02	Unnamed Lane, leading from Short Street & William Street.
s.03	William Street
s.04	Hayward Street
s.05	Gordon Street
s.06	Gordon Street
s.07	Horton Street
s.09	Horton Street & William Street
s.10	Lane, from Clarence Street.
s.11	Gordon Street, between Horton Street and Hay Street.
s.12	Hay Street
s.13	Clarence Street & Hay Street.
s.14	Hay Street
s.15	Sunset Parade & Murray Street
s.17	Clarence Street
s.18	Munster Street
s.19	Munster Street

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[1] Sites are considered to be well preserved, when they fall into the following categories for describing the condition of below ground archaeological remains:
1. Undisturbed.
2. Minor disturbance.
3. Partly disturbed.

s.20	Clarence Street & School Street
s.21	School Street
s.22	New Street & School Street
s.24	Grant Street
s.26	William Street & Pacific Drive
19	Kooloonbung Creek, between William Street & Gordon Street.
20	Horton Street
22	Horton Street & Clarence Street
38	Horton Street
64	Gordon Street
65	Sunset Parade
128	Hay Street
129	Hay Street & Sunset Parade
146	Munster Street, off.
159	Munster Street & Lane.
181	Clarence Street
190	Clarence Street, Lord Street, William Street & School Street
269	William Street at Pacific Drive

Table 5.1. List of sites in public ownership, possess sites of a state or national level of cultural significance, and have below ground archaeological remains in good condition

It is proposed that only a selection of the above sites should be selected as Archaeological Conservation Areas, namely those which enable the conservation of a representative sample. The sample would include sites belonging to the penal settlement (1821-1831), or relating to public works erected by convict labour up to the 1840s (Table 5.2). The two cemeteries (Old Graveyard, Gordon Street (Inventory No. 64), Allman Hill Cemetery, Clarence Street (Inventory No. 181)) are not included in the list of recommended Archaeological Conservation Areas, on the grounds that they are already adequately protected by the Archaeological Management Plan and the Hastings Heritage Study.

Inventory No.	Location.
s.01	Clarence Street & Short Street
s.05	Gordon Street
s.06	Gordon Street
s.10	Lane, from Clarence Street.
s.11	Gordon Street, between Horton Street and Hay Street.
s.12	Hay Street
s.13	Clarence Street & Hay Street.
s.15	Sunset Parade & Murray Street
s.19	Munster Street
s.24	Grant Street
s.26	William Street & Pacific Drive
65	Sunset Parade
72	Clarence Street & Lane
73	Clarence Street & Hay Street
128	Hay Street
129	Hay Street & Sunset Parade
146	Munster Street, off.
159	Munster Street & Lane.
190	Clarence Street, Lord Street, William Street & School Street
269	William Street at Pacific Drive

Table 5.2. List of sites selected for Archaeological Conservation Areas.

The sites listed in Table 5.2 may be rearranged to indicate the extent of each Archaeological Conservation Area (Table 5.3). A number of other archaeological sites have been included in the Archaeological Conservation Areas, to make the groupings more complete. For example the well at the south end of Horton Street (Inventory No. 114) is believed to be part of works associated with the construction of the Kooloonbung Creek Dam, Bridge and Causeway, as well as the Gordon Street Cutting (Inventory Nos. s.05, s.06, s.11, 19 and 114). The Archaeological Management Plan already recommends that all visible or above ground archaeological sites should be conserved.

Archaeological Conservation Area.	Inventory Nos.	Location	Other archaeological sites.
1. Penal Administration Precinct.	s.12	Hay Street	
	s.15	Sunset Parade & Murray Street	
	65	Sunset Parade	
	128	Hay Street	
	129	Hay Street & Sunset Parade	
	146	Munster Street, off.	
2. Convict Hut Precinct.	s.01	Clarence Street & Short Street	
3. Free Overseers' Houses Precinct.	s.10	Lane, from Clarence Street.	
	s.13	Clarence Street & Hay Street.	
	72	Clarence Street & Lane	
	73	Clarence Street & Hay Street	
4. Female Factory and Gaol Precinct.	s.19	Munster Street	
	159	Munster Street & Lane.	
5. Military Barracks Precinct.	s.24	Grant Street	
	190	Clarence Street, Lord Street, William Street & School Street	
6. Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct.	s.05	Gordon Street	
	s.06	Gordon Street	

	s.11	Gordon Street, between Horton Street and Hay Street.	
	19	Kooloonbung Creek, between William Street & Gordon Street.	Part of former bridge abutments.
	114	Horton Street & Gordon Street	Well
7. Pilot Station Precinct.	s.26	William Street & Pacific Drive	
	268	William Street	Site of boat harbour and boatshed.
	269	William Street at Pacific Drive	
	277	William Street	Pilots Cottages

Table 5.3. List of Archaeological Conservation Areas, together with Inventory Numbers.

The proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas include sites representing most institutions and functions of the penal settlement (Table 3.3). In many instances, they also represent a unique opportunity to conserve sites belonging to each category. For example, there are no other precincts in Port Macquarie, which could replace the Penal Administration Precinct or the Convict Hut Precinct. The same situation would apply to nearly all the other proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas.

5.2. The interpretation and display of archaeological sites.

The role of government in the conservation of archaeological sites is by no means the whole solution. The poor survival of above ground archaeological sites associated with the penal settlement has been described. This has resulted in a distorted awareness of the historical development of Port Macquarie among the community. This balance needs to be restored by a programme to interpret and display a representative selection of the archaeological sites in Port Macquarie. In order to

rectify the bias in the surviving sites, this programme should emphasise those belonging to the penal settlement.

The programme to interpret and display archaeological sites may be considered at a number of levels. One of the priorities is to extend the existing signage and interpretative material for archaeological sites. The self guided tour provided by the Hastings and District Historical Society is a good example, but should be taken further. The emphasis should now be placed on signage and interpretative material actually placed on each important site, so that the presence of archaeological sites becomes obvious to all. While there are some difficulties with vandalism and inappropriate placement of signage in the Old Graveyard, Gordon Street, nonetheless this level of interpretation should be extended throughout the study area, to cover most of the important archaeological sites.

With the identification and protection of a number of the most important archaeological sites as Archaeological Conservation Areas, there are opportunities to emphasise interpretation and display at a more intensive level. While an increased level of interpretation and signage has been generally recommended for archaeological sites, the more intensive treatment of archaeological sites should include one or more of the following components:

1. The display of the archaeological site in some physical form.
    i). use of modern materials to define walls and other features on the ground surface, without disturbance of the archaeological remains.
    ii). the reconstruction of archaeological remains, features or buildings using modern materials (for example, space frames to outline the shape of a building, etc).
    iii). the excavation and conservation of archaeological remains for display.
2. The interpretation of the archaeological site using any or all of the techniques available to museum design, including the establishment of a new museum or interpretative centre in Port Macquarie.

The benefits of this strategy are twofold. First, it would provide a balanced understanding of the historical sequence of development in Port Macquarie. Second, it would heighten the level of awareness in the community about the presence underfoot of archaeological sites of state or national significance. The increased level of understanding and information will create in the community a stronger desire to conserve its own heritage. It also will foster an attitude, which is predisposed to

recognising the benefits of conservation, not only of archaeological sites, but also for all other aspects of cultural heritage.

5.3. Publicity and marketing.

Any programme to conserve the important archaeological sites in Port Macquarie should be accompanied by publicity and marketing. The purpose of this promotion should be to ensure the maximum benefit to the community of the funding committed to conservation, interpretation and display of archaeological sites.

Publicity and marketing would be assisted by the coordination of programmes for the conservation, interpretation and display of historical, archaeological and other heritage sites in the Port Macquarie area. This integration would also ensure the most effective use of conservation funding. In addition to those sites in the Archaeological Management Plan, consideration should be given to the inclusion of sites identified in the Heritage Study, together with sites of environmental, Aboriginal or other heritage value. Emphasis should be given to the development of touring guides and other interpretative material to promote heritage sites in the Hastings Region as a whole.

The role of cultural tourism should be developed and given adequate emphasis in all tourism marketing, in order to ensure that Port Macquarie is seen as a destination for cultural tourism among its other attractions.

5.4. Some examples of the interpretation of archaeological sites.

Figure 5.1. This example of a brick barrel drain, constructed between 1822 and 1828, was conserved within a new development on George Street, Parramatta, in the early 1980s.
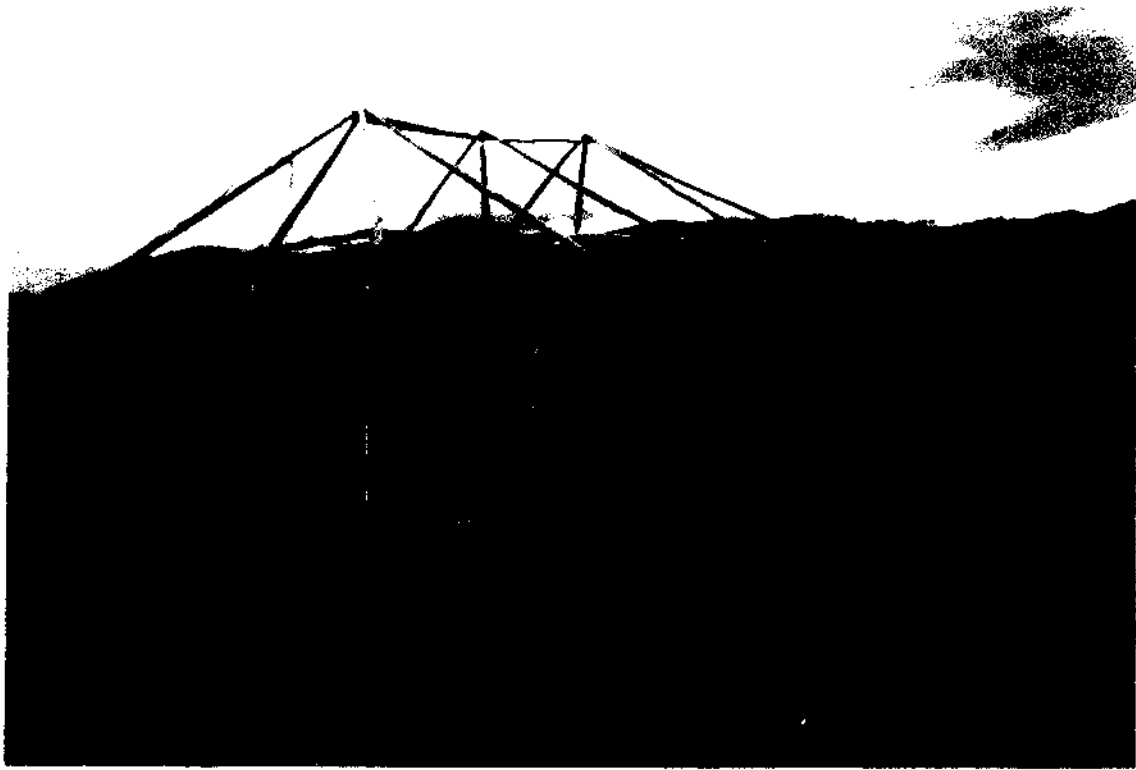
Figure 5.2. Timber space frame on the site of a convict hut at the 1804 settlement of Risdon Cove, Tasmania.
Figure 5.3. Reconstruction of a convict hut at Risdon Cove, Tasmania. Examples at Port Macquarie were similar, except they had thatched roofs and probably brick chimneys.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS.

The following recommendations are made in order to summarise the proposed resolution of issues relating to the conservation and interpretation of important archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

It is recommended that:

1. The provisions of *Hastings Local Environment Plan 1987 (LEP 87)* should be amended to include special provisions for Archaeological Conservation Areas.

It is proposed that the controls in these areas should include:
> 1. a provision that all demolition, excavation and new buildings in the area requires development consent.
> 2. the standard provisions relating to relics.
> 3. exemptions for internal alterations, and cosmetic external alterations, to existing buildings.
> 4. a requirement that any development be assessed in terms of its likely impact on the site's ability to demonstrate its heritage significance.
> 5. provisions for requiring interpretation aids as a condition of consent.

2. A number of Archaeological Conservation Areas should be established (Table 5.3). The following is a list of recommended Archaeological Conservation Areas is summarised (see Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1 - 7):

Archaeological Conservation Area.	Inventory Nos.
1. Penal Administration Precinct.	s.12, s.15, 65 part, 128, 129, 146 part.
2. Convict Hut Precinct.	s.01
3. Free Overseers' Houses Precinct.	s.10, s.13, 72, 73
4. Female Factory and Gaol Precinct.	s.19, 159
5. Military Barracks Precinct.	s.24, 190
6. Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct.	s.05, s.06, s.11, 19 part, 114 part
7. Pilot Station Precinct.	s.26, 268, 269, 277

In the Penal Administration Precinct (Archaeological Conservation Area 1), only a small portion of Inventory No. 146 need be included. It comprises the south western corner of Inventory No. 146, which is not reclaimed land, to the north of Sunset

Parade and Murray Streets, as depicted on Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1- 7.

In the Penal Administration Precinct (Archaeological Conservation Area 1), only a portion of Inventory No. 65 need be included, as depicted on Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1- 7.

In the Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct (Archaeological Conservation Area 6), only a small portion of Inventory No. 19 need be included. It comprises the southern part of Inventory No. 19, on which the remnant of the former bridge abutments is located, as depicted on Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1- 7.

In the Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct (Archaeological Conservation Area 6), only a small portion of Inventory No. 114 need be included. It comprises the western part of Inventory No. 114, which contains the historical well and which is located on approximately the same level as Horton Street, as depicted on Plan 13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1- 7.

The proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas include sites representing most institutions and functions of the penal settlement (Table 3.3). In many instances, they also represent a unique opportunity to conserve sites belonging to each category. For example, there are no other precincts in Port Macquarie, which could replace the Penal Administration Precinct or the Convict Hut Precinct. The same situation would apply to nearly all the other proposed Archaeological Conservation Areas.

3. The formation of Archaeological Conservation Areas supplements the recommendation for the conservation of all visible and above ground archaeological sites,. These sites are identified in the Inventory of the Archaeological Management Plan.[1]

4. Where below ground archaeological sites are of a state or national level of significance, but have not been included in an Archaeological Conservation Area, conservation options should be negotiated with owners, with heritage legislation and the LEP providing reserve power for the resolution of any conflicts.

5. The interpretation and display of all heritage sites in Port Macquarie and environs should be integrated and coordinated.

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[1] Volume 2.

6. A new and integrated interpretation programme should be formulated for the most important archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

The purpose of this programme is to overcome the bias in the surviving visible and above ground archaeological sites, so that the penal settlement may be equally represented in the built environment. The most important below ground archaeological sites should be identified on the ground by signage and other interpretative material.

7. The Archaeological Conservation Areas should become a focus for the interpretation and display of archaeological sites in Port Macquarie. A greater level of interpretation and display, in the form of a new museum and interpretative centre, should be used to stimulate visitation, education and cultural tourism.

8. The role of cultural tourism should be developed and given adequate emphasis in all tourism marketing, in order to ensure that Port Macquarie is seen as a destination for cultural tourism among its other attractions.

9. It is suggested that Hastings Council should establish a heritage committee, with representation of all those groups presently involved in the management, interpretation and display of historical, archaeological and other sites in Port Macquarie and environs. The committee would:

    1. coordinate and integrate the various current heritage programmes.

    2. formulate a new and integrated interpretation programme for the most important archaeological sites in Port Macquarie.

    3. coordinate the development of the Archaeological Conservation Areas as the focus of interpretation and display, with a view to establishing a new museum or interpretative centre in Port Macquarie.

Other responsibilities of the committee might include the coordination of fundraising and the allocation of funding for conservation, interpretation and display.

APPENDIX 1. STUDY BRIEF.

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HASTINGS COUNCIL - CONSULTANCY BRIEF

for an

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT PLAN - STAGE TWO
PORT MACQUARIE

1. BACKGROUND

Port Macquarie was one of the only two penal settlements for the secondary punishment of convicts in the State, the other being Newcastle, and is one of a small number of settlements in NSW that commenced as a penal or government establishment.

Council has recently completed Stage 1 of the Archaeological Management Plan for Port Macquarie. The purpose of Stage 1 of the study was to produce a Management Plan for Council's administration of the archaeological resource in Port Macquarie in accordance with planning and heritage conservation requirements. Stage 2 of the Management Plan is intended to further refine the information gathered in part 1. The budget for this work, to be undertaken according to National Estate Grants Program guidelines, has been agreed to.

2. STUDY AREA

The study area is shown on the attached map and includes the town centre of Port Macquarie bounded by the Hastings River, Kooloonbung Creek, Gordon Street, Murray Street up to Church Street and along Church Street to the Pacific Ocean.

3. OBJECTIVES

The main aim of the study is to assist Council in its administration of the archaeological provisions of the Hastings LEP 1987. Through the findings of the study Council will be able to make informed decisions regarding the management of the archaeological resources of Port Macquarie. The study should be seen as a companion document to the Hastings Heritage Study (July 1991 Suters Architects Snell).

4. SCOPE OF THE WORK

The work proposed under the brief is to:

4.1 Precisely define the archaeological significance of different types of sites as outlined in Stage 1 of the Archaeological Management Plan, which would give scope for the level of archaeological investigation required in each case;

4.2 Prepare a brochure for the Development Industry and the public outlining the benefits of archaeology; and

4.3 Provide a selection of archaeological sites which may be used to focus visitation, interpretation and education within Port Macquarie.

5. *THE CONSULTANT WILL BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE:*

5.1 Two (2) copies of a project work program two (2) weeks from the date of the commencement of the consultancy.

5.2 Three (3) bound copies of the draft report taking into account comments made during the course of preparation of the plan.

5.3 One (1) original unbound and five (5) bound copies of the final report and comprehensive maps four (4) weeks after acceptance of the final draft report.

5.4 The draft and final reports shall include one (1) set of appropriate mapping compatible with the maps supplied by Council and suitable for reproduction in a monochrome plan copier.

5.5 The final report shall either include a second set of maps formatted to facilitate data transfer to the GIS or include equivalent digital map data. Proposals can cover either or both options.

5.6 The final report shall state who it has been prepared for and who it has been prepared by as well as the personnel used in the preparation and any acknowledgments.

5.7 Final presentation should be designed for ease of public understanding and include a concise and comprehensive summary.

6. *ADMINISTRATION AND REPORTING*

The study will be co-ordinated by a Project Director from Council answerable to the Director of Strategic Planning.

Personnel authorised to issue instructions in regard to this study are:

> Mr Steve Wood, Director of Strategic Planning
> Mr Larry Howell, Land Use Manager.

7. CONSULTANT TEAM

It is expected that the specialist team producing the management plan would include members with appropriate skills and extensive professional experience in the disciplines of history and historical archaeology, as well as other relevant disciplines. The work should be approached on a multi-disciplinary basis with all specialists being involved in consultation at all stages.

8. TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF ENGAGEMENT

8.1 Council Assistance

Council will provide the consultant with:

a) One (1) copy of the Archaeological Management Plan for Port Macquarie Stage 1 (1994).

b) Two (2) sets of base maps of the area applicable to this management plan at a scale of 1:2000.

c) The names of contacts within the Hastings District Historical Museum that may be able to assist in the preparation of the management plan.

d) One (1) copy of the Hastings Heritage Study (July 1991).

e) Authority to enter land, under the Environmental Planning and Assessment Act, 1979, for the purposes of this project.

f) One (1) copy of relevant extracts from the Hastings LEP 1987.

8.2 Ownership and Copyright

The ownership and copyright of any information and results and originals of all maps, reports, plans, photographic prints and negatives supplied as progress, draft or final reports by the consultant pursuant to this agreement, shall be vested jointly in the Council, NSW Department of Planning, and the Australian Heritage Commission. Permission for the consultant to utilise information gained in the course of this project for the purpose of learned papers or other publications provided that these are appropriately acknowledged and that confidentiality is respected, will be granted.

8.3 Confidentiality

All work arising out of, or in respect of, or in any way connected with, this consultancy will remain confidential unless and until such release is approved by the Council.

8.4 Consulting Proposal

The budget for this work is set at an absolute amount of $15,000.

The proposal to undertake this plan is to include:

a)   A lump sum consulting fee.

b)   Description of the method of undertaking each of the tasks identified.

c)   Details of personnel involved in the project and the Project Director.

d)   Details of the extent to which the final mapping report will include a digital data copy.

e)   Earliest commencing date for the project, and firm timetable to complete all tasks, allowing four (4) weeks from acceptance of the draft report by the Project Director.

Three (3) copies of the proposal will be required.

8.5 Termination

The consultants' commission to carry out the plan may be subject to termination due to non-performance or inability to meet set deadlines. The consultant will be informed by letter of such termination which will be final and not subject to further correspondence.

8.6 Sub-Consultants

The primary consultant may engage a sub-consultant for a specified part of the Study subject to the written approval of Council. The primary consultant is responsible for the sub-consultant's work and compliance with the terms of the Study. The sub-consultant has no claim on Council for fees or expenses.

8.7 Payment and Costs

Upon the completion of the draft, the consultant may lodge a claim for payment (for up to 50% of the total agreed cost for the preparation of the plan) with Council, with a final claim for payment being lodged at the end of completion of the final document.

The Council will not be obligated to make any payment unless it is satisfied that the work satisfies the requirement of the brief.

The consultant shall be responsible for all his/her own costs for travel, accommodation and any other expenses.

8.8 Conflict of Interest

The consultant shall inform Council immediately of any matter connected with this plan which could give rise to an actual or potential conflict of interest. This information will be treated as confidential.

8.9 Certification

All final documents prepared by the consultant must be signed by the Project Director nominated in the consulting proposal to certify that they have been prepared by competent professional staff, checked for accuracy and comply with the requirements of the brief.
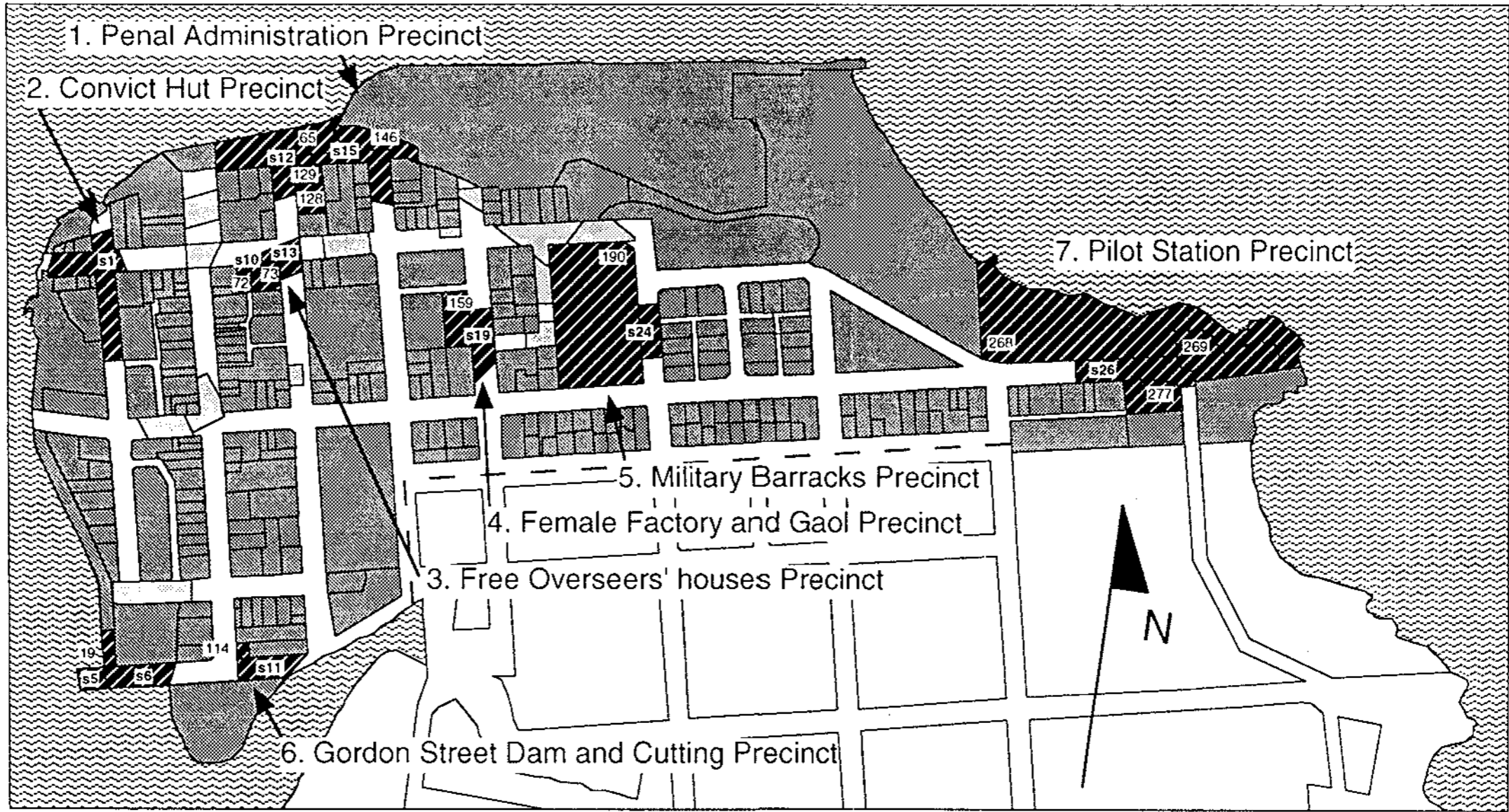
8.10 Corrections

Any error, ambiguity or deficiency which becomes apparent during the course of the plan shall be referred to the consultant for correction or clarification. The consultant shall not be entitled to an additional fee where the correction or clarification arises from a fault of the consultant.
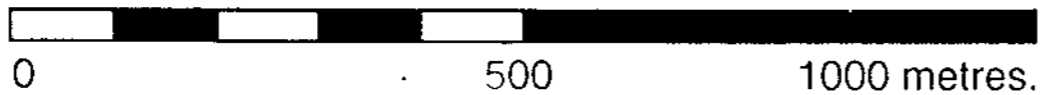
8.11 Acceptance of Conditions

Written confirmation of acceptance of the commission for preparation of the plan in accordance with the conditions of engagement is required before work commences.

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Map labels:

1. Penal Administration Precinct
2. Convict Hut Precinct
7. Pilot Station Precinct
5. Military Barracks Precinct
4. Female Factory and Gaol Precinct
3. Free Overseers' houses Precinct
6. Gordon Street Dam and Cutting Precinct

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL MANAGEMENT PLAN.
PORT MACQUARIE.

13. Archaeological Conservation Areas 1-7.

0   500   1000 metres.

Computer mapping by Edward Higginbotham.