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The Northern Road Upgrade

Item 10 - Lawson's *Thistle Inn* and store archaeological site | Archaeological assessment & research design

Prepared for Roads and Maritime Services | 16 October 2017

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The Northern Road Upgrade

Final

Report J17228RP2 | Prepared for Roads and Maritime Services | 16 October 2017

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Date	16 October 2017	Date	16 October 2017

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Executive Summary

EMM Consulting Pty Limited has been engaged by the Roads and Maritime Services to prepare an archaeological research design and excavation method to archaeologically investigate the site of the former Lawson's Inn and Store site (also called *The Thistle Inn*).

The site was discovered during the preparation of the environmental impact statement for The Northern Road Upgrade project. The report *Appendix* N – *Technical working paper: Non-Aboriginal heritage* was prepared by Jacobs (15 May 2017). Submissions made to the Department of Planning and Environment included the preparation of a detailed excavation method and research design to guide archaeological excavation. This report fulfils that requirement.

The area affected by the project is part of Lot 2 DP 623457 at 2215 The Northern Road, Luddenham in the Liverpool local government area, County of Cumberland, Parish of Bringelly. Research indicated that an archaeological site, that was likely to be classified as a 'relic' under the *Heritage Act 1977* existed on the lot. Further research confirms that the archaeological site, the former *Thistle Inn and Store* run by John Lawson (b.1801- d.1884) was situated at the eastern end of the lot and outside of the construction footprint. The site will therefore not be impacted except perhaps peripheral features, such as fence-posts, fronting the road (formerly The Northern Road, now Eaton Road).

Assessment of the construction footprint was also undertaken. Research strongly suggests that relics do not occur in this area of the construction footprint, which is approximately 80 m to the west of the inn and store site at the western end of the lot.

The potential for substantial and intact relics related to the inn and store has been assessed as low within the construction footprint and moderate to high adjacent to the construction footprint. The site of the former inn and store will not be affected by the project and it will be actively protected by erecting protective fencing on the project boundary.

An archaeological research design program of archaeological test excavation has been proposed for the construction footprint directly to the north of the inn and store site to capture peripheral features that may relate to the inn and store as well as the road.

An archaeological research design and testing program is also proposed for the construction footprint to the west of the lot to provide assurances that when construction begins, it will not be halted by unexpected finds. The expectation that relics exist in this area of the construction footprint is low but features such as post-holes for huts, fences and outbuildings may exist in this area and this evidence would be lost.

The archaeological testing program would be scheduled prior to the start of the construction process to avoid delays that would arise if features that require investigation are found. This step has been put in place because of the proximity of the former inn and store to areas that will be impacted by construction.

It is proposed that archaeological test excavation program is undertaken with consideration of the following:

- management of Aboriginal objects;
- site recording using accepted archaeological techniques;

- removal of vegetation;
- electronic survey for the preparation of plans;
- initial clearing of topsoil using a smooth-edged mud bucket;
- inspection of cleared area;
- manual archaeological excavation of features; and
- artefact management.

The results of the archaeological excavation will be reported in a detailed excavation report in accordance with the conditions of project approval.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

EMM Consulting Pty Limited (EMM) has been engaged by the Roads and Maritime Services (Roads and Maritime) to prepare an archaeological research design and excavation method to archaeologically investigate the site of the former Lawson's Inn and Store site (also called *The Thistle Inn*).

The site was discovered during the preparation of the environmental impact statement for The Northern Road Upgrade project. The report *Appendix* N – *Technical working paper: Non-Aboriginal heritage* was prepared by Jacobs (15 May 2017). Submissions made to the Department of Planning and Environment included the preparation of:

...detailed excavation methodology and research design by the nominated excavation director for the full mitigation of these sites, where the detailed design cannot avoid impact to them. The Excavation program must be undertaken by a person who can demonstrate open area salvage of local and potentially state significant sites in NSW under the Heritage Council of NSW Excavation Director criteria. These documents must be prepared and submitted for review of the Heritage Council of NSW or its delegate and the approval of the Secretary of the Department of Environment and Planning [*sic*].

Heritage Council project submission 2 August 2017

This report fulfils that requirement.

1.2 Project description

Roads and Maritime propose to upgrade 16 km of The Northern Road between Mersey Road, Bringelly and Glenmore Parkway, Glenmore Park (the project).

The project generally comprises the following key features:

- A six-lane divided road between Mersey Road, Bringelly and Bradley Street, Glenmore Park (two general traffic lanes and a kerbside bus lane in each direction). A wide central median would allow for an additional travel lane in each direction in the future, if required;
- An eight-lane divided road between Bradley Street, Glenmore Park and just south of Glenmore Parkway, Glenmore Park (three general traffic lanes and a kerbside bus lane in each direction separated by a central median);
- About eight kilometres of new road between Mersey Road, Bringelly and just south of the existing Elizabeth Drive, Luddenham to realign the section of The Northern Road that currently runs through the Western Sydney Airport site;
- About eight kilometres of upgraded and widened road between the existing Elizabeth Drive, Luddenham and just south of Glenmore Parkway, Glenmore Park;
- Access to the Luddenham town centre from north of the realigned The Northern Road and the existing The Northern Road;
- Twin bridges over Adams Road, Luddenham;

- Four new traffic light intersections and new traffic lights at existing intersections;
- Local road changes and upgrades to current access arrangements for businesses and private properties; and
- A new shared path for pedestrians and cyclists on the western side of The Northern Road and footpaths on the eastern side of The Northern Road where required.

A detailed description of the project, including design refinements since exhibition of the EIS is provided in Chapter 5 of the Submissions and Preferred Infrastructure Report for the project.

1.3 Site location

The inn site is described as being at 2215 The Northern Road, Luddenham on a crescent-shaped parcel of land between The Northern Road and Eaton Road. The legal description is Lot 2 DP 623457 (Figure 1.1) in the Liverpool local government area, in the County of Cumberland, Parish of Bringelly.

This report makes the distinction between 'study area', which is the Lawson's Inn and Store site under investigation, and 'project area', which is specifically the area that will be modified to build the new road and upgrade the existing alignment. The project area includes lay down and stockpile areas and any other area that is associated with the upgrade and has the potential to affect heritage values.

1.4 Proposed impacts

The location of Lawson's Inn and Store has been re-investigated using documentary sources and project plans. It has been demonstrated in this report that the main part of the inn (and store) is not in an area that will be impacted by the proposal and therefore will not require extensive excavation, if any.

The only area that may be archaeologically sensitive is the section of the Eaton Road shoulder directly to the north of where the former inn is assessed to be and for this reason archaeological test excavation is proposed here.

Archaeological test excavation has also been proposed in the west of the lot, where the project will have an impact (Figure 7.1).

This test excavation is to confirm that the inn is not located within the area of impact (refer to Section 4.6 for details) but also to investigate the possibility of ephemeral archaeological features such as early structures, however unlikely.

This report has been prepared to (a) support the conclusion that the site of Lawson's Inn and Store is not within the project footprint and will not be substantially impacted by the project and (b) to support the minor archaeological test excavation to remove risks associated with stop-work orders for relics once the road building project has started.

1.5 Author identification

The research design was prepared by Ryan Desic (Senior Archaeologist EMM) and Pamela Kottaras (Heritage Services Manager EMM). Roshni Sharma (GIS Analyst EMM) created the mapping and figures. Quality assurance was provided by Pamela Kottaras.

1.6 Acknowledgments

This report was prepared with the assistance of Suzette Graham and Denis Gojak (Road and Maritime), Kelly Thomas, Jennifer Chandler and Karen Murphy (Jacobs). Thank you to Mr Ken Steinholt for permission to access the Christmas Tree Farm for the site survey.

1.7 Limitations

The limitations associated with this report are associated with timeframes for the response to submissions to the environmental impact statement (EIS). Background research was conducted by Jacobs and JCIS Consultants, with minor additions by EMM.

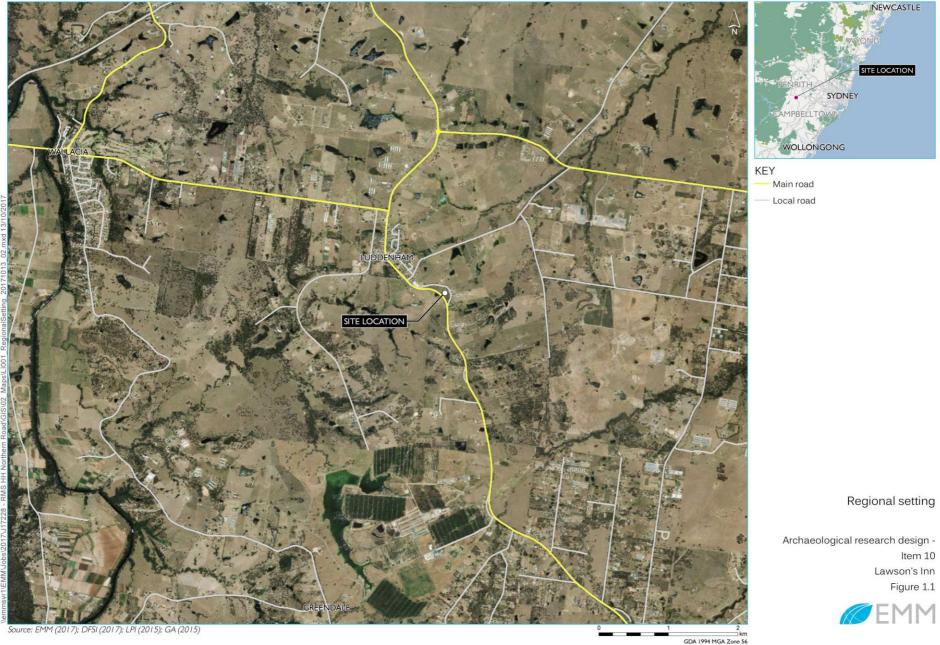
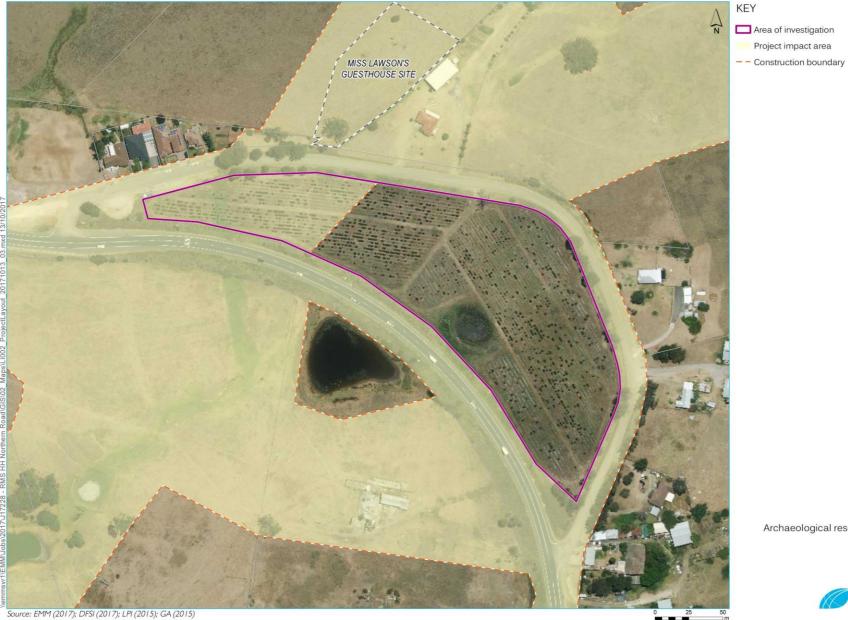


Figure 1.1

Regional setting

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Study area

Figure 1.2

25 50 GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56

Study area

Archaeological research design -Item 10 Lawson's Inn Figure 1.2



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2 **Historical summary**

2.1 Sources

The historical summary in this report is largely paraphrased from research completed by JCIS Consultants who were engaged by Jacobs to undertake additional research for the non-Aboriginal heritage technical memorandum (Jacobs 2017b) for the Response to Submissions and Preferred Infrastructure Report. The historical research was provided to EMM on 26 September 2017.

The historical summary is based on research undertaken on land titles information for the site from the Land and Property Information, and newspaper articles source from Trove. The references used in the historical summary have been reproduced in this report. Some original research was undertaken by EMM.

The Aboriginal heritage context of the site has been addressed in a separate report and has been considered in the excavation method (Section 6).

2.2 The study area

Aboriginal people lived on the Cumberland Plain prior to its occupation by the British Government. With the settlement at Sydney Cove the British Government allowed Governor Phillip, through the second letter of instructions to him, "full power and authority" to dispose of lands to "any person or persons" for "such terms and under such moderate quit rents services and acknowledgments to be thereupon reserved" as set out in his instructions (George Rex III 1786).

These instructions were considerably expanded in 1794 when Governor Hunter arrived, as they covered the question of land grants to free settlers as opposed to convicts (George Rex III 1794). These instructions allowed a second phase of post-contact settlement of the Cumberland Plain focusing on the alluvial soils of the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. Later under Lieutenant-Governor Patterson (c1809) settlement was encouraged to move away from the flood prone areas into what was termed forest land (Perry 1963, p23–25).

These changes also reflected the change in attitudes to settlement about whether Australia or, more particularly NSW, should be a convict settlement or develop as a free society. If a free society then the question of how land was to be disposed of became an important one. Small land grants were given to former convicts to encourage agriculture. Larger grants were given to Government Officials as a reward for services or compensation for losses. However with the development of free settlement in NSW came a new class of individuals eligible for grants incipient capitalists.

2.3 John Blaxland

The first of this new type of free settlers were the Blaxland brothers – John Blaxland and Gregory (the Blaxland Lawson and Wentworth one). Their arrival was preceded by the following dispatch from Lord Castlereagh to Governor King,

It being deemed expedient to encourage a certain number of Settlers in New South Wales of responsibility and Capital, who may set useful Examples of Industry and Cultivation, and from their property and Education be fit persons to whose Authority the Convicts may be properly entrusted, Permission has been given to Mr. John Blaxland and his Brother Mr. Gregory Blaxland to establish themselves and their Families in the Colony.

... I am induced to flatter myself that the exertions of these Gentlemen will not only Answer the Sanguine Expectations they have themselves formed, but will also contribute in an essential Degree to the benefit and prosperity of the Colony.

(Castlereagh to King, 13th July, 1805 HRA, Series 1, Vol V p.490)

A brief summary of the agreement with John Blaxland was enclosed as follows:

MEMORANDUM that an agreement has been entered into at Lord Camden's Office by James Chapman, Esq., that, provided John with John Blaxland engages a Capital of £6,000 in the Colony of New South Wales, he is to have his passage out for himself, his wife, four or five children, and two or three servants, in the same manner as his Brother, Gregory Blaxland, is now going out; that he is to be allowed fifteen tons to take out necessaries for himself and family; when he arrives there, that he is to have a Grant of Land given him of eight thousand acres, with one convict for every hundred acres to clear and cultivate it; to be Cloathed and Victual'd for eighteen months according to the custom of the Colony; but provided he should not be possessed of so large a sum he is then to have Land and Convicts in proportion to the capital advanced.

(Castlereagh to King, 13th July, 1805 HRA, Series 1, Vol V p491)

In the event Castlereagh was wrong; the Blaxland's arrived with more or less the required capital but also with a sense of entitlement and querulous natures.

John Blaxland arrived on the 4th of April, 1807, on the ship *Brothers*, belonging to himself and the Messrs. Hullets, which was also used for whaling and sealing ventures. His arrival coincided with the arrival of Governor Bligh. His brother, Gregory Blaxland, arrived in Sydney the previous year on the *William Pitt* on 14th April 1806, and was immediately involved in legal action with the ship's Master. Nevertheless Governor King allowed Gregory Blaxland to purchase livestock from the Government as well as granting him land and access to convict labour.

For a while Bligh socialised with Blaxland but Blaxland's attitudes quickly alienated him from Governor Bligh. In particular Bligh objected the Blaxland pursuing grazing cattle rather than cultivating land and noted,

The Blaxland's, in a partnership, seem to turn their minds principally to grazing and selling the Milk of their Cows and Butcher's Meat, which is attended to by Mr. J. Blaxland, in a House at Sydney where he resides, while his brother remains in the Country purchasing Live Stock from those who can be tempted to sell it. The former is very discontented with what Government has granted him, although it is in itself a Fortune.

(Bligh to The Right Hon. William Windham, 31st October, 1807, HRA, Series 1, Vol VI p144)

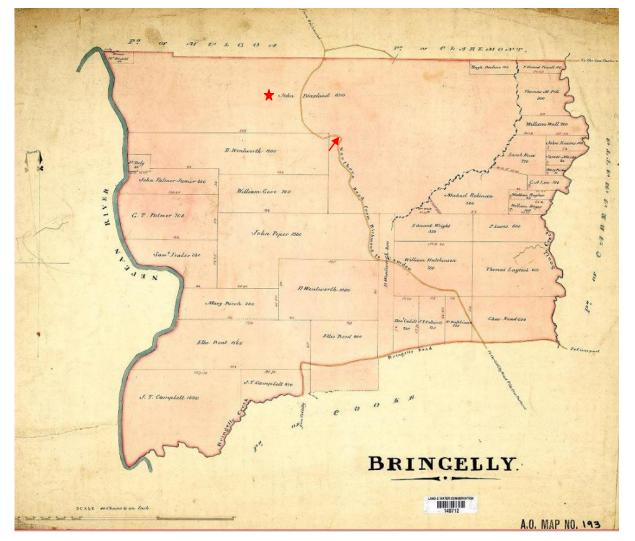
In a later dispatch to Windham, Bligh stress his compliance with his instructions regarding the Blaxland's noting, regarding his land grant, that he had received twelve hundred and ninety acres of land, "The remaining quantity of Land I have ordered to be measured out for him" (Bligh to The Right Hon. William Windham, 31st October, 1807, HRA, Series 1, Vol VI p182).

Blaxland joined the groups agitating against Bligh and was a strong supporter of the overthrow of Bligh by the Rum Corp officers but then fell out with them as well and in 1808 began to travel to Great Britain to seek redress for his wrongs. He was arrested on the orders of Governor Bligh and was transported to Great Britain as a witness in the court martial of Major Johnston. He returned to Sydney in 1812 (Irving 1996).

Blaxland's arrival was followed by a dispatch from Lord Liverpool to Governor Macquarie reaffirming the British Government's commitment to honouring its original agreement (Liverpool to Macquarie 26 July, 1811 HRA, Series 1, Vol VII p 367-368).

Macquarie, like his predecessors as Governors, found it difficult to deal with the Blaxlands particularly when it came to determining whether the Blaxlands had indeed provided the capital they claimed to have. He eventually got them to swear affidavits and once they did so provided the remaining resources commenting to Lord Liverpool,

With the Services of 120 men from Government, and the command of a still more unlimited extent of soil than even that number of men could cultivate, the Messrs. Blaxland have continued a burthen on the Government, restless and dissatisfied notwithstanding all they have derived from its liberality.



(Macquarie to Liverpool 17 Nov 1812, HRA, Series 1, Vol VII p557-560)

Plate 2.1 Parish of Bringelly, c1850 (based on style), County of Cumberland. The red star is in John Blaxland's grant. The red arrow points to the location of the future Lawson's Inn and Store. Source: Land and Property Information.

2.4 The Luddenham Estate

Blaxland had some substantial land grants prior to 1812 but it appears that these were not properly surveyed – this was a function of the poor quality of the Surveyor Generals Department rather than a reflection on Blaxland. In 30th May, 1812 Blaxland wrote to Macquarie:

Having, Sir, met with much difficulty and expense in selecting a tract of land that would suit the purposes of Agriculture and grazing, and also having sustained considerable losses in its not being confirmed to me by Grant, I hope and trust that you will not object to my taking that which was marked out by Mr. Maihan [*sic*], previous to my leaving the Colony, for which I applied when in England, and was informed it was left for your Excellency's determination.

(Macquarie to Liverpool 17 Nov 1812. HRA, Series 1, Vol VII p561

This may have been the land that Bligh referred to. However it was clearly not the Luddenham Estate for on 1st June, 1812 Blaxland wrote to Macquarie:

In the course of my excursion up the country, I have seen some Land which appears unappropriated, lying at a place called Cobbotty [*sic*], and a further tract at Mulgowe and Stony range, at which place I hope your Excellency will not object to my taking what remains due to me, having already expended £15,000 in this Colony.

(Macquarie to Liverpool 17 Nov 1812. HRA, Series 1, Vol VII p562)

It seems that the land at Cobbitty was already set aside for the location of a Common (a cause of yet another dispute between the Governor and Blaxland) but the land at Luddenham was granted to John Blaxland on the 30th November 1813.

Curiously though on his tour of inspection of the interior which covered the settlements on the edges of the Cumberland Plain in 1810, Macquarie had passed what appears to have been the Luddenham Estate. On the 28th November 1810 Macquarie and a small party which included Gregory Blaxland set out from Parramatta and after visiting Badgery's farm

Thence we proceeded to Mr. Blaxland's own Farms, about 5 or six miles distant from the South Creek in a westerly direction. — This is entirely as yet a grazing Farm, with only a miserable Hut for the Stock keepers, and Stock-Yards for the Cattle. — The Land in some parts is tolerably good, and pretty well watered, but is better adapted to grazing than Tillage. We rode back, a different way to what we came, to Mr. G. Blaxland's Farm on the South Creek, through his second large Farm, and a Farm belonging to Doctor Wentworth in the Bringelly District; the Country through this last ride was pretty to look [at] but the Soil generally bad; at 1. P.M. arrived at Mr. Blaxland's Hut, where we rejoined our Friends again.

(Macquarie 28th November 1810)

It is likely that the second large farm is the Luddenham estate due to its proximity to Wentworth's farm.

The survey of the grants consisted of simply marking boundaries and roads. It seems likely that the Northern road was not formerly surveyed until the mid-1820s. None of the early surveys have buildings or structures marked on them. This is typical of the times and of Crown Plans generally covering land grants. The location and size of the estates belonging to John Blaxland, D'Arcy Wentworth and John Blaxland Jnr are shown on early parish maps (Plate 2.1). On the northern boundary of the Luddenham estate was a 600 acre grant to John Blaxland Jnr which dates to 31 August 1819.

John Blaxland focused on the development of his estate on the banks of the Nepean River at what is now Wallacia after developing his Newington Estate on the Parramatta River with a salt works, distillery, blanket factory and meatworks as well as building his own residence. At Luddenham, Blaxland built a water powered flour mill by 1834 and by 1839 had established a brewery (O'Sullivan 1977, p.4). These were located on the Nepean River near the Warragamba River junction so that Blaxland could use water power.

Sullivan reproduced an 1840s inventory of Blaxland's assets (sourced from the Blaxland papers in the State Library of NSW). The inventory lists the buildings at Wallacia and described the remaining land at Luddenham as grazing land (O'Sullivan 1977, p.3). If the land had been subdivided into tenanted farms by this time then they would have been listed in the inventory. It seems therefore, unlikely that buildings dating from the period of Blaxland's ownership occur within the study are.

The early 1840s was a period of economic depression in Australia, brought on by a severe drop in the wool market combined with drought which caught speculators in the pastoral industry, which has expanded rapidly. Thus all pastoralists were under pressure as were the banks that provided finance. There was a great rush of insolvencies (see Abbott 1971, Butlin 1968). So from c1840 the Blaxland enterprises began to falter.

John M Blaxland (Jnr) Blaxland oldest son died on the 29 May 1840 and his property was administered by his family but remained separate from the Luddenham Estate.

In 1842 Blaxland mortgaged his properties to the Australian Trust Company. In 1851 The Australian Trust Company conveyed the Luddenham Estate to Sir Charles Nicholson. This much is established by the Old System Titles. John Blaxland died in August 1845 but there is little readily available information about how his estate was managed; presumably they defaulted on the mortgage allowing the Australian Trust Company to sell the Estate to Nicholson.

2.5 Nicholson's sale of the Luddenham Estate

In around 1858 Nicholson had the Luddenham Estate surveyed and subdivided by Surveyor Samuel Jackson. The plan of the Estate was widely circulated and several copies have survived. Importantly the lithograph was used by the Land Titles Office as a carting plan of the Estate – Roll Plan 4 which covers the Eastern part of the Estate (Plate 2.2 and Plate 2.3). The plan shows existing buildings and structures as well as the subdivision superimposed on them. It appears that the land in this area was leased for small farms presumably by Nicholson, and the buildings and structures are shown on Jackson's plan.

The auction of the Luddenham Estate was extensively advertised in September 1859:

The EASTERN DIVISION, containing upwards of 4000 acres, extending from Badgery Creek to the Bringelly Road, and subdivided into Farms, containing from 30 to 320 ACRES EACH, a great proportion of which are cleared, fenced, and in cultivation; with good homesteads thereon.

In this division also the VILLAGE OF LUDDENHAM has been laid out and most eligibly situated on the high road, about equidistant between Penrith and Camden, opposite LAWSONS, INN and STORE.

("Advertising" The Sydney Morning Herald, 8 September 1859, p.7)

Close study of the plan that the Village of Luddenham reveals a private village was mostly a few scattered building along the road, which included for the Chapel, School and Lawson's Store and Inn, which is at the very western extent of the Luddenham Estate.

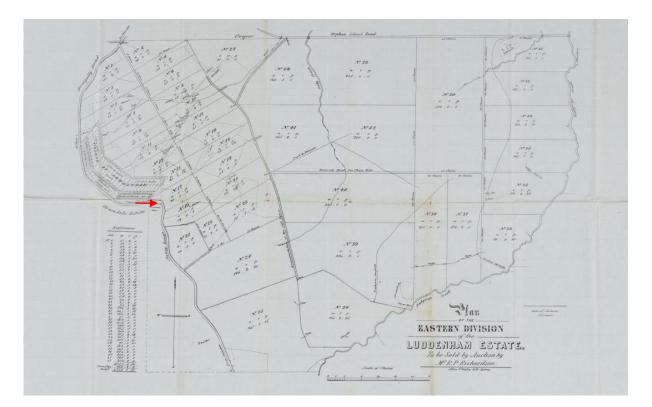


Plate 2.2 The Eastern Division of the Luddenham Estate 1859. The study area is indicated by the red arrow. Lawson's Inn and Store is on the south side of the road. Source: National Library of Australia.

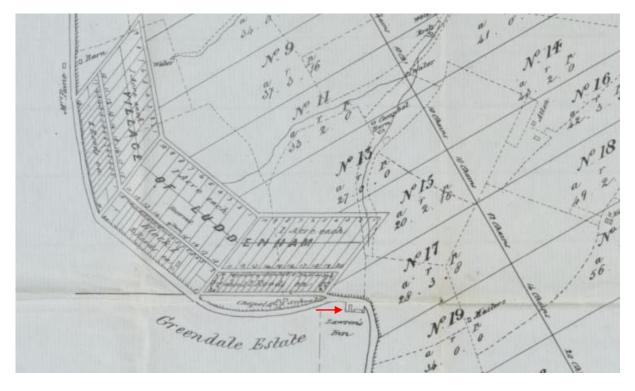


Plate 2.3 Detail of the map Eastern Division of the Luddenham Estate 1859. The study area is indicated by the red arrow. Source: National Library of Australia.

Despite the Luddenham Estate being a "magnificent and truly valuable agricultural property" sales were not particularly vigorous and the land was slowly sold off in small lots. Perhaps the description was overstated as Macquarie had previously described the soil as 'tolerably good...but is better adapted to grazing than Tillage" (refer to Section 2.4).

Blaxland's holdings had been subdivided by 1859.

2.6 Lawson's Thistle Inn

John Lawson arrived in Sydney as a convict aboard the *Guildford* in 1822, having been convicted of larceny and sentenced to 14 years transportation (although some registers list his sentence as being for life). He gained his freedom somewhere between 1834 and 1838.

He married Anne Freeburn, a widow, at Mulgoa in March 1854 and is described in the church register as being a bachelor of Bringelly. A list from an annual meeting to grant publican's licences includes "John Lawson, Luddenham" (*Sydney Morning Herald* Tuesday 3 May 1859, p.8). Lawson is also listed on the New South Wales, Australia, Certificates for Publicans' Licences as being the publican of *The Thistle*, in Luddenham and he remains listed as the Publican until September 1875 at least.

Lawson became a respected member of the Luddenham community. His name is mentioned many times in various newspapers whether by writing to petition the government for financial relief for local farmers in time of drought, to supporting the foundation of local Methodist church, and being one of a list of local citizens petitioning the government for a local public school.

Lawson also seems to have built up a large land holding around the Luddenham Village owning most of the lots as well as larger areas of grazing land.

Lawson's Inn and Store is depicted on the 1859 subdivision plan but clearly was not included in the property for sale. This suggests that Lawson was running the inn and store before the purchased became official (refer to Table 2.1).

It has not been possible to determine the history of the *Thistle Inn* after John Lawson died, but an article (Reminiscences in 1907 by William Freame in *The Nepean Times*) mentions Miss Lawson's Guesthouse being opposite the former 'Lawson's Inn'. The inn is described as an "old house", opposite *a neat cottage* (the guesthouse), where decent travellers may be provided with comfortable and clean bed and board at reasonable charge by Miss Lawson, (The Nepean Times, 10 August 1907, p.7). Freame describes the scene:

So if I hurry on towards the centre of Luddenham it is not that I do not appreciate the homely little cottages nestling behind their flower gardens alongside the quiet roadway, but time is short and the way is long, and I am glad to find myself contemplating the old house that for so so [*sic*] many years was the village inn. I write 'was' because it was its days as a public house for the entertainment of man and beast have gone [*sic*]. No longer does 'The Thistle" [*sic*] beam across the roadway a welcome invitation to the tired traveller, with money in his purse. But the old house still remains a quaint memorial of the 'have beens' – a kind of architectural milestone on time's roadway reminding us of approaching old age.

The Nepean Times, Penrith, Saturday August 10, 1907

The inn and guesthouse appear in the second of a three-part series submitted by Freame called "A round trip – over historic ground", which begins with:

Every man to his own pleasure is a maxim as old as the hills, and my idea of a holiday is to roam around the country with a note-book and camera, and thus make myself familiar with old-time scenes and make acquaintances with interesting associations.

The Nepean Times, 20 July 1907, p.6 (part 1)

While no date is provided for the round trip, it is interpreted in this report as being a contemporary description of Freame's travels, give or take a few months. The important point to note is that the inn was by this time, being used as a private home.

Another article by Freame from 1909 in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* notes that "Lawson's old 'Thistle Inn' has been long closed" which certainly implies that it was never known as anyone else's Thistle Inn (1909 'A Ramble Through Yarramundi' *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* 2 October 1909, p.16). More importantly, it also implies that the building was still standing in 1909.

Lawson died on 22 June 1885 and letters of administration were granted to Anne Lawson his widow and, James Lachlan Lawson, one of his sons. James Lachlan Lawson died on 16 April 1893 intestate. Anne Lawson died on 31 October 1894, also intestate. (Con No 129 Book 604). James Lachlan Lawson's widow Kate Megarity (she had remarried) was granted administration of his estate in 12th April 1892.

Meanwhile Daniel Lawson became bankrupt in the 1890s and after one administrator of his estate died another, Norman Frederick Gilliam was appointed in 1895. Gilliam and Megarity seem to have conveyed Daniel's share of Lawson's estate to him (Gilliam) in 1895. At the same time the children petitioned the Supreme Court to appoint Kenneth Campbell as administrator of John Lawson's estate (Campbell was a leading member of the Methodist Church in Luddenham, which the Lawson family was part of). The letters of administration were given on 23 June 1897 and Campbell set to his task (Con No 129 Book 604). It is likely that this land was part of Lawson's inheritance obtained by Alice Vickery, his daughter, as she and Frank Vickery mortgage the land in 1900 (PA 56452).

This lot was covered by the map of the manoeuvre area Liverpool N.S.W. published in 1906 (Byrnes 1906). A building is not shown in the same area as the location of the inn, which is a discrepancy in the historical sources (refer to William Freame's writing above). It was also covered by the Liverpool inch to the mile topographic map dating from around 1927 (Great Britain, War Office General Staff Australian Section, 1927). A building is not shown in the same area as the location of the inn indicating inn and out buildings would have been demolished by then.

The lot was also covered by the Liverpool inch to the mile topographic map dating from around 1955 (Australia Army Royal Australian Survey Corps 1955). A building is not shown in the same area as the study area and the area remains undeveloped. Aerial imagery also shows that the site was vacant at this time (Plate 4.3).

In December 1950 a new alignment of The Northern Road was surveyed (Ms 14004-3000) and part of the land was resumed for the road. This left the site of the inn on an island between the new The Northern Road and the old alignment, now called Eaton Road. The land was held in the Vickery family until 1960 and used for dairying.

In the 1960s the land is owned by A.S. Clugston and seems to be used for dairying. Clugston becomes Blue Hills Investments in 1981 and the land is subsequently held waiting for development opportunities.

Although little is known in detail about Lawson's Inn and Store the site of the building is likely from the historical evidence to have been mainly grazing land since the buildings demolition, and more recently, as a Christmas tree farm. Other inns are discussed in the comparative review section of this report (Section 4.3) to understand the possible spatial and functional analysis of the establishment.

A search of the NSW Deeds Registration Branch by RD Williamson (Legal Searcher), on behalf of Jacobs, in July 2016 revealed details of the land titles information, up to Primary Application No. 56452 (Table 2.1) for Lot 2 DP623457, the land on which the Lawson's Inn and Store site is situated. Lot 2 DP623457 has been identified as the correct location of Lawson's Inn and Store, and is situated on the opposite side of The Northern Road, to the north of the LEP listed location.

Table 2.1	Land titles for	Lawson's Inn

Date	Event	
30 November 1813	Land Grant of 6710 acres in the District of Bringelly to be known by the name of Luddenham to John Blaxland	
17 May 1843	Indenture of Release (Conveyance) No. 27 Book 4 from John Blaxland also Harriet Blaxland to Francis Walker	
14 January 1860	Conveyance No. 70 Book 65 from Francis Walker to John Lawson	
22 June 1885	John Lawson died	
3 August 1897	Conveyance No. 132 Book 604 from Kenneth Campbell (Administrator with the Will annexed of John Lawson) also others re said Will to Kate Megarrity (formerly Kate Lawson, Widow of the deceased)	
6 April 1915	Conveyance No. 979 Book 1057 from Kate Megarrity also others to John William Vicary	
18 November 1947	Acknowledgement No. 62 Book 2040 from Cecil Wilfred Vicary (Executor of the Will of John William Vicary) to Cecil Wilfred Vicary (Devisee under the said Will)	
17 July 1950	Conveyance No. 683 Book 2130 from Cecil Wilfred Vicary to Donald Lawson Vicary	
27 September 1960 Conveyance No. 21 Book 2555 from Donald Lawson Vicary to AS Glugston (Luddenham) Pty Ltd		

1. Note the spelling of Megarrity and Vicary (Megarity and Vickery) in Table 2.1. It is unknown if this is spelling mistake made during the legal search or if this is the spelling used in the documents.

Prior to its use as a Christmas tree farm the property was part of a dairy owned by Mr Don Vickery and used for dairy cattle grazing (Pers. comm. Nancy Sales and Leanne Sales to Jacobs, August 2017). There was no evidence of deposits noted during the field survey but much of the ground surface was covered with grass and trees which would have obscured any less obvious features.

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3 Field survey

Prior to the survey undertaken by EMM, Jacobs surveyed the site on 26 February 2016 (Jacobs 2017, p.29). Items, possibly relating to the inn site, that were visible on site in 2016 that were not relocated in 2017 due to the dense vegetation cover. These items include glass and ceramic fragments. The glass comprised dark green, blue, clear and brown glass fragments and thicker bottle-base fragments and there were smaller frequencies of ceramic. All of these fragments were within an area of approximately 100 m x 8 m (refer Jacobs 2017, Figure 7-5). Several dressed stone blocks were also identified which have been painted white and mark out vehicle tracks on the existing Christmas tree farm. It is possible that these blocks were part of the inn building fabric and repurposed for the current track.

The study area was visited on Friday 18 September 2017 and inspected without the benefit of the historical aerial photography or the historical summary (JCIS 2017). Present on site was Pamela Kottaras (EMM) and Suzette Graham (Roads and Maritime). The area of the Christmas tree farm that was inspected was within the project boundary as well as approximately to the east of the project boundary in the vicinity of the current gate. The inspection was as thorough as necessary and was undertaken on a clear, sunny day.

Ground surface visibility in the study area was very low as long, dry grass covered most of the farm. Access paths, approximately three metres wide have been cleared across the property but visibility in these areas was also restricted because of the consistent cover of grass. One linear depression was noted from the direction of Eaton Road (which was The Northern Road in the time the inn was operating) and circular depressions were also visible in the topography but all of these were outside the project area to the east. The nature of these features was indiscernible through visual inspection alone.

The majority of the Christmas tree farm had been ploughed resulting, in deep furrows running east-west. At the eastern end of the property (not surveyed) the furrows run in a north-west to south-east direction. Ultimately, the artefacts noted by Jacobs (Figure 7-5 Jacobs 2017) were not relocated, but this was to be expected as the grass has grown significantly and was a dry tangle when visited in September.

One dressed sandstone block, painted white, was recorded in line with the current access gate. This block has the appearance of being ex-situ, recently painted and used as a driveway marker for the farm operations. Other white-painted blocks also occur on the property and appear to be track markers.

No artefacts were recorded during this site survey and none of the depressions were identifiable as cultural features. Ultimately, no evidence of the inn, or any other building, was noted during the site survey, which did not extend far enough to the east to where it is anticipated that the relics would be. The surface modifications to convert the paddock to a Christmas tree farm would have disturbed surface expressions of the former structures; however evidence may survive at depth.

One item of interest was recorded on the road verge, but which is likely to be dumped rather than *in situ*. The item is a concrete block approximately 60 cm wide, 100 cm long and 30 cm high. It is composed of large stone aggregate so has the appearance of early twentieth century concrete. Four cut-off iron rods are embedded in the block, which is not aligned to the property boundary or the road. Ground cover conditions prohibited a view of the relationship of the block to the ground but superficial investigations suggest it is simply sitting on top of the ground and appears to be discarded. This feature will be investigated as part of the archaeological program.

The important aspect in this assessment however, is that the inn and store, later to become a private home, was not situated within the project area.



Plate 3.1 Ground surface visibility. Tape length is 2 m. View south-east to The Northern Road.



Plate 3.2 Ground surface visibility. Tape length is 2 m. View south-west.



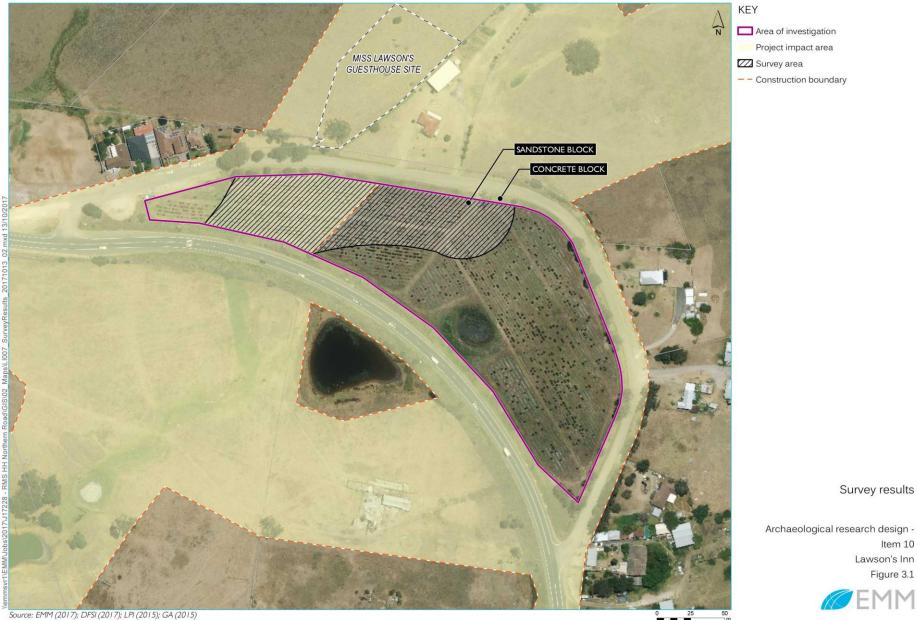
Plate 3.3 Ground surface visibility on property track. View west.



Plate 3.4 Dressed and (recently) painted sandstone block with Eaton Road in the background (not in project area). View north.



Plate 3.5 Concrete block on road verge. View west.



GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56

Survey results

ØEMM

Item 10 Lawson's Inn Figure 3.1

4 Site evaluation

4.1 Overview

A site evaluation aids in the assessment of the archaeological sensitivity of the inn site. The following sections collates and analyses existing historical sources, uses evidence gathered from the site inspections and uses comparative archaeological and standing sites to aid in overall predictions of archaeological potential for the inn site.

4.2 Analysis of historical sources

4.2.1 Introduction

This section summarises documentary evidence with the aim to identify the location of the inn site, its phases of development and demolition and how it relates to the proposed project impacts.

Jacobs identified that the inn site boundary listed on the LEP for the inn was incorrect (Jacobs 2017b, p.85). Additional historical research by Jacobs, that included geo-referencing historical maps and plans, indicates the actual location of the inn site is on Lot 2 DP623457 approximately 100 m north-east of the LEP listed boundary on the opposite of the Northern Road.

The predicted location of the inn site is on land currently used as a Christmas tree farm. Jacobs identified ceramic and glass fragments and several sandstone blocks during a site inspection of this area. Jacobs argue that, apart from the demolition of the structures related to the inn, the inn site would have been subject to only low levels of disturbance from grazing and Christmas tree cultivation (Jacobs 2017b, p.85).

Jacobs assessed the potential archaeological resource of the Lawson's Inn site to be of local significance and therefore would constitute 'relics' under the *Heritage Act 1977* (Heritage Act). The inn site was originally assessed to be of local significance in 2004.

4.2.2 Written sources

There is not a great deal of contemporary writing relating to Lawson's Inn. Sources tell us that John Lawson arrived in the colony in 1822 as a convict and gained his freedom between 1834 and 1838. He was a 'bachelor of Bringelly' until he married Anne Freeburn in 1854 and is recorded as the licensed publican of *The Thistle Inn* from 1859 to 1875. The inn could have been built as a home for his bride five years before he obtained a licence, but probably no earlier as he was registered as living in Bringelly before his marriage. Alternatively, the building may have been built by a previous owner, but there is no evidence to date that supports establishment earlier than John Lawson's ownership.

The building is described in the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* in 1909 as "long closed" (refer to Section 2.6) and in the absence of evidence that it had been demolished by this time, it has been assumed for the purposes of this assessment, that the buildings still stood – in what condition is not known.

The historical excerpt from 1907 written by William Freame (Section 2.6) provides minor insights into the history of the inn. The reference to the inn being "for the entertainment of man and beast" shows that stabling facilities were part of the inn's services. The source also notes that the building was still standing in 1907 but no longer operated as an inn. While no date is provided for Freame's trip, each article is published alongside current notices and advertisements. The articles have thus been interpreted in this report as being a contemporary description of Freame's travels, give or take a few months. The important

point to note is that Miss Lawson's Guesthouse was operating in 1907, and the inn was by this time, being used as a private home.

Freame was writing about Luddenham again in 1932, where he reminisces about the old days:

Luddenham is rich in memories of the past, and there may be some who can remember the Thistle Inn, kept by members of the Lawson family. John Lawson did a big business as a store and inn keeper. He died in 1885, in his 84th year.

William Freame, The Nepean Times, 1 October, 1932, p.6.

In the article, Freame remembers the *Thistle Inn* amongst other places in district but makes no mention of the survival of the building, even as a ruin. In fact, the term "some who can remember the Thistle Inn" suggests the inn has gone by this time.

The site of Luddenham village may have been chosen because of the existence of the inn and store because it was a rest stop and a focal point for the farmers in the surrounding area.

4.2.3 Historical plans

The earliest evidence of the inn site is shown in an 1859 plan of the Central and Western Divisions of Luddenham (Figure 4.1). The plan shows two rectangular structures within a boundary delineated by a line on the plan which opens onto the Northern Road. It is likely that the rectangle orientated on an east-west axis represents the main inn building which would have fronted the road. The rectangle orientated on a north-south axis represents another unknown structure which may have been a detached kitchen, an additional wing of accommodation, stables or a private residence. There is also the possibility that the second building was the store, but it is just as likely that the inn building doubled as the store.

A lithographic survey plan of 1859 (State Records Authority NSW) also shows the two buildings in the same location but refers to the location as "Lawson's Store" indicating an additional function for the inn site during this period (Jacobs 2016, Figure 5-46).

The next available source is an undated plan showing greater detail of cadastre boundaries. It was undoubtedly made after the 1859 plans because it shows further cadastral subdivisions of the surrounding area. This plan proved the most reliable for geo-referencing because many of the cadastral boundaries are still present today. It also appears that some sections of the alignments of Eaton Road and the Northern Road have changed over time and this point as well as the accuracy of the maps reduces their reliability as reference points.

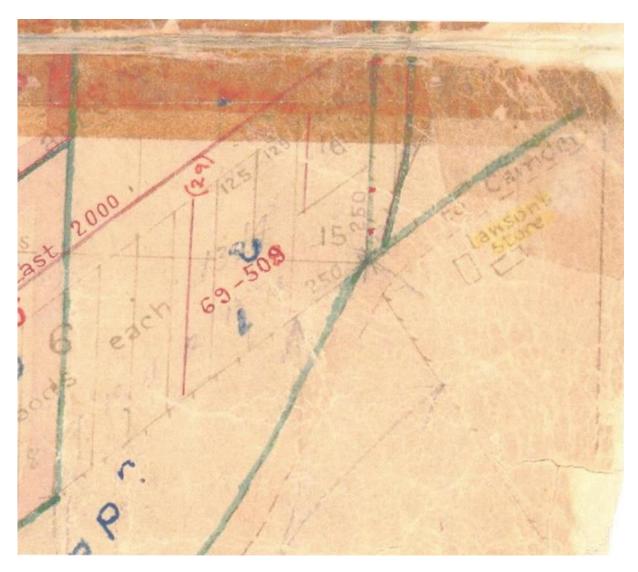


Plate 4.1 Lithographic plan surveyed in April 1859 (173). Source State Records Authority of NSW.





1859 Plan of the central and western divisions of Luddenham with project boundary overlay

> Archaeological research design -Item 10 Lawson's Inn Figure 4.1



Figure 4.1 1859 Plan of the central and western divisions of Luddenham with project boundary overlay

4.2.4 Photography

An undated photo of the inn (Plate 4.2) provides valuable information about the inn's design and architecture. It appears that the photo was taken facing south from the then Northern Road, towards the main inn building that was orientated on an east-west axis. The other building orientated on a north-south axis as shown in the historical plans is probably excluded from the frame and would have been positioned to the right of the photo.

Similar to many inns of in the early to mid-nineteenth century period, the photos shows that it was singlestorey Georgian vernacular building with a large verandah that could date from the 1820s through to the 1860s. Little more is discernible from the photograph other than there was a chimney at the eastern end of the building (the poor lighting of the photo may be obscuring another chimney at its eastern end). The facade of the building is also obscured so entrances are not visible.

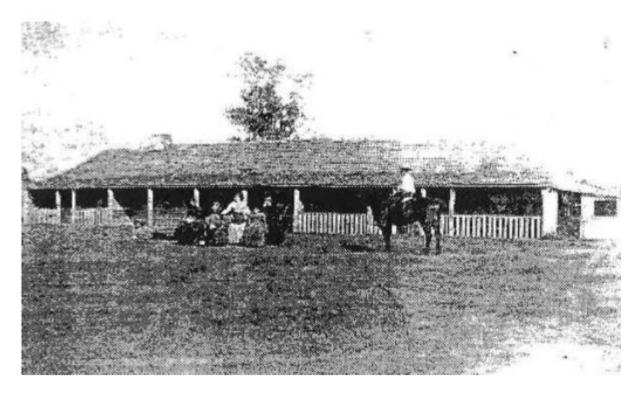


Plate 4.2 Photo from Wilmington (2013, p.8) titled 'The Thistle with the Lawson family'.

4.2.5 Aerial photography

Aerial photographs were sourced that cover the years 1955, 1961, 1966, 1970, 1975, 1979, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2004 and 2005. The most recent aerial photographs are current and have been used in the production of project figures in this report. An aerial photograph from the 1930s was not accessible at the time this report was being prepared as it was in the process of being digitised. This photograph could add information to the assessment and should be viewed when it becomes available. The inn had been demolished some time before 1955 (Plate 4.3) as there is no clear evidence on the site of a ruin, although some marks in the ground provide pause for thought. The location of the inn was on the inside of the bend in the former alignment of The Northern Road in the vicinity of the red arrows. There are a few discolorations that may be indicative of walls or a boundary fence, and there is also a circular feature approximately 20 m west of the predicted inn layout that may be a well.

Many marks can be seen in the aerial imagery from 1955, which may be plough marks but some features remain the same. Refer to Figure 4.2 for an overlay of a sketch of the inn from the 1859 Luddenham Estate plan on the 1961 aerial photograph.

There are a number of unidentified features that are constant in all the photographs reproduced in this report. Note that the annotations are only shown on this aerial photograph as once they are pointed out they remain visible in the photographs included in this section. There is a linear depression at the bend of the road (indicated by red arrow) and a collection of features that do not appear to be trees (indicated by the blue arrow). It is posited that the red arrow may be a driveway (compare to Figure 4.2), although it may be a later drainage ditch; and the blue arrow is pointing to features outside the fence of the inn and store but within Lawson's land. The area outside of the fence (Plate 3.3) may have been the private area where stock was kept. Note that in the plan does not show a front fence, which accords with the photograph of the inn (Plate 4.2).



Plate 4.3 1955 aerial photograph. Source: Land and Property Information (233_19_153).



Plate 4.4 Detail of the 1859 Plan of the central & western division of the Luddenham Estate. Source: NLA



Plate 4.5 1961 aerial photograph. Source: Land and Property Information (1058_35_142).



Plate 4.6 1970 aerial photograph. Source: Land and Property Information (1909_18_068).



Plate 4.7 1975 aerial photograph. Source: Land and Property Information (2299_07_056).

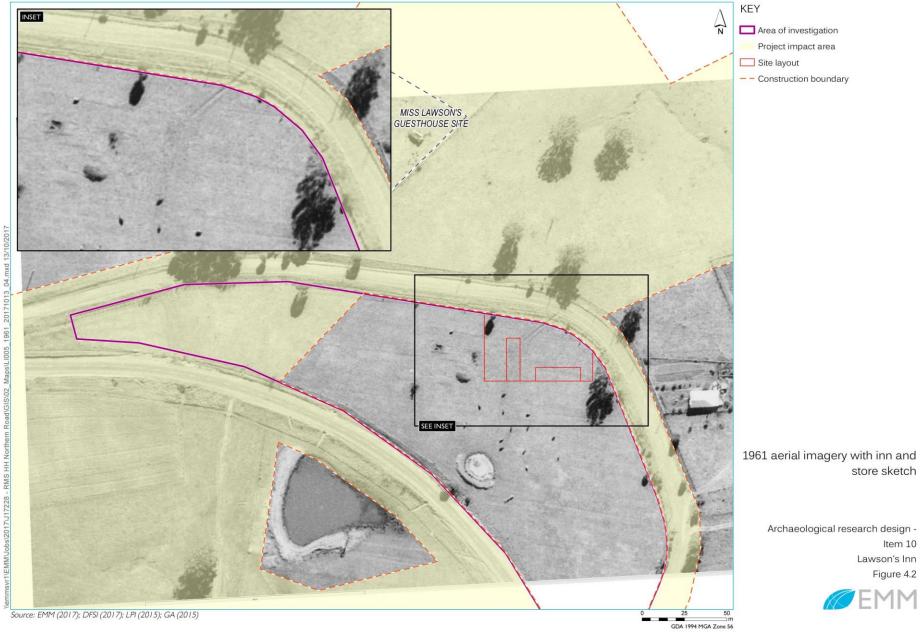


Figure 4.21961 aerial imagery with inn and store sketch

4.3 Comparative review

4.3.1 Introduction

Inns and inn keeping have a history in Australia that lasted just over 100 years, with the most popular period being the first fifty years. Following on from a type of accommodation that developed over centuries in England (Freeland 1966, p.4-5), the Australian inn fulfilled a need that was born out of long distances in a land was being explored and opened up by the new arrivals.

The establishment of inns (known as 'wayside' or 'wayfarer' inns was largely a result of land grant conditions imposed by Governor Macquarie (Dawson, Brown and Ackert 1990, p.8; Freeland 1966, p.91). Their appearance followed explorers and farmers and they were often the first building in a district (Freeland 1966, p.91) and the dates of their construction along new tracks and roads can mark the expansion of the colony. Inns provided important and sometimes familiar rest stops, food and accommodation on long journeys around the colony.

Wayside inns which is what Lawson's Inn was, were once a regular sight on roads leading away from main towns throughout NSW as they were situated on routes radiating out from Sydney to the north, west and south. They were generally placed half a day's ride by horse or coach, which was, at the time the optimal distance for long-distance travel for the recuperation for people and beasts alike. While these types of establishments had their genesis in their English counterparts, the distances between destinations in the colony created a need for greater self-sufficiency so in addition to stables (which would be expected of any inn) colonial inns kept smithies and gardens amongst other facilities. Inn keepers chose prime locations on their properties, close to water, perhaps on an elevated landform, and in areas that provided good pasture for passing stock (Freeland 1966, p.91). They met the demands of trade and transport by providing workers and travellers with food and accommodation, along with stabling and storage for their horses and stock. They also provided dispersed farming communities with a focal point. Inns were also a strong part of the community, acting as courthouses, the venue for coronial enquiries and business transactions as well as other local administrative tasks and social functions (Kirkby 1997, p.30).

During the first half of the nineteenth century, wayside inns experienced a boom and competition was high. In the initial years, they catered to lone travellers and smaller transport vehicles, as well as catering to the surrounding residents. As the roads became more passable and reasons to travel became more prevalent, coaching routes were established and passenger transport began in earnest. During the 1820s a regular coach route from Sydney to Parramatta began, which inspired other coaching companies to do the same and by the 1830s, regular coach routes were servicing all the major centres (Freeland 1966, p.99-100). Then in 1853, Freeman Cobb arrived in the colony after hearing of the gold rush. Cobb, who was part of Adam and Co. in America, set up a coaching company with another three Americans and created Cobb and Co., which essentially took over all the coach transport routes of the colony. Despite the advances in travel times made by Cobb and Co., distances were still vast and overnight stops remained a necessity of long-distance travel.

Their earlier incarnations saw inns as single-storey vernacular buildings, generally built in timber slab and/or weatherboard. As the colony became more established and the condition of roads improved, inns were being built to be two-storey and constructed of brick or stone. Many inns were now including coffee rooms, parlours, full stables and undercover coach parking (Freeland 1977, pp.101–103).

By the 1860s the introduction of railway travel in Sydney was having an impact on coaching routes. Many inns in the rest of the colony were closed as a result of the growing railway network and the subsequent reduction in demand for coaching. Inns located on the edges of towns would have been able to adapt to service tourists to the area but many smaller inns would not have survived.

Many inns established in NSW during the mid nineteenth century still exist today. This assessment has considered extant inns and previous archaeological investigations of inns to understand the nature of the potential archaeological resources of Lawson's Inn site. It also uses descriptions by Freeland (1966) to consider possible outbuildings and architectural styles. Comparative analysis can provide an indication of a site's rarity or representative nature. This assessment has attempted to limit comparative analysis to inns constructed c.1800 –1860, which is a period capturing the construction of John Lawson's buildings.

While no date for the construction of Lawson's Inn has been confirmed, given that The Northern Road was built in the 1820s, and the alignment of Lawson's Inn faces the road, it is reasonable to assume that the buildings were constructed after the 1820s, and possibly in the 1850s when Lawson is listed as publican of the *Thistle Inn* on The Northern Road in Luddenham (*Sydney Morning Herald* Tuesday 3 May 1859, p.8; JCIS, 2017 p.15). The inn is included on an 1859 plan of Luddenham. By the 1860s Lawson's Inn served as a public meeting place for locals as well as supplying goods for Luddenham Village (Jacobs 2017, vol 5, p.85). The fact that the Lawsons were Methodists, a denomination of the Christian faith that generally abstained from alcohol, ran an inn and had a liquor license, is of interest.

In the Liverpool Council area, most inns and hotels listed as heritage items on the local environment plan (LEP) were built at the end of the nineteenth century (the *Liverpool Arms Hotel* 1882, the *Commercial Hotel/Marsden's Hotel* 1896 and the *Collingwood Inn* 1880s). Therefore, a comparative analysis of other inns that were constructed in NSW around the same time (c.1800s-1860s) is necessary to make predictions about possible archaeological resources.

4.3.2 Standing inns

i Red Cow Inn/Hotel

Penrith LEP 2010, I690, 565-595 High Street Penrith

Red Cow Inn, Station St, Penrith was built by Thomas Smith in 1862. It was strategically located near the Penrith railway terminus (built 1863) and a departure point for coaches crossing the Blue Mountains. The inn is a two-storey plastered brick building (the second storey was added c.1882) with a verandah all around.

In 2005 Casey and Lowe Pty Ltd undertook an archaeological investigation of the Red Cow Inn. The site consisted of the extant Red Cow Inn and associated structures that had previously been demolished. The excavation, which focused on the areas of the inn that had been demolished, found evidence of an older phase and associated deposits. There was also evidence for rebuilding or additions including an early kitchen with footings built from large river cobbles and a later kitchen with a large stone fireplace. Other remains found included a blacksmith's shop to the south of the Red Cow Inn, a cistern and a second timber-lined well.

Artefacts associated with the Red Cow Inn demonstrated its use as a place providing meals and accommodation to travellers along the Western Road. Among these items were large transfer printed serving platters and plates and transfer-printed cups and saucers. The blacksmith's shop showed that the maintenance of rural transport and machinery was a major function of the Inn. Artefacts related to blacksmith's shop included horseshoes, buggy steps, a mould board for a plough, and tools for fixing equipment and shoeing horses.



Plate 4.8 The Red Cow Inn c.1918 in its two-storey form. (Source: Casey & Lowe 2005, p.26).

ii Box Hill Inn

SHR 00724, 43 Boundary Road Box Hill (frontage on Windsor Road)

Box Hill Inn fronts Windsor Road although its address is 43 Boundary Road, Box Hill. It was built around 1840-42 by John Suffolk (or by John Terry who leased the land) originally as a residence, called *Rummery Homestead*, with a section set aside to sell liquor. In 1844 Joseph Suffolk obtained a liquor licence, probably to take advantage of passing traffic; it only functioned as an inn until 1848.

The building is a single-storey brick of Georgian design with attic rooms, a gabled roof and front verandah. The front wall is stuccoed and pointed to represent Flemish bond brickwork. There is also a cellar. Buildings associated with the inn include a separate kitchen, separate laundry and bathroom.

The inn is situated on the north side of Windsor Road in Box Hill. It is currently unoccupied and has been for a number of years; as a result its condition is deteriorating but relics that exist are likely to survive intact as the site within the fence has not undergone any obvious development.

iii Collits Inn

SHR 00455; Lithgow LEP I012, Hartley Vale Road, Hartley Vale

Initially known as *The Golden Fleece*, Collits Inn (Hartley Vale Road, Hartley Vale) was built c 1823 by Pierce Collits, and was the first wayside inn built west of the Blue Mountains. It is built in the old colonial Georgian style with a stone flagged verandah and a symmetrical facade. It is a single-storey building of weatherboard and brick nog construction. Surviving structures associated with the inn include stables, a barn, outbuilding, woolshed and toilets.

The archaeological resource is of local, state and national heritage significance for the research potential inherent on the site and for the rarity of an intact archaeological site dating from the early nineteenth century (SHR data sheet).

As a result of decreasing demand for the inn's services, it went into decline in the 1830s and was primarily used as a residence and farm. Collits managed to procure a grant in Hartley, where he built another inn in 1838. Today, Collits Inn at Hartley Vale is a bed and breakfast.



Plate 4.9 Collits Inn in 2001 prior to restoration works (Source: Christine and Russell Stewart 2002, Section 4).

iv Royal Oak Inn/The Mean Fiddler (former) The Fiddler (currently)

SHR 00698; The Hills Shire LEP I185, 2 Commercial Road Rouse Hill (address may be incorrect).

The Royal Oak Inn, adjacent to the Windsor Road at Rouse Hill, was built c 1829 and licensed as "White Hart" to William Cross (although this is likely to be an error). The inn is a single-storey building Georgian (early Victorian) style. The front facade is dressed sandstone blocks and the side walls are random coursed. A verandah runs along the front of the building across the front. Extensions at the rear of the inn are of sandstock brick. The inn has a former rear wing, previously incorporated within a tavern alteration and stone cellars.

v Macquarie Arms Inn (former)

SHR 00282; Hawkesbury LEP 100282, 104 Bathurst Street Pitt Town

The Macquarie Arms Inn (104-106 Bathurst St, Pitt Town) is a derelict collection of buildings and while still standing is more akin to an archaeological site at present. Also known as *Blighton Arms* and *Flemings Place*, the complex also includes a larger house called *Mulgrave Place* (by 1823).

The Macquarie Arms Inn site is situated at the edge of a ridge overlooking Pitt Town Bottoms. It was built by Henry Fleming (c 1816/17), who also ran it. Fleming was a convict arrived in Australia on the third fleet and one of the earlier settlers in Pitt Town (in the district of Mulgrave Place). Fleming was the brother-inlaw to William Johnston, who was a member of a significant family in the area.

The *Macquarie Arms Inn* site consisted of the main house called *Mulgrave Place* (built prior to 1823) with a separate kitchen, barn/stables and a brick cottage (c 1805 or 1815). Other features on this site include what is described as a brick well with a domed roof, but which is more likely to be a cistern.

A part of the barn was used as an inn during the early period. It is single-storey with an attic, which is where the accommodation is thought to have been. The external walls are brick nogging (where brick is used to fill spaces in a wooden frame giving the impression of brick veneer) but may have originally been a slab building and later infilled with brick. The roof was jerkin-head (otherwise known as 'hipped-gable'). Cedar joinery in the bar was removed in the 1970s.

Each individual building is significant, but as a collection, this significance is elevated. The site is listed on the SHR, which makes it a significant item in the development of the state of NSW.

The site has probably shrunk from its original size through surrounding development but it is highly likely that the archaeological resource in the current SHR curtilage is intact and substantial. It is also of State significance.

vi Coach & Horses Inn, Berrima

Wingecarribee LEP I0133; 24 Jellore Street Berrima

The Coach and Horses Inn is a good example of how inns evolved structurally throughout the nineteenth century. The inn site originally comprised of a single-storey, two-roomed rectangular building constructed in the late 1830s. Its Georgian architectural style was typical for buildings in the early years of the colony. The inn originally operated under the sign of the *Mail Coach Inn* from 1837 to 1839 as a licensed public house and staging post for travel and for the delivery of mail. Additions were made in the 1850s which included a detached kitchen. An eastern extension to the main building was added in the 1880s and included an outdoor privy. These additions to the inn affected the original Georgian symmetry of the building.

vii The White Horse Inn, Berrima

SHR 00106; Wingecarribee LEP I123, 3 Market Place Berrima

The *White Horse Inn* is listed on the State Heritage Register (SHR 00106). This building, in Market Street Berrima, dates to 1834. It lacks the long veranda at the front but was renovated in the nineteenth century to include a verandah on the second level.

The building is constructed of dressed sandstone ashlar blocks and has fireplaces on either side. A timber veranda on the second storey provides an outdoor space upstairs. The inn has one entrance on the facade rather than a series of doors entering private rooms. A coach house was built against the western elevation of the main building in 1865.

The White Horse Inn has a detached kitchen of sandstone to the rear adjacent to a roofed courtyard.

viii The Berrima Inn, Berrima

SHR 00103; Wingecarribee LEP I132, 26 Jellore Street Berrima

The Berrima Inn was purpose built as an inn in 1834 in the traditional Colonial Georgian cottage style. The inn was issued the first inn license in Berrima in 1834 and continued to run until 1848, when it then became a residential dwelling. An extension to mirror the original building was later added to the inn.

ix Goldfinders Inn, Kurrajong

SHR 01978; Hawkesbury LEP I357; 164 Old Bells Line of Road, Kurrajong NSW.

Goldfinders Inn consists of three buildings being a single-storey timber cottage (c.1809), a two-storey sandstone building, originally the inn (c.1850) and a timber barn (vernacular but not dated). The inn was built by the third owner of the property, John Lamrock who called it the "Goldfinders Home", catering to gold-diggers travelling to and from the western goldfields. Its location on the Old Bells Line of Road (no. 164) put it in an excellent position to capture passing trade across the mountains. An addition for use as a post office has been demolished.

The group comprising the listing is represented by buildings that retain evidence of vernacular building techniques, with some adaptation to the fabric. It is significant for its ability to demonstrate successive occupancies in the physical evidence of the place and as a place that has been continually inhabited once established in 1809. Its significance is also inherent in its early construction, which as a surviving structure is rare in NSW.

A garden between the inn and cottage survives with camellias (Camellia *japonica 'Variegata'* and Camellia *japonica 'Triumphans'*) may date from the 1850s as suggested by photographic evidence and information provided by Professor E G Waterhouse.

Other surrounding structures are not described in the listing but it is expected that the site has a well and/or cistern.

x Dickygundi Inn

1175 Dubbo Local Environmental Plan 2011, 139 Narromine Road Dubbo

The Dickygundi Inn is a single-storey, board and batten building with a shingle roof beneath a corrugated iron roof. The inn was opened in 1864 as a 'wine shanty' (SHI 1520484) and became a stop for the Cobb and Co. mail run. It has been used in this report as a comparison because it was built not long after 1859 and most importantly it is stylistically very similar to Lawson's Inn (although only one photograph of the Lawson's building has been found - Plate 4.2). In other online sources, the site is called the *Rawsonville Inn*. No other information is provided on ancillary buildings but the inn is in a large undeveloped paddock.



Plate 4.10 The *Dickygundi Inn* on the Mitchell Highway in Dubbo. Photo: P Kottaras. View south.



Plate 4.11 The eastern elevation of the *Dickygundi Inn*. Photo: P Kottaras. View west.

4.3.3 Archaeological sites

i Bents Basin Inn

Liverpool LEP 2008 Item 28, Wolstenholme Ave Greendale

Bents Basin Inn (Wolstenholme Avenue, Greendale) was built by the Rapley family in the 1860s and demolished in the 1950s. The building, described as an inn or hotel, was a timber slab structure with sandstone flagstone flooring. Huts that were built (date not provided on SHI datasheet) next to the main building but were demolished in the 1950s.

The site now is part of the Bents Basin Recreational Area and has archaeological potential. A mature pepper tree (peppercorn) marks the location of inn (SHI 1970075).

ii White Hart Inn

Unlisted, Windsor Road Beaumont Hills

The *White Hart Inn* (Old Windsor Rd, Beaumont Hills) was built by James Gough in 1827 on the overland transportation route between Parramatta and Windsor. It was one of several inns along the road to Windsor that provided food and lodging to travellers.

Archaeological test excavations by EMM with Comber Consultants in 2014 revealed that the main inn building was constructed of brick and sandstone with substantial sandstone footings. The main inn building was described in historical accounts as being two-storey, which is supported by the footings; it had what has been interpreted as a dining room behind the main front-facing verandah, two small rooms at either end of the verandah (showing clear evidence of an extension to the southern end of the building. The complex included a cellar on the northern end of the building, a brick cistern and separate kitchen.

The test excavation determined that the *White Hart Inn* demonstrated at least two phases of development with evidence suggesting brick additions to the main accommodation building. The architectural style of the detached kitchen also indicated that it was a later addition to the main inn building.

The inn was assessed to be of State significance for its historic and representative values as well as it rarity as an archaeological site. It was a product of a period of exploration and expansion and representative of a class of enterprise that were micro-economies in the larger colonial framework (EMM 2015; SHR nomination form EMM 2017).

iii Woolpack Inn Marulan

SHR 00172 as part of the listing for "Old Marulan Town"

The building was erected in 1835 by Joseph Peters at the junction of two alignments of Mitchell's Great South Road. It was a two storey structure.

The building remained in service until the town was largely abandoned and relocated to a new railhead, which took over the town name, in the mid-1860s. The main building was destroyed by realignment of the main road. Archaeological investigations included excavating remains of a privy and several ephemeral structures and activity areas, indicating the former range of activities that were supported by the inn during its use.

The site was investigated in 2007 by Banksia Heritage + Archaeology/Umwelt.

iv Weatherboard Inn Archaeological Site

SHR 00595; Blue Mountains LEP 2005 Item WF019, 3-15 Matcham Ave Wentworth Falls

Cox's Depot was established around 1814 and was used as a military post and a dining room for travellers who also camped and fed their stock there. The building burnt down in 1822 and was eventually replaced by a weatherboard inn, called 'Weatherboard Inn', between 1827 and 1829. Archaeological test excavation of this site (Wendy Thorp, 1985) unearthed sandstone blocks and sandstock brick as well as ceramic, glass and iron. The site was assessed as having a high level of research potential and was stabilised and reburied. Associated buildings included a kitchen, stores and stables (with stabling for 17 horses).

Weatherboard Inn (1-15 Matcham Avenue, Wentworth Falls) was built by John Mills and demolished sometime after 1867 when the inn closed.

v Wollondibby archaeological site, Crackenback

Snowy River LEP I100, 785 Alpine Way, Crackenback

The Wollondibby archaeological site is within the area listed on the Snowy River LEP 2013 as *Wollondibby Cottage, the Green House – Also woolshed and grave.* The listing does not include the archaeological potential of the site. The information in this section has been written partially from memory after a site visit (by Pamela Kottaras and Kerime Danis) in 2007 and is recorded in a report jointly prepared by Austral Archaeology and City Plan Heritage (2007).

Today the site consists of an existing stone cottage (c1860), which was the second dwelling built on the property, a woolshed, and a cemetery enclosed by a stone fence. The archaeological site, which is not included in the listing, is of particular interest as it dates to the early 1840s and was situated in a remote area. The archaeological resource is clearly evident as most of the structures were constructed of locally sourced granite and foundations and footings survive intact. This would indicate, along with the fact that the property in the location of the archaeological site was undeveloped (a Google Map search indicates that it remains undeveloped) that the site retains a high level of archaeological potential. The homestead (that operated as the inn in the 1860s for short period of time) was single-storey with wing rooms on either side (Plate 4.12). Bark shingles formed the roof and fireplaces flanked the building; one fireplace was described as "probably as large as has ever been built in this country" (Marden, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 March 1939, p.21).

The field survey was based around features listed in a report prepared by Brian Egloff (1988) and was undertaken to confirm the survival of those resources. The site was also described in an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (18 March 1939). In addition to the items of built heritage, the survey confirmed the existence of archaeological features, some of which have been attributed a function, others with known functions. The structures that were represented were the Wollondibby Homestead (known), which was converted to the inn for a short period of time to take advantage of the gold boom in Kiandra, ablutions block (interpretation), laundry (interpretation), killing shed (interpretation), stock yards and animal pens (known), granite pathway to water pool/bathing pool (known) and a well (known). Anecdotal evidence exists for a roasting pit where the owners, the McEvoys, put on an annual bullock roast for the local Aboriginal people who interacted with the McEvoys. A large, stone lined pit was recorded by Egloff and City Plan Heritage/Austral Archaeology and it is this pit that is attributed with the function of roasting pit.

The site of the Wollondibby Inn/Homestead is significant for its early construction, one of the earliest pioneer properties in the region as well as its short-lived operation as an inn. It is also significant for its association with the McEvoys who were an early pioneering family in the region and whose descendants still live in the area. Mary McEvoy (née Shell) is said to have been the first white woman to cross the Snowy River and their daughter Mary, was the first child of settlers in the region (Marden, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 March 1939, p.21). The site is also of considerable significance for the research value inherent in the archaeological resource that has the ability to answer question about life on the property, its relationship to nearby sites as well as important information on the spatial arrangement of a site of this nature. The layout of the place and the archaeological resource to the place as a homestead, being as remote as it was.

The homestead is associated with a mill house to the south of the main homestead and another house site called "Gammon Place" on the Moamba River



Wollondibby Homestead was demolished in 1954.

Plate 4.12 A photograph of a photograph of the Wollondibby homestead, which operated as an inn for a period of time. Photo K Danis. Photograph on display at Jindabyne shopping centre.

vi Edward Powell's halfway house

Edward Powell's inn was the earliest in the colony, adapted from his home when he realised the business opportunity his address provided. Powell built his home on the boundary next to the Sydney – Parramatta route, in present day Homebush in 1793. The inn was in a prime location to capture passing trade; even Governor Macquarie stopped in on one of his tours (Freeland 1966, p.90).

Initially Powell was granted eighty acres at Liberty Plains, only for the grant to be retracted. Soon after however, he was granted another eighty acres nearby where he built a home for his wife, Elizabeth Fish, and himself. The house was a single-storey brick and timber, weatherboarded building with a bark roof, which he and his wife ran as an inn soon after. Powell eventually obtained licence for spirits and wines in 1809.

The property boasted 500 acres (202 hectares), half of which was under cultivation, an orchard, outhouses, a granary, stables and plenty of water in addition to the inn building (Freeland 1966, p.90).

His widow took over the role of innkeeper on his death until the role went to her son-in-law in 1816 (Freeland 1966, p.90).

4.4 Comparative analysis

In his book, *The Australian Pub*, J M Freeland sums up the purpose of an inn:

At the wayside inn the peripatetic traveller going from town to town on business bent found shelter and refuge at the end of a long day's ride. At it the squatter on his way to new country could replenish his provisions, repair his broken equipment, shoe his horses, water and pasture his stock, and obtain a last taste of worldly comforts for his family.

Freeland 1966, p.89

But inns not only serviced those travelling though; they acted as a nucleus to a dispersed community, taking on the role of community hall, market place and courthouse.

From this comparative survey of inns that were built around the same time as Lawson's Inn, a number of patterns emerge. These can assist with making predictions about the types of archaeological resources that may survive, and their significance.

Quite often, residents took advantage of passing traffic and adapted their homes to accommodate travellers. Wing rooms were added, which were accessed from outside. Modifications included additional rooms and a second storey. Earlier inns were usually timber slab and/or weatherboard constructions and were a single-storey. Later, as roads were improved and destinations established, inns took on a more sophisticated character with buildings of stone or brick (or both), two-stories and expensive internal detailing (Freeland 1966, p.101).

The inns included in this study demonstrate that in the early days when routes away from Sydney were opening up there was shared style of architecture that existed in NSW. Where they were purpose-built inn typically constructed as single-storey Georgian style, that is, they were simple vernacular buildings often with verandahs and usually with multiple outbuildings. Rooms were accessed directly from the outside but food was provided in a dining room, possibly shared with the proprietor and family.

Purpose-built inns often had an entrance from the verandah to every room at the front and there may have been additional facilities for special guests (Freeland 1977, p.96). In some cases, inns were altered private homes (Freeland 1966, p.93), but the architectural style did not differ significantly from that of the private home. Most inns in the nineteenth century were not just a single building but a complex of structures. Kitchens were usually constructed as a separate building and located behind the main building. Other buildings at could include a laundry, storerooms and privies granaries and toilet/bathing facilities. As most travellers arrived by coach, stables were needed for the horses, and sometimes a blacksmith's workshop was situated on the site or nearby. Other structures associated with water use and management could include wells, cisterns and drains as well as nearby creeks. In more remote places, such as in the Snowy Mountains, an inn and homestead would have had to provide most of the food by

growing vegetables and slaughtering stock, although inns closer to main towns could also have had these facilities. Food storage in the form of cool rooms, dairies and dry stores is likely to have existed on remote sites as well as in less remote areas. Barns, sheds and yards to store animal feed, keep chickens and other small stock are all structures that should be anticipated on an inn site (as opposed to a purpose-built hotel in an urban area). The facilities and infrastructure of an inn would have reflected the facilities required by homesteads in remote locations, only on a larger scale. In their heyday, inns operated as a micro-economy within the larger economic framework of their local area.

The popularity of these businesses peaked between 1820 and 1850, with only the more established inns, and those away from the rail line, continuing to operate into the late nineteenth century. The notable decline in the number of operating inns is the result of growing settlements and railways which significantly reduced travel times. At their closure, usually around the time of lapsed licences, , inn buildings were converted to private residences; this is a trend that is evident from the late nineteenth century. As buildings aged, they were also demolished. The mid to late twentieth century saw extant inns regain some of their original function by being used as restaurants, pubs/hotels, or for accommodation.

The survey of former inns also highlights the history of adaptation, from home to inn and back to home again. As discussed, the first mention of *The Thistle Inn* is in 1859 – this does not mean the buildings date to that year as well.

The earliest likely date for John Lawson's occupation of the site, and possibly the construction dates of the building is around the late 1830s, when he gained his freedom but more likely after his marriage to Anne Freeburn in 1854 (refer to Section 2.6) since he was registered as living in Bringelly at his marriage. The only photograph found of the inn (Plate 3.1) confirms that it was a single-story vernacular structure, and while the timber verandah balustrades are clearly visible, the facade of the inn is not, and so the number of doors leading into the building cannot be seen. Perhaps, John Lawson and his family lived in this house before converting it to an inn, and later as a home again.

4.5 Historic themes

The historic themes relevant to the archaeological investigation of the study area were taken from the NSW Heritage Branch website (www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritage/index.htm). These have been used as a source and starting point in the formulation of research questions for the proposed archaeological program.

The national historic themes relating to the inn site are:

- working;
- developing Australia's cultural life; and
- developing local, regional and national economies.

The NSW historic state themes relating to the study area are:

- accommodation;
- commerce;
- leisure;
- transport;

- domestic life;
- land tenure;
- environment cultural landscape;
- persons; and
- agriculture.

4.6 Archaeological potential in the project area

The archaeological potential for relics associated with *The Thistle Inn* in the impact area of the project is predicted to be low to nil. The former inn site was to the east and outside of the area of impact within the project area, although peripheral structures related to the inn may have been built in the western end of the property.

While it cannot be discounted that other relics unrelated to the inn may survive in the area that will be impacted by the project, there has been no documentary evidence found to indicate earlier structures on site. Nevertheless, there may be evidence of the miserable huts described by Governor Macquarie (refer to Section 2.4) or other ephemeral structures.

4.7 Archaeological potential of the inn site

The results of site analysis indicate that the archaeological resources related of the inn site are located to the south of Eaton Road in the north-eastern corner of Lot 2 DP623457. The inn buildings were demolished in the early to mid-twentieth century and the site was subsequently resumed by vegetation by the 1940s. As a result, only features of the inn would remain as archaeological resources.

The assessment of the potential for archaeological evidence is based on a predictive model that assumes historical archaeological evidence is generally located in close proximity to occupation and activity areas. This potential is identified through historical research and by judging whether current building or earlier development activities have removed all evidence of known previous lands uses (Heritage Council 1996).

While the property has remained largely undeveloped, the practices used to grow and harvest Christmas trees is likely to have had an impact on the upper levels of the archaeological site. Nevertheless, it is anticipated that deeper architectural fabric such as footings, wells, cesspits and deposits will have survived intact. Some inns would be expected to have cellars for storing provisions and alcohol for guests. Archaeologically, cellars are deeper than the foundations of the main building and are therefore less likely to have been destroyed by subsequent development or land use. They are also often built of durable material such as stone or brick which makes survival more probable.

The only historical evidence of the inn site relates to two buildings and a boundary fence or wall surrounding the property. However, historical research and comparative analysis indicates that inns of this period were typically made up of a complex of buildings such as outbuildings, stables, sheds, wells and cisterns. It is very common for historical maps and plans to exclude minor property features and focus on landmark buildings for geographical reference. As such, the inn and store site may have the remnants of the following features:

- main inn building;
- the store;

- cellar;
- kitchen building;
- stables and other animal pens;
- laundry;
- cisterns and/or wells;
- toilets;
- butchering areas;
- food storage; and
- gardens;

The primary consideration for the impact assessment and research design is however, the spatial extent of *The Thistle Inn*. Even if archaeological features are likely to remain, historical maps and plans demarcate a distinct boundary line surrounding what is assumed to be the two main buildings. It is most probable that the inn and most of the associated outbuildings are either confined to this boundary or very close by and do not extend into the project construction footprint. The main features that would possibly extend beyond boundaries of the inn site would be wells which are often scattered across properties based on the availability of water. Aerial imagery from 1961 indicates the possible location of a well, but this is approximately 60 m east of the project area. Even allowing for inaccuracies in historical mapping and geo-referencing used in this report, the inn site would not fall within the impact areas of project.

The site has experienced relatively low levels of impact since its demolition, being used only for cattle grazing and Christmas tree production. However, the site's ongoing use as a Christmas tree farm has left the landscape rutted and mounded and modified to a moderate extent. These modifications may have caused surface disturbance and dispersed surface artefacts and/or dislodged features close to the surface but they are unlikely to have fully destroyed foundations or deeper archaeological deposits such as wells, cisterns and cellars.

There is surface evidence of glass and ceramic artefacts that extend into the project footprint. However, their contextual integrity is not reliable considering the past disturbance caused by farming Christmas trees. However, the possibility that it was a rubbish dump related to the inn will be explored.

The predicted location of the inn site is shown on Figure 4.2 and archaeological material is expected in this area. A buffer of 40 m has been applied around the predicted inn site to account for possible errors in geo-referencing its location. The remainder of the lot is considered to have low archaeological potential; meaning that other than scattered and out-of-context traces of artefact fragments, intact archaeological deposits or structures are not predicted to occur.

4.8 Assessment of significance

4.8.1 Defining heritage significance

In NSW the assessment of heritage significance is based on the *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 2013) and further expanded upon in the Heritage Manual's "Assessing Heritage Significance" (Heritage Office

2001). It lists seven criteria to identify and assess heritage values that apply when considering if an item is of state or local heritage significance as set out in Table 4.1.

This assessment of significance builds on the assessment prepared by Jacobs in the Memorandum prepared for the Response to Submissions and Preferred Infrastructure Report. The assessment has been informed by the historical information and site evaluation presented in this report and the report prepared by Jacobs and addresses the project construction footprint where it crosses the lot that the inn was built on (Lot 2 DP 623457) and *The Thistle Inn*, the extent of which has been defined using historic plans and adding a buffer of approximately 40 m has been placed around the area predicted to be the site as this is where it is anticipated that most of the structures would have been located, if they were outside the plan boundary.

Table 4.1Assessment of heritage significance (Lot 1 DP 623457)

Criteria	1	Assessment
a)	An item is important in the course or pattern	Project construction footprint:
	of NSW's (or the local area's) cultural or natural history (Historical Significance).	The project area at Luddenham is part of a property that is significant in the historical development of Luddenham. If relics exist within the area to be impacted by the project in this location, they may be of local significance depending on their integrity, research value, representative values and rarity. However, the project construction footprint does not possess significance by virtue of its association with nearby heritage items.
		The project area does not fulfil this criterion.
		The Thistle Inn site:
		The site demonstrates the history of settlement within the area of Luddenham and reflects the importance of early major road networks in facilitating the development of such urban centres as well as providing an important resource for travellers.
		As the inn and store was a focal point to the surrounding residents as a well-known rest stop, it is likely to have been the reason for siting Luddenham village.
		The site of the former Thistle Inn would be of local significance.
		However, the site of the inn is not in the project area.
b)	An item has strong or special association	Project construction footprint:
	with the life or works of a person, or group of persons of importance in NSW's (or the local area's) cultural or natural history (Associative Significance).	Owned by John Lawson but without material evidence of the lives of his family, the project area does not fulfil this criterion.
	Significance).	The Thistle Inn site:
		The Lawson family was a well-known family in the Luddenham district from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. They were associated with proprietorship of inns/guesthouses and John Lawson was a well-known member of the Luddenham community, including the local Methodist community, who actively sought to bring attention to local farmers during difficulties.
		Evidence relating to the Lawson family would be of <i>loca</i> significance.
		However, the site of the inn is not in the project area.

Criteria	1	Assessment
c)	An item is important in demonstrating aesthetic characteristics and/or a high degree of creative or technical achievement in NSW (or the local area) (Aesthetic Significance).	Does not meet this criterion
d)	A particular community or cultural group in NSW (or the local area) for social, cultural or spiritual reasons (Social Significance).	Does not meet this criterion.
e)	An item has the potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of NSW's (or the local area's) cultural or natural history (Research Significance).	Project construction footprint: There is low to nil potential for evidence of <i>The Thistle Inn</i> to survive in the impact zone of the project area. There is low potential for evidence of other relics such as former huts to exist in the impact zone of the project area. The project area does not meet this criterion.
		The Thistle Inn site: There is the potential to gain more information on the site from further archaeological and documentary research, relating to the early use of inns in the region. While many inns have been partially excavated, complexes in their entirety are rare as archaeological sites. A number of extant inn complexes survive in regional NSW as well as in Sydney, and while many are in poor condition (Box Hill Inn – Box Hill, Dickygundi Inn – Dubbo are two examples), the lots they were built on have been protected to a certain spatial extent. It is likely that original curtilages have been reduced to accommodate subdivision and development resulting in the loss of some peripheral structures.
		Archaeological excavation of this site is likely to yield information on the aspects of the Lawson's lives including their importance in the surrounding community, their relationship to the Methodist church; it may provide information on individual members of the family, their socio-economic conditions and their preferences as individuals. Information about the store and what it held and sold is also likely to be embedded in the archaeological resource.
		Archaeological excavation is also likely to yield technological information about the buildings(s), the materials, sources of materials and quite importantly, the spatial pattern of the inn. It may be able to answer the following questions What facilities did it boast?
		What facilities did it boast? Where was their water obtained from?
		Did they kill and butcher their own animals?
		Where there stabling and stock facilities
		Is there evidence of the transition from inn to home?
		All this information would provide information on the local area but could be compared to other sites across the state.
		The level of intactness of the relics relies on the level of impacts imposed by the Christmas tree farm.
		Evidence of the inn would be of <i>local</i> significance.
		However, the inn is not in the project area.

Criteria		Assessment
f)	An item possesses uncommon, rare or	Project construction footprint:
	endangered aspects of NSW's (or the local area's) cultural or natural history (Rarity).	Does not fulfil this criterion.
		The Thistle Inn site:
		Archaeological sites are becoming rarer in Sydney and in particularly sites that operated as inns (or remote homesteads) have not been extensively excavated archaeologically. While many inns have been partially excavated, complexes in their entirety are rare as archaeological sites and will become rarer as Sydney and other historic urban centres expand.
		Evidence of the inn would be of <i>local</i> significance.
		However, the inn is not in the project area.
g)	An item is important in demonstrating the	Project construction footprint:
	principle characteristics of a class of NSW's (or the local area's) cultural or natural places or environments (Representativeness).	Does not fulfil this criterion.
		The Thistle Inn:
		The site was representative of the location of many early hotel and inn sites, on a major road network, in the Sydney area.
		Relics associated with the inn would be representative of early to mid-nineteenth century inns that were established in the outskirts of Sydney.
		Evidence of the inn would be of <i>local</i> significance.
		However, the inn is not in the project area.

4.8.2 Summary statement of significance

i Project area

The project area is not predicted to have archaeological evidence of the former *Thistle Inn*, which was owned and operated by John Lawson and his family.

It does not possess heritage significance without evidence of significant relics.

ii The Thistle Inn

The significance of the former *Thistle Inn* relies on the existence of relics with research potential. If this evidence survives, the archaeological site would be of *local* significance of the archaeological resource that would shed light on the functions of the buildings, the conversion of the inn to a home, life on the property, the spatial arrangement of ancillary structures and access to the necessities of life such as water and food. The site of the former inn is also significant at a *local* level for its rarity as a potentially intact archaeological site in the region, and for its association with the Lawson family, and the early growth of Luddenham. It is also valuable for the archaeological resource that when excavated may be able to provide comparable data on other similar sites across the state.

5 Assessment of impacts

5.1 Description of proposal

In the vicinity of Lawson's Inn, the project consists of:

- the construction of a cul-de-sac on the existing Easton Road, to the west of the new The Northern Road with the cul-de-sac extending onto the lot the inn relics are on;
- construction of an intersection off the new The Northern Road onto Eaton Road;
- cut slopes for all of the above; and
- a construction compound and laydown site.

The areas of impact in this location are shown as yellow shading on Figure 1.2.

5.2 Assessment of heritage impacts

5.2.1 Lawson's Inn

The western portion of the property (Lot 2 DP 623457) that the former inn was located on will be impacted by the proposal. However, research undertaken for the project does not suggest that the inn and expected outbuildings or associated features will be affected by the proposed activities. The location of the inn has been georeferenced by the EMM GIS services and shown to be towards the eastern end of the lot, where Eaton Road turns southward.

The total lot size is approximately 3.07 ha. The total project area within the lot 0.59 ha, which is 19% (19.22%). In addition to the area of impact within the lot, the road verge will also be affected by the road upgrade, some of which is on the road directly in front of the former inn. The area of known archaeological sensitivity is approximately 80 m to the east of the project construction footprint within the lot and a sufficient distance to be protected from inadvertent impacts from construction activities associated with the proposed alignment. The narrow area of land outside the lot boundary in front of the inn is considerably closer but has always been a public (ie road) space. The photograph and plans of the inn indicate that the main buildings were set back from the road so it not expected that substantial relics, if any, will be encountered outside of the lot (refer to Plate 4.2 and Figure 4.2). The purpose archaeological test excavation in this part of the project area is to account for unexpected relics and to manage them appropriately prior to construction works commencing.

In total, an additional 0.45 ha of road verge is included in the archaeological test excavation program to archaeologically verify the area of road in front of the former inn as well as the road verges at the western end of the property boundary to test for undocumented relics (Figure 7.2). Errors inherent in georeferencing historical plans with modern aerial imagery and cadastres are anticipated to be of a magnitude of metres and would not affect this assessment.

5.2.2 Unexpected relics

In areas of low development, particularly in locations that were part of the growth of the colony, the existence of relics cannot be definitively rule out. Roadsides were places where settlers built structures for various reasons including businesses to exploit passing clientele. However, in many cases records that show every structure on the colonial landscape do not exist and archaeological sites are discovered

inadvertently. It can be expected that roadside environments and low density generalised scatters of refuse from site occupation will be encountered throughout the project area. Road margins may also demonstrate spoon drains and water management. These are not considered to be unexpected but are so ubiquitous as to not meet local significance thresholds.

During construction of the project, these items are generally addressed as unexpected finds, that is, management is to stop work and implement the Roads and Maritime Unexpected Heritage Items Procedure. This requires initial consultation with Roads and Maritime heritage specialists to determine appropriate statutory responses.

For the purposes of this project, because of the proximity of the former inn and store, and to avoid delays once construction has commenced, it is recommended that a limited archaeological testing program is instigated to address the question of archaeological sensitivity prior to the project entering a critical phase. It is recommended that this could be completed either as early works during pre-construction or during construction prior to the start of bulk earthworks.

The field methods for the archaeological test excavation program are presented in Section 7.

6 Research design

6.1 Introduction

An archaeological research design is a theoretical framework to support archaeological field investigations with the aim of extracting information that is relevant to the development and function of the site. The research design is based on the outcomes of the archival and documentary research and the existing environment and seeks to develop questions that will contribute to current and relevant knowledge about a place, a theme and perhaps individuals that documentary sources cannot contribute to. These questions should be compatible with the nature of the predicted archaeological resource and realistic in terms of their ability to produce relevant answers.

The questions in Section 6.3 are influenced by the assessment of potential in the archaeological assessment and statement of heritage impact. Potential has been determined through the analysis of archival sources and the results of the site visits (a separate site visit was undertaken on Monday 18 September and is described in Section 3).

6.2 Research design approach

The impact assessment identified that the project construction footprint is likely to impact one quarter of the inn site's curtilage (Jacobs 2017, p.117). Review of geo-referenced maps and plans indicate that the main features of the inn site — that is: the two main buildings and boundary fence or wall shown on historical maps and plans— are at least about 80 m east of the project construction footprint. The only indication of archaeological material extending into the project construction footprint is shown from the scatter of surface glass and ceramic artefacts identified during site inspection in 2016 (Jacobs 2017). It is currently unknown whether these artefacts have been imported into the project construction footprint through activities related to Christmas tree production, or if they are surface indicators of *in situ* archaeological deposits.

The research design and excavation method has been prepared on the basis that the predicted archaeological features relating to the inn and store will be avoided and that the test excavation is a precautionary measure in the event that any ancillary structures or deposits or unrelated but unrecorded structures are encountered within the project footprint. It is likely that, despite being with the inn site's curtilage, no relics of local or State significance will be impacted by the project construction footprint.

6.3 Research questions

6.3.1 Rationale

As the likely location of *Thistle Inn* will be avoided, only areas that were peripheral to and in front of it are to be disturbed, along the margins of a road that was itself in use from the 1820s, and whose travellers generated their own refuse zone. If they exist, the most likely remains within the project area will therefore be low density artefact scatters, which are archaeologically of negligible value due to their poor provenance, and lack of spatial, stratigraphic and temporal controls. Once any such material is identified, it will be recorded but will not be subject to further analysis and may be discarded.

The following research questions assume at least some level of integrity can be demonstrated for the archaeological finds or deposits.

6.3.2 Research questions

- 1. Are land boundaries such as yards, fences or different surfacing materials used to demarcate the boundary between public and private space along the road?
- 2. Can any activity areas relating to use of the inn be identified along its road frontage?
- 3. Does archaeological refuse indicative of the inn occur in front of the site or is the material recovered along the road margins consistent?
- 4. Are the sandstone blocks currently marking a vehicle track likely to be the remnants of the inn building? If so, what insight does it provide about the materials used for various buildings?
- 5. Has the road margin remained constant or shifted over time?

7 Excavation method

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in Section 4.7, historical research indicates that the main archaeological features related to the inn site are not expected to be within the project construction footprint. However, the excavation approach has been designed as a precautionary approach in the event that peripheral archaeological features or deposits that have some provenance or archaeological value are encountered. It is proposed that the field program commences with test excavation to identify any archaeological resources within the project construction footprint. The test excavation will firstly expose any relics associated with each feature without removing them before any salvage is completed.

The initial focus of the test excavation will be exploratory, meaning that grass and topsoil will be removed systematically within the project construction footprint. Each feature will be exposed and the decision to extend the trenches and excavate deeper deposits will be made based on the nature of the archaeological resource. A key aim of the process is to determine whether there is any likely provenance or archaeological potential. Where there is not, archaeological exploration will be discontinued.

Salvage excavation will largely be guided by the nature and extent of the archaeological resources uncovered during the test excavation. The salvage excavation will aim to:

- determine if peripheral or ephemeral and unrelated archaeological resources exist within the project area on the property; and
- answer the research questions developed for the project.

7.2 Management of Aboriginal objects

The Aboriginal cultural heritage values of the site have been addressed in a separate report (Kelleher Nightingale 2017), which has developed management measures to address the Aboriginal statutory constraints in the project area. The Aboriginal cultural heritage report did not identify Aboriginal objects (or sites) or potential archaeological deposits (PAD) within the study area. The closest PAD is across the road at Site 9 – Miss Lawson's Guesthouse, which has been addressed in a separate report (EMM 2017).

In the event that Aboriginal objects are encountered, the historical excavation team will consult with Roads and Maritime and address the issue in accordance with the project approval and the Aboriginal heritage management plan.

The combined management of Aboriginal and historical archaeological values will occur concurrently with archaeological test excavation for Aboriginal values commencing around the historical site. The historical archaeology excavation director will confer with the Aboriginal archaeology excavation director to determine which team will start and where. The soil profile trenches (refer to Section 7.4.4) will potentially be excavated by the Aboriginal archaeology team. The focus of the collaboration will be to ensure that impacts to the Aboriginal and the historical archaeological values are controlled and comply with project approval.

7.3 Management of substantial and intact relics

Although not anticipated, in the event that unexpected, substantial and intact relics are uncovered, work will cease and OEH will be contacted to discuss how to progress the archaeological program and whether further approvals may be required.

As it has been predicted that the project area over the property has low to nil archaeological potential, the general method will be to supervise the removal of grass and topsoil as described in Section 7.4.3 Excavation method. The remainder of the excavation method related to uncovering intact and substantial relics be they architecture (fabric) or deposit, will follow the methods set out below after consultation with OEH and will be treated as unexpected finds.

The following method will be employed if relics are unearthed in the area to be impacted by the project. The area that has been identified as being the main part of the archaeological site of the former inn and store will be demarcated and will not be disturbed.

The grassed road verge within the project area will also be subject to the same archaeological testing process described in this section.

7.4 Field program

7.4.1 Recording

Recording will take place before, during, and after the excavation program and the level of detail that will be recorded will be commensurate with the archaeological sensitivity of the site. For instance, if no relics are uncovered, orthographically corrected photographs will not be taken and detailed archaeological scale plans will not be produced.

All recording will be undertaken using the following principles:

- the establishment of an appropriate site grid (refer Section 7.4.2);
- use of surveying techniques for location of remains;
- detailed archaeological scale plans or orthographic photographs;
- the use of context recording forms and context numbers to record all archaeological information;
- use of Harris matrix as part of the recording program;
- all structural remains, post holes and features will be planned using an established survey point;
- detailed archival photographic recording (ie in RAW and jpg format);
- collection, labelling, safe storage, washing, sorting and boxing of artefacts.

7.4.2 Site establishment and survey

i General method

The curtilage of the inn site within the project construction footprint (referred to as the test area) will be established according to a grid system. The grid will be placed over maps and plans during desktop preparation for the test excavation program. The grid will follow an appropriate datum such as the Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) or the Map Grid of Australia (MGA) in 5 x 5 m squares, which will be further divided where necessary.

No physical grid will be established initially over the test area. Only once archaeological features are identified will grids squares be demarcated locally around features to guide further excavation and recording. Physically demarcated grids will be established under the guidance of a surveyor based on the overall grid system.

In addition to the areas within the lot, the proposed test excavation area includes some areas of the road verge. The purpose for test excavation in the areas selected is to capture the verge in front of the former inn and to sample the edge of the road in other locations. The total area to be tested will be determined by the excavation director and will occur only within the areas marked on Figure 7.2

ii Surface archaeological material

Existing surface archaeological material (eg ceramics, glass and sandstone blocks) will have its location recorded by a surveyor and then be collected prior to machine excavation. The locations of collected artefacts will be demarcated by coloured and labelled flags so that during topsoil stripping, the supervising archaeological is made aware that artefacts were recovered in particular areas and that further deposits may exist in such areas.

7.4.3 Excavation method

i General method

The test area will be cleared of overlying vegetation and topsoil with a smooth-bucket machine excavator. The process will be generally as follows:

- 1. A smooth-bucket machine excavator will remove vegetation followed by topsoil under the direction of a qualified archaeologist. This will be done systemically in 'strips 'along a north-south or east-west axis depending on site logistics.
- 2. The excavator will stop at the top of archaeological features or, if none are identified, continue until the culturally sterile layer is identified. The depth of excavation will be determined based on the results of the excavation as they come to hand.
- 3. If archaeological features or deposits are identified, they will be further clarified and recorded by archaeologists using manual excavation techniques.
- 4. A feature number will be assigned to each feature.
- 5. A context number will be applied to each element of each feature, cut and deposit; the feature number (refer above) will be related to the context number assigned on site.

- 6. Archaeological features, deposits and cuts will be photographed, planned and sections drawn prior to removal by hand; all in situ artefacts will be collected for later analysis.
- 7. Features will be recorded by a qualified surveyor and the resulting plan will be tied into the appropriate datum (on advice from the surveyor). This will include recording reduced levels to establish the varying depths of phases across the sites.

ii Uncovering wells

If wells are identified, they will be excavated and recorded in a manner consistent with the excavation method for Item 9 (Miss Lawson's Guesthouse). The following general methods will apply:

- The well will be recorded and photographed at ground level.
- Excavation of the wells will be started by hand until depths are reached that do not permit manual excavation or if the wells are structurally unstable.
- Wells will be excavated with a machine if agreed to after consultation with Road and Maritime and the excavation director. Machine excavation will proceed if a well is too deep to safely manually excavated. This may involve removing the well structure horizontally in layers to allow continued safe access for manual excavation and recording, or removing a vertical section of the well if the structure is stable.
- Due to the potential depths and associated safety issues, deep excavation of the wells, whether by hand or machine will be left until last.

iii Driveway or road alignments

If former driveways or former alignments of The Northern Road are identified in the test area, the following method will be employed:

- The full length and width of the alignment within the test area will be established through topsoil removal prior to excavation.
- Using a machine with a smooth-edged mud bucket, a trench will be excavated perpendicular to the alignment to obtain a section of road or driveway.
- Any road surface materials will be excavated stratigraphically.
- A section of the road will be recorded in an attempt to show construction materials and techniques.

7.4.4 Soil profile test trench

Two 2 m x 2 m trenches will be excavated in locations that do not appear to contain archaeological fabric, so that the soil profile can be recorded. The final location of the trenches will be decided once the topsoil stripping has been completed to avoid impacting potential relics. This soil profile test trenches will be excavated stratigraphically and soil samples will be collected. If relics are encountered, the trench will be treated as per the general excavation method.

7.4.5 Artefact management

Artefacts recovered from the site will be managed by a dedicated artefact manager and in accordance with the process below.

Unprovenanced artefacts and other material assessed as being of low significance or future research potential will be discarded upon delivery of the final report.

- all artefacts that are retained will be catalogued by using a system that identifies and allows easy retrieval of the item;
- the specialists' cataloguers will produce reports on the artefacts outlining issues of importance;
- important artefacts will be the subject of materials conservation which would include the gluing of pottery or the conservation of important metal or leather materials; and
- artefacts which are the subject of materials conservation may be used in artefact displays in interpretation of the stations.

The excavation report will contain an analysis of artefacts and their deposits and contexts; the analysis will be illustrated using tables in the final report.

7.5 Public access

The Heritage Division will be invited to attend the site once the excavation has started, when features have been cleaned up and deposits are starting to be collected. There may be an opportunity for a public open day to showcase the archaeological site and the progress of the excavation.

7.6 Field program management

The field program will employ at least four experienced trench supervisors who will be responsible for a small team of archaeologists with varying levels of site expertise. An artefact manager will also be on site for at least four days per week and will be responsible for the collection as it is removed.

7.7 Excavation report

A detailed excavation report will be produced describing the methods and results of the archaeological program. The report will include the artefact analysis and response to research questions and a Harris matrix to illustrate the relationship of the contexts to one another.

The excavation report will be prepared as a separate stage to the field program.





Archaeological potential

Archaeological research design -Item 10 Lawson's Inn Figure 7.1





Area of investigation
Archaeological test excavation
area

Project impact area and construction boundary

Area of archaeological test excavation

Archaeological research design ltem 10 Lawson's Inn Figure 7.2



Source: EMM (2017); DFSI (2017); LPI (2015); GA (2015)

25 50 m GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56

Figure 7.2Area of archaeological test excavation

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