



Transport
Roads & Maritime
Services

**Thompson Square
Windsor NSW**

Strategic Conservation Management Plan

**Volume 1: Site Identification, Historical
Background and Heritage Status**

Final Draft
March 2017

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1 Introduction

Project Description

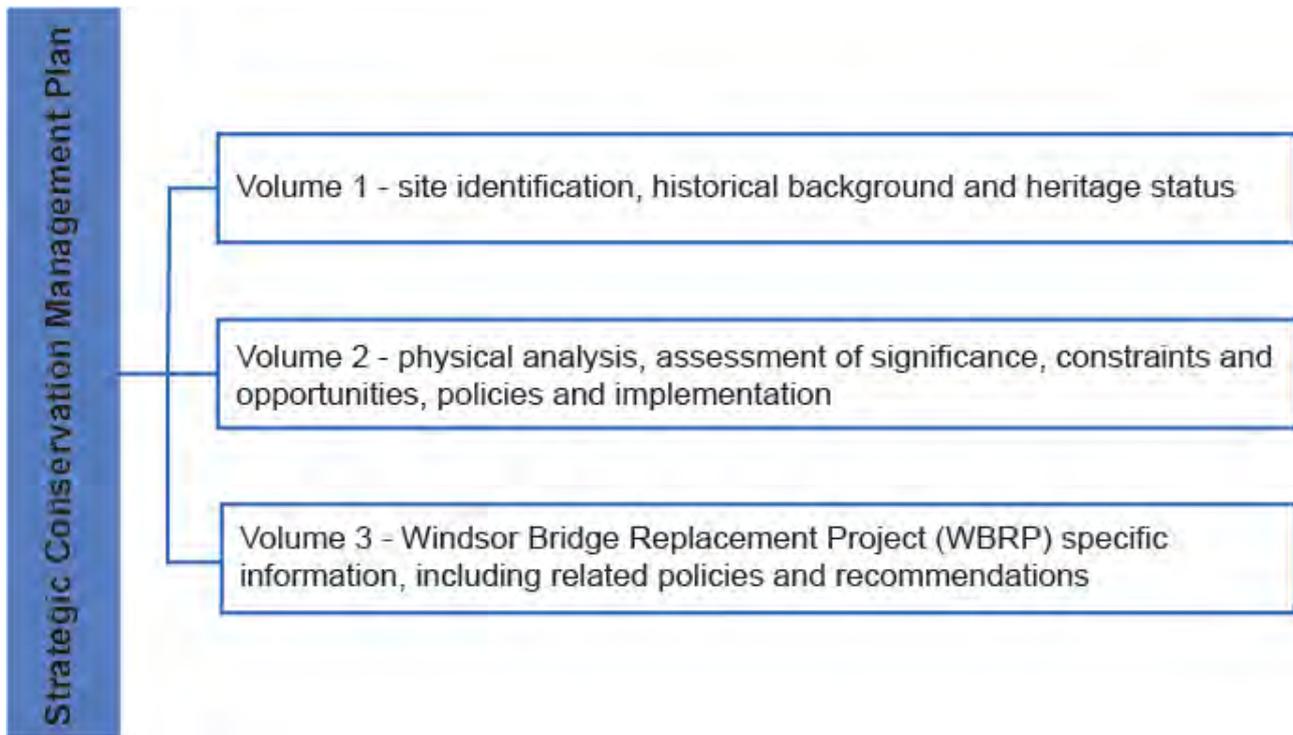
In December 2015, the Austral AHMS Joint Venture (AAJV) was commissioned by NSW Roads and Maritime Services to prepare a Strategic Conservation Management Plan (hereafter SCMP) for Thompson Square. The purpose of the report is to provide a framework for managing the heritage significance of Thompson Square within its context as an important and historic town centre.

The preparation of a Strategic Conservation Management Plan for the study area is one of the Conditions of Approval for the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project (hereafter WBRP). This project was approved on 20 December 2013 by the NSW Minister for Planning (Application No SSI-4951). Information relating directly to the WBRP, including the conditions of consent and how they have been met, have been included in Volume 3 of this SCMP.

This SCMP has been prepared in accordance with the standards and guidelines of the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage and heritage council, the principles of the *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* and best heritage practice.

Structure of SCMP

This SCMP has been divided into three volumes, aimed at providing specific information for targeted audiences. The following graph highlights the structure of the SCMP.



This document has been structured to ensure the longevity of the document following the conclusion of the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project (WBRP). Volumes 1 and 2 contain information relevant to the long-term conservation and management of the study area, while Volume 3 contains the information specifically relevant to the WBRP. At the conclusion of the WBRP, the information and policies in Volume 3 will no longer be relevant, however Volumes 1 and 2 will continue to provide the basis for ongoing management of Thompson Square.

Aims and Objectives of Volume 1

This report forms Volume 1 of the SCMP and is intended as a background document to Volumes 2 and 3. The objectives of Volume 1 are to:

- Identify the study area in detail;
- Examine the natural environment and its setting, in order to determine how this influenced Aboriginal and European occupation of the area;
- Provide information regarding the Aboriginal use of the area, based on historical sources and the results of archaeological testing;
- Provide detailed documentary evidence of the historical development of the study area;
- Identify the heritage status of the study area and neighbouring properties.

This information has been used to inform the policies and recommendations for the future management, adaptive re-use, new works and interpretation of the study area (as outlined in Volumes 2 and 3), to ensure the values of the place are maintained and, where appropriate, enhanced.

Audience

The audience for Volumes 1 and 2 includes the general public and non-government stakeholders, local landowners, Hawkesbury City Council, the Office of Environment and Heritage and NSW Roads and Maritime Services.

The audience for Volume 3, which is primarily concerned with the implementation of the SCMP policies on the WBRP, is NSW Roads and Maritime services (as project proponent), the Department of Planning and Environment (as consent authority) and the Office of Environment and Heritage (as regulatory advisor to DPE) and representative of the NSW Heritage Council.

All volumes are intended to be publicly available.

Study Area

Thompson Square is located in the centre of the town of Windsor, immediately south of the Hawkesbury River. Thompson Square is one of the oldest public squares in Australia and notable for the large number of Colonial Georgian buildings which surround it. The site is made up of George Street, Bridge Street, Thompson Square and The Terrace, a series of roadways which surround a small turfed reserve. Directly north is Windsor Bridge, spanning across the Hawkesbury River to connect with Wilberforce Road (Figure 1).

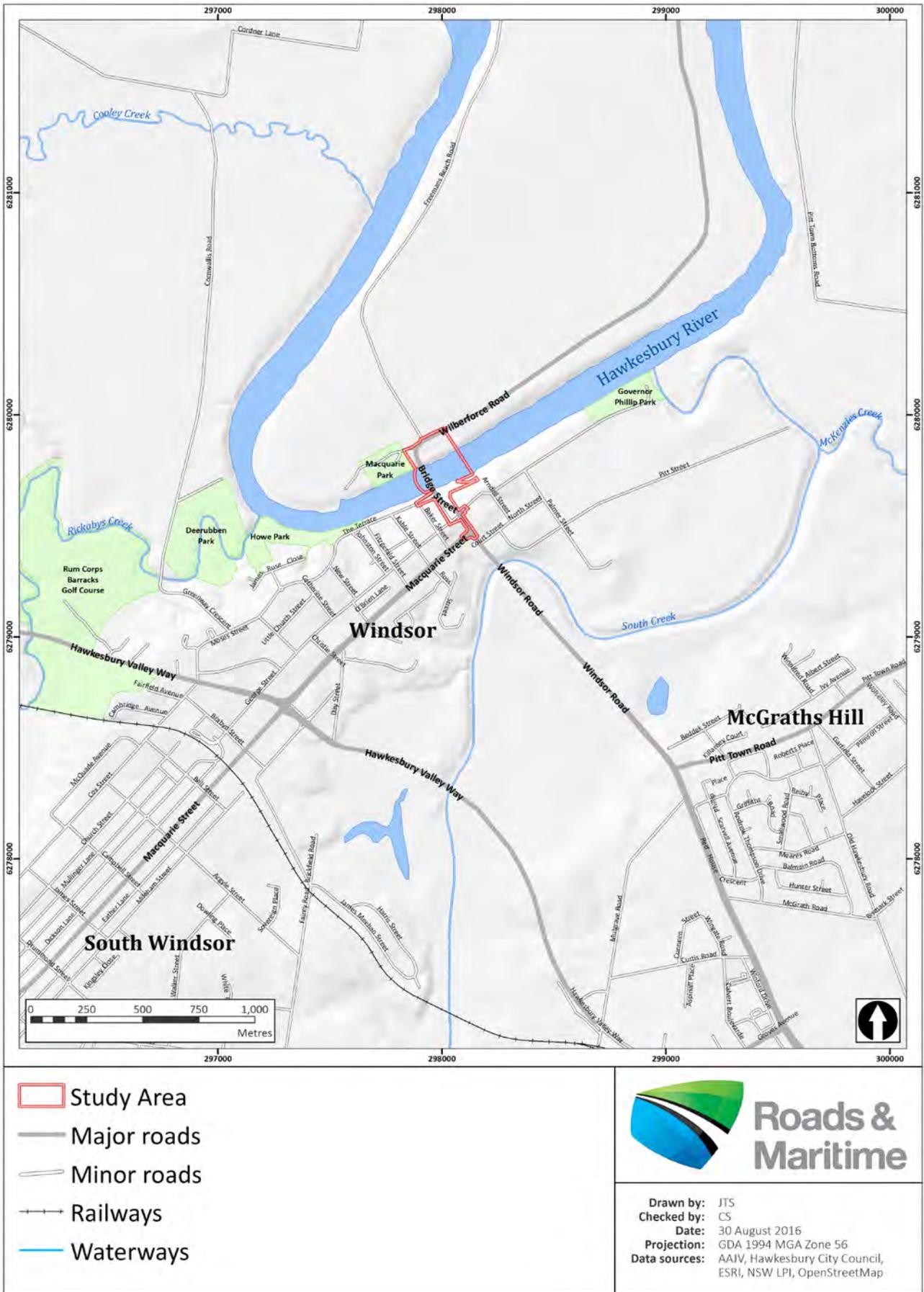


Figure 1: Roadmap indicating the location of the SCMP study area, including Thompson Square Conservation Area and Windsor Bridge, within the wider area of Windsor.



Figure 2: Aerial indicating the location of the SCMP study area (in red).

Approach and Methodology

The preparation of a Strategic Conservation Management Plan for the study area is one of the Conditions of Approval for the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project. This project was approved on 20 December 2013 by the NSW Minister for Planning (Application No SSI-4951). The relevant condition is:

“B1 – the Applicant shall submit a Strategic Conservation Management Plan (CMP) to the Director-General for the project area on the southern side of the Hawkesbury River as shown in Appendix 2 Strategic Conservation Management Plan study area. The CMP shall be prepared by appropriately qualified and/or experienced heritage consultants. The nominated heritage consultant(s) is to have appropriate experience and skills including land and maritime archaeology, landscape, engineering and built heritage expertise and documented experience in the preparation and implementation of CMPs.

The Applicant shall not carry out any pre-construction or construction activities on the southern side of the Hawkesbury River for the SSI before the CMP has been approved by the Director-General. The CMP is to provide for the conservation of the Thompson Square Conservation Area. The CMP shall be prepared in consultation with the Heritage Branch, OEH and in accordance with the relevant guidelines of the NSW Heritage Council and include, but not limited to:

- a) Identification of the heritage value of the Thompson Square Conservation Area, including statements of significance for the Thompson Square Conservation Area and any individual listings within the conservation area of local, state or national heritage items;*
- b) The development of heritage design principles for the project to retain the significance of the Thompson Square Conservation Area and any individually listed item within the conservation area or in proximity to the site, with the exception of Item 3 (the Thompson Square lower parkland area) and Item 20 (Windsor Bridge) in Table 1 of Appendix 1;*
- c) Specific mitigation measures for the Thompson Square Conservation Area and individually listed items to minimise impact and top ensure that final measures selected are appropriate and the least intrusive option;*
- d) Changes to the detailed design of the SSI to mitigate heritage impacts.”*

The majority of information specific to the WBRP is located in Volume 3, however all three volumes act in aggregate to fulfil this condition.

Guidelines, standards and other documents relied upon for the preparation of the SCMP include:

- *The Conservation Plan (7th edition), James Semple Kerr 2013*
- *Assessing Heritage Significance, NSW Heritage Office 2001*
- *Assessing Significance for Historical Archaeological Sites and Relics, NSW Heritage Office*
- *Conservation Management Documents, NSW Heritage Office 2009*
- *Conservation Management Plan: A Checklist, NSW Heritage Office 2003*
- *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, ICOMOS Australia 2013*
- *Ask First - A Guide to respecting Indigenous Heritage Values and Places, Australian Heritage Commission 2002*

It should be noted that there is no established standard for what constitutes a ‘Strategic’ Conservation Management Plan, as opposed to a Conservation Management Plan. The dictionary definition of ‘strategic’ is:

“relating to the identification of long-term or overall aims and interests and the means of achieving them”¹

In this regard, the report’s authors view the SCMP as providing high-level policy advice for the ongoing conservation of the study area, acknowledging the existing constraints, identifying future opportunities and setting long-term goals to achieve conservation outcomes. It also provides specific guidance for the WBRP and the mitigation of its heritage impacts and the interpretation of the area’s heritage values.

The SCMP is being prepared in consultation with the Heritage Division of the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) and in accordance with the relevant guidelines of the NSW Heritage Council as noted above. The SCMP only extends to the front facades of the buildings within the study area on the southern side of the Hawkesbury River. The SCMP considers the public domain contribution of these buildings to the study area, but does not make detailed assessment of their fabric nor detailed recommendations for the conservation of individual structures.

The methodology incorporates the following sections: Historical Background, Physical Analysis, Assessment of Significance, Conservation Management Issues, Policies and Implementation. The historical overview provides sufficient historical background to provide an understanding of the place in order to assess the heritage significance in accordance with the NSW heritage assessment process and provide relevant recommendations, however, it is not intended as an exhaustive history of the site.

The methodology used in the preparation of this plan follows that set out in *The Conservation Plan* (7th edition) by James Semple Kerr. The basic methodology of this process is to:

- Research the history and development of the place (Volume 1);
- Identify the significance of the place and its elements (Volume 2, Chapters 3-4);
- Assess the significance of the place and its elements (Volume 2, Chapter 5);
- Develop management recommendations to manage the significance of the place and its elements (Volume 2, Chapters 6-7 for the general study area, Volume 3 for the WBRP).

Site inspections of the study area were carried out between April and July 2016. The general locality was also inspected. An extensive program of historic, Aboriginal and maritime archaeological testing was undertaken between August and November 2016. A summary of the results of this testing have been incorporated into the SCMP, however detailed discussion of the archaeological findings is contained within the Archaeological Test Excavation Reports. A Preliminary Test Excavation Report has been prepared in December 2016 to guide archaeological salvage works, and the complete Test Excavation Report will be available in April 2017. Wherever possible, recommendations and policies from those documents are included within the SCMP.

This SCMP has relied upon a range of primary and secondary sources, as well as heritage and environmental reports prepared for the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project and other projects, as relevant. A full Bibliography may be found at the end of this document, however key sources have included:

- Windsor Bridge Replacement Project – Preliminary Archaeological Testing Report (AAJV, December 2016)
- Windsor Bridge Replacement Project – Environmental Impact Statement & Supporting Documents (NSW Roads and Maritime Services, November 2012)²

¹ Oxford Dictionary, Oxford University Press 2016 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/strategic> Accessed August 2016.

² <http://www.rms.nsw.gov.au/projects/sydney-west/windsor-bridge-replacement/project-documents.html>. Accessed June 2016

- Windsor Bridge Replacement Project - Aboriginal Cultural Heritage - Cultural Heritage Assessment Report. Kelleher Nightingale Consulting (2012)
- Windsor Museum, NSW: Aboriginal archaeological and cultural salvage excavation. AHIP #2119. Austral Archaeology Pty Ltd (2011)
- The extensive collection of early photos of Windsor from the Government Printing Office, held by the State Library of NSW.
- Commentary from contemporary sources, such as government dispatches, in *the Historical Records of Australia* and the *Historical Records of New South Wales*.
- *Early Days of Windsor* by Jas. Steele (1916).

Limitations

This SCMP has been prepared within the context of the approved project to replace the existing Windsor Bridge and to provide new approaches to the north and south of the Hawkesbury River.

The project was the subject of a challenge in the NSW Land and Environment Court (LEC) by a community group called Community Action for Windsor Bridge (CAWB). This court challenge was unsuccessful and the court ruled in favour of the approved project on 27 October 2015.³

The SCMP has been prepared with the approved project and its impacts taken as a given; the document does not contemplate alternatives to the approved project. The SCMP does provide guidance for the mitigation of the specific impacts of the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project (in Volume 3), as well as the strategic long-term management of the Thompson Square precinct following the completion of the approved works (in Volume 2).

Inspection and testing have been limited to lands which are in the ownership and/or control of NSW Roads and Maritime Services, or are otherwise within the public domain, including the riverbed. There has been no access to any privately owned land or property. Any observations and recommendations related to privately owned property relate solely to observations made from the public domain, and how the heritage significance of the study area can best be managed and conserved within that public domain interface.

Although Extent Heritage makes every attempt to minimise the error in its maps, the very nature of amalgamating data from multiple sources means that discrepancies will arise in alignment. Aerial photography, in particular, is very prone to alignment errors occurring as a result of orthorectification and registration, and it is rare that aerial imagery will perfectly match with other data, such as cadastral. Early maps and plans, even where prepared by a surveyor, may be considerably less accurate than modern information, again leading to potential misalignments. Nonetheless, based on the AAJV's experiences working with the data on this project, and observations of built fabric and historical archaeological materials located during testing, the project team is confident that geographical displacement should be no more than approximately 2, depending on the data sources being used

³ Community Action for Windsor Bridge Inc v NSW Roads and Maritime Services & anor. [2015] NSWLEC 167. Brereton AJ.

Ownership

The Thompson Square Study Area is in multiple ownerships, including State and local government, and the private commercial and residential sector. Land is also affected by easements for public and private utilities (e.g. water, power gas, telecommunications).

The road reserves, Windsor Bridge and the areas for the new planned bridge approaches are owned by NSW Roads and Maritime Services.

The public domain land of Thompson Square is owned and managed by Hawkesbury City Council.

The buildings within and along the boundaries of the study area are owned by a variety of private owners.

Infrastructure within the study area is owned by a variety of utility providers including Sydney Water Corporation (water and sewer), Endeavour Energy (high and low voltage electrical), Jemena (gas) and a variety of telecommunications companies.



Figure 3: Land ownership plan.

Heritage Status

The study area consists of two main heritage items, listed on the following statutory registers:

- NSW State Heritage Register, item #00126 as *Thompson Square Conservation Area*;
- RMS Section 170 Heritage and Conservation Register (S170), item #4309589 as *Hawkesbury River Bridge, Windsor*;
- Hawkesbury Local Environmental Plan (LEP) 2012, item #I00126 as Thompson Square and item #I276 as Windsor Bridge.

The study area includes the following non-statutory heritage listings:

- National Trust of Australia (NSW) Register under ID's *S10510* and *S11456* as *Thompson Square Precinct*.

There are also numerous buildings adjacent to the study area, which have been discussed later within this report and are listed on the State Heritage Register (SHR) and the Local Environmental Plan (LEP).

The following figures (Figure 4 - Figure 11) show the coverage of heritage listings in the study area. During the mapping process, it became clear that there are several issues in the listing data across State and local levels:

- As shown in Figure 9, there is a slight variation across conservation area curtilages;
- The boundary for the State Heritage Register conservation area has some errors, with a small portion in the southeastern boundary excluded from the curtilage as shown in Figure 5.
- As shown in Figure 10, the lower parkland is not labelled as Thompson Square in the LEP, but rather "McQuade Park" which is located one kilometre west of the site.

Where necessary, the incorrect references have been corrected in this document, for the sake of clarity.

A detailed review and rationalisation of State and local listings and curtilage boundaries throughout the study area site may be required in the future.

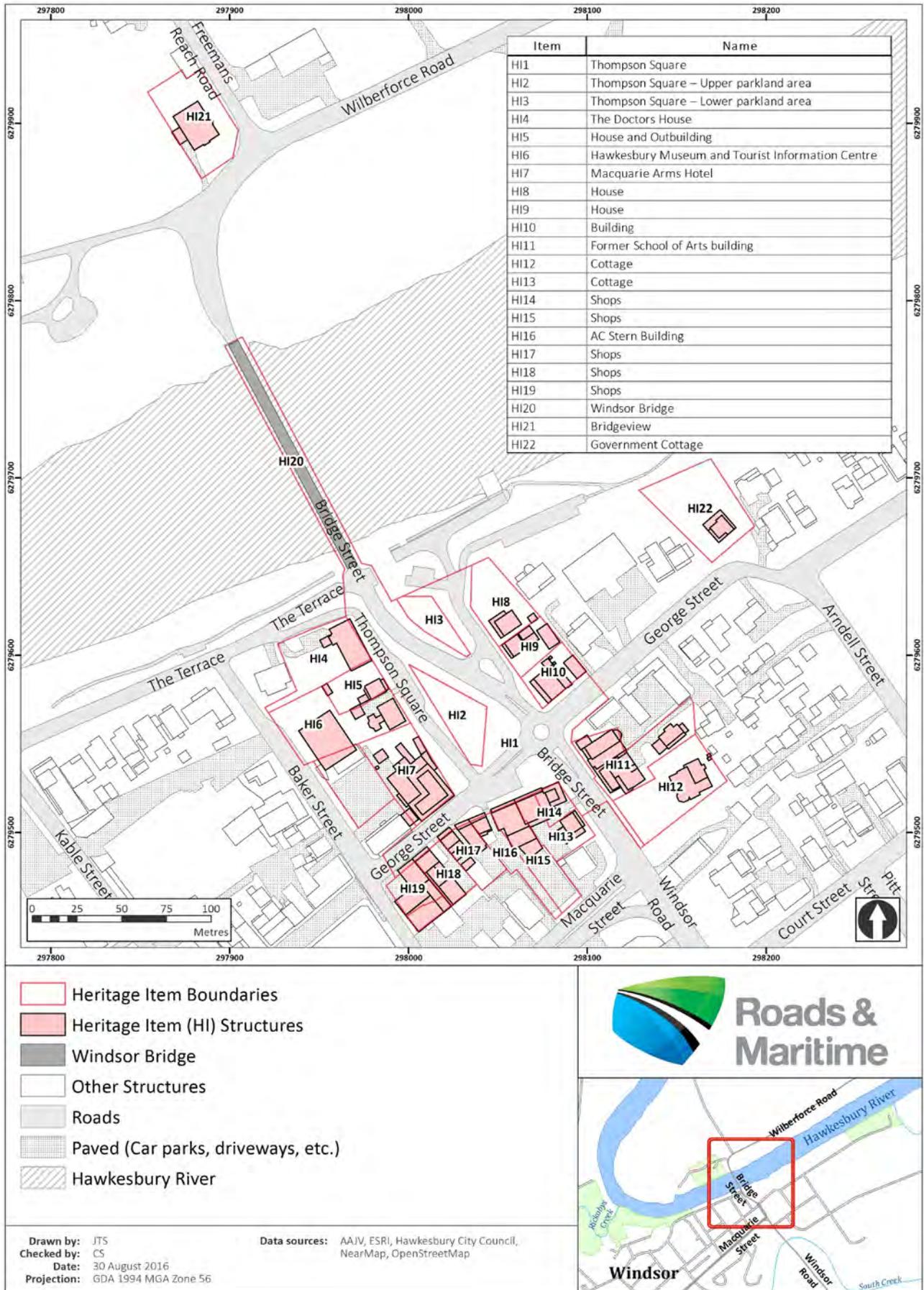


Figure 4: Plan of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge indicating all heritage items relevant to the SCMP study area.



- Study Area
- Thompson Square Conservation Area
State Heritage Register Item #00126



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

Figure 5: Thompson Square Conservation Area State Heritage Register boundary.



Figure 6: Thompson Square Conservation Area Local Environmental Plan boundary.



- Study Area
- Heritage items included in the LEP listing description for I00126



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

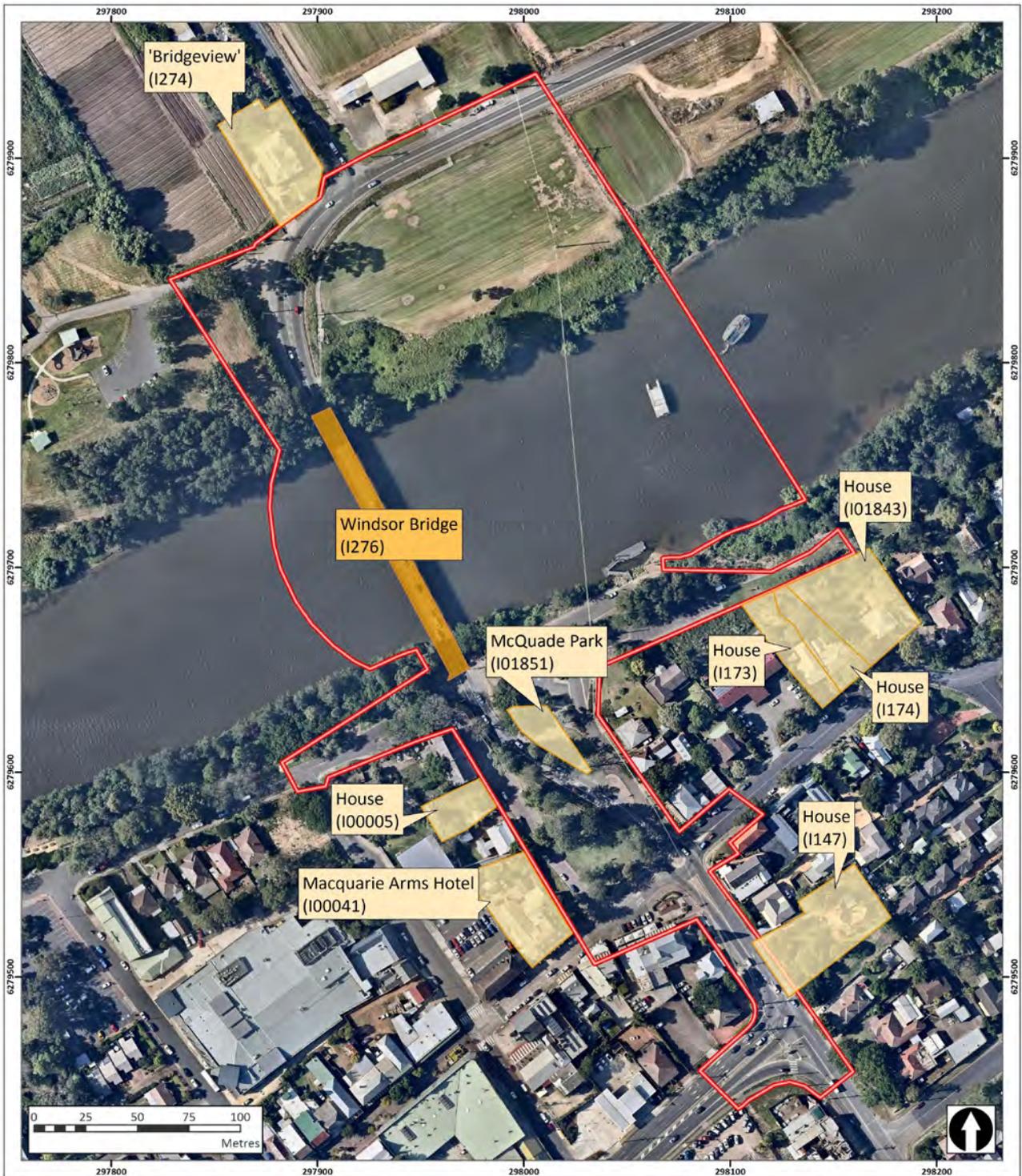
Figure 7: Heritage items included within the Local Environmental Plan listing.



Figure 8: Overlay of heritage listings relevant to the SCMP study area.



Figure 9: State Heritage Register heritage items relevant to the SCMP study area.



- Study Area
- LEP Heritage Register items not included under Thompson Square listing
- LEP Heritage Register items also included on s170 NSW State agency heritage register, but not included under Thompson Square listing



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAIW, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

Figure 10: Local Environmental Plan heritage items relevant to the SCMP study area. NB: the lower parkland is not labelled as Thompson Square in the LEP, but rather “McQuade Park” which is located one kilometre west of the site.

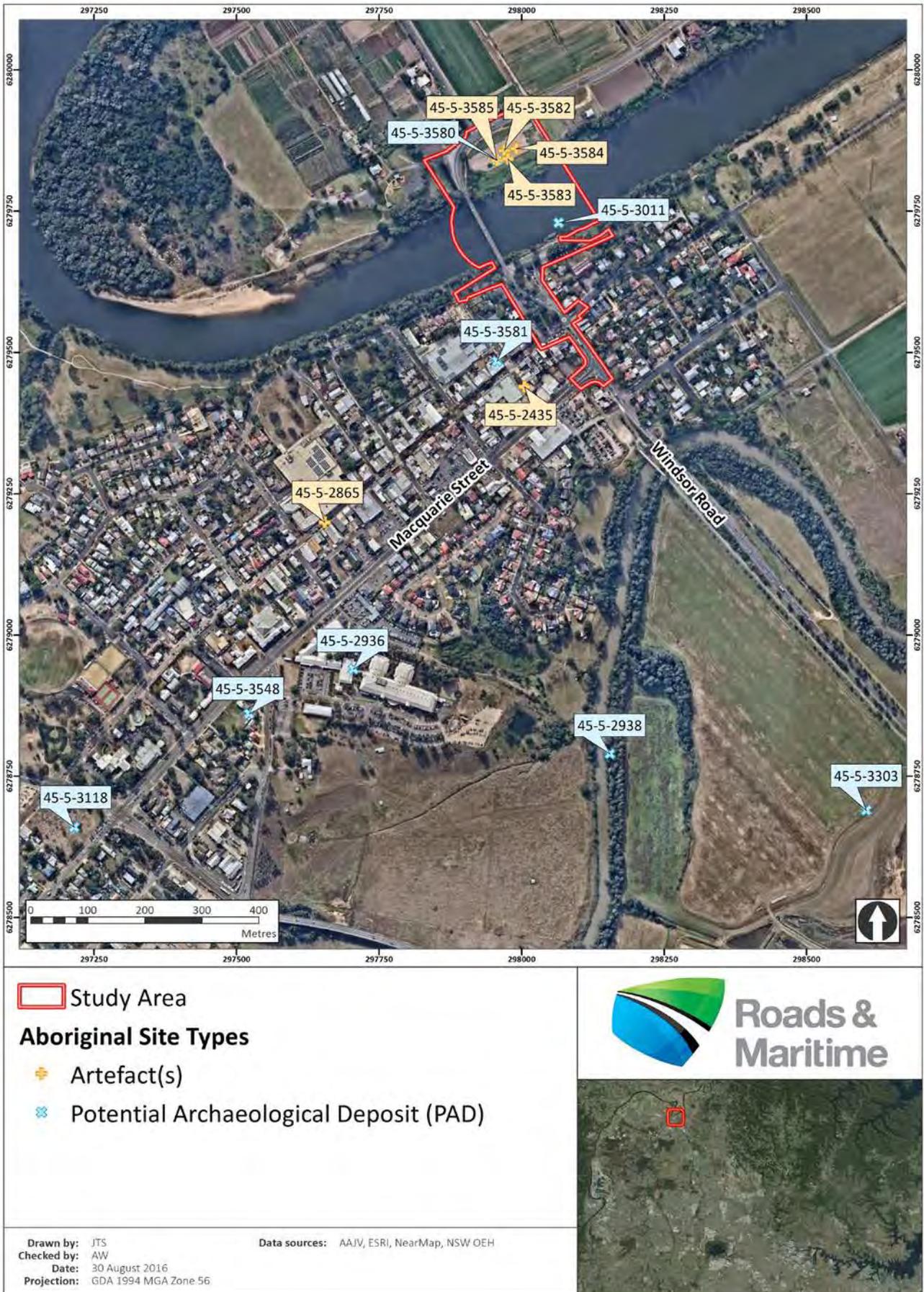


Figure 11: Aboriginal archaeological sites in Windsor region identified in AHIMS (prior to 2016 archaeological testing).

Author Identification and Acknowledgements

This Conservation Management Plan has been prepared by the Austral AHMS Joint Venture, in conjunction with a range of expert sub-consultants.

The Austral AHMS Joint Venture (AAJV) is an unincorporated joint venture of Austral Archaeology Pty Ltd and Extent Heritage Pty Ltd (a merger of Archaeological and Heritage Management Solutions Pty Ltd and Futurepast Heritage Consulting Pty Ltd).

The SCMP Project Team includes:

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Damien Wagner	Jacobs
Tim Rodham	Jacobs
Bruno Dalla-Palma	Jacobs

Terminology

The terminology in the SCMP follows the definitions presented in *The Burra Charter*. Article 1, supplemented with additional terminology where required.

Table 1: Terminology definitions

Term	Definition
Aboriginal object	A statutory term defined under the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 as 'any deposit, object or material evidence (not being a handicraft made for sale) relating to the Aboriginal habitation of the area that comprises New South Wales, being habitation before or concurrent with (or both) the occupation of that area by persons of non-Aboriginal extraction, and includes Aboriginal remains'.
Adaptation	Modifying a <i>place</i> to suit the existing use or a proposed use.
aeolian	Sediment that has been deposited through wind-blown processes (e.g. sand dunes).
alluvial	Sediment that has been deposited through deposition by water processes (e.g. floodplains adjacent a river).
alluvium	Objects demonstrating evidence of use of the area by people in the past.
Artefact	Objects demonstrating evidence of use of the area by people.
Associations	The connections that exist between people and a <i>place</i> .
Compatible Use	A use that respects the <i>cultural significance</i> of a <i>place</i> . Such a use involves no, or minimal, impact on cultural significance.
Conservation	All the processes of looking after a <i>place</i> so to retain its <i>cultural significance</i> .
Cultural landscape significance	Denotes values that are social, aesthetic, historic and possesses a sense of community for past, present and future generations.
Cultural significance	Aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.
Fabric	All the physical material of the place including components, fixtures, contents, and objects.
fluvial	Sediment that has been deposited/reworked by processes directly associated with rivers or streams. In the context of this report, fluvial is considered to represent deposits within the active river corridor (e.g. bank erosion, point bars, etc) compared with alluvium that was deposited through fast moving water typically during times of high water or flooding.
Interpretation	Means all the ways of presenting the <i>cultural significance</i> of a place.

Isolated find	An isolated find is usually considered a single artefact or stone tool, but can relate to any product of prehistoric Aboriginal societies. The term “object” is used in the ACHA, to reflect the definitions of Aboriginal stone tools or other products in the <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i> .
Landscape character	Encompasses both the physical and visual qualities of the present-day landscape and the cultural values of the site including programme and community interaction
Maintenance	The continuous protective care of the <i>fabric</i> and <i>setting</i> of a <i>place</i> , and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves restoration or reconstruction.
Meanings	Denote what a <i>place</i> signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses to people.
Natural landscape significance	Values relating to the geography, biodiversity and ecology of a place and its position within broader landscape systems.
Place	Site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.
Potential Archaeological Deposit (PAD)	An area assessed as having the potential to contain Aboriginal objects. PADs are commonly identified on the basis of landform types, surface expressions of Aboriginal objects, surrounding archaeological material, disturbance, and a range of other factors. While not defined in the <i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i> , PADs are generally considered to retain Aboriginal objects and are therefore protected and managed in accordance with that Act.
Preservation	Maintaining the <i>fabric</i> of a <i>place</i> in its existing state and retarding deterioration.
Reconstruction	Returning the <i>place</i> to a known earlier state and is distinguished from <i>restoration</i> by the introduction of new material into the <i>fabric</i> .
Related Place	A place that contributes to the <i>cultural significance</i> of another place.
Related Object	An object that contributes to the <i>cultural significance</i> of a place but is not at the place
Relic	"relic" means any deposit, artefact, object or material evidence that: (a) relates to the settlement of the area that comprises New South Wales, not being Aboriginal settlement, and (b) is of State or local heritage significance, as defined under the <i>Heritage Act 1977</i> .
Restoration	Returning the existing <i>fabric</i> of a <i>place</i> to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.
Setting	The area around a <i>place</i> , which may include the visual catchment.
Site (archaeology)	An archaeological site is an area which contains one or more archaeological ‘relics’. This may be in an Aboriginal, historical or maritime context.
Unexpected find	A potential ‘relic’ discovered during the course of work in an area that may have been assessed as having a nil or low potential to contain such

	material.
Use	The functions of a place, as well as the activities and practices that may occur at the place.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations shown throughout the three volumes of this report have been outlined below.

Table 2: Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
AAJV	Austral AHMS Joint Venture
BP	Before present (AD 1950)
CAWB	Community Action for Windsor Bridge
DPE	Department of Planning and Environment
HCC	Hawkesbury City Council
ka	Abbreviation for thousands of years ago (e.g. 1 ka equals 1,000 years ago)
LEC	NSW Land and Environment Court
LEP	<i>Hawkesbury Local Environmental Plan 2012</i>
NPW Act	<i>National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974</i>
OEH	Office of Environment and Heritage
PAD	Potential archaeological deposit
RAP	Registered Aboriginal party
RMS	Roads and Maritime Services
S170	Section 170 Heritage and Conservation Register
SCMP	Strategic Conservation Management Plan
SHR	State Heritage Register
SSBA	Surface Supplied Breathing Apparatus
WBRP	Windsor Bridge Replacement Project

2 Thompson Square Historical Background

2.1 Historical Overview

2.1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the natural, Aboriginal, colonial and contemporary history and development of the study area and, where relevant, the surrounding area. This history has been prepared to identify places, themes and stories of heritage significance to the study area, to guide the understanding of the heritage significance of the place, the policies which relate to its future conservation and the aspects of the study area which should be interpreted.⁴ This history is not meant to be the definitive history of the Windsor region or of Thompson Square, but rather an exploration of the aspects of the place's history which are able to most usefully guide the understanding of significance and conservation policy in this context. There are areas of the history of the study area which are inevitably glossed-over or omitted due to reasons of space, time and project relevance. There is ample scope for future researchers and historians to add to the understanding of the place, its history and development, particularly as new sources of evidence come to light. It is therefore important to view the history presented here as part of a *process* of understanding the place, rather than a *product* which provides the final word on the history of Thompson Square and Windsor.

Furthermore, there are aspects of every history which are contested. This history is based on the knowledge, experience and interests of those who prepared it. It is possible, and perhaps likely, that there will be alternate interpretations of aspects of the study area's history presented here. Where there are strongly contested aspects to this history, or where the project team has not been able to reach a unanimity of views, these are identified through footnotes, without any attempt to argue that the views here are definitive. Wherever possible, this history is supported by factual information drawn from primary sources. Please note that historical sources, where quoted, have been placed in block italic text and have not been edited from their original textual presentation.

2.1.2 Key Events and Physical Changes to the Study Area

The following table provides an overview of the key events and physical changes related to Thompson Square during its known history. The table is not intended as an exhaustive history, but a summary in order to contextualise the detailed history provided later in this chapter.

Table 3: Key events and physical changes to the study area.

Year	Event
Pre-1788	Aboriginal occupation of the study area.
1794	Government makes 118 land grants along the upper Hawkesbury, creating the colony of Mulgrave Place.
1795	Civic square established in location of present day Thompson Square.

⁴ Details related to heritage interpretation are contained in the *Thompson Square Interpretation Strategy* (AAJV October 2016), which provides the high-level framework for interpretation, and the *Thompson Square Interpretation Plan* (AAJV, March 2017 – in development), which provides the detailed interpretive locations and media.

Year	Event
	First wharf constructed.
c1796	Andrew Thompson takes up informal occupation of a cottage near the granary in what later becomes Thompson Square
1799	Civic square fixed in form. Major flood. 1795 wharf destroyed.
1 October 1799	Andrew Thompson granted a formal lease on 1 acre of land, forming the boundaries of the later Thompson Square
1800-1801	Major flood.
1801	Major flood.
1806	Two major floods.
1809	Major flood.
January 1810	Governor Macquarie announces that Andrew Thompson is to be the colony's first magistrate.
October 1810	Andrew Thompson dies.
December 1810	Governor Macquarie announces the creation of five new towns on the high land along the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. Mulgrave Place is renamed "Windsor".
1811	Civic square officially named "Thompson Square" after Andrew Thompson.
1814	A regular punt service begins.
1815	Turning place for carts created in the vicinity of the new wharf.
1815-1816	Barrel drain constructed. New wharf constructed.
1816	Major flood. 1815 wharf destroyed.
1817	Major flood.
1819	Major flood.
1820	New wharf constructed.
1855	A temporary additional wharf erected.
1857	Major flood.

Year	Event
1867	Greatest flood in the history of Windsor, reaching 63 feet (19.2 metres).
1874	Windsor Bridge opened. Redundant punt moored out in the river just downstream from Windsor Bridge.
By 1894	Open space of Thompson Square divided into two separate parts running north-south.
1896-1897	Windsor Bridge raised by two metres. Punt brought briefly back into service before Windsor Bridge was ready for use again.
1899	The two open areas of Thompson Square declared public recreation reserves.
1934	Wharf renovated. New road cutting made from Windsor Bridge approach across Terrace Road to give more convenient vehicle access.
1935	A new approach road to Windsor Bridge from George Street established, which created the present deep cutting going north-west to south-east on Bridge Street.
1948-49	Boat house constructed on Lower Thompson Square
By 1961	Boundaries of Thompson Square more formalised than ever before.
By 1970	Car park established on Lower Thompson Square.
1988	Restoration program undertaken - extensive restoration of important buildings in Thompson Square along with improvements in the open areas. Wharf rebuilt and re-sited downstream.
By 1990	Present day layout of Thompson Square established.
1991	Former boat house building within Thompson Square removed. Thompson Square road narrowed.
2014	New wharf constructed.

2.1.3 Environmental History

The Hawkesbury River, which flows through the study area crosses at Windsor, is one of the most significant riverine systems on Australia's east coast. The study area has a complex geomorphological history of fluvial and aeolian processes that created Windsor's contemporary landscape. Studies to the south, at Cranebrook Terrace, suggest that the river banks and surrounds are founded on Tertiary clays and gravels (greater than 2.6 million years old), and that they formed over the last 100,000 years. Archaeological investigations at Pitt Town and the site of the Windsor Museum indicate that initial deposition of alluvial sand deposits within the soil profile at

these sites began about 150,000 years ago.⁵ These sand bodies are vast. At Cranebrook Terrace they are over 20m thick. At Pitt Town they are about 2.5m deep and they have been deposited on a terrace that is over 20m above water. Within the study area, the northern portion (i.e. the left bank) is based on Quaternary alluvium, demonstrated elsewhere to be between 4 and 8m thick.⁶ These deposits may also extend to the area immediately around the banks on the south side of the river. Recent archaeological work (discussed below), suggest that these deposits formed rapidly, and may be less than 15,000 years in age.

To the south of the study area, the geological landscape is characterised by a natural ridge of Tertiary clay. Archaeological excavations in 2012 indicated that this ridge is overlain by yellow-brown loamy sand up to 80cm deep. This sand is similar to the surface deposits at Pitt Town and the Windsor Museum and it was probably formed by a combination of low-energy flooding and aeolian re-working.⁷ These sand deposits are horizontally distinct due to the undulating nature of the Tertiary clay surface found below them. In addition, their thickness and distribution within the study area is likely to have been affected by numerous and extensive historical development episodes.

Low-lying parts of the study area are regularly inundated by river flooding; the erosive and depositional characteristics of these actions are the principal factors that shaped local topography over a very long period of time. The recorded flood history extends from 1799⁸ through to the present day (with a 6m rise in river level recorded as recently as June 2016). Flooding and the impacts of flooding not only shaped Windsor's environmental history, the deposition of fertile flood borne sediments and their agricultural potential was a major factor that influenced the choice of the place as an outlier township during the early historical period.

The series of figures below illustrate the physical extent of recorded flooding on the landscape incorporating the study area during the historic period (Figure 12 to Figure 18).

What this sequence of overlays illustrates is the degree to which flooding has occurred on a regular basis throughout the period for which historical records are available. The aggregated physical impact of this flooding is difficult to quantify, however, it has involved the deposition, removal and re-deposition of material by floodwaters throughout the study area and the wider region. The cumulative effects of this over both the historical period and for many thousands of years previously have impacted upon the survival of archaeological remains from both the colonial and pre-colonial periods. The flood history of the area is therefore an essential part of understanding the topographical development of the area during both Aboriginal and European colonisation.

The final figure within the flood mapping sequence demonstrates the aggregated extent of flooding across the landscape incorporating the study area, based on data sourced from Hawkesbury City Council and covering the period 1867 to 1988 (Figure 18). As can be seen, with the exception of the tops of the ridge, virtually the entire area has been subject to extensive flooding on many occasions within the last 200 years. This pattern, combined with the 1816 360-degree illustration of Windsor in flood (Figure 19 to Figure 22), is the recorded evidence of a flood cycle which has been regularly occurring within this district for thousands of years.

The influence of the river on Windsor's cultural, economic and social history are explored in chronological order within following sections of this document.

⁵ Austral Archaeology Pty Ltd (2011) *Windsor Museum, NSW: Aboriginal archaeological and cultural salvage excavation*. AHIP #2119. Report to Hawkesbury City Council; Williams, A.N., Mitchell, P., Wright, R.V.S., Toms, P. (2012) A Terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River, Pitt Town, NSW. *Australian Archaeology* 74.

⁶ Groundtruth Consulting Pty Ltd (2010) Geomorphology and soils in relation to archaeological investigations on the Cranebrook Terrace, Penrith Lakes, NSW. Unpublished Report to Comber Consultants Pty Ltd

⁷ KNC (2012) *Windsor Bridge Replacement Project - Aboriginal Cultural Heritage - Cultural Heritage Assessment Report*. Unpublished Report to NSW Roads and Maritime Services.

⁸ Hawkesbury City Council (2012) *Hawkesbury Flood Levels, 1799-1992*.

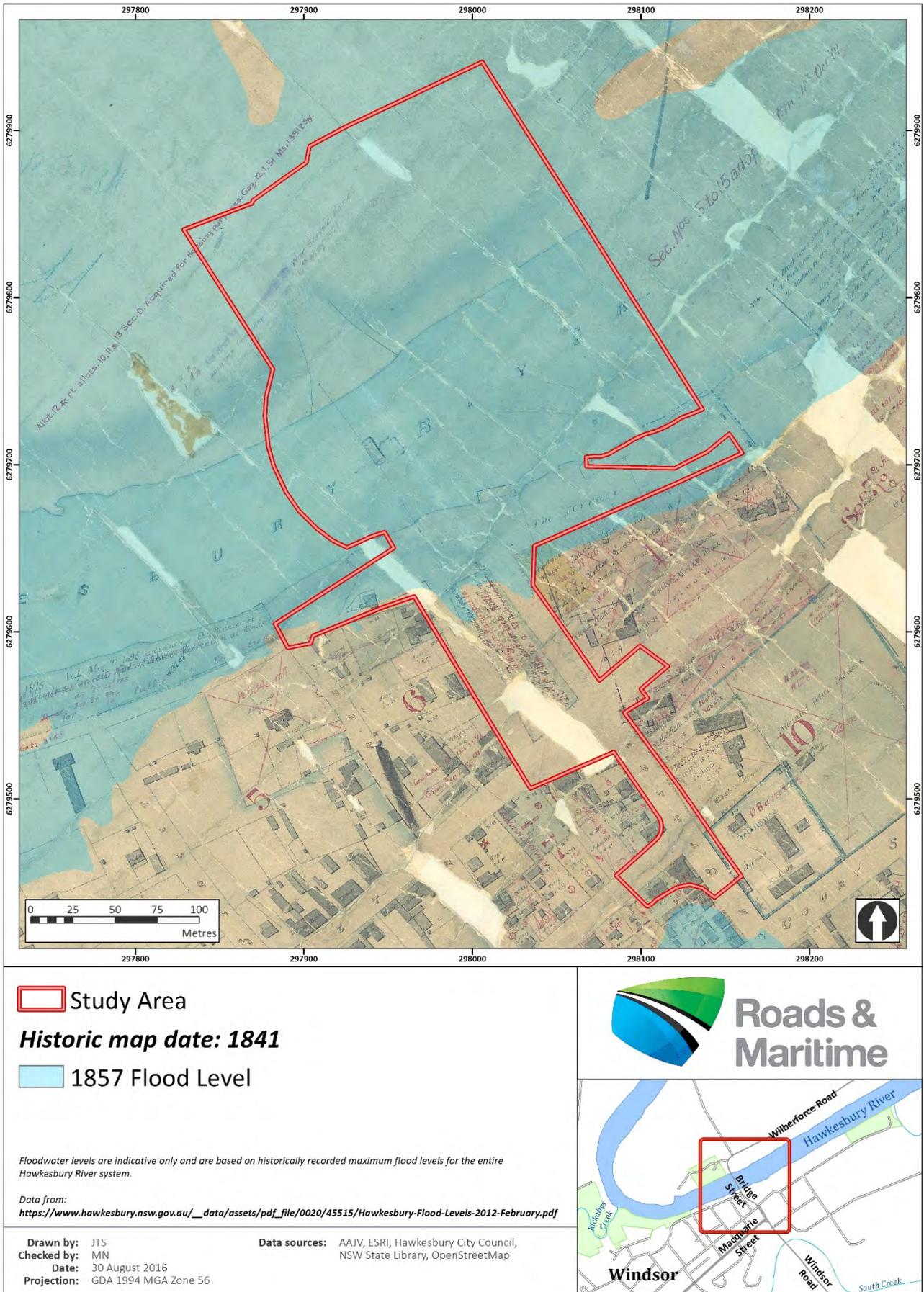


Figure 12: Extent of the 1857 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.

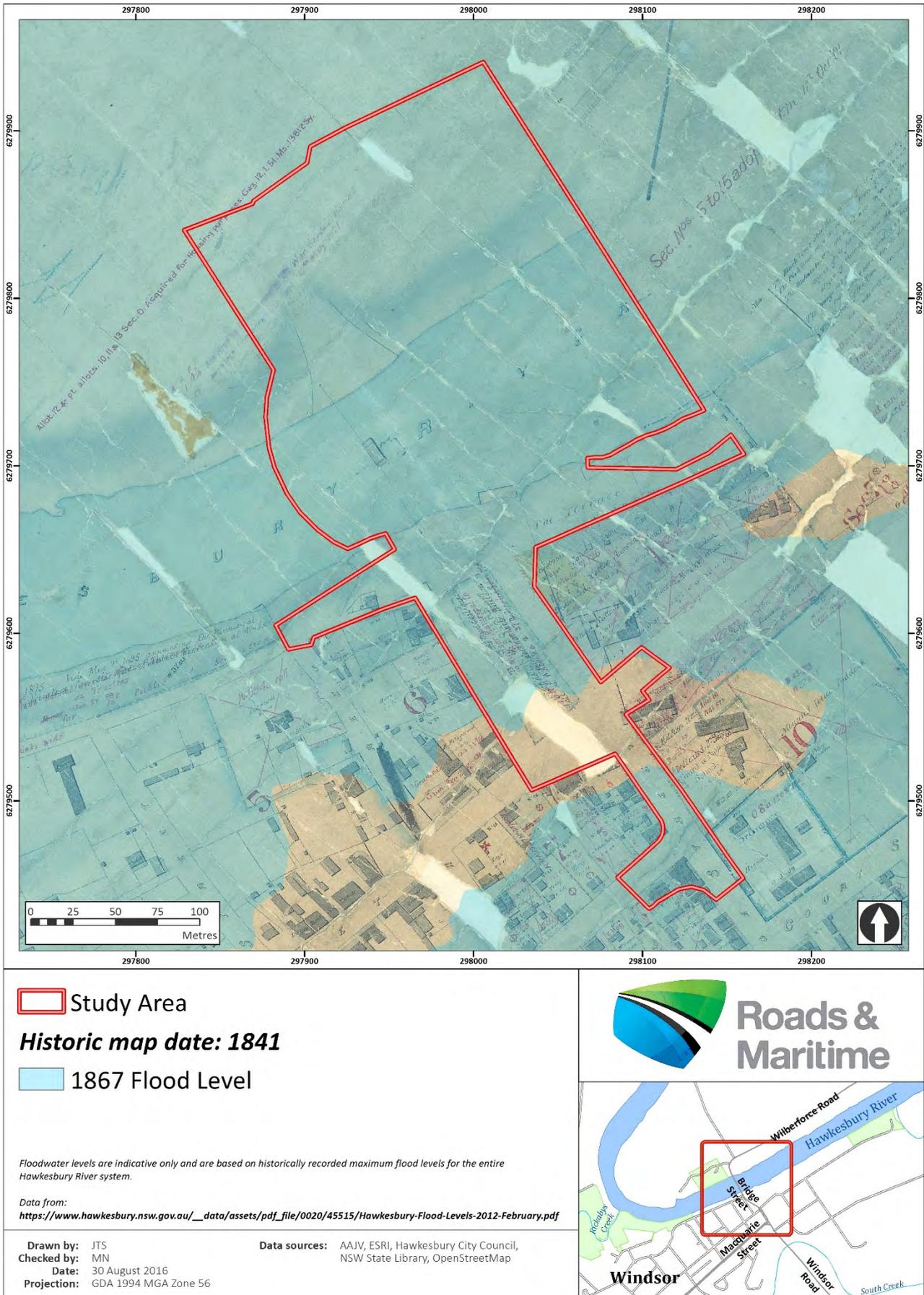


Figure 13: Extent of the 1867 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.



Figure 14: Extent of the 1904 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.



Figure 15: Extent of the 1956 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.



Figure 16: Extent of the 1961 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.

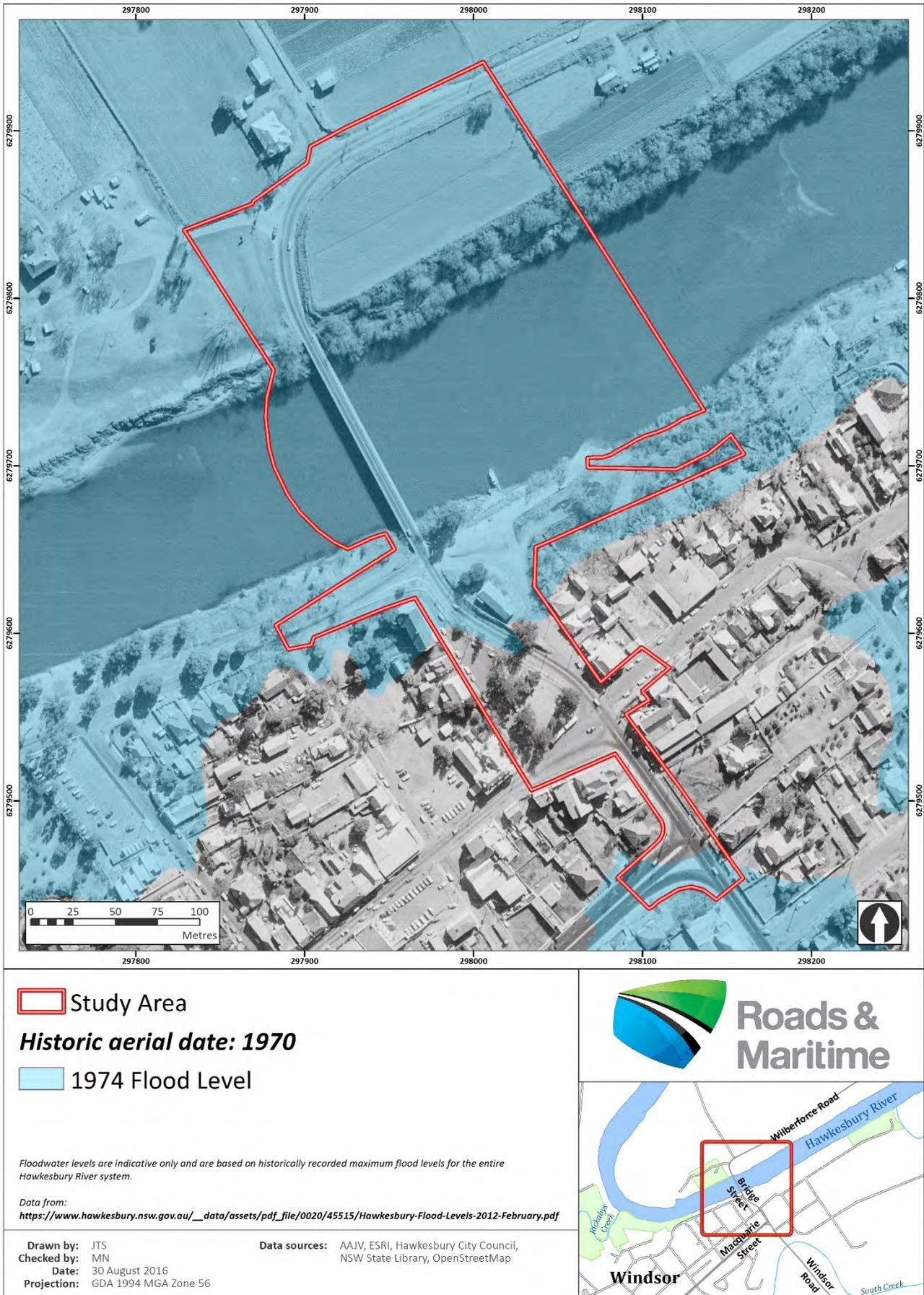


Figure 17: Extent of the 1974 Hawkesbury River flood showing the SCMP study area.

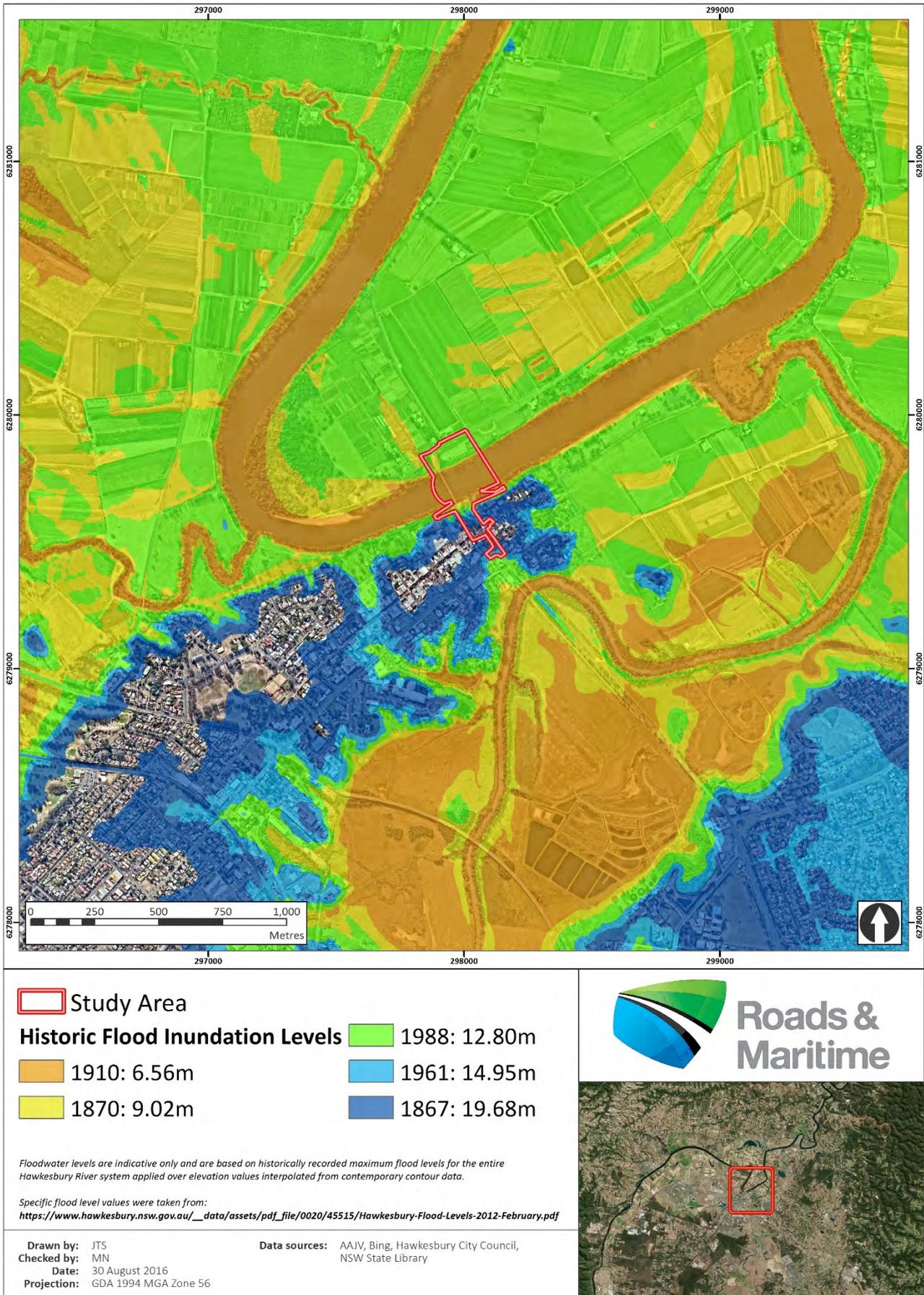


Figure 18: Historic Flood Levels 1867 to 1988 within the wider Windsor area.

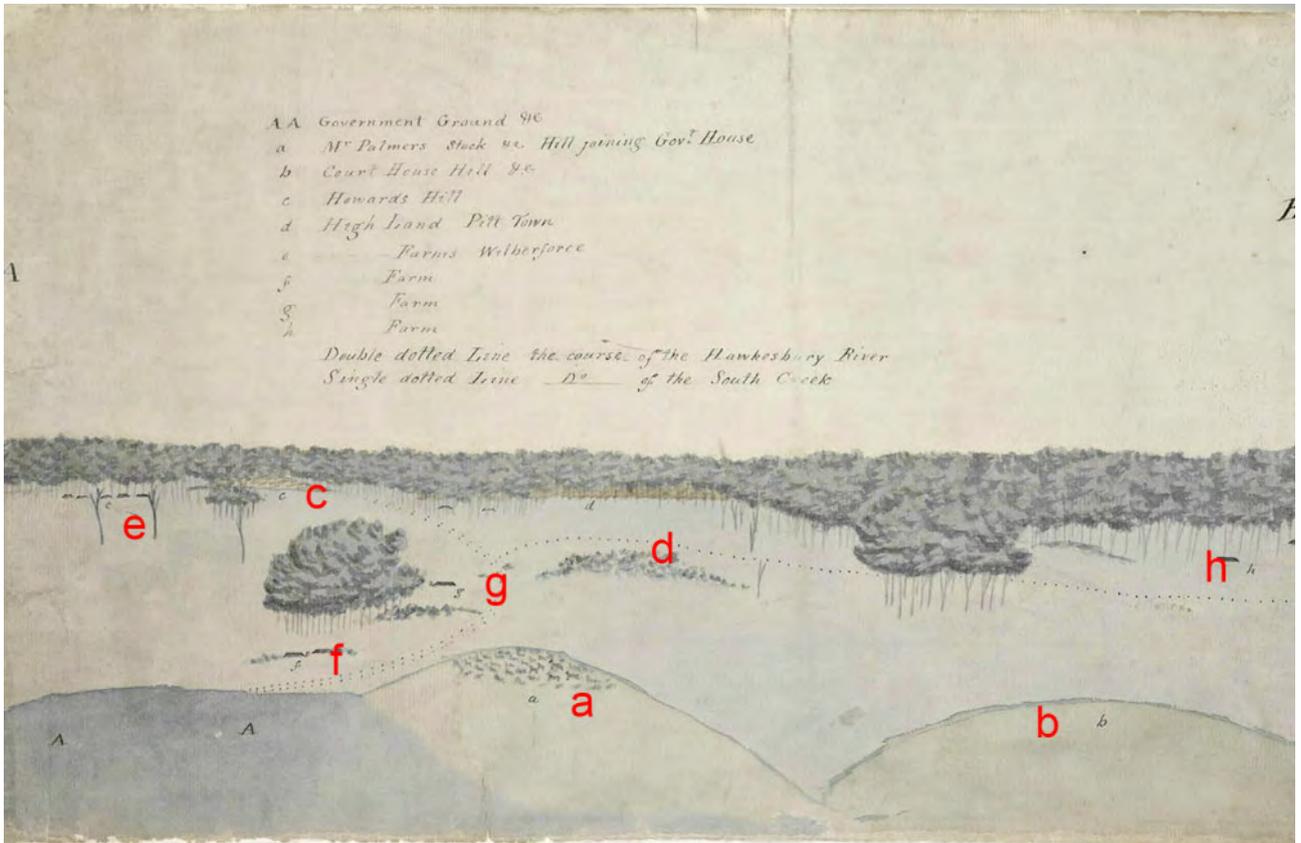


Figure 19: Section AB of 360-degree panorama of the Windsor district, showing the area in flood on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816. Artist unknown (Source: Anon., 'Sketch of the inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor 2 June 1816', SLNSW, Call Number PX*D 264).

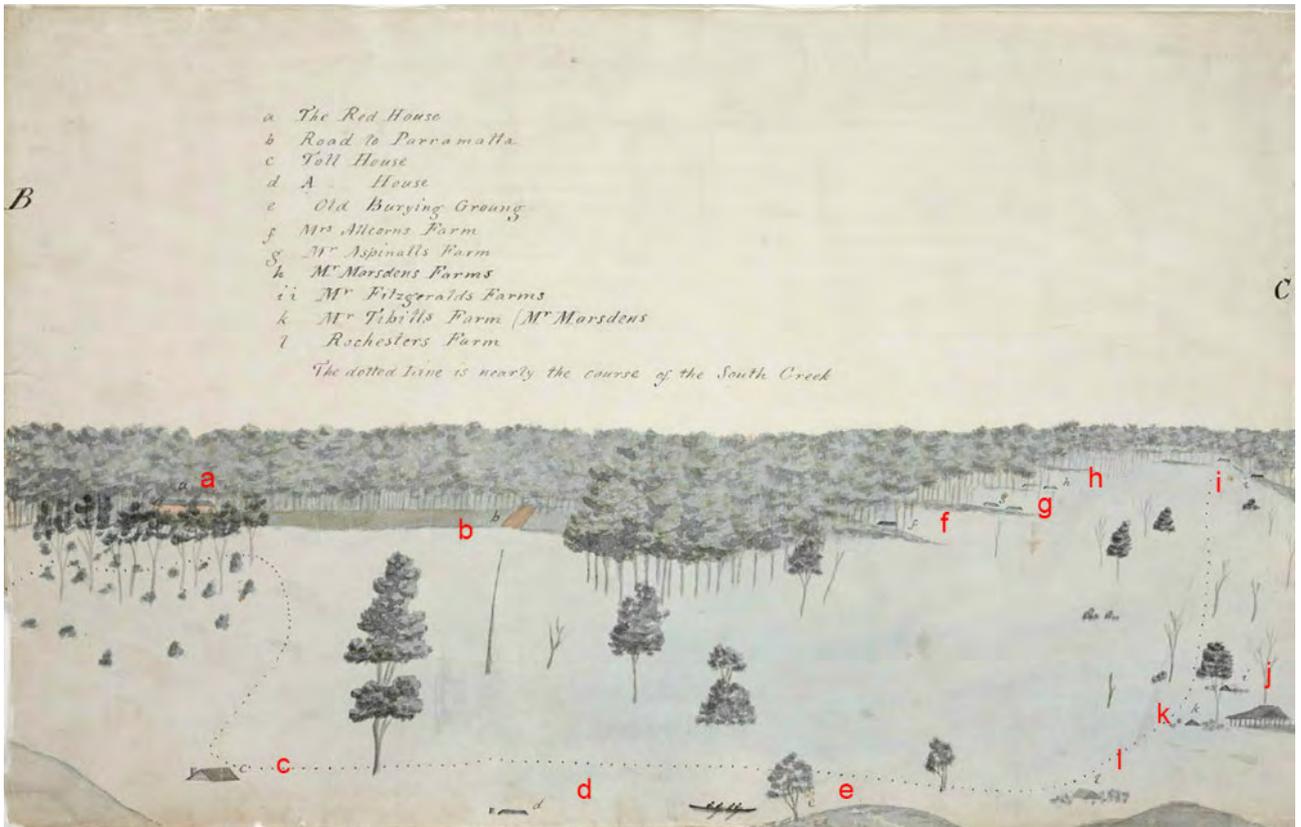


Figure 20: Section BC of 360-degree panorama of the Windsor district, showing the area in flood on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816. Artist unknown (Source: Anon., 'Sketch of the inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor 2 June 1816', SLNSW, Call Number PX*D 264).

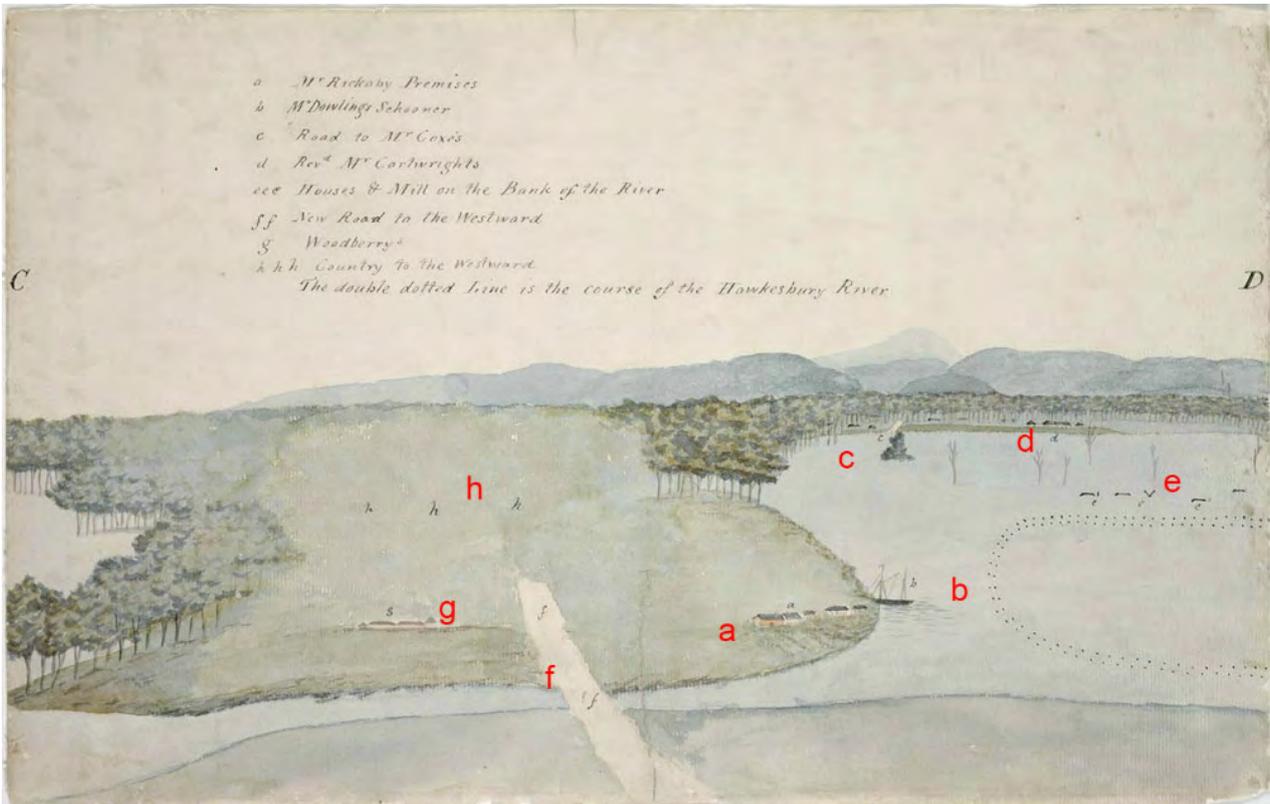


Figure 21: Section CD of 360-degree panorama of the Windsor district, showing the area in flood on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816. Artist unknown (Source: Anon., 'Sketch of the inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor 2 June 1816', SLNSW, Call Number PX*D 264).

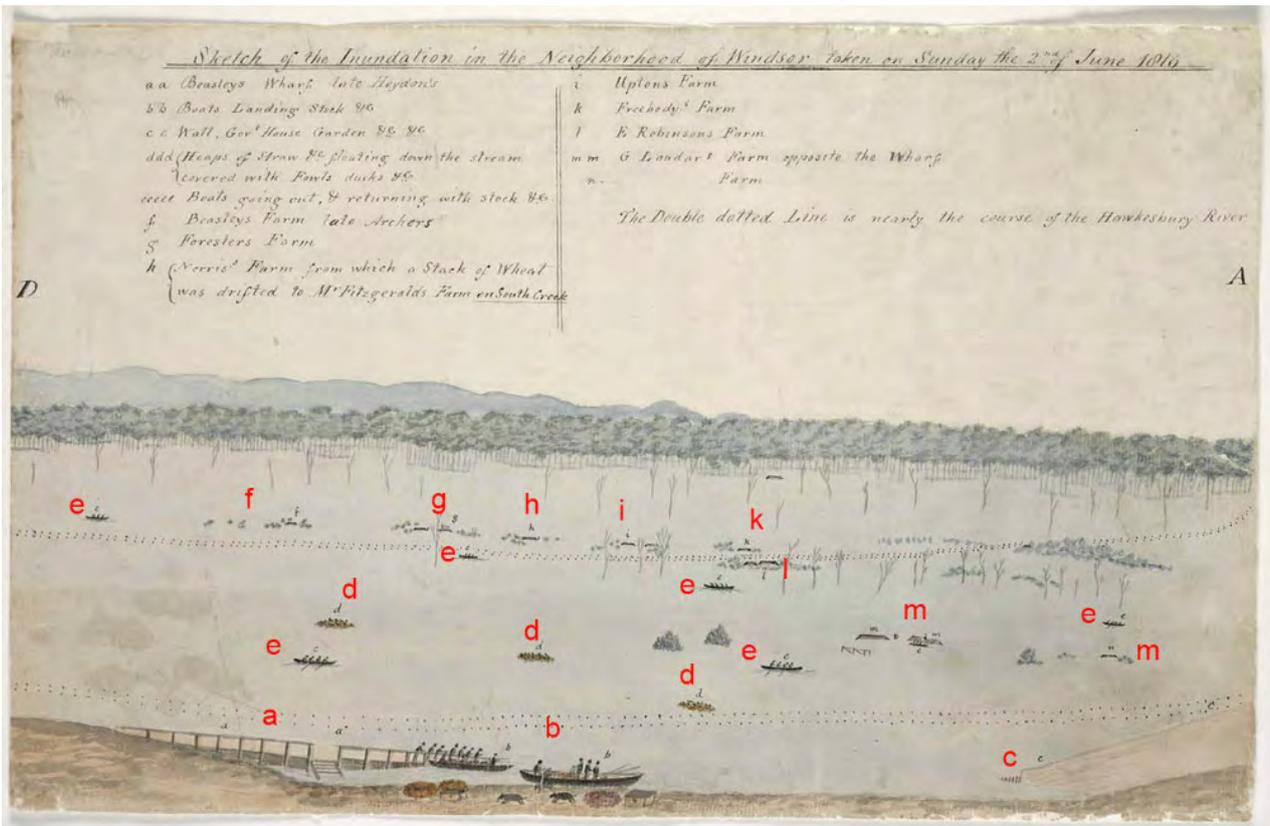


Figure 22: Section DA of 360-degree panorama of the Windsor district, showing the area in flood on Sunday the 2nd of June 1816. Artist unknown (Source: Anon., 'Sketch of the inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor 2 June 1816', SLNSW, Call Number PX*D 264).

2.1.4 Aboriginal History Before 1788 and Early Contact

Aboriginal people occupied the study area beside the Hawkesbury River for millennia prior to European colonisation. Upstream in the Nepean gravels, evidence has been found of Aboriginal use of the river banks from at least forty thousand years ago.⁹ More recent research at Pitt Town has re-confirmed this early occupation, with substantial evidence for people utilising the river by at least thirty six thousand years ago.¹⁰ Aboriginal cultural deposits on the present Hawkesbury Regional Museum site, immediately west of Thompson Square, were found in an aeolian sand dune, and demonstrated continuous occupation from thirty three thousand years ago into the Holocene.¹¹ On the basis of such evidence, previous researchers have noted that *'the potential for more evidence of Aboriginal life being found within the study area'* is highly likely.¹²

Thorp concluded that the early topography of the study area, as reflected in the George William Evans image of 1809 (Figure 30), *'suggests that the original topography survives beneath modifications added in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'* and this image therefore may help visualise the landscape as it was before it was altered by European land-uses.¹³

The Hawkesbury-Nepean River corridor contains some of the earliest evidence of Aboriginal occupation in Australia. The recovery of five flaked pebbles from the base of the Cranebrook Terrace, dating to about 40,000 years BP, represents the earliest evidence of past human activity in the locality.¹⁴ More compelling evidence of Aboriginal use of the river is provided by excavations undertaken in advance of residential development at Pitt Town. These excavations, of a total area of 250m² located across a kilometre section of the ridgeline (PT-12) over-looking the Hawkesbury River, recovered over 10,000 stone artefacts from depths up to 1.3m below the ground surface. They were dated to between 36,000 and 8,000 years ago.¹⁵ Similar findings were made in advance of development at the Windsor Museum, where a 1.8m deep sand body recovered 12,000 stone artefacts dating to between 34,000–8,500 years ago.¹⁶ Recent excavations on the banks of Peachtrees Creek (a tributary of the Nepean near the centre of Penrith) recovered a handful of stone artefacts at a depth of 4m below the surface dating to about 15,000 years ago.¹⁷

These assemblages were all dominated by indurated mudstone, tuff and/or volcanic raw materials most of which could be found in the Nepean River gravels, and suggest that Aboriginal populations were small, highly mobile and were exploiting the river corridor during periods of climatic aridity and generally poorer resource availability.¹⁸ More practically, they also demonstrate that evidence of Aboriginal occupation along the river corridor can be found at significant depths below the present day land surface and can contribute significant information about Australia's Aboriginal past.

⁹ Nanson, G.C., Young, R.W. and E.D. Stockton 1987 Chronology and palaeoenvironment of the Cranebrook Terrace, near Sydney, containing artefacts more than 40,000 years old. *Archaeology in Oceania* 22:72-78.

¹⁰ Williams, A.N., Atkinson, F., Lau, M., Toms, P. (2014) A Glacial cryptic refuge in southeast Australia: Human occupation and mobility from 36,000 years ago in the Sydney Basin, New South Wales. *Journal of Quaternary Science*, 29(8): 735-748.

¹¹ W. Thorp, 'Hawkesbury Museum, Site of Proposed Extensions, Baker Street, Windsor: Archaeological Assessment', Cultural Resources Management Plan for Hawkesbury City Council, 2002

¹² Thorp, 'Hawkesbury Museum'; E. Higginbotham, 'Report on the Archaeological Excavation of the Site of the Extensions to the Hawkesbury Museum, 7 Thompson Square, Windsor, N.S.W. 1992', report to Hawkesbury City Council, 1993

¹³ Thorp, 'Hawkesbury Museum'.

¹⁴ Nanson, G.C., Young, R.W., Stockton, E.D. 'Chronology and palaeo-environment of the Cranebrook Terrace'; Stockton, E.D., Holland, W. (1974) Cultural sites and their environment in the Blue Mountains. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 9(1):36-65.

¹⁵ Williams, A.N., Mitchell, P., Wright, R.V.S., Toms, P. (2012) *A Terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River, Pitt Town, NSW*. *Australian Archaeology* 74, 85-97.

¹⁶ Austral Archaeology Pty Ltd (2011) Windsor Museum, NSW: Aboriginal archaeological and cultural salvage excavation. AHIP #2119. Report to Hawkesbury City Council

¹⁷ AHMS Pty Ltd (2014) *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment: Peach Tree Creek Stabilisation Works, Penrith, NSW (Penrith LGA)*. Unpublished Report to Penrith City Council.

¹⁸ Williams, A.N., Veth, P.M., Steffen, W., Ulm, S., Turney, C.S.M., Reeves, J. Phipps, S., Smith, M., (2015) *A Continental Narrative: Human Settlement Patterns and Australian Climate Change over the last 35,000 Years*. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 123, 91-112.

While the detail of Aboriginal cultural lifeways in the Hawkesbury during the early Holocene (i.e. between about 8,000 and 5,000 years BP) is poorly understood, there is some evidence for changes in use of the region during this time.¹⁹ In comparison, there is a strong record of Aboriginal occupation and cultural activity during the last 5,000 years. This is most evident through the extensive documentation of the 'surface workshops' of stone artefacts and grinding groove sites between Castlereagh and Emu Plains.²⁰ Excavations at Lapstone Creek rockshelter and KII rockshelter²¹ immediately west of the river showed that these sites also contained dense records of occupation over the last 4,000 years, as did the upper 50cm of PT-12. These assemblages were dominated by silcrete and quartz raw materials that typically suggest an increasingly sedentary and technologically-invested society, driven by regional demographic pressure which impeded mobility across the landscape.²²

Within the study area, excavations undertaken in 2012 recovered evidence that generally supports the archaeological narrative presented above. On the north embankment within the study area, these excavations were too shallow to determine past use of the area but the deposits appear similar to those at Peachtrees Creek. To the south (i.e. immediately below the township), the sand deposits investigated are very similar, albeit much shallower, to those observed at the Windsor Museum and at Pitt Town, both of which contained extensive, significant cultural materials of great antiquity. The assemblage recovered in 2012 was small and contained a mixture of tuff, indurated mudstone and silcrete raw materials. Interpretations by KNC (2012) suggest that the assemblage probably dated to the last few thousand years but they concluded that, based on the evidence, there was potential for older cultural material (possibly inter-mixed with physical remains of the historic occupation).²³

There is ongoing debate about the nature, territory and range of the pre-contact Aboriginal language groups of the greater Sydney region. These debates have arisen largely because by the time colonial diarists, missionaries and ethnographers began making detailed records of Aboriginal people in the late 19th Century, pre-European Aboriginal groups had been broken up and reconfigured as a result of European colonisation. This was due both to the restriction of access to traditional lands and the decimation of populations through introduced illnesses such as smallpox, influenza and measles. Attenbrow cautions:

'Any boundaries mapped today for (these) languages or dialects can only be indicative at best. This is not only because of an apparent lack of detail about such boundaries in the historical documents, but because boundaries between language groups are not always precise lines'.²⁴

The following information relating to the Aboriginal people of the Lower Hawkesbury is based on generally accepted information. For further discussion about Sydney Aboriginal language groups and social organisation, the reader can view references in the bibliography to a range of books and articles.

¹⁹ Williams et al., 2014.

²⁰ McCarthy, F. (1978) *New light on the Lapstone Creek excavation*. Australian Archaeology 8:49-60.

²¹ McCarthy, 1978; Williams et al., 2014; Kohen, J.L., Stockton, E.D. Williams, M.A.J. (1984) Shaws Creek KII Rockshelter: A prehistoric occupation site in the Blue Mountains piedmont, eastern New South Wales. Archaeology in Oceania 19(2):57-73.

²² Williams et al., 2015

²³ KNC (2012) Windsor Bridge Replacement Project - Aboriginal Cultural Heritage - Cultural Heritage Assessment Report. Unpublished Report to NSW Roads and Maritime Services.

²⁴ Attenbrow, 2002: 34-45

Language Group

Darug was first described as a language (or dialectic group) by pioneer surveyor, anthropologist and linguist R H Mathews in the opening decade of the 20th century. Mathews described the extensive range of this language group as follows:

‘The Dharruk speaking people adjoined the Thurrawal on the north, extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown and intervening towns’.²⁵

Since Mathew’s time, some historic and linguistic research has suggested that the *Darug people* were principally an ‘inland’ group, most associated with the Cumberland Plain, and distinct from the Aboriginal people of Coastal Sydney.²⁶ Others divide the language group into Inland Darug and Coastal Darug.

Clans and Families

Day-to-day Aboriginal society was organized around smaller family-based groupings referred to by early ethnographers as clans: extended family or descent groups with territorial or social affiliations with a given area.

The northern most clan of the *Darug* group were the *Buruberongal* who Governor Phillip located to the northwest of Parramatta.²⁷ It seems likely, without more specific references to the study area, that this group are the traditional owners of the study area at the time immediately prior to the arrival of Europeans.

Language groups

While many early observers used the term ‘tribe’ to apply to the overarching social group, this term has been challenged by later researchers and Aboriginal people generally. There is concern that this is an anthropological term that has specific meaning, and is not always congruent with the social structure of the groups being remarked on. Rather, the recorded names more accurately refer to overarching language groups which incorporated a number of more-or-less independent family groups that together shared a common language and which were bound by cultural practices and ceremony.

In the greater Sydney region cultural groupings were rapidly disrupted as a result of European occupation. Aboriginal groups reported in colonial sources were often aggregations of Aboriginal people from various clans, who had banded together ‘to provide mutual protection and to maintain viable social and economic units’.²⁸ The formation of these groups undoubtedly followed established protocols and obligation and kinship. As Dr John Dunmore Lang, an early principal of the Sydney College and Hawkesbury chaplain, noted in the 1830s:

*‘The whole race is divided into tribes, more or less numerous, according to circumstances, and designated from the localities they inhabit; for although universally a wandering race, their wanderings are circumscribed by certain well defined limits, beyond which they seldom pass, except for purposes of war or festivity. In short every tribe has its own district, the boundaries of which are well known to the natives generally’.*²⁹

Ignorant of the dynamic of cultural and social organisation, many reports simply named Aboriginal groups encountered after the area in which they were most commonly located (though they were occasionally named after a noted individual in a particular group). For example, Aboriginal groups of the Lower Hawkesbury, referred to in historic newspaper articles and other documents, included

²⁵ Mathews, 1901: 135

²⁶ Ross, 1990: 31-33

²⁷ Phillip in Hunter, 1793 [1968]: 514-523

²⁸ Kohen, J.L., Stockton, E.D. Williams, M.A.J. (1984) Shaws Creek KII Rockshelter: A prehistoric occupation site in the Blue Mountains piedmont, eastern New South Wales. *Archaeology in Oceania* 19(2):57-73; Ross 1988: 49

²⁹ Letter from John Lang in APB, 1839, Volume V: 140-142

the *Hawkesbury River Tribe*, the *Windsor Blacks* and the *Branch Natives*, the *Caddie Tribe*, and the *Richmond Tribe*.³⁰

For the purposes of this history, discussion is focused on general Aboriginal associations with the study area and surrounds, as well as specific events, people and places.

Resources of the River

Fish and fishing were of major social, spiritual and economic importance to Sydney Aboriginal people. Early colonial observer and diarist Watkin Tench wrote that *'Fishing, indeed, seems to engross nearly all of their time, probably from its forming a chief part of their subsistence'*.³¹ Further upstream as one moved inland away from the coast, people relied heavily on terrestrial food sources as well.³²

Dr Lang, writing in the 1830s, also noted:

'It is well known that these aborigines in no instance cultivate the soil, but subsist entirely by hunting and fishing, and on the wild roots they find in certain localities (especially the common fern), with occasionally a little wild honey; indigenous fruits being extremely rare'.

The methods utilised by Aboriginal people to obtain fish on the Hawkesbury and its tributaries were varied, however the principal methods appear to have been line fishing, spearing and netting. Generally, the type of fishing appears to have been allocated according to gender - Aboriginal women line fished the river and creeks from bark canoes, while men speared fish from canoes and riverbanks. Netting involved both men and women.

Canoe Fishing

Bark canoes were used for both for travelling around the river and its tributaries, and as mobile fishing platforms. The watercraft used on the Hawkesbury were the same as those utilised on the coast.³³ Generally these craft were between 2.5 and 6 metres long, were made of bark, and were propelled by wooden paddles, between 0.6 and 0.9 metres long. Small fires were kept alight on clay beds in the centre of the canoes to provide light and warmth and to cook meals. Captain James Cook was one of the first to describe the fishing canoes of the Sydney Aboriginal people when he noted during the Endeavour's voyage to Botany Bay:

*'... Three canoes lay upon the bea(c)h the worst I think I ever saw, they were about 12 or 14 feet long made of one piece of bark of a tree drawn or tied up at each end and the middle kept open by means of pieces of sticks by way of thwarts'.*³⁴

The bark used to build such canoes in the Greater Sydney region was often sourced from the Grey or Saltwater Swamp She Oak (*Casuarina glauca*), Bangalay (*Eucalyptus Botryoides*) and several species of stringybark (*Eucalyptus agglomerata* and *acmeniodes*). Canoe bark was removed from trees with stone axes and, in the post-contact period, with metal axes. Plant fibres bound the canoes together at each end. As indicated by Cook's comments, the bark canoes were suited to sheltered waterways and not the open sea. In order to keep them operational they were occasionally patched with the resin from grass trees (*Xanthorrhoea sp.*) and lined with Cabbage Tree Palm leaves (*Livistonia australis*).³⁵

Canoes facilitated access to fishing locations that could not be reached from shore such as deep holes, drop offs, snags and weed beds, where fish were speared or line caught. Spearing involved

³⁰ Nichols, 2004: 4

³¹ Tench, 1979

³² See the account of meeting between Goveenor Phillips party and the Buruberongal on the 12 April 1791.

³³ Tench cited in Attenbrow, 2002: 87

³⁴ Cook, James, *Journal of H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771*, Manuscript Collection, MS1, Transcript (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2004); Curby, 1998: 3

³⁵ Notes from the Australian Museum Exhibition 'Catching Sydney Harbour' – 'Building a Canoe'.

the use of long, wooden spears with a multi-pronged tip³⁶, while line fishing, generally the domain of women, utilised twine fishing line and baited shell or animal bone hooks. Catch rates on hook and line appear to have been improved by 'ground baiting' or burleying. Lieutenant David Collins noted in his account of Sydney Aboriginal people published in his *Account of NSW* in 1798 that *'While fishing, the women generally sing: and I have seen them in their canoes chewing muscles or cockles and spitting them into the water as bait'*.³⁷

Netting

Along the Australian east coast and contributing rivers, fish were also caught in casting nets and traps. One method of net fishing (utilised to trap shoaling mullet) involved a 'drive' along shallow creeks where Aboriginal people advanced in line abreast to a netted end point.³⁸ As with the fishing lines, these nets were likely made from plant fibres. Techniques such as this may well have been utilised in the study area where mullet was the most plentiful type of fish.

Resources of the Land

The land adjacent and distant to the Hawkesbury River and its feeder creeks provided Aboriginal people with terrestrial animal and birds, plant foods and the various resources offered by the wide variety of plants, grasses, roots, fruits and flowers.

Watkin Tench noted that when fish were not to be depended on 'their principle support is derived from small animals which they kill and some roots which they dig out of the earth'.³⁹

The 'roots' described by Tench are generally believed to be yams which appear to have formed a significant component of the Aboriginal vegetable diet in the Hawkesbury-Nepean area. Captain Hunter recorded evidence of yam digging at the junction of the Grose and Nepean Rivers in July 1789:

*"On the banks here also we found yams and other roots, and hade evident marks of the natives frequenting these parts in search of them for food. They have no doubt some method of preparing these roots, before they can eat them; for we found one kind which some of the company had seen the natives dig up; and with which being pleased, as it had much the appearance of horse-radish, and had a sweetish taste, and having swallowed a small quantity, it occasioned violent spasms, cramps in the bowels, and sickness at the stomach: it might probably be the casada root."*⁴⁰

Yams are the bulbs of a variety of creepers and vines as well as the so called 'native' or 'wild' yams (of which there are three species). Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury ate a range of these yams. Some, such as *Dioscorea traversa* could be eaten directly after being dug up, others were poisonous and required detoxifying prior to use. Use of yam varieties appears to have related to seasonality with few of the species growing all year round.⁴¹

³⁶ Multi-pronged spears were called 'fizz gigs' by early colonists. The shafts of these spears were up to 6 metres long and made of the wood or the stems of flowering *Xanthorrhoea* grass trees. The prongs of fishing spears were barbed or pointed with stone, shell, hardwood, fish teeth, sharpened animal bone and stingray spines which were bound with two ply rope or plant fibre and coated in plant resin. Fish spearing was predominantly used in shallow water contexts where stealthily wading fishermen used them to pin mullet, whiting, flathead and bream. (refer: Notes from the Australian Museum Exhibition 'Catching Sydney Harbour' – 'Making Spears'; Dunn, 1991: 17)

³⁷ Collins, 1975 [1798]

³⁸ Yeates, 1993a: 13

³⁹ Tench, 1793 [1799]: 121

⁴⁰ Hunter 1793: 6th July 1789 diary entry

⁴¹ Ross, 1990: 37; Attenbrow, 2002: 78

There are many plants and plant parts that were likely utilised for food in the Hawkesbury area and some of these are likely to have included:

- Fern Roots (*Dicksonia Antarctica*, *Cyathea australis*, *Cyathea cooperi* etc.)
- Port Jackson Figs (*Ficus Rubiginosa*)
- Banksia Blossoms⁴²
- Native Cherry (*Exocarpus stricta*)
- Geebungs (*Persoonia* sp.)
- Bracken fern (*Pteridium esculentum*)
- Wild Parsnip (*Trachymene incisa*)
- Wattle seeds (*Acacia* sp)
- Apple Berry (*Billardiera scandens*)

It is possible that Aboriginal people also farmed the fertile river flats. Hynes and Chase⁴³ note that 'The categorising of certain humans groups as hunters and gatherers has resulted in the view that they operate within 'wild' resources, as opposed to 'domestic environments and resources of agricultural and horticultural peoples....' and this despite the fact that '...unilinear theories of development based on resource activities are no longer acceptable in anthropology.' Using evidence from Cape York Peninsula, they propose instead a more complex relationship between Aboriginal people and the propagation and active encouragement of certain food plants to secure regular harvests, which they refer to by the term 'domiculture'. More recently, Pascoe (2014) revisits early explorers' accounts of seeing women harvesting yams, onions, and cultivating the land.⁴⁴

Trees

Ethno-historical records indicate that the Aboriginal people of the Sydney made use of a variety of tree species for such things as the sourcing of food products, production of canoes and the manufacture of tools and implements, as outlined below

- Coastal timber was used for the manufacture of clubs and spears and bark from select eucalypts was used for the production of canoes and shields.
- Aboriginal women wove the bark fibres from the Hibiscus trees that grew along creek lines to produce fishing nets, which were cast over shoals of mullet. Other fibres produced fishing lines and twine
- Babies were wrapped in soft tea-tree bark and slung in woven fibre bags.
- Saps and gums were used as adhesives.
- Flowers, nectars, leaves and fruits were collected for processing as food, drinks and medicaments.
- Leaves of sandpaper figs were used to polish and shape timber and bone tools.

In addition to providing the raw materials needed to produce products that were utilised in everyday life, trees also provided access to the birds and animals that made use of them. Tree climbing allowed Aboriginal people to access a variety of foodstuffs including wild honey, possums, flying foxes (fruit bats), koalas and bird eggs.⁴⁵

⁴² Ross, 1990; Attenbrow, 2002

⁴³ Hynes, RA and A K Chase 1982 :38

⁴⁴ Pascoe, B 2014 Dark Emu Magabala Books. See also Gammage 2011 The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia

⁴⁵ Collins, 1798 [1975]: 456; Phillip in Hunter, 1793 [1968]: 507

Hunting in Woodland and Grassland

The more open areas along the Hawkesbury River were grazing areas for macropods⁴⁶ and these too formed an important part of the economy of the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people.

Surveyor, engineer, artillery officer and explorer Francis Barrallier recorded the Aboriginal method of catching kangaroos in Sydney's west in the very early 19th century. Barrallier's account highlights communal hunting and the use of fire:

'they form a circle which contains an area or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of natives assembled. They usually stand about 30 paces apart, armed with spears and tomohawks. When the circle is formed, each one of them holding a handful of lighted bark, they at a set signal set fire to the grass and bush in front of them. In proportion as the fire progresses they advance forward with their spear in readiness, narrowing the circle and making as much noise as possible, with deafening shouts, until, through the fire closing in more and more, they are so close as to touch one another. The kangaroos try to escape in various directions, and the native frightening them with their shouts throw spears at the one passing nearest them. By this means not one can escape'.⁴⁷

While the above method was suitable for wood and grassland, it was not suited to the more elevated, rockier land where a different method of catching macropods was utilised. Mrs Felton Matthews, wife of the famous 19th century surveyor, wrote about life on the Hawkesbury in her diary while journeying with her husband in 1833. On one occasion near the MacDonald River, she recorded Aboriginal wallaby hunting on rocky ground above the river:

'The lofty rocky ranges which border this river on either side I have frequently described, and there is nothing either to describe or relate during this journey: the dead unbroken silence which prevailed all around was extremely oppressive, and the voices of some natives which broke on the ear after some time, was really quite a relief: on nearer approach we found they were hunting wallabi or what they call wallabunging, a number of them assemble, and while some run along the tops and sides of the rocky heights shouting and screaming, drive down the poor little frightened inhabitants to the flats below where others attack them with their spears and dogs; we saw three of these little creatures hopping along with speed, followed by dogs and blacks at full cry - '.⁴⁸

Aboriginal people ate a wide variety of other land animals including koalas, wombats, echidnas, grubs, birds, snakes and lizards.⁴⁹

Lagoons and Swamps

Resource rich swamps and lagoons, such as that within *Mitchell Park (Cattai)*, were important hunting places for inland Aboriginal people. Within these small freshwater bodies were eels, fish and a variety of shellfish including freshwater mussels (*Velesunio ambiguus*, *Hyridella australis* and *Hyridella depressa*).

The swamps also harboured water rats, frogs, echidnas, as well as a variety of birdlife including ducks. Birds in particular were targeted in a number of ways and were harvested by nets, ensnared in pit-traps and hand caught by Aboriginal people using fish pieces as bait.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ From the *Macropodidae* family, and including animals such as kangaroos and wallabies.

⁴⁷ Barrallier, 1802 [1975]: 2-3

⁴⁸ Mathews in Havard, 1943c: 237

⁴⁹ Attenbrow, 2002: 71; Ross, 1990: 37

⁵⁰ Ross, 1990: 37; Attenbrow, 2002: 88

Early Conflict

Down river, just a short distance from where the European square (now Thompson Square) was to evolve, Phillip's exploration party in 1791 spent the evening conversing happily with clan leaders Gombeeree, Yellomundee and Yellomundee's son Deeimba⁵¹. Unfortunately, this harmony quickly evaporated once Europeans colonised the area and land acquisitions forced Aboriginal people from the resource rich river lands. From 1794 the Boorooberongal people were forced off their land by European farmers and relationships soon deteriorated as Aboriginal people were denied access to the resources they depended on for survival. Crops, fencing and permanent buildings began to rapidly create a new landscape. European diseases and attacks on Aboriginal people took their toll on the local community. Aboriginal people rallied against their ill treatment and retaliated by burning and ransacking the crops of colonisers and spearing the animals taking over the lands formally grazed by kangaroos.⁵² Aboriginal attacks were followed in turn by European revenge attacks which started a cycle of violence characterised by attacks and counter attacks. Violence involving European and Aboriginal people probably occurred from the period of earliest white colonisation in the mid-1790s, but was most marked towards the end of the 18th century. Probably the first recorded instance of Hawkesbury River racial violence occurred in 1794 when an Aboriginal boy was murdered:

'... the settlers tied his hands and feet together, and dragging him several times through a fire, threw him in the river and shot him'.⁵³

Aboriginal people retaliated, killing a local colonist and a convict, before eight Aboriginal people were subsequently shot.⁵⁴

Five years later, five white colonists⁵⁵ appeared before a court charged with the murder of two teenage Aboriginal boys in the Hawkesbury district.⁵⁶ Though the men were found guilty, the panel of judges was divided and referred the case to London for instruction - ultimately all accused were later acquitted.⁵⁷ Governor Hunter made note of the event in 1800 when he reported:

'Two native boys have been most barbarously murdered by several of the settlers at the Hawkesbury River, not with standing orders have upon this subject been repeatedly given pointing out in what circumstances only they were warranted in punishing with severity'.⁵⁸

The peaks in conflict coincided with periods of colonisation intensification along the river and its tributaries, initially with first occupation in the mid-1790s, and the second coinciding with the expansion of Europeans into additional lands in the years 1803-1804.⁵⁹

In 1803 a petition purportedly signed by colonists at Portland Head was forwarded to Governor King requesting that they be allowed to shoot Aboriginal people found on their farms. This document turned out to be a forgery, and the forger was gaoled for several days.⁶⁰ Despite the fact that the letter was a forgery, disquiet in the vicinity of the study area bothered Governor King who canvassed three local Aboriginal people about their concerns.

⁵¹ Tench, Sydney's First Four Years, pp.229-237

⁵² Gilmore, M. 1935. More recollections. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson; Attenbrow, V. J. 2010. Sydney's Aboriginal Past. Investigating the Archaeological and Historical Records. (2nd edition – soft cover). UNSW Press: Sydney.

⁵³ Rex v. Powell (1799) NSW KR 7; Barrallier, Francis, 'Journal of the expedition, undertaken by order of His Excellency Governor King, into the interior of New South Wales', in *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Volume V, p. 136.

⁵⁴ Bowd, 1982: 33

⁵⁵ Edward Powell, Simon Freebody, James Metcalfe, William Timm & William Butler

⁵⁶ The King v. Powell, Freebody, Metcalf, Timms and Butler (1799) NSW Sup C7

⁵⁷ HRA 1(1): 401-422; Nichols, 2004: 4-5

⁵⁸ Hunter to the Duke of Portland, HRNSW 4: 1

⁵⁹ See for example King 3rd April 1805 and King 4-7 April 1805

⁶⁰ Nichols, 2004: 5

'On questioning the cause of their disagreement with the new settlers, they very ingeniously answered that they did not like to be driven from the few places that were left on the banks of the river, where alone they could procure food; that they had gone down the river as the white man took possession of the banks; if they went across white men's grounds the settlers fired upon them and were angry'.⁶¹

The Aboriginal people interviewed requested that they be given land to compensate them for their loss, at which point King ensured the group that there would be no further occupation down the river.

In June 1804, probably not long after King's interview with local Aboriginal people, District Magistrate Arndell received a dispatch from King allowing for a body of Europeans to pursue Aboriginal people and question them about alleged crimes (referred to as 'numerous outrages') committed at Portland Head. The group subsequently encountered a large group of Aboriginal people at an unknown location in the mountains. They claimed that some of the Aboriginal people wore stolen settler's clothes and possessed stolen corn. When questioned the colonists claimed Aboriginal people justified their actions stating *'they wanted, and would have, corn and whatever else the settlers had before throwing down spears in a defiant manner'*. The colonists then opened fire; it is unrecorded how many Aboriginal people were wounded or killed.⁶²

The conflicts continued and two weeks after the reporting of the above episode, the *Sydney Gazette* reported that:

'Further to our former accounts respecting the hostile hordes whose conduct of late has been worthy of attention, we have to add, that among the reaches about Portland Head their ravages have been felt with much greater severity than elsewhere...'

Last Friday se'nnighi the farms of Crumby and Cuddie at the South Creek were totally stripped by a formidable body of natives supposed to be about 150 in number whom darted their spears at a labouring servant, who fortunately effected an escape without receiving a wound...'

The above persons have thrice been plundered in the space of a very few months and have now lost not only their crops but their whole flock of poultry, together with their bedding, wearing apparel, and every other movable'.⁶³

Arndell appears to have remained level headed and engaged with Richmond Hill Aboriginal chiefs Yarramundy and Yarogowhy in an attempt to ease hostilities in the region. The *Gazette* reported the communications between Arndell and the Richmond chiefs as follows:

'Two of the Richmond Hill chiefs, Yaragowhy and Yaramandy were sent for the day after the firing by Rev. Mr Marsden and Mr. Arndell, residentiary magistrate, who received them in a most friendly manner, and requested that they would exert themselves in putting a period to the mischiefs, at the same time loading them with gifts of food and raiment for themselves and their friendly countrymen'.⁶⁴

Despite Arndell's entreaties, hostilities about Portland Head again broke out in winter the following year (a time when displaced Aboriginal people were most vulnerable). Firesticks were thrown onto the farm of Henry Lamb and William Stubbs was robbed of his clothing and food reserves.⁶⁵

⁶¹ King quoted in *HRA*, 5: 166

⁶² *Sydney Gazette*, 17 June 1804

⁶³ *Sydney Gazette*, 24 June 1804

⁶⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 1 July 1804

⁶⁵ Bowd, 1982: 36

Growth of the Macquarie Towns and Violence

In December 1810, Governor Macquarie held a dinner in the Government Cottage, where he announced the creation of five new towns on high land along the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. Windsor, so named by Macquarie on the 6th December 1810, was to be the principal town. Unlike the other new towns, Pitt Town, Wilberforce, Richmond and Castlereagh, Windsor already had a rudimentary urban development. Macquarie recognised that there was already an informal civic square in existence in Windsor.

Macquarie came to Australia with instructions '*enjoying all our subjects to live in harmony with them [Aboriginal people]*' and it was early in his administration that government and religious attempts to 'civilise' Aboriginal people commenced in earnest.⁶⁶ From 1810 to 1821 Macquarie pursued a policy of assimilation which aimed at encouraging Aboriginal people to abandon traditional culture and adopt European ways. Central to Macquarie's vision were plans to provide land and farming equipment to select Aboriginal people, and establish an Aboriginal School or Native Institution.⁶⁷ However his efforts to establish and encourage peaceful relations between Aboriginal people and colonists were not based on any understanding of Aboriginal land tenure and he failed to understand the need to negotiate around the acquisition of resources and land.

The Native Institution, established at Parramatta in 1815 was to be the showpiece of Macquarie's plan. By 1816 however, after several years of intensive colonisation and drought and renewed racial conflict (including major attacks at South Creek), Macquarie lost patience with the traditional owners, ordering three punitive expeditions against offending Aboriginal people and pursuing a policy of partial segregation. Macquarie justified his actions, stating that over the course of three years, Aboriginal people had:

'...committed most atrocious and wanton Barbarities murdering Men, Women, and Children, killing Cattle, and plundering grain and property of Settlers on Nepean, Grose, and Hawkesbury'.⁶⁸

As a consequence, Macquarie ordered that Aboriginal people were not to appear within one mile of an established European colony with arms of any kind, and that not more than six unarmed Aboriginal people were able to 'lurk' about farms. In addition, Aboriginal people were instructed to desist with traditional tribal fights.⁶⁹

In April 1816, with outbreaks of violence continuing in the Nepean-Hawkesbury districts, Macquarie directed three detachments of the 43rd regiment to the areas of the Nepean (Cow Pastures), Hawkesbury and Grose. While most parties met no resistance and saw few Aboriginal people, the detachment sent to the Appin and Airds districts, under the direction of Captain Wallis, surprised a native encampment and killed 14 and took 5 prisoners to Liverpool.⁷⁰

This massacre took place at Appin, which is on the Nepean River, near where a number of Aboriginal people had been camping at a colonist's farm. Amongst the dead were women and children. The men, who were hung from the trees by the soldiers, included *Durelle*, believed to be a *Tharawal* tribesman and *Cannabayagal*, a *Gandangara* man. *Tharawal* men *Gogy*, *Bundle* and *Budbury* were all utilised as guides during the punitive expedition but, perhaps not surprisingly, their employment resulted in the capture of no Aboriginal people and they all escaped before the final brutal massacre at Appin. After the massacre, a patrol of soldiers remained in the various districts to protect farms and round up Aboriginal people perceived as trouble makers.

The effect of the Macquarie's 1816 punitive expeditions against the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury-Nepean put an end to organised Aboriginal resistance on the Cumberland Plain.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *Historical Records of Australia*, series 1, vol.7, pp.190-197. The morality of this approach is now subject to question.

⁶⁷ *Macquarie to Bathurst*, August 20, 1814, *HRA*, 1(8): 372; *Macquarie to Bathurst*, October 8, 1814, *HRA*, 1(8): 369

⁶⁸ *HRA* 1(9): 141

⁶⁹ *HRA* 1(9): 141

⁷⁰ *Macquarie to Bathurst*, 8th June, 1816, *HRA*, 1(9): 139-140

⁷¹ Kohen, 1985

2.1.5 Aboriginal Assimilation and the Mission System

Devastated by the impacts of colonisation including dislocation and depopulation due to illnesses such as small pox and influenza, neglect and violence, and with reduced access to traditional food resources and reserves, Aboriginal groups became more dependent on Europeans to provide them with food, clothing and shelter.⁷² While the white population of the Hawkesbury continued to grow through the 1820s and into the 1830s, the Aboriginal population commenced a serious decline as a result of the impacts of colonisation, including violence, disease and dislocation from homelands and hunting grounds.

While some Aboriginal people continued to live their lifestyle not as affected by European colonisation, particularly in more remote areas of the greater Sydney district, many remnant bands of Aboriginal people began to congregate on the fringes of white settlement and on the estates of some larger landowners. For example, Aboriginal people referred to at the time as *The South Creek Tribe*, often camped at *Mamre*, Charles Marsden's property near the junction of South and Eastern Creeks and a clan group of the *Tharawal*, the *Cubbitch-Barta* resided on John Macarthur's property at Camden.⁷³

In 1827, Aboriginal returns associated with the Government distribution of blankets and clothing reveal that a total of 114 Aboriginal people were recorded at Portland Head in that year. The breakdown of the district groups was as follows:

Table 4: Return of Aboriginal Natives at Portland Head – 1827 (Source: Blanket Returns for the Windsor District (Putty, Colo, Kurrajong & South Creek). 1839. Unpublished. NSW State Records Office, AO 4/24331)

Aboriginal Group	Males, Females & Children	Total
Mangaroo Tribe	9; 5; 4	18
Northeast Arm Tribe	8; 6; 8	22
Mullet Island Tribe	4; 5	9
First Branch Tribe	25; 22; 18	65
Total		114

This was only eleven years after one source had recorded '...not less than 400 blacks'.⁷⁴ By the 1850s, there were fewer local Aboriginal people still, with Reverend T.C. Ewing, a regular visitor to the Hawkesbury and Pitt Town Parson noting, 'we see no blacks here now'.⁷⁵

While the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people were fewer in number, they had not disappeared. Some members of the Aboriginal community left to seek refuge with neighbouring groups, others obtained work on the properties of colonists that afforded them some degree of protection and allowed them to maintain a connection to country. Others congregated in fringe camps. One property within the broader area that provided work and rations for Aboriginal people was the farm of the Hall Family at *Lilburn* on the West Portland Road.⁷⁶ With regards to the fringe camps, a

⁷² Kohen, 1985

⁷³ Russell, 1914

⁷⁴ cited in Brook, 1999: 14

⁷⁵ William Clarke Papers cited in Brook, 1999: 16

⁷⁶ Nichols, 2004: 5

number of informal communities consisting of Aboriginal people from elsewhere established themselves periodically at Richmond, Windsor and Sackville Reach.⁷⁷

In 1883, a 'Board for the Protection of Aborigines' was established by the State Premier and the Colonial Secretary to manage Aboriginal Affairs.⁷⁸ The aims of the Board, made up of officials and 'gentlemen' who had 'taken an interest in the Blacks', were assimilationist and included: to provide asylum for the aged and sick and train and educate the young so that they would fit into the rest of society.⁷⁹ Part of the Board's responsibility was the establishment and management of Aboriginal Reserves and Mission Stations. The board were also instrumental in removing children from their families and putting them into alternate care and education. This Board, and others iterations that followed, left a legacy of pain through the removal of children now referred to as the 'stolen generations'. The removal of children and the forced relocation of people to other geographic areas by governments, churches and welfare bodies such as this Board did more harm any other single action; breaking cultural, spiritual and family ties which caused intergenerational impact on the lives and wellbeing of Aboriginal people.

In the Hawkesbury, the Board continued to supply blankets and clothing to Aboriginal people, on a near annual basis at Windsor. This allows some insight into the numbers of Aboriginal people living in the area, although these figures should be regarded as a minimum number as it is unlikely that all Aboriginal people participated in these distributions. The following is a summary table of blankets and supplies provided by the Board to Aboriginal people at Windsor between 1884 and 1888.

Table 5: Aborigines Receiving Blankets and Supplies at Windsor: 1884 – 1888 (Source: Blanket Returns for the Windsor District (Putty, Colo, Kurrajong & South Creek). 1839. Unpublished. NSW State Records Office, AO 4/24331)

Date	Adults & Children	Total
1884	7; 9	16
1885	21; 11	33
1886	18; 22	40 ⁸⁰
1887	15; 7	22
1888	31; 30	61

The fluctuating figures in the above table reflect periodic influxes of the people to the area as well as periodic depopulation. In addition, Aboriginal people were not always reliant on the Board and many in the area acquired seasonal work in the district negating their need of aid.

Aboriginal people had been camping at Sackville reach for much of the 19th century and in 1889, two Aboriginal reserves were created for the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury District at Sackville. The two reserves, one of 150 acres on the Cumberland Reach and another of 50 acres on the Kent Reach were proclaimed by the Minister for Lands on 18 December.⁸¹ On the larger reserve, four slab huts were built and by the turn of the century there was also a church meeting room with 50 Aboriginal people living on this reserve.

⁷⁷ Brook, 1999: 14-15

⁷⁸ Col. Sec. Copies of Minutes and Memorandums received, 1883. SRNSW 1/2542

⁷⁹ Archives Authority of NSW, 1998: 63

⁸⁰ In addition to blankets a set of boat oars were also provided

⁸¹ Brook, 1999: 24; Nichols, 2004: 5-6

There is no recorded history that provides an Aboriginal account of these places and we therefore must read between the lines of the infrequent references in newspapers and other colonists' accounts. The *Windsor & Richmond Gazette* reported that the reserve functioned well as an Aboriginal Village, where the Aboriginal people had transport, children were able to attend the public school and learned to read and write, and adults engaged in fishing to supplement rations.⁸²

The Sackville Reserve functioned from the 1880s and into the 20th century as something of a base for dislocated Aboriginal people. While Aboriginal people based themselves at Sackville, many took on employment on homesteads and farms within the broader community.

Not all interactions between Aboriginal people and colonists were negative in this period. Many of the Sackville Aboriginal people worked as at the *Tizzana Vineyard* operated by Dr Thomas Henry Fiaschi. Fiaschi was an Italian immigrant and Windsor hospital surgeon from 1876.⁸³ Fiaschi was very involved with the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people and his Aboriginal workers participated in rowing regattas and attended the annual Christmas parties. During the 1910s, members of the Sackville Aboriginal community formed an Aboriginal cricket team, consisting of talented players who played in open competition in the district.

The Sackville Reserve was an important focus for Hawkesbury Aboriginal people (and Aboriginal people from elsewhere) until May 1946 when both reserves were revoked and set aside for public recreation.⁸⁴ Some Aboriginal people however stayed in the Sackville area, while others moved on into the wider area.

2.1.6 Mulgrave Place (1794-1810) and the Civic Square (from 1795)

In the first years after European colonisation, there was a recurrent shortage of food in the colony. In response, the colonial government made grants from 1794 along the upper Hawkesbury, where the soils of the flood-plain were superior to those already exploited around Sydney, Parramatta and Toongabbie. Acting Governor Francis Grose granted Charles Williams and James Ruse, along with twenty other colonists, land along the banks of the Hawkesbury River and South Creek. Major Grose is quoted in 1794 saying,

“they chose for themselves allotments of ground conveniently situated for fresh water, and not much burdened with timber, beginning with much spirit and forming themselves very sanguish hopes of success. At the end of the month they had been so active as to have cleared several acres, and were in some forwardness with a few huts”⁸⁵

The new colony was called the district of Mulgrave Place by Acting Governor Grose when he agreed to its foundation. The central part of the district, on the southern bank around Windsor Reach, became commonly known as “Green Hills” from around 1800, with the title of Windsor only bestowed on the new township in that area established by Governor Lachlan Macquarie in 1810.

By the end of 1794, the new Mulgrave Place district comprised the one hundred and eighteen farming grants promised on the fertile lowlands on both sides of the river, in a location distinct and distant from the other two established mainland settlements, which formed hubs around Sydney and Parramatta. In total, eighty-five farms had been established and there was a population of four hundred persons. All of the 1794 Mulgrave Place farms hugged water frontages to the Hawkesbury River and South Creek, stretching from today's North Richmond to Cattai downstream, although

⁸² Fish was also sold

⁸³ Vines were grown on the property from 1882 and the Vineyard was in full operation by 1887

⁸⁴ Brooks, 1999: 52

⁸⁵ D. Collins (1798) *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, ed. B.H. Fletcher, Vol 1, p. 285.

not all the soldiers, ex-soldiers and ex-sailors amongst the grantees began farming that year. The 85 active farms belonged to ex-convict grantees, with the exception of only four free arrivals.⁸⁶

In the centre of the southern bank of what is today Windsor Reach, the ridge lands had been left as vacant Crown land amongst the allocated farmlands between the river and South Creek. Along this stretch of high land, a suitable inlet with a small stream was found and became the site for the location of government facilities. It had substantial space where stores could be brought in by boat and wheat and maize taken back to Sydney. The new government precinct occupied higher and less fertile land than the local farms. The civic square complex, later known as Thompson Square, was to be part of this larger area, occupying a section of the western end of this forty-six acre [18.3 hectare] government precinct, from the top of the ridge northwards to its water frontage.⁸⁷ Direct boat access was essential, as no good cart road existed to the settlement. It was to be this water frontage aspect of the civic square, and the fact that it sat inside a government precinct, which ensured it was never absorbed into the growing surrounding urban development like other similar public spaces.

The settlement was established as a collection of farms, but there was little in terms of infrastructure to manage the product of successful farming. Despite promising crops of wheat, there was no means to store excess grain when the harvest was due in March 1795. It was imperative that the harvest surplus be transported to the Sydney Commissary Stores for, in the six years since the colony had begun, there had been a recurrent shortage of food. It was necessary for the Commissariat to be able to distribute government provisions to the settlers, and the colony came to depend on Hawkesbury grain, stored in the facilities in the civic square.⁸⁸ However, in 1794, such facilities were non-existent.

One year into the Mulgrave Place settlement, in January 1795, Acting Governor Paterson requested the local farmers to supply timber and sent the government carpenters along with the Commissary John Palmer to supervise the construction of the first buildings required to house the crops and government provisions, and then to oversee the orderly process of stocking them.⁸⁹ The presence of the Commissary himself was an acknowledgment of the growing importance of the new district. This was an unusual beginning for the government presence, for in the two previous areas settled on the mainland of Australia, a military presence had accompanied the settlers and convicts from the beginning and facilities had been built for them immediately, along with provision stores and granaries on various government sites.⁹⁰

The urgent need to complete the storage facilities in 1795 led to a much more cohesive and concentrated government presence at Mulgrave Place. This gave the district at what was to be called Green Hills its unique characteristic of a civic square, within a government precinct. The precinct was bounded by the downriver 1794 grant to ex-convict Samuel Wilcox and, on the south-west, by the eastern boundary of another farm promised to ex-convict James Whitehouse in 1795 but not registered until 1797. Whitehouse Farm was soon bought by William Baker, who had been sent as the government storekeeper in charge of the complex being built in January 1795. With very few exceptions, all grants promised in 1794 were between 25 and 30 acres (Figure 23), but as the Hawkesbury lands were expected to produce over 30 bushels per acre, the excess grain grown in the first few years was expected to be substantial and much needed in Parramatta and Sydney.

⁸⁶ J. Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed: a new Look at Australia's Third Mainland Settlement*, Rosenberg, Dural, 2009, pp. 55-70.

⁸⁷ Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p. 104; information from David Eggleton, Engineer/Surveyor with Hawkesbury City Council, 2009.

⁸⁸ Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p.177.

⁸⁹ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol.1, pp.338-340.

⁹⁰ *Historical Records of Australia*, [HRA], series 1, vol. 1, pp.56, 97, 143.

A Government Precinct

The early government precinct stretched south-west onto the slope of the upland from the present Arndell Street, south-east to upper South Creek and further south-west to the southern side of Baker Street. The buildings in and around the civic square from 1795 were constructed methodically by the government carpenters, possibly working under the colony's master carpenter, John Livingstone. First a wharf was keyed into the sloping bank and then nearby the storehouse was built to house the provisions for the settlement. Judge Advocate Collins wrote in his diary how, once the roof was on and the flimsy house was able to be locked up, the goods for the settlers were landed from the government vessel.⁹¹ The unloaded provisions were put under the protection of a small military guard of privates and a sergeant, all initially to be accommodated within.⁹² From the evidence of the proven positioning of later buildings, discussed below, it is almost certain that the first wharf and provision store were close to the water on the north-western side of Thompson Square.

⁹¹ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol.1, p.340.

⁹² *Ibid.*

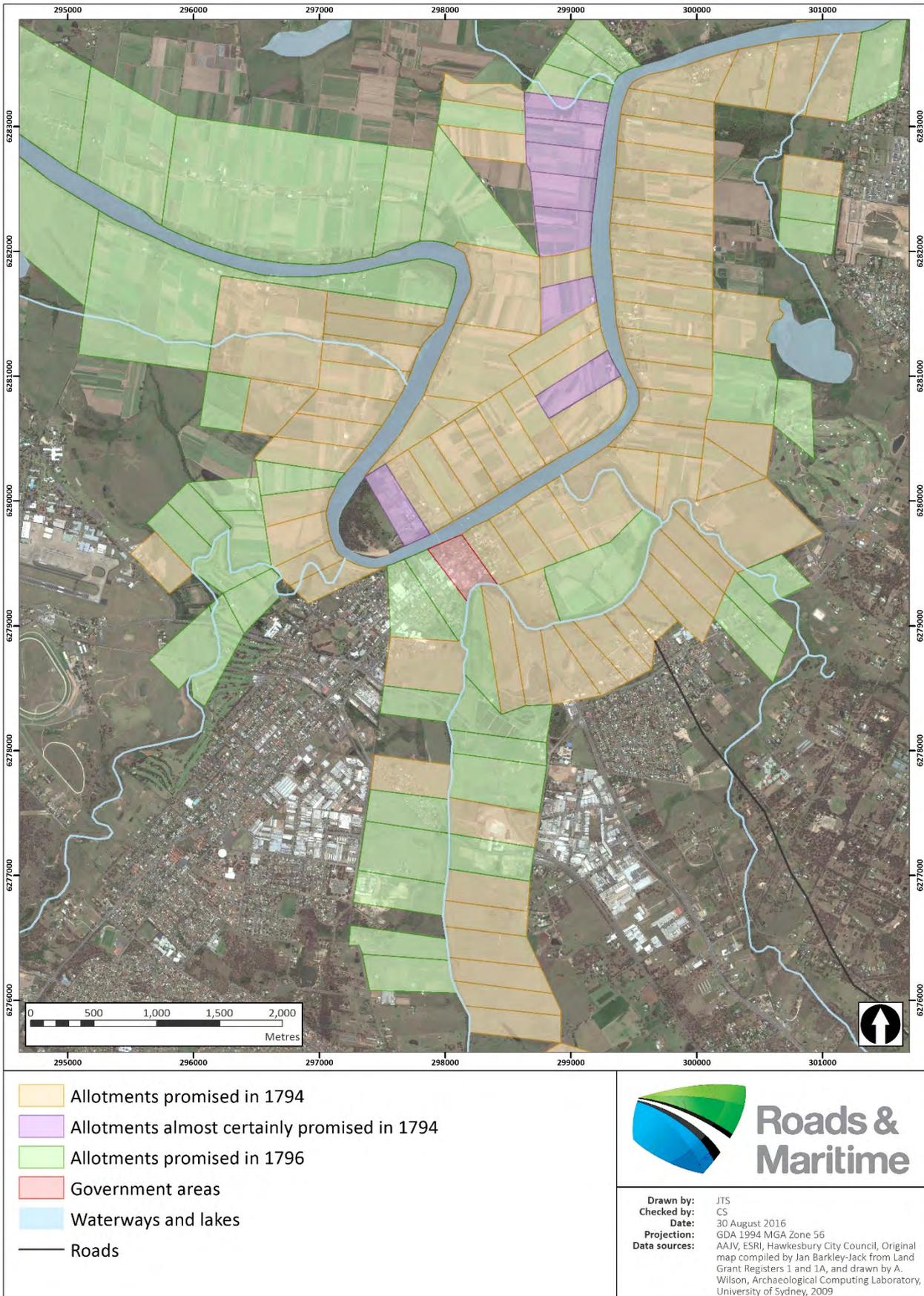


Figure 23: Grants promised at Mulgrave Place by December 1796 (Source: Map compiled by Tom Sapienza – content sourced from Jan Barkley-Jack from Land Grant Registers 1 and 1A, and drawn by A. Wilson, Archaeological Computing Laboratory, University of Sydney, 2009).

Granaries

Next constructed was the granary, also from timber. So inadequate was this grain storage facility, labelled a 'shed', that in August 1796, Governor Hunter was forced to rebuild it, to the usual specifications of log construction with a thatched roof, similar to that built at Parramatta. He then described it as '*a large granary for the reception of wheat and maize*'.⁹³ Hunter prioritised those items related to the '*preservation of our crops*',⁹⁴ and it soon became obvious that a separate granary was required for each of the grains grown at Mulgrave Place. By 1798, another log granary had been built abutting what would become a lease within the future Thompson Square. Both granaries were enclosed for added security with a paling fence and a guardhouse located close by.⁹⁵

By the time G. W. Evans first painted Green Hills from the northern side of the river at Mulgrave Place in 1807, the earlier of the two granaries had been removed, but the other, likely to be the 1798 granary, is shown clearly on the north-eastern side of the civic square (Figure 24 and Figure 25).⁹⁶ The two Hunter granaries were built close to one another and both were fairly close to the waterway but above the lowest levels of the bank.⁹⁷

The position of the two Hunter granaries is established from Evan's painting, taken in conjunction with the documentary source of the terms of a lease given beside the structures in October 1799. The lease to the constable, Andrew Thompson, refers specifically to 'public store houses' in the plural, and provides that, should they need to be enlarged, part of lease would cease to exist. Evans painting shows these storehouses were granaries, the location of Thompson's lease is well documented on the north-eastern side of the open area and government records also make it clear that there were only two granaries existing at that time.⁹⁸

In more detail, the lease given to Andrew Thompson stated:

*'...should the Government after the period of three years deem it expedient to build or enlarge the public store houses adjacent thereto so much of the land here demised and let to the said Andrew Thompson as may be required to enlarge those buildings shall revert to the Crown on condition that the Government shall cause to be paid unto the lessee the expenses...so taken which expenses shall be appreciated according to a fair valuation...John Hunter, 1 October 1799.'*⁹⁹

Evans' watercolour is one of the earliest descriptions of the Green Hills district, and the future Thompson Square in particular. The study area is shown as an open common surrounded by modest huts and cottages to the south-west (right) and by more impressive Government buildings to the north (left). This includes the Old Government House (on land now known as 41 George Street) perched on the top of the hill to the very left of the image. At the top of the hill stood the bell post used to summon villagers in time of peril and to notify the times of convict labour.¹⁰⁰ To the north-east (left), below the Government buildings, is the entrepreneurial Andrew Thompson's one acre of land, leased in 1799.

⁹³ *HRNSW*, vol. 3, p.80.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.75-80.

⁹⁵ *HRNSW*, vol. 4, p.151; G.W. Evans, A 'Settlement on the Green Hills', watercolour, 1809, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, PX*D 388, vol. 3, fol. 7.

⁹⁶ G.W. Evans, '*A View of the Green Hills*', watercolour, 1807, in Hordern House, *Colonial Paintings: Twelve Early Works*, Potts Point, 1994, item 4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Thompson's lease in Land Grant Register, Book 2, SRNSW, p. 320; *Historical Records of New South Wales*, vol. 3, p. 80, vol. 4, p. 151

⁹⁹ Thompson's lease in Land Grant Register, Book 2, SRNSW, p. 320

¹⁰⁰ Ridley Smith & partners Architects "Windsor Streetscape Study: Volume 1 and 2" (1986) prepared for Hawkesbury Shire Council.

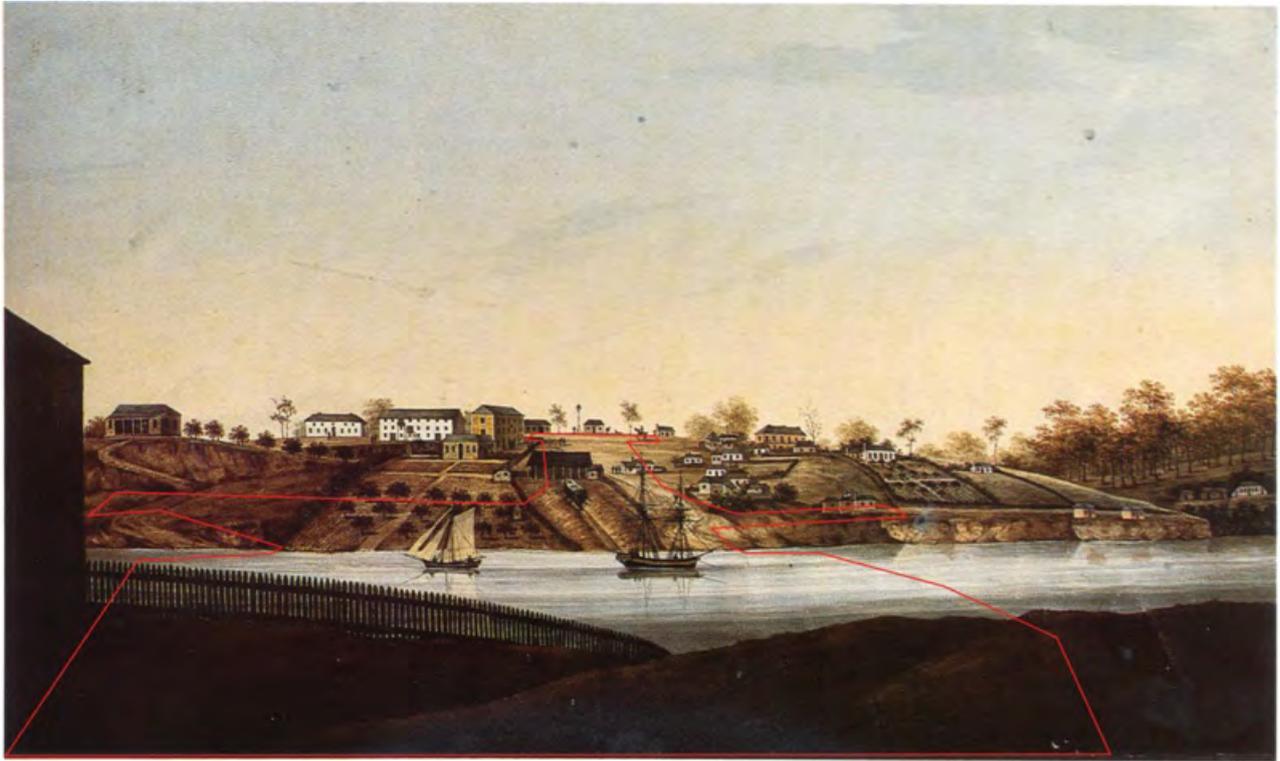


Figure 24: The Government Precinct at Green Hills in 1807, with the 'Governor Bligh' under construction in the centre. The study area is overlaid in red outline (Source. G.W. Evans, watercolour, image courtesy of Hordern House Rare Books, Sydney. Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



Figure 25: The granary built by Governor Hunter between 1796 and 1799 on the eastern side of Thompson Square. The paling fence had been constructed at the same time and a small guard house installed (to the right of the granary in the illustration) to ensure the safety of the grains (Source. G.W. Evans, watercolour, 1809, 'Settlement on the Green Hills', State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, PXD 388, vol. 3, fol. 7).

Soldier's Barracks

All the government buildings constructed before 1796 in the civic square at Mulgrave Place were shoddily put together and quickly needed replacement. The first dedicated soldiers' barracks was built after mid-1795, when a detachment of almost 100 men was stationed in the Hawkesbury area. The numbers of soldiers fluctuated over the years; at the end of 1801 there were just 30 privates under a subaltern 'for the protection of settlers and their grain, as well as the public stores kept there'. However, the need for a proper military establishment was always evident.¹⁰¹ At first, the soldiers had camped or were billeted until, in 1795, a crude building had been constructed. In 1796, Governor Hunter described the soldiers' barracks as a 'miserable building' and, by 1800, had replaced the original barracks with a new building.¹⁰²

From the military's long association with provision store duty, as well as the fact that in 1810-1812 the soldiers' barracks were still on the south-western side of the square, despite the provision stores having moved eastward, it would seem likely that these successive soldiers' barracks were always located on the south-western side of the square, probably by 1800 near the top of the ridge. There, marked out by Government fence lines of paling, various other buildings for the military accumulated on the slope by 1807-1808 and remained there in 1812.¹⁰³

Commandant's Barrack

Almost simultaneously with the soldiers' barracks, a well-built, commodious weatherboard dwelling was constructed for the commandant of the settlement, Edward Abbott (Figure 26). Directly overlooking the river and the civic square from the north-eastern-most part of the government precinct, the commandant's barrack was to become the Government House and magistrate's residence in 1800, when civil rule was introduced. The Deputy Surveyor, Charles Grimes, was the first resident magistrate at Hawkesbury, followed by the First Fleet surgeon, Thomas Arndell, in April 1802.¹⁰⁴ It became the residence of governors when they were visiting the district.¹⁰⁵

Governor Hunter declared that he had "*Built a framed and weatherboard house on the Green Hills at the Hawkesbury for the residence of the commanding officer of that district. The house was shingled, and furnished with a cellar, a skilling kitchen, and other accommodation, enclosed round with paling*".¹⁰⁶

Civil Establishment

As part of the establishment of civil rule under John Hunter, law and order became the responsibility of elected constables, including the Hawkesbury district from 1796. Ex-convict and farmer Thomas Rickaby was in charge as chief constable. A young ex-convict by the name of Andrew Thompson was appointed as a junior constable to the district and another Sydney ex-convict, John Harris, who was previously a successful police constable elsewhere, became the only two men to be given leaseholds on the government precinct. Their fourteen year leases allowed them to develop land in the heart of the government precinct. Both leases were on the eastern side of the precinct, with Harris's lease stretching from mid-way beyond Government House down the slope to South Creek from January 1798, and Andrew Thompson's within the developing square. Thompson's one acre lot stretched between the river frontage to the top of the

¹⁰¹ HRNSW, vol.2, pp. 287, 288, 313, 319, 320; vol.4, p.675.

¹⁰² Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, pp.66, 292, 293-294; HRNSW, vol.3, 80; vol.4, p.152.

¹⁰³ J. Ritchie, ed., *A Charge of Mutiny: The Court Martial of Lieutenant Colonel George Johnston for deposing Governor William Bligh in the Rebellion of 26 January 1808*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1988, p.122; Evans, watercolour, 1807; J. Meehan, plan of Windsor, 1812, SRNSW, Map SZ 529.

¹⁰⁴ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol.1, p.394; HRNSW, vol. 3, p.80; vol.4, pp.4, 152, 190, 213; HRA, vol. 3, pp. 53, 494.

¹⁰⁵ L. Macquarie, *Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1810-1822*, Library of Australian History and Library Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 1979

¹⁰⁶ Historical Records of New South Wales, vol. 4, p. 152

ridge between the granary and the commandant's house (Figure 27). As Thompson was already in occupation of the land included in his lease, it would seem that the small cottage located within the grant was his residence as a constable, probably from soon after his arrival in 1796, handy to the watch house in the civic square.¹⁰⁷



Figure 26: The Commandant's Barracks and later the Government Cottage, c. 1880 (Source: Ian Jack (2010), *Macquarie Towns*, Heritage Council of New South Wales, p. 42).

Andrew Thompson was to become the Hawkesbury's chief constable and a leading farmer and businessman, and Governor Macquarie saw him as one of the "founding fathers" of Green Hills. Born in Scotland in 1773, Thompson was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. In Scotland, Thompson had stolen from his family and eighteen bolts of material from a Yetholm merchant, totalling over one hundred and seventy seven metres, and worth more than £33.¹⁰⁸ Thompson arrived in Sydney in 1792 and, through his deep involvement with land acquisition and trade, quickly became one of the largest grain growers and wealthiest settlers in the colony.¹⁰⁹ On the 1st October 1799, Andrew Thompson received a lease of one acre on the government reserve, bound to the north by the Hawkesbury River and on all sides by ground reserved for the use of the Crown. As stated in the Register of Grants, the site was "*let for the purposes of building on*" for a period of 14 years.¹¹⁰ Thompson's lease is shown in G.W. Evans' 1807 painting (Figure 28) and on the plan of Windsor, dated 1812 (Figure 27).

The tiny whitewashed cottage, just beside the fence outside the area of the Hunter granary, became Thompson's residence between 1796, when he came to the district as a junior constable, and early 1799 when the terms of his lease show he was already there (Figure 28). It is likely that

¹⁰⁷ Land Grants Register, Book 2, p. 320; [G.W. Evans, 'A View of the Green Hills', watercolour, 1807, in Hordern House, *Colonial Paintings: Twelve Early Views*, Potts Point, 1994, Item 4.

¹⁰⁸ Records of the Scottish High Court during Autumn Circuit at Jedburgh, Register House, Edinburgh JC26/257, GC173, Declaration of Andrew Thompson, 25 August 1790; Criminal Letters: His Majesty's Advocate against Thompson and Aitkins, 31 August 1790: JC12/21, GC166, Jedburgh Court Transcripts, September 1790

¹⁰⁹ J.V. Byrnes (1967) "Thompson, Andrew (1773-1810)", Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thompson-andrew-2728>

¹¹⁰ Land Grant Register, Book 2, p. 320.

the cottage preceded the granary since, with an acre to choose from, Thompson may not have wished to have his home so close to the public grain-store.

Thompson's cottage is shown in all the early paintings and etchings of the study area. The one-acre lease marked the eastern boundary of the civic square officially from October 1799. Effectively, the civic square was fixed in form before the end of the eighteenth century and, from comparative evidence presented in the next section of this history, is the only eighteenth-century civic square remaining in Australia.

Shipbuilding

Andrew Thompson built at least four vessels on his lease at Windsor. The first recorded vessel was the 16 ton *Hope* launched in 1802 and his final build at this site may have been the 100 ton schooner, *Governor Bligh* in 1807.¹¹¹ The sloops *Nancy* and *Hawkesbury* were also built at the yard.

At the time when Thompson was building his vessels the colony was in great need of shipping to link satellite agricultural settlements such as Windsor with Sydney. Apart from intra-colonial trade opportunities there was also the newly identified sealing grounds in Bass Strait which provided access to a high value commodity for the trade with China.¹¹² Two of Thompson's vessels, *Nancy* and *Governor Bligh*, went on to work in the collection of seal pelts.¹¹³

Thompson began building his vessels not long after Governor Hunter's strict controls on colonial shipbuilding and ownership were relaxed.¹¹⁴ He was one of a dozen identified shipbuilders in the colony at this time.¹¹⁵ These first shipbuilders '*...showed enterprise, courage and ingenuity. They had to invest labour and capital in yards and slipways, sail-lofts and sheds. There must always have been shortages of equipment and skilled labour. Even more formidable than building vessels from local materials in such conditions was the task of keeping them seaworthy year after year.*'¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ J.V. Byrnes (1967) "Thompson, Andrew (1773-1810)", Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thompson-andrew-2728> and Jean Purtell (1995) *The Mosquito Fleet; Hawkesbury River Trade and Traders 1794 – 1994*. Southward Press Pty Ltd: pp 19-20.

¹¹² Hainsworth, D. R. (1981) *The Sydney Traders : Simeon Lord and his contemporaries 1788-1821*. Melbourne University Press. : pp 148 - 156

¹¹³ Op.Cit., Jean Purtell (1995) : 20

¹¹⁴ Bach, J. (1982) *Maritime History of Australia*. Pan Books: 71

¹¹⁵ Op. Cit., Hainsworth, D. R. (1981) : 119

¹¹⁶ Op. Cit., Hainsworth, D. R. (1981) : 116



Figure 27: 1812 plan of Windsor, showing the October 1799 lease given to ex-convict constable Andrew Thompson in the civic square. He was already occupying the land prior to that date as a government employee on Crown land (Source: J. Meehan, Plan of Windsor, 1812, SRNSW, Map SZ 529)

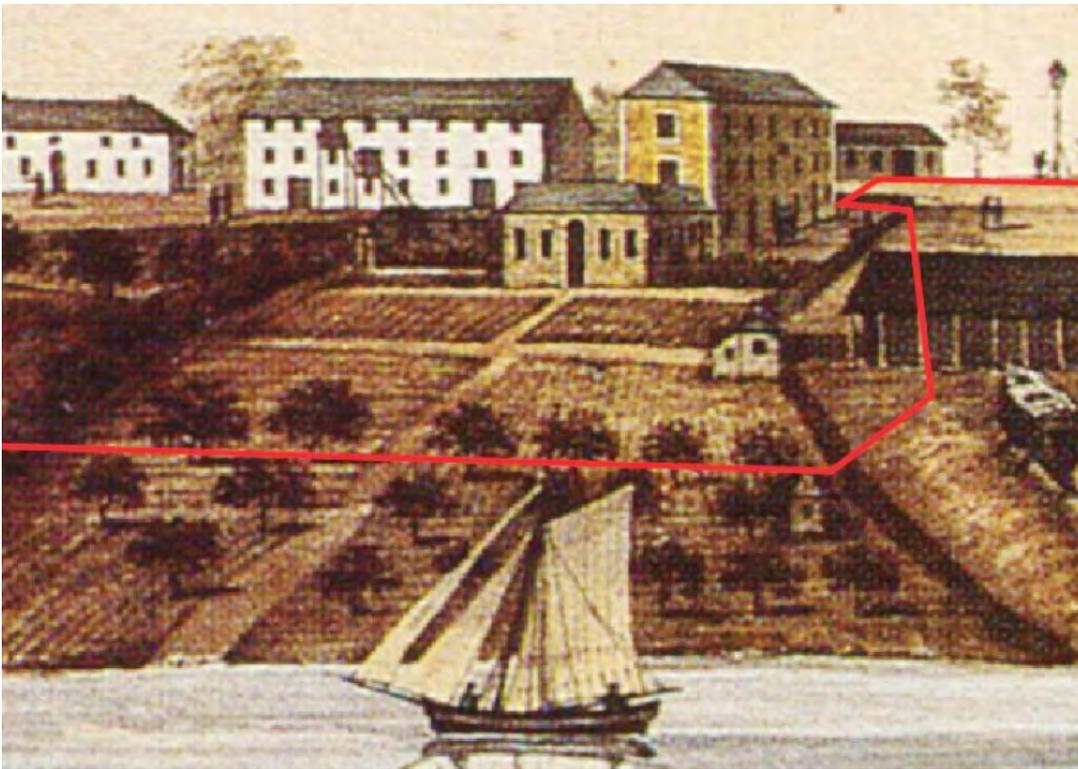


Figure 28: The small white-washed cottage of Andrew Thompson (to the left of the granary) on Andrew Thompson's lease of October 1799, shown adjoining the paling fence of the Hunter granary in 1807, along with Thompson's orchard which is running down to the river. The present study area is illustrated in red. (Source: G.W. Evans, watercolour, 1807, image courtesy of Hordern House Rare Books, Sydney, overlaid by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



Figure 29: The white-washed cottage of Andrew Thompson, as portrayed by Philip Slaeger in 1812 or 1813, on the eastern side of Thompson Square. Whilst the specific detail of the house as stylised by Slaeger differs from that portrayed by G.W. Evans, the general aspect and fencing shown after the Hunter granaries had gone and after Thompson was dead are all consistent with other evidence (Source: Philip Slaeger, 'A View of Part of the Town of Windsor', etching published by Absalom West, Sydney, 1813).

Law Enforcement

Associated with the police presence in the civic square was the watch-house, in existence since 1798.¹¹⁷ This watch-house became, in 1799, the focal point of the first stirrings in Australia by former convicts to test their legal equality with free settlers and the military élite.

From the Thompson Square case of 1799, the implications rippled out gradually into colonial life, coming directly from the French Revolution and English radical society. The friends of ex-convict John Harris, the man who prosecuted an officer in the 1799 case, were John Boston and Scottish Martyr, Thomas Fyshe Palmer, British radicals. Harris left the colony in Fyshe Palmer's private ship with them. These radicals had been transported for their agitation in Britain and vocally supporting radical changes to the British Government, on the principals laid down by the French revolutionaries. The connection to the French is evident in their writings. Mealmaker, another radical transportee, and Fyshe Palmer, prior to their convictions for distributing literature about political freedom as a 'Citizen of the World', had both gone as delegates to the Radical General Convention in 1793 and Mealmaker's pamphlet of 1797 discussing the English crackdown against radicals contained the words 'our English Robespierrians', a reference to the French extremist radical. The words 'Citizen of the World' had been used by Harris to Commandant Kemp, who claimed them to be radical from their having become a French revolutionary phrase.¹¹⁸ By 1793, details had reached NSW about the after-effects of the French revolution and the information about French Revolutionary principles and resultant happenings in France was sent on by officer Neil McKellar in a letter to his friend and fellow soldier, John Piper on Norfolk Island. It included McKellar noting '*This I hope will give you a general idea of the cause...of the French Revolution with which you ought not to [be] unacquainted*'.¹¹⁹

The other leaseholder on the government precinct, John Harris, found himself illegally imprisoned in the watch-house after a dispute over his neighbour's pigs. Unfortunately for John Harris, the irascible commandant, Anthony Fenn Kemp, was his neighbour.

Prior to Harris' detention by the commandant, ex-convict radical activism had been frequently and publicly exercised but never tested legally.¹²⁰ The study area in 1798 is the crucible in which the passions flamed and hardened, influencing the course of Australian democratic process. Harris' defence of his rights as a free person, once his sentence had ended, was on public display, supported by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, the Hawkesbury's magistrate. Marsden gave evidence on behalf of Harris and ensured that, for the first time, an ex-convict had legal success against the military abuse of power in a civil society.

The problem had begun on 11 December 1798 when Harris ordered one of his two government men to set his dogs onto Fenn Kemp's pigs '*to drive them off the land Harris leased in the government precinct near South Creek*'. Kemp was furious and threatened Harris, viewing Harris' actions as insulting and his language radical, when Harris refused to punish his government servant despite Kemp's insistence. Harris subsequently declared that he '*was free and a Citizen of the World*', and so had a right to protect his property. In anger and against the advice of Magistrate Samuel Marsden, Kemp escalated the argument, after imprisoning Harris in the watch-house, even though he had no legal grounds to do so. On Harris being discharged by Marsden, Harris declared he would prosecute Kemp for wrongful imprisonment. Harris won the case, and for the first time, ex-convict rights were legally upheld in Australia; this landmark case originating in the fledgling civic

¹¹⁷ John Harris against A.F. Kemp, Court of Civil Jurisdiction, CY1093, SRNSW, evidence, in Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, pp.362-373.

¹¹⁸ John Harris against A.F. Kemp, 'Court of Civil Jurisdiction', pp.362-373; J. Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1795-1800: The Second Governor*, V, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde 1986, p. 4; Whitaker, pp. 68-69; *HRNSW*, vol. 4, 28 September 1800, p. 196, 3 June 1801, p. 382, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 1, p. 518.

¹¹⁹ McKellar to Piper, 29 December 1793, in M.B.Eldershaw, *The Life and Times of Captain John Piper*, Ure Smith in Association with National Trust, Dee Why, 1973, pp. 24-25

¹²⁰ Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, pp. 354-356.

square. A whiff of the French Revolution had reached the ordinary Windsor citizen in what was later come to be known as Thompson Square.¹²¹

The Reverend Samuel Marsden was very much associated with Thompson Square from its earliest days. He had first visited it just six months after its beginnings, when in October 1795, he arrived from his Parramatta residence where he lived as Assistant Chaplain for the colony. Marsden had stated:

*'I am going to preach at the Hawkesbury on Sunday next, twenty miles distant from Home, and I know no more where I shall sleep, or perform Divine Service than you.'*¹²²

On this visit, Marsden would have spent time in the embryonic civic square, as the only two men he knew in the settlement, government store-keeper William Baker and Commandant Captain Edward Abbott, were stationed there. Perhaps the other visiting officers, like John Palmer, the colonial Commissary, was there at that time, since he attended the Hawkesbury Muster of 3 October 1795.¹²³

Marsden may have preached in the only large public building at Mulgrave Place that year, in the civic square's new granary shed, although since this was almost immediately condemned as too small for the grain, it may be Marsden preached in the open air of the square. Certainly, Marsden's wife, Elizabeth complained in 1796 that her husband *'...had to preach sometimes...in a place appropriated for Corn'*.¹²⁴ Marsden was to make many trips to the civic square during his ongoing visits to the Mulgrave district, both as chaplain and as magistrate for the district. So regular were his visits that by 1797 he had purchased a fifty acre property there, just a short distance from the study area. Whilst Marsden is supposed to have been stingingly critical of the industry of the Hawkesbury farmers generally, he was regarded as more even-handed in his duties as magistrate, helping ex-convict John Harris and others. John Harris, when told that Marsden was to investigate his case, had replied, *'I am very glad of it for now Mr Kemp would be answerable for his improper conduct'*.¹²⁵

Marsden was instrumental in bringing reliable justice, religion and order to the vital grain-growing settlement of Mulgrave Place, so important to helping the colony survive. Without Marsden, and his officiating from Thompson Square, the legal colonial inequalities between 'came free' elite and ex-convict society would have continued to exist legally much later than 1799. Furthermore, the spiritual needs of the isolated community would have remained neglected, for it was Marsden who recruited the first trained clergyman to work out of Thompson Square from 1810 until 1822 when a new church was consecrated. The ridgetop within the study area continued to be the centre of education from 1804 until around 1880.¹²⁶

In mid-1799, the Hawkesbury River severely flooded. The original provision store, built in 1795 on a lower terrace some two metres above normal river level, was washed away and all the settlement's provisions it contained were lost. The river level reached over 10 metres in Thompson Square. Hunter acknowledged that the floods generally had *'proved a most distressing circumstance to the settlers... where we have in some seasons rais'd from fifteen to twenty*

¹²¹ Ibid., pp.362-373.

¹²² J. Cobley, *Sydney Cove, 1795-1800*, vol.5, p. 12

¹²³ *Historical Records of Australia*, ser. 1, vol. 1, 12 November 1796, p. 678

¹²⁴ T. Yarwood, *Samuel Marsden: The Great Survivor*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1997, p. 51.

¹²⁵ 'An Account of Lands Granted or Leased in His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies by His Excellency, Governor Hunter, from the 1st of August 1796, to the 1st of January 1800, both days inclusive, 6 February 1800, *Historical Records of Australia*, ser. 1, vol. 2, p. 458; Land Grant Register, Book 2, SRNSW, p. 149, 1 June 1797 'Marsden Farm'; Detail of 'Sketch of the Inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor, ...2 June 1816, watercolour by an unknown artist, panorama in four panels, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, call no. PX*D 264; Petty Sessions, Reel 655, pp. 61, 62, 25 August 1798; John Harris against A.F. Kemp, Court of Civil Jurisdiction, SRNSW May-June 1799, evidence: p. 48, Thomas Rickaby 10 June 1799.

¹²⁶ K.J. Cable, 'Cartwright Robert (1771-1856), Australian Dictionary of Biography, <http://adb.anu.au/biography/cartwright-robert-1882/text2211>, first published in hard copy 1966, accessed 31 March 2016; J. Steele, *Early Days of Windsor, N.S. Wales*, Tyrrell's, Sydney, 1916, reprinted Library of Australian History, North Sydney, 1977, pp. 83, 92; D. Bowd, *Macquarie Country*, author, p. 67; St Matthew's Anglican Church Minute Book, 1886-1918, pp. 268-269; *Sydney Gazette*, 16 August 1804

thousand bushels of wheat.¹²⁷ As Mulgrave Place was so important to the colony's survival generally, the effects went far beyond Thompson Square, where the government controlled its purchased grain, with shortages being felt as far as Parramatta and Sydney. The replacement provision store was built in 1799, probably, like its predecessor, on the south-western side of Thompson Square, but on a higher part of the bank above the known flood level, as the north-eastern side had already been taken up with the granaries and the constable's cottage by then. With few carts and wagons, the provision stores needed to be near the unloading vessels on the river.

The 1809 (Figure 30) watercolour painting of Windsor by G.W. Evans depicts the barracks near the top of Thompson Square of the western side, probably enlarged from around 1800, completely surrounded by typical government paling. It highlights a series of buildings along the riverside, some of which have round ventilation openings. Others are asymmetrical and of different shapes to the way Evans draws living quarters, with a central door flanked by two windows, making it likely that these are the provision storage sheds of 1799. These buildings are shown in Evans' paintings of 1807 and 1809 but not in that c.1811, when the new brick provision stores built by Governor King were proving sufficient, and Governor Macquarie determined the 1799 group could safely be removed, replaced by town grants.¹²⁸



Figure 30: The provision stores rebuilt in 1799 are likely to be the collection of two small buildings with high ventilation openings in the upper gable, together with the sheds and skillions along the front of this detail of Evans' painting of 1809. The military barracks, probably that built between 1796 and 1800, but with ongoing additions, is the cluster of buildings on the skyline, with its fenced paddock running down to the provision stores (Source: G.W. Evans, 'The Settlement on the Green Hills', watercolour, 1809, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, PXD 388, vol.3 fo.7).

¹²⁷ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol.1, p.340; vol.2, pp.143-144; *HRNSW*, vol.3, pp.80, 668; Hawkesbury City Council, *Hawkesbury Flood Levels*, Windsor, 2012.

¹²⁸ G.W. Evans, 'A View of the Green Hills', watercolour, 1807, in Hordern House, *Colonial Painting: Twelve Early Works*, Potts Point, 1994, item 4; G.W. Evans, 'Settlement on the Green Hills', watercolour, 1809, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, PX*D 388, vol. 3, fol. 7; G.W. Evans, 'Windsor, Head of Navigation Hawkesbury River', watercolour, c. 1811, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, call no. SV1B/Wind/6.

Village of ‘Green Hills’

Visitors to the district now saw how Governor Hunter had improved the built fabric of Windsor and transformed the rural settlement into the village of Green Hills. As Governor, John Hunter visited the Hawkesbury on several occasions. In early January 1797, he led a repeat muster and gave notification to the settlers of several Government Orders. The district's residents were mustered outside the Government House on the verge of Thompson Square, where Hunter was staying. Towards the end of October 1798, Hunter was again in the vicinity of Thompson Square fixing public regulations and orders.¹²⁹ All the governors from that time through to Lachlan Macquarie knew the civic square at Hawkesbury well through staying at the Government House.

Those from afar, who visited Windsor to attend the annual musters held initially in the vicinity of the Government House and Thompson Square, used the square as a place just to catch up on their dealings with each other or to hear the doings of the district.¹³⁰ Regular visitors, as indicated throughout this text, included Judge Advocate David Collins, the Commissary John Palmer, John and Elizabeth Macarthur, the Reverend Samuel Marsden and Deputy Surveyor Charles Grimes. Some of the élite of the colony later were to recount the hospitality of their stay there as guests of Andrew Thompson when, in the middle of the first decade of the nineteenth century as Hawkesbury's Chief Constable and leading citizen, he built a luxurious house and business premises on his leasehold.¹³¹

A schematic representation of the civic square in 1795 is shown below in Figure 31.

¹²⁹ *HRNSW*, vol. 3, p.217; Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol. 2, p.96.

¹³⁰ *HRNSW*, vol. 3, p.217.

¹³¹ Elizabeth Macarthur in 1795, *HRNSW*, vol.2, p.510.



Figure 31: Schematic representation of the area now known as Thompson Square in 1795 (Source: Compiled by Tom Sapienza - content sourced from Jan Barkley-Jack, drawn by Jonathan Auld, 2012).

Trade

All the earliest Hawkesbury settlers frequented Thompson Square regularly, getting provisions, storing the grain they wished to sell to the government or seeking the help of the constables, the military or the magistrate. Many landed in the vicinity of Thompson Square in their small boats, which became more common after 1796 when local settlers like James Webb became boat builders. The growing number of government officers was centred in the square and ordinary settlers were welcome at the barracks and even allowed to work alongside the military under some circumstances.¹³²

The square became the focus of a growing overland transportation of produce, with settlers coming from their farms or from Sydney and Parramatta along the Old Hawkesbury Road, as improvements were made to it. Some began transporting produce to and from Sydney by wagons from 1798, led by John Stoddell, the agent for John Palmer.¹³³ When the road had terminated on the Sydney side of South Creek, the foot and cart traffic reaching the storehouses and granaries in the square had been relatively light, so the bulk of goods and people continued to come from the river. The volume and direction of the pedestrians began to increase from the south once Andrew Thompson built the first bridge across South Creek in 1802.¹³⁴ From then, an increasing volume of carts and later carriages crossed the creek on Thompson's land and wound their way up to the top of the ridge in the vicinity of Arndell Street and the Government House, although the river remained the cheapest and preferred means of entry.¹³⁵

Just a fraction west, high along the ridge above Andrew Thompson's lease, Hunter had plans by 1800 for a brick replacement of the provision store and granary buildings. It was Governor King in 1803 who built the new three-storey brick provision stores and granary building, quickly followed by the mooted school building and chapel.¹³⁶ In 1804, the stores and granary became associated with the end of another radical protest, the rebellion of Irish convicts. After the Battle of Vinegar Hill, the Irish leader, Phillip Cunningham, was '*to be publicly executed on the Stair Case of the Public Store [at Green Hills], which he had boasted in his march he was going to plunder*'.¹³⁷

The hanging of Cunningham from the new provision store was to be a significant event in the fledgling square for the Irish throughout the colony. The Green Hills square was chosen as the best place to demonstrate what happens to perceived traitors, as it was central to the settlement and frequented by most of the population of the district regularly. Hanging Cunningham from the provision store was a symbolic gesture to make the point to the wider Irish population, and in particular any supporters of the rebellion in the Mulgrave Place district. The Irish and radical supporters of the rebellion there were already distrusted by Governor King, and the rebels had tried to make their way to the upper Hawkesbury River settlement expecting support.¹³⁸

Every governor continued to improve the infrastructure in the Hawkesbury's civic square. In his short time as governor, Governor Bligh had plans for better facilities there, having Andrew Thompson supervise the making of pews for the church. He also improved Government House. In the military barrack paddock on the western side of the square, soldiers burned an effigy of Governor Bligh in January 1808 on hearing their peers in Sydney had deposed the Governor. The facsimile copy of the petition they circulated and sought to force settlers to sign, in an attempt to

¹³² HRNSW, vol.4, p.152; Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p.308.

¹³³ Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, pp. 202-203.

¹³⁴ D.G. Bowd, *Macquarie Country*, rev. ed., author, Windsor, 1973, p.59.

¹³⁵ HRNSW, vol. 6, p.27.

¹³⁶ HRNSW, vol.5, p.163; vol.6, p.43; Meehan, plan of Windsor, 1812, SRNSW, Map SZ529; G.W. Evans, watercolours, 1807, 1809, 1811; *Sydney Gazette*, 26 August 1804.

¹³⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 11 March 1804, p.2; L.R. Silver, *Australia's Irish Rebellion: the Battle of Vinegar Hill, 1804*, rev. ed., Watermark Press, Sydney 2002, p.150.

¹³⁸ A. Whitaker, *Unfinished Revolution*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994, pp. 91, 93-94; Hall, *A Desperate Set of Villains*, pp. 217-218

prove belated support for the deposition from the unwilling Hawkesbury farmers, was conceived and written in Andrew Thompson's pub adjacent to Thompson Square.¹³⁹

The Evans paintings show clearly that, as more and more government workers were needed to be employed in the civic facilities in the square, a number of additional small private houses grew and the remaining open space was, by 1807, denuded of trees. Gradually, the area took on the look of a small village, with the civic square at its centre, increasingly populated, especially after Thompson built his new lodgings and retail store on the upper part of his lease, probably around 1807 (Figure 32).

More and more of the adjacent uplands were sold to entrepreneurs like Andrew Thompson and others, often widows or single women with children, who lived on allotments near the government square, sub-divided from the Whitehouse, Smallwood and Rickaby farms, and so the village started to extend to the south-west (Figure 33).



Figure 32: Thompson's store, at the top of Thompson Square, eastern side, facing south-west across Thompson Square, drawn in 1820 (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transcripts, box 10 p.4259).

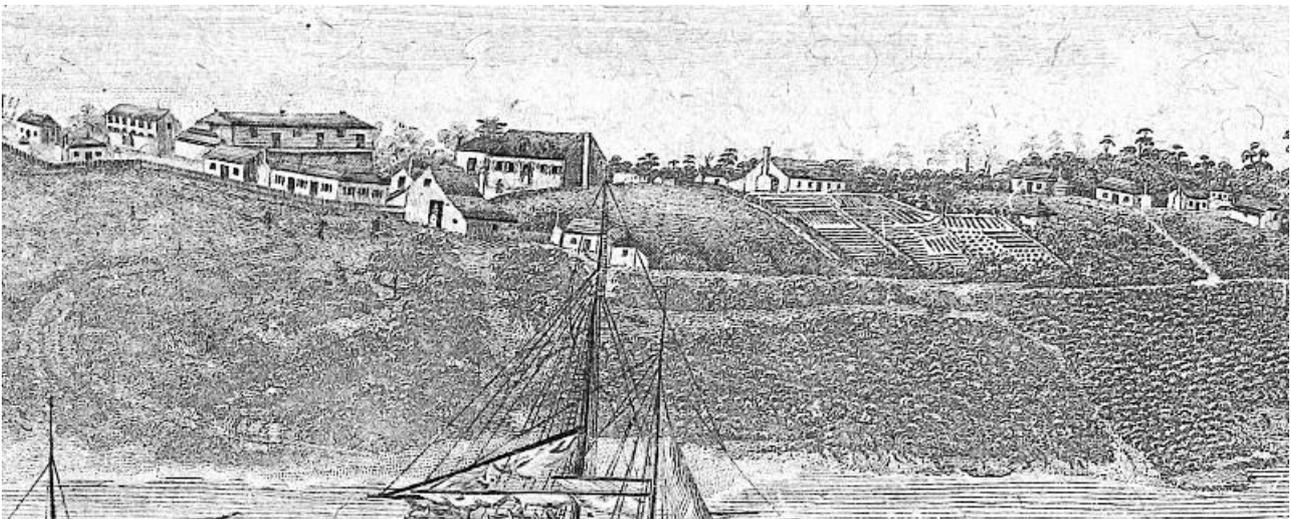


Figure 33: The south-western side of Thompson Square and private houses by 1813 (Source: P. Slaeger, 'A View of Part of the Town of Windsor', etching published by Absalom West, Sydney 1813).

¹³⁹ Ritchie, ed., *A Charge of Mutiny*, p.122.

2.1.7 The Macquarie Period and its Aftermath in Thompson Square

When Macquarie arrived in 1810 to restore normal government, he quickly found Thompson an invaluable adviser on Hawkesbury affairs. Thompson solved a couple of the Governor's pressing problems. In early January 1810, Thompson rode out from the civic square with the Hawkesbury commandant to appeal to the settlers there to sell extra grain they may have been holding and put it into government storage. Thompson's local popularity ensured success and the Governor got the grain supplies he needed. Thompson also provided a house of quality for Judge Ellis Bent in Sydney, giving up his new waterside residence in Sydney Cove to Bent, assisting Macquarie by providing Judge Bent a house which Bent regarded as suitable to his status, after Bent had had rejected all others Macquarie had suggested.

Judge Ellis Bent described Andrew Thompson's position in the colony as being placed well beyond just being influential at Mulgrave Place. Despite previously distaining any dealings with ex-convicts, Bent saw in Thompson someone redeemed socially, and appreciated Thompson's almost unique status as one of the foremost men in the colony. Thompson also arranged for the Bents' staff: a colonial-born housemaid from the Hawkesbury and Thompson's own footman, Joseph, with Joseph's wife as cook. Bent related the favour Andrew Thompson had shown him, to his mother:

*'I was much surprised and pleased by a letter from the Governor saying that Colonel Foveaux had got a Mr Thompson to lend us his house ready furnished...Mr Thompson...is now, I may say, one of the first men, if not the first in the Colony. He possesses an amazing herd of cattle, a most extensive property at Hawkesbury, where he generally lives. Besides, he has to the amount of £50,000 engaged in different pursuits. He has established a Tanyard, a Salt Works etc. The house is...one of the prettiest in Sydney...'*¹⁴⁰

Recognising Thompson's qualities, Macquarie announced on 14 January 1810 that, in keeping with his philosophy of benevolence to any ex-convict in the settlement whose good behaviour had illustrated genuine reform, Thompson was to be the colony's first ex-convict magistrate, stationed at Hawkesbury.¹⁴¹

Another prime motivating factor that had demonstrated Thompson's commitment to reforming himself had been his heroic efforts during some of the highest floods in the Hawkesbury, when he used his own boats and personally helped rescue hundreds of settlers stranded on the roofs of their crumbling homes. Macquarie's words which he had placed on Thompson's altar monument acknowledged this:

*'By these means he raised himself to a state of respectability and affluence which enabled him to indulge the generosity of his nature in assisting his Fellow Creatures in distress...in the Calamitous Floods of the river Hawkesbury in the Years 1806 and 1809...In consequence...Governor Lachlan Macquarie appointed him a Justice of the Peace.'*¹⁴²

Thompson's appointment pre-dated the similar appointment of Simeon Lord, also an ex-convict, to the magistracy. Macquarie stated:

'I am aware that [the appointment of ex-convicts to elevated government positions]...is a Measure which must be resorted to with great Caution and Delicacy...The number of persons of this Description whom I have yet admitted to my Table consist of only Four, Namely, Mr D'Arcy Wentworth, Principal Surgeon, Mr William Redfern, Assistant Surgeon; Mr Andrew Thompson, an opulent Farmer and Proprietor of Land, and Mr Simeon Lord, an opulent Merchant...they have long Conducted themselves with the

¹⁴⁰ Ellis Bent to his mother, Bent's Letter Book, 4 March 1810, National Library Canberra, research of John Byrne, M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, p. 245

¹⁴¹ *Sydney Gazette*, 14 January 1810, p.2.

¹⁴² Transcribed from grave altar monument, St Matthew's Anglican church cemetery, Windsor.

*greatest Propriety, and I find them at all times ready to come forward in the most liberal Manner to the Assistance of Government. In order to mark my Sense of the Merits of Mr Andrew Thompson, I have already appointed him a Justice of the Peace and Magistrate at the Hawkesbury...and I intend to Confer the same Marks of Distinction on Mr Wentworth and Mr Simeon Lord when Vacancies...may occur.*¹⁴³

Andrew Thompson's appointment as the first ex-convict in the Colony to become a magistrate, marks Thompson off from all ex-convicts, as the primary example of Macquarie's controversial policy of benevolent governing. Macquarie was well-aware that this was a new line of conduct within the New South Wales settlement, but was passionate that any one proven of worth in helping their current society, with exceptionally good behaviour and successful industriousness over a long period, should find that this behaviour could 'restore him to that rank in Society which he had lost'. This appeared to Macquarie to be 'the greatest Inducement...for Reformation of Manners'.¹⁴⁴ Although Macquarie believed this approach to be consistent with British colonial policy, and the British Government did not formally dispute this, the policy was to cause bitter dispute later with people such as Samuel Marsden who refused to serve with such ex-convict appointees.¹⁴⁵

The honour of being the very first ex-convict magistrate places Andrew Thompson in a unique position in Australia's history, and gives him a significance even beyond the distinction of his own many valuable and officially recognised contributions to the survival of both the Hawkesbury district and the colony generally in its earliest period. Macquarie's ex-convict policy has been a much-debated feature of this country's early march toward nationhood, and its application, especially in this first instance, gives both Thompson and the square named after him, rare status in our historical record.

Thompson's health had been impaired by his vigorous relief efforts during the flood in 1809 and, on his premature death in October 1810, Macquarie pledged to provide a suitable headstone for his grave at Windsor. The Governor praised his friend:

*'Andrew Thompson...may justly be said to be the father and founder of the village hitherto known by the name of the Green Hills; there being hardly a vestage [sic] of a single building here, excepting the Government Granary, when he first came to reside on the Green Hills ten years ago.'*¹⁴⁶

In December 1810, Governor Macquarie held a dinner in the Government Cottage, where he announced the creation of five new towns on high land along the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. This December visit was the first Macquarie had made to the village of Green Hills, and he next returned early in 1811, on 12 January walking around the village of the Green Hills to look closely at the north-eastern end of Richmond Common and the existing civic square, where he intended to commence his town of Windsor.

Establishment of "Windsor"

Windsor was unique among Macquarie's new towns, as it required the incorporation of an existing village which had its own governing presence for 15 years previous. He quickly gave the Deputy Surveyor-General James Meehan instructions to do a detailed survey of the new town. By 24 July 1811, the principal streets were clearly defined, with the main street (George Street) named by Macquarie after George III.¹⁴⁷ The new town was designed on a grid and located on high land to avoid floodwaters, although there were still two places where the land dipped and high floodwaters could enter. These spots were located on George and Macquarie Street, between Johnston and

¹⁴³ Historical Records of Australia, ser. 1, vol. 7, p. 276.

¹⁴⁴ *Historical Records of Australia*, ser. 1, vol. 7, p. 276; Transcription from the inscription Lachlan Macquarie placed on Andrew Thomson's grave at St Matthew's Anglican church cemetery, Windsor.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Macquarie, *Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1810-1822*, Library of Australian History and Library Council of NSW, Sydney, 1979, p.43.

¹⁴⁷ Ian Jack, *Macquarie Towns*, Heritage Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 2010, p. 38.

New Streets.¹⁴⁸ Most importantly, Macquarie recognised the existing civic square, incorporating it into the town plan (Figure 34), and formally naming it Thompson Square, in honour of Andrew Thompson.¹⁴⁹

In Sydney, Parramatta and Toongabbie, which were the only other urban centres of the time, no early squares had been formed. In Sydney, Governor Phillip's grand hopes for a planned environment had been thwarted and every governor until Bligh had postponed the translation of the temporary built environment of colonial Sydney into planning that would include the creation of a larger public area in an enduring form.¹⁵⁰ Even Bligh did not, however, plan a civic square. The earliest informal meeting places in Sydney along the waterfront have disappeared with redevelopment, as had other informal spaces in Sydney.¹⁵¹

It was not until Macquarie's administration from 1810 that the designation of formal civic spaces, modelled on those he had known in Edinburgh in his youth, became a reality in New South Wales town planning. It is clear from Macquarie's wording announcing Thompson Square that none of the open spaces in Sydney prior to his arrival had been the equivalent of a community square, even informally, including the church ground. In Macquarie's Government and General Orders issued in October 1810, he referred not to the continuation of Sydney's first two public squares but very clearly to their creation, along with a dedicated park to be known as Hyde Park. The announcement stated:

'the open space of Ground or Area, whereon the Church of St Phillip now stands, and which is hereafter intended to be formed into a handsome Square (the Street hitherto known by the Name of Church Street forming the West Side thereof), has been named 'Charlotte Square'...

*It being intended to remove all those old Buildings and Enclosures now on the space of Ground which is bounded by the Government Domain...[civil officers] on the South...and by the Houses [on the waterfront]...on the North, and to throw the same into an open Area, the said...space of Ground, has been named Macquarie Place...'*¹⁵²

Thompson Square had existed for fifteen years before new urban squares were created in Sydney. In Parramatta, the focus had been on the colony's second Government House, from which the streets were aligned, and which was joined by George Street to the wharf. Toongabbie did not have a dedicated community space and instead consisted of only three streets with no public congregation area.¹⁵³ There remain today 4 surviving squares in Richmond, Wilberforce, Liverpool and Windsor (Thompson Square).

¹⁴⁸ Ian Jack (2010) "Macquarie Towns" Heritage Council of New South Wales, p. 44.

¹⁴⁹ Also referred to as "Thompson's Square" in earlier literature, e.g. Steele 1916.

¹⁵⁰ R. Freestone, *Urban Nation: Australia's Planning Heritage*, CSIRO Publishing, Collingwood, 2010, pp.101-102; 'A Survey of the Settlement of New South Wales', map of Sydney, 1792, annotated by Governor Phillip, SRNSW, Map SZ 430.

¹⁵¹ Ritchie, A Charge of Mutiny, evidence of Governor Bligh, John Macarthur and others, pp. 58, 277; Map of Sydney, 1788, Ashton and Waterson, 2000, p. 9; 'A Survey of the Settlement of New South Wales', 1792 map of Sydney, annotated by Governor Phillip, State Records NSW, Map SZ 430; W. Bradley, A Voyage to New South Wales, 1802, reprint 1969, chart 7; Sydney Gazette, 6 October 1810; Map of Sydney, 1788.; Plan of Parramatta, c.1796, (with no evident dedicated community space), copy in State Library of NSW, Bonwick Transcripts, BT 36 map 17.

¹⁵² Sydney Gazette, 6 October 1810, p.1.

¹⁵³ T. Kass, C. Liston and J. McClymont, *Parramatta: a Past Revealed*, Parramatta City Council, Parramatta, 1996, pp.22-24; J. Barkley-Jack, *Toongabbie's Government Farm: an Elusive Vision for Five Governors, 1791-1824*, Toongabbie & District Historical Society, Seven Hills, 2013, pp.5, 11-13.



Figure 34: Early town plan of Windsor, showing original grid plan (Source: Thompson 1827, NSW SRNSW. Map SZ526).



Figure 35: Windsor in 1811, showing Green Hills in the background across the Hawkesbury River (Source: G.W. Evans, 'Head of Navigation, Hawkesbury River', watercolour, 1811, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, SV1B/Wind/6, a 1328032r).

Establishment of “Thompson Square”

It is Macquarie himself from his Journal entry in January 1811, who gives legitimacy to the claim of the existence of ‘a square’ predating Macquarie’s governorship in the village of Green Hills; unequivocally Macquarie makes it clear in his writings that the public area he saw was what he already understood as ‘a square’: that is, in the European sense of an open space which was contained by associated surrounding buildings and which in that combination had a civic role. A month after Macquarie had first seen the civic area at Green Hills, he referred to it to it as ‘the present square’, without having altered it or its surrounds in any way from its 1809 appearance.¹⁵⁴

The composition of a civic square was thus regarded by Macquarie as flexible place in terms of its components, obviously able to include both public facilities like the granaries and provision stores, an associated church and wharf, which he replaced in the original square, and private dwellings like that of Andrew Thompson (Figure 36). These were the same elements he envisaged for the squares that he was himself to create: churches and church ground as with the ‘great square’ (now McQuade Park, Windsor) with St Matthew’s Anglican Church and burial ground and the Catholic land donation on the opposite diagonal, (now the Catholic Cemetery land), and similarly at Wilberforce. Adding an inn or other commercial building as well as private housing, as with the ‘great square’ were just the type of modifications that all civic squares undergo over time, including the Green Hills civic square before Macquarie, for Thompson had created a shop and large dwelling in the square and an inn adjacent before 1807. Macquarie began tidying the existing ‘square’ at his new town of Windsor in late 1811, removing a small number of the straggling old buildings, but Macquarie never saw a need to change the general form of Thompson Square from its existing boundaries and still useful practical buildings that had existed from 1800.¹⁵⁵ Macquarie had no hesitation in naming the existing ‘present square’ Thompson Square after Andrew Thompson, using the same terminology of ‘a square’ both before and from the civic area’s naming.

Macquarie’s journal entries are detailed and unambiguous in speaking of the Green Hills civic space as it was when he first saw it. He makes it explicitly clear that what he instantly recognises it as a ‘present square’ in 1800 form and recorded no comment about any deviation from his own definition of such a space. The first two entries in Macquarie’s journal which are records of how he first personally perceived the civic space and its surrounds are:

*Thursday 6th Decr. 1810...a convenient part of [Richmond Common]...it is now my intention to appropriate for a large town and township for the accommodation of the settlers inhabiting the south side of the River Hawkesbury, whose farms are liable to be flooded...and to connect the present village on the Green Hills with the intended new town and township...*¹⁵⁶

Saturday 12th Jany. 1811....I rode out...to survey...the ground marked out for the town and township of Windsor, which having finally fixed on...I walked over the whole of the present village on the Green Hills, forming the beginning or basis for the new town of Windsor, in which I planned a square and several new streets; directing the old ones to be enlarged and improved in various respects...The principal street in the present town of Windsor, running in a westerly direction from the Government Garden or Domain towards the new township, I have called George Street...and which street from the present square to the new intended one in the township, will be nearly an English mile long. The square in the

¹⁵⁴ L. Macquarie, *Journal of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, 1810-1822*, Library of Australian History in association with the Library Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 1979, 4-6 December 1810, 12 January 1811.

¹⁵⁵ W. Evans, ‘A View of the Green Hills’, watercolour 1807 in Hordern House, Colonial Paintings: Twelve Early Works, Potts Point, 1994, item 4; G.W. Evans, ‘Settlement on the Green Hills’, State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, PX*D 388, vol. 3, fol. 7; G.W. Evans, ‘Windsor, Head of Navigation Hawkesbury River’, watercolour, c. 1811, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, call no. SV1B/ Wind/6; *Sydney Gazette*, 3 December 1809; Map 1812, SRNSW, SZ529; Ritchie, *A Charge of Mutiny*, p. 122; Lake Macquarie Family History Group, (eds.), *St Matthew’s Parish Registers 1810-1856*, p. xv; J. Barkley-Jack ‘Windsor Catholic Cemetery: History and Context’, in M. Casey and T. Lowe, ‘Archaeological Assessment, Windsor Roman Catholic Cemetery’, prepared for RTA, 2004.

¹⁵⁶ Macquarie, *Journals of his Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land 1810-1822*, p. 31

*present town I have named Thompson Square in honour of the memory of the good and worthy late Andrew Thompson...*¹⁵⁷

In setting out the new town of Windsor, the Governor made Thompson Square the division between the governor's residence and garden. This officially included all the land from the river up the bank to the ridge, along the line of what used to be the western line of Thomson's lease, right up to present-day Arndell Street, which was the boundary with Wilcox Farm (Figure 37). On Andrew Thompson's death the lease had reverted to the Crown, but the buildings became part of his estate. All this was later known as the Governor's Domain, although maps show a fluid north-eastern boundary for Thompson Square, in that the cottage of Andrew Thompson and his orchard's eastern boundary clearly remain perceived as part of Thompson Square into the twentieth century. The south-eastern boundary was not defined but always seems, from illustrations of the time, to have been the curtilage of the buildings on the top of the ridge on modern-day George Street. The south-western side of Thompson Square, remained part of the square frontage as had always been the case, and therefore the new buildings remained part of its curtilage through to Baker Street. Macquarie laid out some allotments to infill between this open area of Thompson Square, west to the northern-eastern boundary of Whitehouse Farm.¹⁵⁸

This farm had always marked the south-western edge of the old square and the government precinct. The instructions regarding these allotments were strict:

*'...marking out several new allotments in the town for building new houses according to a prescribed plan not to be deviated from. I gave Mr. Fitzgerald a large allotment in the square on the express condition of his building immediately thereon a handsome commodious inn of brick or stone and to be at least two stories high [the surviving Macquarie Arms]*¹⁵⁹

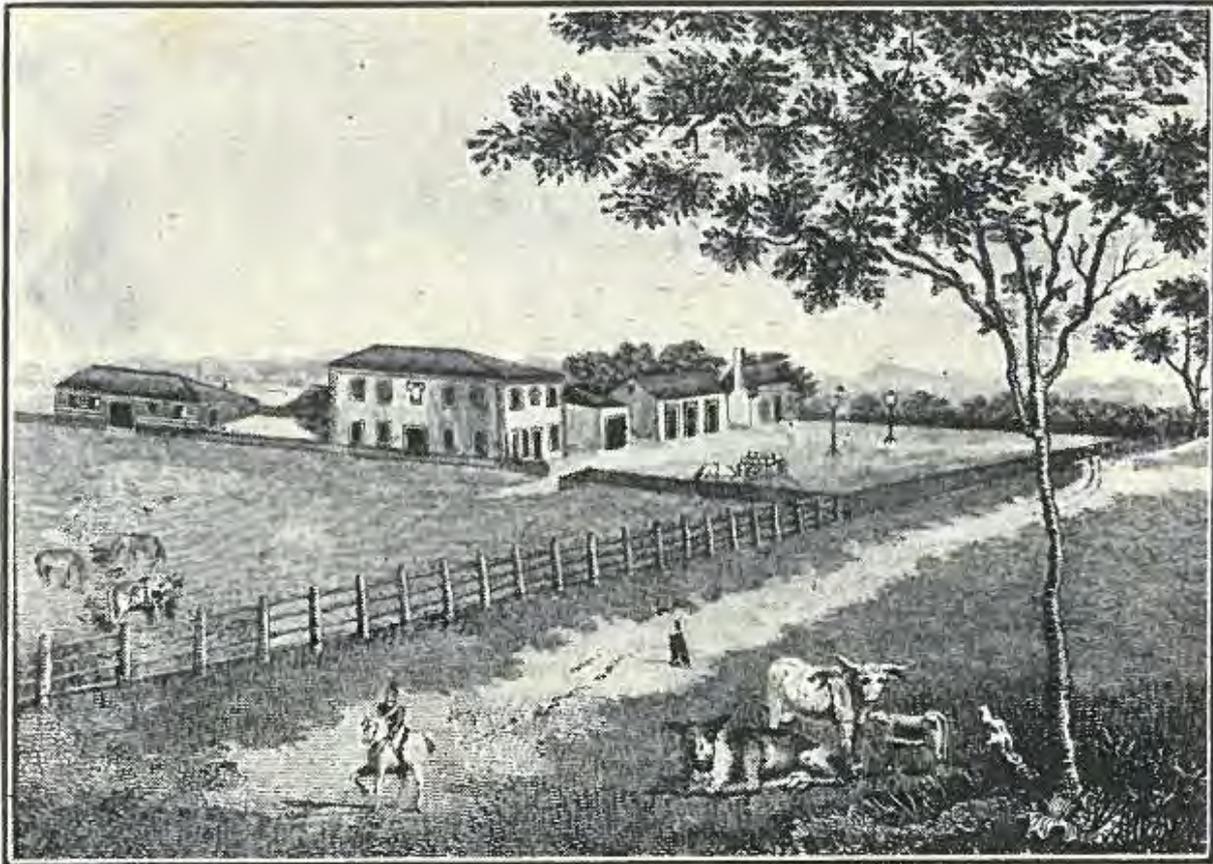
The civic square was near the north-eastern end of the elevated land on which the grid pattern of Windsor was laid out in 1811. A second square was laid out closer to the centre of the new town, adjacent to the new cemetery where Thompson was already buried and where St Matthew's Anglican Church was built between 1817 and 1822. For Thompson's contributions to the Hawkesbury settlement, Macquarie gave Thompson a special posthumous honour by naming the 15-year-old civic square after the magistrate on 12 January 1811.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 42

¹⁵⁸ Abbott, map 1831, no.1816, SRNSW; Slaeger, 1812-1813, copy in possession of author; Detail of survey of Thompson Square by Charles Scrivener, December 1894, LPI, Crown Plan R.2026.1603; Aerial photograph of Thompson Square, taken in 1929. North is at the bottom. Courtesy of Carol Roberts, Windsor, from the collection of her mother, the late Iris Cammack. Photographer Frederick Halpin Willson, RAAF, 1929 see Figure 55

¹⁵⁹ Macquarie, Journals of His Tours of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822, p. 42

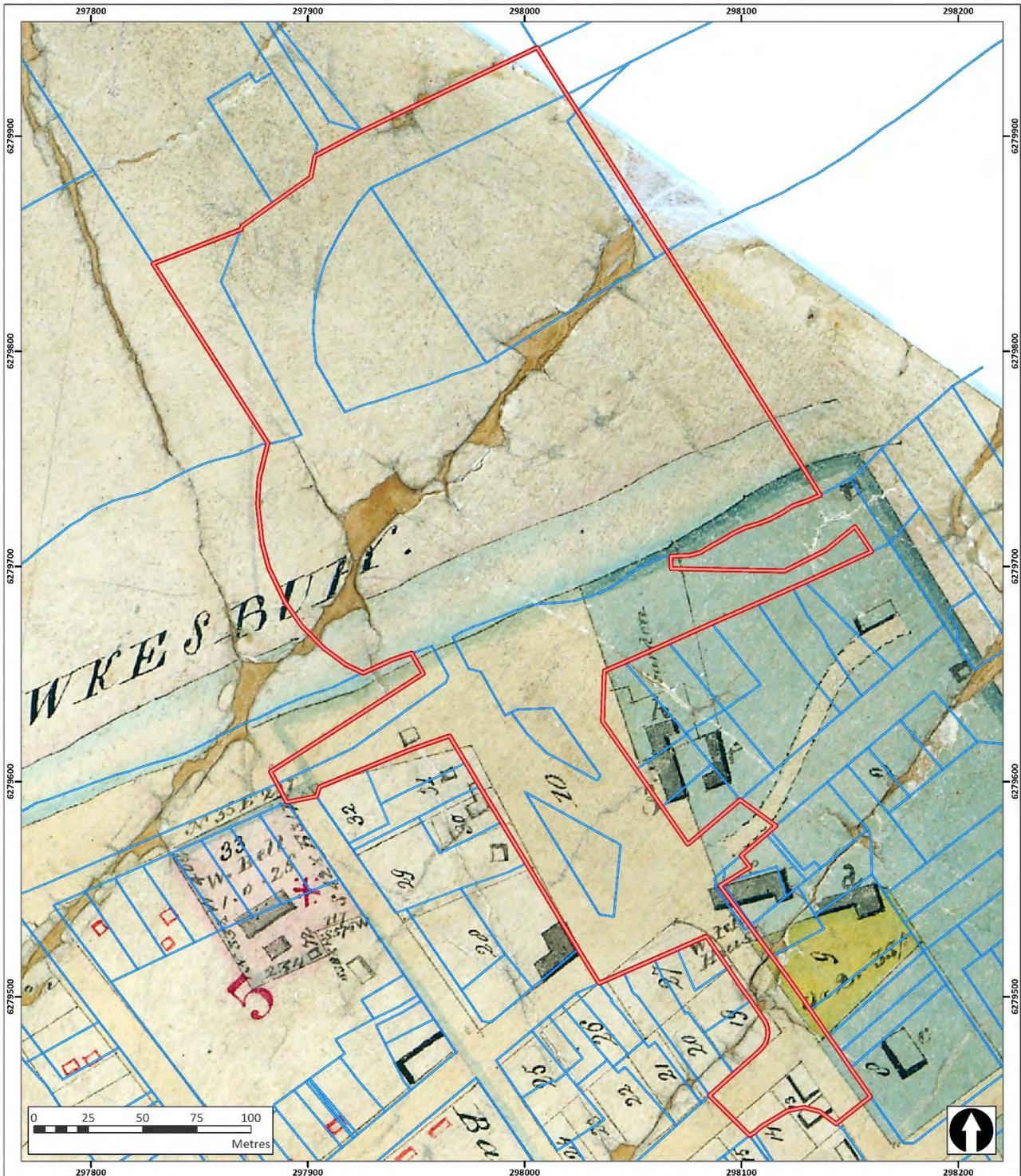
¹⁶⁰ J. Barkley and M. Nichols, *Hawkesbury 1794-1994: the First Two Hundred Years of the Second Colonisation*, Hawkesbury City Council, Windsor, 1994, p.42.



**ANDREW THOMPSON'S "RED HOUSE" FARM
(now McGrath's Hill), WINDSOR.**

(Block lent by C. H. Bertie, Esq.)

Figure 36: Thompson's farmhouse outside of Windsor (Source: Jas Steele 1916, facing p. 25).



**1820s-1830s Plan of the Town of Windsor,
by Galloway
SRNSW #5966**

- Study Area
- Cadastre



**Roads &
Maritime**

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council,
 NSW LPI, SRNSW

Figure 37: 1820s-1830s plan showing the Thompson Square area. Existing cadastre is depicted in pink (Source: Galloway 1820s-1830s, State Library NSW Call Number 5966).

2.1.8 The Development of Thompson Square and Adjoining Areas

Early Development

At the highest point of the colonial square was a significant landmark, a bell mounted on a high post, used for summoning people, especially convicts, but also a familiar meeting-place.¹⁶¹ The bell-post is shown in all the early watercolours and etchings of the Green Hills. It stood in the middle of the present Bridge Street, just south of its intersection with George Street. According to James Padley, a local journalist writing in the 1890s as Yeldap but using the memories of elderly residents, the bell was rung every morning at 6 AM to summon convict servants to breakfast.¹⁶²

Adjacent to the bell-post were stocks and a pillory for public punishment.¹⁶³ Stocks for a single person are clearly shown in Evans' 1807 and 1809 paintings. Though they are omitted from his 1811 view, there is a crude depiction of a double-stocks as well as a rather different bell-post in Slaeger's etching in 1813 (Figure 38 and Figure 39).



Figure 38: The bell-post and single stocks in Thompson Square in 1809 (Source: G.W. Evans, 'The Settlement on the Green Hills', watercolour, 1809, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, PXD 388, vol.3 fo.7).

¹⁶¹ Cf D.G. Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey*, Library of Australian History, North Sydney, 1986, p.83.

¹⁶² Yeldap, 'The Good Old Days', *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 5 August 1893, p.8. For Paley, see B. Corr, *Pondering the Abyss: a Study of the Language of Settlement on the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers*, www.nahgarra.com.au, pp.46-47.

¹⁶³ J. Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, Tyrrells, Sydney, 1916, reprinted Library of Australian History, North Sydney, 1977, p.139.



Figure 39: The bell-post and double stocks in Thompson Square in 1812-1813 (Source: P. Slaeger, 'A View of Part of the Town of Windsor', West, Sydney 1813).

Slaeger was correct about the capacity of the stocks, for John Tebbutt the astronomer, who was born in 1834, recalled seeing two men in the stocks at the same time for drunkenness.¹⁶⁴ Old Dan Mayne, who was born in 1831, recalled the same but had never seen anyone in the pillory.¹⁶⁵ This implies that the stocks were still there and still in use during the 1840s.

The bell-post was a widely known landmark. In 1822, for example, the Provost Marshal in Sydney advertised the sale of a debtor's cattle 'at the Bell-Post, Windsor'.¹⁶⁶ Before local newspapers were common, notices might be attached to the bell-post. In 1844, a man trying to clear his name of receiving a stolen saddle proclaimed his innocence 'by public advertisement ... stuck on the Bell post'.¹⁶⁷ The post was the natural terminus for the wheelbarrow race from the toll-house down by South Creek in the 1850s.¹⁶⁸

It is not clear when the bell-post was finally removed from Thompson Square. The author of 'Old Windsor: a Reverie' in 1896 starts his nostalgic article:

*Stand at 'the Bellpost', that central spot which claims so extensive a view and so many strange and romantic associations.*¹⁶⁹

In 1902, a local novel by 'Josephine' was entitled 'Hanged at the Bellpost'.¹⁷⁰ These seem, however, to be allusions to a well-remembered feature of Thompson Square, lost in mid-Victorian times, possibly when the new bridge was built in 1874.

Thompson Square does not consist solely of the public space but also the built environment which grew up on three sides. The Thompson Square Conservation Area which is inscribed on the State Heritage Register includes the buildings around it and their own individual curtilages. This is a substantially larger area than the central portion of the study area, but the tempo of developmental change on these three sides and also around the wharf and punt access beside the river is a critical element in defining the values of the area.

To the north-east, the civic square was bounded initially by the government domain (the usual term for the government precinct after Thompson's death), which controlled that sector until the 1850s.

¹⁶⁴ *Sunday Times*, 28 March 1909, p.7

¹⁶⁵ *National Advocate*, 27 May 1911, p.6; Hawkesbury Family History Group, *Hawkesbury Pioneer Register*, Windsor, 1994, p.124.

¹⁶⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 6 December 1822, p.1.

¹⁶⁷ *Hawkesbury Courier*, 9 June 1845, p.2. This newspaper was not established until three months after the incident reported.

¹⁶⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 December 1856, p.1

¹⁶⁹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 12 December 1896, p.19.

¹⁷⁰ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 12 April 1902, p.1.

The government buildings shown and identified by Meehan in 1812 (Figure 40) are:

- No.1, the schoolhouse/church of 1803-1804;
- No.2, the granary/store of 1803;
- No.3, the Government House of 1796; and
- No.4, the military barracks of 1800.

Meehan also shows the military barracks (No.4) on the south-west hinterland of Thompson Square. However, the military were soon to move down to Bridge Street and, already in 1811, Governor Macquarie was in process of changing the south-west side of the civic space from military and store use to four promised town grants. The initial survey of these intended grants is shown by Meehan in dotted lines extending north from George Street. All these grants lie just outside the present study area. All four offers were taken up but only the land on the corner with George Street, earmarked for the Macquarie Arms, was officially granted, to Richard Fitzgerald. This was the largest of the four, around one acre. Fitzgerald's new inn, begun in 1812, was opened for business as the Macquarie Arms by the eponymous governor in 1815.¹⁷¹

This new residential area constituted '*the aristocratic quarter of old Windsor town*', in the later words of the newspaper editor, G.C. Johnson.¹⁷² The qualities of this part of Windsor at its best were described eloquently by a visiting Scot, John Hood, who, in 1841, admired the Fitzgerald family's private cottage, a long rectangular building addressing George Street beside the Macquarie Arms: it was the very *beau idéal* of a cottage.

'Its extreme neatness; its shape and size; the creepers on the walls; its pomegranates, rich in flower and fruit; its figs; its cages full of birds; the scent of its roses; the perfect loveliness of its retired situation; left nothing for the imagination to wish.'¹⁷³

The Fitzgerald residence, now demolished, was still affectionately known simply as 'The Cottage' in the 1920s.¹⁷⁴ The other three town allotments on the south-west side of Thompson Square, north of the Macquarie Arms, were, for some unexplained reason, left without any registered title. Nonetheless, the private ownership of this land abutting Thompson Square on the south-west was recognised from Macquarie's time onward and buildings were soon erected on all three lots and are shown on surveyors' plans by 1827, under the names of Howe (29 in Map SZ 526, street no.7), Loder (30, no.5) and Doyle (31, nos 1-3) (Figure 41). However, there was still need in 1903 for a report from the Chief Surveyor into these 'ungranted allotments' and two others nearby: the official investigation into the irregularity was still ongoing in the 1940s.¹⁷⁵

The footprints shown in Thompson's map of 1827 are only schematic but more detailed representations of the substantial buildings, as they had become by the mid-1830s, are available from a very detailed plan drawn by G.B. White in 1835 (Figure 42) and confirmed by J.J. Galloway in another great plan in 1841.¹⁷⁶ No building is shown on Loder's allotment either in 1835 or in 1841, although Thompson had shown one in 1827 (Figure 41).

171 Macquarie, Journals, p.42; Land and Property Information, Grants Register 2 fo.131; P. Slaeger, 'A View of Part of the Town of Windsor', etching published Absalom West, Sydney, 1813; Sydney Gazette, 29 July 1815, p.2.

172 G.C.J., 'A Town with a History: Windsor', Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 21 April 1900, p.1. For the identification of G.C.J., see Steele, Early Days of Windsor, p.213. Thompson Square had already been called 'that aristocratic quarter' in 1881 (Australian, 28 May 1881, p.2)

173 J. Hood, Australia and the East, Murray, London, 1843, p.258. The cottage is identified, and sketched, by the author in his presentation copy of his book to his son in 1843 (State Library of NSW, Dixson Library, 84/254).

174 J.C.L. Fitzgerald, Those Were the Days: More Hawkesbury History, NSW Bookstall Co, Sydney, 1923, p.112.

175 Annotation on G.H. White's plan of Windsor, 1827, State Records NSW [SRNSW], Map SZ 523; Lands Department, Alienation Branch and Sale Branch correspondence, paper trail created by the constantly transferred file, SRNSW, from 11/20944 item 18/9939 to 11/21412 item 40/8894.

176 J.J. Galloway, plan of Windsor, 1841, Land and Property Information, Crown Plan W 443a.

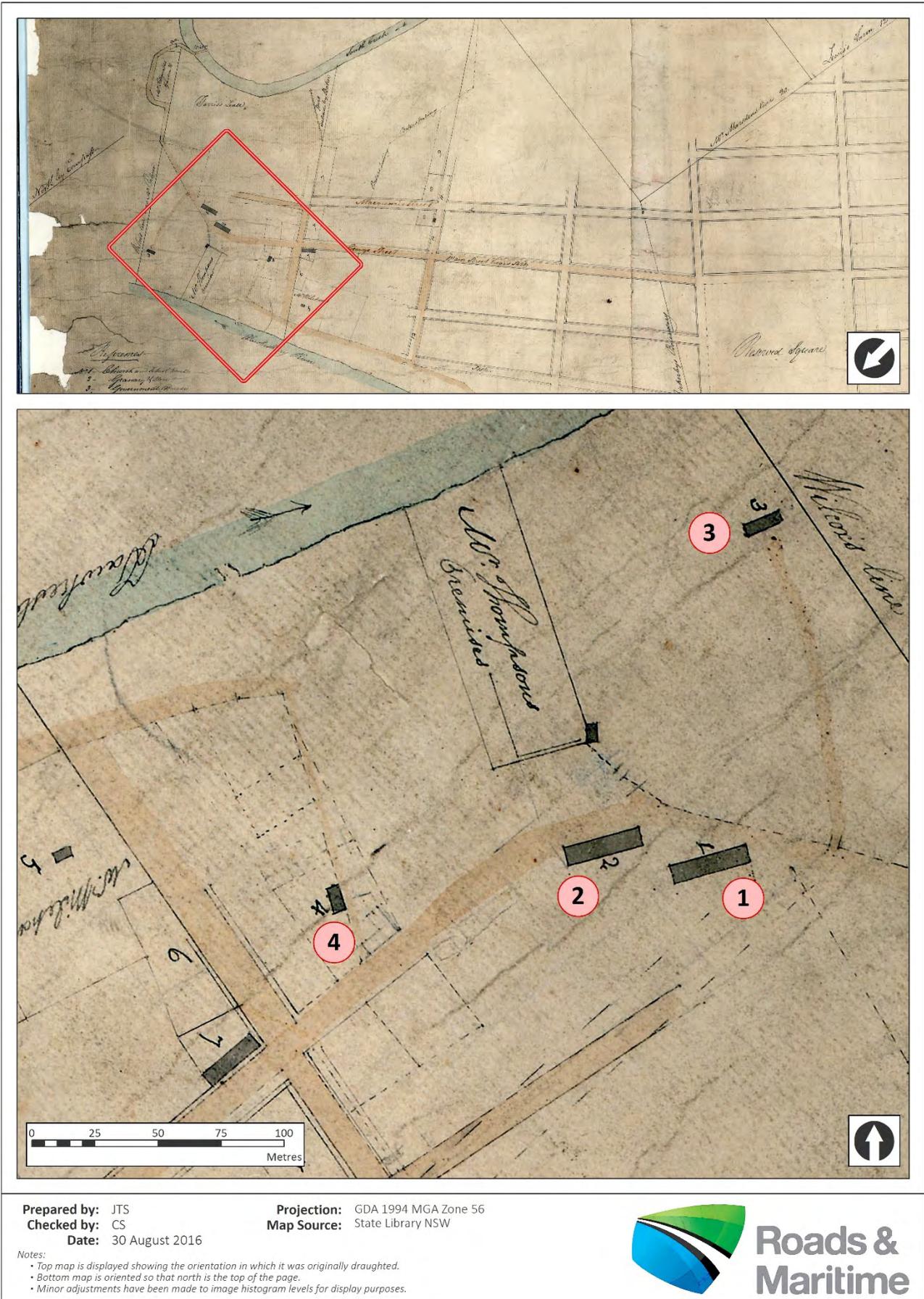
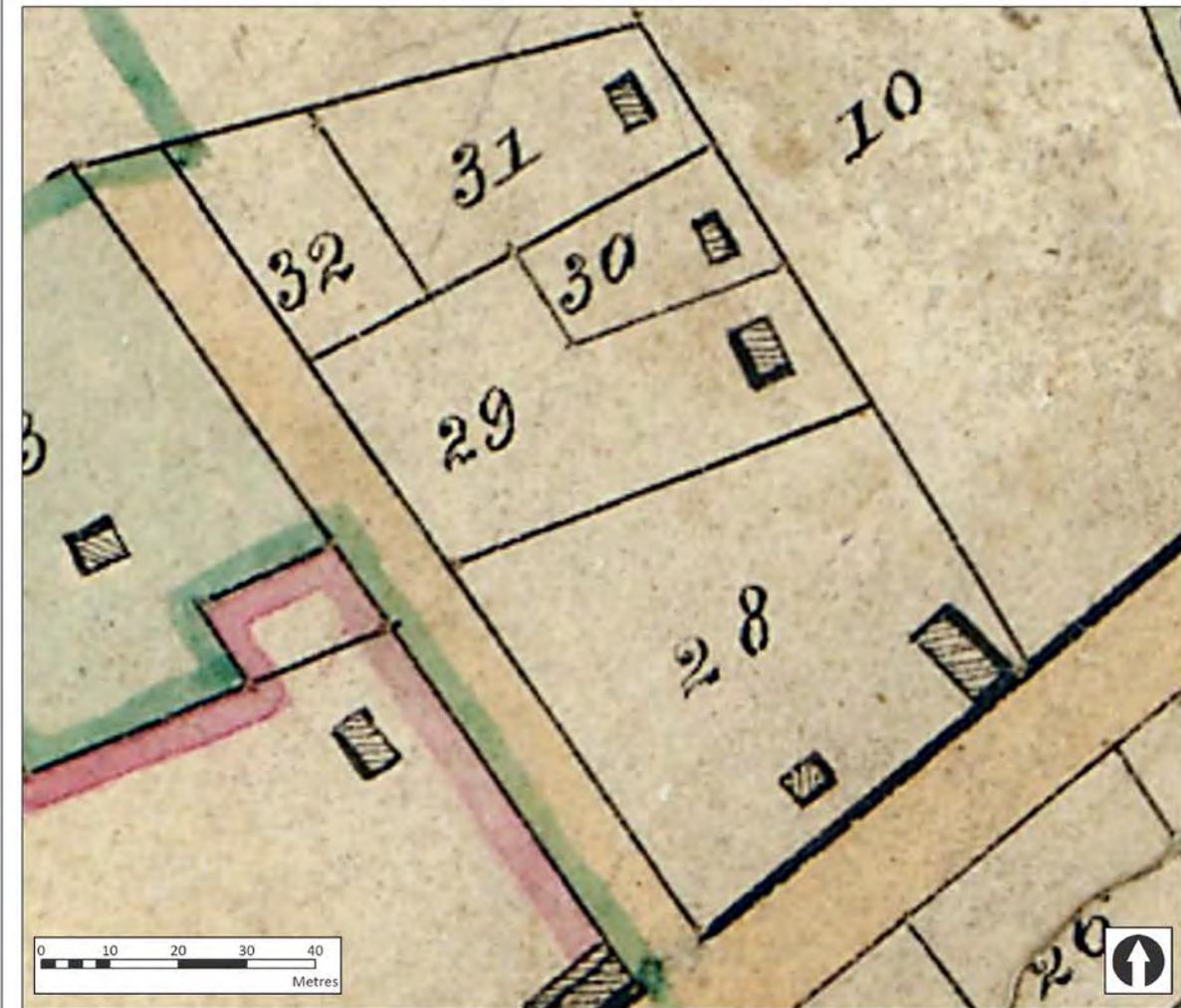


Figure 40: Thompson Square in 1811-1812 (Source: J. Meehan, plan of Windsor, 1812, SRNSW, Map SZ 529).



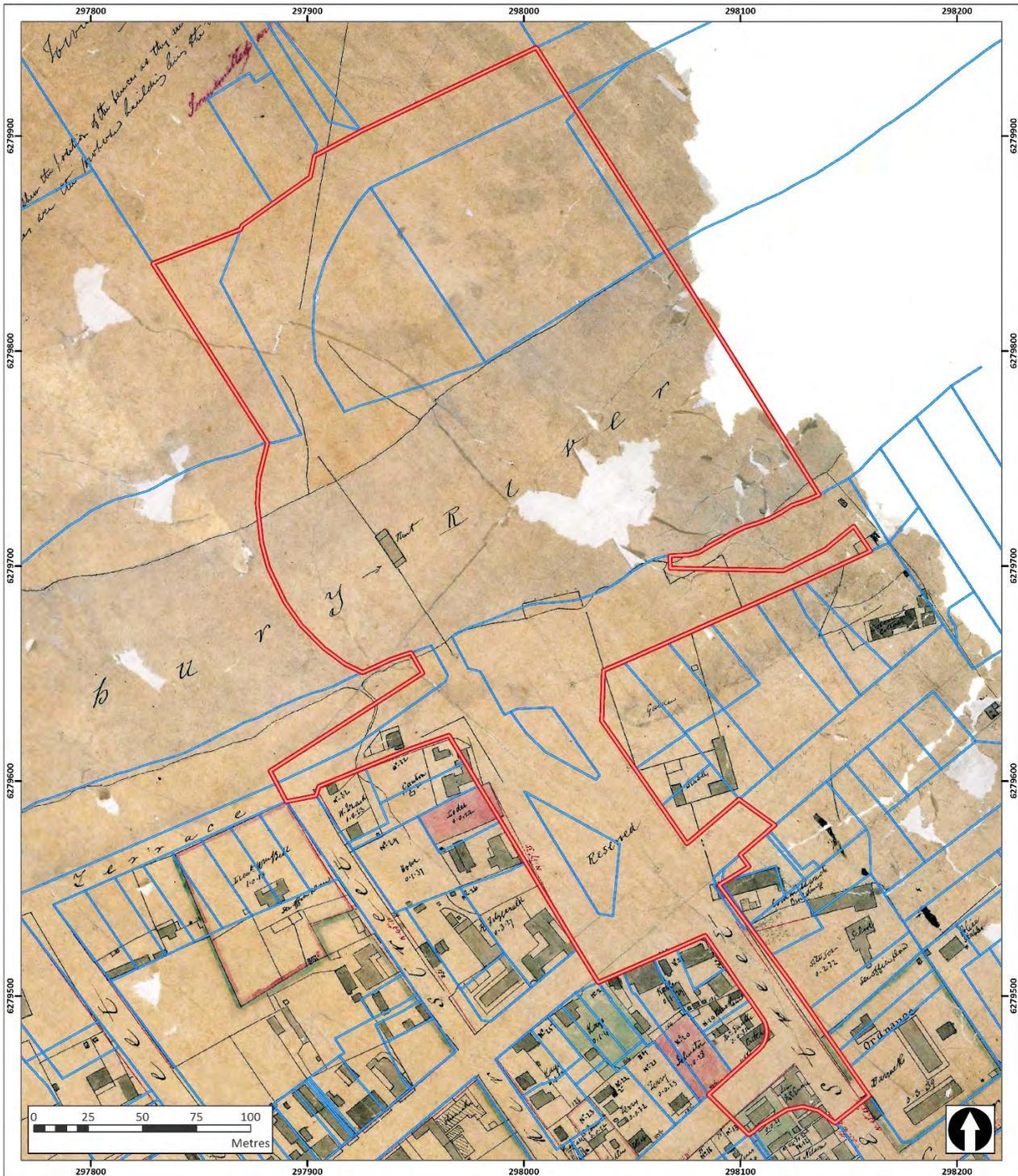
Prepared by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Map Source: SRNSW

Notes:
 • Top map is displayed showing the orientation in which it was originally draughted.
 • Bottom map is oriented so that north is the top of the page.
 • Minor adjustments have been made to image histogram levels for display purposes.



Figure 41: The south-west side of Thompson Square in 1827, with detailed footprints of several buildings showing the new building allotments (Source: White, Town of Windsor, 1827, SRNSW, Map SZ524).



**1835 Plan of Windsor, by White
SRNSW #5968**

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, SRNSW

Figure 42: The south-west side of Thompson Square in 1835, with detailed footprints of several buildings (Source: G.B.White, plan of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968).

South-West Side of Thompson Square

The streetscape on the south-west side has retained remarkable integrity over 150 years (Figure 43). The present Howe's House, part of Windsor Regional Museum, seems to have supplemented and then replaced an earlier large house on the allotment closer to Baker Street in the 1830s. A 'newly erected' house was offered for lease in 1837, with a description conforming to the present building but it had already figured on White's detailed 1835 map (Figure 44) in the same form as shown in 1841.¹⁷⁷ The cottage on Loder's grant next door was probably built in the 1850s.¹⁷⁸

The house in Thompson Square closest to the river replaced the inn run by the original grantee, James Doyle, which is shown in the 1835 and 1841 plans. Doyle had died in 1836 and his widowed sister and her son-in-law, Edward Burke, demolished the inn in 1844 and built the present spacious duplex with two storeys, attic and large cellars. Since medical men have occupied one or both parts of the building since the 1870s until very recently, it has become known as the Doctors' House.¹⁷⁹

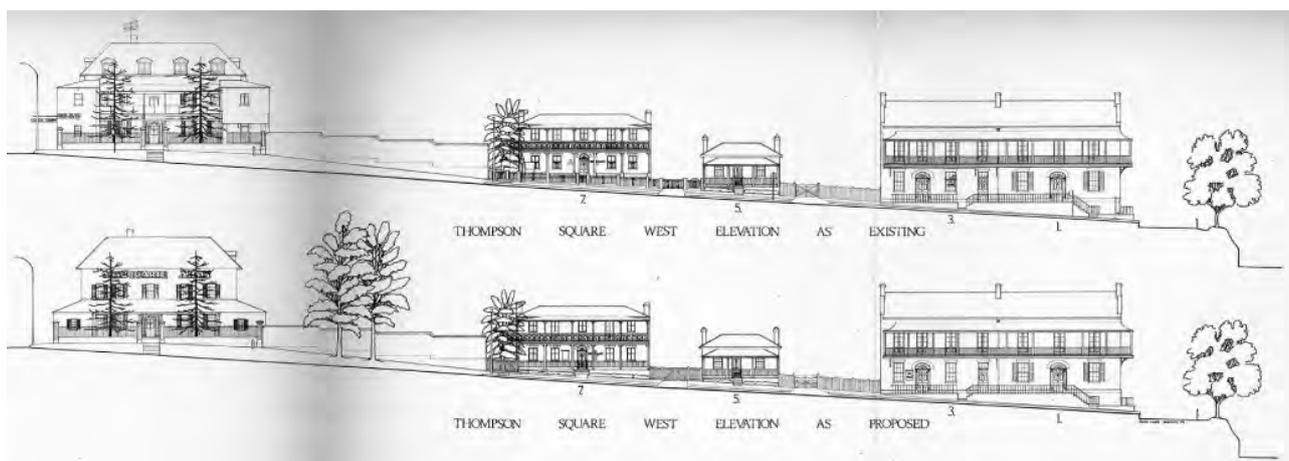


Figure 43: Clive Lucas's drawing of the elevations on the south-west side of Thompson Square in 1975. From the left, the houses are: Macquarie Arms, Howe's House, the 1850s cottage on Loder's land and the Doctors' House. The lower drawings include proposed conservation to Macquarie Arms (Source: Fisher Lucas, 'Thompson Square: a Concept Plan for Future Development', report to Windsor Municipal Council, 1975, p.47).

¹⁷⁷ *Sydney Herald*, 27 March 1837, p.3.

¹⁷⁸ D.G. Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey: Up the Windsor Road from Baulkham Hills*, Library of Australian History, Sydney, 1986, p.88.

¹⁷⁹ R.I. Jack, *Exploring the Hawkesbury*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, 2nd ed. 1990, pp.110, 112.

Thompson's Lease

Adjacent to the north-east corner of Thompson Square, the lease held by Thompson within the government area had reverted to the Crown on his death in 1810 but is still shown on Meehan's map of 1812 as Thompson's 'premises' (Figure 44).

Thompson had planted fruit trees on the lower part of his leasehold land, sketched by Evans, and this established orchard was transformed into a garden for the government domain.¹⁸⁰ The careful layout of this garden was recorded elegantly by the surveyor John Abbott in 1831 (Figure 45). This action of Macquarie clearly defined the boundary between the government domain and the north-east side of the public area. Because the garden, and Thompson's leasehold before that, lay at an angle to the general layout of the domain, the civic square became broader as it approached the river. Abbott's plan of 1831 shows this clearly and accentuates the boundary by colouring government buildings red and private buildings blue.¹⁸¹ The government buildings above the garden, to the south, shown in footprint by Abbott, are the police barracks ('g'), the police stables to the left ('e') and the prisoners' barracks, formerly Thompson's store ('f') fronting Thompson Square.

George Street did not extend north-east beyond Thompson Square, blocked to the public by the government domain. The old granary ('c') was, by 1831, known as the Commissariat Stores: its site lies partly within the study area. The old schoolhouse/church of 1804-1805 ('b') was still standing just east of the Commissariat Stores, although St Matthew's Anglican Church a kilometre away had, since 1822, taken over its religious functions. A newer, small watch-house had been built on Bridge Street close to the Commissariat Stores and is shown as 'd'.¹⁸²

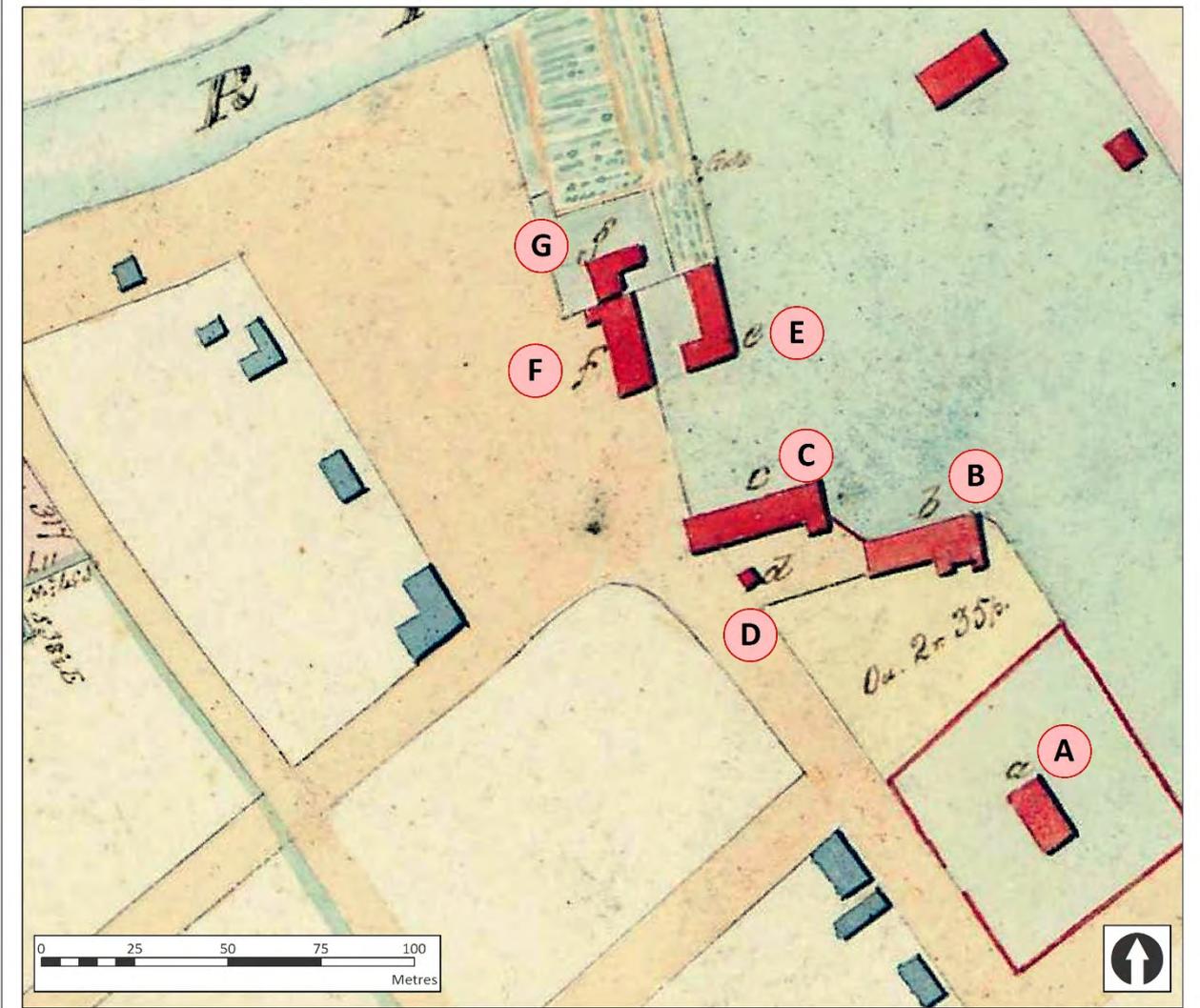
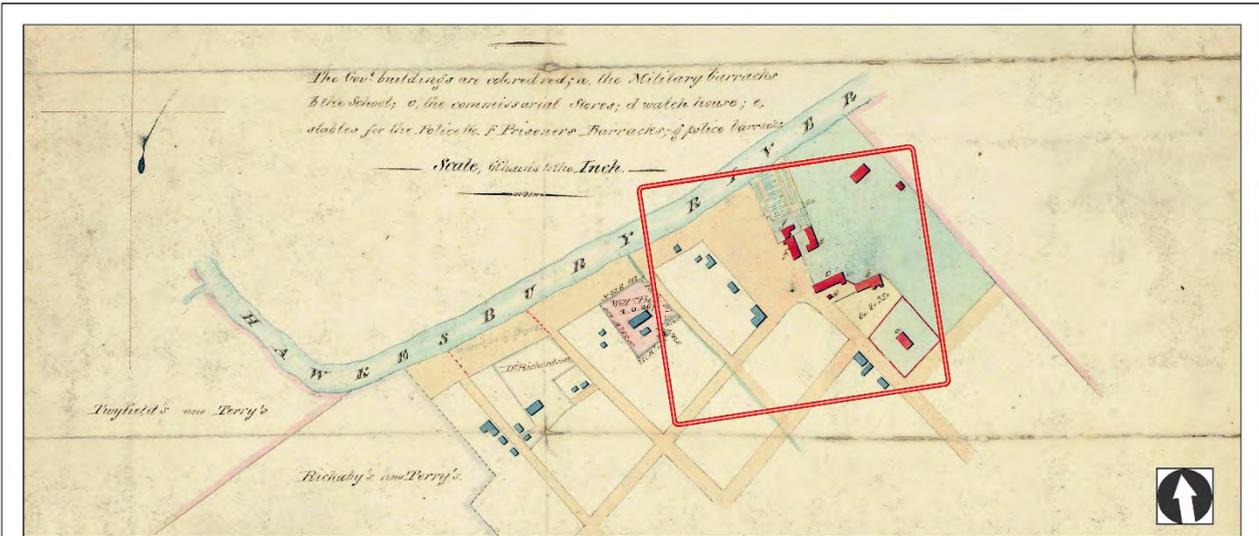
¹⁸⁰ See the watercolours by G.W. Evans painted in 1807 and 1811

¹⁸¹ J. Abbott, plan of school lands in Windsor, 1831, SRNSW, Map 1816.

¹⁸² J. Abbott, plan of school land, Windsor, 1831, SRNSW, Map 1816.



Figure 44: Thompson's lease of 1799 (Source: J. Meehan, plan of Windsor, 1812, SRNSW, Map SZ 529).



Prepared by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Map Source: SRNSW

Notes:
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Roads & Maritime

Figure 45: The development of the government domain and Thompson Square at Windsor by 1831 (Source: Detail of plan of school land by surveyor John Abbott, 1831, SRNSW, Map 1816).

North-East Side of Thompson Square

The government presence on the eastern side of Thompson Square diminished in the early Victorian period. White's plan of 1835, with elaborate footprints for the buildings, shows that there had been changes since 1831. The police barracks were no longer occupied, the prisoners' barracks had been reduced in size and, in that group, only the government stables remained intact.

These stables were demolished after the handsome two-storey house called Lilburn Hall (10 Bridge Street) was built in 1856 by Dr Dowe. Lilburn Hall was used for a variety of purposes. It was a private home under Dowe (1856-1860), under Dr Callaghan from 1887 until he took the Doctors' House in 1903 and then under the local politician, Brinsley Hall, until 1919. In the meantime, between Dowe and Callaghan, it was a private school. After Brinsley Hall left, it became a maternity hospital under the name of 'Craigneish' until 1934.¹⁸³ It has had various commercial uses, during which it acquired accretions which have now been removed. It is an important element in Thompson Square, as demonstrated in the elevation drawn in 1975 by Clive Lucas (Figure 46).

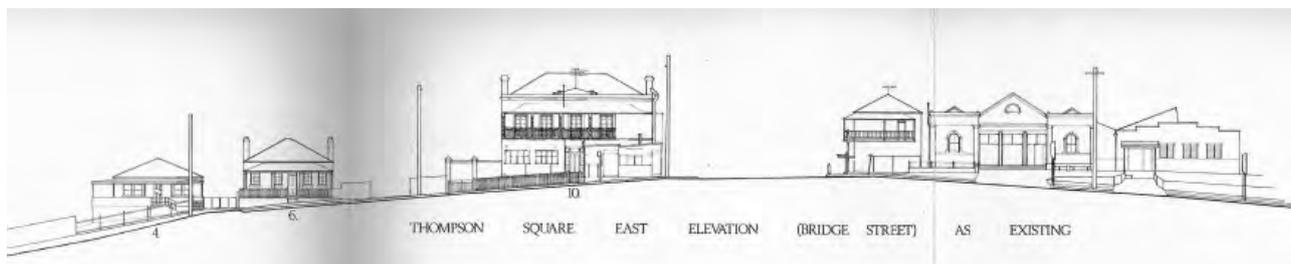
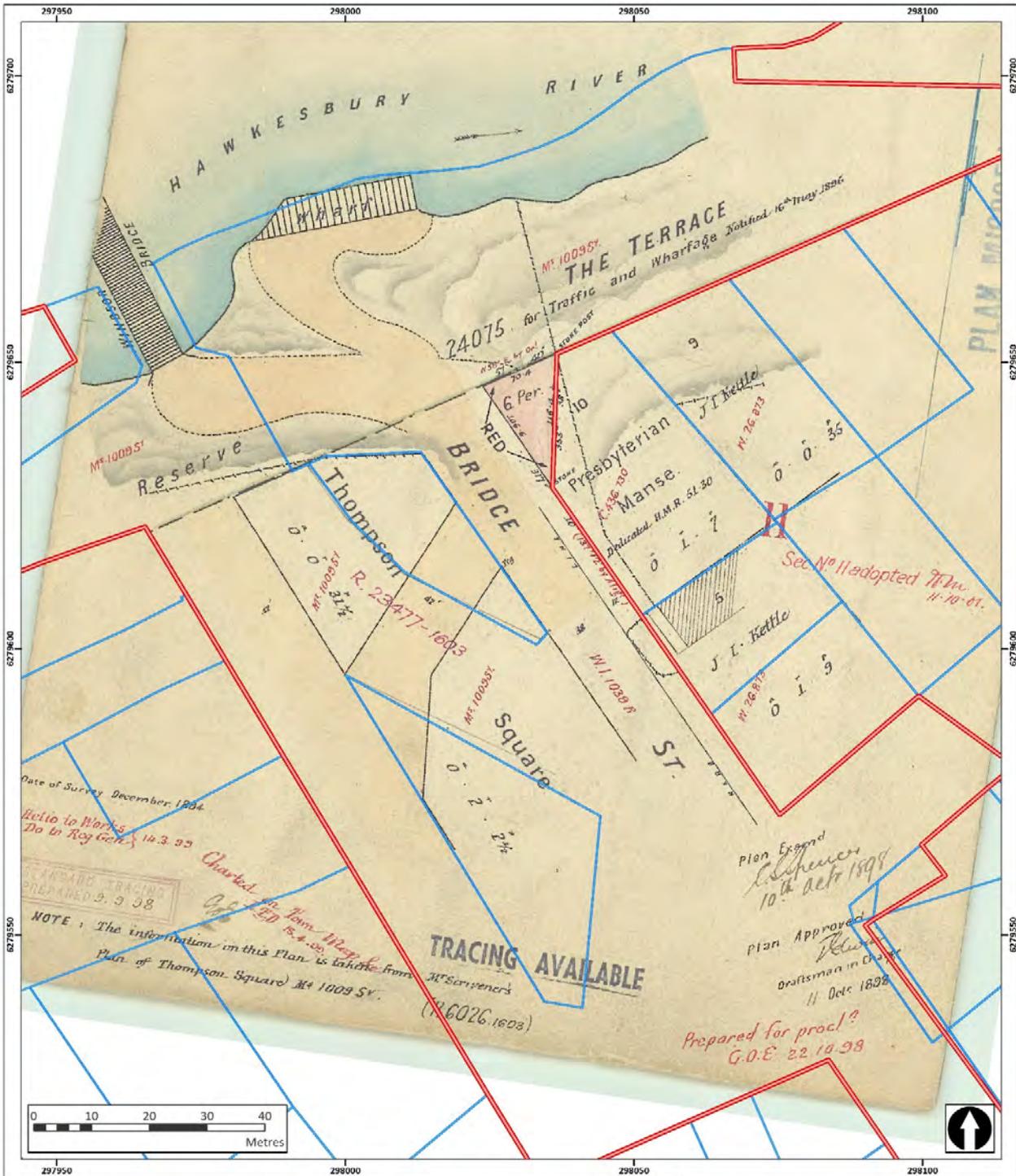


Figure 46: Elevations along Bridge Street from Thompson Square, drawn by Clive Lucas in 1975. Lilburn Hall is in the dominating central position. To the right is the School of Arts, erected in 1861. To the left of Lilburn Hall is a cottage, no.6 Bridge Street, built about 1860 (Source: Fisher Lucas, 'Thompson Square: a Concept Plan for Future Development', report to Windsor Municipal Council, 1975, p.47).

Below Lilburn Hall, the former government garden had been abandoned in 1852 so that the Presbyterian Church could build a manse. Although the church never built upon this flood-prone land, the realignment of the property boundaries straightened what is currently known (misleadingly) as Old Bridge Street, until the resumption in 1896 of a triangle of land (coloured pink in Figure 47) to enhance the vehicular turn from the wharf and the bridge during the major bridge works then underway.

¹⁸³ Bowd, Hawkesbury Journey, p.91.



**1894 Plan of land to be resumed under the
Public Roads Act of 1897
NSW LPI #R6026**

- Study Area
- Cadastre



**Roads &
Maritime**

Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council,
 NSW LPI

Figure 47: Survey of Thompson Square by Charles Scrivener, showing realignments after government land on the north-east was transferred to the Presbyterian Church in 1852 (Source: Surveyor Charles Scrivener, 1894, LPI, Road Plan, R.6026.1603).

The sandstock brick wall with shell lime mortar, which partially survives below the house at 4 Bridge Street (built in 1955), does not seem to have been accurately surveyed and was ignored in the heritage inventory of the house but is likely to be the sole surviving element of the boundary of the original government garden.¹⁸⁴ It features by name in the remarkable panorama drawn in June 1816 during a 14-metre flood (Figure 48). The brick wall marked 'c c' in the bottom right corner of the detail shown below is identified in the manuscript key as 'Wall, Govt. House Garden'. Since the fencing around the area when it was leased by Andrew Thompson is shown as paling in all of Evans' views and no fencing around the area is visible in the Slaeger view of 1812-1813, the brick wall must have been constructed by the Macquarie administration between 1813 and early 1816. A century ago, it was well known that this wall had 'formed part of the block of buildings occupied by Lachlan Macquarie' and its precise location 'near to the approach to the Windsor wharf', as observed in 1914, leaves no doubt that the artefact described is the surviving fragment of walling.

Between 4 Bridge Street and Lilburn Hall, there is an attractive 1860s cottage, 6 Bridge Street, which was used as a private school in the 1870s and early 1880s.¹⁸⁵

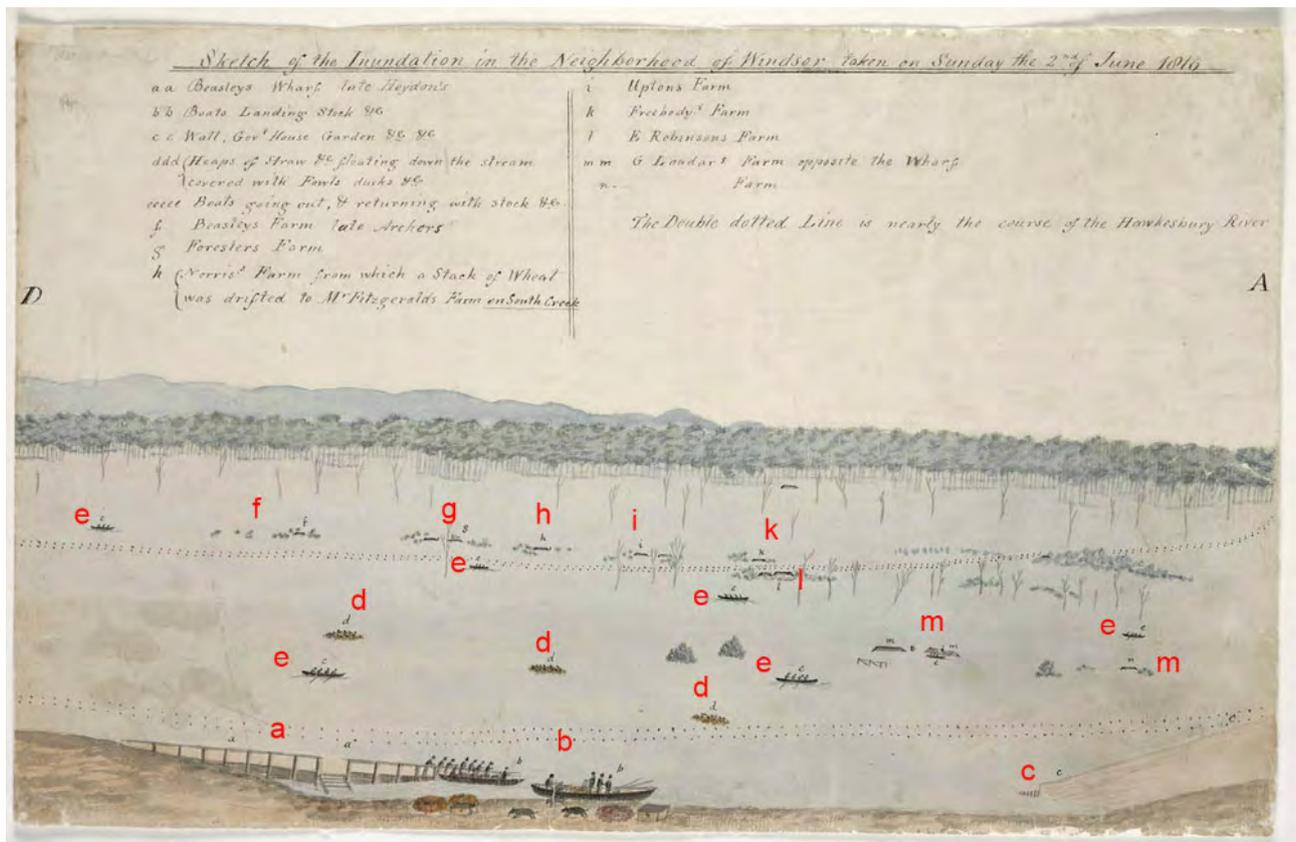


Figure 48: The brick wall on the western boundary of the government garden adjacent to Thompson Square, drawn during the 14-metre flood of 1816 and marked 'c c'. The wharf on the left is a private one known as Beasley's upstream from Thompson Square (Source: Anon., 'Sketch of the inundation in the neighbourhood of Windsor 2 June 1816', State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, PX*D 264).

¹⁸⁴ Hawkesbury Heritage Inventory, SHI no.1740427, Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 12 December 1896, p.19, 13 November 1914, p.7 For a brief assessment of the brick wall, see E. Higginbotham, 'Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW', report to Hawkesbury Shire Council, 1986, photograph, inventory no.15.

¹⁸⁵ Bowd, Hawkesbury Journey, p.90.

South-East Side of Thompson Square

The final element in the built environment of Thompson Square is the group of commercial premises at 62 to 74 George Street, which are included in the State Heritage Register Conservation Area listing (Figure 49). They demonstrate evolution over a century and more of Thompson Square, consisting of a range of buildings from the early to late Victorian.

The single-storey cottage on the corner of Bridge Street, on the left of the street elevation above, is the earliest element. It appears first on White's plan of 1835 as no. 27 (Figure 51) but is omitted from Thompson's 1827 plan.¹⁸⁶

This building at 62 George Street is part of the oldest and most significant bakery in Windsor, which stayed in the Moses family for almost a century. Uriah Moses, a convict who gained his freedom in 1821, operated various businesses with baking being a particular occupation until he died in 1847. It is likely that he built the surviving cottage around 1830. His son Henry, born in 1832, was a successful baker and miller, who was the local member of parliament from 1869 until 1880. It was Henry who demolished the western half of the old cottage and built the large two-storey addition, with commercial space below and living accommodation above. His youngest son, William, inherited the George Street bakery, known as the Hawkesbury Stores, until he transferred the business to new premises further down George Street in 1920.¹⁸⁷

To the west of the Moses' store there was a well-known hotel, licensed from 1865 until 1911. The building was demolished in 1913 after a fire. A garage was built on the site in 1923, succeeded by a plumbing business in 1974. It is now occupied by three eating places (70-72 George Street).¹⁸⁸

The final contributor to this suite of premises is the A. C. Stearn building, 74 George Street. Stearn was a prominent businessman who extended a single-storey shop upwards in 1907 with a distinctive balcony (now demolished) and parapet, much used for decorations and fireworks during public celebrations in Thompson Square.¹⁸⁹

Further east along George Street, just outside the study area, the old Government House (core and cellar built in 1796) survived in increasing disrepair until 1921, when, despite widespread protests, it was finally pulled down. Although a house (41 George Street) was built over part of the eighteenth-century foundations, there remains archaeological potential on the site.¹⁹⁰

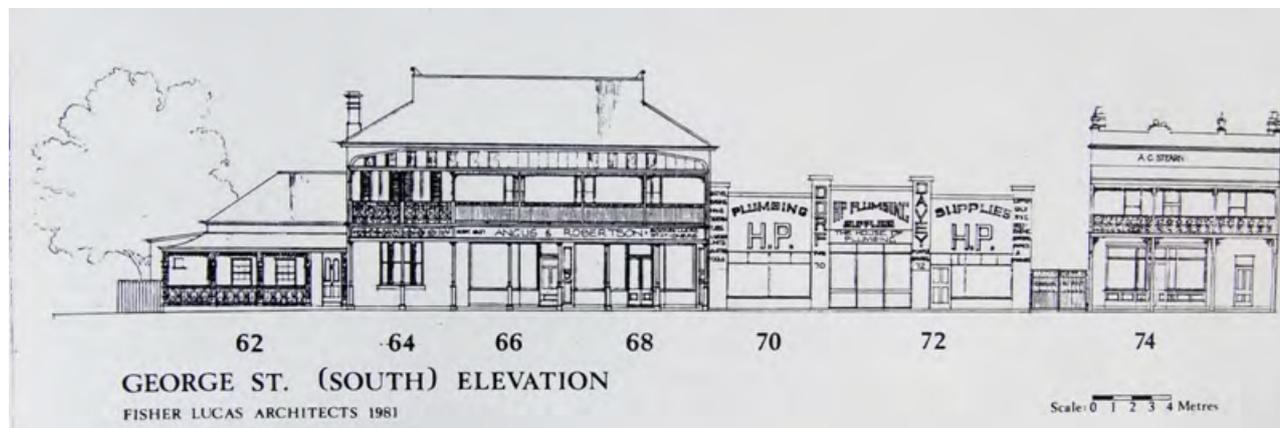


Figure 49: The premises on George Street facing Thompson Square, drawn by Clive Lucas in 1975 (Source: Fisher Lucas, 'Thompson Square: a Concept Plan for Future Development', report to Windsor Municipal Council, 1975, p.48).

¹⁸⁶ SRNSW, Maps SZ 526 (1827), 5968 (1835).

¹⁸⁷ Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey*, pp.92-93.

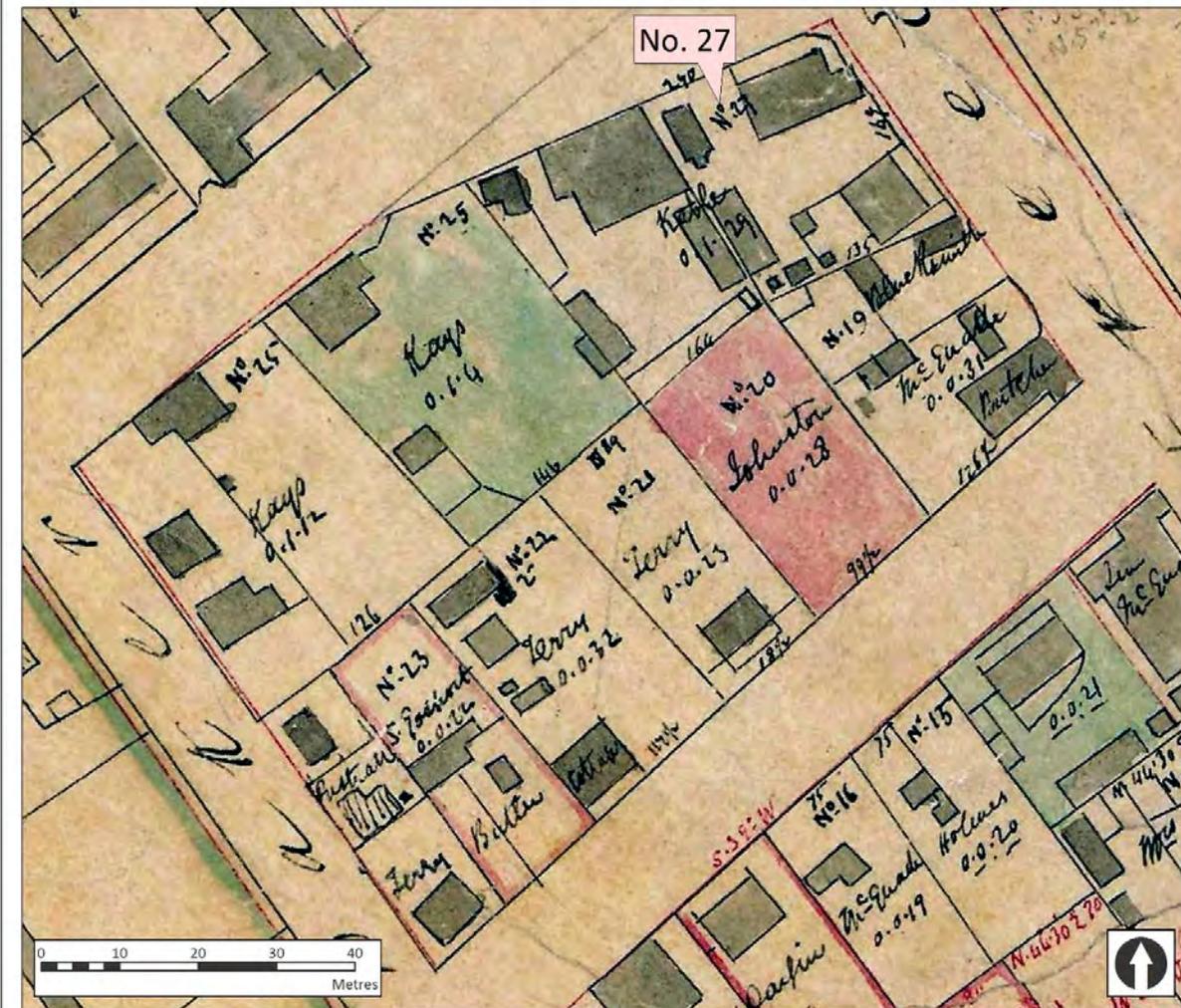
¹⁸⁸ Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey*, p.94. *Hawkesbury Herald*, 13 June 1902, p.4; *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 29 May 1090, p.7.

¹⁸⁹ Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey*, p.94.

¹⁹⁰ State Heritage Register Inventory no. 01843.



Figure 50: George Street south of Thompson Square during the 1870s. (Source: Hawkesbury City Council Library).



Prepared by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Map Source: SRNSW

Notes:
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Roads & Maritime

Figure 51: The built environment on George Street opposite Thompson Square in 1835. 'No. 27' is marked in the top right, just to the left of the second 't' in [S]treet'. (Source: G.B. White, plan of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968).

Thompson Square Reserve

There were some attempts to construct buildings within the open area of Thompson Square, where reserves had been established. The earliest was a hexagonal wooden summer-house or pavilion at the top of the open space, close to George Street. This was originally erected in 1882 at the cost of £32.10s, more than \$7,000 in modern money.¹⁹¹ It aroused instant controversy. Councillors talked of it as an 'abortion' and proposed its conversion to a public urinal, preferably at McQuade Park.¹⁹² In the 1890s, it was denounced as an 'eye-sore' and described as a 'place of refuge' for Aboriginal people when they came to town.¹⁹³ Finally, the Municipal Council had it removed in 1900.¹⁹⁴

When the realignment of the bridge access road to its present configuration was under active consideration in 1933, the Country Women's Association attempted to build a rest-room and baby health centre in the upper reserve, near George Street, which was described as the 'ideal site', but this was not approved by the Municipal Council.¹⁹⁵ In 1935, the Ladies Section of the Upper Hawkesbury Motor Boat Club sought premises in the lower reserve.¹⁹⁶ This too was refused, although a public toilet 'behind the boatshed' was approved.¹⁹⁷

Where the ladies had failed, the gentlemen succeeded. In 1948, the Upper Hawkesbury Motor Boat Club persuaded the Council to lease them part of the lower reserve (changed by the new road alignment). In February 1949, the Club held its first meeting in its newly completed club room (Figure 52). It was demolished in the 1990s.



Figure 52: The club room of the Upper Hawkesbury Motor Boat Club, centre front (Source: Postcard by Sandscene International, postmarked 1978).

¹⁹¹ *Australian*, 25 March 1882, p.2; *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 April 1902, p.1

¹⁹² *Australian*, 4 November 1882, p.2; 21 April 1883, p.2.

¹⁹³ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 10 January 1891, p.4; 3 October 1891, p.3; 10 September 1892, p.3.

¹⁹⁴ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 17 February 1900, p.3; *Hawkesbury Advocate*, 9 February 1900, p.4; 23 February 1900, p.4.

¹⁹⁵ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 1 September 1933, p.4.

¹⁹⁶ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 22 March 1935, p.6.

¹⁹⁷ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 9 August 1935, pp.7-8.

2.1.9 Physical Changes to Thompson Square before 1820

Thompson Square was the commercial and administrative focus of young Windsor as it had been during the Green Hills era. The appearance and contours of Thompson Square have naturally been affected by human agency over time, as well as the repeated effects of river flooding in the prehistoric and historic periods.

When John Howe and James McGrath were contracted in 1814 and 1815 to build new wharfage in front of Thompson Square, discussed in detail below, they were also required to alter the landscape of the open space. The steepness of the slope down to the river shown in the Evans and Slaeger views was diminished in 1814 by '*piling the Front of Thompson's Square for filling up the same and reducing it to a gradual slope from the Rise or Ridge on which His Majesty's Store stands*'.¹⁹⁸

Further alteration of the natural landscape was required in 1815:

'the Bank to the westward of the New Wharf and adjoining to that part of the River [upstream] where the Punt and Ferry Boats land is to be cut away sufficiently wide to admit of Carts turning at the Landing Place.'¹⁹⁹

No views of Thompson Square are known to exist from the period immediately after Howe and McGrath completed their works, so it is not possible to accurately document the extent of these topographical modifications.

2.1.10 The Barrel Drain of 1815-1816

The wharf contracts of 1814 and 1815 specified that Howe and McGrath were also to build either one 'sewer' in the middle of Thompson Square, or two sewers, 'one on each side of the Square'.²⁰⁰ The contractors chose to build a single central drain. They were required to make a large number of bricks, between 120,000 and 150,000, to complete the drain. The brick barrel drain constructed around 1815-1816 has left substantial physical remains, which have been described and speculated over from time to time but never systematically excavated archaeologically.

In 1924, the antiquary George Reeves discussed what he called '*the large bricked 8 x 10 conduit tunnel leading from where Thompson's store site was [at the top of Thompson Square] to the river*'. Reeves recalled that William Smith, a local man who was a boy in the 1820s, had told him many years before that he remembered '*the long shingled structures that used to go down to as far as the river bank*'.²⁰¹

Reeves dismissed the common belief that the tunnel carried waste water away from the old gaol near Court Street and maintained that it had been built by Andrew Thompson to bring illicit barrels of rum in to his store from river-boats.²⁰² This theory is patently untenable and Thompson had, in any case, been dead for four years before Howe was commissioned to build the drain. This is doubtless the origin of the rumoured 'smuggler's tunnel' that is periodically claimed to exist within the study area.

However, the local historian William Freame had no doubts and, in 1929, graphically described how Thompson distilled spirits on Scotland Island, shipped the kegs to Windsor and manhandled them '*through a tunnel to a secret vault under Thompson Square*'.²⁰³ Freame returned to the charge in 1931 when he led a visit from the Royal Australian Historical Society to '*a cave in Thompson Square*'. He now claimed that it had been built by convict labour in 1816, which aligns

¹⁹⁸ Howe Papers, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 106, no.37.

¹⁹⁹ Howe Papers, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 106, no.38.

²⁰⁰ Howe Papers, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 106, nos 37, 38.

²⁰¹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 18 January 1924, p.1.

²⁰² Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 18 January 1924, p.1.

²⁰³ *Evening News*, 5 October 1929, p.8; *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 25 October 1929, p.12.

with Howe's contract. The opening of the 'cave' was clearly on the upper part of Thompson Square and it was possible to enter but none of the 50 or so historians present '*ventured to explore it for fear of snakes and vermin*'.²⁰⁴

The accessibility of the drain seems to have varied over these inter-war years. In 1926, the local *Gazette* had noted that, although the 'inlet' to the tunnel '*can now hardly be detected*', yet '*it conveys the impression that an ordinary person could comfortably walk into the tunnel*'.²⁰⁵

Sections of the drain have been exposed on various occasions during road works and other excavations (Figure 53), and there has been confusion created by the conviction that a similar tunnel exists joining the basement of the Macquarie Arms with the river. In 1975, the archaeologist Ted Higginbotham examined and photographed what appears to be the outlet of the Howe-McGrath drain on the bank of the river, behind the wooden remains of an early wharf, and commented, without giving details, on '*several reports of its exposure*' in the middle of Thompson Square. While elements of the drain may yet survive underground, no evidence was located during the extensive archaeological test excavations undertaken in 2016.



Figure 53: The exit of the 1814-1815 drain on the riverbank (Source: E. Higginbotham, 'Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW', report to Hawkesbury Shire Council, 1986, inventory no.9).

²⁰⁴ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 22 June 1931, p.8; 26 June 1931, p.11.

²⁰⁵ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 15 October 1926, p.4.

2.1.11 Road System and Reserves

After Macquarie created Windsor, the existing square was substantially tidied of the huts which had been informally erected there. The dynamic for this growth and its sudden end are graphically shown in the four views completed between 1807 and 1813. This left the central area of Thompson Square in an open state, which it basically retains today. Initially, there was no formal roadway constructed within Thompson Square, although there were well-used tracks. When Howe and McGrath completed their 1815 contract for the drain, they cut away the river-bank in the vicinity of the new wharf, so that there was a turning place for carts. This adjustment to the bank also assisted access to the new punt, inaugurated by Howe in 1814.

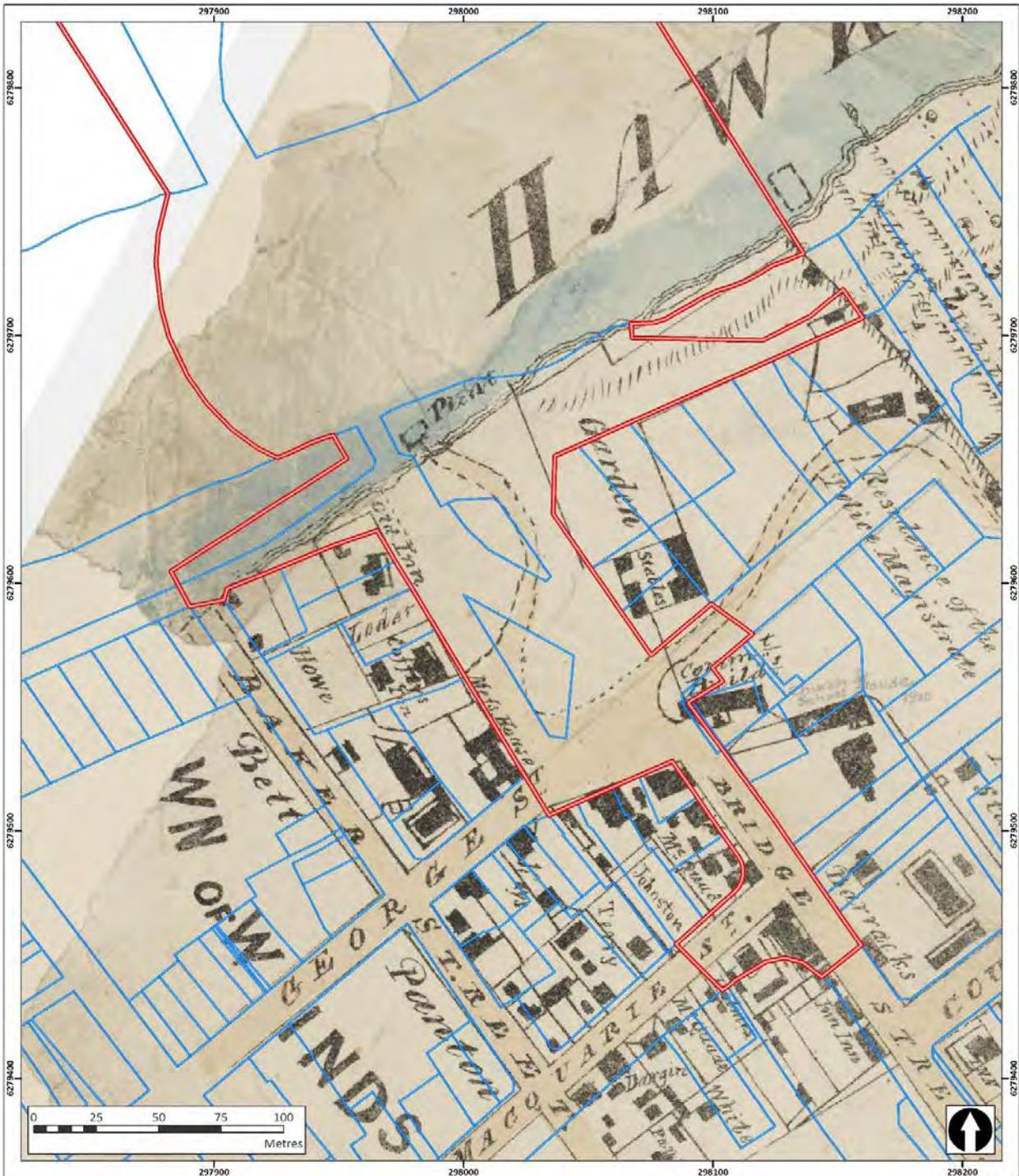
The Hawkesbury River at Windsor was crossed as early as 1814 by Howe's Ferry and the ferry/punt was used for many years. Plans for a road bridge were put forward by Hon. William Walker after the opening of the railway in 1864. It was discussed at length in Parliament for the next few years, with those involved concerned about whether it should be a high level or low level bridge. A design was settled on in 1872, with the bridge planned at fourteen and a half feet above the tidal level. Windsor Bridge was opened on the 20th August 1874. The bridge was four hundred and eighty feet long and cost £10,280. The opening consisted of a great procession through the town and, in the evening, a dinner in Thompson Square.²⁰⁶ Between 1896 and 1897, the bridge was raised by placing new cylinders on top of the old piers and by constructing a new pair of piers at the Wilberforce end. Concrete decking and kerbing replaced the timber originals in c1920.²⁰⁷

The plans of the 1820 and 1830s do not reveal any formal road system within Thompson Square, just as the images by Evans and Slaeger in the earlier period suggest a minimum of organised routes. The first map which clearly shows a cart-road leading down to the river through Thompson Square is in a private sub-division plan of 1842, which shows a road turning off George Street in front of the Macquarie Arms (then a military mess-house) and curving north across Thompson Square before descending to the west onto the river-bank where the punt docked (Figure 54). The wharf is not shown.

This road, with a tighter curve, continued to serve the Windsor Bridge when it was opened in 1874, while also serving the wharf downstream from the bridge. As traffic increased, the road effectively divided the open space of Thompson Square into two separate parts. This is clearly shown in Scrivener's plans of Thompson Square in 1894, which show the road diverging to the bridge on the west and to the wharf on the north (Figure 55). The road immediately adjoining the bridge was adjusted in 1896, when the bridge was raised more than two metres, but the curve of the roadway bisecting Thompson Square remained largely unchanged until the present realignment and cutting were implemented in 1935.

²⁰⁶ Jas. Steele (1916) "Early days of Windsor". Published by Websdale, Shooosmith Ltd, p 184.

²⁰⁷ E. Higginbotham (1986) "Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW" prepared for Hawkesbury Shire Council, p. 30.



1842 CXXIII Building & Cultivation Allotments comprising the Peninsular Farm adjoining the town of Windsor, to be sold at Auction on 5th Feb 1842 by Mr Laban White at Windsor, by Armstrong

State Library NSW #Z/M2 811.11222/1842/1

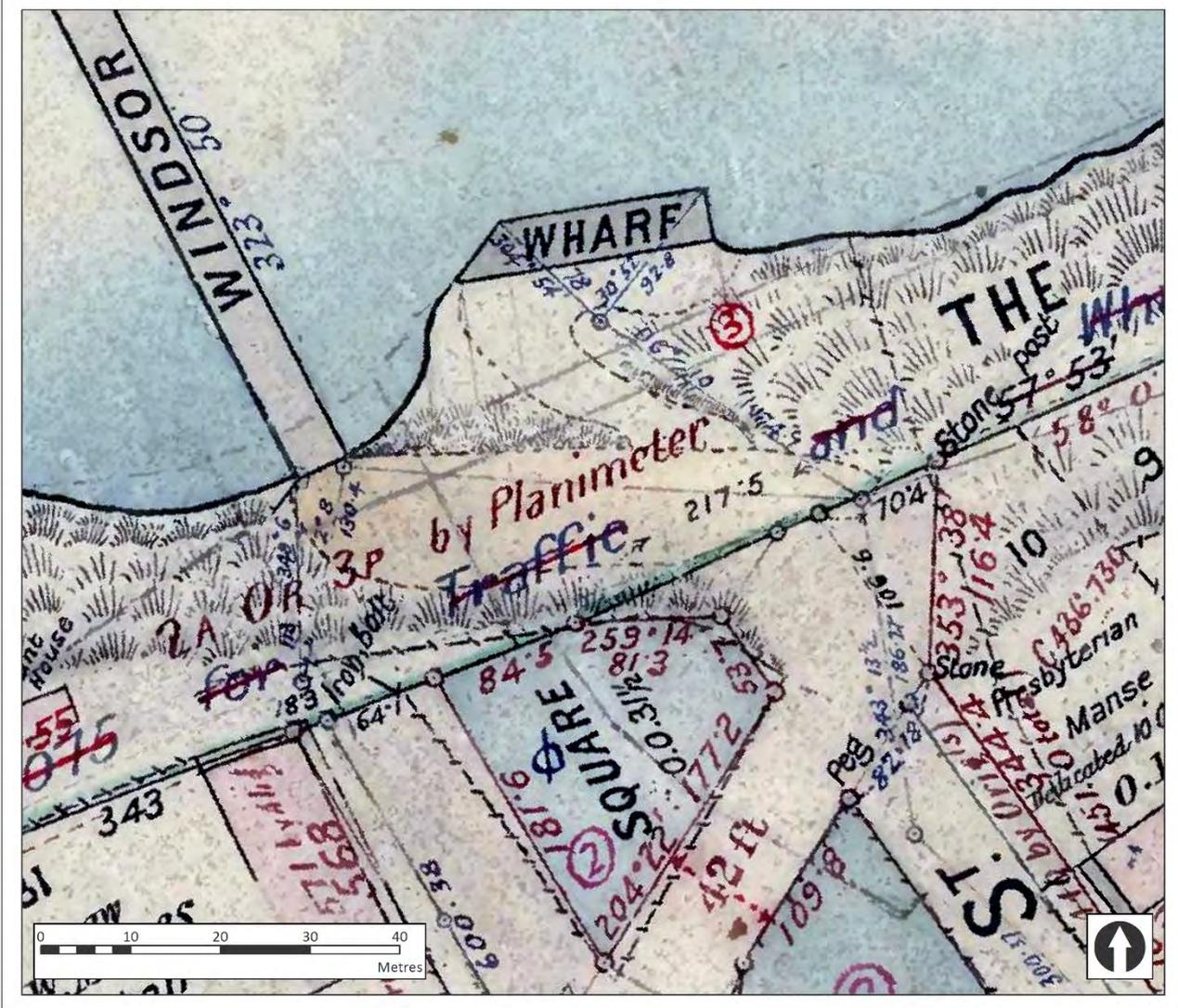
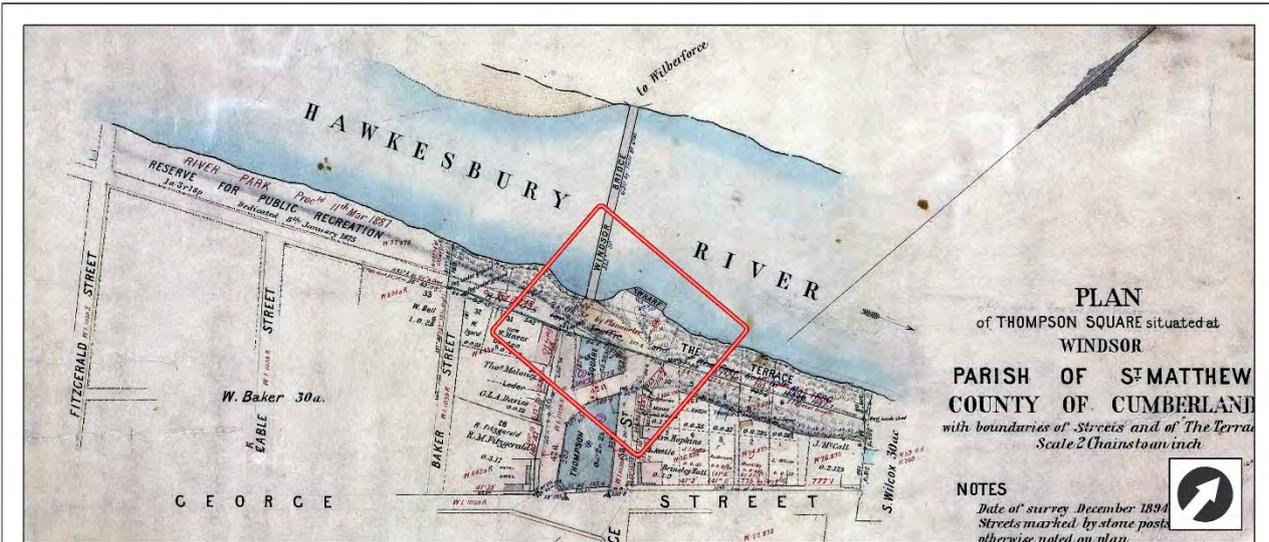
- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: J15
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, State Library NSW

Figure 54: The first depiction of a cart-road through Thompson Square, 1842 (Source: Detail of map by J. Armstrong, 'CXXIII Building & Cultivation Allotments comprising the Peninsular Farm adjoining the town of Windsor, to be sold at Auction on 5th Feb 1842 by Mr Laban White at Windsor', Baker's Lithography, King Street, Sydney 1842, privately owned).



Prepared by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Map Source: LPI

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Figure 55: Road system to Windsor bridge and wharf in 1894 (Source: C. Scrivener, plan of Thompson Square, 1894, LPI, Road Plan R 1009.3000).

The 1890s saw the formal creation of three reserves between George Street and the river. In conjunction with the heightening of the bridge, Reserve 24075 was proclaimed in May 1896: a long narrow strip along the river bank on both sides of the bridge. This reserve was primarily for 'traffic and wharfage' but also developed a recreational aspect as the 'River Reserve'. In 1899, the two areas of Thompson Square divided by the roadway were declared public recreation reserves: Reserve 29900 was the southern area up to George Street and Reserve 29901 was the smaller northern section opposite the Doctors' House. The contrasting characters of the three reserves are vividly shown in various early photographs of the site (Figure 56 to Figure 58) and an aerial photograph taken in 1929 (Figure 59).



Figure 56: Photograph of Thompson Square from the corner of the present George and Bridge Streets, c.1890s, showing a diagonal track west to east through Thompson Square. The existing buildings at 1-7 Thomson Square Road are shown lining Thompson Square (Source: NSW State Library, digital order number d1_06257).



Figure 57: A view from the north side of Windsor Bridge, showing Thompson Square c.1890s (Source: NSW State Library, digital order number d1_06263).



Figure 58: Thompson Square, the wharf and Windsor Bridge around 1900. There are few plantings shown in Thompson Square. All four buildings in the centre of the photograph still survive with reasonable integrity (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Small Picture File).

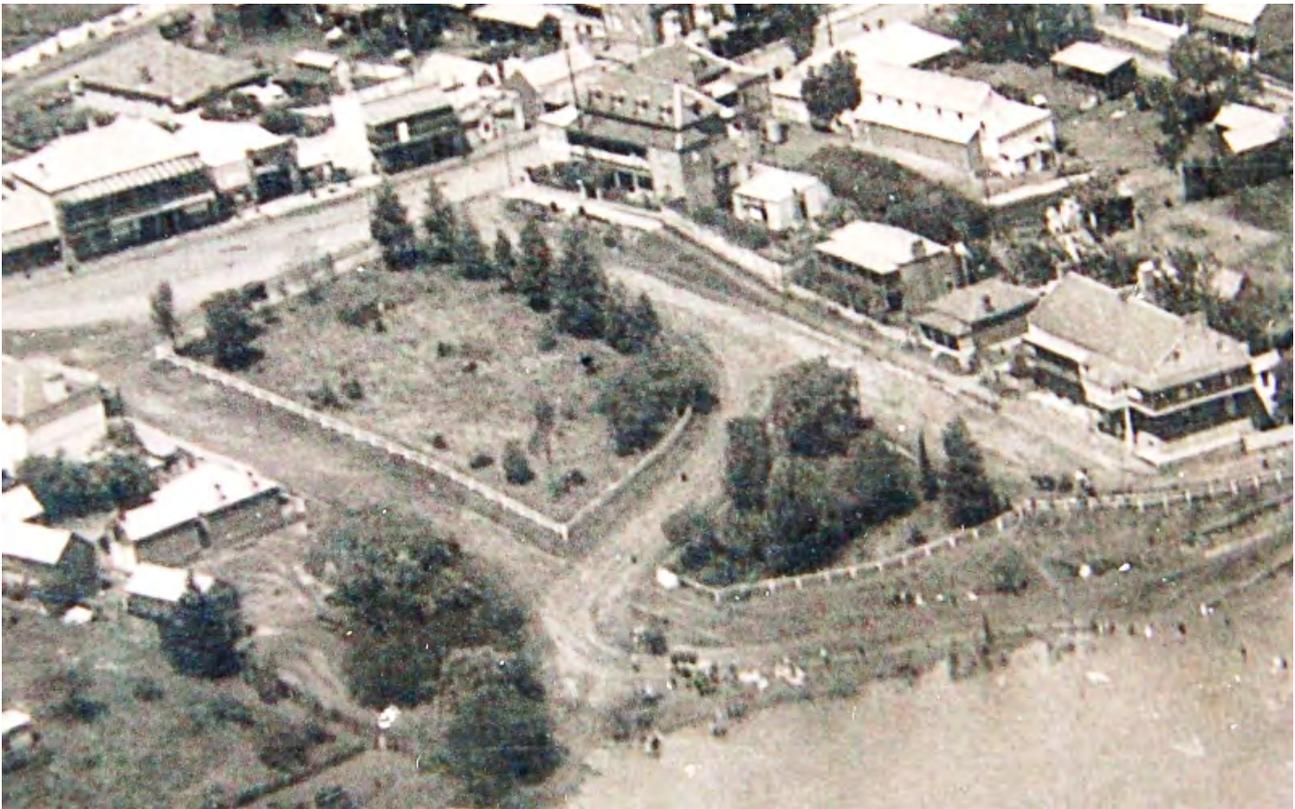


Figure 59: Thompson Square in 1929, during the October flood, from the north, showing some plantings in the two reserves, 29900 (upper) and 29901 (lower). It also shows part of the river, or wharf, reserve, along the river bank (Source: Aerial photograph, courtesy of Carol Roberts, from the collection of her mother, the late Iris Cammack. Photographer, Frederick Halpin Willson, RAAF, 1929).

There were numerous attempts to plant trees, shrubs and flowers in the three reserves. As soon as the reserves were gazetted, the Council trimmed and pruned existing trees. In the following year, 1897, 'a few good trees' and seats were added to the small riverside reserve.²⁰⁸ In 1907 new young trees in triangular guards and four new seats were installed and by 1915 fifty more trees had been supplied by the government botanist for the reserves and McQuade Park. Palm-trees, which became a recurrent feature of Thompson Square, but which never prospered there, were first introduced in 1915. Despite water-pipes being laid in both reserves within Thompson Square, all the plantings died within a year and 43 replacement trees and shrubs were needed for the Square and McQuade Park in 1916.²⁰⁹

By 1919, when Mrs Alsop, who lived in the Doctors' House and chaired a Thompson Square Committee, suggested the creation of a Victory Garden to celebrate those who had fallen in WWI, only ten healthy trees survived. She saw the need to add more shrubs and trees, and proposed that a tablet be erected at the foot of each tree bearing a soldier's name. Although the concept of a war memorial had some traction, with counter-proposals varying from the erection of a fountain, or a drinking fountain with an obelisk, to a grand architectural feature, nothing was done.²¹⁰ Instead a

²⁰⁸ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 11 July 1896, p.3; 27 February 1897, p.3; 14 August 1897, p.4; 4 September 1897, p.3.

²⁰⁹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 27th July 1907, p.3; 11 June 1915, p.2; 23 July 1915, p.10; 6 August 1915, p.10 17; March 1916, p.1, 13 October 1916, p.1.

²¹⁰ 3 Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 28th February 1919, p.9; 21 March 1919, p.8; 4 April 1919, p.4; 4 July 1919, p.10; 28 November 1919, p.2.

new row of palms was planted in 1919, the gift of Hawkesbury Agricultural College, and 100 canna bulbs from Centennial Park in Sydney were embedded in the following year.²¹¹

Again upkeep was lacking and in 1922 six new palms and some young Christmas trees were introduced, so that by 1923 the reserves in Thompson Square resumed 'a nice appearance', with flowers and trees.²¹² But two years later, the reserves had reverted to 'weeds and rank grass', discouraging all recreational purposes after a proposal to build a bowling green was declined.²¹³ The Windsor Town Improvement Association took an interest and argued for the installation of a fountain in 1929, but no substantial change happened until 1930.²¹⁴

The appearance of the reserves in the 1920s is captured on an aerial photograph taken in 1929 (Figure 59). When this view is compared with photographs of the late nineteenth century (Figure 94- Figure 100), it is clear that there had been some progress over the last twenty years. The 1929 image shows that the principal plantings surviving in the upper reserve, No. 29900, were on the western side, a row of some eight trees facing the Macquarie Arms and Howe's House, although there were only some shrubs elsewhere. The lower reserve, No. 29901, was, by contrast, populated with five fairly mature trees, whose foliage spread over much of the small trapezium. The narrow reserve along the river was largely un-vegetated in 1929.

In 1930, the open space within the upper reserve was put to an entirely new use. From December 1930 until May 1932 this reserve adjoining George Street was leased as a mini golf-course. Dan Whyte, who ran a fish shop on Windsor, paid £1 a year to run the course, which was to be planted with ornamental trees, flowers and rockeries. Public access to the reserve was to be maintained. The mayor opened the course, which had the grandiose name of Riverview Golf Links. It was enthusiastically described as having 'turf-like greens and fascinating hazards'. Powerful electric lights were installed to permit play after dark, but the weather was not kind and patronage was limited, so Whyte was forgiven his rent and the course was temporarily closed in mid-1931. Although, by October 1931 the upper reserve had reverted to 'wilderness', Whyte bounced back and reopened the course in November on Fridays and weekends.²¹⁵

Council decided in January 1932 that the lights were to be removed from the golf course to the bowling green in McQuade Park for night play there. Re-erection of the lighting was complete by 14 March 1932. By May 1932 the golf-course had finally closed after little more than a year of operation and Thompson Square was quickly castigated as 'a disgrace' again.²¹⁶

When in doubt, one planted a palm tree, so the Council agreed that the twelve palm-trees currently available should all be planted in the square, using the labour of unemployed ex-servicemen.²¹⁷ The palms soon perished, but members of the community still hankered after them. In 1935 the Country Women's Association, which had hoped to build a baby-health centre on the site of the golf-course, asked the Council to plant more palms along the border of the upper reserve, along with some shrubs and beds of pigface (the native flower *Carpobrotus glaucescens*). The Parks Committee approved some plantings, but the details are not known.²¹⁸

This configuration of Thompson Square continued until 1935 when, after lengthy debate, a new approach road to the bridge was established from George Street, which created the present deep cutting going north-west from the extension of Bridge Street. The new road cutting intersected the Victorian roadway which lay on the opposing diagonal. In a plan surveyed in 1946, the parts of the

²¹¹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 28 November 1919, p.2; 8 October 1920, p.1.

²¹² Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 30 June 1922, p.3; September 1922, p.4; 21 October 1923, p.4.

²¹³ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 2 October 1925, p.16; 21 May 1926, p.15; 29 October 1926, p.3.

²¹⁴ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 24 May 1929, p.4; 5 December 1930, p.4.

²¹⁵ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 5 December 1930, p.4; 12 December 1930, p.5; 19 December 1930, p.4; 26 December 1930, p.6; 3 April 1931, p.8; 15 May 1931, p.7; 11 September 1931, p.9; 30 October 1931, pp.4, 5, 9; 6 November 1931, p.4.

²¹⁶ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 5 February 1932 p.10; 18 March 1932, p.3; 20 May 1932, p.8

²¹⁷ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 20 May 1932, p.8.

²¹⁸ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 1 September 1933, p.4; 28 June 1935, p.9; 16 August 1935, p.4

earlier diagonal roadway which were now closed and added to the reserves No. 29900 and No. 29901 are coloured blue (Figure 60). The new configuration is also shown in several photographs (Figure 61 to Figure 63). The northern area was redefined as Reserve No. 74215 in 1951.

The Windsor Town Improvement Association also took an initiative to improve Thompson Square, with mown grass and young trees. Subscribers raised some money, £7 12s. 6d., by November 1935. Two flower-beds, both four-foot wide, were approved along George St., but suggestions for terracing in the upper reserve were dropped because of the expense, and a similar fate met the proposal for a new summerhouse. Finally, in 1936, three seats were installed, embedded in concrete, and two more in the river reserve, along with a children's playground with sand pits and a slippery dip. The Town Improvement Association then disbanded in 1936 and handed over to the Council all responsibility for the maintenance of Thompson Square. A privet hedge had already been planted by a private individual along the George St frontage in the same year 1936.²¹⁹

Interest in Thompson Square plantings continued for a short time. Some of the palms survived into 1937 and the Council then planted 25 new pine-trees and some Christmas bush. Three weeks later, the Methodist minister, W. T. Dyer, donated 30 rose cuttings. Although some attempts at redesigning the layout of the reserves were made by the local Japanese philanthropist Tom Mina, nothing much seems to have been achieved.²²⁰

Little happened in Thompson Square during World War II, and a letter to the local press in 1946 complained that Windsor was now 'a very shabby town' and that the reserve contained only 'a litter of papers and unhappy-looking trees'. The aggrieved former resident followed up her letter with a gift of some young jacaranda trees which were gratefully accepted.²²¹ The lower reserve lost much of its remaining tree cover in 1948, when the area was leased to the Upper Hawkesbury Motor Boat Club to build a clubhouse, which opened early in 1949.²²² In the following year, 1950, the upper reserve was equipped with two concrete tables with draught-boards and two moveable seats.²²³

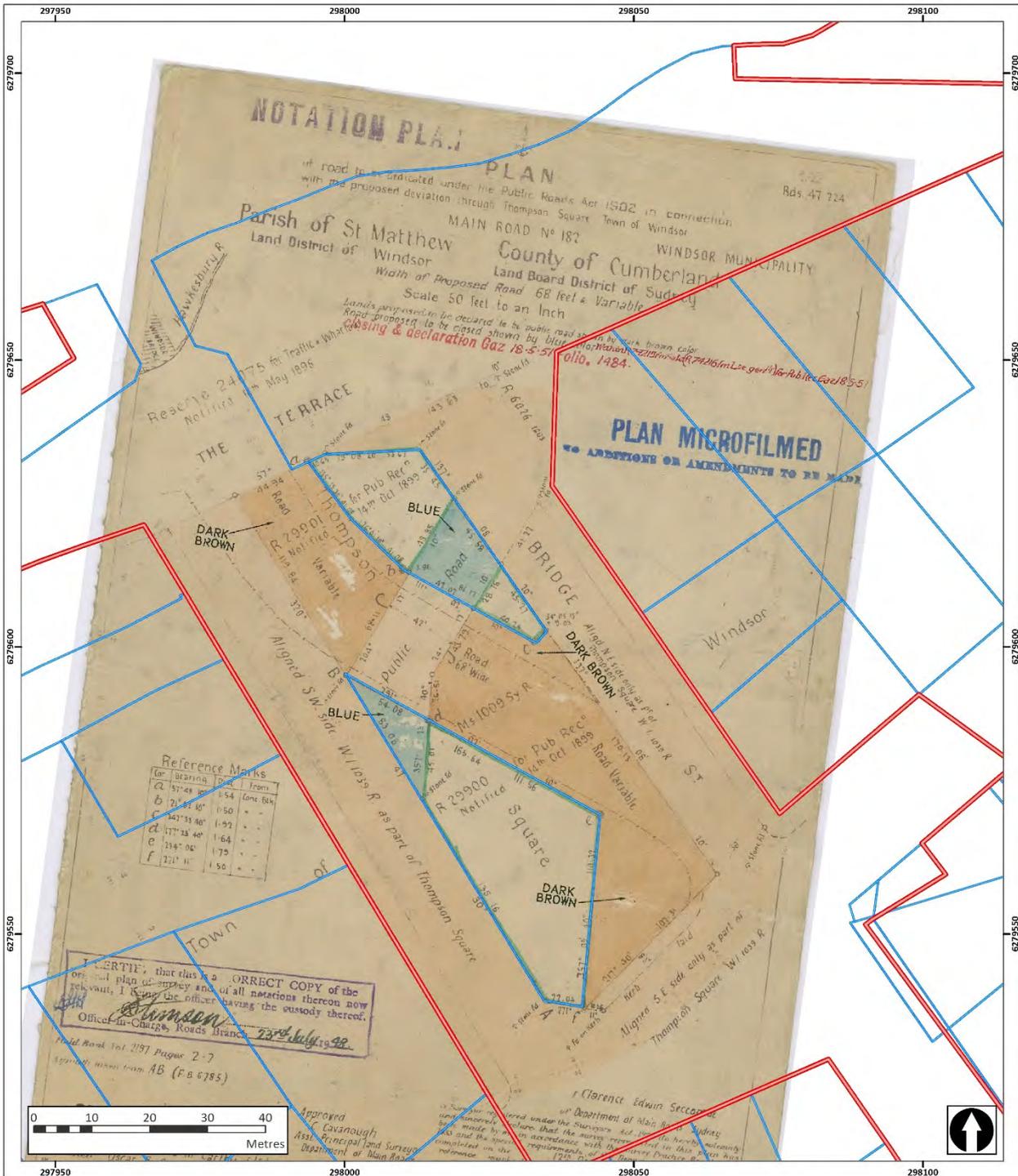
²¹⁹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 20 September 1935, p.4; 25 October 1935, p.4; 1 November 1935, p.4; 3 November 1935, p.8; 29 November 1935, p.8; 1 May 1936, pp.7, 10; 31 July 1936, p.14; 25 December 1936, p.6.

²²⁰ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 16 July 1937, p.4; 6 August 1937, p.8; 10 September 1937, p.5.

²²¹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 16 January 1946, p.10; 23 January 1946, p.2.

²²² Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 3 March 1948, p.8; 9 February 1949, p.8.

²²³ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 1 March 1950, p.3.



**1946 Plan of Main Road 182, by Seccombe
LPI #R23477.1603**

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI

Figure 60: The present road alignment within Thompson Square, showing in blue the previous diagonal going south-west to north-east (Source: C. Seccombe, plan of Main Road 182, 1946, LPI, road plan, R.23477.1603).



Figure 61: Thompson Square in 1978, showing the Upper Hawkesbury Motor Boat Club-house in the lower centre, in the middle of Reserve no. 29901 (Source: Postcard in private ownership).



Figure 62: View looking south from Windsor Bridge in 1934, showing east to west roadway through Thompson Square (Source: State Library of NSW, digital order number d1_01880).



Figure 63: View looking north from Thompson Square, showing east to west roadway through Thompson Square down to Windsor Bridge, 1934 (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Small Picture File, digital order number d1_01879).

2.1.12 Wharfage

Wharfage was an important consideration at Thompson Square from the beginning of settlement in 1795. The wharf built by February 1795 was destroyed in the 1799 flood and its replacement suffered a similar fate either in 1800-1801 or in the two floods of 1806.²²⁴ No jetty is shown in any of the Evans watercolours between 1807 and 1811. The only landing facility was on the river verge at that time.

A critical reason for the development of Thompson Square was the natural configuration of the river bank at this point. Small boats could be pulled up just beyond the water-line, as vividly shown in Slaeger's 1812-1813 etching.

²²⁴ Collins, *An Account of the English Colony*, vol.1, p.348; J. Barkley and M. Nichols, *Hawkesbury 1794-1994: the First 200 Years of the Second Colonisation*, Hawkesbury City Council, Windsor, 1994, Appendix 17, p.178.



Figure 64 and Figure 65). This was also the area where, on government land adjacent to Andrew Thompson's lease, a schooner named *Governor Bligh* was built and launched for Thompson in 1807.²²⁵

²²⁵ Hordern House Rare Books, *Colonial Paintings; Twelve Early Works*, Potts Point, 1994, item 4; J. Barkley Jack, 'Early Boat Building on the Upper Hawkesbury River', J.P. Powell, ed., *Cross Currents: Historical Studies of the Hawkesbury*, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights, 1997, p.42.



Figure 64: P. Slaeger, 'A View of Part of the Town of Windsor' (Source: Published by West, Sydney, 1813).



Figure 65: Beaching facilities for small boats in front of Thompson Square in 1812-1813 (Source: Detail from Slaeger 1813, above).

In August 1814, Governor Macquarie commissioned the local entrepreneurs, John Howe and James McGrath, to construct a new wharf 50 feet long, projecting 18 feet into the river and supported by piles '16 to 18 inches thick'. Part payment was made in November but a further contract was issued in April 1815, which commissioned a larger wharf, three feet higher than the one largely completed. Wharves were sometimes constructed at different levels to accommodate tidal changes or minor flooding. In June 1815, the *Sydney Gazette* described the first Howe wharf as projecting over 20 feet into the river, six feet high and 65 feet in length.²²⁶

The detailed contracts for both wharves survive among the Howe family papers. In 1815, it was specified that the new 'Wharf or Platform':

*'shall extend the width of the square in a line with the present Jetty or Wharf but three feet higher, the said Wharf to be constructed to have two Rows of Piles without [i.e., outside] the present Platform, and one Row behind the Whole to be well secured with Land Tyes and Caps and planked with sound two inch Planks, and not more than six inches wide to be spiked with five inch spikes.'*²²⁷

The *Gazette* claimed in June that the width of the reconstructed wharf would be 33 feet and that the length was to be 276 feet, more than four times the length of the 1814-1815 wharf.²²⁸

Part payment was made to McGrath for 'enlarging' the wharf in November 1815²²⁹ but this new wharf was largely destroyed by a high flood on 2 June 1816. Early in July, a report to the governor concluded pessimistically that:

*'all the planking is carried away and there is no part of the wharf that can be built on again.'*²³⁰

The wreckage of this wharf was recreated in an etching made in 1817 with imaginative freedom (Figure 66).

In November 1816, Francis Greenway, the Acting Colonial Architect, prepared plans for '*repairing and completing*' the wharf '*in a solid and durable manner*'. Howe and McGrath were given eight months to complete this work but there was another great flood in February 1817, followed by another in February 1819. The expensive wharf works, costing in all over £1,000, were not finalised until early in 1820.²³¹

Although there is no predictability about Hawkesbury floods, there has been an observed pattern of groups of severe floods separated by a longish gap. After three major floods between 1816 and 1819, there were no other floods exceeding 6.4 metres until 1857.²³² So, it is likely that the wharf finally completed to Greenway's design in 1820 had an easier life than its predecessors. It may be the footprint of Greenway's wharf drawn both by White in 1835 and Galloway in 1841.

The location of the wharf in 1835 is shown on the north-east side of Thompson Square in White's plan, well to the east of the punt mooring, which is also indicated (Figure 67). White, unlike Galloway, seems to show six piers projecting in the river just beyond the decking of the wharf, likely to have been fender piles for protecting the structure and for tying off, perhaps remnants of one of the three rows of piles specified in the 1815 contract.²³³

²²⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 3 June 1815, p.2. The printing of this column is faulty and some of the numbers are indistinct.

²²⁷ Howe Papers, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, ML MSS 106, no.38; Col. Sec. Correspondence, SRNSW, Reel 6038, SZ 758, p.154.

²²⁸ *Sydney Gazette*, 3 June 1815, p.2. The second 5 in 550 is indistinct.

²²⁹ Col Sec. Correspondence, SRNSW, Reel 6038, SZ 759, p.151.

²³⁰ Report by Cox, Mileham and Fitzgerald, 4 July 1816, SRNSW, Reel 4045, 4/1735, p.83; Bowd, *Macquarie Country*, p.42.

²³¹ Col. Sec. Correspondence, SRNSW, Reel 6050, 4/1746, pp.209-211; State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, A 773, p.74; Barkley and Nichols, *Hawkesbury, 1794-1994*, p.178.

²³² Hawkesbury City Council, *Hawkesbury Flood Levels*, Windsor, 2012.

²³³ G.B. White, plan of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968; J.J. Galloway, plan of Windsor, 1841, LPI, Crown plan W 443a.



Figure 66: The ruins of the wharf damaged by the 1816 flood (Source: 'A View of Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains', etched by W. Preston in 1817 from a watercolour by J. Wallis dated 1815 which does not show a wharf. Courtesy of St Andrew's College).



Figure 67: Greenway's wharf surveyed in 1835 (Source: G. B. White, plan of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968).

The increasing use of the river by steam-ships for pleasure as well as commerce put pressure on Windsor wharf and, in 1855, a temporary additional wharf was erected at the expense of the steam-ship companies.²³⁴

The extension of the railway system to Windsor in 1864 stimulated business at the wharf, as small boats brought farm produce up-river for transfer to Sydney by rail. The great floods from 1857 to 1879 were disruptive but they scoured the river, clearing away accumulated siltation and deepening passages. One of the river captains later recalled that, in the late 1860s, except during actual flood episodes:

*'one could see, any Tuesday morning, quite a fleet – twenty or more in number – of craft of all sizes lying alongside Windsor wharf, laden with maize, poultry, watermelons, etc. in galore.'*²³⁵

G. C. Johnson, who had been a young journalist in Windsor in the 1860s, later gave a vivid impression of the bustling commercial scene in Thompson Square at that time:

*'the loading and unloading; the perspiring horses and the cracking of whips, as the heavily-laden drays were hauled up the Punt Hill [the curving road through the square]; the chaffing and chacking of the boatmen... These were gay old times, and one cannot easily forget the picturesque scenes at the wharf on the arrival of the river fleet.'*²³⁶

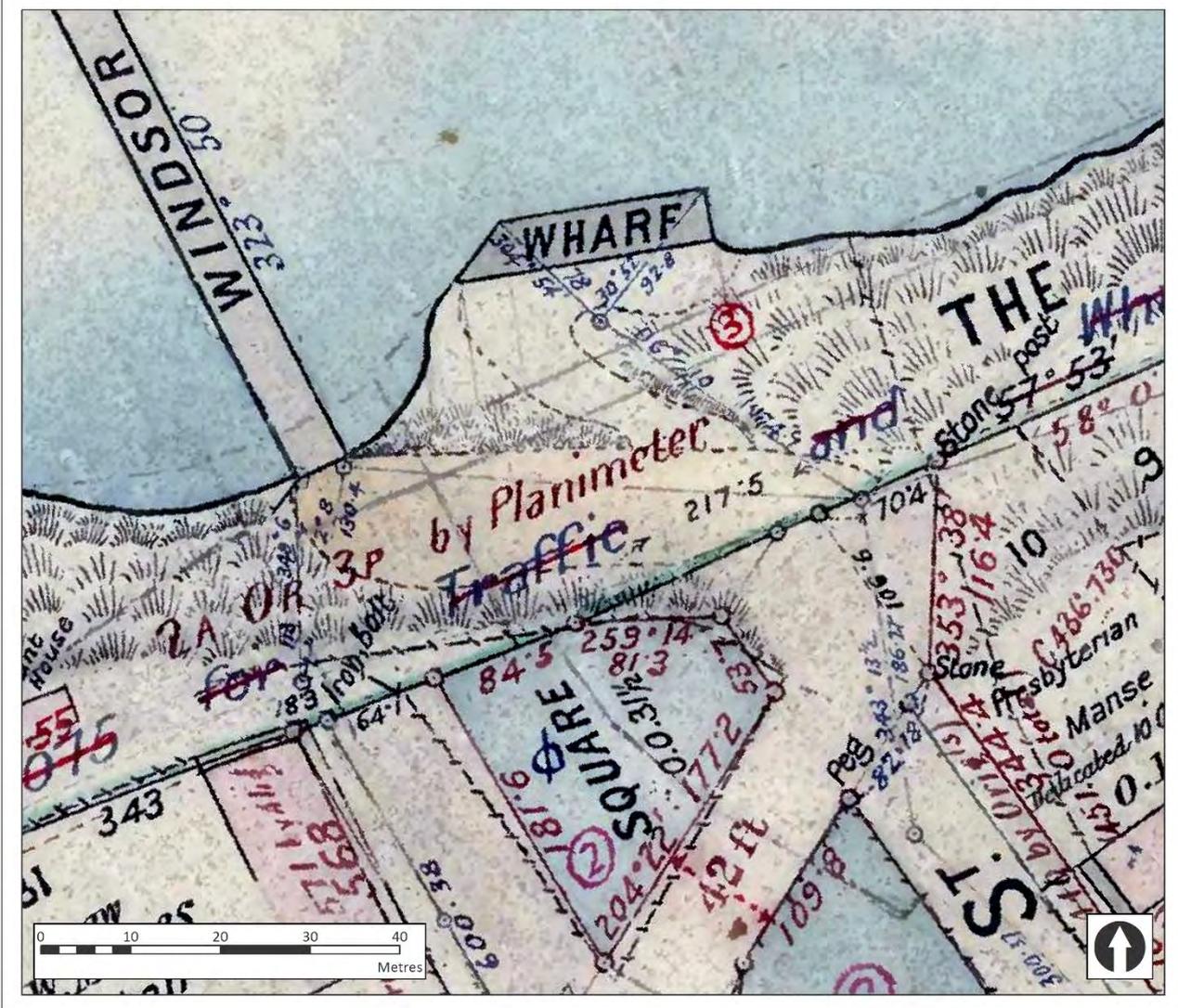
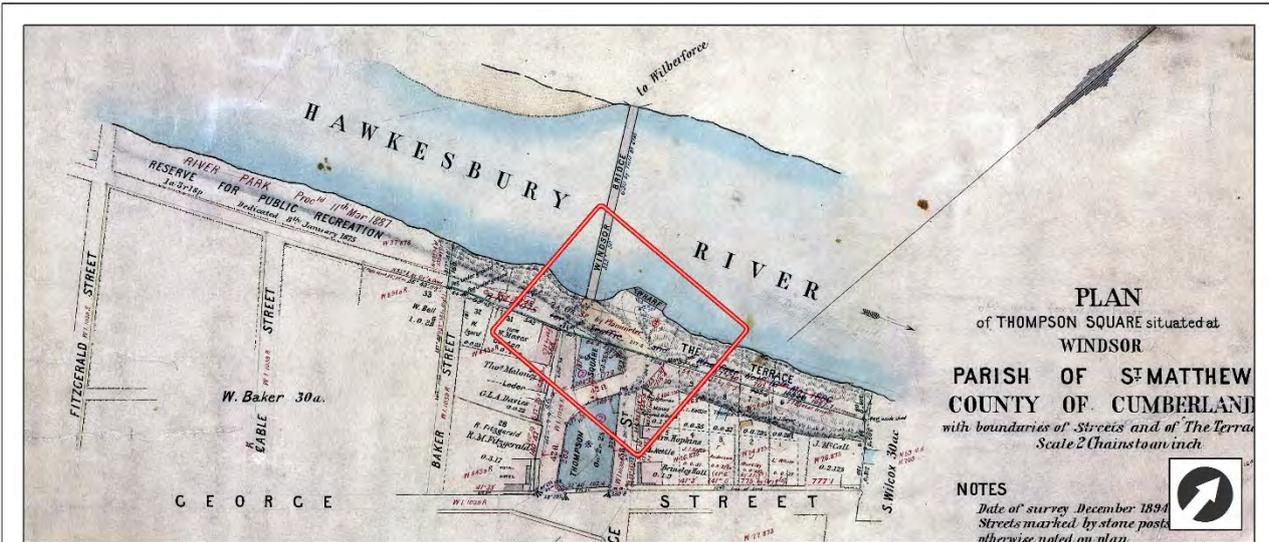
The building of the bridge over the Hawkesbury in 1874 created more business for the wharf, since the heavy timbers to be used in construction were brought in by boat, but modifications to the wharf itself were necessary with changed traffic flows within Thompson Square. Very soon the wharf was rebuilt slightly upstream from Greenway's construction and closer to the bridge.

The construction of the bridge altered not only the road approach but also the alignment of the river bank, so that the new wharf came to occupy a small promontory, with its own dedicated approach road, as shown in Scrivener's survey plan of 1894 (Figure 68). The raising of the bridge in 1896-1897 further accentuated the changed littoral adjacent to the wharf.

²³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 February 1855, p.5.

²³⁵ Quote in J. Purtell, *The Mosquito Fleet: Hawkesbury River Trade and Traders, 1794-1994*, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights, 1995, p.48.

²³⁶ Quoted in Purtell, *The Mosquito Fleet*, p.48.



Prepared by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Map Source: LPI

Notes:
• Top map is displayed showing the orientation in which it was originally draughted.
• Bottom map is oriented so that north is the top of the page.
• Minor adjustments have been made to image histogram levels for display purposes.



Figure 68: The wharf surveyed in 1894 (Source: C. Scrivener, plan of Thompson Square, 1894, LPI, Road Plan, R 1009.3000).

River trade had, however, sharply diminished between 1874 and 1896. Siltation of the river after 1880, when the series of major floods ceased for a decade, created sand-banks which made it difficult even for small boats to reach Windsor wharf. Deeper-draught vessels rarely ventured beyond the wharf at Sackville. When, moreover, the railhead at Brooklyn opened in 1887, most farmers found it more convenient to send their produce to the Sydney markets than to try to reach Windsor.

Views of the wharf in the late Victorian and Edwardian period show a much quieter environment (Figure 69 - Figure 72). Although Thompson Square remained a significant civic, commercial, medical and educational focus, Windsor ceased to be a meaningful river-port by the early twentieth century.²³⁷

In 1934, the wharf was renovated and a new cutting was made from the bridge approach road across Terrace Road to give more convenient vehicle access to the wharf.²³⁸ During the late 20th century, the wharf was again rebuilt and re-sited downstream (Figure 73).



Figure 69: The wharf, on the left, and the low-level bridge in 1888 (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, bcp_04405r).

²³⁷ Purtell, *The Mosquito Fleet*, pp.49-51.

²³⁸ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 23 February 1934, p.4.



Figure 70: The wharf and Windsor Bridge in 1883 (Source: W. Andrews, watercolour, December 1883, State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, SV1B/Wind/7, c1528435r).



Figure 71: The wharf and Windsor Bridge soon after the raising of the bridge in 1896-1897 (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Small Picture File).



Figure 72: Windsor wharf in the early 20th century (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, Small Picture File)

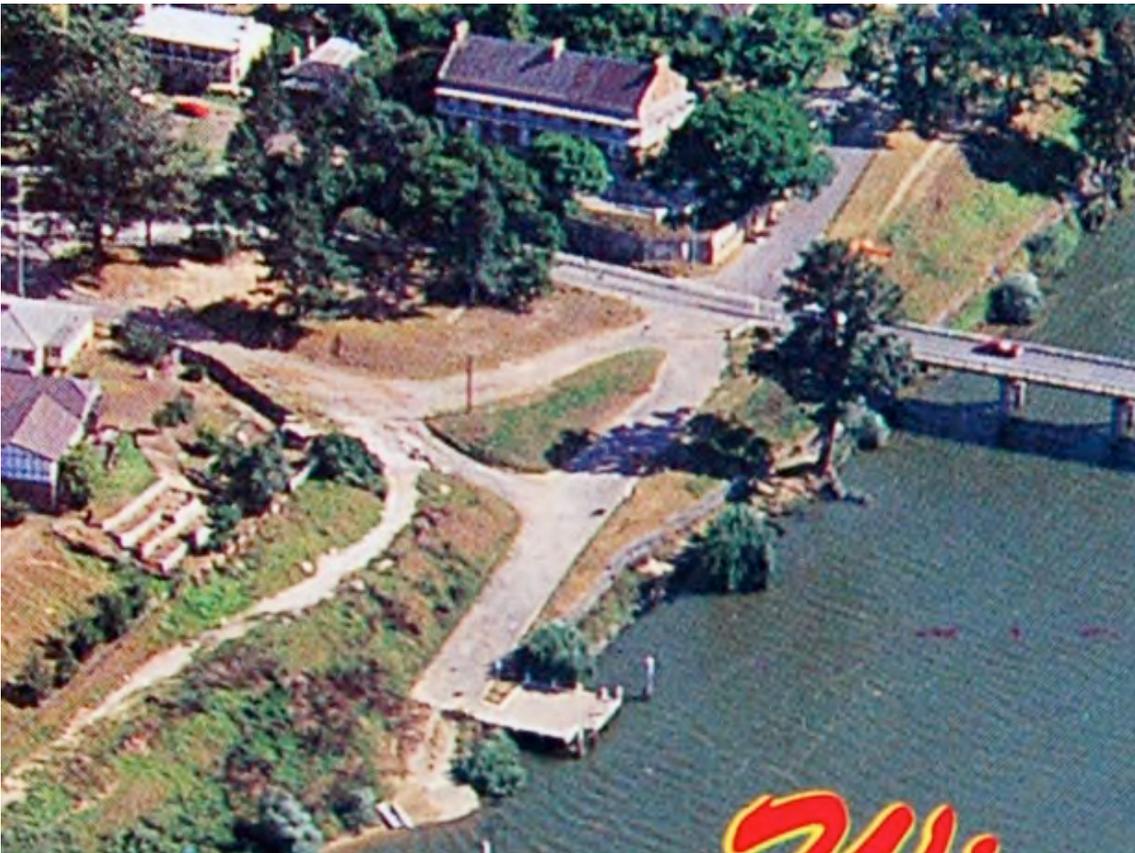


Figure 73: Windsor wharf on a modern postcard, c.2000, showing the remnant of the former wharf to the west and between the current jetty and bridge. (Source: Postcard, c.2000)



Figure 74: Timbers of old wharfage close to Windsor Bridge visible in 1986 (Source: E. Higginbotham, 'Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW', report to Hawkesbury Shire Council, 1986, inventory no.10).

2.1.13 The Punt, 1814 to 1874

A regular punt service across the Hawkesbury was started by John Howe in 1814, a short distance upstream from the landing place. The punt master initially occupied a small cottage between the garden of the Doctors' House (1-3 Thompson Square Road) and the river, as shown in Thompson's 1827 map (Figure 75 and Figure 76). By 1835, however, the punt master's house had been substantially enlarged (Figure 77). Its site is within the study area, however no evidence of it was located during the 2016 archaeological testing program.

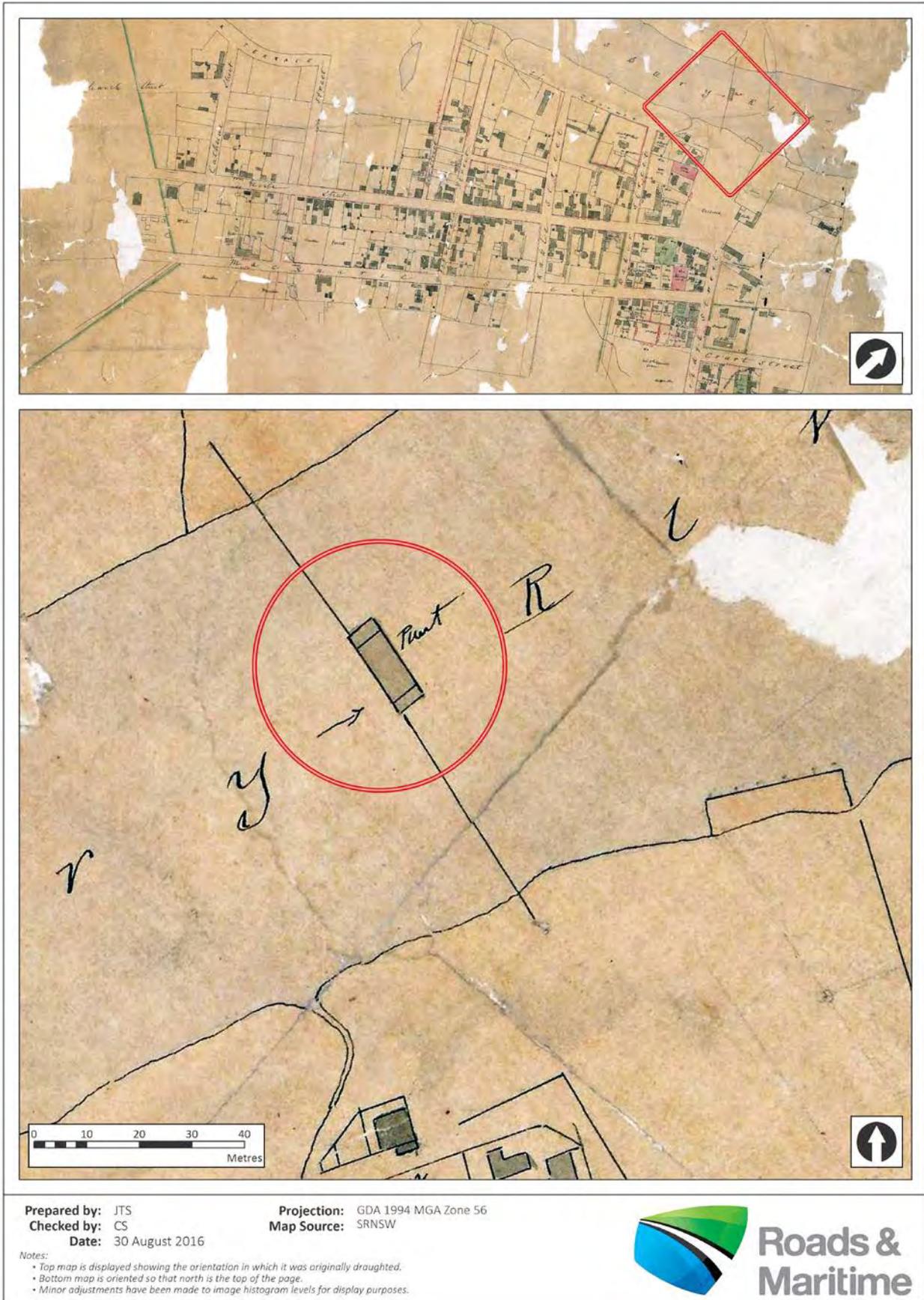


Figure 75: Plan showing the punt over the Hawkesbury River, and the punt master's cottage before (1827) and after (1835) extension (Source: J. Thompson, plan of Windsor, 1827, SRNSW, Map SZ 526).

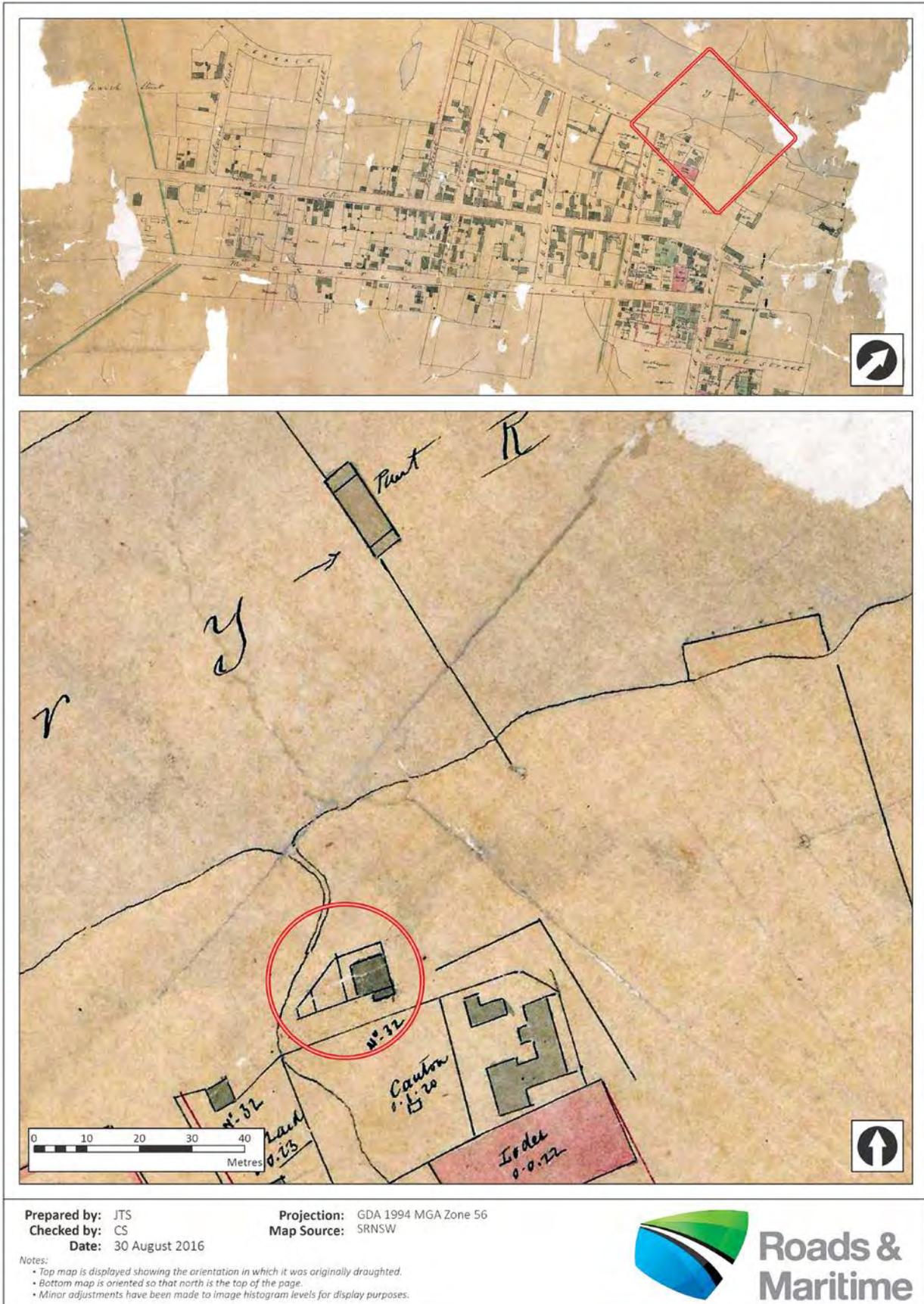


Figure 76: The punt master's cottage before (1827) and after its apparent (1835) extension is the house nearest the river and within the study area (Source: G.B. White, plan of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968).

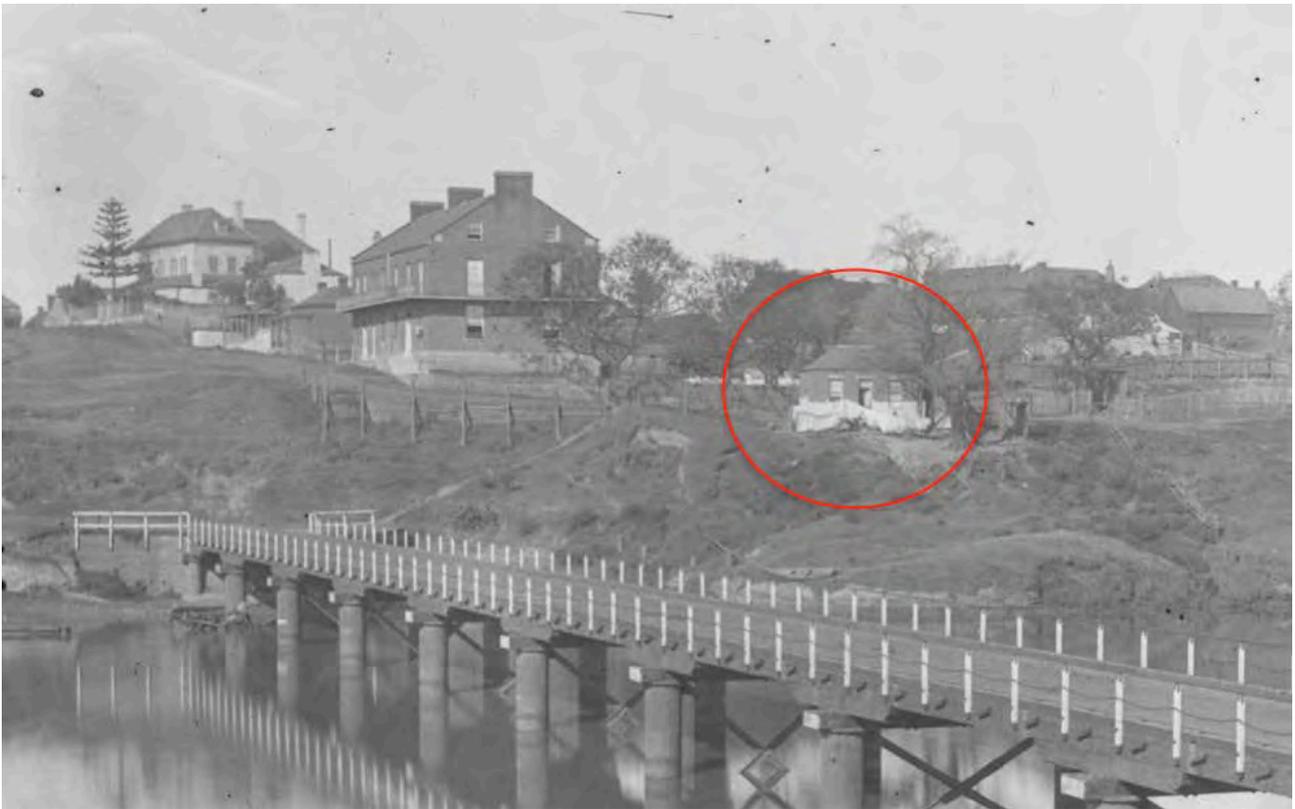


Figure 77: The Punt House, shown circled in red, pre-1896 (Source: State Library of NSW , digital order number d1_06274).

The punt, which ran intermittently for sixty years from 1814, crossed the Hawkesbury in a north-north-west direction and reached the inland bank of the Hawkesbury just upstream of the bridge, which replaced it in 1874 (Figure 80). A surviving photograph, taken about 1870, shows the punt transporting horse-drawn vehicles and people (Figure 78).

Although there was a house for the punt master on the Windsor side of the river, there was a recurrent relationship between him and the Squatters Arms on the opposing bank and, for a while, the lessee of the Squatters Arms and its 15-acre farm was also the punt master. As J. C. L. Fitzgerald, the newspaper editor, noted:

'It frequently happened that something went wrong with the punt – a fresh [blank] would cause it to overturn, or it would get stuck in the mud at low tide, and then team after team would line the two roads [Wilberforce Road and Freemans Reach Road] for a considerable distance. This, of course, brought grist to the mill of Tom Ryan [the licensee of the Squatters Arms in the mid-nineteenth century]...During Tom Ryan's time his brother, John, had charge of the punt.'²³⁹

When the bridge over the Hawkesbury was opened on 20 August 1874, the redundant punt was symbolically moored out in the river just downstream.²⁴⁰ When the level of the bridge was raised in 1896, the punt had to be brought briefly back into service before the temporary bridge was ready for use.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Fitzgerald, *Those Were the Days: More Hawkesbury History*, p.85.

²⁴⁰ Image held by State Library of Victoria, reproduced in *Windsor Bridge over the Hawkesbury River: Preliminary Urban Design and Heritage Review of Options 1 and 3*, RMS, Sydney, August 2011, p.19.

²⁴¹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 15 February 1896, p.3.



Figure 78: Windsor punt approaching the Windsor terminus in c1870 (Source: Photograph by John Paine, courtesy of Ted Books).

2.1.14 Windsor Bridge

For the first twenty years of European settlement in the Windsor area, crossing of the Hawkesbury River occurred only infrequently. A small population and no settlement on the western side meant there was initially little motivation to cross the river. Over the ensuing decades, expansion of the settlement, particularly after Governor Macquarie's approval of the township of Windsor and the founding of the town of Wilberforce on the northern side of the River in 1810, led to increasing cross-river traffic. A permanent crossing was established in 1814 with the commencement of Howe's Ferry and this service operated under various ownerships for the next sixty years.

A Government Bridge

During the 1840s and early 1850s in NSW, government buildings and public works were the responsibility of the Colonial Architect's Office and the Colonial Public Works department under the Colonial Engineer. However, following the establishment of democratic self-government in 1855 and the State's population explosion following the discovery of gold (coinciding with wars and famines in Europe), the demand for public works exceeded the capacity of the Colonial Architect's Office and a new government agency, the Public Works Department (PWD), was established in 1859. There was, naturally, an intention to minimise demands upon the public purse and, typically, the Government encouraged private enterprises to provide items of infrastructure such as bridges, except on a small number of designated government roads. The first Pyrmont Bridge, in 1858, and Glebe Island Bridge, in 1860, for example, were built by private companies and charged tolls. In 1857, the Richmond Bridge Company was formed to replace the existing ferry over the Hawkesbury River at North Richmond. A wooden bridge was built across the Hawkesbury River in 1860. It was designed and its construction supervised by E. O. Moriarty, the company's Engineer-In-Chief (also, at that time, Engineer-In-Chief for harbours and river navigation in the NSW Department of Works).

At Windsor, the road to Sydney was one of the 'public roads' of the colony and was administered by a Road Trust. To enter Windsor, a bridge over South Creek was necessary and there had been various structures since the 1820s. In the late 1850s, as the bridge at Richmond was nearing completion, there were several proposals for the formation of a similar company to erect a bridge at Windsor but, as reported in 1864:

'A public meeting, convened by a requisition signed by a number of the leading inhabitants of Windsor, and advertised in Saturday's Herald, took place at the School of Arts on the afternoon of Monday last, for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning the Government and Legislature to erect a bridge across the Hawkesbury at Windsor. There was a large attendance, principally of the residents of Wilberforce...At North Richmond, a most excellent bridge had been erected by a company but it was well known that that company had great difficulties to contend with - that in fact some three or four thousand pounds had been frittered away in its erection at the commencement, and that it had cost nearly double what its projectors originally intended. Up to the present time the proprietors had not received any return, but he was glad to learn that they were now in a fair way of getting interest for their money. The present meeting they would observe had been called to consider the propriety of petitioning the Government to erect a bridge. It would, therefore, be for them to determine whether they would do so or not. In this opinion there would be insurmountable difficulties, in the present depressed state of the district, in the way of getting up any company, and great delay would arise in making the attempt. As to the Government, it seemed they had erected bridges in other parts of the colony - at the Paterson, for instance - where they were much less required than at Windsor...'²⁴²

By October, 1864, a petition had been presented to the parliament by the local Member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr Piddington, and the Undersecretary for Public Works provided the following reply:

'Department of Public Works, Sydney, 8rd October, 1361.

Sir,

In reference to the petition presented by you and Mr. Cunneen, from certain of the inhabitants of Windsor and neighbourhood, praying that a bridge may be erected over the Hawkesbury, at Windsor, I am directed by the Secretary for Public Works to Inform you that the Engineer-in-chief for Harbours and Rivers has been instructed to have a survey and soundings made of the river at once, and to submit estimates for an iron and wooden bridge.

2. I am to add that if, when these estimates are received, the proposal to erect the bridge meets with the approval of the Government, a sum of money will be placed on the Additional Estimates for 1865, for its construction.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) Gerald Halligan, for the Under-Secretary'²⁴³

However, successive governments postponed the budget allocation and it was not until 1871 that the funding was finally provided. E. O. Moriarty, Engineer-In-Chief for Harbours and River Navigation, advised that there were:

'two sites near the town on either of which the bridge might be erected. Mr. Moriarty said that if the bridge were erected at the site of the present ferry, it would be necessary, on account of the rocky nature of the locale, to construct the bridge of wrought iron piles; but the lower site would only necessitate the use of materials used on ordinary wooden bridges.

²⁴² Sydney Morning Herald Wednesday 25 May 1864; via Trove.

²⁴³ Sydney Morning Herald Thursday 6 October 1864; via Trove

*Some discussion ensued, during which the Engineer-in-Chief stated that the Richmond Bridge cost about £8000; and he had no doubt that a bridge of a similar kind could be constructed at Windsor for £7000. The MINISTER instructed the Engineer-in-Chief to draw up the plans and specifications of both descriptions of bridges, and of the two sites referred to.*²⁴⁴

The new bridge opened in 1874, a timber beam bridge standing on wrought iron piles. The design was by the Engineer for Roads, W C Bennett and construction was by contractors Messrs Turnbull and Dixon.

*'The bridge, or rather the superstructure, is supported by ten iron cylindrical piers, each three feet six inches in diameter, filled with concrete and twenty feet apart, held together with diagonal bracing of channel iron. Its length, exclusive of approaches, is 455 feet and the breadth 20 feet clear. The deck is ironbark planking and the handrail of 1 3/4 inch gaspipe, so erected that each section can be disconnected and let down longitudinally, protecting it from floating debris in time of flood. The operations in connection with the building were commenced about two years and a half ago, and the cost, it is understood, is about £10,000 with the approaches.'*²⁴⁵

Ten pairs of cylindrical iron piers of 3' 6" in diameter, filled with cement, were placed 20 feet apart and sunk to bed-rock. The iron superstructure was diagonally braced and the 455-foot length was decked with 5-inch ironbark planking. The handrail was skilfully designed so that it could be let down outside the decking to protect the bridge from debris swept down by floods.²⁴⁶

Work was delayed by three floods over eight metres and 40 lesser floods but the official opening on 20 August 1874 was 'the greatest gala day' ever witnessed by the *Sydney Morning Herald* correspondent. In fact, the opening had been pre-empted on 10 July by the need to bury a Wilberforce man at St Matthew's in Windsor while the punt was out of order. However, the procession with two bands across the bridge, the triumphal arch crying 'WELCOME', the public holiday for everyone in the town and the bullock roasted whole in Thompson Square made Thursday 20 August 1874 'a red-letter day in our history' (Figure 79).²⁴⁷

After the opening of the railway to Richmond via Windsor in 1864, Windsor changed from a place where local farmers loaded produce onto boats and ships (for transport to the settlement at Sydney) to being a place to which farmers brought their produce by boat and loaded the produce onto trains. There was a substantial population in the district and, with ready access to Sydney suppliers, Windsor quickly became the primary commercial and administrative centre in the north-west.

There had been some debate regarding the height of the bridge and the regular flooding of the Hawkesbury River. The Minister for Works, the Honourable John Sutherland, in his speech at the opening, stated:

*'...the facts connected with its erection, and pointed out why a low-level bridge was erected in place of a high-level structure. While the former cost but £10,000, the latter would have cost upwards of £60,000. In regard to levying of tolls, he promised that there would be no charge made for foot passengers, and that the scale of charges for animals and vehicles would be as low as that of any other bridge in the colony ...and would, he thought, bear favourable comparison with the charges levied on the bridge higher up.'*²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Empire Saturday 12 August 1871; via Trove

²⁴⁵ Illustrated Australian News for Home Readers; Thu 1 Oct 1874; via Trove

²⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1874, p.7; Bowd, *Macquarie Country*, pp. 62-63.

²⁴⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 August 1874, p.7; *Sydney Mail*, 18 July 1874, p.85; D.G. Bowd, *Macquarie Country: a History of the Hawkesbury*, rev.ed., author, Windsor, 1973, pp.62-64; Bowd, *Hawkesbury Journey*, pp.95-96; Department of Main Roads, *The Roadmakers: a History of Main Roads in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1976, pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁸ Australian Town and Country Journal Sat 22 Aug 1874; via Trove

The materials and the design of the bridge were a reflection of government policy. In 1861, the Government had decreed that local materials (stone, brick and timber) must be used in preference to wrought iron for public works, as capital expenditure on imported wrought iron structures was a significant cost to government budgets. Largely aimed at John Whitton, Engineer-in-Chief for Railways, nonetheless, Whitton had convinced Government to finance large wrought iron bridges at Menangle (1863) and Penrith (1867) for the railway lines west and south and the combined completed cost was £194,562, an enormous sum for the colonial government. Consequently, road bridges in NSW, with slower, lighter traffic, were dominated by cheaper construction in timber.

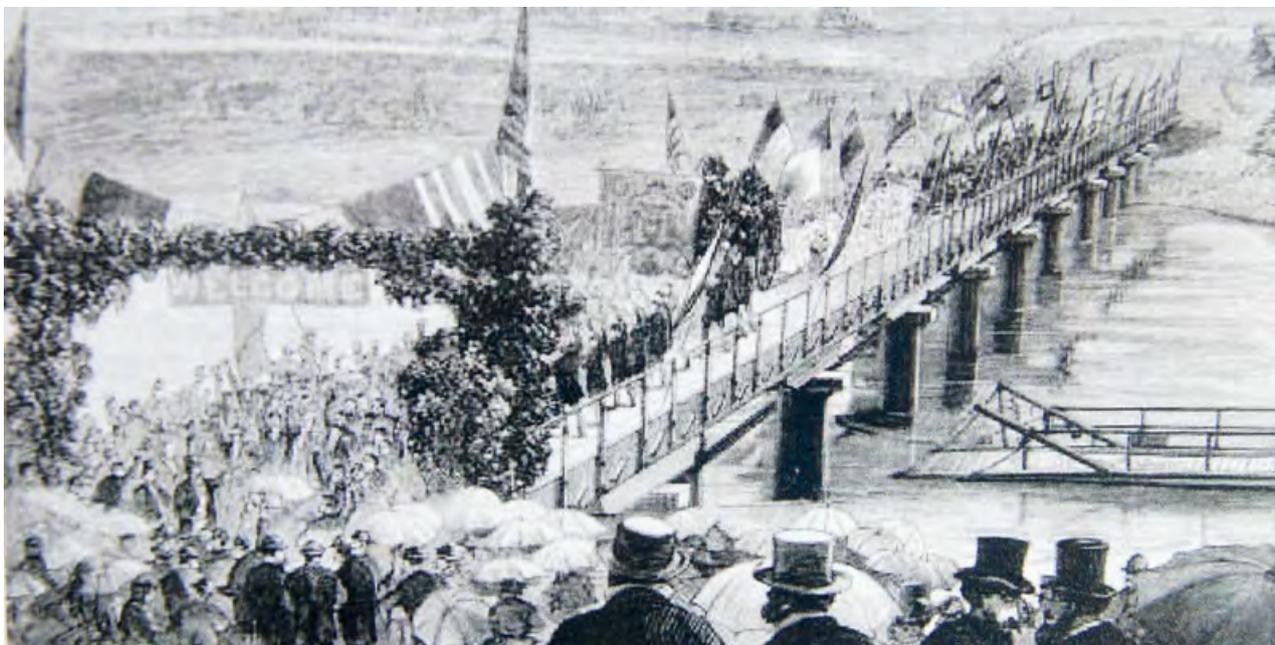


Figure 79: The official opening of Windsor Bridge in 1874. The redundant punt is moored alongside (Source: E. and D. Syme, engraving, 'Opening of the New Bridge over the Hawkesbury, Windsor, N.S.W.', State Library of Victoria, reproduced in Windsor Bridge over the Hawkesbury River: Preliminary Urban Design and Heritage Review of Options 1 and 3, RMS, Sydney, August 2011, p.19).

In most circumstances, timber beam bridges offered the cheapest and quickest solution, with simple construction details using local hardwoods. Thousands of these bridges were built, some as independent structures and some as approach spans to major bridges. Where larger spans were needed, laminated timber arches were the general solution, although these did not have a long service life (a three-span timber laminated arch bridge over South Creek on the eastern side of Windsor lasted only from 1853 to 1881). By the mid-1870s, the PWD engineers were experimenting with timber truss bridges and, by the 1880s, Engineers John MacDonald and Percy Allan had developed well-engineered timber truss bridges that were economical to erect and to maintain and these became the mainstay of bridging in NSW until the 1920s.

The provision of a bridge across the Hawkesbury at Windsor greatly improved the position of those who lived on the farms around Wilberforce and Edenezer, giving ready access to Windsor railway station and its direct links to Parramatta and Sydney. It also joined the Windsor road system to the Putty Road, leading to the Hunter, where many Hawkesbury families had settled since the early nineteenth century and which was developing industrial importance through the coal industry. In contrast, the other road bridge across the Upper Hawkesbury opened at North Richmond in 1860 and replaced by the present bridge in 1904, gave access primarily to Kurrajong and Bells Line of Road, which remained primarily a stock route for its first century and more.

The road curving through Thompson Square had a sharp bend onto the new bridge but the exit on the inland side was straight until it turned right into Wilberforce Road.

A Higher Level

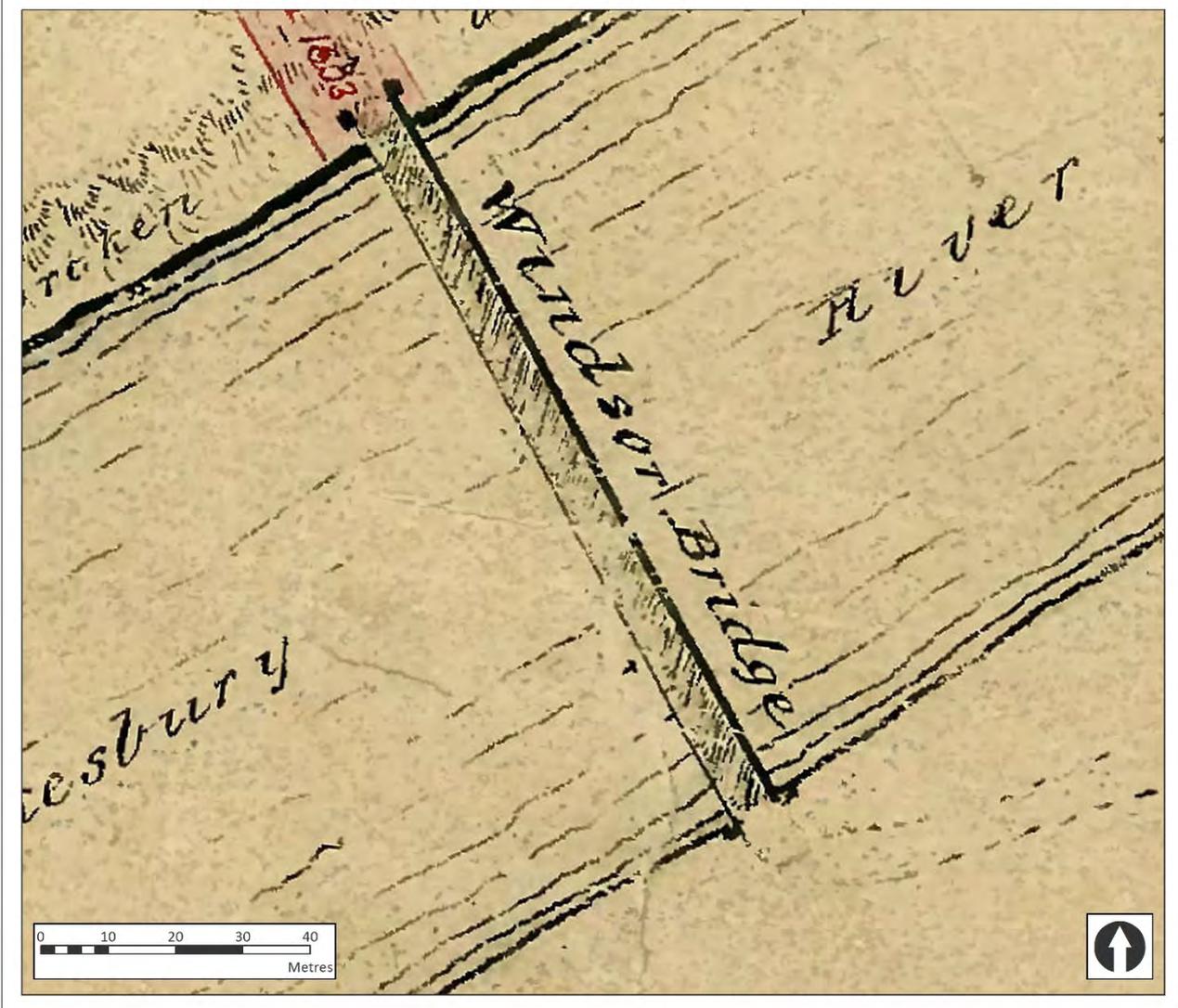
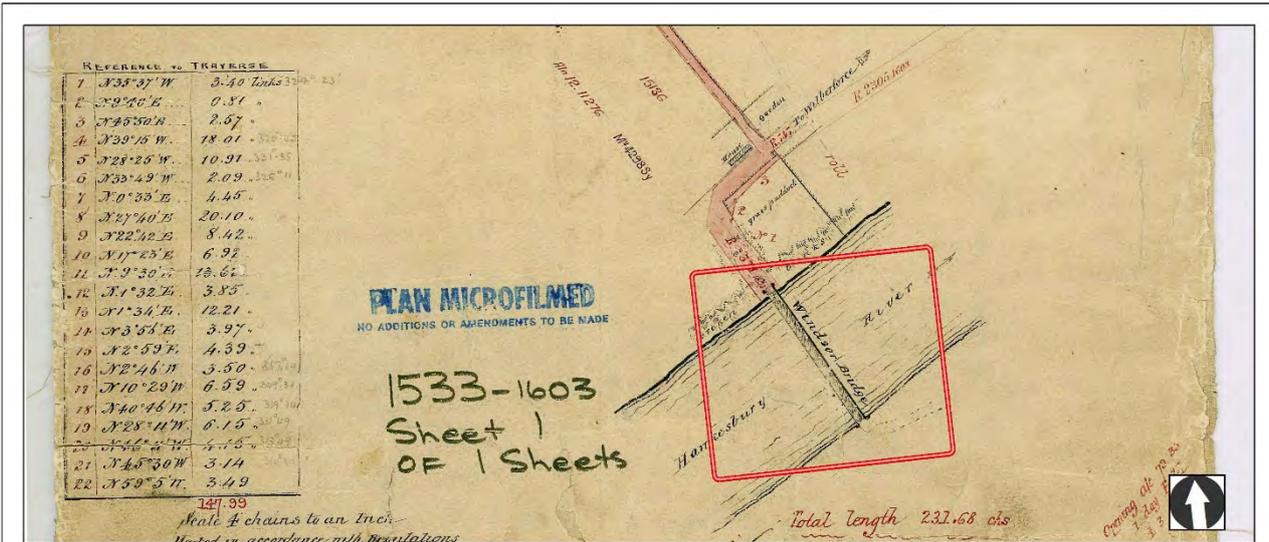
A low-level bridge is usually placed at a certain height above normal water level, sufficient that the bridge is available for traffic in times of small floods, yet low enough to be submerged to a sufficient depth to allow drift timber to pass safely over in a major flood. The original Windsor Bridge was placed at 4.3 m (14.5 feet) high above the tidal level; at Windsor, floods up to 10.8m (35 feet) above normal were relatively common and the flood of 1867 had reached 20.6 m (67 feet) above normal tide level.²⁴⁹ Consequently, it was relatively common for the Windsor Bridge to be inundated by the many small floods that affected the Hawkesbury River, as well as the larger ones. By the mid-1890s, with the bridge approaching two decades in service and requiring substantial maintenance, the decision was made to raise the deck level of the bridge, to reduce the number of occasions that it was impassable owing to flooding in the river.

The works to raise the Bridge were approved in June 1895 and were completed in mid-1897 by Mr Jas. McCall. The construction of the temporary bridge alongside the existing bridge, to carry traffic during works, was commenced on September 9, 1896. The temporary bridge was 460 feet long and was completed and opened for traffic in six weeks. The permanent bridge was raised 2.5 m (8 feet), by placing iron cylinders on top of the old ones; all corbels and girders were re-fitted and those that were unfit to be used again were replaced by new ones. The works also required modifications to the abutments, putting in concrete 'strips' to stabilise the compacted earth on the new elevated approach alignment. At its new height, the bridge was longer by 6.1 m (20 feet), with a new timber pier and abutment at the Wilberforce end. A new 10cm (4 inch) tallowwood deck was laid diagonally, with new ironbark kerb logs and new iron hand-rails.²⁵⁰ The work was supervised by James McCall, who also constructed a temporary bridge alongside. The approach roads were improved and readjusted and the higher-level bridge was opened in April 1897.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ The Sydney Morning Herald, Sat 22 Aug 1874; via Trove

²⁵⁰ Windsor and Richmond Gazette Saturday 3 April 1897; via Trove

²⁵¹ Windsor and Richmond Gazette, 3 April 1897, p.6; Bowd, Macquarie Country, p.64.



Prepared by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016

Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Map Source: LPI

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Figure 80: The alignment of Windsor Bridge, opened in 1874 (Source: G. Matcham Pitt, plan of Freemans Reach Road, 1878, LPI, R 1533.1603 sheet 1).



Figure 81: The low level Windsor Bridge around 1880, facing north from Windsor (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library, bcp 04404r).

New Deck; New technology

By the end of World War One, some two decades after its reconstruction in 1895, the Windsor Bridge was again in need of extensive renovation. Percy Allan, recently appointed as Chief Engineer, National and Local Government Works, determined that the economical solution was to construct a bridge on the existing piers, utilising the relatively new technology of reinforced concrete. A concrete slab and girder bridge was proposed, of similar profile to the existing timber bridge with respect to floodwaters but would be of greater durability.

Reinforced concrete owes its origins to the intuitive work of a number of French and English builders in the mid-nineteenth century, who used iron rods to stiffen monolithic concrete constructions. In the 1850s, Joseph Monier began using wire mesh in concrete to create a better flowerpot and developed the technique to use metal wire grids in concrete for columns and girders. He was granted a patent in 1873 for the construction of bridges and footbridges made of iron reinforced cement and, in 1875, he built the world's first reinforced concrete bridge, a four beam footbridge of 13.8m span and 4.25m width at the Castle of Chazelet in France.

This work was quickly understood to have important implications and, in 1879, German engineer, G. A. Wayss purchased Monier's patents and, over the next decade, added a scientific dimension to the manufacture of reinforced concrete. The engineering contractors, Wayss, Freitag and Schuster built the first commercial reinforced concrete bridges in Europe: the Monierbau

footbridge of 40m span in Bremen in Germany, and the Wildegg Bridge with a span of 37m in Switzerland. It is reported that, by 1891, they had built concrete 320 arch bridges²⁵².

In Australia, W J Baltzer, a German engineer in the Sewerage Branch of the NSW Public Works Department, maintained contact with his brother in Germany and, through that link, was aware of this emerging technology. In 1890, he travelled to Germany to gather information but, on his return, he was unsuccessful in interesting the Department. He, instead, joined with several businessmen to form a company, Carter Gummow & Co, to obtain licences from Wayss to use the technology in Australia. Notably, Baltzer translated the existing German manuals on the engineering of reinforced concrete, allowing other engineers to grasp the underlying physics of the material, and the firm was subsequently awarded a contract to construct two sewerage aqueducts at Annandale (Whites Creek Aqueduct and Johnsons Creek Aqueduct, both still in service). Subject to potentially punishing contractual guarantees, the work was completed in 1897 and was universally considered a success. It initiated a long period of experimentation in the use of reinforced concrete for a wide range of applications.

By 1899, the first Monier concrete arch bridges had been built in NSW and Victoria (Monash & Anderson, the engineering consultancy of John Monash in Victoria, purchased the rights to use the Monier patents in Victoria and South Australia) and Monier pipes had been developed to a high degree. A reinforced concrete wall was erected at Parramatta Gaol in 1899 and, from 1902, pre-cast concrete panels on pre-cast concrete trestles were being erected as rat-proof seawalls around the waterfrontages of Sydney. In 1904, a new road bridge across the Hawkesbury River at Richmond was erected which used Monier reinforced concrete arches.

The first concrete beam bridge built in New South Wales was a small bridge over Muddy Creek on the Princes Highway at Rockdale in 1907 and other beam bridges were erected over American Creek near Figtree in 1914 and at Throsby Creek, Wickham and Shark Creek, Maclean in 1916. The oldest extant concrete slab bridges in NSW are over Muttama Creek at Cootamundra (RTA Bridge No 6438) and over Surveyors Creek at Walcha (RTA Bridge No. 3485), both built in 1914²⁵³.

Concrete slab bridges, in this era, were universally cast-in-place, with timber formwork erected to form the mould around the concrete. The deck slab and the beams below the deck were formed as a single casting, allowing maximum structural capacity to be achieved in a single stage of work. For the Windsor Bridge, however, a new, unique approach was adopted. One criterion for the upgrade of the Windsor Bridge was that it was required to remain open to traffic throughout the replacement process. In 1895, this was achieved by the use of a temporary bridge but, for unknown reasons, this was not used in 1920. Instead, the existing bridge was upgraded in two longitudinal half sections, half the bridge remaining open whilst the other half was reconstructed. The logistics of this requirement meant that formwork construction was constrained and, for this reason, the concrete structural beams were individually cast in moulds on the riverbank adjacent to the bridge and, when ready, were lifted into place by crane. The deck was then cast-in-place as a flat slab lying on the beams between piers.

The construction of the reinforced concrete elements of the Windsor Bridge was undertaken by the State Monier Pipe and Reinforced Concrete Works, a state-government enterprise which had been formed in 1915 when the NSW Government purchased the operations and intellectual property of Carter Gummow & Co. The bridge extended to 144m (468 feet) length, with an additional(reinforced concrete) pier at the Wilberforce end, and 6.2m (20 feet) between kerbs. Its final height was 6.8m (22 feet) above normal river level (Figure 82).

²⁵² Historical Overview of Bridge Types in NSW: Extract from Study of Pre-1948 Slab and Concrete Arch Road Bridges; Burns Roe Worley & Heritage Assessment and History; Study for RTA NSW;2005

²⁵³ Ibid.

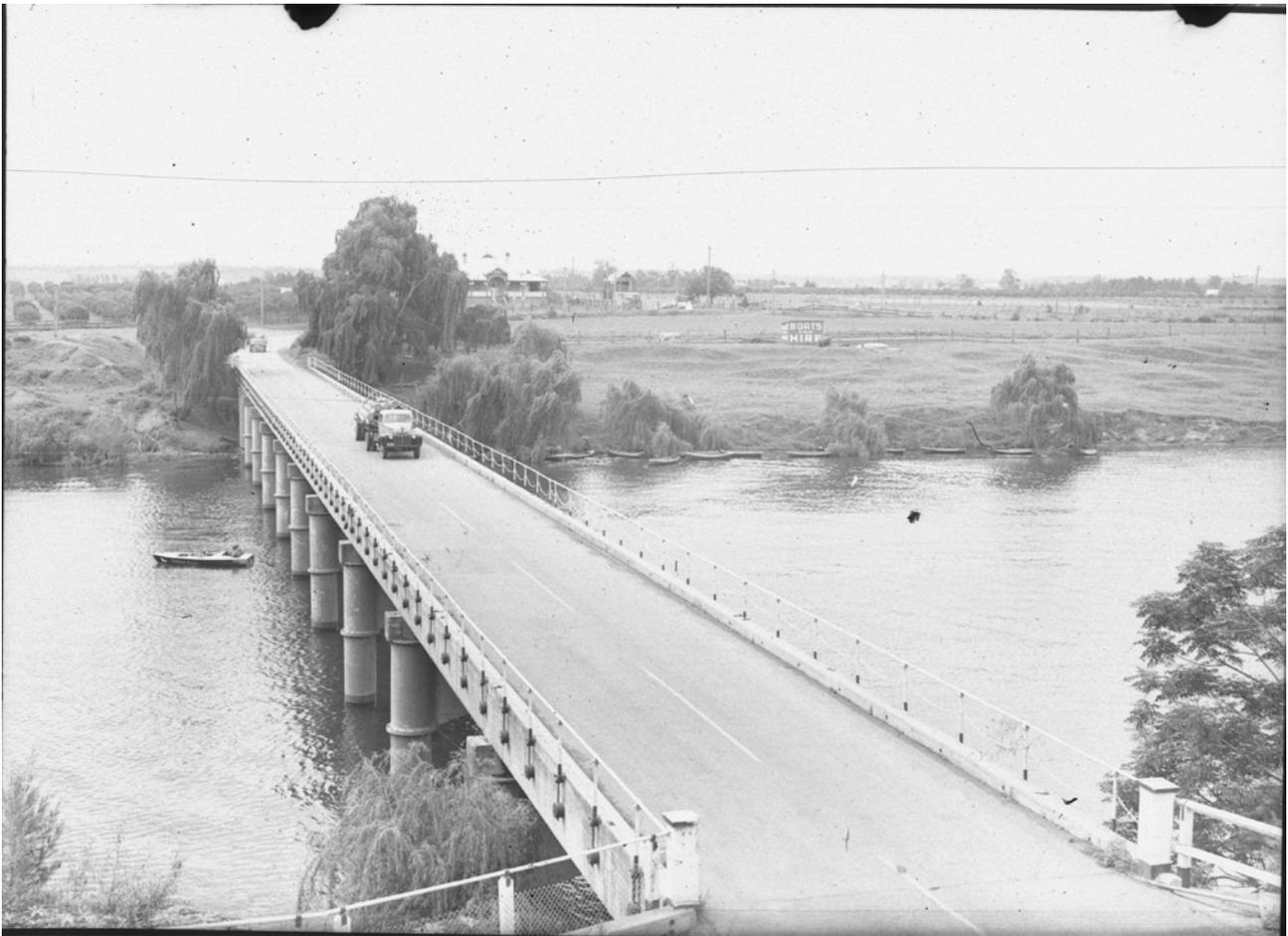


Figure 82: Windsor Bridge in 1947 (Source: State Library of NSW, Mitchell Library. GPO 1-40931, 1_40931r).

2.1.15 Bridge Street

Bridge Street had been created in 1814, soon after the completion of the new bridge over South Creek (Figure 83) changed the alignment of the road entrance to the town from Sydney and Parramatta. The same contractors, John Howe and James McGrath, completed both the South Creek bridge and the establishment of the new Bridge Street.²⁵⁴ South Creek was crossed by two bridges by the mid-19th century – a low timber trestle pedestrian bridge and a higher laminated-timber arch bridge, trafficable by carts (Figure 84).

Bridge Street, however, was a very short thoroughfare, ending at present day George Street. There was no clearly defined road through early Thompson Square. On Bridge Street itself, Court Street, leading to the Greenway court-house, went off to the north-east and Macquarie Street to the south-west. Until the 1850s and the opening up of the old government domain, George Street did not extend across Bridge Street to the north-east.

Just above the corner of Bridge Street with Court Street, quite close to Howe's Bridge, a new military barracks was built in 1817-1818, replacing the old site which had been privatised in 1811. The new barracks was enlarged in the 1830s and a separate guardhouse first appears on a plan in 1835 (Figure 85).

²⁵⁴ Bowd, *Macquarie Country*, pp.59-60; Col. Sec. Correspondence, SRNSW, Reel 6044, 4/1730 pp.360-361.

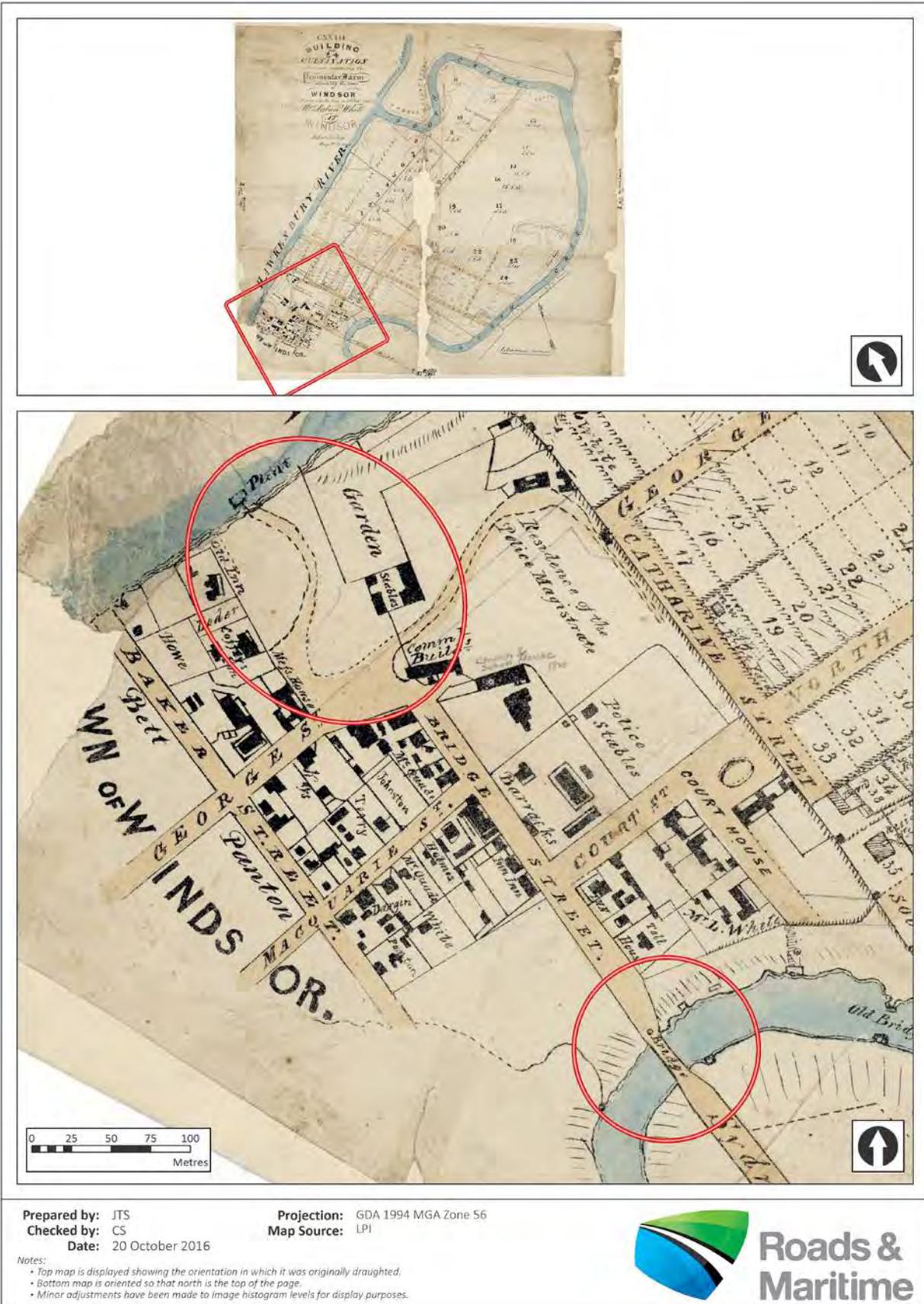


Figure 83: 1842 map showing Thompson Square in relation to South Creek (Source: Map by J. Armstrong, 'CXXIII Building & Cultivation Allotments comprising the Peninsular Farm adjoining the town of Windsor, to be sold at Auction on 5th Feb 1842 by Mr Laban White at Windsor', Sydney 1842, privately owned).

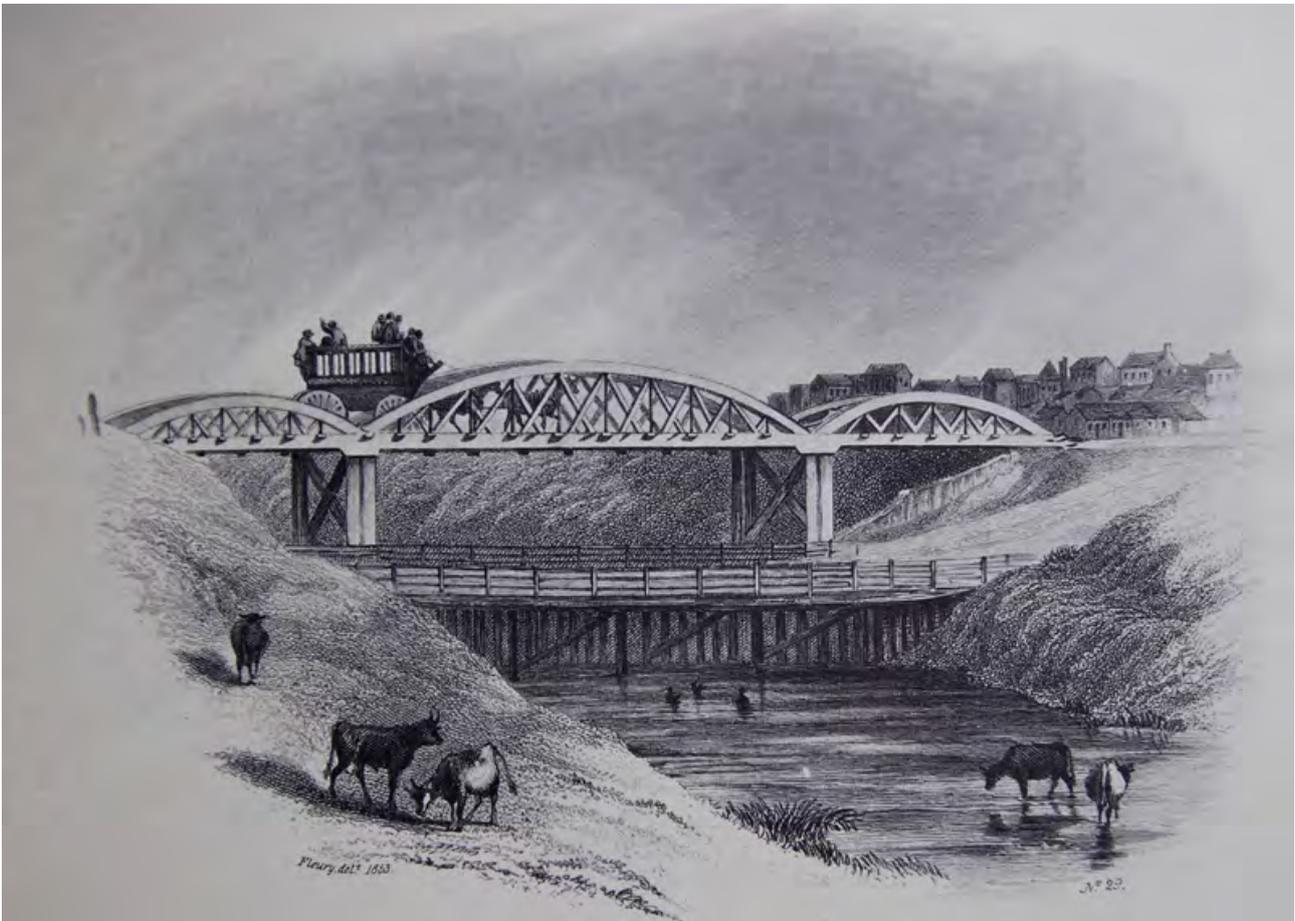
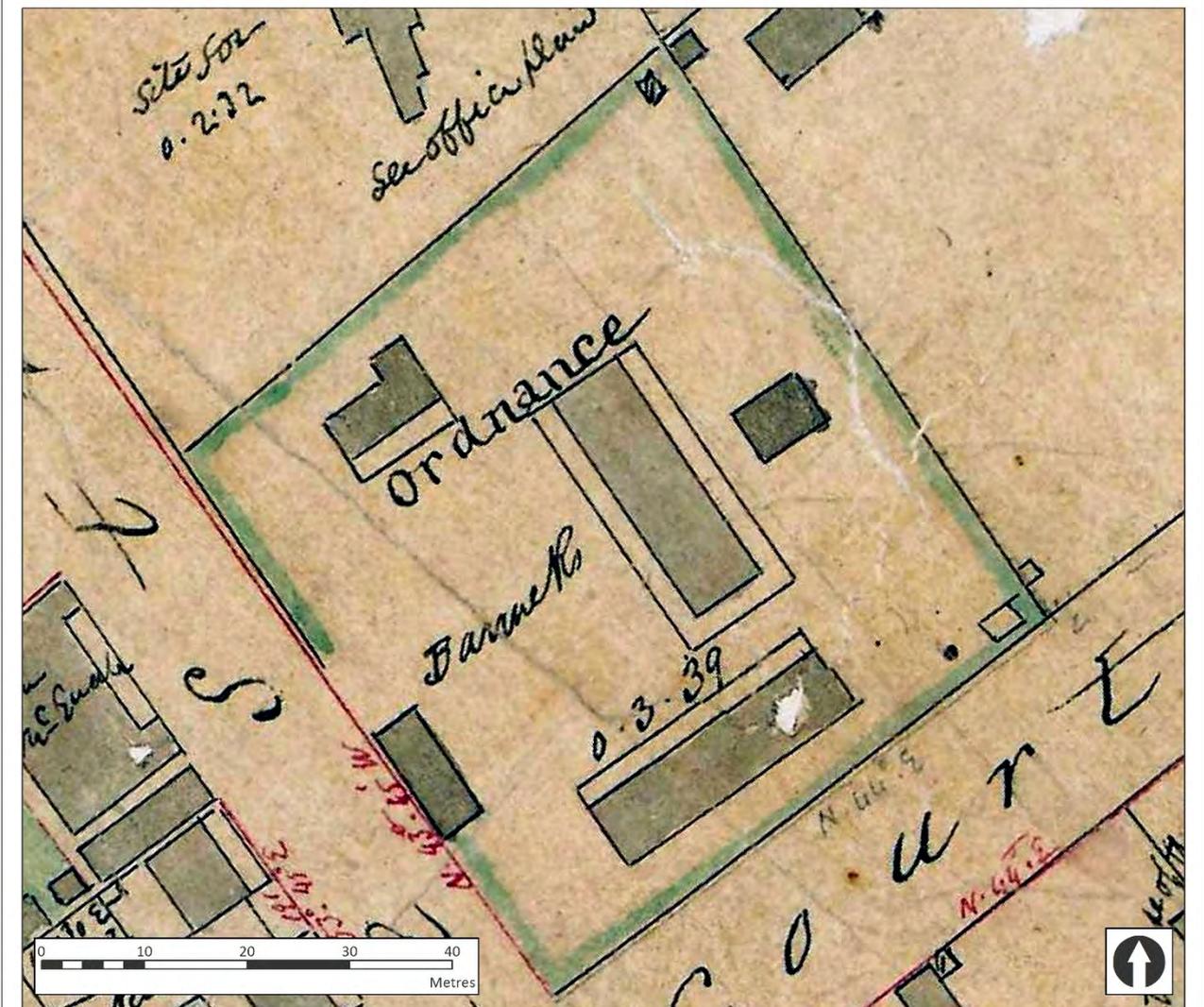


Figure 84: The South Creek bridges in the 1850s (Source: Drawn by F. C. Terry in 1853 and published in 1855 in his Landscape Scenery Illustrating Sydney, Sands & Kenny, Sydney, 1855, plate 29).



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 Map Source: SRNSW

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Roads & Maritime

Figure 85: The military barracks complex in Bridge Street, marked 'Ordnance'. The guardhouse is the small rectangular building lining Court Street (Source. G.B. White, map of Windsor, 1835, SRNSW, Map 5968)

The military withdrew from Windsor in the 1840s and the barracks was occupied by police from the 1860s until 1924.²⁵⁵ The guardhouse on the Bridge Street entrance had been used partly as a police lock-up and was in some measure rebuilt. Based on photographic evidence, the building appears to have been demolished before 1879.²⁵⁶

A later photograph, looking south-east down Bridge Street towards the South Creek bridge around 1890, shows the gateway to the present study area vividly (Figure 86).



Figure 86: The lower part of Bridge Street in c.1890, looking south. Note while the photograph states that this is 'Sydney Road', the image is of Bridge Street. (Source: Kerry glass negative, Macleay Museum, Historic Photograph Collection, HP83.60.2025).

The road that Howe had made in 1814 had been widened, with stone kerbing and ample footpaths. The two girls in pinafores are playing hopscotch in the middle of Bridge Street (called Sydney Road in the photograph) halfway between Macquarie Street and George Street. On their left is the wooden fencing of the Anglican schoolhouse and, beyond that, the walled military barracks, now the police station; the old guardhouse has disappeared.

The complex foundations of the guardhouse, measuring 3 by 12 metres, were archaeologically excavated by Kate Holmes and the University of Sydney in 1976-1977 and are preserved on the footpath adjacent to the southern limit of the study area (Figure 87 and Figure 88).²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, pp.141-142; H. Smith, *Leaving the Barracks: Windsor Police Station, 1862-2010*, author, Oakville, 2011, pp.25-44.

²⁵⁶ K. Holmes, *Windsor Barracks – the Guardhouse*, Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Occasional Paper 6, University of Sydney 1979, pp.5-6; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, photograph, 1916 ed. facing p.25, 1977 ed. facing p.19.

²⁵⁷ Holmes, *Windsor Barracks – the Guardhouse*; R.I. Jack, *Exploring the Hawkesbury*, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, 2nd ed. 1990, pp.102-103; Smith, *Leaving the Barracks*, pp.27, 32; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, photograph, 1916 ed. facing p.25, 1977 ed. facing p.19.

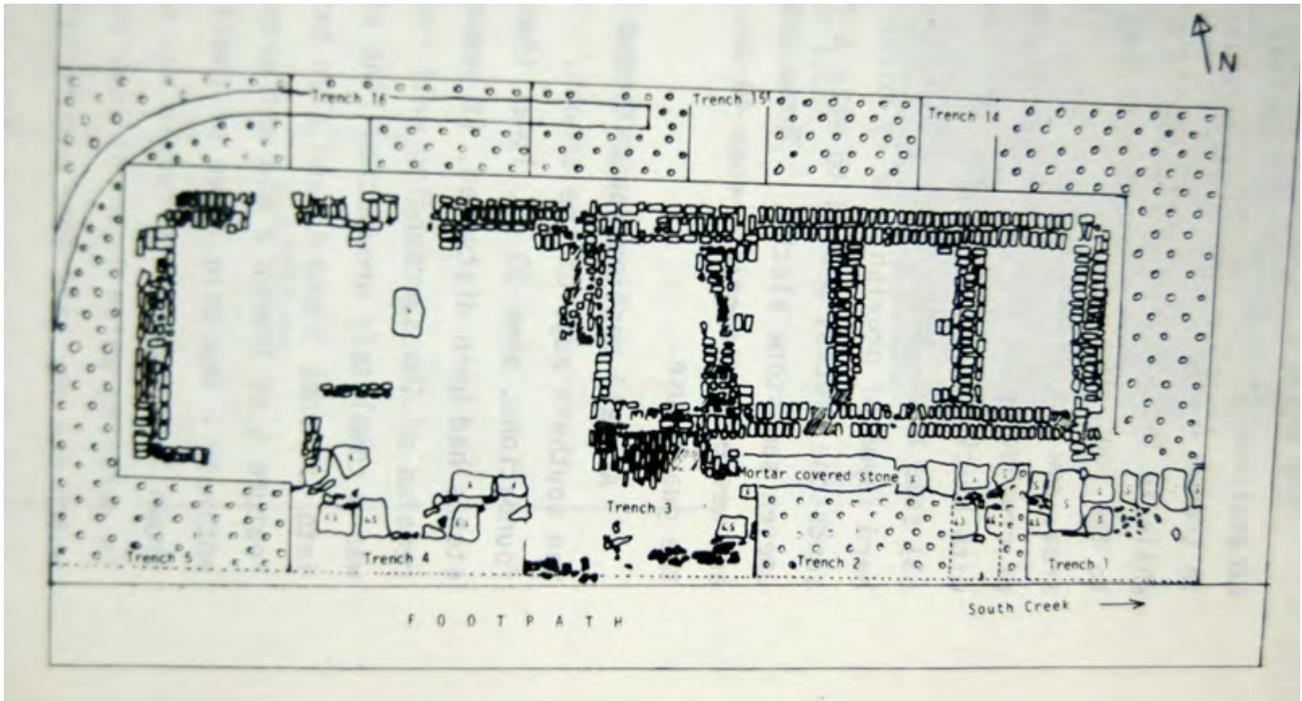


Figure 87: Plan of the guardhouse to the military barracks in Bridge Street excavated in 1976-1977. (Source: K. Holmes, Windsor Barracks – the Guardhouse, Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Occasional Paper 6, University of Sydney, 1979, plan 3, p.15)



Figure 88: The foundations of the guardhouse exposed after excavation in December 1976. (Source: K. Holmes, Windsor Barracks – the Guardhouse, Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Occasional Paper 6, University of Sydney, 1979, plate 2, p.12)

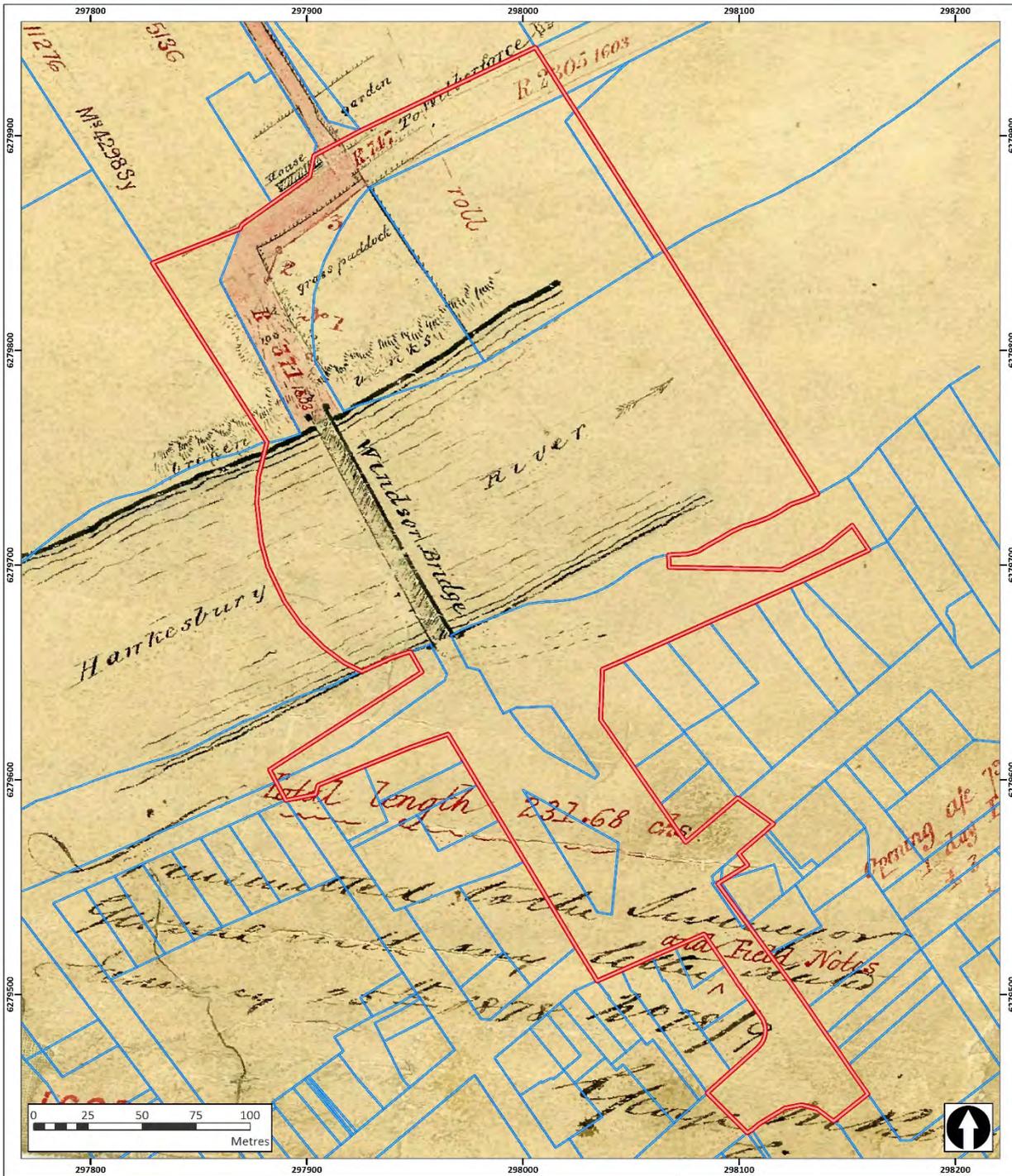
2.1.16 The Study Area North of the Hawkesbury River

On the inland side of the river, the area includes the bridge itself and sections of both Wilberforce Road and Freemans Reach Road, as well as the southern part of portion 69 in Wilberforce parish, known as Whittons Farm. It stops short of the present house called 'Bridgeview' (27 Wilberforce Road) but includes part of the site of its predecessor, the Squatters Arms Inn. An 1878 plan of the area can be seen in Figure 89.

It was on the eastern side of portion 69 that George William Evans sat in 1807, in 1809 and again in 1811 to prepare his watercolours of Green Hills across the river (Figure 91). The fence on the artist's left is the boundary between two eighteenth-century 30-acre farms named after their original grantees, Edward Whitton and William Cuckow, though neither Whitton nor Cuckow were still there when Evans settled down to sketch.²⁵⁸ All the documented early buildings on Cuckow Farm were between Wilberforce Road and the river, so it is likely that Evans was sitting on the Windsor side of the road.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Barkley-Jack, *Hawkesbury Settlement Revealed*, p.432.

²⁵⁹ LPI, Crown Plan, R 2305.1603; SRNSW, 17513/6/80/18906. item 46.



**1878 Plan of a road from Windsor Bridge to Gorricks Lane, sheet 1
NSW LPI #R1533-1603**

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI

Figure 89: The study area north of the Hawkesbury, overlaid on a plan of portion 69. The 'house' shown, the former Squatters Arms Inn, was demolished in 1914. The study area was overlaid in red outline by Tom Sapienza, 2016 (Source. G. Matcham Pitt, 1878, LPI, Crown Plan R 1533.1603)



Figure 90: The study area north of Windsor Bridge, partly submerged by flood waters in October 1929. The twentieth-century house called 'Bridgeview' is shown in the bottom right hand corner (Source. Aerial photograph, courtesy of Carol Roberts, from the collection of her mother, the late Iris Cammack. Photographer, Frederick Halpin Willson, RAAF, 1929)



Figure 91: In the foreground, the boundary fence between Whittons and Cuckow Farms, showing part of a building on Cuckow Farm (Source: George William Evans, watercolour, 1807, image courtesy of Hordern House Rare Books, Sydney).

Edward Whitton was a convicted highway robber who had been transported to New South Wales in 1788. He lived with an Irish convict woman, Anne Slater and, in December 1794, received a grant of 30 acres, henceforth known as Whittons Farm. By 1801, Edward and Anne and their three children had cleared all but five acres, had twenty acres under wheat and maize and owned ten pigs. Edward died in 1802. Anne inherited the farm, quickly remarried but died in 1806. When Evans was making his recurrent visits, the property was run by Anne's second husband, John Norman, a local constable, and his new wife, Margaret McCarthy. The owner was, however, the daughter of Edward and Anne, Mary Whitton, born in 1796 or 1797. She had been placed in the Parramatta orphan asylum after her mother's death but, in 1811, she married Richard Barnes and soon reclaimed her property. In 1816, Barnes divided the 30 acres into two equal parts, long narrow strips divided by Freemans Reach Road for the most part, and sold the western 15 acres to Thomas Clarkson.²⁶⁰

The western half of Whitton's Farm passed to Robert Smith who developed the cottage as a public house. Smith ran two other inns in Windsor town, became severely indebted and, in 1839, was obliged to sell parts of his estate, including his half of Whittons Farm, to Thomas Chapman.²⁶¹ Chapman, in 1841, sold the 15 acres to Michael McQuade, who was the licensee of the Commercial Hotel on the corner of Tebbutt Street and George Street in Windsor.²⁶² The inn built by Smith was apparently allowed to fall down and, in 1846, McQuade leased the 15-acre farm to John Cunningham and his son, also called John, farmers of Windsor, for five years, with the stipulation they should build and license another inn on the property. The Cunninghams opened the Squatters Arms within a few months of taking up the lease.²⁶³

The eastern half of Whitton's Farm had been acquired by an absentee owner, John Eggleton (or Eccleston – records are unclear) of Adelong, whose family retained it into the twentieth century. Although the two strips were in different ownership, both were leased from the 1860s until 1913 to farmer Johnny Ryan. Ryan also ran the Windsor punt until 1874 while his brother Tom held the licence to the Squatters Arms until the flood of 1867 closed its doors permanently.²⁶⁴

The pub, a long rectangular building with six or seven rooms, lay on the section bought by McQuade, right on the western corner of the junction of Freemans Reach Road and Wilberforce Road (Figure 92). After 1867, the building was used as a stable for Ryan stock but was also used as 'a camping ground for tramps'. By 1915, the old pub building had become ruinous and was demolished.²⁶⁵ No evidence of the Squatters Arms was uncovered during the 2016 archaeological test excavations. Alluvial deposits of 2m+ were uncovered, which may indicate any remains were either washed away by previous flooding, or remain much more deeply buried by deposited sediments.

After the McQuade family sold the land to Robert Judd, yet another Windsor publican, it was replaced by the present Federation cottage called 'Bridgeview'. 'Bridgeview' lies a short distance to the north-west of the pub site.

²⁶⁰ Biographical Database of Australia online; B. Hall, *The Irish Vanguard: the convicts of the Queen, Ireland to Botany Bay*, 1791, author, Sydney, 2009, pp.178-181; SRNSW, 'Old Register One to Nine', register 5 p.149 (available on CD).

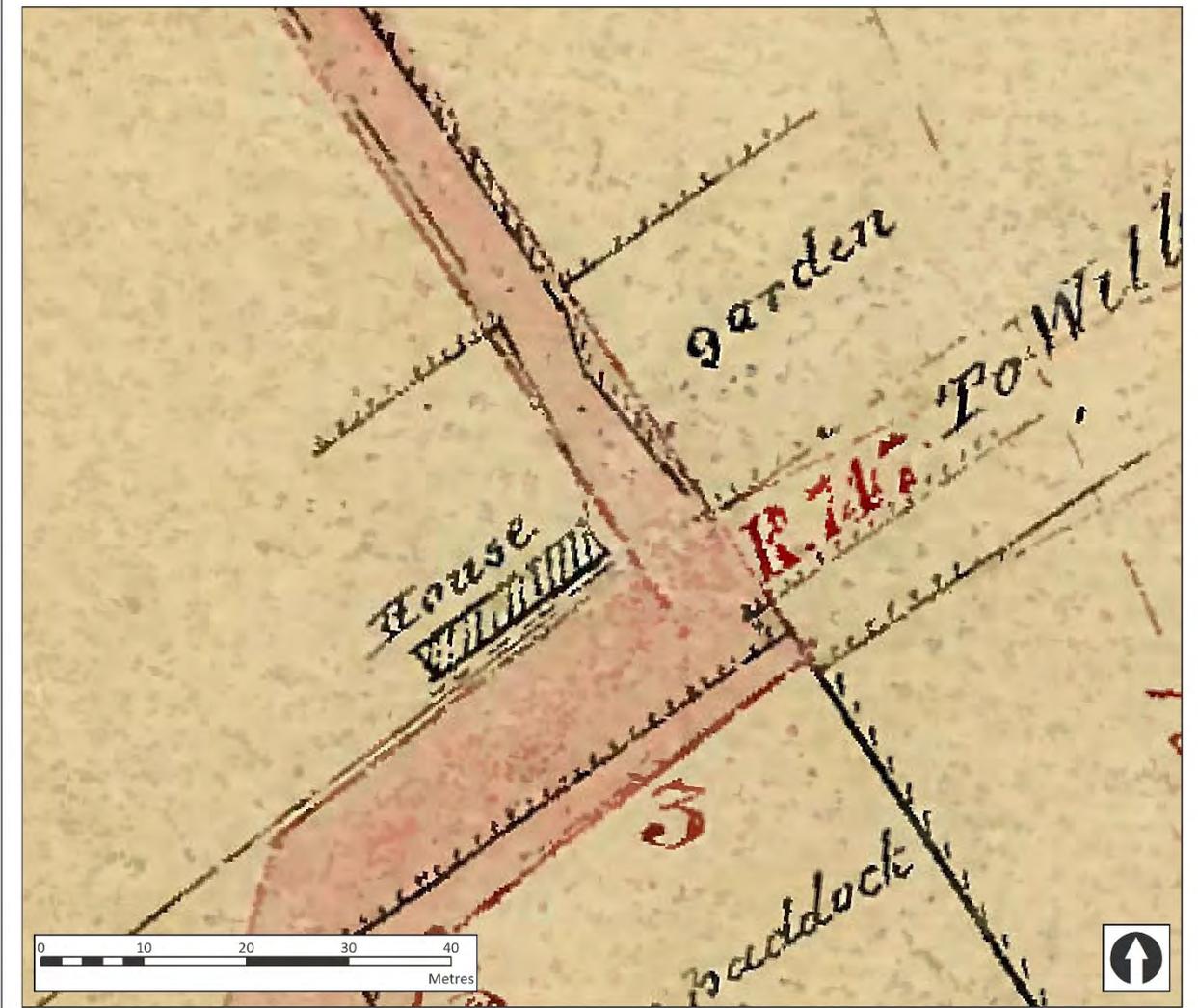
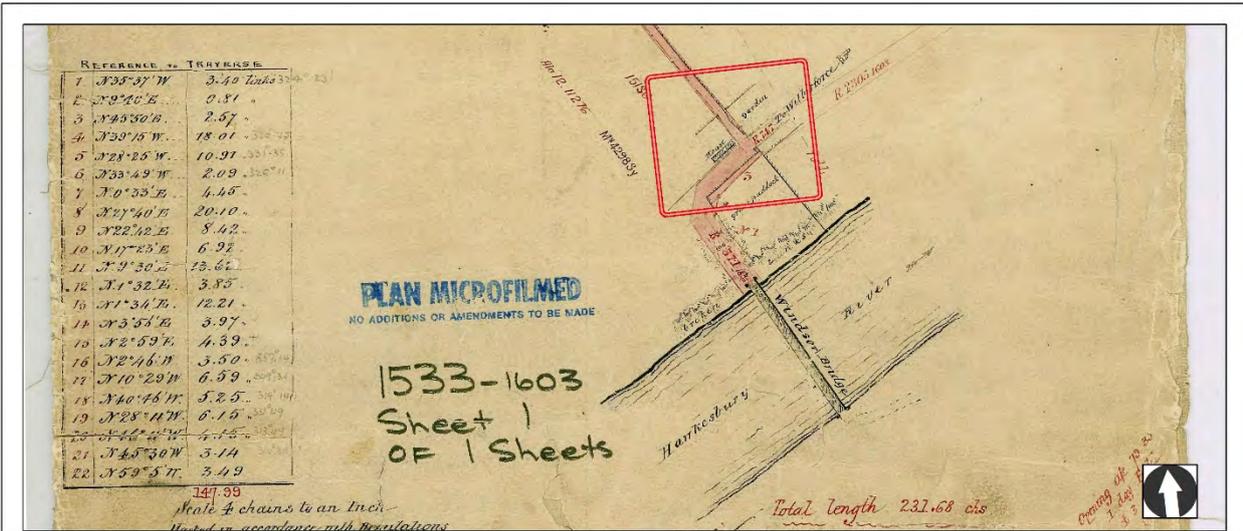
²⁶¹ Primary Application packet, SRNSW, 17513/5/101/18115, item 2; 17513/2/181/15136, item 3; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, pp.152, 155.

²⁶² Primary Application form, SRNSW, 6/10186/15136. item 2; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, p.157.

²⁶³ Primary Application packet, SRNSW, 17513/2/181/15136, item 12; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, p.151.

²⁶⁴ Primary Application packet, SRNSW, 17513/2/181/15136, item 8; 17513/5/101/18115, item 8.

²⁶⁵ Fitzgerald, *Those Were the Days*, pp.83-86; Steele, *Early Days of Windsor*, p.151.



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2.1.17 Late 20th Century Development

General Overview

The latter half of the 20th century through to the present day has seen significant change in and around the study area, both in terms of the configuration of Thompson Square and the public open spaces surrounding Thompson Square. On a macro level, the built fabric on the perimeter of Thompson Square has remained largely unchanged.

The site remained the natural venue for public celebrations. The Bicentenary of European settlement in Sydney and later on the upper Hawkesbury were celebrated in Thompson Square in 1988 and 1994 (Figure 93). In 1988, Federal Bicentennial funds made possible an extensive restoration of the important buildings in Thompson Square and improvements within the open areas, as had been recommended in 1975 and again in 1981 by Clive Lucas and his firm, Fisher Lucas Architects. This restoration programme included attention to the important sandstone kerbing surviving around parts of Thompson Square. Windsor Wharf was also reconstructed using these Bicentennial funds.²⁶⁶

The *Hawkesbury Gazette* reflected the temper of the times on 20 April 1988 (p.4) when it praised the 'resurrection' of this 'unique jewel in our nation's treasury of colonial heritage', with 'the participation of public and private property owners'.

The study area north of the river and surrounds was used for turf farming and market gardens from the 1920s, with the turf farming ceasing operation in early 2016. Aerial photos between 1956 and the present day indicate the northern study area was used for cultivation, with little change during those years.

There are annual commemorations in Thompson Square of the proclamation of the Hawkesbury towns by Governor Macquarie in 1810, with red-coats and ritual musket volleys. Although the proposal from the Royal Australian Historical Society that an obelisk to Governor Macquarie be erected in the Square in 1949 was not accepted by the local Council, a memorial to the early European settlers was erected in 1988. An anchor symbolises the importance of the river trade throughout the nineteenth century and the names of many early farmers are recorded on the plaque. As a result, a number of the periodic reunions of old Hawkesbury families are held in whole or in part in Thompson Square.

Immediately adjacent to the anchor memorial, members of a vigorous local community group who oppose the building of the replacement bridge have kept a 24-hour vigil, seven days a week since 21 July 2013. This group, known as Community Action for Windsor Bridge (CAWB), has not only exceeded all known records for such a protracted heritage vigil but has also collected over 30,000 signatures to their petition seeking to stop the project.

²⁶⁶ Thompson Square Restoration: Official Opening, 23rd April, 1988, Hawkesbury Shire Council, Windsor, 1988.



Figure 93: The 'return of the riverboats', 1988, celebrating Governor Phillip's exploration of the Hawkesbury in 1788, viewed from the Doctors' House in Thompson Square. (Source: Photograph by Jan Barkley, 1988).

Changes notable in Historic Aerial Photographs

Physical changes to Thompson Square throughout the latter half of the 20th century can be tracked via a series of aerial photographs (Figure 94 to Figure 100).

By 1961, the boundaries of Thompson Square were more distinct and formalised than previous, particularly along the western and northern edges, and a paved road led down to the location of the wharf. A concrete boat ramp had been constructed at the present wharf location. There had been little or no change to the landscape within the current study area north of the river since 1956, with turf farming and market gardens still present.

By 1970, the only substantial change to the landscape appears to have been the establishment of a carpark to the northeast of Thompson Square, with some minor amendments to the fence lines previously established and visible in the 1956 aerial photograph (Figure 96). The riverbank to the north of the river had been revegetated and a secondary boat landing had been constructed in the area between the bridge and the boat ramp on the present day wharf site.

By 1982, Thompson Square Road (formerly known as Callaghan Street) to the west of the site has been substantially widened, cutting into the open space (Figure 97). Some public domain works had been constructed opposite Thompson Square, on the south side of George Street and again there appear to be some changes to fence lines. A painted lane divider has appeared on the bend immediately north of the bridge, which may reflect an increase in vehicle traffic, necessitating new road safety measures. In 1988, some Bicentennial landscaping works were done.

By 1991, the former boat house building within the northern portion of Thompson Square was removed and Thompson Square Road narrowed, reinstating some of the public domain along the west edge of Thompson Square (Figure 98). A roundabout was placed at the junction of Bridge and George Streets and the pedestrian island on the south side of George Street increased in size. A new wharf was built and the boat landing appeared to be disused. North of the bridge, a major scour or embankment failure is noted to the east of the northern embankment. The vegetation was entirely cleared from the northern and southern embankments and a viewing platform (now derelict) was constructed to the east of the southern abutment.

By 2013, the southern embankment had reasonably mature, formalised tree plantings (Figure 98). The northern embankment had also been allowed to revegetate but in a less planned manner. The road to the wharf was improved and paved carpark areas were established immediately south of the wharf and within the northern portion of Thompson Square previously occupied by the building. The road on the east side of Thompson Square was more formalised and another small, alienated parcel of land between the houses to the east of Thompson Square was created. The footpath along the south side of George Street was widened and marquee structures appeared in front of most of the commercial buildings.

By 2017, (the date of this document), a new wharf has been constructed. Additional works have been undertaken to the pedestrian refuge area on the south side of George Street and the traffic island south of the roundabout was removed to facilitate archaeological testing in the roadway. There appear to be no other major changes to Thompson Square or its environs. North of the river there has been no significant change, other than the turf farm ceasing operation in early 2016. A major program of archaeological test excavation was undertaken throughout the study area in the latter half of 2016.



1956 Aerial Photo

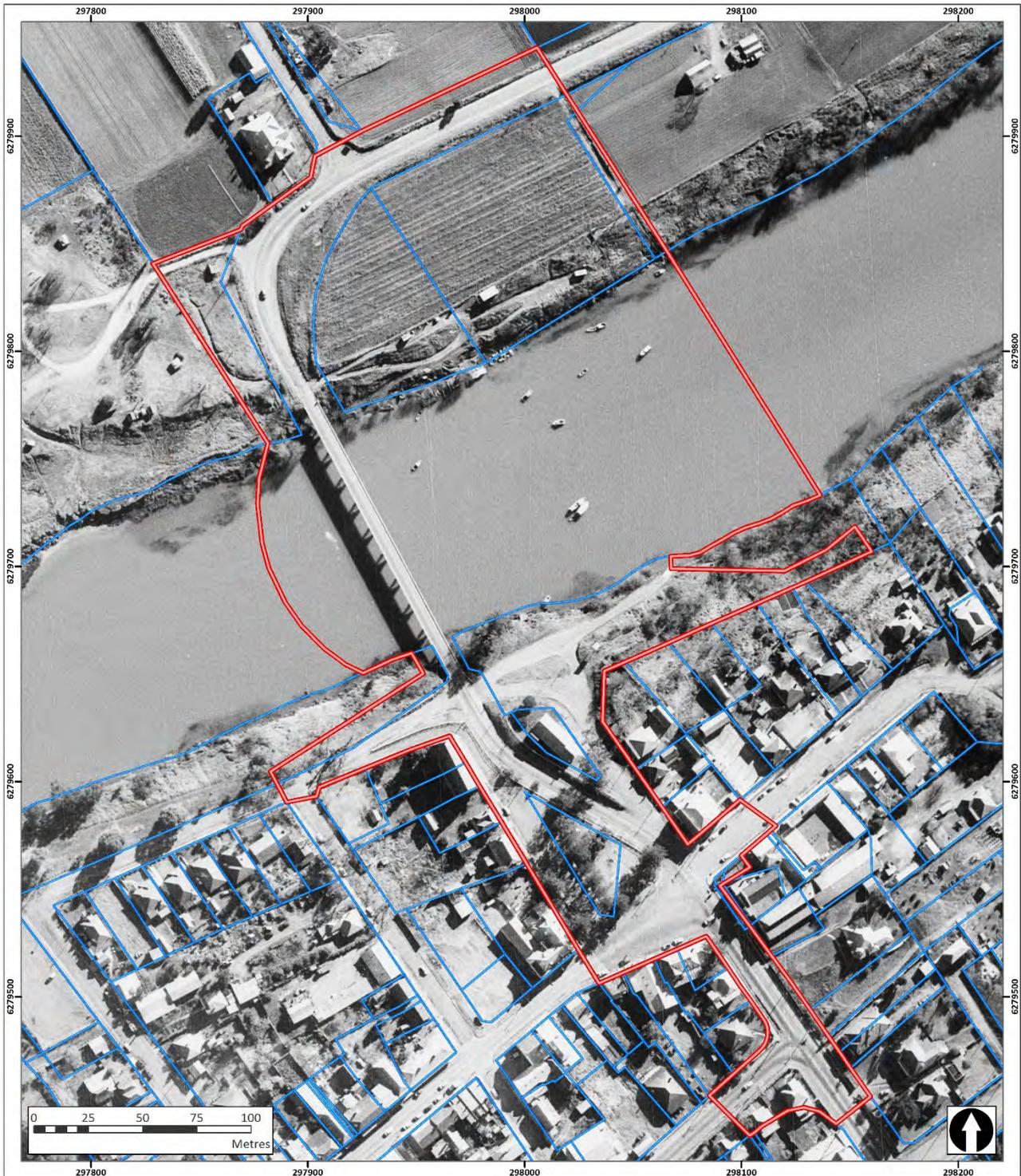
- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 94: 1956 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastral is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



1961 Aerial Photo

-  Study Area
-  Cadastre



Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 95: 1961 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastre is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



1970 Aerial Photo

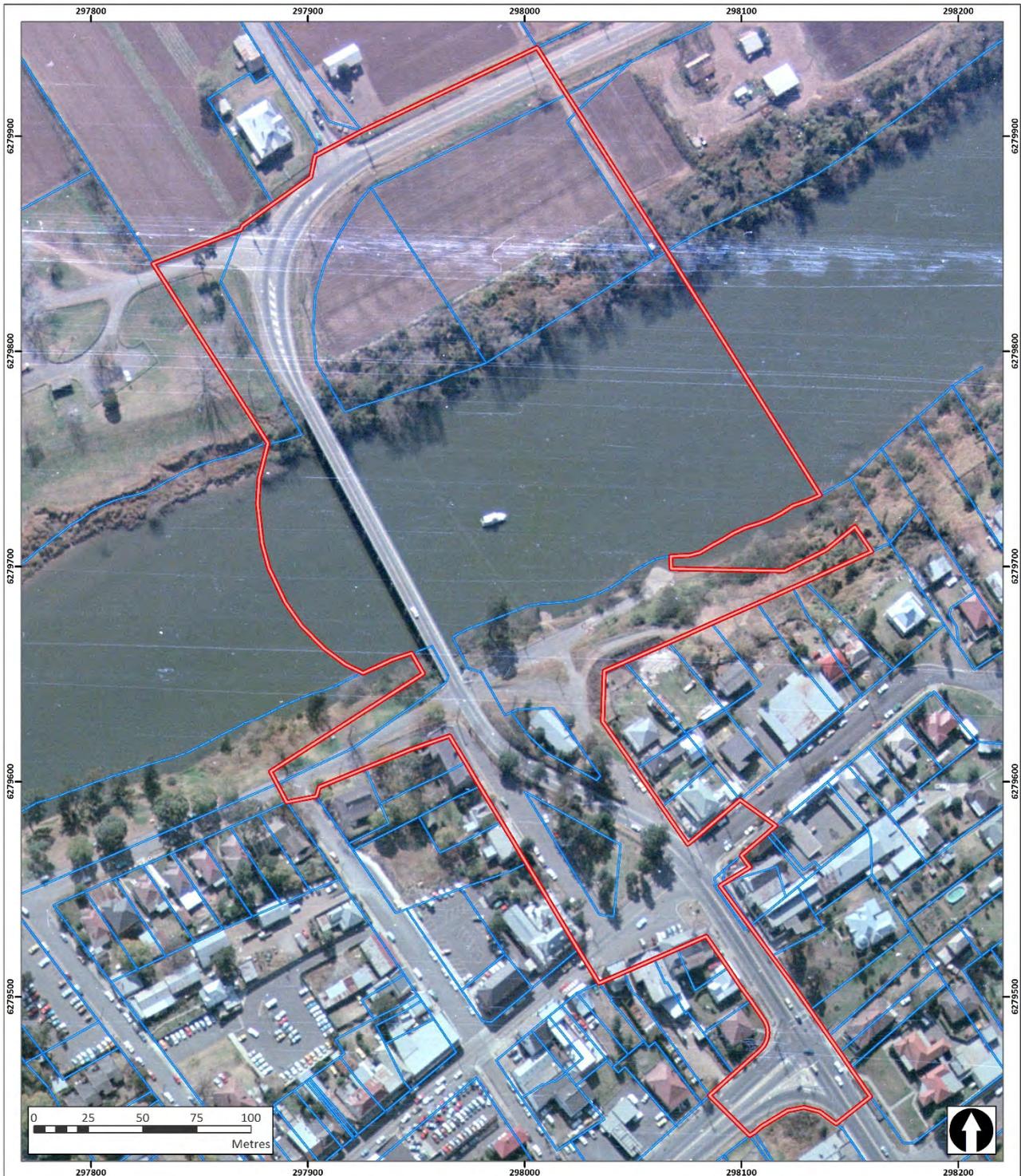
- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 96: 1970 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastral is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



1982 Aerial Photo

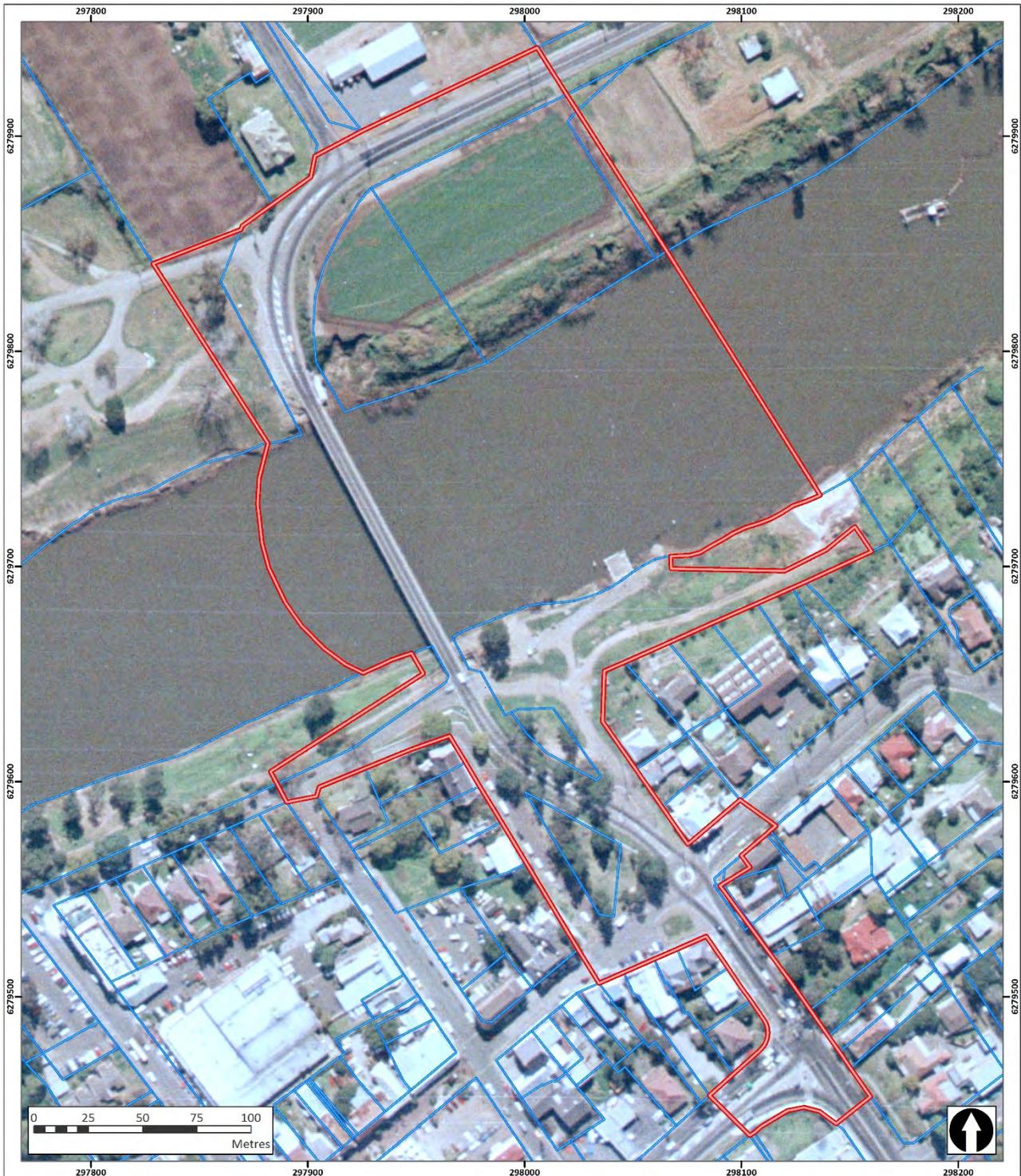
- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 97: 1982 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastre is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



1991 Aerial Photo

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Roads & Maritime

Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 98: 1991 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastre is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



2013 Aerial Photo

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW LPI, NSW State Library

Figure 99: 2013 Aerial of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge, Windsor. The current cadastre is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).



2016 Aerial Photo

- Study Area
- Cadastre



Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NearMap, NSW LPI

Figure 100: 2016 aerial of the study area. The current cadastre is shown in purple (Source: LPI, Overlay by Tom Sapienza, 2016).

Summary History of Built Fabric

The following section provides a chronological summary of the key physical changes to Thompson Square and its immediate surrounds between 1795-2016.

Table 6: Green Hills (1795-1810).

Year	Event
1795	The civic square was cleared of vegetation and a wharf was erected, along with a store-house, a soldiers' barracks and a granary for local grain.
1796	Better soldiers' accommodation was constructed on the western side of Thompson Square. Granary replaced with a more substantial wooden building in the middle of the eastern side of the present square. A weatherboard cottage for the Commandant was erected near the north-eastern edge of the Government Precinct at 41 George Street where a later 1920s cottage now sits.
1798	A small, thatched watch-house was built in the future site of Thompson Square near the Commandant's house.
1799	Major flood.
1800	Soldiers' accommodation moved to higher ground; A second granary added.
1800	Major flood.
1801	Major flood.
1803	Earlier log and thatch granaries were soon replaced by a three-storey brick building on top of the ridge to the south-east of Thompson Square. Slipway for shipbuilding constructed around this date.
1804-1805	To the east of the new brick granary, a two-storey schoolhouse/chapel and schoolmaster's residence was built, which also served as a court-house.
1808	West of the brick granary, Andrew Thompson built a three-storey store facing Thompson Square.
1809	Major flood.

Table 7: Macquarie Era (1810-1821)

Year	Event
1810	<p>Macquarie announces creation of the town of Windsor.</p> <p>Meehan plans town of Windsor, retaining part of the vacant government land as the location of the future Thompson Square.</p> <p>Lease of Andrew Thompson reverted to the crown upon his death.</p>
1811	<p>Civic square named “Thompson Square” after Andrew Thompson by Governor Macquarie.</p> <p>Andrew Thompson’s land becomes the government garden.</p> <p>Macquarie makes four town grants on south-west boundary (now 1-7 Thompson Square and 81 George Street).</p>
1814	<p>Bridge Street created to replace the road from the original South Creek crossing.</p> <p>A new wharf was constructed at 50 feet long, projecting 18 feet into the river and supported by piles ‘16 to 18 inches thick’.</p> <p>Howe and McGrath had also contracted in 1814 to do significant works within Thompson Square. The steepness of the slope shown in the Evans and Slaeger views was to be diminished by putting piles in the lower sector of Thompson Square near the river and then using fill to reduce it ‘into a gradual slope’ down from the major store on top of the ridge.</p> <p>A regular punt service starts. The punt-master occupied a small cottage between the garden of the Doctors’ House and the river as shown in Thompson’s 1827 map, where the Doctors’ House is No.31</p>
1814-1815	<p>A single, brick sewerage drain was likely constructed through Thompson Square.</p>
1815	<p>Macquarie Arms Inn constructed (81 George Street) (<i>still extant</i>).</p> <p>The river-bank was cut away in the vicinity of the new wharf so that there was a turning place for carts.</p>
1816-1817	<p>Wharf updated. Major flood destroys the wharf.</p> <p>A further contract was issued in April 1815 commissioning a larger wharf three feet higher and on top of the existing one. Built in 1816.</p>
1817-1818	<p>Military barracks constructed.</p>
1820	<p>A further new wharf was constructed in 1820.</p> <p>Military hospital known as the “Colonial Hospital” built in Macquarie Street by Governor Macquarie.</p>

Table 8: Post Macquarie Era (1822-1842)

Year	Event
1830	Major flood.
1831	Police barracks and stables constructed by 1831 – beside government garden; A new watch house built on Bridge Street close to the Store.
1835	7 Thompson Square (Hawkesbury Regional Museum) constructed as the home of John Howe (<i>still extant – part of the museum complex</i>). The site underwent multiple changes of use; it was an Inn known as the Daniel O’Connell (1837-1848), office and printing works of the local newspaper (1871-1899) and a residence (1911-1967) before becoming a museum.
1840	62 George Street (Former Hawkesbury Stores) is constructed by William Moses for his grocery and bakery business. 62-68 George Street was owned by the Moses family until the early 19 th Century. 62 George Street constructed (<i>still extant</i>).
c. 1841	Formal open space laid out, as shown on 1941 plan of the site.

Table 9: Civilian Administration Era (1843-1899)

Year	Event
1844	“The Doctor’s House” at 103 Thompson Square constructed (<i>still extant</i>). Built by Edward Burke and historically associated with doctors since 1877.
1850s	Fully developed, privately owned western side of today’s Thompson Square in place by the 1850s. Across Thompson Square, the earlier buildings (police and military barracks and stables) had disappeared. Government stables had been built at the northern corner of Bridge Street and George Street. These stables were soon demolished after Lilburn Hall (10 Bridge Street) was built in the 1850s (<i>still extant</i>).
1852	Government garden abandoned for the construction of a manse. Although the church was never built, the property boundary was straightened in what is currently known as Old Bridge Street. Residence at 5 Thompson Square constructed.
1856	Lilburn Hall House constructed at 10 Bridge Street by Dr Joshua Dowe. It was later used as St Katherine’s private school for young ladies (1875), Dr J. Callaghan’s house (1887), Brinsley Hall (1901-1919) and a maternity hospital (1923-1934).
1857	Major flood.
1860s	John Young Hotel built on the site of 70-72 George Street (currently the Former Hawkesbury Garage). 92-98 George Street constructed (<i>still extant</i>).

Year	Event
1860	Cottage built at 6 Bridge Street (<i>still extant</i>). Owned from 1913 by Leo Armstrong who was associated with Windsor Fire Brigade.
1861	14 Bridge Street constructed (<i>still extant</i>).
1865	82 George Street constructed (<i>still extant</i>).
1867 ²⁶⁷	Greatest flood in the history of Windsor, reaching 63 feet (19.2 metres); “water lapped the steps of the Doctor’s house in Thompson Square” ²⁶⁸ .
1871	School building built at rear of 6 Bridge Street (<i>still extant</i>). School operated by Eliza Hopkins 1871-1886.
1880s	64-68 George Street constructed (<i>still extant</i>). Replaced several single-storey terraces attached to 62 George Street.

Table 10: Federation Era (1900-1945)

Year	Event
1907	A.C. Stearn Building at 74 George Street built by A.C. Stearn. (<i>still extant</i>).
1910	84-88 George Street is constructed (<i>still extant</i>).
1915	John Young Hotel at 70-72 George Street demolished.
1921	Old Government House on George Street demolished. Cottage at 41 George Street built over part of the original site (<i>cottage still extant</i>).
1923	Former Hawkesbury Garage constructed at No 70-72 George Street (<i>still extant</i>). Built by H.A. Clements.
1929	Major flood.
1935	New diagonal road through Thompson Square from George Street to Bridge Street.

²⁶⁷ Hawkesbury-Nepean Valley Flood Management Review Stage One, Department of Primary Industries, March 2014

²⁶⁸ History Teacher’s Association “Richmond, Windsor, Wilberforce, Ebenezer”, p. 15.

Table 11: Late 20th Century Development to Present Day (1946-2016)

Year	Event
1949	Richmond and Windsor municipal councils amalgamated.
1951	Second public road put through Thompson Square park, as shown on 1948 plan and 1956 aerial image of the site.
1955	Dwelling constructed at 4 Bridge Road constructed (<i>still extant</i>). This was the site of Andrew Thompson's Windsor property, previously containing a cottage and garden before being used as a Government Garden.
1970s-1980s	80 George Street constructed.
c. 1990	Existing site layout of Thompson Square established, as shown on aerial image of the site. Viewing platform established adjacent to the southeast bridge abutment.
1991	Boat house in northern part of Thompson Square demolished.
2013	Windsor Bridge Replacement Project approved. CAWB protest established on site.
c. 2014	New wharf structure constructed.
2015	Land and Environment Court challenge to the Windsor Bridge Replacement Project is unsuccessful.
2016	Major archaeological test excavation program.

Development of Existing Built Heritage

The following section briefly demonstrates the history of existing built heritage related to the SCMP study area. Specifically, it outlines the construction date, original use and later uses of the sites.

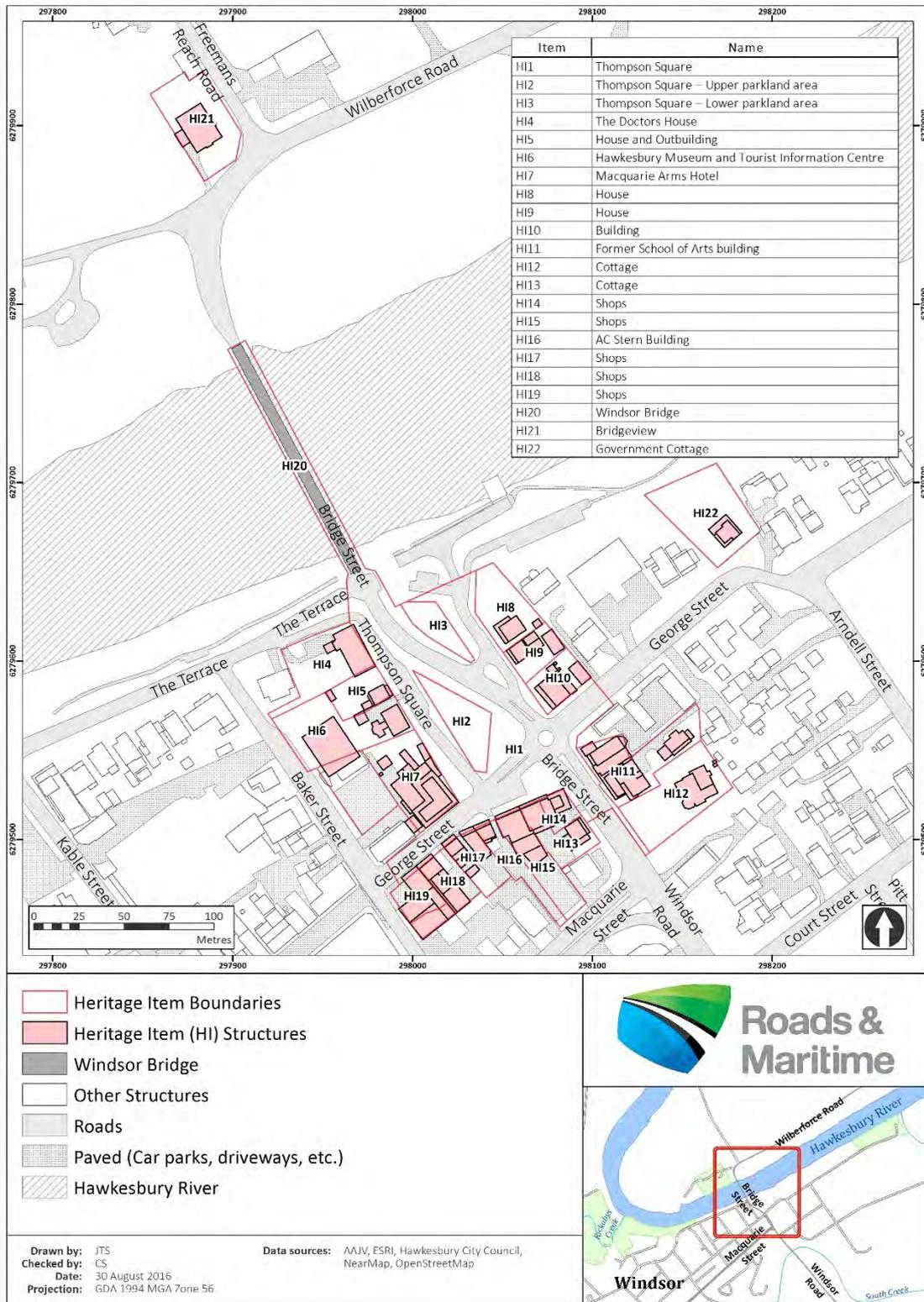


Figure 101: Plan of Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge indicating all heritage items relevant to the SCMP study.

Table 12: Development of existing fabric within SCMP study area. Where other structures have pre-dated the existing structures, they have been excluded.

Item number (as per conditions of consent)	Address	Site Name	Year Constructed	Original Use	Later Uses
HI4	1-3 Thompson Square	Doctors House	1844	Commercial - Historically associated with doctors since 1877	Possibly residential
HI5	5 Thompson Square	House & Outbuilding	1852	Residential	Part museum complex
HI6	7 Thompson Square	Hawkesbury Museum and Tourist Information Centre	1835	Commercial - Inn known as the Daniel O'Connell (1837-1848)	Commercial - Office and printing works of the local newspaper (1871-1899) Residential (1911-1967) Public Hawkesbury Museum (1968-present)
HI7	81 George Street	Macquarie Arms Hotel	1815	Commercial	No change in use
HI8	4 Bridge Street (also identified as 8 Bridge Street)	House	1955	Residential Andrew Thompson house and garden	Public - Government garden Residential (1955-present)
HI9	6 Bridge Street	House	1860 (brick cottage) 1871 (brick building to the rear)	Residential	No change in use
HI10	10 Bridge Street	Lilburn Hall House and Outbuildings	c.1856	Residential - Dr Joshua Isaac Dowe House (1856-	Public St Katherine's private school

Item number (as per conditions of consent)	Address	Site Name	Year Constructed	Original Use	Later Uses
				1860)	(1875) Residential Dr J. Callaghan's house (1887) Public Brinsley Hall (1901-1919) Public Maternity Hospital (1923-1934)
HI11	14 Bridge Street	School of Arts	1861	Public	Government - Windsor Council (1874-1876) Public - Community Centre (1900-1947) Commercial - Boot factory (1947 - ?)
HI12	20 Bridge Street	Cottage	Date unknown - likely built in Federation Era.	Likely residential	
HI13	17 Bridge Street	Cottage	Built in the Early Victorian era – likely built by 1835	Residential	No change in use
HI14	62-68 George Street	Shops – Former Hawkesbury Stores (64-68 George St)	62 George St – 1840 64-68 George St –1880s	Commercial Hawkesbury Stores - grocery and bakery	No change in use

Item number (as per conditions of consent)	Address	Site Name	Year Constructed	Original Use	Later Uses
HI15	70-72 George Street	Shops - Former Hawkesbury Garage	1923	Commercial – motor garage	No change in use
HI16	74 George Street	A.C. Stearn Building	1907	Commercial - shops	No change in use
HI17	80-82 George Street	Shops	80 George St – Date unknown but built late 20 th Century (site vacant in 1970 aerial) 82 George St - 1865	80 George St - Commercial 82 George St - Residential	80 George St – No change in use 82 George St - Commercial
HI18	84-88 George Street	Shops	1910	Commercial	No change in use
HI19	92-98 George Street	Two storey building and shed	Two-storey building - c. 1860s Shed – unknown	Commercial	No change in use
HI21	27 Wilberforce Road	Bridgeview Residence	Date unknown - Late Federation	Residential	No change in use
HI22	41 George Street	Green Hills Cottage Site of Government Cottage Archaeological Site	1921	Residential Government cottage	Residential Private

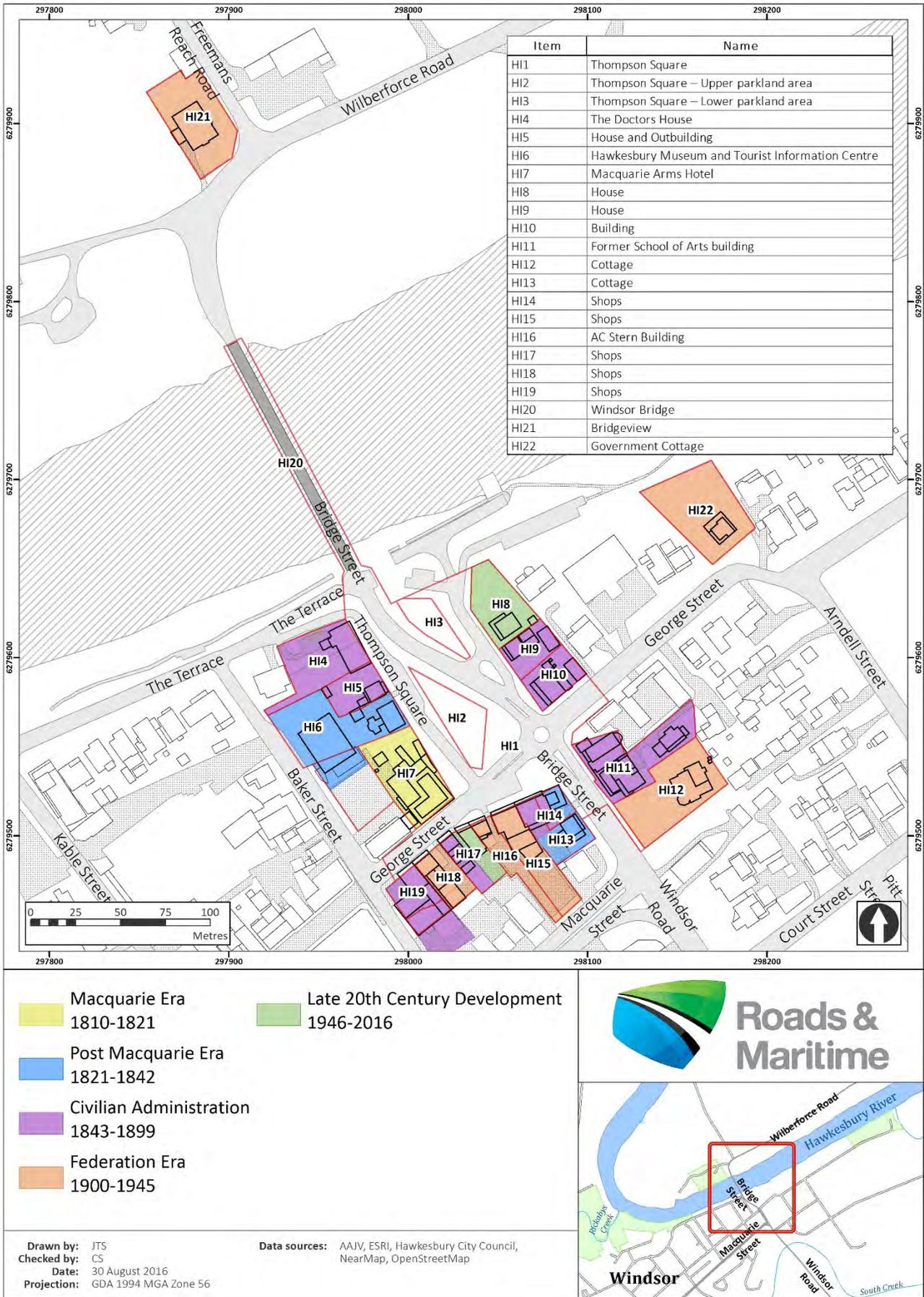


Figure 102: Construction dates relating to built heritage items within the Thompson Square Study Area.

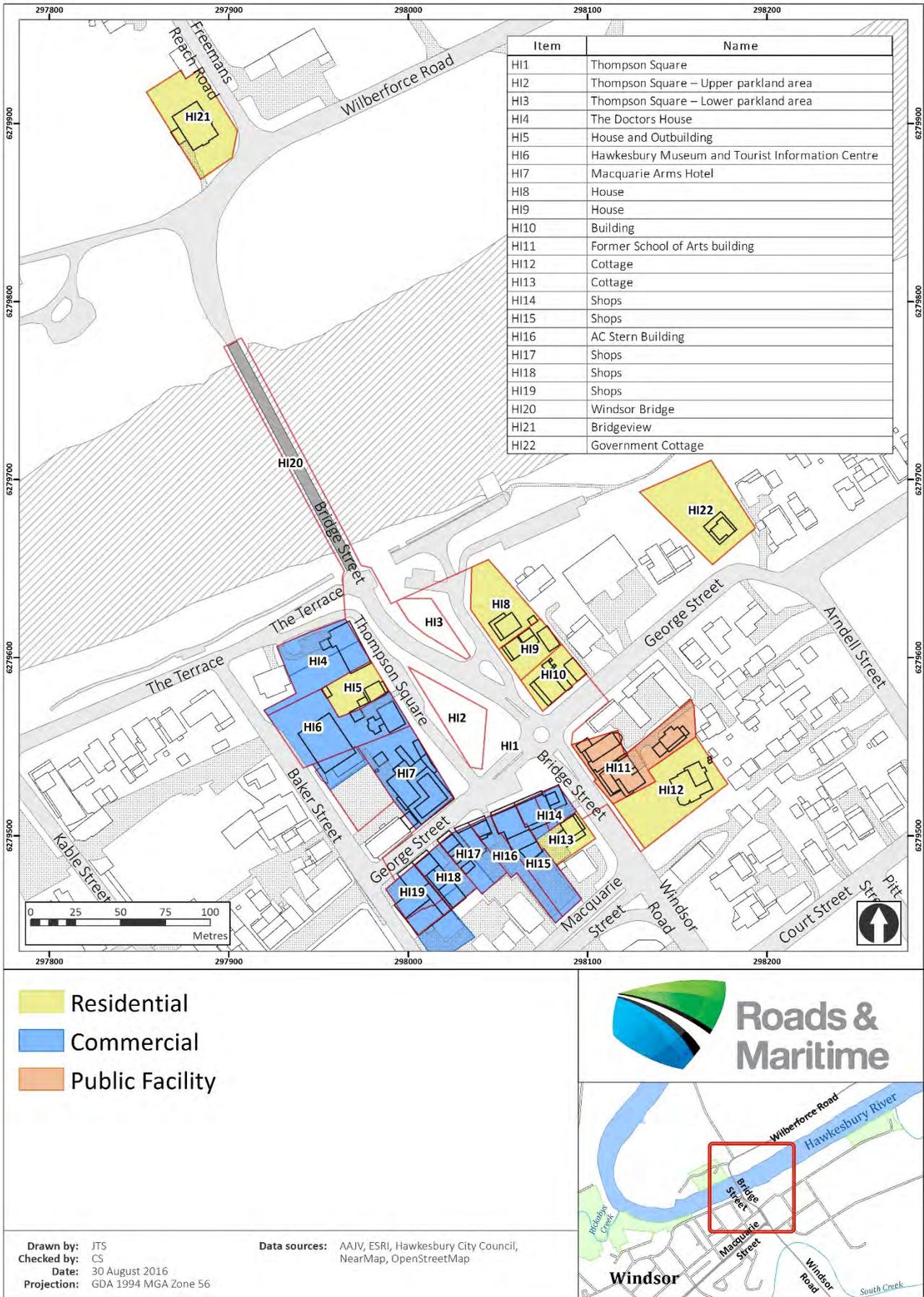


Figure 103: Original site use of existing built heritage items within Thompson Square Study Area.

Major Modifications to Thompson Square 1795-2016

Thompson Square has been progressively modified throughout its history. Most of the major modifications came from the formalisation of the road network around Thompson Square in the early 20th century, and then the progressive modification for the bridge approaches in the late 19th and mid-20th centuries.

Modification also came from the impacts of flooding to Thompson Square, including some major floods, such as 1867 which completely inundated the study area and much of the town of Windsor. These floods have had some degree of impact in terms of scouring and disposition of alluvial soils within the study area, which will have seen the ground surface eroded and built up in different locations over time. This is a natural part of the cycle of the flood plain in which Windsor is situated.

Other modifications occurred as a result of building activity within Thompson Square and subsequent removal. Some of the lost buildings have been located from the historical record, whereas the location of others are speculative. The majority of the existing building stock ranges in age from the 1810s to the 1920s, with a few later infill items.

Routine activities undertaken in Thompson Square as a central public space for the Windsor community also had a degree of impact over time, including:

- Provision of municipal services such as water, electricity and drainage;
- Landscaping, including placement seating, tables and monuments;
- Tree planting (and removal);
- Events;
- Building roads to service Thompson Square, wharf and bridge;
- Demolition of the boat shed in Lower Thompson Square;
- Undocumented (and potentially unauthorised) disturbance.

Utilising available historic maps and aerial imagery, shown throughout this Chapter, it is evident that there were five main phases of change within the Thompson Square 'open space' precinct between 1795-2016. These changes have had a heavy impact upon the boundaries, configuration, landscaping and survival of archaeological materials within Thompson Square. These changes are briefly explained below and are best demonstrated via a series of illustrations.

Phase 1 – 1795-1841

The original Thompson Square precinct arose out of the need for government presence in the rapidly growing agricultural centre of Green Hills. Established in 1795, a portion of land fronting the Hawkesbury River was retained by the Crown and cleared of vegetation. The precinct of some 17 hectares (40 acres) was bounded on the north-east by the present Arndell Street; on the south-east by South Creek; on the south-west by the present Baker Street and on the north-west by the Hawkesbury River. See Figure 104 for an illustration of this arrangement.

Phase 2 – 1841-1894

Whilst the area around Thompson Square underwent many construction and subdivision changes throughout the early 19th Century, the Thompson Square boundary went largely unchanged until c.1841 when a formal square boundary was established, framed by several roadways. The establishment of the bridge in 1874 saw more formalised road access through the Square. See Figure 105 for an illustration of this arrangement.

Phase 3 – 1894-1951

With likely increasing traffic to Windsor Bridge and the wharf during the latter part of the 19th century, a carriageway was put through the centre of the Thompson Square precinct in 1894. The c.1894 modification connected Thompson Square Road and Bridge Street, and permanently separated the lower portion of the park from the upper portion. By the turn of the century, Thompson Square had been formalised into a much smaller area, which was fenced and concentrated to the upper portion along George Street. A new road cutting was established north to the bridge in 1935. See Figure 106 for an illustration of this arrangement.

Phase 4 – 1951-1990

Around 1950, a deep diagonal cutting was made through Thompson Square to allow modern motor transport to reach the bridge by a more direct route. See Figure 108 for an illustration of this arrangement.

Phase 5 – 1990-2016

In the late 20th century, the lower portion of Thompson Square was modified to include a new roadway through the Lower Square and a new road island and a carpark near the wharf. The c1950 carriageway through the centre of the two parklands towards Windsor Bridge was retained. See Figure 109 for an illustration of this arrangement.



Figure 104: Phase 1, land clearance between 1795-1841.



Figure 105: Phase 2, formal square boundary established between 1841-1894.



Phase 3: First Public Road Through Square

c. 1894 – 1951

- Thompson Square
- Windsor Bridge and wharf
- Hawkesbury River
- Public roads and footpaths
- Contemporary cadastral boundaries

Although Extent Heritage makes every attempt to minimise the error in our maps, the very nature of fitting together products and data from multiple vendors means that discrepancies will arise in alignment. Aerial photography, in particular, is very prone to alignment errors occurring as a result of orthorectification and registration, and it is rare that aerial imagery will perfectly match with other data (e.g., cadastre). It is outside Extent Heritage's time or role to correct these issues, and so we work with the data we are given.

Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 16 December 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56

Data sources: AAJV, ESRI, Hawkesbury City Council,
 NSW State Library, OpenStreetMap



Roads & Maritime



Figure 106: Phase 3, first public road put through square separating parkland into two sections between 1894-1951.

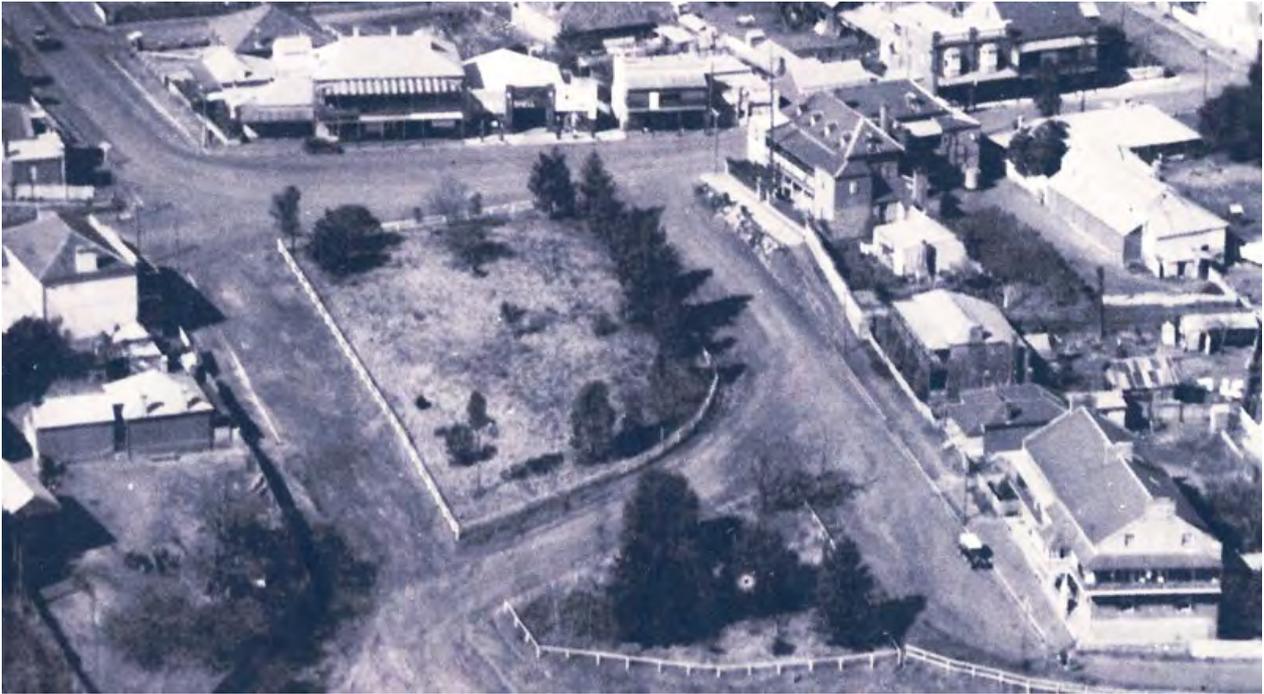


Figure 107: Thompson Square in 1929 viewed from the south, showing public road through centre of site (Source: Aerial photograph, courtesy of Carol Roberts. Photographer, Frederick Halpin Willson, RAAF, 1929).



Phase 4: Second Public Road Through Square

c. 1951 – 1990

- Thompson Square
- Windsor Bridge
- Hawkesbury River
- Public roads and footpaths
- Contemporary cadastral boundaries

Although Extent Heritage makes every attempt to minimise the error in our maps, the very nature of fitting together products and data from multiple vendors means that discrepancies will arise in alignment. Aerial photography, in particular, is very prone to alignment errors occurring as a result of orthorectification and registration, and it is rare that aerial imagery will perfectly match with other data (e.g., cadastre). It is outside Extent Heritage's time or role to correct these issues, and so we work with the data we are given.

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Checked by: CS
Date: 16 December 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56

Data sources: AAJV, ESRI, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, OpenStreetMap



Roads & Maritime



Figure 108: Phase 4, second public road put through square further separating the parkland between 1951-1900.

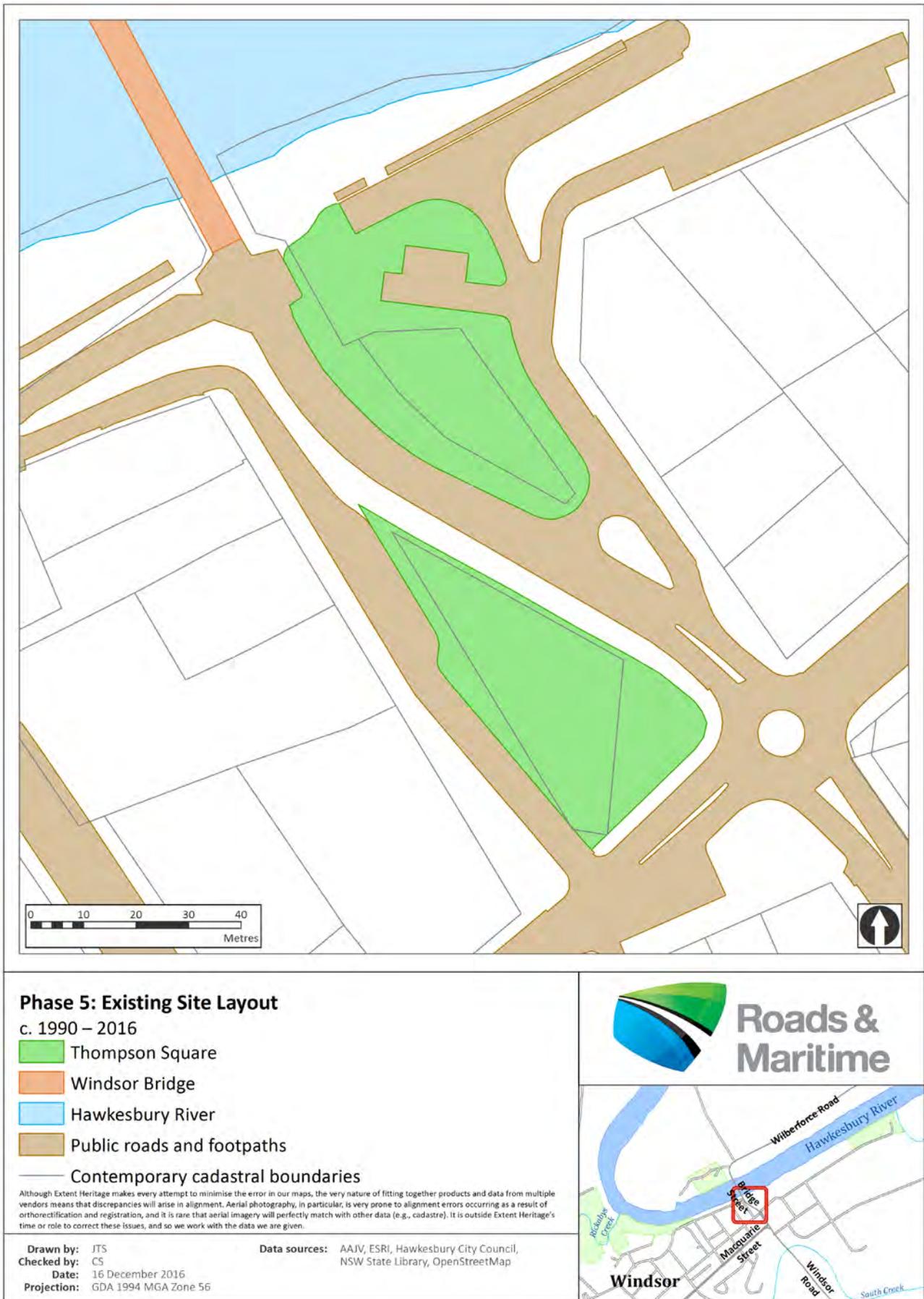


Figure 109: Existing site layout, established between 1990-2016.



Figure 110: Sequential impacts to Thompson Square between 1795-2016, showing the associated mapping and aeriels.

State and National Historical Themes

The Heritage Council of NSW has formulated a set of ‘Historical Themes relevant to New South Wales’ that provide a historical context within which a value of a heritage item can be understood and evaluated. Based on the above history, the following table outlined the themes relevant to Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge. These themes have been used to inform the *Interpretation Strategy* for Thompson Square (AAJV 2016).

Table 13: Historic themes relevant to Thompson Square and Windsor Bridge.

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Explanatory Notes	Evidence
1 Tracing the natural evolution of Australia	Environment – naturally evolved	Features occurring naturally in the physical environment which have shaped or influenced human life and cultures	Embodied in the original river shoreline and potential remains associated with river crossing and flooding
2 Peopling Australia	Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures	Activities associated with maintaining, developing, experiencing and remembering Aboriginal cultural identities and practices, past and present; with demonstrating distinctive ways of life; and with interactions demonstrating race relations.	Square was a place of interaction between local Aboriginal people and the new settlers. Pre-contact Aboriginal cultural evidence.
	Convict	Activities relating to incarceration, transport reform, accommodation and working during the convict period in NSW (1788 – 1850)	Many of the first settlers included ex-convicts, who undertook farming. Evidence of convict built structures convict barracks convict labour. Naming of Thompson Square marking Andrew Thompson the most prominent emancipist of the early Macquarie period.
3 Developing local, regional and national economies	Agriculture	Activities relating to the cultivation and rearing of plant and animal species, usually for commercial purposes, can include aquaculture	Evidence of early farming, orchards and government gardens; granaries and barns. Palynological evidence. Market gardening, turf farming and wharf for

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Explanatory Notes	Evidence
			trading produce.
	Commerce	Activities relating to buying, selling and exchanging goods and services	<p>The first government store, which was swept away in the 1799 flooding, is likely to have been constructed within the study area.</p> <p>The wharf which was a nexus for trade.</p> <p>Commerce in various inns.</p>
	Environment – cultural landscape	Activities associated with the interactions between humans, human societies, and the shaping of their physical surroundings	<p>Evidence of changing landscape embodied in various cuts for construction of roads leading to the river and the bridge; flood associated soil residues; market gardens.</p> <p>Changing flood regimes associated with massive land clearance.</p>
	Industry	Activities associated with the manufacture, production and distribution of goods	Evidence associated with the wharf, shipbuilding yard and slipway.
	Transport	Activities associated with the moving of people and goods from one place to another, and systems for the provision of such movements	<p>The section of the riverbank at the base of Thompson Square was the location of former wharf and associated tollhouse. Track and paths would have been established from early days of the civic precinct.</p> <p>The punt (1814-1874).</p>
4 Building settlements, towns and cities	Towns, suburbs and villages	Activities associated with creating, panning and managing urban functions, landscapes and lifestyles in towns, suburbs and villages	Town plan, streetscape, village reserve, concentrations of urban functions, civic centre, subdivision pattern, abandoned town site, urban square, fire hydrant, market place, abandoned wharf, relocated civic centre,

Australian Theme	NSW Theme	Explanatory Notes	Evidence
			boundary feature, open land, market place, concentrations of urban functions, abandoned wharf, relocated civic centre, locus for protest and urban parks.
7 Governing	Government and administration	Activities associated with the governance of local areas, regions, the State and the nation, and the administration of public programs – includes both principled and corrupt activities	The study area was in the vicinity of the government house, military barracks and officers' dwellings, the precise location of which is not known. Formalisation of township - extension of Government control and bell tower.
8 Developing Australia's cultural life	Domestic life	Activities associated with creating, maintaining, living in and working around houses and institutions.	Domestic artefact scatter, kitchen furnishings, bed, clothing, garden tools, shed, arrangement of interior rooms, kitchen garden, pet grave, chicken coop, home office, road camp, barrack, asylum.
9 Developing institutions of self-government and democracy	Protesting	Local activities of the 21 st Century	Community Action for Windsor Bridge (CAWB).

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a background to the natural, Aboriginal, colonial and contemporary history and development of the study area and, where relevant, the surrounding area. This history was prepared to identify places, themes and stories of heritage significance to the study area, to guide the understanding of the heritage significance of the place, the policies which relate to its future conservation and the aspects of the study area which should be interpreted.²⁶⁹

History shows that prior to European colonisation, Aboriginal people occupied the study area beside the Hawkesbury River for millennia. With the founding of the settlement of Mulgrave Place in the late 18th century, Windsor evolved and changed considerably. The study area of Thompson Square was the centre of much of this change, seeing many public and private buildings added and removed throughout the 19th century, and the establishment of Windsor Bridge in 1874 which necessitated a road (Bridge Street) through Thompson Square. Available mapping shows that the boundaries of Thompson Square were broadly established by 1811, with a town plan laid out and a range of buildings established on the periphery of Thompson Square. The notable exception to this is the commercial strip opposite Thompson Square on the south side of George Street, which includes a number of early 20th century commercial buildings.

A major historical theme for Thompson Square and Windsor in general was the impact of major floods on the Hawkesbury River. These regular floods drove some major physical changes in the study area, including the construction of several wharfs and buildings, and most importantly, Windsor Bridge itself. They have also affected the evidence of Aboriginal and early colonial settlement, through a process of scouring, deposition and impact to landforms and structures.

Since the first major changes for the construction of Windsor Bridge, Thompson Square has been altered on multiple occasions to suit the needs of the area. The initial road through Thompson Square traversed from west to east, from the top of the hill, but was altered from east to west in the 20th century. Perimeter road alignments have changed on multiple occasions, particularly along the west and north edges of Thompson Square. Good records have existed since 1799 of natural action of erosion and sedimentation through flooding, processes that doubtless have been occurring for thousands of years before. The plantings and landscape elements of Thompson Square have been reworked and replaced due to changing uses, changing needs, public demands and perceptions regarding open space and damage from activities such as flood.

All of these events and physical changes have had a cumulative impact on Thompson Square, however, it remains a place with a rich history and is valued highly by the community, for both its physical amenity and what it represents about the history of Windsor and the early colony of New South Wales.

²⁶⁹ Details related to heritage interpretation are contained in the *Thompson Square Interpretation Strategy* (AAJV October 2016), which provides the high-level framework for interpretation, and the *Thompson Square Interpretation Plan* (AAJV, March 2017 – in development), which provides the detailed interpretive locations and media.

3 Heritage Status

Study Area Heritage Listings

The majority of the buildings, structures and elements relevant to the study area are subject to one or more heritage listings. These heritage items are in a variety of ownerships, including State and local government and the private sector. The contribution of these elements to the overall significance of Thompson Square will be considered in Volume 2. The following figures (Figure 111 - Figure 117) show the coverage of heritage listings in the study area.

Note: During the mapping process, it became clear that there are several issues in the listing data across State and local levels:

- As shown in Figure 114, there is a slight variation across Conservation Area curtilages, between the SHR and LEP listings;
- The boundary for the State conservation area has some errors, with a small portion in the southeastern boundary excluded from the curtilage as shown in Figure 114;
- As shown in Figure 10, the lower parkland is not labelled as Thompson Square in the LEP, but rather “McQuade park” which is located one kilometre west of the site at 361 George Street (Lot 1 DP 556829).

A review of State and local listings around the site to reconcile these discrepancies may be required in the future.



- Study Area
- Thompson Square Conservation Area
State Heritage Register Item #00126



Drawn by: JTS
Checked by: CS
Date: 30 August 2016
Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

Figure 111: Thompson Square conservation area SHR boundary.



- Study Area
- Thompson Square Conservation Area
- LEP Heritage Register Item #C4



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

Figure 112: Thompson Square conservation area LEP boundary.



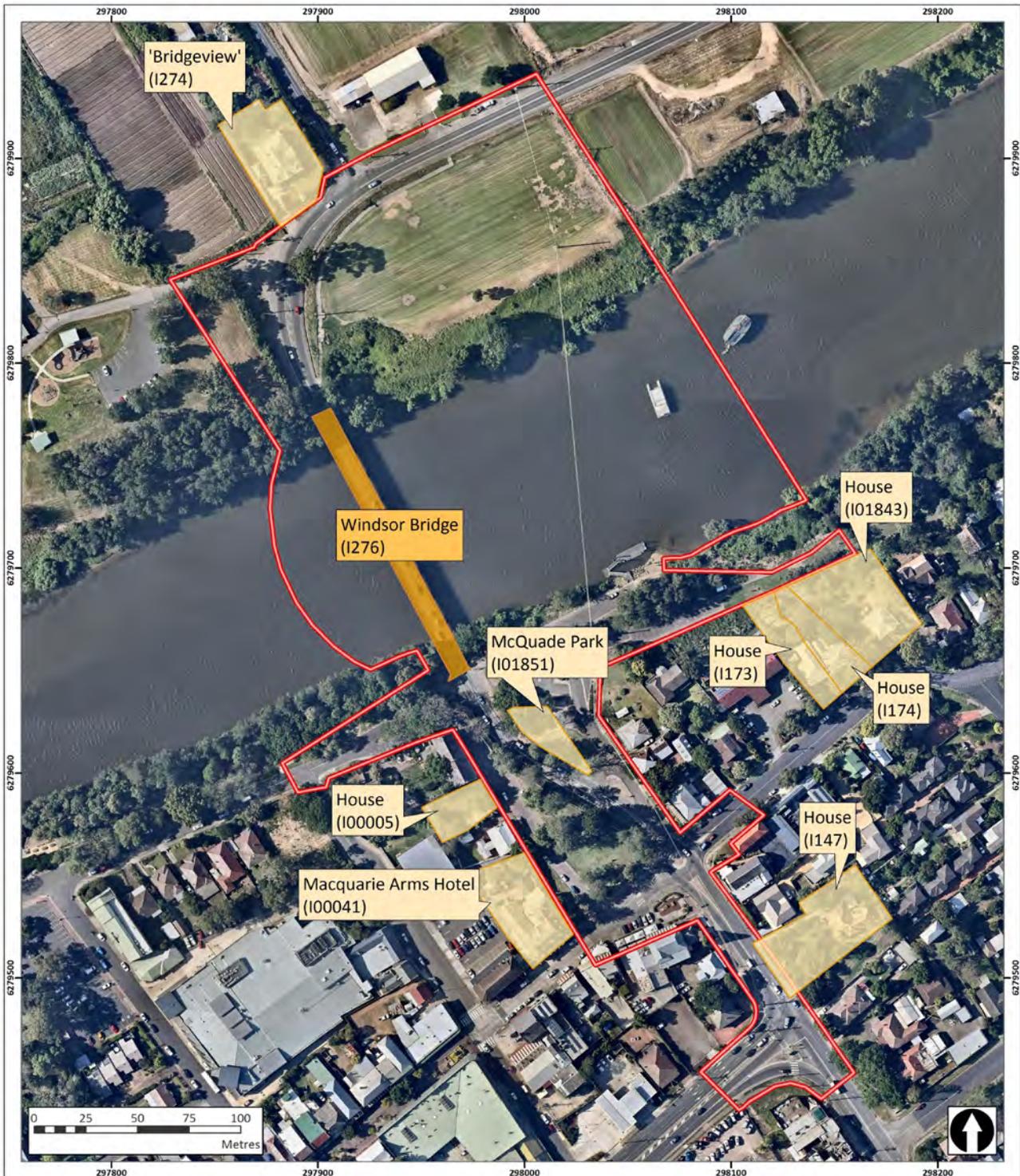
Figure 113: Heritage items included within the LEP listing.



Figure 114: Overlay of heritage listings relevant to the SCMP study area.



Figure 115: State Heritage Register heritage items relevant to the SCMP study area.



- Study Area
- LEP Heritage Register items not included under Thompson Square listing
- LEP Heritage Register items also included on s170 NSW State agency heritage register, but not included under Thompson Square listing



Drawn by: JTS
 Checked by: CS
 Date: 30 August 2016
 Projection: GDA 1994 MGA Zone 56
 Data sources: AAJV, Hawkesbury City Council, NSW State Library, NSW OEH

Figure 116: LEP heritage items relevant to the SCMP study area. NB: the lower parkland is not labelled as Thompson Square in the LEP, but rather “McQuade Park” which is located one kilometre west of the site.

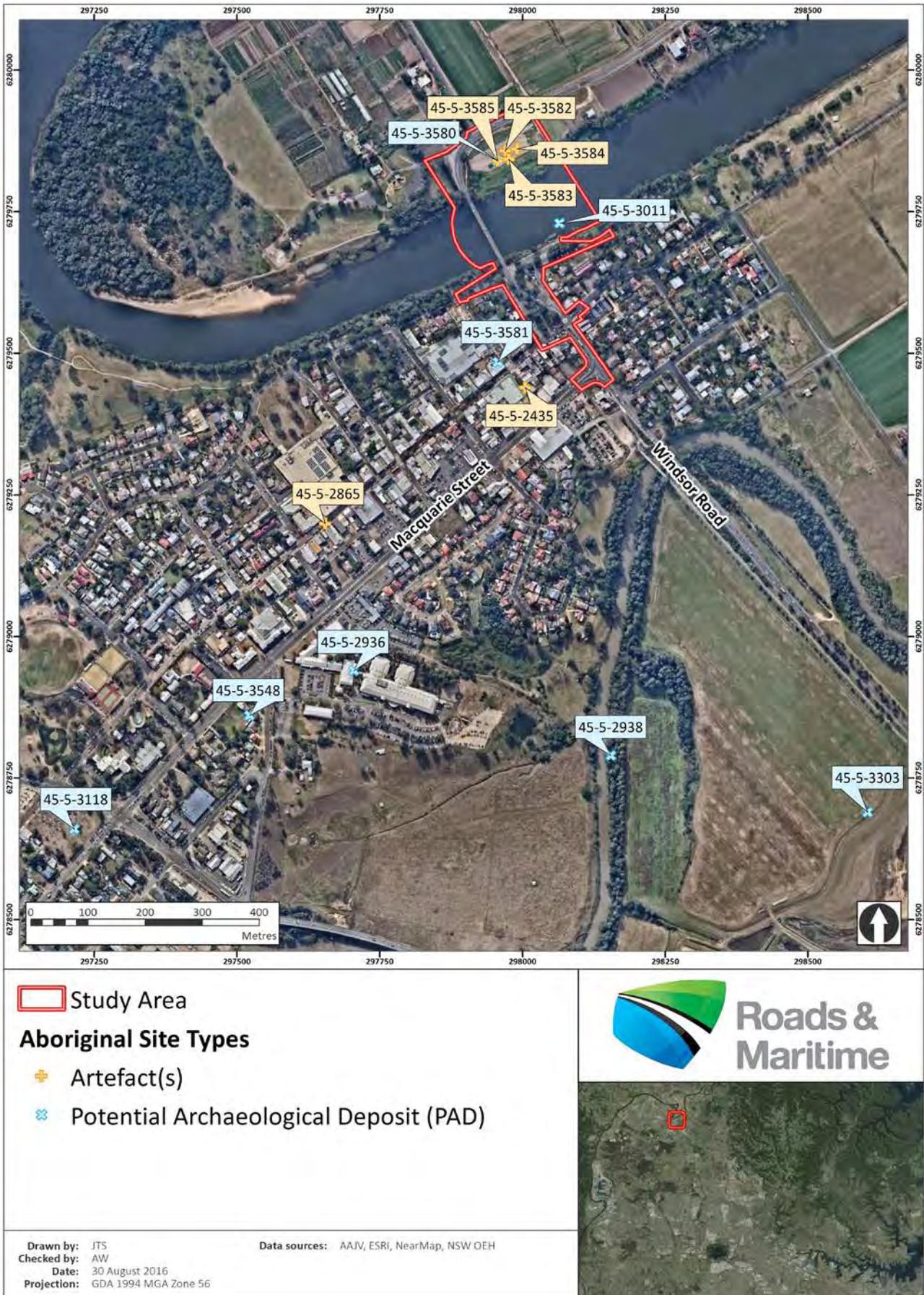


Figure 117: Listed archaeological sites.

Statutory Listings Within Study Area

The study area consists of two heritage items, listed on the following statutory registers:

Table 14: Heritage items within SCMP study area

Address	LEP 2008 number	LEP 2012 number	Hubert SHI number	Hubert study no.	SHR Number	Identification
Thompson Square	273	I00126 [Map C4]	1740417	575	00126	Thompson Square Conservation Area
Windsor Bridge	276	I276	-	-	S.170 4309589	Hawkesbury River Bridge or Windsor Bridge

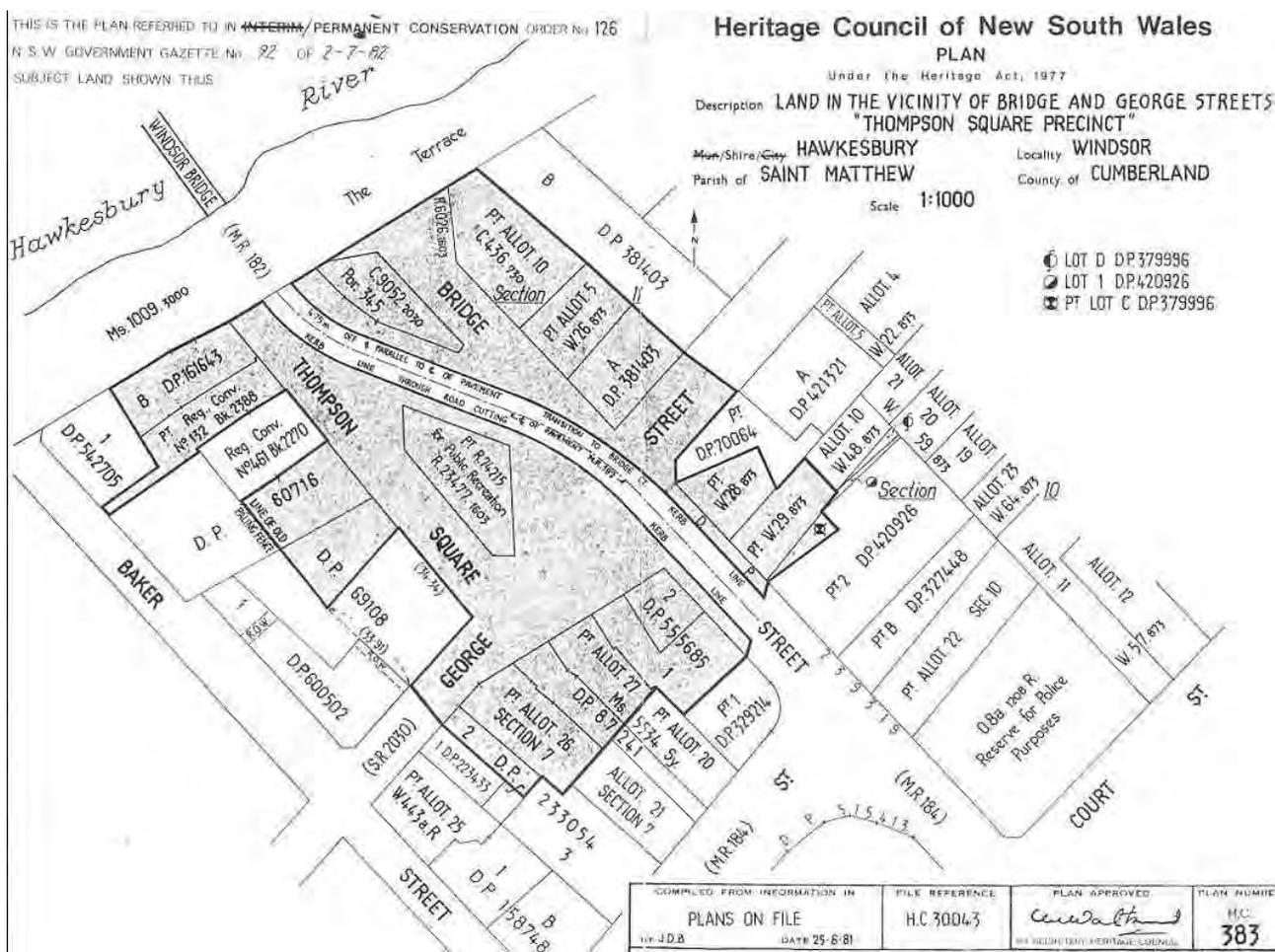


Figure 118 - The State Heritage Register curtilage gazettal plan for the Thompson Square Precinct SHR listing (listing # 00126).

Non-statutory Listings Within Study Area

National Trust of Australia (NSW)

Thompson Square is identified by the National Trust of Australia (NSW) under listing ID's S10510 and S11456 as *Thompson Square Precinct*.

Existing Statement of Significance

The following statements of significance relate to all items located within the State listed Thompson Square Conservation Area, as per condition B1(a) of the Minister's Conditions of Approval, and the Thompson Square SCMP study area in general. This includes:

- Thompson Square Conservation Area
- Windsor Bridge
- 5 Thompson Square
- Macquarie Arms Hotel

Notably, there is no existing Statement of Significance relating to 5 Thompson Square. This has been addressed in Chapter 5.

The existing Statement of Significance for *Thompson Square Conservation Area* as shown on the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage listing sheet for the item, is as follows:

Thompson Square is one of the oldest public squares in Australia and notable for the large number of Colonial Georgian buildings which surround it. It is the only public space remaining from the original town and has played an important part in the history of the town. It is the only remaining civic space as laid out by Governor Macquarie and is a vital precinct in the preservation of the early Colonial character of Windsor. The Square reflects Macquarie's visionary schemes for town planning excellence in the infant colony (Sheedy 1975).²⁷⁰

The existing Statement of Significance for *Windsor Bridge*, as shown on the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage listing sheet for the item, is as follows:

The Windsor Bridge has a high level of historic, technical, aesthetic and social significance as an important historical and physical landmark in one of the State's pre-eminent historic towns, and in the wider Sydney region. It is the oldest extant crossing of the Hawkesbury River. Together with the successive crossings upstream at Richmond, this bridge has played a major role in shaping the history of the Hawkesbury area, functioning for well over a century as an all important link between the communities on either side of the River and as an essential component in a through route of importance in the development of the Sydney region. The series of major alterations to the structure since its construction articulate the continuing difficulties of negotiating a crossing of this major waterway with its frequent floods. The Windsor Bridge has landmark qualities as one of only two bridge crossings of the Hawkesbury River in the Hawkesbury area and as such it defines the surrounding network of roads. It is a large structure, and although simple in appearance, impressive. The bridge represents a major engineering project in the State for its time. The addition of a reinforced concrete beam deck to replace the timber deck in the 1920s is a relatively early use of this technology. The River and this crossing of it has defined the life of several generations of local inhabitants on both sides of the River. As the suburban outskirts of Sydney widen and come closer to the still distinct and distinctive Macquarie towns, the rich history of the area and its physical remains become increasingly important

²⁷⁰ NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, State Heritage Register listing sheet for Thompson Square Conservation Area, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045195> Accessed August 2016

to the community's sense of identity. The Windsor Bridge is thus an important part of Windsor's history and identity.²⁷¹

The existing Statement of Significance for Macquarie Arms Hotel, as shown on the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage listing sheet for the item, is as follows:

Opened in 1815 and constructed by emancipist Richard Fitzgerald in response to specific directions from Governor Macquarie, the Macquarie Arms Hotel is of exceptional significance as the most sophisticated and most intact major commercial building dating to the pre-1820 colonial period of Australia's history. Playing a pivotal role in Macquarie's town plan for Windsor, the Macquarie Arms Hotel is the most substantial building to form part of Thompson Square, the best Georgian town square on mainland Australia. The building contains numerous rare and aesthetically superior elements, and continues to be widely recognised for its importance to the understanding of settlement, urban design, and architecture during the colonial period, while its historic associations carry strong cultural messages of the period's society and government. It has been long established by art and architectural historians, and has a prominent place in the contemporary social life of Windsor.²⁷²

Heritage Items Adjacent to Study Area

A substantial number of heritage items abut the Thompson Square Conservation Area. These are items that face or back onto Thompson Square. The majority of these items are in private ownership and include the items outlined in the table below.

Table 15: Heritage items abutting SCMP study area.

Address	LEP 2008 number	LEP 2012 number	SHR Number	Identification
Bridge St.				
4	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Bungalow
6 [8]	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	-
10	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Lilburn Hall
14	273 pt.	I 00126	-	Former School of Arts
17	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Cottage
20	147	I 147	-	-
25-27	151	I 151	-	Jolly Frog
32-34	148	I 148	-	Guard house ruin
32-34	157	I 157	-	Barracks wall

²⁷¹ NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, State Heritage Register listing sheet for Windsor Bridge <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=4309589> Accessed August 2016

²⁷² NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, State Heritage Register listing sheet for Macquarie Arms Hotel <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045146> Accessed August 2016

32-34	149	I 01018	01018	Stables
32-34	-	-		S.170 Former police station
George St.				
41	172	I 10843	10843	Government Cottage Site
62	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	
64-68	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Moses' store
70-72	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Garage
74	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	A.C. Stearn Building
80	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Shop
81 [99]	273 pt.	I 00041	00041	Macquarie Arms
82	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Shop
Thompson Square				
1-3	273 pt.	I 00005	00126	Doctors' House
5	273 pt.	I 00005	00005	House and Outbuilding
7	273 pt.	I 00126	00126	Hawkesbury Museum and Tourist Information Centre
Wilberforce				
27	274	I 274	-	Bridgeview Residence

Heritage Items in the Wider Vicinity (500m from edge of site)

The wider vicinity of central Windsor also has a substantial number of identified heritage items.

Table 16: Heritage items in wider vicinity of SCMP study area

Address	LEP 2012 number	SHR Number	Identification
East (to Palmer St)			
27 George St	I166	-	Hannabas Dairy
31 George St	I167	-	House
32 George St	I168	-	House
34 George St	I169	-	House
35 George St	I170	-	House
40 George St	I171	-	House
43 George St	I173	-	House
45 George St	I174	-	House
48 George St	I175	-	House
29 North Street	I00107	00107	House
26-28 North Street	I00108	00108	House
35 North Street	I00109	00109	House
31-33 North Street	I00142	00142	Houses
25 North Street	I00150	00150	House
34 Court Street	I00804	00804	Windsor Court House
41 George St	I01843	01843	Government Cottage Archaeological Site
South (to South Creek)			
1 Anschau Crescent	I138	-	Anschau House
32 Bridge Street	I149	-	-
40 Bridge Street	I150	-	The Toll House
25-27 Bridge Street	I151	-	The Windsor Tavern
32 Bridge Street	I01018	01018	Stables of rear of police station
West (to Fitzgerald St)			
6 Kable Street	I139	-	Uralla

9 Baker Street	I140	-	House
11 Baker Street	I141	-	House
12 Fitzgerald Street	I161	-	Sunny Brae
109 George Street and 9B Baker Street	I176	-	Shop
117 George Street	I177	-	Former House
123 George Street	I178	-	Former House
127 George Street	I180	-	House and Shop
131 George Street	I181	-	Shop
135 George Street	I182	-	Shop
136 George Street	I183	-	House and Shop
137 George Street	I184	-	Former House
141 George Street	I185	-	Bank
146 George Street	I186	-	Bank
156 George Street	I187	-	Bank
161 George Street	I188	-	Fitzroy Hotel
160-160A George Street	I189	-	Shop
162-166 George Street	I190	-	Shop
167-169 George Street	I191	-	Shop
153 George Street	I192	-	Bussel Bros
181 George Street	I193	-	Shop
180 George Street	I235	-	Former Windsor Post Office
22 Kable Street	I239	-	Former Masonic Hall
33 Macquarie Street	I476	-	Elourea
126 George Street	I00003	00003	Loder House

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Table 17: Previous archaeological reports relevant to the study area.

Authors	Year	Title	Type
AHMS	2005	Windsor Roman Catholic cemetery Windsor, NSW: Research Design and Excavation Methodology	Assessment
AHMS	2005	No. 5 New Street, Windsor Historical Archaeological & Development Impact Assessment	Assessment
AMAC	2014	1A Greenway Crescent, Windsor NSW: final archaeological report	Excavation
AMAC	2007	29 North Street Windsor NSW: archaeological monitoring	Excavation
AMAC	2006	29 North Street Windsor NSW: archaeological assessment and exemption notification	Application
Austral Archaeology Pty Ltd	2009	Built Heritage & Archaeological Landscape Investigation: Windsor Bridge Options, Preliminary Environmental Investigation	Assessment
Biosis	2006	Archaeological assessment and research design former military barracks, Windsor police station	Assessment
Biosis	2012	Windsor Bridge Replacement Project Historic Heritage Assessment & Statement of Heritage Impact	Assessment
Biosis +Thorp	2012	Historical Heritage Assessment for Windsor Bridge Replacement Project – Test Excavation Report	Excavation
Cosmos Archaeology	2009	Windsor Bridge: Punt and Wharf sites – Maritime Archaeological Investigation. Prepared for NSW Roads and Traffic Authority.	Assessment
CPC Consulting Services	2005	68 George Street, Windsor: Heritage impact statement	Assessment

CRM	nd	Proposed museum site service area Baker Street, Windsor: application for S140 excavation permit.	Application
CRM	2014	Museum site Baker Street Windsor: archaeological investigation final report	Excavation
CRM	2004	Proposed museum site service area Baker Street, Windsor: archaeological assessment	Assessment
CRM	2002	Museum extension site Baker Street, Windsor: report on test trenching	Excavation
Dominic Steele Consulting Archaeology.		Interim archaeological excavation report and application for a section 90 heritage impact permit NPWS site 45-5-2865 former Hawkesbury Hospital Windsor NSW	Assessment
Geoarchaeology and Propection	2011	Exploratory Ground Penetrating Radar Survey at Thompson's Square Windsor	Remote Sensing
Higginbotham E	1993	Report on the Archaeological Excavation of the Site of the Extensions to the Hawkesbury Museum, 7 Thompson Square, Windsor, N.S.W.	Excavation
Higginbotham E	1986	Report on Historical and Archaeological Investigation of the Hawkesbury Museum, 7 Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW.	Excavation
Higginbotham E	1997	Report on archaeological monitoring programme during redevelopment of 232 George Street, Windsor, NSW	Excavation
Higginbotham E	1986	Historical and archaeological investigation of Thompson Square, Windsor	Excavation
Higginbotham E	1986	Report on historical and archaeological investigation of the Hawkesbury Museum, 7 Thompson Square, Windsor, NSW	Excavation
Holmes K	1977	The Windsor Military Guardhouse, Windsor Archaeological Investigation.	Excavation
JCIS	2014	Archaeological monitoring electricity supply upgrade works: Thompson Square, Windsor	Excavation
JCIS	2013	Archaeological Assessment of 6-8 Pitt Street Windsor	Assessment
Lavelle S	1996	Historical archaeological assessment 232 George Street, Windsor, NSW	Assessment
Lavelle S	1995	Information to accompany excavation permit application under section 60, NSW Heritage Act, 1977: 226 George Street, Windsor, NSW	Assessment

Lavelle S	1995	Report on archaeological monitoring 226 George Street, Windsor, NSW	Excavation
Stafford Moor	nd	Hawkesbury Hospital, Windsor: conservation plan and planning assessment	Assessment
Stedinger Heritage and Archaeology	2001	Monitoring excavations in Bridge Street, Windsor, N.S.W.	Excavation
Thorp W	2004	Archaeological Assessment. 23-39 North Street, Windsor.	Assessment
Thorp W	2002	Hawkesbury Museum. Site of Proposed Extensions. Baker Street, Windsor. Archaeological Assessment.	Assessment
Thorp W	2004	Archaeological Assessment. Proposed Museum Site Service Area. Baker Street, Windsor.	Assessment
Thorp W	2002	Report on Test Trenching. Museum Extension Site, Baker Street, Windsor.	Excavation
Thorp W	2002	Statement of Heritage Impact. Archaeological Site: Former Hawkesbury Hospital.	Assessment
Winston-Gregson J	1983	Bowman Cottage Excavation Report 1983.	Excavation
Winston-Gregson J	1982	Bowman Cottage Historical Study 1982.	Assessment
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Winston-Gregson J	1987	Bowman Cottage Excavation Report II.	Excavation